Sport is More Than Football
Searching for Another
Sport Sociology

edited by
Jakub Ryszard Stempień

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THE FOOTBALLISATION OF THE POLISH SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT

Abstract. The article addresses the issue of the unique position of football among sports, which supports Bromberger's thesis on the footballisation of society. As an overview of publications shows, football has occupied a special place in the international sociology of sport over the last 30 years; studies of football have been among the twenty most popular topics within the sub-discipline. However, it would be unjustified to speak of the footballisation of the international sociology of sport, understood as the overrepresentation of football in this sub-discipline. The situation is different when it comes to the Polish sociology of sport, where up to 50% of publications in the first fifteen years of the 21st century tackled various football-related issues. In conclusion, theses concerning possible consequences of the footballisation of the Polish sociology of sport are presented, including the type I and type II errors.

Keywords: footballisation, sociology of sport, football, sports.

> *Some people believe football is a matter of life and death. I am very disappointed with that attitude. I can assure you it is much, much more important than that.*
> William "Bill" Shankly

> *No history of the modern world is complete without an account of football.*
> David Goldblatt

Footballisation of society

Athletics is said to be the queen of sports while chess is called the game of kings. However, as Pierre Bourdieu argued, representatives of the dominant social class usually indulge in such leisure activities as golf, tennis, polo, horse riding, hunting, downhill skiing and yachting (Tomlinson 2004; Lenartowicz 2012). One can say that these are elite sports. Team sports, on the other hand, are usually associated with the lower class (Tomlinson 2004; Lenartowicz 2012). Still, all

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the above statements should be treated with caution, as football is considered by many to be "the salt of the earth" among sports.

Football is unique in that its social role cannot be reduced to entertainment. Scott Waalkes (2017) poses a provocative question: *Does soccer explain the world or does the world explain soccer?* and points out that, in a political sense, football fulfils a peace-making function (creates a supra-national community of football supporters, and international understanding based on shared passion for football). Waalkes admits (2017: 169–170) that football can also be a seedbed of – or pretext for – a political conflict and cites, among other things, the example of the 1969 football war between El Salvador and Honduras.[1] Moreover, football matches are important in domestic politics; they can legitimise the authorities and help bolster national identity and pride. One can recall examples from the 10th FIFA World Cup in 1974, i.e. both the memorable match between East Germany and West Germany (Wojtaszyn 2018) and the success of the Polish national team (bronze medal), which were skilfully used by the then authorities to propagate success and fight for their legitimacy (Papuczys 2016).

Waalkes (2017: 171–173) also stresses the economic importance of football (its positive role in economic integration, common markets and international exchange).[2] However, from a sociological point of view, football's cultural role is especially noteworthy; thanks to its popularity around the world, the organisation of international events and so on, football contributes to globalisation and cultural unification (*vide* common cheering patterns). That is why Waalkes (2017: 173) calls football and cheering a transnational cultural activity.[3]

All the contemporary and historical social meanings of football outlined by Waalkes invoke the term "footballisation of society"[4] coined by Christian Bromberger. This means that football is seen and instrumentalised as a tool for achiev-

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[1] Let me point out that tense relations between the two countries had already existed before the match lost by El Salvador, and it is arguable whether this sporting defeat was indeed the real cause of armed conflict. However, it can be assumed that the football match between Honduras and El Salvador was a hotspot.

[2] The World Cup and the UEFA European Championship are the so-called SMEs: Sports Mega-Events and are treated as special events by host countries. Their organisation is associated with years of preparatory efforts and huge investments (the construction of stadiums, investment in road infrastructure, etc.). This is accompanied by hopes for the promotion of the country, the development of tourism, co-funding of hotel industry, etc., which is supposed to translate into long-term macro-social and macroeconomic benefits (Humphreys, Prokopowicz 2007: 12; Woźniak 2013; 2015: 62–74).

[3] American society is an exception to the rule. In the USA, football is not only unpopular, but also perceived as alien to the American spirit (Melosik 2016).

[4] As Piotr Skuza (2006: 78) puts it: "Football takes a special place among other sports as far as the number of spectators is concerned. The position of this discipline is so prominent that the »footballisation« of society becomes the expression of modern spirit".

ing social benefits and progress, not just a source of entertainment and respite from important social matters (Bromberger 2001: 18 after Watson 2018: 603).

Although Wolfram Manzenreiter and John Horne (2007) do not explicitly define the term under discussion in their article *Playing the Post-Fordist Game in/ to the Far East: The Footballisation of China, Japan and South Korea*, it can be deduced from the context that it refers to the growing popularity of football in the region, which is accompanied by the transformation of football from leisure activity to a domain subjected to market valuation and regulation.

Bromberger, Manzenreiter and Horne share the belief that the footballisation of society means that football has ceased to be what it had used to be (merely a form of entertainment). It is playing an increasingly significant role in other areas of life. Thus, in its structure, the term "footballisation of society" resembles the term "medicalisation of society" understood as

> a process in which non-medical problems (behaviours, conditions, attributes) are defined in medical terms, most often as diseases or disorders that need to receive medical treatment. Certain aspects of everyday life fall under the influence and supervision of medicine. In terms of definition, this process can be viewed from the point of view of medicine itself, which implies the broadening of the jurisdiction of medical professions that claim ownership of natural life processes, forms of deviation or difficult life situations (Wieczorkowska 2012: 34).

Football and the sociology of sport

To what extent is the sociology of sport interested in football? Is football the main subject of inquiry within this sub-discipline? Before we answer these questions, let us agree on some definitions. It is assumed here that the sociology of sport investigates social contexts, preconditions, consequences and manifestations of such phenomena as sport (*sensu stricto*), physical recreation and physical education (Stempień 2018: 177).

Undoubtedly, a number of renowned scholars representing this sub-discipline have recognised the social importance of football or referred to football-related examples. Norbert Elias' student Eric Dunning used to write about football and Richard Giulianotti is the co-author of an important monograph on the links between football and globalisation.

Ørnulf Seippel (2018), who analysed the content of articles published from 1984–2014 in three leading sub-discipline periodicals ("Journal for Sport and Social Issues", "Sociology of Sport Journal" and "International Review for the Sociology of Sport"), showed that football was one of the twenty key topics. Other topics included athletes, nationalism, urbanism, culture, organisations and politics, body and health, subcultures, the Olympics, media, globalisation, gender, race, and Europe. However, of the 1,923 articles studied by Seippel (2018: 299), football could be described as the main topic referred to throughout the text only

in 48 cases (2.5%). Culture proved to be the most important topic (30.4%). Interestingly, in the case of texts on culture, the second most important topic was body strength, and the topic of health and body was on a par with football.

Therefore, sports sociologists recognise the unique social importance of football. This is proven by the fact that football was the only sport on the list of the most frequently discussed topics in publications on the sociology of sport. The other topics were more typical of "general sociology" rather than "sports sociology"; the authors were more interested in how certain general social issues manifested themselves in the field of sport (e.g. nationalism). At the same time, it has to be assumed that items discussing football constitute more than the mentioned 2.5% of all articles published over the last 30 years under the label of the sociology of sport. Indeed, to this number must also be added some socio-sports studies on culture, nationalism, the relationship between sport and politics, sports organizations, etc., where the examples or research base were related to football.

The Polish sociology of sport stands out against this backdrop, which is documented by the analysis of the content of five leading Polish sociological periodicals from 2001–2015. The analysis showed that the articles on the sociology of sport published in these periodicals (29 pieces in total) are relatively homogeneous:

> one can conclude that there is a certain over-representation of the studies that focus on the analysis of the popularity of football (supporting, big football events, the "football world"). Almost half of all of the pieces of writing on the sociology of sport belong to this category (Stempień 2018: 186–187).

Thus, it can be stated that during the first fifteen years of the 21st century, about 50% of the articles in the field of the Polish sociology of sport were devoted to football.

One can formulate a tentative thesis that many publications by sports sociologists dealing with football actually focus on the narrower issue of supporting, considering the activities and communities of football fans. Therefore, the subject of reflection would focus on supporting football clubs as well as some transformation of this activity and football supporter communities, rather than on football itself. Such a thesis can be supported by numerous monographic items.[5] At the same time, it must be admitted that thematic issues of Polish sociological journals which announce broader discussions about football often offer, in fact, mainly studies of the supporting[6] phenomenon in football, which is obviously an inter-

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[5] Examples of the books include: R. Kossakowski (2017), *Od chuliganów do aktywistów? Polscy kibice i zmiana społeczna*, Universitas, Kraków; D. Antonowicz, R. Kossakowski, T. Szlendak (2015), *Aborygeni i konsumenci*, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa; T. Sahaj (2007), *Fani futbolowi: historyczno-społeczne studium zjawiska kibicowania*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Wychowania Fizycznego w Poznaniu, Poznań.

[6] The following examples can be listed: R. Kossakowski (ed.) (2015), *The social phenomenon of football*, "Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica", vol. 16(4); W. Woźniak, K. Kaźmierska

esting and important topic. Many articles published both in Polish sociological periodicals and leading international journals in the field of the sociology of sport explore the phenomenon of supporting football clubs.[7]

On the other hand, one can question the thesis that the Polish sociology of sport is dominated not so much by football but by studies dedicated to support-ing. First of all, it is not difficult to find examples of influential publications on football which marginalise the issue of supporting football clubs. One of the ex-amples is a recently published book by Konrad Burdyka (2019) *Między zagrodą a boiskiem. Studium aktywności wiejskich klubów sportowych* [Between the homestead and the football pitch: the study of the activity of rural sports clubs] (IRWiR PAN [Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development, Polish Academy of Sciences], Warsaw). In it, the author focuses on the activities of Popular [Rural] Sports Teams and amateur football in the countryside. One can cite other publica-tions by Burdyka and other authors on football which do not focus on the issue of football supporters.[8] Thus, it cannot be claimed that football-related studies boil down to studying football supporters. Moreover, it is noteworthy that some of the studies which explore the world of football fans also refer to broader phenomena and show the activities of supporters from the point of view of the processes that affect football as such, or even society as a whole. Let us recall reflections on the commercialisation of sport and resistance to this on the part of traditional fans ("the last bastion of anti-consumerism").

(eds.) (2013), *Globalization and glocalization of football. Theoretical considerations and empirical efforts*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", vol. 62(3).

[7] Examples include: J. Burski (2013), *Euro 2012 – The End and the Beginning of Polish Football Supporters*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", no. 3; M. Gońda (2013), *Supporters' Movement "Against Modern Football" and Sport Mega Events. European and Polish Contexts*, "Przegląd So-cjologiczny", no. 3; R. Kossakowski (2013), *Proud to be Tukker. A Football Club and the Building of Local Identity: The Case of FC Twente Enschede*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", no. 3; M. Grodecki (2017), *Building Social Capital: Polish Football Supporters through the Lens of James Coleman Conception*, "International Review for the Sociology of Sport", vol. 54(4); R. Kossakowski (2017), *From Communist Fan Clubs to Professional Hooligans: A History of Polish Fandom as a Social Process*, "Sociology of Sport Journal", vol. 34(3); R. Kossakowski, D. Antonowicz, T. Szlendak (2017), *Polish Ultras in the Post-socialist Transformation*, "Sport in Society", vol. 21(6); R. Kos-sakowski (2015), *Where are the Hooligans? Dimensions of Football Fandom in Poland*, "Interna-tional Review for the Sociology of Sport", vol. 52(6).

[8] For example: K. Burdyka (2015), *Strategie działania amatorskich klubów piłkarskich a po-budzanie potencjałów społecznych polskiej wsi*, [in:] H. Podedworna, A. Pilichowski, W. Knieć (eds.), *Nowi sprawcy zmian społecznych na wsi*, Wydawnictwo Szkoły Głównej Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego, Warszawa; K. Łęcki (2009), *Śląski "Ruch" – ponowoczesne meandry regionalnej toż-samości (na przykładzie klubu piłkarskiego i jego społecznego otoczenia)*, "Studia Socjologiczne", no. 4; W. Woźniak (2013), *Sport Mega Events and the Need for Critical Sociological Research: the Case of Euro 2012*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", no. 3; W. Cudny, R. Rouba (2013), *Large Sports Events in the Eyes of the Host City's Inhabitants: the Example of Wrocław*, "Polish Sociological Review", no. 4.

To sum up, within the Polish sociology of sport, the subject of football has been very popular in recent years. Studies on football fans are central here. Besides, the Polish sociology of sport clearly deals with football more often and more willingly than the international sociology of sport. Such close analytical attention paid by Polish researchers to football – compared to their colleagues abroad – would be understandable if we demonstrated that football was a particularly important social issue in Poland, more important than in other countries. However, such an assumption is not well-grounded. Therefore, an over-representation of football-related topics in the Polish sociology of sport can be identified. We will refer to this as the "footballisation of the sociology of sport."[9] The consequences of this phenomenon are noteworthy.

Consequences of the footballisation of the sociology of sport

It can be assumed that the footballisation of the sociology of sport, understood as excessive analytical and research attention paid to the topic of football, can have two consequences for this sub-discipline. It may mean that the conclusions drawn about football will be treated by their authors and recipients as binding for sport in general (type I error). Moreover, the footballisation of the sub-discipline may lead to interesting research issues being neglected, for the sole reason that they are not related to football, which is considered central here (type II error).

Treating football as sport *per se* is based on two assumptions. The first one implies that, as a rule, knowledge of one sports discipline can be extrapolated to sport in general. It seems that one should be cautious when making such presumptions. Still, it has to be admitted that one can come across publications by authors who claim to discuss or resolve important sociological sport-related issues (as indicated in the title) but subsequently add (in a subtitle) that their study is in fact of a casuistic nature and is based on research carried out, for example, among fencers or female badminton players. The second assumption implies that football can be regarded a discipline representative of all sports, and therefore football-related studies can be treated authoritatively. This assumption should be rejected due to the specific characteristics of football, such as the specific nature of a sporting career (high earnings, no need for an additional occupation). It is also quite obvious that footballers become celebrities more often than sportsmen and sportswomen in other disciplines. Football is also special due to the specific nature of sports consumption; football supporters, compared to fans in other disciplines, seem to be more numerous, better organised, more "colourful", visible and more aggressive. The phenomenon of football hooliganism is actually purely football-related.

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[9] Perhaps a more suitable but less grammatically graceful term (especially in Polish) would be the "over-footballisation of the sociology of sport", similarly to the term "overmedicalisation" of certain areas of social life, and thus their excessive medicalisation (W i e c z o r k o w s k a 2012: 34).

At the same time, it can be argued that – at least in Poland – football fans more often have underworld connections than supporters in other disciplines. Apart from distinctive sporting careers and sports consumption, there is also the issue of the specificity of organisation. National and international football organisations differ from other sports organisations in terms of their budgets, embezzlement scandals and their strong position in negotiations with public and political bodies (let me recall the conflict between the PZPN [the Polish Football Association] and the Polish government a dozen years ago, when FIFA and UEFA interfered). Due to these distinctive characteristics of football, generalisations from football-based observations seem unjustified.

The type II error is an error of omission. Given that the group of sports sociologists in Poland is not numerous and that this sub-discipline is one of the least represented in Polish sociology (Stempień 2020: 118), strong focus on football-related issues may mean other vital research topics are neglected. As the above-mentioned analysis of Polish sociological journals over the first 15 years of the 21st century showed,

> the Polish sociology of sport *sensu lato* deals primarily with sport itself, and only then with another component of physical culture, namely physical recreation. Sociological aspects of physical education are also neglected. Thus, one can speak of a misrepresentation within the Polish sub-discipline (Stempień 2018: 190).

We can list at least two more topics or areas hitherto neglected by the Polish sociology of sport. The first one is niche sports, in which Poles are internationally successful. Examples of such sociological inquiries could be:

- how can sports consumption, sponsorship and professionalism be described in the case of niche disciplines?
- what is the socio-demographic profile of a niche sports fan?
- what is the relationship between organisational solutions and sporting successes in niche sports?
- can we speak of the social world of niche disciplines?
- what are the hurdles and benefits associated with the establishment of a common institutional representation for niche disciplines?

The second area worth exploring is the area of "borderline sports" i.e. strategy games (chess, bridge, scrabble, etc.), e-sport, and perhaps also "exotic" sports (competitions in wood cutting and chopping which are becoming increasingly popular in Poland, or the Scottish caber toss, etc.):

- are borderline disciplines socially recognised as sport? What arguments are used by "ordinary people" when defining whether a given discipline is a sport?
- do competitors in borderline sports define themselves as athletes?
- what is the level of engagement of borderline sports fans and what are the borderline sports consumption patterns?

To sum up, it should be stated that the sociology of sport is a sub-discipline developed in Poland by a small group of researchers who focus primarily on studies of the world of football (including football fans). Although we are not questioning the scientific merit of many of these publications, we must admit that the footballisation of the Polish sociology of sport leads to the neglect of other important research topics. This is primarily due to the lack of studies devoted to the other two components of physical culture apart from sport, i.e. physical recreation and physical education. Let me formulate a recommendation to consider the possibility of establishing research teams comprising health sociologists (for research into physical recreation) and sociologists of education (for research into physical education) aimed at supporting the narrow circle of sports sociologists.

As for the other two fields of study (niche sports and borderline sports), it seems that studies in these fields would not only make the discussion within the Polish sociology of sport more heterogeneous, but also more interesting and perhaps more inspiring, including for recipients from outside the sub-discipline. It is worth making an effort.

* * *

This volume creates an opportunity to present the results of researches and analyses related to sports, physical recreation and physical education in a broader context (beyond that of football). Therefore, it is defined largely by exclusion: articles discuss studies of a number of sports disciplines, including niche sports (shooting sports, table tennis) and "borderline sports" (chess, e-sport) or general sport-related issues (sport in the era of political transformation, organisation of the Olympic Games from the perspective of the local host community). However, none of the articles is devoted to football. We believe that this volume will enrich the debate within the Polish sociology of sport. We would be honoured if, in retrospect, it could be said to have contributed in some way to the exploration of new research areas and lines of analysis within this sub-discipline.

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FUTBOLIZACJA POLSKIEJ SOCJOLOGII SPORTU

Abstrakt. Rozważania w tekście dotyczą wyjątkowej pozycji piłki nożnej w gronie dyscyplin sportowych, co pozwala na przyjęcie tezy Brombergera o zjawisku futbolizacji społeczeństwa. Jak pokazują przywoływane analizy, światowa socjologia sportu na przestrzeni ostatnich 30 lat dostrzegała wyjątkowy status futbolu i należy on do dwudziestu najchętniej podejmowanych tematów w obrębie subdyscypliny. Trudno jednak mówić o futbolizacji światowej socjologii sportu, rozumianej jako nadreprezentacja tematyki futbolowej w studiach socjo-sportowych. Inaczej rzecz przedstawia się w przypadku polskiej socjologii sportu, gdzie nawet połowa prac powstałych w pierwszym piętnastoleciu XXI wieku dotyczyła różnych zagadnień związanych z futbolem. Rozważania w tekście kończy prezentacja tez dotyczących możliwych skutków futbolizacji polskiej socjologii sportu (błąd pierwszego i drugiego typu).

Słowa kluczowe: futbolizacja, socjologia sportu, piłka nożna, dyscypliny sportowe.

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FOREIGN PLAYERS IN POLISH TABLE TENNIS CLUBS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPORTS CULTURES AND COACHES' PERCEPTION OF THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN PLAYERS ON POLISH TABLE TENNIS[1]

Abstract. The paper presents results of empirical study on elite international athletes and Polish coaches working in the Polish top table tennis clubs. It focuses on foreign players and investigated Polish the perceptions of coaches with regard to the differences between sports cultures in foreign players' countries of origin and Poland, and their consequences for efficiency of sport training and competition results. Major research findings concerned Chinese athletes. Another issue analysed in the paper concerns on-going discussion on the limits, costs and benefits of introducing international players into national sport leagues. Based on the research results and literature review, we analyse the perceived impact of foreign players on the table tennis training system in Poland, relationships between Polish and foreign players and the role of international players in club competition. Applying qualitative research allowed the authors to present the insights and views of the investigated athletes and coaches, and to analyse problems occurring in the sport careers of international sport migrants a sport discipline that has hitherto not received much scrutiny.

Keywords: sport migration, athletes and coaches, sport career, sports cultures, table tennis.

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Introduction

Mobility is one of key features of the contemporary globalized and technology dominated world. This relates to the rapid circulation of information, capital, cultural patterns and people. Migration, meaning physical and relatively long-term changes in the place of residence, is one form of social mobility. Migration, along with its political, economic and cultural causes and consequences, is now a very important area of scientific research and everyday political discussion. Migration analyses also include also domain of sport and involve attempts to assess the social integration potential of sport for migrants, with respect their adaptation and assimilation in their country of destination and socio-cultural conditions. Such research, analysis and application projects are currently carried out in many European countries (especially Germany, Austria and the Scandinavian countries) due to strong immigration pressure, in recent years mainly from the residents of the countries of the Middle East and the many war zones in this region. Another phenomenon analysed in the context of sport and migration concerns professional athletes as sports migrants, the internationalisation of national and international club sports competitions, and the labour migration of coaches. Because contemporary professional sport is an important branch of the economy, the results of these analyses are often of practical importance for the activities of professional sport clubs, sport federations regulating the sport labour market they control, media companies, and state institutions regulating and supervising the labour market.

Issues related to the migration of athletes are also often entangled in national discourses. The Qatar men's handball world championship in 2015 and the multinational host Qatar handball team (largely composed of very well-paid former citizens of European countries) provoked numerous questions about limits on the players' personal freedom, their national or state loyalty, and the acceptable limits and freedom for creating national teams of athletes who easily change their citizenship for practical professional reasons.[2] This concerns the majority of commercialized sports disciplines, also in Poland. Polish athletes and coaches have been present in international leagues for years, attracted by higher salaries, better working conditions and professional development opportunities. But at the same time Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 and the increasing standard of living in Poland have increasingly made Poland also a target of both non-sport-related and sport migration. There are many foreigners employed in Polish sport. Though there have been few social studies devoted to them so far, foreign players in sports like speedway, football, volleyball and other team sports often attract the attention of journalists and are often featured in the media.

The pioneers of migration research on athletes were John Bale and Joseph Maguire (1994). They noticed that the migrations of sport people (i.e. mainly

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[2] More on this issue e.g. in Lenartowicz (2016).

athletes and coaches) are becoming more and more frequent, concern more and more disciplines, and occur within local, regional and – increasingly – global scales. Most of the publications on the movement of athletes or other professionals connected with sport focused on highly commercialised and globalised disciplines like football, rugby, basketball and handball. In 2011, Maguire and Falcous attempted to present a global picture of sports migration in a comprehensive book *Sport and Migration: Borders, Boundaries and Crossings*. Whatever the intentions of the editors may have been, analysis of this publication shows that most of its authors belong to Anglo-Saxon culture and do not present a really comprehensive and international perspective on sport migrations. Of the 23 authors of chapters, only two were from outside the Anglo-Saxon cultural circle. All the others either came from and work in Anglo-Saxon countries (Great Britain, New Zealand, USA, Australia), worked at British universities (Hungarian Molnar), or were very involved in the Anglo-Saxon education and research system (e.g. the Danish researcher – Agergaard). In addition, the whole migration analysis concerned sport labour flows only for football, American football, baseball, ice hockey and rugby, with the only exception being snowboard, described by Thorpe (2011: 112–126). This indicates the limited geographic and cultural coverage of these analyses and shows the need of further research in the field of sport migrations. Expanding the analysis of sports migration to the less commercialised and media-popular sports disciplines in a transit-destination country like Poland can thus enrich the current knowledge of this subject. We have focused table tennis, an individual sport discipline that is less popular in the media, and on foreign players working in Polish table tennis clubs. A specific feature of the project, when compared to other sport migration research (which is mainly quantitative),[3] was also its mixed qualitative-quantitative methodology, with the dominance of the qualitative approach. The research included several items, including the sports life trajectories of the investigated foreign table tennis players in Poland, their motives of coming to Poland, their professional and private plans for the future, and the adaptation and assimilation process in Poland. For the purpose of this paper we have focused on the differences between the sports culture and coaching styles in the athletes' country of origin and Poland, and on the perceived impact of foreign players on Polish table tennis. Research data showed that such differences were especially evident in case of Chinese athletes and therefore they became the focus of the article.

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[3] Some exceptions to such quantitative approach in sport migration research are some recent works of Agergaard, such as: Agergaard (2008) or Agergaard, Ungruhe (2016).

Material and methods

The research sample included a sample of foreign table tennis players in the two highest Polish table tennis leagues and the Polish coaches cooperating with them. A sample of 24 international athletes and three players of Chinese origin with Polish citizenship (27 persons in total) were interviewed. All respondents played in the best table tennis leagues in Poland, i.e. in the Wschodzący Białystok Men's Superleague (twelve best men's league teams at the time of research) and in the Women's Ekstraklasa (ten teams). In the sport season 2014/2015 covered by the research, the teams of both tested leagues included a total of 32 male and female players without Polish citizenship. This accounted for over half of all foreign players in Polish table tennis leagues in Poland (63 players), which is 0.64% of the total [n = 9803] registered in the PZTS as contestants in the 2014/2015 season.[4]

The study included athlete migrants living in Poland permanently or temporarily while working at their club, and those who only travelled to matches (so-called circulating migrants) and then returned to their country of permanent residence in another European country. In total, 27 people were examined: 11 female players (41% of the sample) and 16 male players (59% of the sample) from abroad. Of the 11 investigated female players, 6 were from China. Two Chinese-origin female athletes had Polish citizenship (interviews 8 and 11), and 1 had German citizenship (interview 9). The mean age of the investigated female players was 27 (the oldest was 39 years old, while the youngest was 19). The majority of the investigated female players (73%) lived permanently outside of Poland and travelled in for training sessions and matches.

In the case of investigated male athletes, there were 5 Chinese competitors, including 1 Polish citizen, 1 Japanese citizen and 1 Slovak citizen. Interviews were also conducted with one UK citizen, a South Korean, a Swede, a Belorussian, a Russian and an Indian, and two Italians and two Czechs. The mean age of the male respondents was 29.6 (the youngest was 18 years old and the oldest was 48). Five of the investigated male athletes had children. Forty-four percent of the investigated male table tennis players lived in Poland during the league season or permanently, and 56% travelled in exclusively for matches. The respondents had very significant experience with table tennis training. The average training period for women was 21 years, while for men it was 23 years.

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[4] In the case of the top two leagues, there were 20 foreign players registered in the Men's Super league (and one player from China with Polish citizenship), and 12 in the Women's Ekstraklasa (two players of Chinese origin with Polish citizenship, granted in 2007). Foreign players (without Polish citizenship) in the squads of Women's Super league and Men's Super league Men (n = 32) in the 2014/2015 season came from Europe (21) and Asia (11). The most numerous were players from China (7), the Czech Republic (4) and Belarus (4). There were also a few players from Italy, Sweden, India, Slovakia, Great Britain, Ukraine, South Korea, Russia, Austria, Hong Kong and Lithuania.

Table 1. Interviewed male table tennis athletes with their country of origin
and nationality information

No.	Interview no.	Country of origin	Nationality – country
1.	2	South Korea	South Korea
2.	3	Great Britain	Great Britain
3.	4	China	China
4.	5	China	China
5.	6	Russia	Russia
6.	7	Belorussia	Belorussia
7.	12	China	Slovakia
8.	13	China	China
9.	14	Japan	China
10.	15	Czech Republic	Czech Republic
11.	16	Czech Republic	Czech Republic
12.	23	Italy	Italy
13.	24	Italy	Italy
14.	25	India	India
15.	26	China	Poland
16.	27	Sweden	Sweden

Source: Authors' own study.

Table 2. Interviewed table tennis female athletes with country of origin
and nationality information

No.	Interview no.	Country of origin	Nationality – country
1.	1	China	China
2.	8	China	Poland
3.	9	China	Germany
4.	10	Czech Republic	Czech Republic
5.	11	China	Poland
6.	17	China	China
7.	18	China	China
8.	19	Slovakia	Slovakia
9.	20	Belorussia	Belorussia
10.	21	Ukraine	Ukraine
11.	22	Belorussia	Belorussia

Source: Authors' own study.

Eight Polish table tennis coaches working with foreign athletes took part in the research, including one coach of Chinese origin with Polish citizenship (interview 3). In this paper we present data from coaches with the longest coaching experience, i.e. respondents from interviews 2, 4 and 5, and a Chinese coach (of Polish citizenship) with a different career development path from interview 3. The average age of coach respondents was 46 and the average length their coaching career was 18 years.

The research involved direct interviews with foreigners playing in Polish table tennis leagues (and three players of Chinese origin with Polish citizenship) and Polish coaches. In the case of the players, the interview was divided into two parts: a qualitative one (a face-to-face, individual in-depth interview) and a quantitative one (a standardized questionnaire on respondents' social and sport characteristics). The qualitative part of the interview was divided into three thematic groups:

1) sports training and sports competition,
2) reasons for going abroad or emigration,
3) sports and non-sports biography.

The quantitative part included 45 questions on the general characteristics of the respondents, their sports careers and travel or emigration motivations. A Polish and English-language version of the interview tool addressed to players was used. In a few cases, the interview was supported by the use of Russian, or (e.g. in case of interview 12) a Chinese-Polish translator was needed for some parts of interview. The statements of all the respondents were recorded and transcribed. The output text from the in-depth interviews was coded using a previously constructed list of codes within each of the abovementioned groups of themes, and new codes were added during the analysis of interview texts. Coding was followed by theme-based qualitative analysis.

In order to get the most comprehensive picture of the situation of foreign players in Polish table tennis leagues as possible, we also interviewed Polish table tennis coaches working with foreign players (face-to-face interviews; 23 open and semi-open questions and three questions about demographic data).

A pilot study with two foreign table tennis players and a table tennis coach from the AZS University of Warsaw club was carried out. The final field research was conducted during the table tennis league season of 2014/2015, from September 2014 to May 2015, in 12 Polish cities hosting league matches or in the players' places of residence. The face-to-face interviews with 27 athletes in total lasted 19.4 hours (with an average of 34 minutes). The interview transcription took about 120 hours, and resulted in 309 pages of written interviews with foreign players and Polish coaches, which were then subjected to coding and qualitative analysis based on the order of issues arising from the research questions. Interviews with coaches were conducted during the same league season. Eight Polish coaches working with foreign players were interviewed, including one Chinese-origin coach with Polish citizenship (interview 3). The duration of the interviews ranged from 25 minutes to 1 hour.

Results

International differences in sport training and coach-athlete relations

In-depth interviews provided an opportunity to learn about the foreign table tennis players' opinions on sports training in Poland, and to obtain information on what table tennis training is like in their country of origin, as well as more general information on sports culture and coach-athletes relations. According to the respondents' opinions, table tennis training (at both early and advance stages) in Poland is clearly different from that in China. In the case of other respondents from European countries, such as England, Ukraine, Belarus, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and India, table tennis training and athlete-coach relationships in Poland were considered to be similar to those in their country of origin. In the European respondents' opinions, the initial period of table tennis training was usually dominated by play elements, after which some technical exercises with the ball followed, and then competition tactics were introduced. As our respondent from interview 7 (from Belarus) noticed:

> It all starts with play and fun. We let children play and evaluate their coordination and game "feeling". We encourage them in this sport. The technique training comes later.

From the very beginning, young athletes had contact with the ball and the bat and could bounce the ball on the tennis table. Training sessions lasted usually one to two hours. Table tennis training depicted by the investigated international players from outside China had, from the Polish perspective, the character of standard training and standard athlete-coach relationships in this sport discipline. But our respondents from China indicated numerous differences between training and table tennis sports culture in China and Poland. Eleven (out of 27) surveyed players were born and trained in China. Seven of them have changed their citizenship during their sporting career. When talking about their training sessions in China, our athlete respondents of Chinese origin strongly stated that they differed significantly from those they observed in Poland and other European countries where they had played and trained. From the interviews we learned that in China training time, training methods, as well as player and coach relations and the players' attitudes towards training are clearly different from what the surveyed Chinese competitors observed in Poland. The female respondent from interview 11, born and playing table tennis in China by the age of 22, who moved to Poland in 1997 and received Polish citizenship, mentioned the low competence level of Polish table tennis coaches with regards to early stages of table tennis training:

> I'm not saying there are no good table tennis coaches in Poland. But to my knowledge, there are no good coaches who are competent in coaching children. And then, as a consequence, young players cannot reach Chinese level of technique for such age groups. And it is very difficult to change it later on.

The same respondent, when asked about her first experiences with table tennis in China, said:

> First half a year of table tennis training you do not see the tennis ball. It was not allowed. We had practices movements without the ball. We were doing many different exercises. But the coach never gave us the ball to play on the table. When you started your training at the age of 5, was there no play and fun element in the training? No, not at all. At this time, you learn and repeat movements. And if you exercise with the ball, it is never on the table.

The same picture of early stage table tennis in China emerges from interview 1 (also a female athlete):

> In China it is simply a different type of training. When you enter the club, the first 3 months you just practice basic movements. There is no playing on the table, because this may easily disturb movement patterns.

The male player from interview 26 (who was born and trained in China, came to Poland in 2001, and in 2004 received Polish citizenship) also reported the differences between the early training stages in Poland and China:

> My first weeks was just collecting balls and observing other children playing. Then I got the bat from the coach to practice against the wall. It was not like in Poland, where it immediately bounces on the table and it does not have to be fun and play.

The Chinese respondent from interview 5 (already 8 years in Poland) noticed with surprise that in Poland every day they have practiced another technical element, while in China it could be weeks spent on one element, e.g. a backhand hit. Our Korean respondent in interview 2 also reported using this Asian style of early training:

> Shadow play, practicing movement without the ball, keeping a proper silhouette. These are the primary elements of early training.

As we can see, the training methods for the early stages of table tennis in Poland and China (and presumably other Asian countries) vary significantly. Instead of introducing he sport through fun and encouragement, through play, as is the case in Poland, the Asian system includes a strong component of the disciplined, slow teaching of correct movements leading to correct technique, being the basis for the further development of table tennis skills. The female respondent from interview 11, who already coaches Polish children, when asked if copying the Chinese methods in Poland would help talent development in table tennis, commented:

> It might help… But on the other hand, I do not really know. Children here are different. Relationships between young and older, players and coaches are different than in China. And children are not so keen to train hard in Poland.

The Chinese athletes from interviews 5 and 11 also reported the rigid daily schedule of table tennis players in China:

> In China, in my club, we train all day long. I wake up at seven, then the first training session, breakfast, then the second training session till the midday. In the afternoon young athletes have time for school learning, and in the afternoon there is another training session. The day ends with late preparations for next school day (interview 5).

> When we started going to school, training sessions were scheduled once a day, just after school classes. We were at school from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. and then we had a 2- or 3-hour long training session. But starting from the third grade we had two sport sessions per day: one between 6.30 and 8.00 a.m. and then after 5 p.m. We were training at the weekends as well. Actually, I may say that I spent all my childhood at sport facilities (the female athlete from interview 11).

The interviewed Chinese athletes assessed the differences in the organization of the training sessions and their frequency and duration, which are also significantly different in Poland and in China. All the Chinese athletes were generally used to long and intensive training sessions, a highly disciplined sport environment and very formal relationships with coaches. The player from interview 1, who said that when she was 14 (in 2007) and arrived in Poland, she cried after being faced with the Polish-style sport training she encountered after arriving from China,

> because in Poland there are so few training sessions and they are so short. Polish women cannot play.... I was so bored at training sessions.

She has added that in Poland she trained only three times a week, the training lasted two hours a day, of which 30 minutes was spent on unfolding and folding tables, while "my training in China was every day from 14.00 to 19.00". Another area of our research interest was the relationship between athletes and coaches. This part of research proved to be one of the most interesting and revealing differences between Asian and European sports cultures and coaching styles. We asked the players whether they perceive differences between the players' and coaches' relationships in their country of origin and Poland. Opinions differed, depending on the respondent's country of origin. The Asians unanimously agreed that everything is completely different in Poland in comparison to their countries of origin. In Asia, the player's attitude to the coach was reported to be completely different. Respondents reported that athlete-coach relations are very formal. The coach is treated like a saint whose word is sacred. Most of the athletes from China indicated the weaker authority of the coach among players in Poland, and clearly less distance between players and coaches. Maybe this is unfortunately linked to the corporal punishments given to players by trainers. The athlete from interview 1 reported that "In China, the coach is a holy person, children listen to him, and there is little respect in Poland". The athlete from interview 18 mentions that she went to training sessions "even though the coach screamed and beat her". When assessing the coaching practices reported from a European perspective, we could say that some practices are more connected to a regime than to sports training.

Furthermore, we asked respondents to evaluate their relationship with the coach in Poland on a scale from 1 – very good, to 5 – insufficient. The majority of twenty-three players described the relationship with the coach as very good. Three respondents said they had a good relationship with the coach, while one of the respondents rated the relationship as sufficient.

We complemented the investigated players' statements with coaches' knowledge of Chinese training methods. As many as five out of eight of the surveyed Polish trainers previously had the opportunity to observe or participate in Chinese training sessions. According to them, the differences between training in Poland and China are vast. In China, the training system is more coherent, well thought out and focused on competition than in Poland. To start with, we quote the statement from interviewer 3, who was born, raised and trained in China. He came to Poland as a 12-year-old player. Currently, he is a coach in a Krakow club. This coach pointed to differences in the actual technique of table tennis. He said that in Poland every coach teaches a different technique, while in China

> [...] there is a system that if a national team coach sets certain things, it is done everywhere. In Poland, parents have their own technique, and a coach from the club has his own [...].

In addition, he added that in China only a former player can be a coach, which in his opinion makes for a much better quality of teaching. The coach, when asked about the differences in training children, said:

> In Poland, the child immediately goes to the tournament and plays. In China, technique is practiced for a year or two before entering any, even informal competition [...].

The investigated coaches' statements show that in China, unlike in Poland (in their view), there is a coherent, orderly and largely unified table tennis training system. For the Chinese, "training is all about science", as interviewee 4 put it.

The perception of coaches regarding the role and consequences of foreign athletes' presence in Polish table tennis

In the interviews carried out with coaches we also asked them to provide their views on the role and consequences of introducing foreign players to Polish table tennis clubs. All the investigated coaches stated that players play a positive role in the Polish table tennis league and their presence is beneficial to the development of individual Polish players and the level of competition in all Polish table tennis. The coach from interview 5 said:

> This fits the club's development strategies. Foreign players strengthen clubs and increase the level of the sport. If it was not the case, no one would bother hiring them.

The coach from the interview 4:

Their presence is beneficial and it may be good for both sides […]. The Chinese have a lot to offer. They come from a culture where table tennis is the number one sport and they are highly competent. They spread their knowledge and competences. And our players, younger players, kids and sport fans have a chance to see how they practise and play at competitions in Poland.

Some coaches (e.g. the coach from interview 6) admitted that foreign players helped to bring the mass media and sponsors to table tennis:

We have started to be broadcast on television. First it was Orange, then Sport Club. All matches are also available on Internet TV. This attracted sponsors. But weaker clubs are not really happy with this. If they do not get serious sponsors, they are against introducing more foreign athletes to the league and support having at least two Polish players in the match. There was even an idea that it should be Polish players alone. But it would change too many things and it has stopped.

Another coach (from interview 4) added that also because of being open to foreign players.

The Polish league is one of the best in Europe, considering the level of sport, the quality of organisation, the number of fans and the salaries for athletes.

Some investigated coaches (from interviews 1, 4, 5 and 8) reported that the actual impact of foreign players on Polish clubs and players depends heavily on the forms of cooperation and type of agreement between international players and clubs. As the coach from interview 1 explained:

[…] It all depends on how a player actually functions in the club. There are some solutions that serve only immediate goals and the present-day position of the club. But there are also other forms of cooperation serving long-term goals. In the case of short-term solutions, one pays the athlete just to come to the match, play and go back home. And this brings hardly anything to the table tennis world. The foreign athlete is not attending training sessions and is not becoming a positive example for others. On the other hand, when the player lives in Poland on daily basis and keeps in touch with the other players, his presence brings very positive results. First of all, our athletes have excellent training partners. Secondly, our young players aged 14–15 have perfect role models, because these foreign players are very often top world cup or European championships players.

The coach from the interview 4 put more emphasis on negative "short-term solutions":

These agreements with foreign players are constructed in such a way that national interests are not taken into account. Just a few Polish clubs have introduced rules that, for example, once a year foreign player is also obliged to take part in children's training sessions or workshops. In most cases in the agreement it is assumed that international athletes live and train outside Poland and come here just for one or two training sessions and matches.

We also asked coaches about their perception of the attitudes of Polish players towards their foreign colleagues. Not all our investigated coaches responded

to this question, but three coaches who did comment on this issue said that, in their opinion, the majority of Polish players do not really consider foreign players' presence as an additional opportunity for training and sparring. For many, they were perceived as immigrants taking the job that could be otherwise taken by Polish players. The coach from interview 8 asked if Polish players are unenthusiastic about foreign table tennis players in the Polish league competition, and answered:

> It may be indeed the case. But it concerns only weak Polish athletes. Those who strive to develop their skills and are serious about their sport careers treat foreign players as offering a chance for further development. I'm glad to see more and more Polish players with this attitude. International players create tough and demanding competition environments and thus a chance to excel. But of course – there is a group of coaches, club workers or athletes who have a negative attitude. They just don't like challenges and would like to keep going and work with no additional effort required. But sooner or later they will have to change this anyway.

The coach from interview 6 stated that relationships between Polish and foreign table tennis players are positive and he "recently" has not observed any tensions or conflicts. Yet, when asked about the problem of them taking jobs that could be done by Polish athletes, said:

> […] Certainly, Polish athletes are not too happy about this. But our league grows. It is a super league now. We have TV broadcasts, Internet broadcasts. We want to maintain a strong position in Europe…, and we do now have an abundance of very good Polish players. Most of our athletes represent a solid average level and without support from abroad we would not have the European recognition we have now.

Summarising the interviews with table tennis coaches, one can indicate four basic advantages of foreign players being present in the Polish league:

1. The opportunity to improve the Polish players and coaches' skills through play and training with foreign table tennis players. Polish players have the opportunity to play with opponents with different backgrounds, which undoubtedly increases their experience and the level of their game.
2. Raising the level of sports competition in the entire league, which creates greater media, sponsor and fan interest, and this in turn increases the popularity of the discipline in the country.
3. Increasing the diversity of cultural sport rivalry, which has a positive effect on the ability of Polish players to function and compete in the international environment, and favours the personal development of players.
4. Foreign players are role models for younger players.

The surveyed coaches did not report any major negative effects of employing international players. However, they mentioned a few problems related to their employment, of which the most important were difficulties in communicating with players, with the player's access to matches and arranging employment formalities; lack of identification of foreign players with the Polish club and problems related to cultural differences, which sometimes lead to conflicts between the

international athletes, coaches and club authorities. The latter was mentioned for example by the coach from interview 8, who reported problems with managing Chinese athletes using European coaching style:

> In early years of employing Chinese players, when we looked for and hired foreigners just to fulfil the quotas and to improve our competition impact, we had positive experiences. I mean positive in terms of competition effectiveness. But their impact on the team and all our tennis community was very negative. Some Chinese players who were used to external control and rigid training organisation and discipline being imposed of them relaxed completely in Poland, where relationships with athletes are more partner-like. They did not adapt to this new context. And I'm not going to introduce Chinese training methods like special punishments, beating or fines. It is not acceptable in European culture. [...] So, in conclusion, in the early days this impact was kind of mixed. On the one hand we were effective in international competition, but on the other we had to let go of those players who had a negative influence on our team and players, even if they were very good players.

Discussion and summary

In the highest Polish table tennis leagues, i.e. the men's Super League and women's Super League (Ekstraklasa) in the 2014/15 season there were thirty-two foreign athletes listed in the leagues' club squads. They constituted 23% of all the players in these table tennis leagues. Even if table tennis in Poland is not a top sport in terms of media coverage, the percentage of foreign players in the highest Polish table tennis leagues was similar to that of foreign players in other Polish team sport leagues like football (18.7% of all players on a similar level in the 2009/2010 season) or volleyball (16% of players in Plus League in the 2009/2010 season; Smoleń, Pawlak 2010: 490, 492).

Interviews with coaches indicate that Polish table tennis clubs do not conduct formal talent searching and scouting; in the case of table tennis players it is mostly informal or semi-formal. It is based on social networking, personal knowledge and the contacts of coaches and players who have spent some part of their careers abroad. It is about acquiring players through direct contacts with athletes or coaches. Such informal methods for acquiring players (described e.g. by Bale 1991 and Elliott, Maguire 2008 or Agergaard, Ungruhe 2016) used in table tennis differentiate this discipline from more commercialised disciplines such as football or basketball, where formal scouting mechanisms are key elements of the club's functioning (Pawlak, Smoleń 2015), but of course this is not specific to table tennis. Agergaard and Ungruhe (2016: 71) have emphasised the role of informal social networks in hiring foreign athletes in the case of early-career transfers to less-established clubs and – in the case of soccer – reporting also other research (e.g. Agergaard, Tiesler 2014; Elliott, Gusterud 2018) with similar conclusions.

As reported by the surveyed coaches (and some athletes), the growing number of international players in national leagues creates new challenges for sport club managers and coaches, and creates a new working environment for local athletes. The language barrier is often a challenge for effective cooperation, and it was also the case with our athlete respondents, because the majority of the surveyed players who came to Poland struggled, at least initially, with communication problems. Some of the players from Asia (e.g. interview 1) did not speak English at a communicative level, which led to major difficulties, not only in everyday cooperation and training, but also in out-of-work assimilation. In addition, a situation in which not all athletes speak Polish, and the working language becomes English, leads to atypical, highly contextualised leadership formation processes in the group (Du-Babcock, Tanaka 2017), which undoubtedly affects the position and authority of the coach.

One of the most interesting observations from our research were the significant differences reported by the athletes and coaches between the training process and coaching methods used in Poland and Asian countries (China and South Korea). In this regard, players impressions and comments focused on two issues: (1) the training content and parameters (volume, intensity) and (2) the status of the coach in the sport team and the club, and the resulting authority and relationships with athletes. Foreign players, especially those from China, often expressed their surprise (and even disappointment) with the small volume and low intensity of their training sessions in Poland. Some competitors also complained about the low level of Polish players. It may be interesting that of the surveyed foreign female players, one was so disappointed with the low frequency and intensity of training that she admitted to crying due to her dissatisfaction (interview 1). The investigated athletes from Asian countries (China and South Korea) emphasized the differences in technical training in Poland and their country of origin, which mainly result from the great pressure to develop appropriate techniques at the initial stage of training in Asia (very often through isolated mundane one-player exercises), while in Poland coaches focus more on the young players' development through play. Many of the interviewed athletes from China were also surprised by the friendly relations between Polish players and coaches, and by the non-authoritarian and "soft" (for many – too soft) coaching style of Polish coaches. Regardless of their very often high level of competence, these athletes were not used to discussing and negotiating the training process with coaches, as was expected in Poland. They were used to following the orders of the coach in an extremely competitive and goal-oriented environment.

This interesting issue of differences in sports culture, athlete-coach relations and coaching styles is not very well covered in the literature. In general, it is assumed that sport, due to standardised and universal world-wide rules of competition (at least in globalised sport disciplines) is one of the domains of culture and work that is less dependent on cultural context than many other activities. This

universality of sports rules, along with the proliferation of the British concept of sport around the world, due to British colonial expansion (Magee, Sugden 2002; Maguire 1999) made international sport migrations possible. They do not require formal qualifications or certificates from athletes (and still in many cases even from coaches), and so far, sport achievements, health status and professional experience (plus economic cost-benefit ratio) are key factors in hiring the sport labour force. The mediatisation of sport, along with its commercialisation and professionalization, turned it into a valued media product and well selling show; one which many (for many different reasons) miss so much in the time of the 2020 COVID-19 situation. Yet, regardless of the above-mentioned globalisation and standardisation of sport, there are still many local cultural context issues within sport and within sport disciplines that require further analysis. Some of these differences were observed in our research on table tennis, and many are also confirmed in (still quite scarce) research analysing Asian and European or American sports culture and differences in coaching style. In the case of specific differences associated with table tennis, many of our observations are confirmed by Fullen (2003), the European Table Tennis Federation coach. On the basis of his 50 years of coaching experience in Europe and China, Fullen presented the differences in the Chinese players' game, which he explains results from the system and training methods used in China, and from the fact that there is fierce competition in China in order to take top position in any sport discipline, including table tennis, which is extremely popular. Therefore, in China, only the sports results count. Even the best player is vulnerable to a pursuing pack of successors and if the best players do not take advantage of their chance, there is little probability that they will get a second one. Due to the large supply of very good players, we can observe that players can experience a great deal of vertical social mobility (both upward and downward), as well as horizontal mobility, which also results in international migration. Fullen (2003) underscored the very well designed, rigid and very hierarchical training system in China. His observations are in line with information from our respondents. The sport training "pyramid" in China has a strong basis in the school system. Schools provide candidates for numerous table tennis clubs which send their best players to regional "development centres". From these centres come future national team members. Apart from the huge scale of the system, it is not so different from other countries. Yet, as Fullen (2003) mentions, this is just the formal structure. Real differences concern the way training is organised and carried out, the scale of public financing and the work ethic of coaches. Larcombe (2012) mentions that a professional table tennis career in China develops earlier and in a different mode than in other countries. Chinese children start table tennis training (but not really playing table tennis) at the age of 5. A talented player of nine or ten years old is offered a full-time table tennis education that will dominate his or her future life. Fullen (2003) and Wu, Su (2010) also confirm the coaches' focus on technique and mundane play in the training sessions of young table

tennis athletes that our interviewed Chinese athletes mention. Another important feature of Chinese table tennis is the coaches' perception of athletes participation in competition. According to Fullen (2003), while in Europe coaches analyse the quality of the athlete's performance, for Chinese coaches, the result and winning are of key importance. Playing under the pressure to get good results, and living with the risk of quickly losing their position in the team or club, are important elements of the Chinese training system and results in strong performance in competition. This is also confirmed by non-table tennis specific analyses of sports training in China and United States made by Yu and Wang (2008), who compared youth sports training in both countries. They concluded that Chinese programs aim to improve the sports achievement, whereas the U.S. programs consider the athletes first and competition second. Overall differences between sports cultures and coaching styles in Chinese sport and the Euro-American cultural domain were also mentioned by Wang and Calloway (2011), who analysed the problems of foreign coaches working with Chinese Olympic Teams. They noted that many foreign coaches working in China have faced significant challenges and obstacles, and many of them failed to achieve their goals. Foreign coaches' problems did not usually result from a lack of their technical and sports competence, but from lack of their knowledge of cultural differences, political structures, customs, language, communication, style of administration and "coaching philosophy". In the global sport workplace, the multicultural competences of coaches and athletes are of primary importance, while they seem to be insufficiently incorporated into educational programs and professional practice in elite sport (Gill, Kamphoff 2010).

The surveyed Polish coaches' opinions about players from abroad were positive. All coach respondents reported that the presence of foreign players in the Polish league is beneficial for the league development and its recognition abroad, and that it improves Polish players' skills and raises the sport level of the entire league. The impact of foreign athletes on the sport system in the host country was analysed by Maguire et al. (2002: 39–43). The authors pointed out that the impact assessment of recruiting international players and entering them into league matches in a given country depends on decision-makers' point of view and the criteria by which they are guided. If well balanced and organised, it may be considered as a positive stimulus for the development of the league and players, but it may also alienate top leagues from lower league clubs and players, threatening the development and promotion of national athletes, alienating athletes from the club community (foreign athletes' instrumental attitude towards the club as an employer) and having a negative influence on their negotiating positions with regard to salary and working conditions. The risk of such a negative impact of foreign players on national athletes was mentioned by some of our athlete respondents.

To sum up, the interviewed athlete migrants to Polish table tennis clubs faced cultural differences not only in everyday life, but also in sport practice. In the case of their sport activity, two main areas in which there were significant differences

between their country of origin and Poland were the organisation and course of the training process, as well as relations between coaches and players. These differences concerned especially players from China, and were much less frequently reported by athletes from other countries, which may be the result of the uniquely enormous popularity of table tennis in China, the focus on competition results and the instrumental treatment of players in China, as well as the strong institutionalisation and centralization of the training system and hierarchical character of Chinese society, which is also mirrored in sport and traditional coaching style. All together this creates a China-specific sports culture, which must be seriously taken into account when collaborating with athletes or coaches from China. Since Poland is increasingly attractive as a relatively well-off member of the European Union for sport immigration, we recommend further research on foreign athletes and coaches in Polish sport, especially in disciplines and lower leagues do not receive much coverage in the media.

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ZAGRANICZNI ZAWODNICY W POLSKICH KLUBACH TENISA STOŁOWEGO: RÓŻNICE KULTUR SPORTOWYCH I TRENERSKA OCENA WPŁYWU ZAGRANICZNYCH ZAWODNIKÓW NA POLSKI TENIS STOŁOWY

Abstrakt. W artykule przedstawione są wyniki badań empirycznych zagranicznych zawodników zatrudnionych w najwyższej męskiej i kobiecej lidze tenisa stołowego oraz współpracujących z nimi polskich trenerów dotyczące dostrzeganych przez respondentów różnic kultur sportowych, w tym szczególnie relacji zawodników i trenerów oraz stylów kierowania procesem szkoleniowym przez trenerów w krajach pochodzenia zawodników i w Polsce oraz konsekwencji tych różnic dla szkolenia i wyników rywalizacji sportowej. Różnice kultur sportowych dotyczyły w szczególności zawodników i zawodniczek pochodzących z Chin i miały one swoje podłoże w różnicach społeczno-kulturowych pomiędzy krajem pochodzenia zawodników i Polską. Drugim wątkiem artykułu jest analiza ograniczeń, kosztów i korzyści wynikających z zatrudniania zagranicznych zawodników w polskich klubach na przykładzie tenisa stołowego. W badaniach zastosowano wywiady pogłębione z zawodnikami i trenerami, które pozwoliły na spojrzenie na wybrane problemy karier zawodowych sportowych migrantów w mało zbadanej pod tym względem dyscyplinie sportu.

Słowa kluczowe: migracje sportowe, zawodnicy i trenerzy, kariera sportowa, kultura sportowa, tenis stołowy.

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IS SHOOTING A SPORT? THE OUTLINE OF SPORT SHOOTING IN POLAND AS A SUBJECT MATTER OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT

Abstract. The main goals of this text are to answer the question of whether sport shooting should be treated as a sport and to convince readers that shooting can be an interesting subject within the sociology of sport. Sport shooting is an activity that is dynamically developing and has engaged more and more people in recent years in Poland. The article presents the history and specificity of this sport discipline, including the presentation of the competition and the classification of people participating in the social world of shooters. The text also contains preliminary conclusions on social phenomena concerning the shooting environment and methodological considerations related to barriers occurring in the study of this environment.

Keywords: sport shooting, firearms, guns, social worlds, social practices, ethnography.

Introduction

The main goals of this text are to answer the question of whether sport shooting should be treated as a sport and to convince readers that shooting can be an interesting subject within the sociology of sport. In recent years, sport shooting has become increasingly popular and attracted many new shooters and amateurs of firearms around the world (and now also in Poland). This activity, as well as hunting and firearms collecting, allows civilians to obtain a gun permit (in this case, especially for a handgun, excluded from a hunter's permit). In order for a person to get involved in sport shooting, closely regulated specialist equipment is needed. The phenomenon of sport shooting therefore gives rise to a number of important questions, such as the shooter's motivation, which is not always related to fitness needs nor the spirit of rivalry. Sport shooting issues seem to be an interesting sociological theme, but in fact one might find them difficult to examine. Even though this sports discipline is available to almost everyone, the specific nature of

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this activity makes shooters rather unseen. As they are allowed to practice only in a special separate area, namely a shooting range, for practical and legal reasons they do not reveal themselves publicly as gun owners. Shooters form a hermetic and exclusive community to which others have restricted access. It seems that the only possibility for examining this group is to observe it from the inside, taking on the role of a researcher-participant (Hammersley, Atkinson 2000).

The nature of the sport shooting community is best illustrated by the social worlds theory. First of all, shooters focus on the primary activity, which is "shooting", and subsequently engage in numerous activities and processes accompanying shooting.[1]

While pursuing its activities, the shooting community uses specialized technology: firearms in the form of pistols, shotguns and rifles. This technology is an inseparable element of the social world; it builds it and is the engine of its development (Strauss 1978). Weapons are also connected with the processes of professionalizing activities, which result in the development of players and the emergence of various types of specialized services provided to representatives of the social environment. People involved in the world of social shooters must acquire specific skills related to the use of weapons, especially regarding their own safety and that of other people nearby.

The borders of the social world (Strauss 1993) of shooters are especially interesting, since it is at them that participants answer questions about their identity and involvement in the social world. This is where the question in the title arises: "is shooting a sport?", or "when does it start to be a sport?". So you can wonder if and when the participant becomes an "athlete". The answer to these questions is also connected with building the identity of an individual participating in a given social world. Identity is related to acceptance and submission to group norms (Strauss 2013), so it is difficult to imagine a shooter who is also a pacifist that hates firearms, but it is no longer difficult to find a participant in the sports shooters sub-world who is vegan or opposed to hunting.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that the fact that people who practice shooting meet certain legal requirements and consider themselves athletes does not mean that shooting is a sport in the sociological context. It is worth considering whether sport shooting can be really classified and, consequently, analysed as a sport. In the past, shooting skills were useful for: 1) participating in military conflicts, 2) acquiring food (hunting), and 3) dispute resolution (duelling). Shooting practice had purely pragmatic dimension, far from the current understanding of the spirit of rivalry. A sporting activity, however, should fulfil the following functions (Wohl 1965: 140–141):

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[1] Participation in the social life of shooting associations, competition in shooting competitions, participation in shooting training, physical development and analysis of the biomechanics of the body, building and maintenance of shooting ranges, promotion of shooting and gun culture, lobbying for a favorable interpretation of legal regulations, introducing technological innovations.

1. Sport should be a form of distraction.
2. Sport should be spectacular.
3. Sport should form social bonds and social structures.
4. Sport should contribute to physical prowess.

According to Zbigniew Krawczyk (2011: 40), sport may be treated as a synonym for the term "physical culture", by which the author means "a relatively integrated and fixed system of the behaviours recognised by a community in the area of physical development, physical fitness, health, beauty, body perfection and personal expression, and the results of these behaviours".

Nowadays, sport shooting obviously includes elements of distraction or, more precisely, elements of recreation. This activity is reserved neither for law enforcement agencies nor for hunters. Sport shooting gathers its audience during competitions, and is also attractive for on-line results spotters. The spectacular nature of shooting is, however, limited for safety reasons, due to the specific nature of particular competitions. This sport is regulated by international federations, which lay down the detailed rules and procedures of shooting competitions and arrange rivalries at national and international levels. Sport shooting is practised by people of different ages and different levels of physical fitness who play the sport as members of local sport clubs. Training itself should not be limited to shooting at the shooting range, but it is the only place where people can really test their practical skills. Shooting sports, despite having a military-hunting tradition that reveals its pragmatic dimension, can now be regarded as a full-fledged sport activity.

The subject of firearms has been widely discussed by researchers, especially in the USA.[2] An extensive literature review has shown that there is still no study strictly concerning sport shooting as a social phenomenon. This has been, and still is, an unexplored field, which is worth examining. Sport shooting, especially in the Polish scholarly literature (both sociological and sport science) has never been the subject of a real discussion.[3]

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[2] The main topics discussed by researchers are security (Hauser, Kleck 2013: 271–291; Lott 2013) and public health (Hemenway, Miller 2013: 2033–2035; Lewiecki, Miller 2013: 27–31), culture of gun ownership (Bellesiles 2000; Kalesan et al. 2017) and access of minors to firearms (Bilchik 2000; Brown 2004: 161–184).

[3] The scholarly literature in Poland before 1989 focused mainly on two aspects of shooting: 1) on the military origin of shooting disciplines and the usefulness of shooting training in terms of national defense (Matuszak 1951: 628; 1952: 534–539; Szewczyk 1965: 500) and 2) shooting techniques within static disciplines (Matuszak 1957: 31–37; Janota 1958a: 16–22; 1958b: 111–119; Naglak, Zarzycki 1976: 211–214; Duda, Szczepański 1976: 268–271). After 1989, several advisory publications appeared, including: 1) basics of shooting training (Campbell 2014; Dougherty 2014; Podowski 2019), 2) basics of ballistics (Ejsmont 2011) and specialized publications of the Polish Association of Sport Shooting regarding: 1) the work of a shooting instructor (Kurzawski, Filipkowski 2007; Wodnik 2007; Kurzawski 2009; 2010; Kijowski 2013; Budnik-Przybylska, Staniszewski 2018), 2) health issues of shooters (Zgorski, Tkaczuk 2005: 99–107; Skrzypiec-Spring et al. 2009) 3) organization of sporting

The term "shooting" used in this article denotes firearms[4] activities. The author intentionally omitted activities such as archery, crossbow and airguns. In Poland, a bow and arrow as well as airguns can be legally possessed without permission, and these sports have a different character. In contrast to sport shooting, airguns and archery are not restricted by law, so they can be practiced in any safe place (not necessarily in shooting ranges). In addition, they are more open to new participants. It is different matter for crossbows in Poland. In this case, legal regulations are complicated, and it is really difficult to get permission to own a crossbow. As a consequence, this sport does not belong among the most popular ones.

The development of sport shooting strongly depends on national legislation. Firstly, it is through the legislature that the definition of firearms and the questions of additional permissions are laid down. Secondly, a decision as to who, and under what conditions, can apply for a gun permission also depends on the legislature. The next issue is the strong regulation of the number of firearms which a person is allowed to possess. Moreover, the legislature determines how to store firearms, how to travel with them, and where to use them, in accordance with the objective of the gun permission.

The strong dependence of sport shooting on legal regulation probably has its source in the state monopoly on the legitimate use of violence (Weber 1998). The legitimate use of violence is reserved for law enforcement agencies and military service. The state very reluctantly shares it with citizens. It should be noted that sport shooters use the same firearms as enforcers of state services (excluding automatic firearms, which are strictly restricted in the case of civilians). A well-organised and institutionalised sport shooting community with a variety of firearms and a stockpile of ammunition could contribute to the disruption of such a state monopoly-based order.

The first part of this article is devoted to the history of shooting on a global scale. The second part contains reflections on its institutionalisation in Poland. The next part of the article presents quantitative data on the development of sport shooting in Poland. The text closes with a presentation of the characteristics of sport shooting, based on the conclusions of preliminary observations obtained during field research of the shooting environment.[5]

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competitions (Kurzawski 2009; Mauer-Różańska 2018), 4) the use of new technologies in shooting sports (Gładyszewski et al. 2005).

[4] The legal definition of firearms is contained in the Polish Firearms Act form 21 May 1999. According to the law, firearms are portable barrel devices that launch, are designed to be fired or can be adapted to shoot one or more bullets or substances as a result of the action of the propellant.

[5] The field study of the sports shooter community has been carried out by the author since June 2019. It is planned to cover approximately 20 individual in-depth interviews, 15 participant observations and long-term participant observation of shooting ranges. The respondents are people who own firearms (sport shooters, collectors, hunters, etc.), who practice shooting sports, and run shooting ranges and companies operating in the shooting industry. Shooting competitions, shooting picnics, thematic events (children's day, November 11, father's day, etc.) are subject to participating observations.

Sport shooting in the context of world history

Sport shooting's origins date back to the 15–16th centuries. The oldest pre-
served historical record of this activity is found in Swiss drawings made in 1504.
Hunting and sport shooting were a symbol of high social status among the British
aristocracy (Martin 2012).

Sport shooting has been an Olympic discipline since the 1896 Summer Olym-
pics held in Athens. The shooting competitions that were held then were static
ones: the competitors were standing in front of bullseye targets (bullseye shoot-
ing). At the 1906 Summer Olympics (also called the 1906 Intercalated Games,
organised on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the first modern Olympic
Games, not included in the Olympic medal counts) the competition was extended
with the inclusion of pistol duelling. This corresponded to 18th-century traditional
fights with pistols, but in its modern version wax bulls, instead of the lead ones,
were used. This competition, however, was held only once, then repeated two
years later in London, just as a spectacle.

One of the most significant moments was when on the 17th of July 1907 the
International Shooting Union was established in Zurich (the current name, Inter-
national Shooting Sport Federation, was adapted in 1998). Its founders were Aus-
tria, Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands and Argentina (ISSF 2020).
The membership of the ISSF consists of national shooting associations which
are independent control authorities responsible for issues associated with amateur
shooting in a given country. Representing 161 of these, the ISSF is a member of
the International Olympic Committee.

The subsequent development of sport shooting was influenced by a signifi-
cant change in American military service trainings. The analysis of situations in
which the officers had to use firearms led to the conclusion that static training at
the shooting range was not sufficient. To give officers the ability to use firearms in
dynamically changing situations, practical scenario-based shooting trainings were
introduced. In the 1950s, the representatives of the American military took part in
annual shooting competitions, during which they had a chance to share their expe-
riences and to compare different shooting techniques. Practical shooting became
so popular that during a conference in Columbia, Missouri in 1976, a group of
enthusiasts established the International Practical Shooting Confederation (IPSC)
and, therefore, officially declared the discipline an international sport designed for
both uniformed services and civilians. Over time, IPSC, came to denote the disci-
pline itself (it took over the name from the confederation) and become a competi-
tive sport, one that requires players to improve their shooting skills, and one that
promotes the development of firearm production.

As a result of the fact that dynamic (practical) shooting changed its status,
in 1996 a new federation was established. The formation of the International De-
fensive Pistol Association (IDPA) was actually the result of a split caused by the

shooters who were not enthusiastic about the course of practical shooting's evolution. Firstly, they did not support the resignation to an exclusively defensive character of the discipline. Secondly, they opposed reducing the use of factory produced firearms in favour of individually adjusted and remade models.

The development of sport shooting in Poland

Before 2011, sport shooting was a niche discipline in Poland, even though Polish shooters have won 12 Olympic medals (PZSS 2020). This state of affairs may have stemmed from the legal situation at that time, in which the police administrative organs could authorise gun permission just under administrative recognition, with no regard for any precise legal provisions. The New Firearms Act of 2011 has removed the rule of administrative recognition for all types of gun permissions, excluding self-defence gun permission. Due to this change, Polish citizens have gained a real possibility to apply for possession of firearms after fulfilling all the requirements. Anyone who wants to get permission for a gun for sport shooting should join any sport shooting association, get a confirmation (passed examination) of his or her shooting skills (pol. patent strzelecki) and obtain the PZSS sport licence. If an applicant fulfils the above conditions, provides medical and psychological assessments, and is completely free from any other negative conditions, the police authority will be obliged to issue him or her a gun permission.

Since 2014, the police have collected data about the number of gun permissions issued and firearms registered.
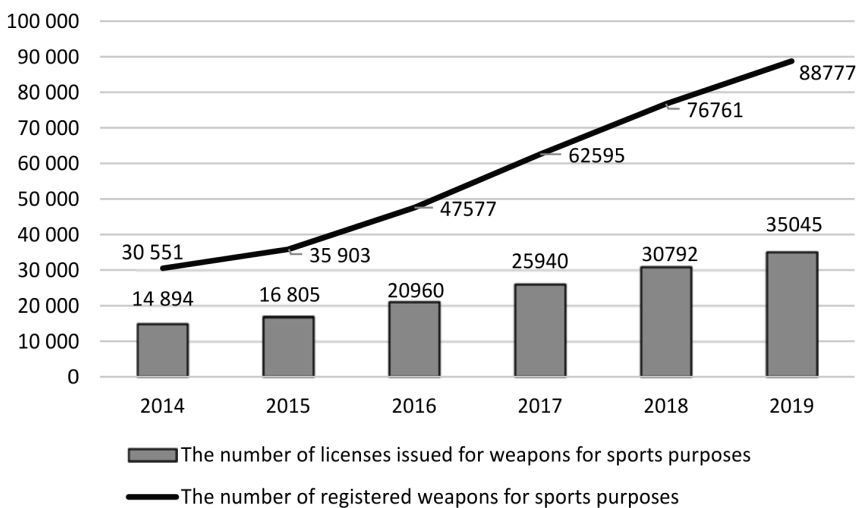
Chart 1. The number of sport shooting permissions issued, and firearms registered, from 2014 to 2019
Source: The author's own study, based on statistics provided by the Polish Police.

Chart 1. shows a stable increase in the number of sport shooting gun permissions from 2014 to 2019. In those years, gun permissions were issued for between 4,000 and 5,000 people. The number of sport shooters with gun permissions grew by approximately 135%.

At the same time, the number of registered sport firearms also grew. There were 30,551 sport firearms registered in 2014 (which means 2.05 pieces for 1 gun permission). This number rose to 88,777 at the end of 2019 (2.53 pieces for 1 gun permission). This is approximately a 190% growth in sport firearms possession in the 5-year period. This data shows that sport shooting in Poland has been progressively gaining in popularity. The growing number of people interested in shooting has resulted in the increasing interest in new firearms. This market is developing dynamically, and sport shooters buy a few thousand firearms every year.
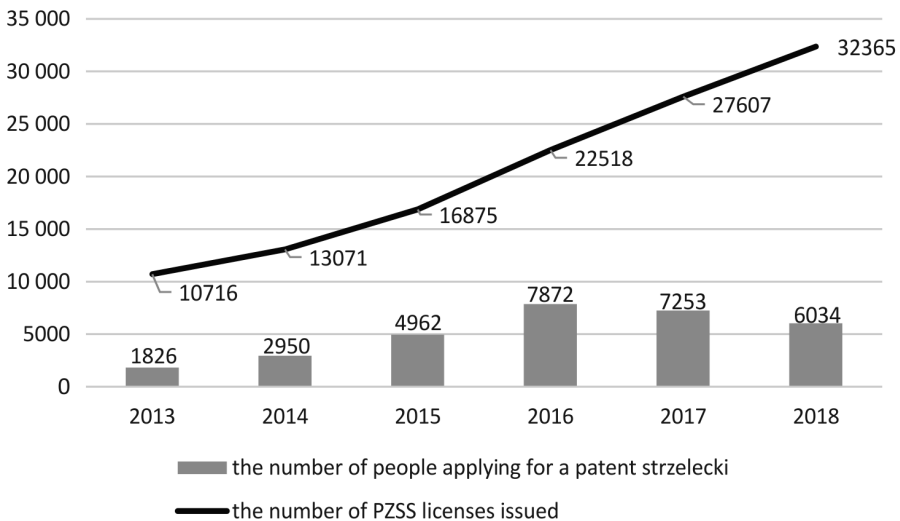
Chart 2. The number of PZSS sport licences and the number of individuals taking the competence exams
Source: The author's own study, based on PZSS annual reports.

Chart 2. shows even more clearly how sport shooting has been developing in Poland – it shows the number of PZSS sport licences and the number of individuals taking the competence exams (considering that not everybody pass the exams). It should be emphasised that not every person who has a PZSS license and who practices shooting has to apply for a gun permit. However, as a rule, players prefer to shoot with their private firearms, not the club ones. Sometimes, for economic reasons, they apply for permission long after receiving their documents from PZSS. As Chart 2. shows, between 3,000 and 6,000 people are issued with a sports license every year. Moreover, every year, a few thousand people take the exam, which certifies the acquisition of basic competences related to the use

of firearms and entitles them to apply for the PZSS sports license. From 2013 to 2018, the number of sport shooters with the PZSS licenses increased by approximately 202%.

According to the portal www.gdziestrzelac.eu, there are 452 civilian shooting ranges operating in Poland: commercial, sport, hunting and chanterelles (2020).[6] In fact, there may be even more of these objects because they are not all registered, even though the portal is constantly being updated. For comparison, as part of the project "Moje Boisko – Orlik 2012", 2,604 facilities were built with the support of the state for almost PLN 970 million (NIK 2017: 5).

The portal www.gdziestrzelać.eu reports that there are also 254 stores designed for shooters, both sportsmen and hunters, and 49 gunsmiths' points in Poland, where weapons can be repaired or converted (2020).[7] In addition, the above portal indicates that at least 110 training companies also operate on the market, and the statistics of the Polish Police indicate that at the end of 2019, 732 firearms licenses were issued for training purposes. These companies offer their services in the field of learning how to shoot and improve shooting competences, not only to representatives of law enforcement and security agencies, but also to sportsmen, people interested in defensive shooting, as well as Sunday shooters and people taking their first steps in shooting. In addition to numerous shooting training sessions, every week in Poland a few sports events, local and nationwide, are organised at clubs within the PZSS. Polish shooters are increasingly appearing at international events not only in Europe, but also in the US and Asia.

Due to increased interest in shooting, the firearms market in Poland is growing. Weapon users register about 40,000–50,000 new guns every year, buy ammunition for them (the amount of ammunition sold is impossible to estimate), along with numerous accessories, clothes, etc.

An attempt at a sociological characterization of sport shooting in Poland

Sport shooting may be interesting not only as a physical activity, but also as a social phenomenon. As the statistics show, the number of sport shooters in Poland is growing, and the question therefore arises: who are the people getting involved in shooting? Who are the people striving to possess firearms, learning how to use them and improve their shooting skills (and do they really improve them?)?

It should be noted that shooting is a fairly expensive sport, due to the high price of equipment, accessories and ammunition. In order to enter the environment, every shooter has to spend time and money to obtain the relevant documents

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[6] https://gdziestrzelac.eu/mapa-strzelnic/ (accessed 15.05.2020).
[7] Ibidem.

and permissions for weapons – sport shooting has a high financial barrier to entry.[8] The economic barrier and additional restrictions in the form of no criminal record and adequate health, including mental health, entail the social filtering of participants. However, it is possible to try shooting, especially in recreational form, without meeting all of these requirements. Anyone can come to the shooting range and, under the watchful eye of an instructor, pick up a firearm and shoot at a target.

Along with the increasing popularity of shooting, consideration should be given to the progressive professionalization and institutionalization of this sport. Due to the level of application and motivation, several groups of shooters can be distinguished:

1) Professionals – people for whom shooting in a source of income, who are employed by sports clubs or the army, or who are or supported by sponsors; professional players who use the training and competition service, trainers, instructors, owners of training companies.

2) Amateur-professionals – people deeply involved in shooting who train to achieve high results in competitions, but do not earn money from shooting, obtaining their main income in other industries, but who are sometimes covered by sponsorship (most often companies from the shooting industry).

3) "Carriers" – people whose main goal is to possess firearms and to walk around with them on a daily basis, participating in a minimum number of competitions so as to maintain a sports license; sport plays only a supporting role for them.

4) Idealists – people less associated with the sport itself, and more with the movement for the promotion of shooting and access to firearms.

5) Recreational shooters (hobbyists) – people who have no sporting aspirations and are interested in the subject of weapons and shooting, who often do not have a permit for a weapon, and if they have one, they treat the sport similarly to "carriers".

Despite the above division, determining the motivation to shoot and possess firearms requires further research. The basic motivations for shooting are: a desire to compete, integration with friends, communication of one's material status, the desire to possess a weapon, and a sense of danger and the related lack of confidence in public institutions.

The shooting environment is highly diversified, not only because of the purpose of owning a firearm, but also because of the sports competitions that are practiced. This is related to the use of different types of weapons in competition, different rules related to the course of competition and the counting of points, as well as the approach to individually modifying the weapons used. One of the links that connects all sport shooters is safety culture, which manifests itself in

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[8] The basic cost of obtaining of gun permission is aprox. PLN 1,200–1,500. Additionally gun owners have to buy a certified valut for firearms storage, it costs next aprox. PLN 800–2,500.

treating each weapon as potentially charged and ready to use. Each weapon is checked when passed between competitors and after sport competition. Unsafe use of a weapon or uncontrolled firing (even in a safe direction) is considered the worst offense and will be punished by disqualification.

PZSS allows shooting competitions to be organized in the following disciplines:

1) sport shooting (based on ISSF regulations),
2) long distance shooting (based on WBSF regulations),
3) black powder shooting (based on MLAIC regulations),
4) historical shooting (based on the provisions of the chanterelles),
5) dynamic shooting (based on the IPSC and IDPA regulations),
6) western shooting (based on the SASS regulations).

On the basis of the above, the first division of shooting sports into Olympic and non-Olympic disciplines can be outlined. This division is flawed because the schedule of Olympic disciplines is mobile and in subsequent Olympic periods there may be a migration of disciplines between the two indicated groups.

The second division proposed by PZSS, related to the issue of shooting patents and sport licenses, is based on the establishment of three sports: pistol, rifle, shotgun. From the point of view of clubs functioning and the sports licence system, it is a kind of facilitation, however, it causes problems e.g. in qualifying multi-defence competitions. This division also does not highlight the specific nature of individual sports competitions, but only reduces them to the type of weapon used.

The next division of sports shooting into static, dynamic and athletics seems to be more accurate, because it is based on technical aspects related to each of these sports. Table 1. shows the division of sport shooting disciplines which are played in Poland.

Table 1. The division of shooting disciplines in Poland

Static shooting					
Type of discipline	Type of firearms	Distance	Type of targets	Punctation	Comments
1	2	3	4	5	6
Pistol bullseye shooting	Rimfire & centrefire pistols	25 m 50 m	Bullseye targets	0–10	accuracy to 0.1 in rimfire competitions (max. 10,9)
Carabine bullseye shooting	Rimfire & centrefire carabines	50 m 100 m 300 m	Bullseye targets	0–10	accuracy to 0.1 in rimfire competitions (max. 10,9)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Rapid fire pistol	Rimfire pistols	25 m	Computer-assisted black circle targets	0–1	
Long range shooting	Centrefire carabines	300 m 600 m 800 m 1000+ yd/m	Bullseye targets	0–10	the carabine is based on bipod
Benchrest	Rimfire & centrefire carabines	100 yd/m 200 yd/m	20 or 25 circle targets	0–1	the carabine is based on special bench and stand
SKEET/ TRAP	Shotguns	–	Clay targets	0–1	the clays are thrown by a special machine and shooted down in flight
Moving targets	Shotguns & centrefire carabines	35 m 50 m 100 m	Clay targets & carton targets	0–1 & 0–10	disciplines popular among hunters
Black powder shooting	Black powder handguns & carabines	25 m 50 m 100 m	Bullseye targets	0–10	
Practical shooting (dynamic)					
IPSC	Rimfire and centrefire pistols and carabines, shotguns, pistols calibre carabine (PCC)	dependent on possibilities of range	carton and steel targets	Time/point factor	
IDPA	Centrefire handguns	up to 15 yd	carton and steel targets	Time with time penalties	Sport based on self-defence scenarios
PIRO	Centrefire handguns	up to 30 m most up to 15 m	carton and steel targets	Time with time penalties	Polish modification of IDPA rules
Multigun	Centrefire pistols, carabines and shotguns	dependent on possibilities of range	carton and metal targets	Time/point factor or time with time penalties	Most popular 3GUN (pistol+carabine +shotgun)

Table 1. (cont.)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Tactical shooting	Centrefire carabines	dependent on possibilities of range	various targets	Addicted to competition's rules	simulating a battlefield situation and practical scenarios
Steel challenge	Centrefire pistols and shotguns	up to 20 m	5 steel targets	Time	
Western shooting	Black powder handguns & carabines	dependent on possibilities of range	carton and steel targets	Time with time penalties	combination of sport and historical reconstruction (shooters change into western outfits)
Athletic shooting					
Biathlon	Rimfire carabines	50 m	5 steel targets	Penalty time or penalty lap after miss	Winter sport on skies
Target sprint	According to competition rules	50 m	5 steel targets		Summer type of biathlon, running or rollers
Bike biathlon	According to competition rules	50 m	5 steel targets		Summer type of biathlon, cycling

Source: The author's own study.

Shooting is a stigmatized activity due to the fact that use of firearms is associated with warfare, law enforcement agencies and hunting. The sport shooters' being distinguished from hunters is particularly noticeable. Being a hunter has more to do with professional work than recreation, even one year's internship as a hunter is like being trained. Athletes must also take an internship at the club before taking the exam, but it is purely sports-related and prepares for further competition. Sport shooters distinguish themselves from hunters and from the ethical stigma associated with killing animals that is accompanied by a cult of tradition and hunting economy. The stigmatisation of shooting means that a large group of shooters do not publicly admit to this activity. Even despite the participation of politicians, businessmen, lawyers and representatives of local elites, the subject of shooting has no political legitimacy or representation. It can even be said that shooting, as an uncomfortable subject, is politically censored. The development of shooting is strongly dependent on the ties within the social environment and the financial and organisational capabilities of its participants, as well as the support of the business that is favourable to it (often thematically related to shooting).

As shooting develops, its internal institutionalisation progresses. This is associated not only with the external dependence of sport shooting on the police authorities and the PZSS in the terms of issuing permits, but also with the internal processes associated with the professionalisation of this sport. More and more sport clubs that associate shooters are being created, which is interesting, because there are clubs that do not have their own shooting ranges, and yet they gather members and animate sport activities. The growing interest in shooting determines the emergence of specialised companies that develop the market and try to use the financial commitment of participants. One of the pillars of the shooting market are institutions, including law firms, that have specialised in conducting administrative proceedings in the area of issuing licenses for firearms (the entire procedure lasts from 2 to 6 months). There are more and more specialised stores with arms and ammunition, as well as entrepreneurs who in a relatively short time are able to import weapons or parts from abroad, including the United States. In addition to shooting, there are also many businesses supporting shooters: gunsmiths, training companies and manufacturers of numerous accessories useful during sports competition.

Sport shooting has been greatly commercialised in recent years – sports clubs and private shooting ranges are aware of access to firearms, i.e. goods that are heavily regulated by the state. Firearms strongly influence consumer emotions and for many groups they are the object of desire. Therefore, the shooting community organises numerous open events in the form of family shooting picnics, where you can see numerous copies of modern and historical weapons, as well as shoot with them for a fee. It is becoming more and more fashionable to organize stag and hen parties at shooting ranges as an introduction to further fun in the city. Vouchers and gift cards, which can be purchased at the shooting range and given to family members or friends for birthdays or Christmas, are also gaining in popularity. It is also common practice to organise company integration events at shooting ranges, which not only allow employers to strengthen ties between employees, but also can help them discover hidden talents. Shooting ranges are also becoming a place for informal business meetings, where you can take a valuable contractor to plan or celebrate cooperation in the professional field.

In addition to the phenomena described above, shooting is also associated with a number of other social phenomena. For example, the contact of the shooting environment with preppers, or phenomena regarding firearms that took place in connection with the COVID-19 epidemic (gunpowder and ammunition disappeared from store shelves, the sale of private weapons froze, but the rise in speculation on prices of black powder weapons, which practically ceased to be available in stationary and online stores), seem to be worth researching.

Conclusions

Answering the question in the title, I conclude that sport shooting is a sport in the context of the sociology of sport. It is a very diverse sport. It is at the same time a social world, and more precisely a new and dynamically developing sub-world, for the social world of shooters as a whole.

Sport shooting should be considered a sport because it is a form of social activity that can be a form of recreation or entertainment. At the same time, it is an activity that is spectacular, and more and more participants treat it as a competitive activity and develop physically in order to obtain better and better results. Moreover, sport shooting, by concentrating its activity around sports associations, on the one hand creates complex structures governing this form of physical activity, and on the other hand it connects players, causing the formation of social networks and strengthening social bonds.

The issues associated with sport shooting cannot be reduced to issues related to access to firearms and the rules of organization of sport competitions. There are many interesting sociological phenomena connected to sport shooting. Among these, it is worth paying attention primarily to:
1) the progressive professionalization of this sport,
2) the institutionalization of the environment,
3) the internal diversity of the environment,
4) the development of sponsorship,
5) the development of trade and services related to shooting,
6) the motivations and social practices of participants.

Studying the issues related to shooting involves overcoming many barriers. The social world of shooters and its individual sub-worlds have a closed, non-public character. Shooting activities are concentrated around institutionalized shooting clubs and semi-open sports facilities – shooting ranges. Entering this social world is associated with high costs, both in financial terms and with regard to the time spent on acquiring appropriate knowledge and qualifications. Shooting is also associated with a kind of stigma, as it is a social group that has access to technologies equated with force and violence. The isolation of the shooting environment causes many methodological problems that must be dealt with by the researcher of this issue. Participants are not very sympathetic to sharing knowledge about social practices with outsiders (observers), so the researcher should become a participant in these practices. This is connected with the need to acquire new knowledge, practical skills, as well as acquiring the sociolect characteristic of the group.

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CZY STRZELECTWO JEST SPORTEM? ZARYS PROBLEMATYKI STRZELECTWA SPORTOWEGO W POLSCE JAKO PRZEDMIOTU SOCJOLOGII SPORTU

Abstrakt. Głównym celem tego tekstu jest odpowiedź na pytanie, czy strzelectwo sportowe należy traktować jako sport, oraz przekonanie czytelników, że strzelectwo może być interesującym przedmiotem socjologii sportu. Strzelectwo sportowe to dynamicznie rozwijająca się aktywność, która w ostatnich latach angażuje w Polsce coraz więcej osób. Artykuł przedstawia historię i specyfikę tej dyscypliny sportu, w tym prezentuje dyscypliny sportowe oraz klasyfikację osób uczestniczących w świecie społecznym strzelców. Tekst zawiera również wstępne wnioski dotyczące zjawisk społecznych dotyczących środowiska strzeleckiego oraz rozważania metodologiczne związane z barierami występującymi w badaniach tego środowiska.

Słowa kluczowe: strzelectwo sportowe, broń palna, światy społeczne, praktyki społeczne, etnografia.

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THE SOCIOLOGICAL PARADOX OF CHESS: THE TRANSCLASS DISTINCTION OF THE GAME OF KINGS

Abstract. The article deals with the sociological paradox of chess. On the one hand, this game gives people who belong to its social world a kind of desirable distinction, but on the other hand this distinction is not connected with the class position. In Pierre Bourdieu's terms, if we treat chess as part of the sports field, then class distinction should be interconnected with it. Why is chess extremely popular and widespread, and therefore egalitarian, although it seems to be an excellent instrument for increasing class advantage? What makes so many people play chess, and how does chess confer the transclass distinction upon them? In answering these questions I will focus on the accessibility and openness of chess, its social nature, the totality of chess experience and the impossibility of defining it within one field: sport, science or art, and – last but not least – on the possibility of manipulating chess's *illusio*.

Keywords: chess, sociology of chess, distinction *illusio*, sociology of sport.

Introduction

For several years I have been organizing the open chess tournaments "Szachy w Harmonijce" at my Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences at the Nicolaus Copernicus University. Players compete for the dean's prize, a metal statuette of a chess horse designed in the modernist style of the faculty building, Collegium Minus (the so-called Harmonijka). During one of the tournaments I encouraged a friend of mine to take part, an academic professor, a person with a considerable chess practice and knowledge, who is also a prime example of the academic intelligentsia habitus. My colleague fought bravely, but was badly defeated by all his opponents, people located far away from him on the ladder of social status. After the tournament, while thanking me for the invitation, he commented both with some regret and reflexivity that "chess is bloody egalitarian!".

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At first, I treated this only as a material for an anecdote, but after careful consideration I understood that the matter was more serious and not so obvious, and the professor's comment was about a social riddle which deserves a sociological explanation: whether chess is an elite game, which we usually *implicitly* assume, or was my unlucky colleague right and chess is essentially egalitarian? The research and reflection on the problem make me accept the conclusion that we are dealing here with the sociological paradox of chess, which means that, on the one hand, chess gives people who belong to its social world a kind of distinction, but on the other hand, this distinction is not connected with their class position. In Pierre Bourdieu's terms, if we treat chess as part of the sports field, then class distinction should be interconnected with it, and chess activity could be treated as an indicator of class affiliation, but this is not the case. The special aura of chess, which gives players recognition from others, seems to have nothing to do with class membership.

Therefore, I would like to consider what makes so many people play chess, and how does chess give players transclass distinction? Are there really no divisions among chess players? Why is chess essentially egalitarian and democratic, even though it seems to be a great tool for increasing class advantage?

The attempt to answer the above questions is based on research that has been ongoing since 2014. In accordance with the guidelines of the ethnographic method, I conducted observations and in-depth interviews with players, coaches and activists of chess organizations. I also analyzed chess magazines, chess portals and forums, and used autoethnography as an active participant in chess tournaments and organizer of such events. I was interested in amateur chess, played both by people without any affiliation, and those gathered in chess clubs, but excluding professional chess players for whom playing chess is the primary source of income and is treated by them as a profession. My observations relate to contemporary Poland and Western countries. Apart from them, the specificity of chess may be different and my findings do not take this into account.

The sociological paradox of chess: obverse and reverse

In the Western tradition it is generally although not universally agreed that nowadays chess belongs to those forms of sport activity[1] which enjoy almost universal recognition and respect – regardless of cultural circle. The game of chess is called "the game of kings" and playing it is perceived as positively distinguishing, developing mathematical skills, learning to think abstractly, shaping the will to win. It is also associated with intelligence, the ability to think effectively, patience,

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[1] Defining chess as sport is a matter of some controversy, but as I explain later in the article there are convincing sociological arguments to accept such suggestion. Furthermore, what is most important to me, the vast majority of chess players think about their beloved game in such categories.

self-control and consistency. Let us add to this that the metaphorical references to chess are numerous in Western culture, and they have a long tradition, both in art, literature, many fields of knowledge (including esoteric) and in colloquial language (see DiCicco-Bloom, Gibson 2010; Raphael 2011). The symbolic imagination presents images of a chess player as a thinker, a person absorbed in contemplation of a complex problem, probably not very attractive socially, but certainly extremely intelligent and thoughtful.

As John Sharples, author of *A Cultural History of Chess-Players* (2017), notes that in Europe, since the Middle Ages, chess has developed the status of a game that is not only intellectually unique, surpassing others, but also socially useful, even if slightly ambivalent due to possible transgressions of some players overly immersed in the world of chess.

> The modern chess-player has resisted disenchantment. A chess-player is not simply one who plays chess just as a chess piece is not simply a wooden block. Shaped by expectations and imaginations, the figure occupies the centre of a web of a thousand radiations where logic meets dream, and reason meets play. Questions of usefulness and value intimately connect the chess-player to the most basic philosophical questions of how an individual should live and occupy one's time. The chess-player has both sat comfortably within the halls of civilisation, welcomed as a possessor of desirable intellectual power, and, in its tendency towards excesses and absences, appeared on the cultural edge, challenging common sense and cognitive, emotional, and behavioural norms (2017: 1–2).

Therefore, it would seem that in the real world chess is elite, snobbish and exclusive, but various attempts to estimate the number of players worldwide show that the subjects of Caissa, the goddess of chess, can be counted in hundreds of millions.[2] At the same time, chess is growing in strength due to the popularity of online games, which allow not only playing in a variety of chess set-ups, but also education and training, puzzle solving, exchange of opinions, access to databases containing records of millions of games, chess engines to analyze games, chess TV with live commentary about the course of the most important chess tournaments. The internet boom has been further accelerated by the coronavirus epidemic, thanks to the suspension of tournaments in the real world. For example the Magnus Carlsen Invitational Tournament (April 18 – May 3 2020), organized by the current world champion in chess Magnus Carlsen, with a prize pool of $250,000, according to the organizer, chess site chess24.com, was watched by more than 10 million people. Another portal, chess.com boasts over 35 million members, who play more than five million games a day. On another website, lichess.org, around 60,000 people are playing at any given time (Ingle 2020).

In Poland, in the post-war period, chess continued to enjoy great popularity, even if its achievements did not match the position of pre-war chess, which

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[2] https://www.chess.com/article/view/how-many-chess-players-are-there-in-the-world (accessed 19.05.2020).

was called the golden era of Polish chess. Since around 2000 chess has become almost fashionable in Poland: children's groups at hundreds of chess tournaments organized annually are bursting at the seams, new chess schools are being set up for children, to which parents send their offspring to paid classes, and the Ministry of National Education has introduced learning chess in selected schools as compulsory classes (the programs "Szachy w szkole" and "Edukacja przez szachy w szkole"). Recently, the popularity of chess in Poland has certainly been supported by the spectacular successes of Polish chess players in the international arena (Jan-Krzysztof Duda, Radosław Wojtaszek, Mateusz Bartel). According to data from the Polish Chess Federation (May 2020), the organization has almost 90,000 registered members (3 years ago it was 65,000, which means an increase of almost 30% in a short period of time).[3]

What is also important, in the community of amateur chess players that my article is concerned with, there is a wide range of economic and educational status, employment, gender, age or even health. At the chessboard one can meet people from the bottom and the top of the ladder of social prestige, power or wealth: a professor plays with an elementary school student, the unemployed with a private entrepreneur, a doctor with a construction worker, an amateur plays with a professional, a 10-year-old with an 80-year-old, a wheelchair user with a marathon runner, a person with intellectual disability with a member of Mensa, a dandy with an ascetic. In addition, they play like equals, without going easy or giving any kind of head start. High status is not a predictor of the result of the game, but also, and this is less obvious, does not correlate with the interest in chess itself. Chess transcends socioeconomic background, age, gender, educational status, race and religion, which does not mean that representatives of all these categories can be found in proportionally equal numbers but rather openness to all these categories. The most important value and variable is one's chess ability.

Let me repeat the main question: what makes so many people play chess, and how does chess generate distinction without relation to the class system?

I: Chess is accessible and open to anyone interested

The first thing I would like to consider may seem obvious, but it has such crucial value that I cannot fail to mention it. It is widely accepted that chess sets minimal restrictions on access, both when it comes to the necessary equipment and opportunities to play, but at the same time it offers great opportunities for creative thinking and self-expression. A chessboard, chess pieces and a chess clock are a small and one-time expense. One can play with one's friends anywhere, for free. Chess tournaments usually are not free because of the usually small fees paid to the chess organizations and

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[3] In the central register of the Polish Chess Association (http://www.www.cr-pzszach.pl) only persons who won at least the 5th rank in chess (the lowest one) are included.

Photo 1. (by Krzysztof Olechnicki)

collecting funds for prizes. In Poland, depending on the type and duration of a tournament, the cost of participation is usually 10 to 100 PLN (approx. 2 € – 20 €). One can also play for free on the internet, on chess servers (here one must have a computer, tablet or smartphone). What is also important is that language barriers are not an obstacle in chess (thanks to universal chess notation one is able to not only play, but even analyze a game with someone who uses a different natural language). In terms of the openness and affordability of chess, it is difficult to find an analogy with other sports or sport-like activities, because more prestigious ones have incomparably greater prerequisites, financial and other (e.g. tennis, golf, horse riding).

Nevertheless, it should also be noted that that while amateur gaming itself is generally widely available and not financially burdensome, the training of chess players, especially the more advanced ones, is much more demanding. This is a particularly serious problem for the parents of young chess players who, if their children have caught the bug, must invest considerable financial and time resources in the training of future grandmasters. Classes with a private trainer are a considerable expense, which grows along with the teacher's chess ranking. Participation in longer tournaments entails the costs of registration, transport, accommodation and meals, as well as the time that parents must spend on overseeing their children during hours of play.[4]

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[4] The issue of time as an important resource is not the subject of this article, but I think it would be worth considering the potentially de-egalitarization impact of time-shortage.

II: Chess is a social activity

Another issue is much less obvious, because it goes against with common-sense intuitions. The point here is that both the activity and the logic of chess seem to been extremely individualistic, but reducing them to an individual hobby actually misrepresents the highly interactive and even community nature of chess. As Robert Desjarlais notes,

> Chess is primarily a social enterprise. While playing chess you can spend five intense hours with someone you hardly know otherwise-and might never see again. A sense of comity often comes with playing chess at a neighborhood club or a tournament hall, as you're surrounded by others who endorse what you're doing and likewise find it to be a meaningful endeavor. Chess is often taken to be a lonesome, semisolitary matter, in which a person is alone with his thoughts for long stretches of time. But playing chess is often a deeply social affair, as opponents, friends, acquaintances, and potential onlookers are often close at hand (Desjarlais 2011: 15).

Photo 2. (by Zuzanna Kopidurska-Olechnicka)

Chess is a game that requires a consistent interactive order. Around the game, networks of relationships are created in connection with the activity of chess players, which in turn generates collective emotions. Specific communities, the social worlds of players, trainers and fans who use a specific language, are created around chess. Chess is deeply social, because playing an immortal game, finding an unusual combination, making a great move require opponents who will take

part in the creation of a given situation. Chess is a game of winning, competing in tournaments with other players, gaining the highest ranking and position in the hierarchy, which is built on the basis of skills and knowledge tested in accordance with the criteria of sports competition.

Gary Alan Fine, author of one of the few comprehensive sociological analysis of chess (2015), studying the social world of chess describes it as a *sticky culture* and he considers that the most important component of this bind is a community of understanding and meaning nested in an interactive order,

> I term this sticky culture, a body of understanding that cements participants to their community. The concept of sticky culture emphasizes that it is not memory itself that matters, but the shared knowledge demonstrates that community exists and becomes a basis for self-referential actions. The idea of sticky culture emphasizes the linkage of cultural knowledge to the local domains of groups and the interaction orders that they comprise (Fine 2013: 396).

The shared meaning and understanding is based on collective memory and common cultural knowledge (*sticky knowledge*) that connects individuals with the group, satisfies the need for affiliation and integrates the group, and at the same time eliminates class differences.[5] As a social world, chess is more than sufficiently developed in time and space to create a community of meaningful history: we have a long tradition here, disputes about the beginning of chess, mythical characters and heroes, immortal games, a separate language, numerous references in art and literature, and publications in chess literature counted in tens of thousands of items. Acculturating into the social world of chess is largely about acquiring knowledge and skills related to playing chess. The more the player gets involved in the game, the more he or she participates in the communal culture. While talking during a chess tournament with chess players about other chess tournaments in which they took part (or even those which they have only heard about secondhand), one can notice that people have a very vivid memory of them, recalling behaviors that aroused attention, the controversial decisions of the referee or the course of specific games, especially those that went against expectations or had a spectacular course. During a tournament, chess players take part in current competitions, but also recall and rewind past events, which is an important element of constructing the whole chess event.

The basic unit of the chess community structure is neither a pair of players at a chessboard, nor a chess club. A club performs important functions, but belonging is not mandatory and a large part of a tournament's participants are not affiliated with any chess club. It seems that the basic building unit in the world of chess are tournaments, which structure the time of chess players, set the rhythm

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[5] It is not an accident that the FIDE International Chess Federation motto is *Gens una sumus* (latin "*we are one family*"), which at the educational or promotional level can be treated as quite naive, but at the level of the sociological analysis it quite accurately describes the mechanisms of functioning of a social group and the reality of the social world of chess players.

of chess life, and because they are often cyclical, they allow the continuity of chess tradition to be built.

The social dimension of chess is also associated with its performative nature and the involvement of viewers. F i n e and Yo u n g note that "While chess is meant to be played, it is also performed, becoming discussable and notable" (2014: 96). The chess game can be compared to a theatrical spectacle which engages not merely the main actors but also the audience, not only the one directly observing the struggles, but also the viewers following them via online relations, simultaneously commenting on the course of the action and creating a temporary audience focused on the performance.

III: Chess as a total game

In the vast majority of cases chess at a low level of involvement can be treated as a form of entertainment, one of many games. If it is taken more seriously, it creates a cultural and social sub-world, governed by a limited number of rules, which are logical and orderly, and thanks to which chess fulfills the needs of individuals and becomes a way to break away from mundane concerns of the everyday world or existential dilemmas. At the highest level of commit-

Photo 3. (by Krzysztof Olechnicki)

ment, chess can take control of players and lead them to lose themselves in the game, as happens with Aleksandr Ivanovich Luzhin in Vladimir Nabokov's novel *The Defense*,

> He glanced at the chessboard and his brain wilted from hitherto unprecedented weariness. But the chessmen were pitiless, they held and absorbed him. There was horror in this, but in this also was the sole harmony, for what else exists in the world besides chess? Fog, the unknown, non-being... (Nabokov 1964: 138).

In *Counterplay: An Anthropologist at the Chessboard* (2011), Robert Desjarlais compares chess to a virus or drug that holds some people in an iron grip. Just as heroin directly and immediately affects the addict's central nervous system, so chess "can lock into certain pathways of the mind, and it doesn't easily let go" (2011: 2–3). Desjarlais calls those chess players "cognitive junkies" who "need their daily fix of tactics and strategy" (2011: 3). In an interview I conducted with one of the senior players in Toruń, a common topic was that of chess being responsible for losing fortunes, and contributing to bad life decisions by players possessed by Caissa.

There is no doubt that a high level of involvement in the game comes with serious risk and this topic appears in most writings on chess. Fine emphasizes that strong acculturation in sticky culture of chess creates,

> ongoing affiliation, but it may also create a barrier to exit. One has spent time and effort in the acquisition of skills and group knowledge and, in so doing, one is validated by others in the community. To leave is to give up this acceptance and this status, perhaps creating an interpersonal emptiness. So, even if the activity itself no longer provides optimal satisfaction, the reverberations of the culture exert a hold (Fine 2013: 396).

In some cases a player can become addicted to chess to such an extent that he/she risks losing control over their life, neglects family, falls into poverty, and loneliness. These are extreme cases, but they happen, especially in the era of internet chess, where one can play endlessly. Full immersion in the world of chess can be dangerous, but as a consequence it can mean total detachment from reality, escape from the linear time stream, immersion, a kind of trance during which players abandon everyday life and move to a better world in which everyday trouble ceases to have any meaning, and at least as long as the game lasts they feel a sense of happiness and fulfillment. The engagement required to achieve this is costly, but also makes all socioeconomic differences and class-based limitations transparent and non-valid.

IV: Chess transcends sport, science and art

The fourth explanation of the phenomenon of chess popularity and their transclass distinction is connected with its "flickering" and ambiguous identity, which effectively hinders its use to build the symbolism of class distinction. Many types

of human activity are easy to categorize: biology is undoubtedly science, painting is part of art, and ski jumping is sport, but chess defies easy classification and it is easy to point to elements of the social world constituting it either as a sport, as an art or as a science, at least in the eyes of many chess players. As the former chess world champion Anatoly Karpov once said, "Chess is everything: art, science, and sport".[6]

The impossibility of confining chess to one social field of activity makes it difficult to identify the *illusio* of chess. In Pierre Bourdieu's field theory, *illusio* denotes people's tendency to engage in a social game based on their belief in the reality and the significance of benefits from the game. *Illusio* is a belief in the priority character of the goal or stake in the game, which takes place in one of the social fields. *Illusio* is founded on the unchallenged axiom that such a fight makes sense, is meaningful and is worth investing in (B o u r d i e u, W a c q u a n t 1992: 115–117). *Illusio* motivates efforts and gives meaning to lives. In chess, understood as a community, sport, art, science, entertainment or total game, various *illusio* forms can be pointed out, but since there are many of them and they often invalidate each other, they effectively neutralize the emergence of a coherent symbolic implication that can become the foundation of class distinction.

Many players consider chess to be a sport, because of important similarities, particularly reliance on competition and using a ranking system. The presence of chess in the structure of Western sport as an institution is confirmed by ubiquitous tournaments, competitions, classifications, leagues, rankings, various kinds of points, categories, medals. The logic of sport is what attracts people strongly to chess, because the place in the ranking is directly associated with status, prestige and respect for a player.

Typical considerations about whether chess can be considered as a sports activity attempt to look at them through the prism of various definitions of sport. As expected, depending on the chosen definition, chess is or is not included in the sport category.

An example of such an analysis is an article by Jacek Gajewski, who refers to the definition of the sport provided by Maciej Demel and Alicja Skład, and accepts seven constitutive features of sport as the decisive criteria:

1) independence of direct motives from basic life needs
2) positive emotions accompanying decisions and actions
3) lack of material effect, which is always the result of productive work
4) the physical nature of the action with a specialized accent
5) regularity in striving to achieve maximum results
6) a clear moment of competition as one of the main incentives for improvement
7) strict compliance with the provisions specifying equipment standards, operating conditions and forms, which allows measurability and comparability of results (G a j e w s k i 2012: 7–8).

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[6] Quote from https://www.chessbazaar.com/blog/2017/10/26/chess-art-science-sport-quote-brief/ (accessed 17.05.2020).

From this perspective, chess undoubtedly meets all apart from the fourth criterion, but *physical nature of the action* can also be declared as valid, because after all, a chess player usually makes moves with pieces, which may not be intense physical activity, but it is undoubtedly physical in nature. Gajewski also refers to activities commonly recognized as sports, such as the activity of a sportsman dictating the pace of rowers, motorboat sports, or the struggles of Formula 1 racing, in which physical activity is not intense, but no one refuses them the status of sport, and thus "with all firmness and responsibility based on an in-depth analysis and facts presented, the author of the above considerations states that chess must find its place in the circle of recognized sports" (2012: 10). It is worth adding here that the preparation of chess players for games at the highest level includes both strict chess training and general physical training: hours of struggle at the chessboard are extremely physically demanding, and without good physical condition and endurance the chess player has no chance of maintaining good intellectual shape. So, even if the physical aspect in chess does not reveal itself directly, it is related to intellectual achievement.[7]

A more nuanced approach to the problem of the status of chess as a sport is proposed by Jakub Ryszard Stempień. His analysis starts with Przemysław Nosal's reflections (2015), in which he distinguishes two approaches to defining sports: an attributive approach, enumerating the distinctive characteristics, and a contextual approach, based on the social definition of sport. Both of these perspectives have disadvantages: the first does not keep up with changes in sport, which means that its value is quickly outdated, while the second risks excessive inclusiveness and conventionality, blurring the specificity of sport. The solution proposed by Nosal, structured contextualism, which combines the universal features of sport activity with the social recognition of a given activity as a sport, is not a panacea for this problem, because the question of proving that the specific activity is socially recognized as sport remains unresolved.

Stempień proposes to solve this methodological dilemma by the adoption of quite a unique perspective of methodological dysfunctionalism, assuming that dysfunctions within sport may be treated as indexes of a particular state of social awareness. In other words, if in chess we find negative phenomena which are the "dark side" of sport in general, such as doping, corruption, politicization, commercialization, and mediatization, chess itself should be considered as a sport. Taking into account that the presence of such typical sports dysfunctions has been confirmed, it is reasonable to conclude that chess should be considered a sport (Stempień 2020: 182).

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[7] Anyone who watched the struggle in bullet or blitz chess certainly will not be thinking of their participants as slow or clumsy. In these type of games players have a few minutes for the whole game and when only the seconds remain on the clock moves are made with the ultimate speed and precision. Winning at fast chess requires chess skills and physical coordination at the highest level.

Chess can be also considered as an art, because many chess players often apply aesthetic criteria to playing chess, to specific moves, a combination or the whole game. The Ukrainian grandmaster David Bronstein wrote,

> Chess is a fortunate art form. [...] Its strength is in its interpretation. This phenomenon, inherent in chess, music or painting, enables one repeatedly to reproduce beauty and to afford aesthetic pleasure, frequently deepening and strengthening it by the talent and artistic experience of the interpreter (B r o n s t e i n , S m o l y a n 1982: 26).

There is no shortage of attempts to systematically compare chess to various fields of art. For example, the main thesis of the book by Achilleas Z o g r a p h o s , *Music and Chess. Apollo meets Caissa* (2017), is that chess is an art in itself, that chess generates art and is strongly associated with mathematics and music. They are all universal languages, they rely on personal expression, have the element of play, refer to symbolic language, and have an educational dimension and emotional impact.

William James admitted that solving complex problems is deeply gratifying and reveals aesthetic satisfaction (after F i n e 2015: 10). "All artists are not chess players – all chess players are artists", claimed Marcel Duchamp.[8] Chess is sometimes treated as a kind of creative activity that strives for original, innovative solutions,

> The specific metaphor used by chess players to describe a moment of artistry is brilliancy: a cut diamond on a square board. Brilliancy results from the awe experienced from a simple and perfect answer to a daunting and complex problem – a victory, but not only a victory. […] Often the brilliancy derives from the victor's sacrificing or placing a piece in danger; only later do observers recognize that the stratagem led to victory. "The bigger the sacrifice, the more beautiful" (F i n e 2015: 11).

The abstractness and autotelic nature of chess means that the person interacting with it can lose their sense of place and time (as in the case of deep contact with great art). In many tournaments there are not only rewards for winners who scored most points, but also for players who have played the most beautiful games (brilliancy prizes). The most perfect games are described as immortal, and the chess players who played them join the pantheon of chess "deities".[9]

Some players and some academics think that chess can be recognized as a science, as well, not only in the sense that there are various disciplines of science (mathematics, statistics, neuroscience, computer science) which are interested in chess, but also because of the systematic and value-free inquiry into a specific body of knowledge, consisting of developments of theory (chess theory), its prac-

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[8] https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-12-spring-2008/all-artists-are-not-chess-players-all-chess-players-are-artists-marcel (accessed 6.05.2020).

[9] More on the aesthetics of chess compositions and the beauty of chess gameplay see H e r - m a n 2012: 186–196.

tical testing, the emergence and disappearance of new paradigms, the creation of theoretical schools, the existence of classics and the emergence of revolutionaries in the evolution of chess thinking. An influential German chess player from the turn of the 20th century, a chess theorist, book author and teacher, Siegbert Tarrasch, associated chess with intellectual creativity that can bring happiness and solace to the player,

> Chess is a form of intellectual productiveness, therein lies, its peculiar charm. Intellectual productiveness is one of the greatest joys – if not the greatest one – of human existence. It is not everyone who can write a play, or build a bridge, or even make a good joke. But in chess everyone can, everyone must, be intellectually productive and so can share in this select delight. I have always a slight feeling of pity for the man who has no knowledge of chess, just as I would pity for the man who has no knowledge of love. Chess, like love, like music, has the power to make men happy (Tarrasch 1987: XI).

Chess players looking for the best move in a given position actually become pursuers of truth. The search for the best move is not limited to the duration of the game, because after its end the most common sight is that of chess players who look for some quiet place to analyze (and in a sense to play again) the finished game. The analysis is often supported by chess engines, but also by other chess players who may gather around opponents who are still excited to find out about the source of their victory, defeat or draw. The opponents are looking for decisive moves, decisive mistakes and elusive inaccuracies that have pushed the game to the path of victory or to the defeat of one of the participants. Just as a failed experiment will not be a waste of time for a chemist, because it allowed him or her to verify some specific hypothesis, a lost game can be (and even should be) treated as a valuable lesson. Such a game analyzed in all possible ways, accompanied by the comments of other grandmasters (when it comes to matches at the highest level) goes into the chess annals and enriches chess culture.

Conclusions

When describing the beginnings of the modern image of chess, John Sharples (2015) draws attention to the years 1840–1851, when in England chess became an important part of the Victorian world of leisure time and a form of intellectual entertainment. Its presence in the press (chess columns in newspapers and specialized chess journals) and the development of places where an increasing number of interested players could indulge in the intellectual pleasures of the game of kings, contributed to the dissemination and popularization of the conviction that chess is the game of rationality and respect. Sharples believes that this image is far from completeness, and, recalling the literature of then well-known writer and chess player George Walker, especially his article from 1840 *The Café de la Régence*, argues that,

Walker's text reveals the failure of binary respectable constructions that help organise and classify objects and relationships when confronted with a social type such as the chessplayer. The Victorian chess-player disturbed efforts of social categorisation. In Walker's text it is an unstable form, fluid in terms of sex, nationality, motivation, or age, despite chess's status as a pastime predominantly carried out in the public sphere by white, middle-class males (2015: 20).

The reputation of a chess player is not always crystal clear and his/her motivations are not always unselfish, but there is an even more important circumstance potentially blurring the class character of chess, and that is the game itself. This is the space in which social distinctions are vulnerable, especially in the case of chess, which, "like the tomb, level [led] all grades of conventional rank and distinction, and reserve[d] its high places for the best players" (Sharples 2015: 19). Among chess players, it would be difficult to find divisions rooted in the class system, but this does not mean that there are no divisions at the chessboard. There are, but they are meritocratic and are closely related to the strength of the player and his/her position in a given chess social milieu.

It needs to be emphasized that in the *illusio* concept of agreeing to participate in a fiction does not necessarily mean believing in it. The term *illusio* means primarily 'make fun of' or 'mocking, jeering', and only then an 'illusion' (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992: 97–98). It would appear that if one accepts the belief of many chess players that chess is a miniature of life, it would mean that, from the point of view of aspirations to equality, chess is much more advanced. The image of a chess player is, of course, a socio-cultural construct, but the effects of such a construct grow beyond the social imaginary and have real consequences for the choices made. It is possible that some chess players just put on an act of being convinced that chess truly is egalitarian and treat this instrumentally, as a useful myth (which is facilitated by the previously discussed difficulty in defining the *illusio* of chess). At the level of amateur chess, the people who participate in this social world, although very diverse in many respects, generally seem rather average in terms of the socioeconomic criteria that sociologists would describe. Looking at who appears at chess tournaments and wondering what social category is clearly underrepresented, I would risk the hypothesis that these are generally economically successful people, such as creative professionals or middle and senior corporate managers who cannot afford to spend the time required by participation in chess events, or maybe they do not need successes in chess to raise their status, which is already so high. The distinction and symbolism of the status associated with chess can be used as a tool for gaining social status and a way to stand out above others, which nowadays is one of the most important cultural needs (Szlendak, Olechnicki 2017: 201–218). If it is the case that playing chess leads to social distinction, then the egalitarianism of chess would be paradoxically founded on an elitism which is relatively easy to aspire and imitate.

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SOCJOLOGICZNY PARADOKS SZACHÓW: PONADKLASOWA DYSTYNKCJA KRÓLEWSKIEJ GRY

Abstrakt. Artykuł podejmuje kwestię socjologicznego paradoksu gry w szachy, polegającego na tym, że z jednej strony nadają one osobom przynależącym do ich społecznego świata rodzaj pożądanej dystynkcji, ale z drugiej strony z dystynkcją tą nie jest sprzęgnięte położenie klasowe. Mówiąc językiem Pierre'a Bourdieu, jeśli potraktujemy szachy jako fragment pola sportu, to powinna się w nich zaznaczać dystynkcja klasowa, jednak w tym przypadku tak się nie dzieje. Dlaczego w praktyce szachy są niezwykle popularne i rozpowszechnione, i w związku z tym egalitarne, choć wydają się znakomitym tworzywem do powiększania przewagi klasowej? Co sprawia, że tak wielu ludzi gra w szachy i w jaki sposób szachy nadają graczom ponadklasową dystynkcję?

Odpowiadając na te pytania, należy zwrócić uwagę na kwestie dostępności i otwartości szachów, ich społeczny charakter, totalność szachowego doświadczenia i niemożność zdefiniowania w jednym tylko polu: sportu, nauki czy sztuki oraz – *last but not the least* – na nieoczekiwane możliwości manipulowania *illusio* szachów.

Słowa kluczowe: szachy, socjologia szachów, dystynkcja, illusio, socjologia sportu.

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QUEENS IN THE SHADOW OF KINGS – SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL PROCESS OF WOMEN'S DISCRIMINATION AND EMANCIPATION IN CHESS

Abstract. The article concerns the unequal position of men and women in chess. This inequality is currently manifested in the male-dominated population of chess players, gender determined differences in the game level attained, and financial discrimination. Historical analysis shows that over the centuries chess has been regarded as a pastime suitable for both men and women. It was only the process of institutionalization of chess as a sport (and turning it into serious leisure activity, in R. Stebbins' typology), which took place in the era of industrial society, that discrimination against women in chess came about. The emancipatory activities of women in this field, dating back to the second half of the 19th century, were commented on in the chess press in two ways, which are referred to in the text as the "Steinitz narrative" and the "de Coubertin narrative". Both of these perspectives have remained resilient to this day, accompanying the progress in equalizing the position of men and women in chess that were seen in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Keywords: chess, sport, discrimination against women in sport.

If we engage the queens of our hearts for the queens of our boards and if we can enlist the interest of our connubial mates for our chessical mates, our intellectual pastime will be immensely benefited and will pass into universal favor.

Wilhelm Steinitz (1836–1900)
the first word champion in chess

Female Olympiad would be impractical, uninteresting, unaesthetic and, we are not afraid to add, incorrect […]. This is not our idea of the Olympic Games, where we feel we have sought and must continue to seek the realisation of the following: the solemn and periodic exaltation of male athleticism with internationalism as a base, loyalty as a means, art as a setting and female applause as a reward.

Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937)
founder of the modern Olympic movement

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Instead of an introduction – about gender inequality in contemporary chess

The article is based on the presumption that in chess – as in other sports – an unequal situation between men and women can be observed. The aim of the analysis is to describe, from a sociological perspective, the historical process in which this inequality was shaped, and thus to offer an explanation of this phenomenon. As will be shown, the origins of today's discrimination against women in chess lie in processes that emerged more than 200 years ago, and the arguments that are being used to this day to justify or combat this inequality were formulated about a century and a half ago.

First of all, it is necessary to justify the presumption indicated above, which consists of two statements: (1) chess is a sport; (2) the position of men and women in chess is unequal. With regard to the first claim, it must be admitted that the identification of chess as a sport is not uncontroversial, and it is not possible to consider chess a sport on the basis of certain definitions of sport (which emphasize the element of physical activity as constitutive, but which is absent in the case of chess and other so-called mental sports). However, there are also other options in scientific discourse whose representatives ignore the aspect of physical activity when defining sport (Giulianotti 2005: xii-xiii). It is also important to note that there are indications that in the near future the entire field of mental sports, as well as eSports, will be widely recognized as belonging to the sports domain (Kobiela 2018: 291–293). The decisive factor, for us, is that chess is socially recognized as a sport (Stempień 2020).

As for the second claim about the unequal situation of men and women in chess, there is no space here to discuss this issue in a sufficiently thorough manner. Let's also point out that these considerations will concern the expert, professional level of chess (even if it is not a main source of income), not chess in its recreational form. The most important thing seems to be that this inequality today consists of at least three (related) phenomena: the population of chess players is strongly male-dominated, women present a lower level of play than men, and women experience financial discrimination in chess. Let's try to document – even if briefly – these three issues.

Emma Baccellieri (2019: 59) reminds us: "just 14% of US Chess Federation members are female. That might seem low, but it's a record high, reached in 2018". What is more, the Commission for Women's Chess Report prepared for the 90th FIDE Congress (fr. *Fédération Internationale des Échecs*) in 2020, states that women represent only 14% of the total of 3452 international chess judges (International Arbiter – IA or FIDE Arbiter – FA) (90th FIDE Congress 2020). Referring to situation in Poland, it should be noted that a survey by the Central Statistical Office showed that, in 2018, 17886 people (affiliated with sports clubs and physical culture organizations) were engaged in competitive chess, of which

27% were women (Cierpiał-Wolan 2019: 21, 27). For a comparison, the figures for 2016 are respectively: 18807 people and 29% of women (Cierpiał-Wolan 2017: 28).

As far as the level of play is concerned, it should be noted that in the case of chess there is no formal division into male and female games. The rivalry is open, but due to the relatively lower level of play presented by women, there are, in a way, additional tournaments or classifications for them. Formally, therefore, there is no competition exclusively for men, although in fact competition in the "open" category (e.g., within the Chess Olympiads or competitions for individual world championships) is very strongly male-dominated. In order to document the fact that women in chess do not perform as well as men, let's point out that in May 2020 the current women's world chess champion, Ju Wenjun, was ranked 462nd on the world ranking list of the best players. Higher positions than her in the world ranking were held by the ex-champion Yifan Hou (84th place, the only woman among the top 100 chess players), Humpy Koner (335th place) and Aleksandra Goryachkina (353rd place).[1] International research, carried out in 24 countries around the world, confirmed that at the expert (professional) level of competition men represent a higher level of the game, and this can be considered a kind of cultural universality (Blanch 2016).

We should remember that no woman has ever become a world champion, or reached the final match of the championship. In general, not many female chess players – at the grandmaster level – decide to compete against men; most of them limit themselves to taking part in women's competitions. Of course, one can re-call the individual counterexamples of Pia Cramling or Zsuzsa and Judit Polgár, who were the precursors of contemporary women's participation in men's tour-naments (in 2004 and 2005 Judit was in world top 10 players – obviously as the only woman). Similarly, from a historical perspective, it can be recalled that Vera Menchik, who was active before World War II, was also not limited to competing in women's tournaments. However, it was completely unprecedented at the time, and is still considered exceptional even today.[2] Let us recall that the inclusion of Chantal Chaudé de Silans in the French national team for the 1950 Chess Olympiad caused a great sensation. She was the first woman to compete in the Olympiad (at that time the women's Olympiads were not yet held), apart from Edith Holloway,

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[1] https://ratings.fide.com/ (accessed 27.05.2020).

[2] It was a huge sensation to invite Menchik to the great international tournament in Karlovy Vary, which was to take place in 1929. The Austrian master A. Becker was so shocked by the woman's participation in this tournament that, after it was opened, he spoke in a rather disrespectful tone that anyone who loses to Menchik would be "immortalized" by membership in the Vera Menchik club. Becker was severely punished for this statement, as he became the first member of this "club". Later this list was supplemented by such strong chess players as M. Euwe, S. Reshevsky, M. Sultan Khan, G. Thomas, and C.H.O'D. Alexander, E. Colle, F.D. Yates and others (Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 584–585).

who was part of the English national team at the unofficial Olympiad in Paris in 1924, accompanying the 8th Olympic Games.

As for the financial discrimination of women in chess, let us recall that 2018 saw the World Cup match between Mangus Carlsen and Fabiano Caruana (London) and the female championship tournament (Khanty-Mansiysk; Western Siberia). Baccellieri (2019: 61) notes:

> At the 2018 World Chess Championship the total prize was $1.1 million; at the 2018 Women's World Chess Championship, $450,000. Consider the playing field, though, and the gap looks far bigger. Two men split the $1.1 million; 64 women shared the $450,000. The women's champion, Ju Wenjun, took home $60,000. Carlsen left the men's event with roughly $620,000.

This is not a new problem. At the 1927 London tournament, the winner of which – the aforementioned Vera Menchik – was declared world champion, the main prize was 20 pounds sterling (with an entry fee of 1 pound) (Winter 2015a). In the same year, the challenger Alexander Alekhine had to pay a deposit of $10,000 to play the championship match with the world champion, José Raúl Capablanca (Gawlikowski 1976: 99–102).[3]

The inequality of the status of men and women in chess is therefore manifested in different levels of participation, in different levels of play achieved, and in financial disparities. The gender inequality in chess has been the subject of scientific investigation only to a limited extent. Most of the work is aimed at explaining the unequal results achieved by male and female chess players. The low popularity of chess among women is identified as being a factor that causes their poorer results (in accordance with the assumption that in a larger population it is easier to obtain extreme values, in this case, outstanding chess skills) (Bilalić et al. 2009; Charness, Gerchak 1996). Other authors refer to the role played by partially different biological functioning, demonstrating, for example, that women, in comparison with men, are more likely to experience mental fatigue due to – hormonally conditioned – lower levels of glycogen, which is used by the body in conditions of mental exertion (Veličković, Radovanović 2018: 360–361). The influence of gender stereotypes on the level of play is also considered. It is worth recalling an interesting Italian experiment in which chess players (men and women) played each other over the Internet. If the women did not know the gender of their opponent, they played as well as the men. If they knew that they were playing with men, the level of their game was significantly reduced. When falsely informed that they were playing with women, they attained an unchanged (high) level of play (Maass et al. 2008).

It is more difficult to find social and historical analyses that would deal with the formation, throughout history, of gender inequality in chess, or with the for-

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[3] As Edward Winter (2003) notes, the so-called London Protocol, which at the time regulated the rules of the World Championship, provided for: "Of the total amount of the purse the champion shall receive 20% as a fee. Of the remaining 80% the winner to receive 60% and the loser 40%".

mation of appropriate narratives to justify this inequality or, on the contrary, to combat it. An important exception is the work of Jordi Brasó-Rius, *Los inicios de la mujer en la práctica del ajedrez en España (1922–1935)*, but it concerns the situation in Spain. The aim of this paper is to make up for this deficiency, that is, to define the moment in history when the gender imbalance in chess was formed in the Western world, to show the social conditions underlying this process, and the attempts to consolidate and change the order thus formed. It will be worthwhile to start the analysis by returning to the ancient origins of chess.

Chess, women and premodernity

Researchers agree that chess – created in the 6th century AD in India – has not always been a pastime reserved only for men. Władysław Litmanowicz and Jerzy Giżycki (1986: 438) emphasize that "the chronicles, legends and literary works of ancient times refer to women who play chess well, making them the heroines of numerous situations in which the ability to compete on a chessboard played a decisive role in the course of the action".[4] Examples include the 12th-century lay *Eliduc* by Marie de France (Giżycki 1984: 17), the 13th-century epic poem *Huon de Bordeaux* (Bubczyk 2018: 133–134) and the anonymous poem *Les Échecs amoureux* (Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 221), dated to the 14th century. It should also be remembered that the Arabic writing (*One Thousand and One Nights*), old Russian oral epic poems (*bylina*), as well as miniatures decorating Indian, Persian and Arabic manuscripts, feature women playing chess (Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 438; Sołtysiak 2014: 156; Giżycki 1984: 21). On the basis of these representations[5] it can be concluded that the participation of women in chess games in ancient times was either something ordinary, or at the very least was something that happened.

Moreover, it is worth critically considering the cliché of chess as a miniature of a battle or war, and therefore as something potentially reserved for men. In fact, originally (in India and China), chess was a game of warriors and the ruling class, through which they practiced strategic thinking. It was usually played by men and older boys. Since it was a game of war, it seems logical to symbolically depict a typical army. The pawns and figures depicted military units used in battles (Sołtysiak 2014: 155). The game was played with chariots (rooks), elephants

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[4] Own translation (JRS).

[5] We assume that literary works (or more broadly: works of art) are relatively reliable sources, and the reality presented is to some extent accurate to the experiences of then audiences (otherwise, the author would risk his work being rejected as improbable, inconceivable or untrue). Thus works of art and the artistic message inform us about the structures of the real world (Bubczyk 2018: 132–133). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that, to some extent, real social relations, norms of behavior and customs are reflected in the world presented by the author (Bubczyk 2018: 139).

(bishops), cavalry (knights), infantry (pawns) and kings and viziers (queens). However, when chess reached Europe, it underwent some transformations. From the point of view of further deliberations, the transformation of the metaphor seems important. Chess ceased to imitate a battle, and instead the name of pieces began to refer rather to the structure of medieval society. Let us begin with the transformation of the figure of the vizier into the queen, which can be seen as a kind of recognition of the political role of women at that time (Sołtysiak 2014: 159; Brasó-Rius 2016: 338). It should be pointed out that the queen is the strongest piece on the chessboard, with the largest range of movements. What is more, as Sołtysiak (2014: 160) aptly notes,

> chess glorified the king and his wife, placing them at the very top of the pyramid of importance. Below were representatives of the mighty: bishops and knights; the political importance of the castles (rooks) with their trustees was emphasized as well. The lowest position was of the infantry, consisting mostly of the commoners and peasants. It is hard not to see here a symbolic image of medieval society.[6]

The above mentioned changes most probably took place before 1000 AD. (Sołtysiak 2014: 157–159). Thus, in the Middle Ages, chess ceased to be a military game (addressed rather to men), and became a manor or palace game (appropriate for both men and women), sometimes providing a pretext for romantic meetings (Bubczyk 2018; Sołtysiak 2014: 161–162).

Modernity did not bring about significant changes. Let us remember that St. Therese of Avila, a Spanish Carmelite woman living in the 16th century, had played chess as a child and clues regarding this interest were to be found in her religious writings, where she invoked the chess metaphor. St. Therese was proclaimed the patron saint of Spanish chess players in 1944 (Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 1233). Above all, however, it is necessary to recall the sixteenth-century poem *Chess* by Jan Kochanowski, in which we have the opportunity to follow the chess duel between Fiedor and Borzuj, two newcomers from Slavic lands, whose stake is to marry the daughter of the Danish king Tarses. The game is postponed until the next morning, and at night, the king's daughter, favoring Fiedor, finds an unexpectedly victorious manoeuvre in a position that both players had already judged to be decisive for Borzuj (Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 1184–1185). In the following centuries, women playing chess were still presented in works of art. It is enough to mention here the 17th century tragedy *Women Beware Women* by Thomas Middleton (Taylor, Loughrey 1984), Daniel Chodowiecki's 18th century engraving *Education*, or Martin Engelbrecht's engraving of *Chess or the game of kings* from the same period. If – considering the Middle Ages – the game of chess was adored by Empress Irena of Byzantium (Sołtysiak 2014: 156), the same can be said of Tsarina Catherine II (Giżycki 1984: 204). Intelligence, cleverness, and the ability to set a trap for an opponent – so useful in chess – were not considered typically male attributes at that time.

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[6] Own translation (JRS).

The institutionalization of chess as a sport

So, what was it that made chess, a pastime which had been suitable for both men and women, become, at some point in history, a game dominated by men, more willingly played by them, and at the same time, one where the lack of women's dispositions is explicitly mentioned? The most important thesis of this paper is that the change took place during the formation of the industrial society and was related to the consequences (correlates) of this process. As is well known, it was then, with the transfer of paid work from the household to the factory, that a clear gender divide developed: the public sphere was dominated by men, while women were limited to the private sphere (Szacka 2003: 381–382).

How did this play out in the case of chess? Well, at the turn of the 19th century the first chess clubs emerged in Europe (England, France, Germany, among others), as well as in the United States. Thus the game of chess underwent a certain specialization and institutionalization (Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 416–417, 434–435; Gawlikowski 1976: 26–46). This may be related to a broader process through which organizational forms of sports amateurism were developed at that time (Sharples 2015: 300). As Wojciech Lipoński writes (1987: 322), "during the eighteenth century, the number of sports clubs grew in Great Britain and its American colonies. […] On the European continent, the development of sports associations dates back to the third decade of the nineteenth century".[7] From the end of the 18th century, chess was increasingly identified as a sporting discipline in which one can improve and achieve excellence or mastery, as is the case with equestrianism, cycling or rowing.

These chess clubs were often founded on the basis of cafés, and the Café de la Régence in Paris, founded in 1740, played a special role here. Importantly, it was men that were the members of these clubs (which, after all, functioned within the public sphere). So if associations of this type – such as London's "Divan", Parsloe's Chess Club, St. George Chess Club – promoted the best players, inviting them to guest appearances, organizing matches and tournaments (Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 200, 863; Gawlikowski 1976: 26–46), all these events were attended by men. It is significant that the English chess player and writer George Walker, reporting in an article from 1841 on his visit to the Café de la Régence, notes that in the hustle and bustle he observed (only) two ladies who, by the way, came to the cafe with their husbands to... play dominoes (sic!) with them (Sharples 2015: 308–309).

Thus, it can be assumed that the process (dated to between the end of the 18th century and the middle of the 19th century) of the initial institutionalization of chess as a sports discipline (initially while maintaining fidelity to the idea of noble amateurism), and thus the strengthening of its image in the public sphere, was necessarily and obviously an exclusive process for women. Referring

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[7] Own translation (JRS).

to Robert Stebbins' typology, we can say that it was then that the transformation of chess from *casual leisure* into *serious leisure* took place. The area of casual leisure includes activities undertaken for fun and pure pleasure, carried out in a non-systematic (also completely accidental) manner, at a low level of advancement, without preparation, or without much influence on the personal and social functioning of the individual (Stebbins 2001; Veal 2017: 206). The domain of serious leisure, on the other hand, consists of free-time activities carried out systematically over a long period of time, in a quasi-professional manner, which are identity-critical and, viewed chronologically, constitute a kind of career, while the individual assesses them as vitally important and valuable to himself or herself (Stebbins 1992; Veal 2017: 206). It seems that the process of the institutionalization of chess as a sport described here was the process of its transformation into serious leisure or, more precisely, the emergence and development of a form of practicing chess as a serious leisure activity, although probably playing chess remains a casual leisure activity for most people. Walker's firm declaration: *I am a chessplayer!* can be seen (Sharples 2015) as a testimony to this transformation.

Suffragettes

As Paul Hoffman notes (2003),

> Until the 19th century, women were not welcome in chess clubs in Europe and America. In the mid-1880s, a club in Turin, Italy, allowed the wives and daughters of its members to join them at the chessboard, a practice that was applauded by then-world champion Wilhelm Steinitz.

The opening of chess clubs to female membership was a slow process; however, in the second half of the 19th century women's chess clubs or women's sections in existing clubs started to be established in the USA and European countries (England, Germany, Holland, France) (Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 438; Brasó-Rius 2016: 338–339; Winter 2020). It is difficult to say when and where the first women's chess association was founded. Litmanowicz and Giżycki (1986: 438) give priority to Philadelphia, where the female chess club was established in 1864. However, in their monograph dedicated to women's associations in Great Britain, David Doughan and Peter Gordon (2006: 81) state:

> Although there were women's chess clubs in the Netherlands as early as 1847, organized women's chess does not seem to have started in Britain until the 1880s, when the Brighton Chess Club had a ladies' branch which ran tournaments, and it was only in 1895 that the Ladies' Chess Club was established in London. For a long time women were segregated in clubs, partly on the grounds that they played less well than the men.

To sum up, it should be stated that the process of including women in the institutionalization of chess as a sport has been delayed by at least several dozen years in relation to that institutionalization itself.

Initially, the development of women's chess was hindered by the lack of interest from the women themselves, but the turn of the century brought positive changes (Brasó-Rius 2016: 338). As Litmanowicz and Giżycki (1986: 438) remind us, at a tournament in Hastings in 1895 the women's tournament was held parallel to the main one, and in 1897 the first international women's chess tournament took place in London. Against this backdrop, Jordi Brasó-Rius (2016: 339 et seq.) notes the significant backwardness of Spain, where the female chess movement only began to develop in the 1920s, and this process accelerated in the next decade, but was interrupted by the outbreak of civil war. Brasó-Rius (2016: 336–337) directly links the development of women's chess in Spain to a broader stream of emancipatory and equality activities, promoted and initiated by members of the royal family, among others.

After some time the first female chess stars began to appear. One must mention here Ellen Gilbert (died in 1900), who was famous for her excellent correspondence game, able to announce victory by checkmate in a dozen or even several dozen moves (!) and was once proclaimed Queen of Chess. Her successor was Sonia Graf (whose talent was taken care of by the German chess master and theoretician Siegbert Tarrasch) and, above all, the aforementioned Vera Menchik (trained by the Hungarian master Géza Maróczy), who became the first female chess world champion.

Two narratives: Steinitz *versus* de Coubertin

The second most important thesis of our paper is that since the beginning of the process of women's emancipation in chess, i.e. about the middle of the 19th century, we can observe a clash between two narratives connected with this process and which comment on it. The presence of these narratives can be noticed when studying press publications, including, above all, articles printed in chess periodicals (as an element of the discourse within the social world of chess).

The basis for our extraction of these two narratives is – analyzed in the spring of 2020 – a collection of more than 80 press excerpts available on the blog dedicated to the history of chess, run by Edward Winter (www.chesshistory.com) in the *Chess and Women* section.[8] The blog is regularly updated, readers-Internauts send interesting fragments, information, quotations, photos and scans found during their own queries.

The first of the narrations we have distinguished would be called the "Steinitz narrative", from the name of the first chess world champion. His statement, which favorably commented on the decision of the Chess Club in Turin to allow women to participate in the games, was used as the motto of the presented article. The

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[8] https://www.chesshistory.com/winter/extra/women.html (accessed 27.05.2020).

"Steinitz narrative" points out the need to encourage women to play chess, promotes the achievements of women in chess, lobbies for the participation of female chess players in tournaments and for the organization of such undertakings. An important argument is that chess is a good of all mankind and it would constitute an important value if the game of chess were as democratic and widespread as possible, because it has the potential to unite people. It is emphasized that chess, due to its nature, is something appropriate for women (balanced, quiet, intellectual entertainment). It should be noted, however, that in the case of this narrative the argumentation is not particularly developed, because the need to encourage women to play chess seems obvious to the representatives of this position and does not demand any justification. Instead, the inclusive initiatives or extraordinary results of individual female chess players are presented as good practices. Here are a few press statements from the second half of the 19th century that are typical of this perspective:

> We present this month a correspondence game […] between Mrs Gilbert, of Hartford, Connecticut, the strongest lady player in the United States, and Mr Berry, of Beverly, Massachusetts, in which the former announces a mate in 19 moves. The immeasurable superiority of trousers chess is often vaunted, and the natural incapability of women for excellence in the game is deduced from certain propositions, any one of which is a fact taken for granted, though neither self-evident nor demonstrable. The strength of men's prejudices and of their boot-holding extremities are [sic!] generally about on a par, and very often they cooperate. Their physical superiority they use first as a force, and then as an argument. Excluding the ladies by the rule of fist from clubs and associations, discouraging their home play, and pooh-poohing their first timid efforts, the masculine countenance then lights up with an idiotic grin which seconds the enunciation. "Women play? Can't do it, sir; Nature wills otherwise. Let them cook and sew, that's what they can do, sir". Very much would we like to get hold of one of these oracles, place before him the position in which Mrs Gilbert announced "checkmate in 19 moves", and ask him to find out how it was to be done. If, moreover, we could extract from him a pledge that he would not dine until he had solved it, then our cup of happiness would be overflowing, for we should have delicious visions of many dinnerless days as the just punishment of irrational prejudication
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> ("City of London Chess Magazine", September 1875, pp. 253–254).

> There was a time when a knowledge of chess was looked upon by women as well as men as a valuable accomplishment; and there is no reason why it should not be so regarded now. […] We say unreservedly that chess is a game which is worthy of being cultivated by ladies. It is pleasantly quiet, and they possess many of the qualities which should characterize the votary of the game. They have patience, they are nice in calculating, as well as quick in devising a means of attack or defense. It has far too much variety ever to grow tiresome, and especially in the long wintry evenings, if only as affording rest from the unceasing whirl of fashionable pleasure, should it once more find a place among the recognized home pastimes of the day
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> ("Chess Player's Chronicle", 15th March 1881, pp. 121–122).

> Ladies have latterly invaded almost all the fields hitherto occupied by men, but at the beginning of last year they had not yet gone so far as to form a chess club for themselves. That was a state of affairs which only needed to be noticed in order to be remedied, and so the Ladies'

Chess Club came into existence in the month of January 1895. In the beginning it did not include many members, and the members […] used to meet at one another's houses and study the Royal Game. But the institution was one of the things which, since they meet a long-felt want, are bound to have a rapid success, and before long the list of members had swelled to such dimensions that it was felt to be necessary to have a club-room. This was found, and Monday evenings were devoted to the game, the afternoon visits being still kept up, until the members obtained their present premises, where the weekly meeting is held from three to half-past ten

("Black and White", 14th March 1896, p. 334).

We have named the opposite position the "de Coubertin narrative", from the name of the initiator of the modern Olympic movement and founder of the International Olympic Committee. Pierre de Coubertin was opposed to women's participation in the Games, to the organization of the Women's Olympic Games, and, as he himself put it, to the participation of women in sports competitions held in public space (DeFrantz 1997: 18; Terret 2013: 6–7). Although it is not known whether de Coubertin was passionate about chess or if, for example, he took any steps to include chess in the program of the Games, his unequivocal and consistent stance towards female sport can be seen as patronizing in some way the narrative that prohibits women's participation in chess competitions. One of his categorical statements on this issue is the second motto of our article. The "de Coubertin narrative" appeared in response to the emancipatory actions of women in the domain of chess. Public statements included in this trend indicate that the game of chess is something fundamentally inappropriate for women, and above all, it is unsuitable for their mentality, due to their low ability to compete, concentrate or formulate original ideas. Some of the statements emphasize that the tasks and role of women remain (and should remain) connected with the home. In order to justify the opinion that women should not play chess, the fact of women's fundamental lack of achievements in chess (lack of outstanding sports results, lack of significant or even any contribution to the development of the theory of the game) is invoked. Importantly, in the "de Coubertin narrative", the case of argumentation is crucial. This position is, therefore, supported by justifications, and it can be assumed that it is not considered to be "self-explanatory", even by its representatives, and thus it is not obvious to the audience. As such, it must be proved. Below are a few press releases from the early 20th century that can be considered representative of this trend:

In the whole of its enormous literature there does not appear the name of any woman among the stars of the first, second or third magnitude. One may go through volume after volume containing thousands of games and not find a single one played by women which any editor has thought worthy of a permanent record. […] A careful examination of the games of players whom the world recognizes as great reveals the fact that the faculties and qualities of concentration, comprehensiveness, impartiality and, above all, a spark of originality, are to be found in combination and in varying degrees. The absence of these qualities in woman explains why no member of the feminine sex has occupied any high position as a chessplayer

("Lasker's Chess Magazine", April 1906, pp. 276–277).

The home has been and still is woman's chief stronghold, whence she can achieve conquests that keep mankind under permanent subjection. Surely the average club room, with its smoke-laden atmosphere, is not the magnet to attract her, and it is here where mere man obtains the foundation of his knowledge and experience which his "concentration, comprehensiveness, impartiality and originality" are destined, in isolated cases, to transform into the genius of mastership

("American Chess Bulletin", January 1908, pp. 4–6).

A woman's mind is a market place crowded with so many mental reflections that it is hardly fair to ask her to concentrate on what is purely a man's game. Chess is the weak spot in her mental armor. When a woman plays at chess she is apt to rest her chin on her hand and incidentally display her rings. While in deep meditation as to how to capture the king she suddenly is attracted by the arrival of a friend clad in exquisite furs. The fair player's thoughts are diverted to the smart apparel shop. As soon as her strict attention slips its anchor the winning move of the chess game, which would stick like a burr in a man's mind, rises like a shadow across her memory. Her chess atmosphere then becomes foggy, and the social atmosphere decidedly clear. […] Women trying to play chess are like people leading horses they dare not ride. It will never be a woman's game

("American Chess Bulletin", April 1924, p. 99).

Of the two narratives we have distinguished, the "Steinitz narrative" seems a little older, while the "de Coubertin narrative" emerged with a certain delay, in response to the already ongoing efforts to emancipate women in chess. This hypothesis is based on the dating of the materials available on the aforementioned blog, dedicated to the history of chess, and needs to be verified during a systematic query of historical chess magazines. If this hypothesis is correct, the "Steinitz narrative" would have appeared between 1875 and 1900, and the "de Coubertin narrative" in the early 20th century. Throughout the entire 20th century, these two perspectives have clashed, maintaining their resilience to this day. During this time, there was a constant, albeit slow, bumpy and still unfinished process of equalizing the position of men and women in chess.

The 20th century – towards gender equality in chess

The 20th century witnessed many activities aimed at equalising the status of men and women in chess. However, these activities were often of a limited range. This is shown by the history of women's world championships and women's chess Olympiads. The scope of discrimination was gradually reduced, but the process was slow, and both of the narratives outlined above were important commentaries or perhaps even influenced its pace – although it is difficult to make an unequivocal statement in this regard.

The history of women's chess world championships is relatively short. It was not until nearly 40 years after the match between Steinitz and Johannes Zukertort (1888), generally considered the first official game for the World Chess Championship (Gawlikowski 1976; http://www.olimpbase.org/index.php[9]), that the

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[9] Accessed 27.05.2020.

female tournament in London (as an event accompanying the Chess Olympiad) was played in 1927. As was mentioned, it was won by Vera Menchik, and she was declared female world champion (Gawlikowski 1978: 22–23; Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 698). Significantly, however, there is a lot of evidence that the tournament was only ex post recognized as a game of world primacy. Winter (2015a) sarcastically notes: "It is difficult to imagine a world championship title being decided in an event whose participants did not know that they were contesting the title, but that happened in 1927". This can be treated as a kind of indicator of how female chess was viewed. Until the outbreak of World War II, FIDE organized women's world championships in the formula of tournaments accompanying the next Olympiads (won invariably by Menchik[10]). Thus, these tournaments were held "as an aside" to the chess Olympiads, as accompanying events, with a small prize. This could not have had a positive impact on their prestige.

At the same time, the men competed for the championship in the formula of a match between two players (not a tournament), consisting of a dozen or more games. This difference was assessed as follows by world champion Alekhine in 1939, commenting on the deficient level of some games played by Menchik:

> It is totally unfair to persuade a player of an acknowledged superclass like Miss Menchik to defend her title year after year in tournaments composed of very inferior players. It is not surprising that after so many tournaments she has lost much of her interest, and plays some games casually, much below her strength. But such accidental difficulties could not possibly be decisive in a championship, if it were settled, like any title of importance, in a match and not in a tournament (Winter 2020).

It was not until after the Second World War that the formula of women's and men's (open) world championship competitions in chess was equalized.[11]

Chess is not an Olympic discipline, and since 1927 FIDE has been organizing – initially irregularly, now in two-year cycles – its own Olympiads.[12] The first

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[10] One exception is the two world championship matches between Vera Menchik and Sonia Graf. The first one took place in Amsterdam in 1934, and the venue of the games was... the private home of Max Euwe – the then leading global chess player and chess activist. In 1937 both female chess players met again, this time in Semmering. Although the venue was the Grand Hotel Panhans, it was an event organized privately, as before. Nevertheless, FIDE declared its willingness to acknowledge the result of this match and the match itself (http://www.olimpbase.org/index.php – accessed 27.05.2020; Litmanowicz, Giżycki 1986: 699–700).

[11] For a long time in a series of eliminations, a pretender was selected who stood up to a match with the current champion/female champion. When at the end of the twentieth century FIDE decided to change the formula of the game to the cup system, the decision concerned both the world champion and the female champion. Over time, the system of matches between the current champion and challenger was reverted to the knockout system; although in the case of women's championships, the knockout system was kept for longer.

[12] Leyla Dimitrova (2015: 197) explains: "The use of the name "Chess Olympiad" […] is of historical origin and implies no connection with the Olympic Games".

female Olympiad was not organized until 1957 (Maric 2007: 195–196); before that, women were able to compete within the "common" Olympiad, which in practice (apart from the aforementioned cases of Holloway and de Silans) did not happen. Starting with the 1972 Skopje Olympiad (with one exception) the "male" Olympiads (formally open) and female ones were organized together (at the same time and in the same city), but in the formula of two separate tournaments. Since 1984, however, a solution has been adopted according to which both events are conducted within the one tournament (continuous numbering is used, starting from the first men's Olympiad); however, the games are conducted separately for men (open tournament) and women (http://www.olimpbase.org/index.php;[13] Dimitrova 2015). It is worth paying some attention to the period when the men's and women's Olympiads were organized separately. The sporting and organizational differences that could be observed at that time seem to be interesting from the point of view of the process of achieving gender equality in chess.

Among the sporting differences between the men's and women's Olympiads, from a historical perspective, the first thing to mention is that the national teams for the female competition were smaller for a long time (during the first women's Olympiad there were not even any bench warmers!). Only in 2008 at the Dresden Olympiad did women take part for the first time in four-person teams (not counting the bench warmers), as had been the case with men's competitions from the beginning (http://www.olimpbase.org/index.php[14]). Another sporting difference between the men's and women's Olympiads was the pace of the game (http://www.olimpbase.org/index.php;[15] Gawlikowski 1978: 479). Generally, the ladies were supposed to play a bit faster, having less time to think (which was measured with special clocks). The relatively fast pace of the game and initially small female teams allow us to conclude that in the past the conditions of women's competition were not conducive to encouraging the best performance possible and obtaining fully reliable results. It is assumed that women's chess was underestimated by FIDE and the organizers of the Olympiads as generally remaining at a rather low level of play, and that possible disturbances in the results obtained were not a significant problem.

As far as organizational differences are concerned, they also seem to be – like sports differences – a derivative of the general disregard for female chess. Generally speaking, it can be said that the location of the women's Olympiads was less attractive; this applies to the choice of host cities, reserved game rooms and accommodation. Let's start by saying that the women's Olympiads were generally held in small towns that were not capital cities and were not always interesting for

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[13] Accessed 27.05.2020.
[14] Accessed 27.05.2020.
[15] Accessed 27.05.2020.

tourists: Emmen[16] / Holland (1957), Split / Yugoslavia (1963), Oberhausen / West Germany (1966), Lublin / Poland (1969), Medellin / Colombia (1974) (http://www.olimpbase.org/index.php[17]). The locations of the men's Olympiads were, in contrast, more attractive: Moscow / USSR (1956), Munich / West Germany (1958), Leipzig / East Germany (1960), Varna / Bulgaria (1962), Tel Aviv / Israel (1964), Havana / Cuba (1966), Lugano / Switzerland (1968), Siegen / West Germany (1970) and Nice / France (1974) (http://www.olimpbase.org/index.php[18]).

It is interesting to study the accommodation conditions for the women's Olympiads. During the first Olympiads, the chess players were lodged in private homes, a solution without precedent and, as Gawlikowski tactfully states (1978: 480; see also Litmanowicz 2005: 32–34), "on the one hand, created a family atmosphere, but on the other hand, of course, it must have been a bit embarrassing."[19] The editors of www.olimpbase.org write as follows about the Emmen Olympiads: "This is probably the only major international chess contest ever where players were lodged in private apartments, and not in the hotels". The games were held in the factory's common room located in the town (http://www.olimpbase.org/1957w/1957in.html#trivia;[20] Gawlikowski 1978: 480). Some progress in this field is to noticed in the case of the next two Olympiads, but already during the Lublin Olympiad the players were located in a student hostel, far away from the venue, i.e. the hall of the Provincial Sports and Tourism Center, was designed for basketball (sic!) (Gawlikowski 1978: 500; http://www.olimpbase.org/1969w/1969in.html; http://pzszach.pl/2019/08/26/olimpiada-w-lublinie-1969/[21]). For comparison, at the same time, the games of the men's Olympiads took place in: The Central Theatre of the Red Army (Moscow 1956), the Deutsches Museum (Munich 1958), the Ring-Messehaus (Leipzig 1960), the Casino Restaurant (Golden Sands 1962), the Sheraton Hotel (Tel Aviv 1964), the Habana-Libre Hotel (Havana 1966), the Padiglione Conza Exhibition Hall (Lugano 1968) and the Sigerlandhalle Congress Center (Siegen 1970) (Gawlikowski 1978; http://www.olimpbase.org/[22]). It can be assumed that the organizers of the men's Olympiads respected the players, coaches, referees and fans much more, wanting to provide them with not only comfortable, but often luxurious conditions.

The history of the Chess Olympiads shows the process of through which female and male chess were equalized. The starting point is the absence of women;

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[16] In her memoirs Mirosława Litmanowicz, Polish female chess master, writes: Emmen is a small town. In those years it did not have a town privileges, so it was simply a village. Almost all inhabitants were somehow connected with the event (2005: 33).

[17] Accessed 27.05.2020.

[18] Accessed 27.05.2020.

[19] Own translation (JRS).

[20] Accessed 27.05.2020.

[21] Accessed 27.05.2020.

[22] Accessed 27.05.2020.

the Games were practically reserved for men for more than a quarter of a century. The next stage is the stage of separate organization of the men's and women's Olympiads (at different times and in different places), with a lot of evidence that female chess was then depreciated (sports and organizational differences), and the very fact of organizing women's tournaments was considered a certain achievement. The next phase involved gradually equalizing and combining the ladies' and gentlemen's tournaments, so that eventually women would compete in the same event as men (open and female tournaments), under similar sports conditions.[23] The whole process was spread over several decades of the 20th century.

Instead of a summary – vitality of narratives

The representatives of the "de Coubertin narrative" commented on the process of equalizing the position of women and men in chess, emphasizing the fact that the differences in sports performance has not been diminishing and formulating assumptions about their possible biological determinations. Many of the leading players of the second half of the 20th century can be regarded as contemporary representatives of this perspective: the sharp-tongued Dutch champion Jan Donner, the misogynist Robert Fischer (world champion from 1972–1975) and Nigel Short, who was one of the world's best players at the turn of the century (quotes from the blog www.chesshistory.com):

> I was even accused of racial discrimination. "Donner forgot to add blacks to his statement. It should read   »women and blacks cannot play chess, because they are more stupid than we are«", was foisted upon me by a lady of Amsterdam. This lady misunderstood. Black men can play chess all right, black women cannot. That is the whole point (D o n n e r 2006: 162–164).

Although W i n t e r (2015a; 2015b) argues that the following statement by Fischer from 1962 could have been manipulated (the interview was not authorized and the recordings were deleted), two things deserve attention. First, the quote seems typical for "Bobby", and secondly (as follows from this) it was considered by many chess players to be fully true, and so it had a commentary function on the emancipation of women in chess, feeding the "de Coubertin narrative".

> They're all weak, all women. They're stupid compared to men. They shouldn't play chess, you know. They're like beginners. They lose every single game against a man. There isn't a woman player in the world I can't give knight-odds to and still beat
>
> ("Harper's Magazine", January 1962, pp. 49–55).

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[23] The participants of the "open" tournament within the Chess Olympiads compete for the Hamilton-Russel Cup and receive individual medals. Within the female tournament, the competition per analogy takes place for the Vera Menchik Cup and individual medals.

The "Steinitz narrative" also retained its vitality. Fischer's words were interpreted as a declaration that he could give knight odds even in a game with the then female world champion Nona Gaprindashvili. The Yugoslav Grandmaster Petar Trifunović replied to this in one of his articles as follows:

> Someone once asserted to the writer that women's chess is very weak, declaring as proof that Bobby Fischer said he can give knight odds to the women's champion. The writer doesn't know that Fischer said anything of the sort, but is sure no-one can give knight odds to Nona Gaprindashvili
>
> ("Chess Review", December 1963, p. 367).

The words of the Australian Grandmaster in the correspondence game, Cecil Purdy, who was also involved in chess journalism, which was an important voice within the "Steinitz narrative", come from the same period:

> In my opinion the general male superiority in chess has been mainly a matter of fashion. For a long time it has been "in" for boys to play chess, and for some of them to study it from books – only those who study it become good. It has not hitherto been "in" for girls, and among them the idea of studying chess books has been regarded as eccentric. This situation is altering slightly. If it begins to change completely, chess will become again a two-sex game, as it has been at other times in history, especially in mediaeval Europe
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> ("Chess World", March–April 1967, p. 52).

It seems that the "de Coubertin narrative" is weakening somewhat, although statements from this area can still be encountered. The position of men and women in chess is not equal today, but over the last dozen or so decades, significant progress has been made, which the representatives of the "de Coubertin narrative" have not been able to effectively oppose. The successes in the emancipation of women in chess were, of course, a result of the general emancipation of women in sport and the social process of gender equality in the Western world. The statements included in the "de Coubertin narrative" may have always been scandalous, but the novelty – indicating a possible weakening of the position of the representatives of this trend and their awareness of political correctness – seems to be that they are apologizing for their words and disassociating themselves from them. Ultimately, Winter says that Fischer denied his statement, while Garri K a s p a r o v recently admitted:

> I won't hide from the fact that I did make regrettably sexist remarks about women in chess around this time. In that 1989 "Playboy" interview I said men were better at chess because "women are weaker fighters" and that "probably the answer is in the genes". The possibility of gender brain differences aside, I find it almost hard to believe I said this considering that my mother is the toughest fighter I know (K a s p a r o v 2017: 268).

By coming back to his statement less than thirty years ago, apologizing for it and withdrawing from it, Kasparov bears witness to a peculiar change not only in the individual perception of the phenomenon under discussion here, but also

in what can be appropriately expressed in contemporary sports discourse. In the 21st century, the position of women and men in chess is not equal, but it is generally accepted – also at the institutional level[24] – that one should strive for gender equality rather than justify and celebrate inequality.

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[24] One of the bodies of FIDE is Commission for Women's Chess, which describes its mission as following: (1) to promote female chess throughout all FIDE member nations; (2) to support talented young female players; (3) to increase number of certified female organizers, arbiters and coaches; (4) to increase number of female lecturers (https://wom.fide.com/mission/ – accessed 27.05.2020).

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KRÓLOWE W CIENIU KRÓLI – SOCJOLOGICZNE ZAPISKI O HISTORII DYSKRYMINACJI I EMANCYPACJI KOBIET W SZACHACH

Abstrakt. Artykuł dotyczy nierównej pozycji kobiet i mężczyzn w szachach. Nierówność ta przejawia się obecnie w maskulinizacji rozgrywek szachowych, płciowo określonych różnicach w prezentowanym poziomie gry oraz w dyskryminacji finansowej. Analiza historyczna pokazuje, że szachy na przestrzeni wieków były uznawane za rozrywkę właściwą zarówno kobietom, jak i mężczyznom. Dopiero proces sportowej instytucjonalizacji szachów (i przekształcania ich w rozrywkę typu *serious leisure* w typologii R. Stebbinsa), który dokonał się w dobie kształtowania się społeczeństwa przemysłowego, przyniósł dyskryminację kobiet w szachach. Działania emancypacyjne kobiet na tym polu, datowane od drugiej połowy XIX wieku, były w prasie szachowej komentowane w dwojaki sposób, który został w tekście nazwany „narracją W. Steinitza" i „narracją P. de Coubertina". Obie te perspektywy zachowały żywotność do dzisiaj, towarzysząc postępowi w zakresie zrównywania pozycji kobiet i mężczyzn w szachach, jaki przyniosły XX i XXI wiek.

Słowa kluczowe: szachy, sport, dyskryminacja kobiet w sporcie.

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DOPING IN E-SPORTS. AN EMPIRICAL EXPLORATION AND SEARCH FOR SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Abstract. Electronic sports is a new phenomenon in scientific research. Many issues within it have not been systematically analyzed. The use of artificial substances to improve human physical abilities is most often addressed in the context of deviation in sports. E-sports partially reflects sporting functionality, but in the area of doping and anti-doping control in video game competitions, it is difficult to delineate the boundary between what is allowed and what is forbidden. The aim of this work is to reconstruct the social assessment of doping in e-sports based on the attitudes and experience of fans and players. Most players accept the use of stimulants, such as energy drinks. Some of them also observe the use of prohibited substances during games. E-sports enthusiasts usually support anti-doping controls modeled on traditional sports and emphasize the importance of structural determinants of the issue, such as allowing the use of prohibited means.

Keywords: sociology of sport, doping, e-sports, video games.

Introduction

The essence of e-sports (electronic sports, or cybersports) is to develop one's skills and aim for the best performance in competitive gaming, which is based on electronically processed images generated by a computer program on a monitor, television screen or other multimedia device. E-sports have been bringing in rapidly increasing revenue every year. Currently, the global annual revenue amounts to over a billion dollars, with the US and China being the largest markets (Newzoo 2019a). Every year, e-sports are becoming more popular. The current global audience amounts to 450 million fans (Newzoo 2019b), with Asia and the Pacific having decidedly the highest shares of fans.

The number of scientific studies concerning e-sports has been growing systematically for the last two decades. The year 2012 was a breakthrough point, with the number of publications doubling over a period of 12 months. The first paper on the subject in English was published in 2002, and approached the matter from

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a sociological viewpoint (Bryce, Rutter 2002). Later publications approached it from the viewpoint of sports science (Hemphill 2005), media studies, informatics, law or cognitive science. Reitman et al. (2019) identified 150 papers in English on e-sports published up to 2018; among these, 15 came from the field of sociology and as many as 37 came from the field of media studies. The first among the few Polish studies on e-sports was published in 2009 (Stępnik 2009 from the viewpoint of sports science; Dąbrowski 2011 with a sociology viewpoint).

The establishment and the subsequent gradual development of a new sociological subdiscipline – the sociology of e-sports – in the first two decades of the 21st century, filled the gap in the scientific investigation of the sociocultural dimension of e-sports only slightly. The new research field contains many aspects that have yet to undergo a systematic analysis. One such aspect is the issue of doping in competitive gaming – bearing in mind that the boundary between what is allowed and what is forbidden is not always clear (Leszczyńska 2017).

Doping in sport

Doping is usually addressed in the context of deviation in sport (Leszczyńska 2017) and is defined as the use of artificial substances or methods to improve human physical capabilities and, consequently, sport performance (Gawroński, Ziemba 2005). It is worth underlining that since 2017, Polish law has also treated competitions based on intellectual activity that are performed to achieve sport results as a form of sport. However, the Ministry of Sport and Tourism emphasised that the amended Act on Sport did not change the legal status of e-sports (i.e. it did not equate e-sports with traditional sport), although the act did raise the importance of disciplines that require building one's mental proficiency, which means that the law has opened up to include competitive gamers to a small extent.

A popular definition of doping is the one proposed by the World Anti-Doping Agency, according to which doping involves at least one breach of the anti-doping regulations provided in the World Anti-Doping Code. This broadens the common understanding of doping as the use of illegal substances to include as little as the presence of illegal substances in the body of the sportsperson. While the problem of doping in sport is nothing new, it remains substantial. When compared to Polish publications, international literature encompasses a much wider spectrum of research subjects (Leszczyńska 2017).

Initially, the purpose of doping was not limited to performing better in sport competitions (Yesalis, Bahrke 2002; Rosen 2008; Mottram 2011). However, the rise in doping in the second half of the 20th century is thought to have originated from the transformations taking place in sport at the time:
   1) the development of sport medicine;
   2) growing investments into modern technologies applied in sport;

3) growing pressure to break records due to the ongoing commercialisation and politicisation of sport (Waddington 2008).

A secondary effect of these changes was the instrumentalisation of doping related to the aforementioned politicisation: after World War II, competitive sport was treated as a tool of national propaganda, with success in sport supposedly indicating the superiority of a given political system and constituting a point of pride in international relationships (Wojtaszyn 2011). This led to the establishment and development of a doping system. Programmes created in totalitarian regimes involved supporting the sportspersons with any means available, with cooperation from the coaches, physicians, scientists and other members of the coaching staff. The most comprehensively described example is that of East Germany (Dennis 2015). However, the recently exposed doping in Russia confirms that the issue is still relevant (Altukhov, Nauright 2018).

An especially important growth factor for the popularity of doping was the aforementioned development of sport medicine; in particular, the role of physicians in the training process. It is difficult to imagine a contemporary sport training regime that does not involve medical support, the quality of which may affect a given sportsperson's physical advantage and competitive achievements. The success of sport medicine has caused an increase in the cases of non-medical use of particular substances. The physicians' engagement in matters related to doping is also significant (Waddington 2008).

Doping scandals involving sport celebrities have motivated the research. Some widely respected Olympic or World Championships medallists, who used to be role models for youth and other sportspersons, have been proven guilty of doping. Lance Armstrong and other cyclists who were accused of doping are the subjects of many sociological studies (see e.g. Brewer 2002; Connolly 2015).

Studies concerning anti-doping measures in sport tend to focus on the following:
1) the history of anti-doping;
2) current anti-doping regulations;
3) methods of combating doping (Malcolm 2008).

The core subject of the dispute is the effectiveness of the anti-doping system and the viability of combating doping at all (whether there are real chances of eliminating illegal practices from sport). In the face of more doping scandals, the possibility of legalising doping is being discussed. The arguments used by both the proponents and the opponents of doping are themselves subject to discussion (Schneider, Butcher 2000; Tamburrini 2000). The opponents underline that the substances and methods that improve physical performance are harmful to the sportspersons' health, regardless of whether they are used under medical supervision or not. Furthermore, doping is a breach of the standards and values established in sports, especially the rule of fair play. Doping indicates dishonesty and disrespect towards one's competitors. The sports organisations support this

opinion. However, the proponents of legalising doping claim that combating this practice is pointless (Sas-Nowosielski 2006) due to the imperfections in the anti-doping system, the ineffectiveness and expense of doping controls, and the ineffectiveness of detecting new substances used by sportspersons. Furthermore, the proponents reject the notion of fair play, as well as the harmfulness of doping to health and the potential damage to the image of sport and celebrity sportspersons (Savulescu et al. 2004). The research on doping provides insight into contemporary sport and its problems (Leszczyńska 2017). Similar analyses conducted on e-sports may prove equally useful, and they could also reveal the differences and similarities between traditional sport and e-sports.

Doping in e-sports

The recognition of e-sports as a sport is problematic, yet the organized competitive playing of video games has seen a rise in many of the problems associated with conventional sport, such as match-fixing or using performance enhancing drugs (Holden et al. 2017). In 2014, Bjoern Franzen, a former employee of a major video game company, drew the attention of the media to the issue of doping in e-sports, publicly admitting that it was an enormous problem. His blog post indicated that players took Piracetam, Methylphenidate, Modafinil, Selegiline, Propranolol, Ritalin and Adderall. These drugs (plus Vyvanse and Concerta) are prescribed to patients with Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's and ADHD. They are supposed to improve focus and emotional control, as well as aiding relaxation or increasing stimulation before competitions (Cypryjański 2018).

The most infamous doping scandal in e-sports took place in 2015. In an interview during the Electronic Sports World Cup, Kory "Semphis" Friesen, a "Counter Strike" player and former member of the American organisation Cloud9, admitted that during the finals of the 2015 Intel Extreme Masters (IEM) in Katowice (Poland), he and his team were under the influence of Adderall (one of the drugs that Franzen had mentioned a year before). Evidence was to be found in the recordings of the players' conversations during the tournament, in which they were unusually stimulated and acted chaotically. They had problems following the agreed-on tactics. Following the scandal, the German company ESL Gaming, which was the organiser of the IEM, announced that it would conduct anti-doping tests and cooperate with WADA and NADA, the German anti-doping agency (Cypryjański 2018). At the time, the ESL tournament regulations prohibited the use of alcohol, narcotics and doping substances on pain of being banned from a tournament. However, it is unknown whether the players were tested for such substances. The current ESL regulations contain a slightly more elaborate clause on doping, which references a list of the substances and methods prohibited by WADA. After the Adderall scandal was exposed, actions were taken to improve awareness of

the use of doping among video game players. However, the issue was addressed almost exclusively by ESL, which attempted to establish an anti-doping policy.

During the 2018 ESL One tournament, the Esports Integrity Commission (ESIC, formerly the Esports Integrity Coalition) published materials indicating that one in four hundred of the tested players used doping, including the use of prescription drugs (such as Adderall). Still, no conclusive information is available about doping among players from outside the global elite.

Anti-doping testing during e-sports tournaments is handled by Sporting Integrity (SI), an advisory company founded by Michele Verroken, former Director of Ethics and Anti-Doping at UK Sport. Verroken stated that dishonest players were increasingly opting out of taking Adderall in favour of other drugs. By cooperating with the players, coaches and organisations, SI aims to determine the substances that improve performance, which will help in updating and clarifying the tournament regulations. Research is being conducted on the effect of marijuana, among other substances. Verroken primarily conducts oral testing in this regard, as this, in her opinion, is the most effective method of detecting its use among players. Traditional sportspersons usually undergo urine tests (Baldwin 2019). However, online tournaments, in which the players participate remotely, are difficult to monitor. Furthermore, details on the anti-doping testing of professional gamers have not been publicised.

David Howman, former President of WADA, called e-sports a "Wild West", commenting on the lack of a uniform, consistently applied anti-doping policy for competitive gaming. The same issue was mentioned by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) with regard the proposal that some video games could potentially become Olympic disciplines. The committee representatives underlined that, currently, there is no organisation that oversees anti-doping testing in e-sports (Baldwin 2019). In 2018, the IOC organised an e-sports forum in Lausanne. However, the issue of doping was not raised. Officially, none of the international e-sports organisations and potential partners for WADA, such as ESL, the International Esports Federation (IESF) or the World Esports Association (WESA), have ever punished a player for doping. However, since 2013, IESF has been considered WADA's official signatory, thanks to the latter's approval of the IESF's proposed anti-doping policy (Van Hilvoorde, Pot 2016). Nonetheless, in order for the IOC to accept a given sports discipline (a video game) as an Olympic discipline, an international NGO responsible for managing the most important matters related to the game would have to be established. Furthermore, such an NGO would have to follow the Olympic Charter, including the World Anti-Doping Code (Jonasson, Thiborg 2010).

The e-sports community, despite the many similarities to sport (Thiel, John 2018; Zagała, Strzelecki 2019), almost never discusses the use of substances that improve the players' physical capacities and, consequently, their performance. A few international organisations (such as ESL and IESF) refer to the WADA

regulations. In 2020, the Polish Anti-Doping Agency and two major e-sports associations signed a cooperation agreement to combat doping. The cooperation will focus on regulatory, educational and preventive actions, and the introduction of a full anti-doping testing programme. So far, however, little is known about any general or specific definitions of the allowable and prohibited substances and methods, or any rulings concerning anti-doping testing. Doping is a taboo subject to a certain extent, which makes any attempts at reconstructing the social assessment of doping in e-sports, and research on the attitudes and experiences of video game fans with respect to doping, very interesting and inspiring from the scientific point of view. Taking into account the difficulties with defining doping in e-sports and in applying WADA's list of prohibited substances and methods, the subject matter has been divided into three aspects in this study:

1) the use of allowed substances;
2) the use of prohibited substances (doping);
3) anti-doping testing.

Research methods

This study was explorative in nature. The data was collected using computer-assisted web interviewing (CAWI) with non-probability sampling. The study participants comprised $n = 241$ fans and players of video games, and e-sports activists who were members of the *Esportowe Świry* ("The Esports Loonies") discussion group on Facebook, which is the largest forum for sharing information, opinions and experiences about e-sports in Poland.

A total of 220 men (92%) and 21 women aged between 14 and 34 were interviewed. The mean age of the respondents was 18. The respondents declared that they played video games for between 2 and 90 hours weekly. The mean time spent playing was 22 hours, with a standard deviation of 16 hours. The respondents were fans of "League of Legends" (LoL) and "Counter-Strike: Global Offensive" (CS:GO), which regularly occupy the highest places in various rankings, both global and local, including Polish rankings, and in surveys conducted by the administrators of *Esportowe Świry*.

The participants of this study were asked to declare their involvement in e-sports (amateur or professional) according to the following three aspects: 1) the subjective perception of one's engagement; 2) membership in an organisation; and 3) earnings from e-sports. 14.5% of the respondents declared that they practised e-sports professionally. A similar share (15.8%) reported membership in an e-sports organisation. 14.1% of the respondents declared that they earned money from e-sports. Therefore, the share of respondents who could be treated as professional e-sports players was similar between the three categories and did not exceed 15.8%. The respondents were also asked whether they had participated in

at least one e-sports tournament. 69.3% confirmed having participated as a player, which does not necessarily mean participation in major, prestigious tournaments such as the IEM finals, but also in local amateur events. Statistica 13.1 software was used for the statistical analysis of the obtained data. In bivariate analyses the Mann–Whitney U and chi-squared tests were applied. Statistical significance was defined at $p < 0.05$.

Results and discussion

Allowed substances in e-sports

Most of the e-sports fans who took part in the study (50.2%) declared that allowed substances (containing caffeine, such as energy drinks) improve their performance in video games, 29.1% disagreed, and 20.7% answered that is was "hard to say". However, the respondents' belief about the effect of energy drinks and similar products on their performance, which is most likely based on popular opinion, has not been confirmed by a study conducted in the US. In that study, no beneficial effect of energy drinks on the psychomotor performance of professional LoL players was observed. Nonetheless, the authors of the study underlined that their research was only a starting point for wider and more detailed analyses (Thomas et al. 2019).

In the same study, 71.8% admitted that people from their social environment used allowed substances during video game competitions (with 47.3% indicating "many people" and 24.5% indicating "individual people"), while 20.7% declared that there were no such practices in their social environment, and 7.5% answered that is was "hard to say". A positive answer was selected by significantly more respondents who were members of an e-sports organisation (86.8%) than those who considered themselves amateur sports players (69.0%) (Table 1.). The most popular products were energy drinks (180 responses) and coffee (151 responses). Beer (55), herbs (27) and medicinal drugs (25) were also relatively popular. The manufacturers of alcoholic beverages also provide their logos and funds in e-sports competitions.

Why are video game players so fond of the allowed "boosters"? Let us use the finals of the LoL tournament as an example. The finals are made up of matches divided into five rounds, with each round lasting about 60 minutes. The players are only given a 5-minute break between the rounds, during which they usually discuss their tactics with their coach and use the bathroom. Thus, a match often lasts over five hours, with no time for a solid meal or a long rest. Furthermore, technical problems, involving for instance online connectivity issues, can considerably prolong the individual matches and consequently, the entire tournament. During matches, the players usually only have a water bottle (with no logos), which they sometimes use to smuggle in an isotonic drink. At the same time, products manu-

factured by the sponsors of the tournament (e.g. energy drinks) are usually freely available. The circumstances encourage the use of readily-available and easy-to-use allowed substances. However, such stimulation cannot exceed the limits imposed by the human body. Studies have reported cases of death from exhaustion, caused by dozens of hours of nearly uninterrupted play (Zhouxiang 2016).

In a commentary on Bjoern Franzen's report, the weekly New Scientist addressed the issue of unsupervised and excessive use of the allowed stimulants during tournaments, such as energy drinks, caffeine pills and other prescription-free products (Hodson 2014). The first dietary supplements for players that are designed to improve concentration and composure have already appeared in the US. They have no sugar or taurine content, but instead contain caffeine, choline, green tea extract, powdered ginger, l-theanine and vitamins B3, B5, B6 and B12. The effects are not only an intense, temporary stimulation, but also a long-term boost to brain activity (Kotkowski 2019).

58.5% of the participants in this study declared that video game competitions should not ban any of the currently allowed substances. Only 21.6% approved banning some of these substances, and 19.9% answered that it was "hard to say". Furthermore, 44.0% of the respondents declared that the players should not be tested for the use of allowed substances at all, 29.0% approved of such tests and 27.0% selected the "hard to say" response.

Prohibited substances (doping) in e-sports

10.8% of the participants in this study witnessed cases of players using prohibited (and sometimes illegal) substances during video game tournaments, such as cocaine, amphetamines or Adderall; among these responses, significantly more were received from the participants who earned money from e-sports (20.6%) than those who considered themselves to be e-sports amateurs (9.2%) (Table 1.). This data suggests that the scale of doping among the players from outside the global elite is considerably greater than among the elite players analysed by the ESIC.

62.7% of the participants in this study had never heard about any preventive actions (e.g. on the part of tournament organisers) against doping in e-sports, while 37.3% had heard about such actions. Reports on preventive actions against doping in e-sports are rare. In 2017, ESL in cooperation with the ESIC commissioned a survey among players about their opinions on punishing cheating, match fixing and doping. The results of the survey led to the conclusion that tournament rules should be more restrictive. As early as in 2017, Dreamhack (the largest cyclical festival for fans of games and e-sports, encompassing events organised throughout the world) adopted the ESIC recommendations; however, the only changes introduced to the tournament regulations concerned match fixing (Irwin, Naweed 2018).

68.5% of the participants in this study heard about someone who was punished for doping in e-sports, while 31.5% declared they had not heard about such

cases. Thus, a considerable share of the participants did not know about any anti-doping actions in e-sports, but had heard about players who were punished for doping. Are the changes being introduced to e-sports regulations concerning doping too insignificant, or even non-existent, because of the limitations imposed by organisational decentralisation and a desire to maintain revenue in this relatively profitable industry? Do organisations such as ESL or the ESIC, which are few in number but relatively active in their fight against doping, test the players and punish those who are caught doping, but choose not to share this information to avoid damaging the image of actors from the video game industry? It appears that only the cases that involve major tournaments or an elite player cannot be ignored or obscured.

The discrepancy between the obtained answers may also be caused by the respondents associating pharmacological doping with techno-doping (Schumacher 1999), which in e-sports usually involves "cheats", or breaking the rules set by the developer of a video game by modifying its mechanics (Consalvo 2007). Techno-doping in e-sports can also be analysed in the context of fyborgisation (a *fyborg* is a type of cyborg that temporarily merges the human body with technology, for the purpose of competitive sport) (Nosal 2017). Techno-doping also means the illicit improvement of the peripherals used to play a video game. Cheating in e-sports is mentioned much more frequently than doping substances.

In 2019, fans of CS:GO were shocked by a cheating scandal involving the Polish team Tajemnice Watykanu (Secrets of the Vatican), who were disqualified from the Polish ESL Championships eliminations. The scandal caused additional controversy due to ESL taking its time to issue a punishment, and the team's disqualification was not accompanied by any individual sanctions for the players. Adrian Kostrzębski, the spokesperson for ESL Poland, underlined that ESL believed in fair play, and that any suspected dishonesty was thoroughly investigated (Groenke 2019). However, the fundamental issue was that the tournament organisers did not cooperate with one another in this respect (Chomczyk 2019), which again results in questions about the presence and effectiveness of coordinated social controls for various forms of cheating in e-sports.

Anti-doping testing in e-sports

44.4% of the participants in this study admitted that e-sports need to take more restrictive anti-doping actions (however, a significantly smaller share of the respondents who belonged to an e-sports organisation chose this answer [26.3%] than the respondents who considered themselves e-sports amateurs [47.8%]) (Table 1). 28.2% of the respondents would not support more restrictive anti-doping actions, and 27.4% answered that it was "hard to say". One would expect the e-sports fans, activists and players who participated in this study, especially those who were at least declarative members of an organisation, to be more willing

to support fair play and, consequently, anti-doping actions. Institutional actors, such as the game developers or tournament organisers, have a certain influence on the players' behaviour and are able to control it, which means they are at least partially responsible for the players' dishonesty (including doping). This is one of the reasons why the inclusion of e-sports in the category of sport or video games is currently a subject of a heated legal discussion. In the local and international regulations, video game competitions usually have a special legal status (Reitman et al. 2019). Sanctioning e-sports within a given legislative system in order to construe it as sport could be beneficial; but simultaneously, it would also result in unwanted (yet unintentional) consequences due to e-sports being subject to the rules designed for traditional sport. It seems that the actors in the e-sports social world have reached a certain agreement (which does not concern combating doping) to maintain the convenient *status quo* of e-sports and assume that e-sports is moving a good way toward the classifications and regulations similar to those in traditional sport, even though the actions in this respect have so far only been proposed and still need legitimisation (Holden et al. 2017).

The participants in this study were asked whether, in their opinion, anti-doping testing conducted under the supervision of a physician during e-sports tournaments would make the competition fairer. 60.6% of the participants agreed with this view, 19.9% disagreed and 19.5% answered that it was "hard to say". A similar number of participants (58.1%) agreed that anti-doping tests such as a urine analysis would also make the competition fairer, while 23.3% disagreed and 18.7% answered it was "hard to say". A large share of the participants (a total of 39.4% for the former question and 42.0% for the latter) doubted whether the involvement of physicians in e-sports competitions would be effective. Does this mean that the social image of the e-sports player is not associated with the same physical "purity" or transparency as the image of the traditional sportsperson (or at least, not associated with the above to the same degree)? As with traditional sport, e-sports has the following characteristics:

1) it can be both competitive and casual (recreational);
2) it requires honing particular skills;
3) it has a substantial fan base;
4) it has its own regulations.

However, e-sports is unique in that it does not involve feats of sport in the traditional sense (i.e. supreme achievements of physical fitness) and is non-institutionalised. Success in e-sports usually does not require the players to achieve a physical advantage over their competitors (Jenny et al. 2017). As a result, extraordinary progress in medicine would be needed before it could shorten the thousands of hours involved in e-sports training with simply a few colourful pills.

The largest portion of the participants in this study (204 responses) stated that the use of doping in e-sports was usually motivated by the players wanting to win at all costs. However, many of the participants also indicated the lack of anti-dop-

ing testing (68), tournament organisers neglecting anti-doping testing (56), social acceptance (the e-sports community does not view doping as wrong) (54), lack of punishment (53), and the low effectiveness or limitations of anti-doping testing (29). It is also worth noting that as many as 260 responses in total concerned the structural determinants of doping in e-sports. The lack of institutionalised central governance may not only be condoning, but potentially intensifying the use of performance enhancing drugs amongst the players (Holden et al. 2017).

Doping, both in traditional sport and e-sports, can be explained through the concept of a "positive deviation" caused by overconformity, which in turn stems from an indiscriminate acceptance of the fundamental values and rules of the sport ethos that include perfection, desire for victory, self-sacrifice and transgression. All of these values and rules are unambiguously positive for sportspersons, coaches, fans, activists and sponsors alike. However, their indiscriminate internalisation, combined with fanatical devotion, leads to players who strive for victory at all costs, disregarding their own health and the anti-doping regulations; in other words, the players are determined to "die for the cause" (Coakley, Hughes 1991).

The structural determinants of doping, such as tournament organisers neglecting anti-doping testing, can be interpreted through the categories of structural functionalism, the lack or ineffectiveness of social control mechanisms in the form of a coordinated anti-doping system, and the demobilisation of institutions, primarily game developers and tournament organisers. From the perspective of symbolic interactionism, social acceptance of doping substances can be explained through the concept of the social construction of deviation (Dziubiński 2019). Unless the fans, players and developers of video games start viewing doping as a problem, the users of these substances will never be labelled as social deviants, or if they are, the labelling will not have a significant impact.

Table 1. Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) differences in respondents' responses concerning allowed and prohibited substances, and anti-doping testing in e-sports

People in my environment use allowed substances improving performance in video games	Amateurs	E-sports organisations members	Total
	69.0%	86.8%	71.8%
E-sports need to take more restrictive anti-doping actions	47.8%	26.3%	44.4%
I witnessed cases of using prohibited or illegal substances during video game tournaments	Amateurs	Respondents earning money from e-sports	Total
	9.2%	20.6%	10.8%

Source: Author's own study.

Closing remarks

E-sports reflects the sport (or pseudo-sport) functionalities – this is evident from the professional players, teams, attire, coaches, managers, agents, leagues, tournaments, events (which frequently take place at traditional sport arenas), sponsorship agreements, player transfers, popular commentators and student scholarships, but also from the presence of match fixing, gender inequality and the use of doping substances (Funk et al. 2018; Jenny et al. 2017). However, the approach to doping seems to be different between e-sports and traditional sports (Baldwin 2019), which causes many issues, e.g. related to negotiating the recognition of video games as an Olympic discipline. Any further cooperation between e-sports organisations and the IOC will also have to involve WADA.

The results of this study are a starting point for further, more in-depth studies, which could expose general mechanisms responsible for doping in competitive playing of video games, and a clearer distinction between doping in traditional and electronic sports. The relatively large number of studies on doping in cycling can be referred to for guidance in planning and performing similar research on e-sports, which could encompass the following matters:

1) the specificities of doping in e-sports;
2) the conditions of professional players;
3) the institutionalisation of e-sports;
4) the motives behind the use of doping;
5) the stigmatisation of players who have been punished for doping or accused of cheating;
6) the functioning of the anti-doping system.

As with traditional sport, the media are the primary – and often the sole – source of information about doping (Leszczyńska 2017) in e-sports. Furthermore, doping in both traditional sport and e-sports is affected by the players who approach competitiveness as a source of profit. Sponsors do not want the players they support to be viewed as cheats for fear of losing their own reputation. The involvement of the authorities, organisations and various interest groups in matters related to doping and their interference in the anti-doping system without a doubt merits a detailed analysis (Leszczyńska 2017).

The institutional actors who combat doping in e-sports face many challenges. It seems that the use of artificial substances to improve physical capabilities in competitive gaming is predominantly underestimated, and only few e-sports activists are trying to bring this obscure but real problem to light.

Acknowledgements

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DOPING W E-SPORCIE. PRÓBA EKSPLORACJI EMPIRYCZNEJ I POSZUKIWANIE INTERPRETACJI SOCJOLOGICZNYCH

Abstrakt. Na horyzoncie badań naukowych pojawiło się nowe zjawisko – sport elektroniczny. Wiele zagadnień w jego obrębie wciąż nie doczekało się usystematyzowanej analizy. Problem stosowania sztucznych substancji lub metod w celu poprawy fizycznych możliwości człowieka najczęściej podejmuje się w kontekście dewiacji w sporcie. E-sport częściowo odzwierciedla sportową funkcjonalność, ale w zakresie dopingu i kontroli antydopingowych we współzawodnictwie w grach wideo trudno postawić granicę między tym, co dozwolone, a tym, czego nie wolno robić. Celem prezentowanej pracy jest próba rekonstrukcji społecznej oceny zjawiska dopingu w e-sporcie na podstawie postaw oraz doświadczeń sympatyków i użytkowników gier. Graczy najczęściej charakteryzuje pozytywne nastawienie do stosowania substancji stymulujących, takich jak napoje energetyzujące. Niektórzy z nich w swoim otoczeniu obserwują przypadki stosowania niedozwolonych substancji podczas rozgrywek. Sympatycy e-sportu przeważnie popierają kontrole antydopingowe wzorowane na sporcie tradycyjnym i podkreślają znaczenie strukturalnych determinantów omawianego problemu, takich jak przyzwolenie otoczenia na stosowanie zabronionych środków.

Słowa kluczowe: socjologia sportu, doping, e-sport, gry wideo.

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SPORT IN THE TIME OF TRANSFORMATION IN POLAND. GDAŃSK CASE STUDY

Abstract. Various areas of social and economic life and their changes during the political transformation after 1989 have been studied and analyzed by Polish sociologists. It seems that one of the areas that has been left out and which constitutes a *terra incognita* is the world of sport.

As in other areas, individual and collective social actors who organized, managed or participated in the world of sport had to come to terms with the new social, economic and political order. That is why the transformation seen through their eyes and what they did, their motivations and ways of coping with changes are interesting and broaden our knowledge about the transformation period.

In the article, I present a fragment of my own research on the course and effects of political transformation, based on the example of a multi-sectional Workers' Sports Club Stoczniowiec Gdańsk (currently GKS Stoczniowiec Gdańsk). I was interested in the struggles of people who organized sport, which they had to face in the period of transformation. I was interested in how they experienced the clash with the emerging new social order. What strategies they adopted in their organizational activities and their practices during the transformation. The case study is treated as a field study and a conceptual pilot study which is a starting point for further exploration. I used two methods: desk research (among others, press articles, club information, official data, statistical data were collected) and in-depth interviews (IDI) with social actors operating in the sports club. The analytical framework for the study consists of three dimensions of transformation, namely the economic, political and legal, and social ones. The theoretical foundations, on the other hand, are the perspectives of new institutionalism, especially the theory of fields by Fligstein and McAdam and the concept of deinstitutionalization by Christine Oliver.

Keywords: sociology of sport, sports club, transformation, social change, sociology of transformation.

Introduction

In this article, I want to present a portion of a larger study I am conducting on sports clubs in the time of transformation in Poland. The aim of the study is to show models that explain the opportunities of sports organizations and the trajectories

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of their operation in the period of socio-economic and political transformation in Poland since 1989. What is essential for the research are the strategies of action of social actors in the institutional field of sport, including their activities in sports organizations as such. I am particularly interested in the struggles of people organizing sport in a new social and economic situation. I ask about how they experienced a clash with the emerging new social order; what strategies they adopted in what they did during the transformation (Giza-Poleszczuk et al. 2000); what form the evolution of the institutional field of sport took, and, importantly, what practices they implemented in a sports club to continue its sports activities.

Hence, I have formulated the following research questions: What changes occurred in the sports club during the transformation? What factors (social, political, economic) caused the deinstitutionalization or reinstitutionalization of the sports club? What was the role of social actors in the processes of restructuring of the sports club? What was the role of the state and/or local government in the processes of changes taking place in the club? What was the role of the pre-transformation club environment (sponsor companies) in the processes of changes? What was the impact of the club's social and material resources on its fate?

For the purposes of this article I have conducted a case study of the Workers' Sports Club (RKS) Stoczniowiec Gdańsk (later Gdańsk Sports Club Stoczniowiec Gdańsk) based in Gdańsk. In 1989 the club had ten sports sections: ice hockey, figure skating, weightlifting, volleyball, boxing, rowing, canoeing, football, sports bridge and karate. In Communist times, from its establishment in 1970, the club was managed by the Union of the Shipbuilding Industry and its resources included the "Olivia" sports hall, a football stadium and two smaller sports halls. The chosen sports club is one of the types of the sports organizations which have had to struggled in the new order that emerged in the time of economic and political transformation. My choice was based on the club's belonging to the industrial sector of the state.

This article is divided into parts. In the first part I describe the context of socio-economic and political transformation in Poland. The next part explains the theoretical background of my research. The third part concerns methodology. In the fourth part I presents my research findings. This part is also divided into sections to show better relations between sport clubs and other organizations or the state in the time of transformation. The last part contains the conclusions.

Socio-economic and political transformation in Poland

It has been more than 30 years since the fall of communism in Poland. In 1989 Polish society faced a new challenge: the introduction of democracy and the free market economy (Marody et al. 2019). The transformation of the political system was a holistic social change, and so it entailed the introduction of

a new social order (Krzemiński 2011; Marody 2011). This change consisted in transforming the socialist (communist) system into a democratic and capitalist one (Giza-Poleszczuk et al. 2000). The new order was built "not so much on the ruins of the communist system, but rather from these ruins" (Marody 2011: 67). Hence, when studying the transformation one should take into account the acquired social habits that were created in communist times, their impact on the time of change, and also the current social situation in Poland (Marody 2011; Marody et al. 2019).

Economic changes were implemented in accordance with the neoliberal creed. The government chose the road TINA (There Is No Alternative), whose author was Leszek Balcerowicz. TINA consisted in freeing the market and creating conditions in which there was the least possible state interference in the market (Kowalik 2012). Moreover, no social costs were taken into account on this path. It was recognized that they must occur. The free market was the most important thing for the reformers. Increasing unemployment, inflation, and fiscalism implemented step by step negatively affected many areas of social life. In addition, the accelerated and not very well-regulated privatization of the industrial sector led to the collapse of Polish industry in its entirety (Karpiński et al. 2013; 2015). This also led to many different social problems. It also intensified pathologies, the enrichment of state assets, and quickly achieved fortunes as well as fast bankruptcies. In the first period of the transformation, the economy was not stable, which meant that the entire society was subjected to various types of shocks.

Changes in economics were also visible in the field of politics. The first years of the transformation were unstable, full of shocks and changes in the government. The government based on the "Solidarity" social movement was unable to develop a strategy for stable governance. Post-communists came to power after winning the election in 1993. The Democratic Left Alliance (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, hereafter SLD) continued with the reforms, leading to the consolidation of the free market. It implemented reforms in the area of social and labour policy. In the context of the field of sport, state policy did not change much. A new law on physical culture was still lacking. This act was adopted in 1996. In 1997, Solidarity Electoral Action (Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność) won the election. They carried out reforms regarding public administration, education and health. Also they supported reforms that liberalized the labour code and weakened the pension scheme (Rek-Woźniak, Woźniak 2017). In 1997 the country began to stabilize, but the cost of reforms led to SLD coming to power again. In the following years government directed by SLD stabilized the economy and various types of institutions. This allowed Poland to join the European Union in 2004. This moment is considered to be the end of the transformation in Poland (Drozdowski 2009; 2014; Gronkiewicz-Waltz 2004; Kowalik 2012; Ziółkowski 2014; Marody et al. 2019).

Sociologists have studied social and political transformation in numerous social fields and dimensions: the primacy of endogenous forces, capitalism, elite

leadership, lack of unity (McSweeney, Tempest 1993), institutional change (Morawski 1998a; Federowicz 2004), political elites, politics (Staniszkis 2001; Kowalik 2012), changes in the economy – including: industry structure, unemployment, work, wages, poverty, etc. (Dunn 2017; Karpiński et al. 2013; 2015; Bałtowski, Miszewski 2015; Rek-Woźniak, Woźniak 2017; Leyk, Wawrzyniak 2020), as well as attempts at a holistic approach to society and transformation (Giza-Poleszczuk et al. 2000; Chołaj 1998; Gronkiewicz-Waltz 2004; Krzemiński 2011; Marody et al. 2019). Currently, sociological reflection on the events that took place after the collapse of communism is linked to historical sociology (Gadowska, Rymsza 2017; Kolasa-Nowak 2015). Despite significant achievements in research work, there are gaps in the sociology of transformations. One of such social areas, which is a kind of *terra incognita* in research of sociology of transformations, is sport.

Theoretical backgrounds

In my study, I employ two theoretical concepts that allow for better visualization and understanding of the change processes taking place in organizations. The first concept is Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam's theory of fields (2012). The other is related to deinstitutionalization processes, as proposed by Christine Oliver (1992). Both theoretical concepts are derived from the perspective of new institutionalism, i.e. a perspective that seeks to holistically embrace the actions of social actors in institutional fields. It is worth emphasizing that in the sociology of transformations social change processes are indicated as processes of institutional change, where four types of processes can be distinguished: institutionalization, reinstitutionalization, deinstitutionalization and creating new institutions (Morawski 1998b; Federowicz 2004).

The theory of fields refers to "how local orders are created, sustained and transformed" (Fligstein 2009: 279). A local order is understood as a structure within a field (Mańkowski 2018). An organization creates a strategic action field (institutional field), where there is a structure and social actors operating in their positions. These positions include *incumbents* and *challengers*, where *incumbents* are social actors with power, and *challengers* are in opposition (actors jockeying for power). As has been mentioned, no changes or social activities take place in a social vacuum. Hence, strategic action fields are embedded in an environment, in which they form a network of interconnections and interdependencies. A sports club, which here is treated as a strategic action field, conducts its activities in a given environment (sports system) and is related to other institutional fields (organizations). The relationship between organizations is stronger or weaker and results from the impact of one organization on another organization. As I will present later, these relationships will have a significant impact on the fate of the

club and the activities of social actors representing and having power in the club. Further on in the text, I will address the proposals of Fligstein and McAdam in more detail, also in connection with their strong emphasis on institutional changes within the field, as well as the attention given to the activities of social actors (and their empowerment).

Christine Oliver's concept of deinstitutionalization processes originated directly from the lack of attention of paid by the representatives institutionalism to such processes (Oliver 1992; Dacin, Dacin 2008). The potential of the concept of deinstitutionalization to a considerable extent calls into question the stability and longevity of an institution, suggesting that under specific conditions institutionalized practices and values change, and that due to change they may be rejected (Oliver 1992), which may lead to institutional (organizational) erosion. "Deinstitutionalization is defined here as the process by which the legitimacy of an established or institutionalized organizational practice erodes or discontinues" (Oliver 1992: 564). Institutional organizational practice refers to the activities of actors performed within the organization, and to their activities in the external field performed on behalf of the organization. The de-legitimation of this practice or organizational procedures results from the challenges faced by an organization (institution), or its failure to reproduce previously legitimated and taken-for-granted organizational actions. The proposed concept of deinstitutionalization seeks to highlight that in specific circumstances action and change within the organization/institution does not result from the consensus adopted by the group or sharing common values, but rather from rejecting them, and thus from the failure to reproduce the existing rules and norms. It also seeks to explain changes taking place in the organization, the rejection of fixed behaviours and habits, and to explain the reasons for the external, permanent institutional pressures on an organization leading to its deinstitutionalization (Oliver 1992). The researcher identifies three main factors predicting deinstitutionalization. These include political, functional and social factors. Political factors occur when the legitimacy of practice is questioned. This applies to conditions in which crises occur: performance, the representation of organization members, a common status quo or the impossibility of introducing innovation. There is a discrepancy between procedural conformity and expectations (Dacin, Dacin 2008). Functional factors occur when there is a redistribution of power and when changes to the perceived utility and/or technical instrumentality of the practice pursued so far take place. Social pressures accelerate deinstitutionalisation, because they cause the organization to cease being proactively involved in activity. This is due to the fact that there is normative fragmentation, the workforce increases or decreases, there is a merger with other organizations, or there are changes in the law or social norms that do not consolidate institutional practice in any way. Collectively perceived norms and values erode (Oliver 1992).

Studying deinstitutionalization processes is important in the context of changes taking place in sport during periods of transformation. The statistical data

collected by the Central Statistical Office shows a drastic decrease in the number of sports organizations and the number of people practising sport in Poland after 1989. In 1988 there were over 33,000 sports organizations. In 1991 there was a drop to 13,000 organizations, then reaching the number of only 11,000 in 1993. Hence, the question about the collapse of sports organizations in the period of social change becomes relevant.

Methodology

Amy Bass (2014) suggests describing sport and its dimensions in its "messy" and unique complexities. Despite its great impact on society, sport is underestimated by both historians and sociologists (Bass 2014; Jakubowska, Nosal 2017). The impact of sport on society can be measured in economic and social terms, but also in emotional terms (emotions evoked in sport fans). In addition, one may notice problems arising from defining sport and its essence (see Stempień 2020). Hence, writing about sport is not easy. Following what Bass proposed, I think that sociological reflection on sport during the transformation period should address complexities: from stories of witnesses through press articles, information found on the Internet, official documents and photos, to stories told as anecdotes. Such a holistic view allows for building a picture of the activities of individuals and social groups, their motives, achievements and failures, and the practices they used to survive in the time of great change. That is why I use a case study strategy that "requires an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of a specific case, together with the context of its functioning" (Strumińska-Kutra, Koładkiewicz 2012: 2).

In a case study, the data is collected from a number of sources, and with the triangulation method data consistency is confirmed, "while in the process of data collection and analysis a reference is made to the pre-formulated theoretical assumptions" (Yin 2015: 49). What is more, case study research can be exploratory. It is essential in the context of my study because so far no studies have been conducted on the opportunities of sports clubs during the transformation. The effect of an exploratory case study is the definition of general questions and hypotheses for future research (introduction to the research proper) (Strumińska-Kutra, Koładkiewicz 2012). Robert K. Yin (2015) refers to such a study as an innovative case study. The subject matter of a case study are activities, practices and phenomena that have not been subject to analysis so far. My research is situated as an exploratory/innovative case study.

I have obtained data from various sources. I made use of desk research – in particular based on:

1) press articles published in the "Dziennik Bałtycki" daily in the years 1989–2004. It was the only newspaper that survived the transformation period, was continuously published and dealt with local affairs and events;

also it is the largest daily in Gdańsk and Pomerania. I have to add that during the query, I selected 1886 press articles that referred to any extent the research issues of the project. Over 100 articles concerned the Stoczniowiec sports club and its relationship to the field of sport;

2) official documents (such as, e.g., transcripts of the sports committee, resolutions regarding sport in Gdańsk, legal acts, etc.);

3) I used the data available on the Internet.

In the period between November 2019 and March 2020 I conducted ten individual in-depth interviews (IDI) with people managing the sports club and I conducted expert interviews with journalists dealing with sport in Gdańsk and Pomerania in the transformation period (Bogner et al. 2009; Muskat et al. 2012).

The results of the case study data analysis are presented below.

Research findings

In May 1989, a journalist Paweł Kowalski writes about RKS Stoczniowiec:

It flourished, being one of the top national leaders, when it was generously supported by the Union of the Shipbuilding Industry and sponsor companies. It lost its stability when the Polish economy collapsed. Today, like many sport clubs, it is going through a deep crisis, it has debts[1] (Kowalski 1989).

And it will stay like that. The story of sport under transformation is not a story about achievements or triumphs, but about the efforts taken when facing a fall, debts, bankruptcy and the difficulties of everyday life. The stories carry the burden of the world that came after 1989, which is the world of transition, change and uncertainty. The battlefield where you struggle for another day. One of the participants of this struggle puts it aptly:

Earlier, the club, the Olivia hall, were 100% financed by the committee, as if by the state – there was money for coaches and hall maintenance, there was some symbiosis. And all of a sudden the funding stopped – I compare it to the situation where, all schools in Poland are no longer financed – this is the same model, i.e. we have an arrangement, because there are some private schools and the state makes an arrangement, because it stops financing education – and further – it was a shock, nobody knew nothing about the free market economy, nobody had done it before, inflation was rampant and the club was getting deeper and deeper into problems (interview 1).

That being so, how to find your place in such a situation? Did social actors use a typical organizational response to a novelty, i.e. finding routine actions that could be applied in such a situation (March, Olsen 2005)? Or maybe they were looking for new solutions? Something unconventional, new, unknown, just like the

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[1] All quotations from "Dziennik Bałtycki" are marked with the footnote: author's name, year, and details are provided in the references.

whole social reality which they were in? Searching for answers to these questions is not easy. The whole of society found itself in a situation where neither the authors of the reforms "nor the »recipients« had full knowledge about what difficulties and obstacles they would encounter during their implementation or what the social costs of the potential success of this undertaking would be" (Goszczyńska 2010: 17). Sports activists did not know what to do either. They do not know of any models for reaction to such socio-economic change. It has to be noted that the previous situation was perfect for sports organizing entities. There were no problems with seeking sources of funding, with acquiring sports equipment or securing sports infrastructure. Everything was arranged, structured and financed by the socialist state. Maybe it wasn't big money, counted in millions, but it was real, it did not put sports clubs into debt and, crucially, it ensured remuneration for the athletes.

Apocalypse now

In the case of RKS Stoczniowiec, the years 1989–1993 were simply the last days. All entities cut themselves off from the club and there was no dialogue with the state authorities, which led the club to a gigantic debt. David Graeber notes that the basic problem with debts is the assumption that "one has to pay their debts" (2017: 9). This assumption neither disappeared nor was left aside at the time of transformation. Debt was an inseparable part of the time of transformations and applied equally to enterprises, citizens and sports clubs. No one cared about the variety of reasons behind the debts, or the particular situation where public entities were indebted to public institutions due to the cost of transformations. While politicians struggled to reduce the national debt towards foreign creditors, the debts existing inside the country between various types of institutions, organizations or social actors (individual and collective) remained debts which had to be paid. Nobody would consider their reduction. Regardless of the time, debt always "becomes the horizon and the reference point for uncertain decisions" (Lewicki 2019: 17). We should look at the operation of sports clubs from this perspective. My research shows that debt was, is and will be a part of the operation of sports clubs in the era of capitalism.

In 1993, in an interview for "Dziennik Bałtycki" the new chairman of Stoczniowiec says: "I took over a club with 8 sections and a basic debt of over 3 billion (5.5 billion with interest[2])" (Suska 1993). The accrued liabilities were payments for the personnel of the club and the facility, payments to the Social Insurance Institution plus payments for electricity and heating providers. Until 1 January

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[2] The amounts are the amounts before the denomination that took place in 1994. The denomination consisted of cutting off four zeros: PLN 1,000,000,000 = PLN 100,000 (one billion = one hundred thousand).

1990 these payments had laid within the responsibility of the sponsoring industrial plant. At the same time, the club received money from voivodship physical culture committees, for example for athletic scholarships. One of the interviewees describes the change of situation:

> However, the situation started to look tragic – from 1 January 1990, when the then minister of sport, and actually the government, the physical culture committee and the sports committee, all committees of physical culture and sports in all voivodeships stopped financing the clubs (interview 1).

Debts would accrue because there was no income. There were only costs. Financing by shipbuilding plants had come to an end. Interestingly, the personnel of the plants did not stop using the Olivia sports hall. This is noticed by an interviewee: "It was a bizarre situation – shipyard workers used the gym, everything, free of charge, we tolerated it, while the Northern Shipyard, our guardian, did not feel any financial obligation" (interview 1). We should remember that until the end of 1989 all senior club players collected remuneration in the Northern Shipyard. Another interviewee recalls:

> I never signed any document that stated I was employed. I don't know, they told me to go to the Shipyard, I went there, collected the money, signed confirmation of receipt, but I never signed any document stating that I was employed in the Shipyard, or I absolutely never signed a contract in Stoczniowiec (interview 3).

Before the transformation, such procedures can be described as symbiosis. The Northern Shipyard paid for the players and club facilities, and its employees used the facilities free of charge. In the new reality, the situation was completely different. As already mentioned, shipyard employees still used club facilities free of charge, while the shipyard did not support the club in any way. In the free market circumstances, this situation led the club to bankruptcy.

Industrial collapse to mark the end of sport?

The relation between sport and industry[3] has left its mark on the processes leading to the collapse of sports organizations. Stoczniowiec, connected with the Union of the Shipbuilding Industry, was not an isolated case of where the collapse of enterprises led to the problems of the sports club. To give an example, in Gdańsk, BKS Lechia Gdańsk, sponsored by the Union of the Building Industry, had problems. The relation between sport and ministries from Communist times

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[3] Also fascinating are the relations between sports clubs and other departments such as defense ministers or home affairs to which these clubs were subject. However, this is an area of research that is beyond the scope of this paper, because I am analyzing the case of an industrial club; I will describe other ones elsewhere.

was destructive during the transformation. The industry was collapsing under the introduction of deep privatization. As noted by Bałtowski and Miszewski (2015: 100–101): "Privatization or, more broadly, de-etatization of the sector of state-owned enterprises is a necessary element of transformational changes". The activities taken in this respect were based on the assumption that

> since the state wastes its material resources (which is difficult not to agree with), then the transformation alone of these resources into private resources will increase efficiency on a micro-scale and re-orient enterprises to financial benefits, which will result in increased efficiency on a macro-scale. Reality did not fully confirm such an assumption (Bałtowski, Miszewski 2015: 102).

An important element is the de-etatization mentioned by the authors, which had already begun in Gdańsk in the 1980s. This was due to the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) "Solidarność" which started to take the floor in industrial plants. Especially in Gdańsk and in the shipbuilding industry, people linked to trade unions started to have influence on the company's economic policy. Intent on cost-cutting, they started by cutting back on the "empty posts" of athletes. Shipyard managers did not negate the moves imposed by the trade unions. As an interviewee notes: "Each management, whether the Communist one and later some of those decision-makers [from Solidarity – author's note] – in my opinion sport was over on the Coast in 1981, as a punishment for those strikes" (interview 2). As the "punishment" for strikes in cooperation with those who initiated them, the authorities cut off the clubs in Gdańsk from financing before 1989. This was in contrast to the clubs from Upper Silesia, which did not experience such changes, as recalled by one of the interviewees:

> Anyway, all sections based on the shipbuilding industry or the Gdańsk Shipyard and their cooperating parties – from that time on everything was a punishment, and while the mining industry, etc., received strong financing, here the regression was clear and, despite numerous players, it collapsed (interview 2).

This situation was not favourable for sports clubs after 1989. Deindustrialization, de-etatization and the privatization of state-owned industrial enterprises were external processes that affected sports clubs.

It should be mentioned that the research on deindustrialisation includes criticism of the processes leading to the collapse of existing industrial enterprises. Such large-scale collapse is not identical to the "so-called normal, natural deindustrialization, which is currently observed in a number of Western countries, but is closer to the pathological form of deindustrialization" (Karpiński et al. 2015: 33–34). Industrial collapse was the result of the shock therapy. Similarly, in the sports industry no procedures of adapting to the new conditions were introduced. In other words, no transition rules existed. The state policy towards industry was based on liberal solutions and the assumption of the need to impose these solutions on Polish society, which was resistant to them and not enlightened enough

(Bałtowski, Miszewski 2015; Kowalik 1992). At the same time, fiscalism and the opening of foreign trade contributed to the collapse of industry, which entailed social costs: unemployment and poverty – as well as the lowest social strata going into debt. This led directly to social stratification at the moment when a "transformational class" was emerging on the other side. The "transformational class" is a narrow group of people who benefit from low-quality law, an open economy, poor state control, special conditions based on speculation and access to decision-making centers (Staniszkis 1994). This "transformational class" was in no way interested in areas such as sport. Their main goal was to benefit from the privatization of state-owned enterprises and make quick profit.

The Polish state versus sport

Not only changes to the industry and its erosion contributed to the regression in sport. It should be noted that the Polish state did not have – let me emphasize – *any* policy towards sport. It was left alone. One of the interviewees recalls: "they started to introduce ideology that sport has to finance itself, earn money, etc. And all these clubs began to collapse, first of all financially, and then the classic, i.e. they started to profit from this property" (interview 2). We can read about a new path for sport in "Dziennik Bałtycki":

> Sport is to be decentralized and the main links should be the school and sports club, which is subjected to local government. At the same time, these voluntary talent campuses should be coordinated by a supreme state administration body that distributes funds allocated by the Polish budget. At this moment there is a stumbling block because KKF [the Committee of Physical Culture, and actually the Committee of the Youth and Physical Culture – author's note] would like to leave it as it was (possibly with another change of the authority's name) and the opposition wants to establish institutions composed of completely new people. And so, personal manoeuvring is the background for a structural dispute. [...] As usual, only the press will write about what the renewed Polish sport is to be like. The problem is that journalists are not a driving force (Atlas 1990).

At that time, even sport was not an arena for reaching a consensus. In the case of the Forum for the Reform of Culture, the results of its work were questioned by an option related to NSZZ "Solidarność". Representatives of "Solidarność" used *votum separatum* for fairly general arrangements adopted during the Forum meeting. The assumptions referred to drawing up a draft resolution establishing an institution responsible for physical culture, which would coordinate the government's activities in the field of physical culture, health, leisure, tourism, rehabilitation and environmental protection; defining the principles of an organizational system in professional sport; determining the sources of financing physical culture, creating new legislation in the field of promoting health and physical culture, professional sport and tourism. Representatives of NSZZ "Solidarność" objected to it, relying on the general ideas of self-governance and independence of associations.

They concluded that the Forum's proposals were against these principles of independence and self-governance. In other words, ideals of self-governance, democratization and decentralizations in dire financial conditions were used as an excuse for a radical retrenchment of state responsibility for financing and maintaining sport clubs and infrastructure. This was compliant with the liberal claim that sport needs to be self-reliant and cope without state aid. It can be said that in 1990 this was a fantasy. "Considering that the first period of transformation, covering the beginning of the 1990s, was characterized by significant recession and a high unemployment rate, connected with rapid privatization of enterprises and liquidation (bankruptcy) of other entities" (Goszczyńska 2010: 205) there was no chance that organizations responsible for promoting physical culture and professional sport could be fully functional.

To illustrate the condition of sport and lack of state policy towards it, I present an appeal that was published in "Dziennik Bałtycki" before the Congress of Physical Culture and Tourism:

> Via our newspaper, the organizing committee for the congress would like to ask coastal organizations, activists, coaches and supporters of sport and physical culture to provide in the near future at the address [...] their opinions and conclusions regarding vital issues concerning our sports movement, prospective model solutions for the structures, the system of organizing physical education for children and young people, sport, rehabilitation and tourism, financing rules, etc. (Kowalski 1990).

The Polish state, which was committed to introducing democracy and the free market, had no plans or strategies for organizing sport and physical culture. On the one hand, they were looking for ideas in the grass-roots layers of society immersed in the socialist system, having habits and practices acquired in that system, and on the other one they wanted to detach people from the old era at all costs – which was done by the circles connected with NSZZ "Solidarność", which officially boycotted the Congress. Lack of a specific policy towards sport deepened the regression and collapse of sport. It was not until 18 January 1996 that a post-transformational act regulating physical culture and sport was enacted.

A sports club in uncertain times

In the years 1990–1992 RKS Stoczniowiec was gradually falling into ruin, like most clubs. Debts were mounting, there was no income. The club's situation was becoming more and more uncertain. Hence, a group of people started to take steps to seize power in the club. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) point out that changes in the institutional field – in this case a sports club – occur when social actors with no power start to struggle to reach their goals. They use their social competences to take power when the existing rules of the game cease to be shared by the people who make up a given organization. They form a coalition based on shared interest.

Also, in Oliver's concept of deinstitutionalization political factors are stressed as leading to changes in power. They can be described as occurring "when the utility or legitimacy of a practice are called into question" (D a c i n , D a c i n 2008: 331). Club members questioned the executive board and its strategies of action. They called for a procedure to change the executive board. Such a procedure can be seen in the story of one of the participants taking power in Stoczniowiec:

> I said that if we knock things down here, we will make K. the boss, and then K. would make one of us a director and then we will do our job – and continues – K., the former captain of Stoczniowiec Gdańsk, was appointed the chairman. It was an extraordinary general meeting, but I will tell you what to do – with the help of the then director for sport in the voivodeship office, [...] the director who was my friend and supporter – to not let this club be destroyed. I presented the idea, said who supported me, what we could do and that we could destroy this club. But for two years, Stoczniowiec will take over all the debts of Stoczniowiec, because Polonia had debts, the sports hall had debts, J. had debts – debts were everywhere. And we took all the debts and established GKS Stoczniowiec based at ul. Grunwaldzka 470, Hala Olivia and we allocated the Olivia Sports Hall to the club (interview 5).

Taking power over the club was connected with dividing it and taking over the debt. The multi-section club ceased to exist. Individual sections would depart to join new, one-section sports clubs with no debts. The sections that remained in Stoczniowiec were ice hockey, figure skating, volleyball and, for a short time, sports bridge and karate. The remaining sections formed the following clubs: SKS Polonia Gdańsk – football, Szpicgat – canoeing, Drakkar – rowing, MKS Atleta – weightlifting. In 1994, the boxing section finally discontinued its operation, and was taken over by Stocznia Gdańska S.A. The reason for such discontinuation was, among other things, the fact that the Shipyard hall burned down in November 1994. Lack of premises to train and organize boxing matches and the small number of members in the boxing section are the main factors behind the deinstitutionalization of this organization. This example shows how important the organizational dimension was for the club's continued existence; meaning the infrastructure consisting of people and material resources. Lack of one of these factors led directly to operational erosion. However, boxing left a permanent mark, namely payment of health pensions for boxers by RKS Stoczniowiec. Health pensions were granted to them on account of damage to health which they suffered while representing the colours of Stoczniowiec. As one of the interviewees notes:

> For example, the boxing section did not exist for 5–6 years and we paid the pensions to boxers, which on the one hand was an item in the budget and on the other, when the plan was to first of all revive the hockey and figure skating section using Olivia, such legacy of the past was an element which firstly cost us money and secondly had no rational justification (interview 4).

So why was this happening? The interviewee concludes:

> They won this, i.e. they won in court, and Stoczniowiec was the successor. There was a club before transformation and after transformation there is a club, too. So there was continuity – it did not matter from a formal or legal point of view that the section was closed (interview 4).

The sports club was still operating. All obligations rested on it. Debts, creditors, debt collectors – all this was the cost which had to be paid for the period of adaptation to the new reality. It should be noted that each of the remaining clubs that "emerged" from RKS Stoczniowiec had its sports facilities. SKS Polonia – a football stadium, MKS Atleta – a sports hall, Drakkar and Szpicgat – marinas, and RKS Stoczniowiec – the Olivia sports hall.

The change of management was vital for the club's future operation. Taking up the position of the chairman by K. had a significant impact on the club's stabilization. When becoming the chairman of Stoczniowiec, K. was a member of the City Board of the city of Gdańsk. This had a considerable impact on the club's fate: "In my time, it certainly helped a lot at the beginning. It needs to be made clear that this support, this communication, ease of access, it helped by all means" (interview 4). We can assume that K. had some social competences that allowed him to initiate cooperation and use various paths to achieve his goals. This is connected with Fligstein and McAdam's concept of social skills, thanks to which a social actor has more competence to act and organize activities (Fligstein 2009; Fligstein, McAdam 2012). In addition, it can be said that these social competences, combined with the social capital (Coleman 1988; Putnam 2008; Grodecki 2018; Burdyka 2019) that he had created within the city of Gdańsk (being a member of the City Board and later of the City Council), created favourable conditions for the strategies implemented to save the sports club, especially as in the first period of transformation in particular nobody wanted to talk and did not talk to local sports clubs. It was not until 1992 that the city of Gdańsk started to support sport. At the beginning, an offer was made to use the facilities of the then Municipal Centre for Sports and Recreation free of charge – which in this case was not important for Stoczniowiec.

An important fact for the club's fate was that the then chairman was at the same time a member of the city board and later on a councillor. Among other things, this made it possible to regulate the legal status of the club and the Olivia hall. One of the interviewees recalls the activities undertaken to regulate the legal status of the facility and the club:

> The second stage was to regulate the legal status – in 1993 I made a formal request to regulate the legal status by way of a decision issued by a department in the voivodeship office. The then voivode Płażyński declined his agreement for perpetual usufruct of the premises managed by the club – I appealed against this decision to the Supreme Administrative Court and we won the case. The voivode could not refuse because, according to the documentation, in 1982 we were granted the title to the premises. We did not pay the first instalment for perpetual

usufruct. In 1983 we received a reminder, in 1984, 1985 and in 1986 the then director called saying that there was no money at that moment and we couldn't pay. On the one hand, as I see it today, it was a gift that this legal status was not regulated – if it had been done, then in 1990 the management would have parcelled it out, sold it, and the Olivia hall would probably not exist today (interview 1).

The facility became the foundation for the club's survival in the difficult times of the transformation. Another interviewee emphasizes this: "In our case, the Olivia hall was the club's enormous wealth" (interview 4). Therefore, regulating the hall's legal status made it possible to manage the facility. Hence, the positions of the chairman of Stoczniowiec seem to be important, because they allowed for not only influencing but also controlling the procedures related to legal regulations. "When there were proposals of resolutions regarding the budget or support, it was possible to lobby, whether it was easier or more difficult to do" (interview 4).

Facility management – generating revenue from facilities for the club – was the first way to earn money. It should be emphasized that at that time the Olivia hall was the only facility in Gdańsk that could accommodate over four thousand spectators. However, the costs generated by the facility were a big problem: electricity, freezing of the ice rink, heating, cleaning, etc. This is illustrated by the words of the person managing the club at that time:

We struggled with two issues – one was a whole set of huge problems related to the facility, because as the manager we were responsible for everything happening at the facility, including its technical condition, security, etc. It was this one administrative aspect, while the other, a parallel one, was an attempt to rebuild this entire sports division, especially the hockey and figure skating section (interview 4).

Sports activity

The poor financial and organizational situation of Stoczniowiec was felt in the pursuit of its sports activity. The hockey team was not successful, and the players were looking for an additional – or maybe even their only – source of income outside the club. This situation is described by interviewee: "Everyone was looking for some job, because there were no more salaries paid by the club" (interview 3). The club took care of the facility – the ice rink (for both hockey players and figure skaters), equipment and transport to matches (or tournaments). Receiving remuneration either as a salary or as a scholarship was out of the question. As I mentioned, the outflow of players from clubs was significant. This did not create favourable conditions for achievements in sport. In the 1990s, the only success was achieved by juniors, who won the Polish ice hockey championship in 1996. This success translated into the achievements recorded at the beginning of the 21st century, when Stoczniowiec won bronze in the Polish ice hockey championships. However, both these achievements are linked to the change in the economic situation in the coun-

try. "In the second half of the 1990s economic growth prevailed, remaining at a stable level" (Goszczyńska 2010: 205), which also had a significant impact on sport. This allowed for receiving money from sponsors. This was the case with coaches and players who won the Polish Junior Championships. They received awards from private sponsors (Suska 1996). In addition, the state started to allocate funds to youth sport, which also made the operation of the sports club easier.

Conclusions

The presented case of RKS (GKS) Stoczniowiec Gdańsk is an example of the process of the reinstitutionalization of a sports organization. Thus, it fits into the survival model – a sports organization undergoes a number of structural, organizational and social changes. Changes in the organization are deep and result from the new institutional (economic and social) order. In other words: the sports club is adapting to the new reality in the institutional field of sport. First of all, the change of the club's structure is important: reducing the number of sections and dividing the club into single-section clubs – was a response to the new times. As one of the interviewees sums up:

> Today I think that the club, but also those other clubs, survived because of their division. Drak-kar has not regulated its legal status to date and is alive, Atleta is alive, Szpicgat is alive and Polonia is alive. None of these clubs has ceased to exist but they are alive. Stoczniowiec is also alive, and in the meantime it managed to set up two new sections, namely speed skating and curling. A curling sheet has been added – this disintegration, this division of the club, made it possible for these small clubs to survive at a minimum level of course (interview 1).

The club's restructuring was a new solution. Thus, we can conclude that the club managers were looking for new ways to operate, rather than referring to the existing organizational practices. An important element was also the people involved in the club's activities. "I refer to organizational commitment, which defines an employee's sense of connection with the organization, demonstrated primarily by the wish to remain its member and to work for it" (Czarnota-Bojarska 2010: 55). In Stoczniowiec, the involvement of activists and coaches can be linked with their emotional attachment to the club's tradition – some of them were its creators in Communist times, some were players. In some way, emotional attachment was of key importance to the club's fate. If there had been no emotions among the actors, they would not have taken any action for the club. It is only later, in retrospect, that their actions can be considered in the context of rationality, the costs incurred, or profits made. In sport, as Bass notes (2014), emotions play a significant role. In the transformation period, an emotional attitude towards a sports organization also mattered. An example of this could be that taking on the position of the chairperson of a club heading towards bankruptcy (or even one which is bankrupt) is not dictated by a rational calculation. The uncertainty of the existing

debt primarily gives the sense of uncertainty about the future rather than a sense of stability. Therefore, it can be concluded that the club's tradition and the emotional attachment of individuals to the club are factors that contributed to the activities aimed at keeping the organization alive.

The social capital of the managers played a key role in realizing the club's strategy (Coleman 1988; Putnam 2008; Grodecki 2018; Burdyka 2019). As I have showed above, the chairman of the club used his other position on the City Board and later on the City Council to provide a lobby for sport and also sport organizations. The social capital of his position and the network which he had created was helpful for realizing the survival strategy of "Stoczniowiec".

Another important factor – if not the most important one – was the functional factor. This was related to the material resource which the sports infrastructure constituted. The management of the Olivia hall generated revenue for the club: from the organization of events and renting the facility. Some of the revenues were expended on sports activities and some on facility maintenance. However, bearing in mind that in the first period of transformation there were no other sources of club financing (apart from the proceeds from tickets for hockey matches), such a material resource for generating revenue was a significant factor for the organization's continued existence.

External factors leading to problems in the club's operation are connected with the departure from financing sport through state-owned enterprises (sponsor companies) and the lack of the state policy towards physical culture and sport. Overcoming these factors was a major task for sports activists.

As I have shown above, factors from the Oliver concept illustrate changes in a sports club. In the case of Stoczniowiec, they did not lead to erosion, but under their pressure the organization adapted to the new conditions. In this case, the joint action of social actors to take power over the organization was also visible. The choice of a person with good social skills resulted in a number of changes to save the club from bankruptcy. The theory of fields illustrates the relationships in the institutional field. Relationships, or breaking them, had an impact on activities within the organization and led to the implementation of other strategies than those known from the past.

Returning to the search for answers regarding the opportunities of sports clubs during the transformation, we should remember that no sociological research had previously been carried out on this topic. Within the local space, the conducted survey is the first sociological study of this type focused on sports organizations. Therefore, this innovative study should form the foundation for further research on sports clubs or other types of sports organizations during the political transformation in Poland.

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SPORT W TRANSFORMACJI USTROJOWEJ W POLSCE GDAŃSKIE STUDIUM PRZYPADKU

Abstrakt. Różne obszary życia społecznego i gospodarczego i ich przemian w toku transformacji ustrojowej po 1989 roku były przedmiotem badań i analiz polskich socjologów. Wydaje się, że jednym z obszarów, który pozostał pominięty, stanowi „białą plamę", jest świat sportu.

Podobnie jak w innych obszarach, indywidualni i zbiorowi aktorzy społeczni, którzy świat sportu organizowali, zarządzali nim lub w nim uczestniczyli, musieli się zmagać z nowym porządkiem społecznym, ekonomicznym i politycznym. Dlatego obraz transformacji ich oczami, a także działania, które podejmowali, motywacje i sposoby radzenia sobie ze zmianami są interesujące i poszerzają wiedzę o okresie przemian.

W artykule prezentuję fragment własnych badań nad przebiegiem i skutkami transformacji ustrojowej na przykładzie wielosekcyjnego Robotniczego Klub Sportowego Stoczniowiec Gdańsk (obecnie GKS Stoczniowiec Gdańsk). Interesują mnie zmagania osób, które organizowały sport, z okresem przemian, a przede wszystkim to, w jaki sposób doświadczały zderzenia z nastającym nowym porządkiem społecznym. Jakie strategie podejmowały w swoich działaniach i praktykach organizacyjnych w czasie transformacji. W rekapitulowanym badaniu studium przypadku jest traktowane jako terenowy i koncepcyjny pilotaż, będący wyjściem do dalszej eksploracji. W studium przypadku korzystałem z dwóch metod: analizy danych zastanych (*desk research*) (zgromadzono m.in. artykuły prasowe, informacje klubowe, dane urzędowe, dane statystyczne) oraz wywiadów pogłębionych (IDI) z aktorami społecznym działającymi w klubie sportowym. Ramą analityczną dla badania są trzy wymiary transformacji: ekonomiczny, polityczno-prawny oraz społeczny. Natomiast fundamenty teoretyczne to perspektywy nowego instytucjonalizmu, szczególnie teoria pól Fligsteina i McAdama oraz koncepcja deinstytucjonalizacji Christine Oliver.

Słowa kluczowe: socjologia sportu, klub sportowy, transformacja, zmiana społeczna, socjologia transformacji.

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THE OLYMPIC GAMES AND NEW SPORT, RECREATION AND LEISURE SPACES FOR THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

Abstract. This article is an attempt to understand the changes caused by the organization of the Olympic Games. These changes are creating new places for sports, new recreational spaces and new challenges for the city. In discussing this topic, the author refers not only to scholarly sources and Internet resources, but above all to his field research, which was conducted in cities such as Athens and Barcelona. He also tries to organize and systematize those new places and objects that were created for, or transformed by, the Games. In addition, by supplementing the content with photos and accounts from his own research, the author tries to point out the potential reasons for both successes and organizational failures, which are still visible today in the heritage of the Olympic Games in specific cities.

Keywords: Olympic games, Olympism, urban space, local community.

Introduction

Since the Games are mainly focused on competition between athletes, professional as well as amateurs, their greatest impact is probably on those spheres of life that are most closely connected with sporting activity. Nevertheless, sport is not only activities organized according to specific rules, it is also the large space surrounding it. Thanks to this, a seemingly exclusively sporting event, namely the Olympic Games, is also (perhaps equally) a social and cultural event, affecting the development of sports education, as well as the development of the tourism, recreation and leisure market. Much has already been written about sport as such in the context of the Olympic Games, as well as about Olympic education or the impact of Olympism on cultural, social and intellectual development. In this text, however, I would like to focus on the significant impact that the Games have on urban space that results in the residents of organizing cities being able to take up sports or recreation activities in new places, in a new/different way,

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or in new disciplines. Although this topic is broad, the possibilities of this text are – obviously – limited, so I will focus on sketching the most interesting examples, especially from the initial editions of the Olympic Games, to finally move on to discuss the cases of Barcelona and Athens, which are based on my own field research in these cities.
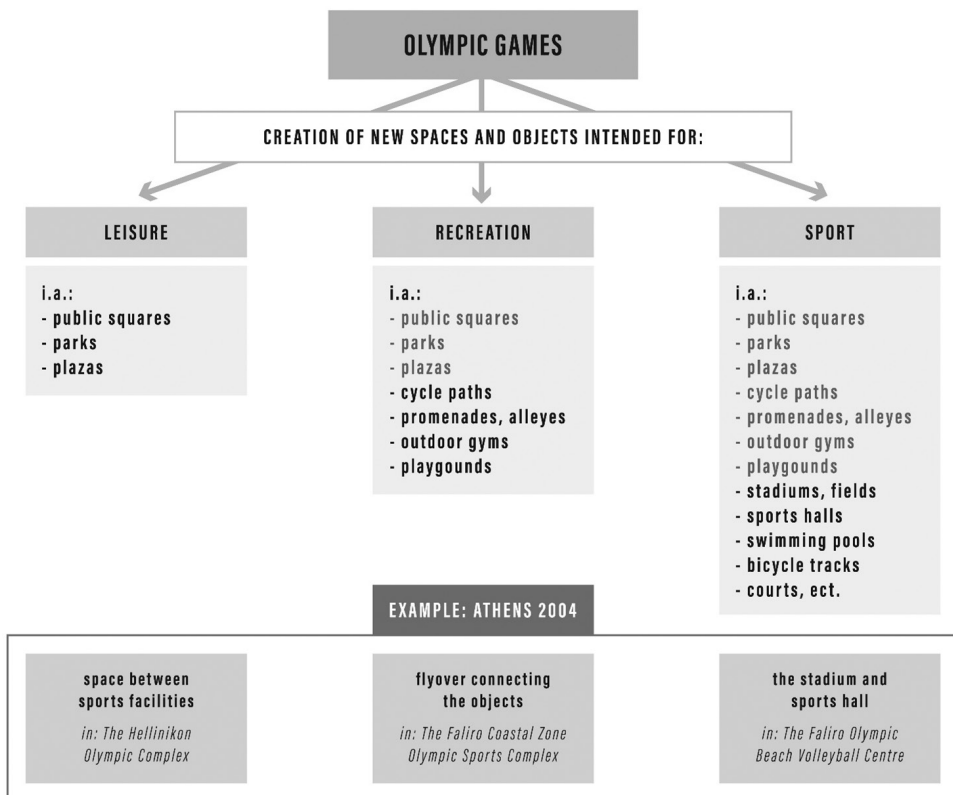
Definitions and historical context

As we can easily see, the main factors contributing to change in the city's space due to the organization of the Olympic Games are the more or less numerous sports buildings, which often to this day are for us symbols of past struggles persisting in the present. It is worth quoting the definition of Olympic architecture given by Wojciech Zabłocki. According to him, it is a special type of sports architecture which includes "urban objects and architectural events in which they were held, or at which the Olympic Games were to take place" (Zabłocki 2019: 514–515). And although they seem to be the most obvious signs that something new has appeared in the city's body, they are not the only ones. For the purposes of this article, I have allowed myself to divide all these new spaces into three categories that associate them with their only or at least main purpose: leisure, recreation and sport (Diagram 1).

Recreation is, according to the Polish Language Dictionary PWN, "getting rid of tiredness after work or during a break from work" (SJP PWN). And though it might seem that defining rest is unnecessary here, and the word and its meaning are so widely known that they do not need to be explained, it is worth referring to its main meaning. Of course, you can relax in a variety of ways: at home (e.g. in front of the TV or with a book in hand), in nature (e.g. during a picnic) or in the city. This last place is crucial here, because in this text it means a place outside the home, but also not outside the city (in the countryside, in the woods, on the beach). Therefore, it is about urban places and spaces that have been specially created so that they can be used for the purposes of rest and relaxation, and thus spending free time. In the city, above all, this public space is used as a "[...] »cultural area«, [...] a sphere of freedom, where every resident of the city can feel at ease" (Jałowiecki, Szczepański 2006: 423). As part of such space, it is possible to distinguish those squares, parks, avenues etc., which were created thanks to the Games, but also existing ones that have been thoroughly modernized because of them. It cannot be denied that such interference occurred in the public space of the cities where the first Olympic Games took place. After all, when building the Neo Phaliron Velodrome or undertaking the reconstruction of the Panathenaic Stadium for the needs of the first modern games in Athens in 1896, the surrounding space had to change as well. And although minor changes in the urban space were not an important topic for analysis at the time, one can find information that the Athe-

nian office spent some money on "repairing roads, planting trees, improving street lighting and cleaning up squares" (Traiou 2016). Also, during the construction of the stadium for the needs of the Stockholm Games in 1912, the surrounding space was revitalized by renovating the streets, establishing lawns, eliminating unnecessary or damaged elements of architecture, and planting a wide variety of vegetation. Thanks to this, a large and friendly park was created for visitors (Bergvall 1912: 204).

Free time can be used in a variety of ways. New spaces created on the occasion of the Olympic Games encouraged (and continue to encourage) residents not only to rest, but also to engage in physical activity. On the one hand, it can be a typical way to improve one's mood, unload emotions or rest, through partaking in recreational activities *around the stadium* (in alleys, parks, squares), or participating in organized activities within a sports club or a group with common sports interests *at the stadium*.

OLYMPIC GAMES

CREATION OF NEW SPACES AND OBJECTS INTENDED FOR:

LEISURE

i.a.:
- public squares
- parks
- plazas

RECREATION

i.a.:
- public squares
- parks
- plazas
- cycle paths
- promenades, alleyes
- outdoor gyms
- playgounds

SPORT

i.a.:
- public squares
- parks
- plazas
- cycle paths
- promenades, alleyes
- outdoor gyms
- playgounds
- stadiums, fields
- sports halls
- swimming pools
- bicycle tracks
- courts, ect.

EXAMPLE: ATHENS 2004

space between sports facilities

in: The Hellinikon Olympic Complex

flyover connecting the objects

in: The Faliro Coastal Zone Olympic Sports Complex

the stadium and sports hall

in: The Faliro Olympic Beach Volleyball Centre

Diagram 1. The creation of the new spaces and objects
Source: Author's own study.

As Józef Lipiec writes, "sport often covers lower regions – health, ludic and utilitarian, but it is not limited to them. [...] Sport is a natural component of culture" (Lipiec 2014: 42–43), just as the components of culture are objects built for the needs of sport and sports activity as such. In 1936, during the Nazi Games in Berlin, the Third Reich approached this event solely through the prism of its regime's propaganda and advertising, creating, among other things, the nationwide program Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy), which was aimed at encouraging the employees of German factories to engage in active rest in nature, of course under the watchful eye of the army and political activists (Baranowski 2001: 213). According to the vision of the Führer, the physically prepared nation was to achieve spectacular results during the games at monumental facilities (Thiel, Huber 2016). It is not necessary to talk about how history unfolded, but some sports facilities, including the Olympic stadium and the surrounding space, are to this day used for sports activities. The social or even political impact on people's physical activity has long been significant. As Krzysztof Zuchora writes, "The pitch is a state or private theater in which things that are important to players and the audience are happening. [...] [People] oppose wildness and devastating ethical and cultural values that determine the human nature of sport and Olympism" (Zuchora 2018: 171). Thus, from the stadium (and more broadly from every sports arena) good and bad examples of sports competition go out into the world (through the players and the audience). Again, the Olympic Games in Scandinavia were hosted after World War II. They took place in the Finnish capital, Helsinki, in 1952, and to date this remains the smallest city to have organized the Olympics. Since Helsinki was to have been the host of this sporting event as early as 1940, only to be cancelled due to the outbreak of war, the main arena (as well as many others) was ready. Despite this, it was decided to modernize it (after 12 years had passed, and the world, including sports, had advanced), expanding, among other things, the grandstand capacity (Miller 2012: 153). As stressed by its managers, the stadium as an Olympic facility is in constant use (stadion.fi), and its next modernization was planned for 2016–2020, which is to change it into a multifunctional

Photo 1. The view on the Anella Olímpica, Barcelona.
Photo by Adam Omorczyk.

Photo 2. The outer part of the Velòdrom d'Horta, Barcelona.
Photo by Adam Omorczyk.

sports facility. Of course, other sports facilities were built around the stadium – including the main Olympic pool. Everything was connected by a network of roads and avenues leading through the parks. To this day, the largest sports complex in Finland enjoys great popularity among locals and visitors. In turn, in the summer, the aforementioned pool is perfect (Mommo 2013). Almost every subsequent Olympic Games could be described in a similar way. Public spaces were created during the construction of more or less monumental Olympic facilities. However, due to limited space, I want to cover just two more contemporary games. Before I turn to these two examples, it is worth mentioning why I chose to discuss these two cities. Firstly, for reasons of technical and economic feasibility, my research had to be narrowed down to European cities. Secondly, Barcelona and Athens are clear examples of both positive and negative developments. Thirdly, choosing more cities would have entailed exceeding the permissible scope of this article. The field studies carried out in Athens and Barcelona were preceded by an in-depth analysis of existing data, publications, reports, photographs and maps. During the research in each of the cities, all observations and remarks were marked on a properly prepared observation sheet. This resulted in a broader perspective, from which I was able to draw content and knowledge for this text.

Barcelona 1992

The games on Spanish soil turned out to be extremely successful, not only in terms of tourism, city promotion and hospitality, but also in terms of the impact on the urban fabric. Over the years 1986–1995, i.e. during the preparations for the Barcelona Games and in the coming years after their implementation, over 34.72% of the city's public space was modified (Arboix, Martín 2017: 3). This mostly consisted of places around major Olympic venues, concentrated in four areas throughout Barcelona. A total of 43 sports facilities, 44 training places and 19 residential buildings were built or modernized (Official Report 1992 III: 81). It is enough to mention the spacious squares at Anella Olímpica – Olympic Park on Montjuïc hill (Photo 1). To this day, this is a bustling place, full of tourists resting after intensive sightseeing. It is also undoubtedly a place for residents. Above all, however, according to scholars dealing with the subject of public space in Barcelona, the Olympic Games revitalized those areas of the city that were poorly used, neglected and marginal, and restored them to the city and its inhabitants as public places and open to everyone (Garcia-Ramon, Albet 2000: 1332). It is also worth mentioning that – unlike the 2004 Olympic Games – most of the Olympic facilities in Barcelona were built (or were already located) in the vicinity of the city's famous tourist attractions. An example is the already mentioned Olympic Park on Montjuïc hill. The Olympic stadium itself, like the neighbouring Palau Nacional, was built especially for the 1929 World Exhibition. The whole hill and park is full of attractions and places worth visiting. Right next to the

stadium there is also the Juan Antonio Samaranch Olympic and Sport Museum. In addition, there are museums, exhibition halls, numerous paths leading through tree-lined parks, spectacular fountains, etc. Another example worth mentioning is the Velòdrom d'Horta located in Vall d'Hebron (Photo 2). It was the first new facility built for the Barcelona Olympic Games in 1984 (Official Report 1992 II: 233). In its immediate surroundings there are both the Mundet Campus of the University of Barcelona and the famous Parc del Laberint d'Horta. In addition, the shaded area around the facility is conducive to rest for both students and residents of this part of the city, and to engaging in various sports and recreational activities (skateboarding, running, cycling). The last example is the third sports complex, located in the coastal zone – arc de Mar Area. The objects located there are scattered at a greater distance (apart from the marina and the indoor hall Pavelló de la Mar Bella), but also have excellent connections with the nearby parks (including Ciutadella Park), museums and beaches. The organizers also set themselves the goal of creating such easy and above all green connections between sports facilities and public urban spaces, such as the parks or squares mentioned (Official Report 1992 II: 253). In addition to the previously mentioned complexes, seven more were created (so-called single) sports facilities (e.g. the Palau d'Esports in Badalona, the Palau d'Esports in Granollers, the Mollet Shooting Range, the L'Hospitalet Baseball Stadium), and three existing ones were revitalized (e.g. the Terrassa Hockey Stadium or the Nova Creu Alta Stadium in Sabadell) (Official Report 1992 II: 273). Thanks to this, the inhabitants of other districts also gained new places to play sports, and to participate in sports competitions as fans.

Athens 2004

The case of the Greek capital is relatively unique among modern games. First of all, due to the economic conditions of the country, the size of the city, its narrow streets and tourist density. Nevertheless, to the general euphoria of the Greeks, during the election bid historical and emotional considerations prevailed over economic calculations. And although difficulties were expected, and despite the fact that during the preparations the then president of the International Olympic Committee Jacques Rogge expressed his concern about the slow progress (The Guardian Sport 2003), the city managed to organize an efficient and successful event. The existing OAKA Athens Olympic Park was reorganized (gr. *Ολυμπιακό Αθλητικό Κέντρο Αθηνών "Σπύρος Λούης" OAKA*), which, thanks to the bold vision of the Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava, became the focal point of the Games of the 28th Olympiad. Athenian athletes gained a modern, multifunctional stadium (but currently it only fulfils the functions of a football stadium), a modernized indoor sports halls, an indoor velodrome, and a tennis centre together with a main court with roofed stands. Admittedly, only members of sports clubs/

Photo 3. The New Agora at the OAKA, Athens. Photo by Adam Omorczyk.

Photo 4. A place to relax at the Hellinikon Olympic Complex, Athens. Photo by Adam Omorczyk.

Photo 5. The overpass at the Faliro Coastal Zone, Athens. Photo by Adam Omorczyk.

schools have access to some of the facilities, but admission to the Olympic swimming pools or tennis courts is also possible for members of the public. Primary and secondary schools also conduct sports activities there. Because the whole complex is in Marousi – a rich business district of Athens, the creation of a modern sports center has become an additional attraction. Excellent connections with the rest of the capital, both through the subway, suburban rail and road network, created an ideal space for recreation, physical activity and rest for the local population. The Modern Agora with its characteristic white arches (Photo 3), numerous ponds with fountains, squares and alleys impressively illuminated at night, were intended to be a place of rest and recreation for residents. After all, their perfectly flat, even surfaces are ideal for various forms of amateur sports – inline skating, cycling, jogging or children's games. Unfortunately, as is clear from my research carried out in the OAKA complex, its open space, which is not shielded from the fierce Greek sun, is not a great attraction for the Greeks. Rather, they look for shady streets, squares among trees and cool cafes. The climate is not conducive

to using the complex as a place of rest, as in the case of the other two large sports facility complexes. Perhaps the most prominent example of this is the Hellinikon Olympic Complex built on the tarmac of the former airport. The district is full of night clubs and well-maintained beaches, with two indoor halls, a canoeing center and three stadiums for baseball, softball and field hockey. All the huge space around was paved, planted with trees, and several places were created with benches covered with semipermeable roofs (Photo 4). So we have a perfect example of creating a completely new space for both sport (halls, stadiums), recreation (avenues, squares) and rest (benches, indoor places). However, as in the case of the 2004 main Olympic complex, unreasonable planning has also had its effects here, in the form of empty space which is not people-friendly, especially on hot days. Its enormity overwhelms visitors. In addition, this is compounded by the owners' neglect the object – ubiquitous garbage, weeds and destroyed elements of small architecture. In turn, the sports facilities – especially the softball and hockey stadium – are disintegrating before our eyes. In Greece – and especially in Athens, neither of these sports are very popular, which is why from today's perspective the construction of permanent facilities was not a great idea. The third complex of sports facilities is the Faliro Coastal Zone Olympic Sports Complex. This consists of three buildings: the Peace and Friendship Stadium (SEF), existing since 1983, a new beach volleyball stadium, and the indoor the Faliro Sports Pavilion Arena (FSPA) (Official Report 2005: 151–153). The last two facilities are connected by a long esplanade (Photo 5), which connects at FSPA with a wide esplanade traversed by Poseidonos Avenue[1] and the railroad track, leading from the coast into the city. In 2016, a modern cultural center was created at its end, thanks to which walking and cycling came to life in this part of the city (Kalfa, Kalogirou 2017; SNFCC). Unfortunately, this cannot be said for the first path leading from the FSPA to the beach soccer stadium. Since the facility itself has been abandoned and overgrown since the 2004 Games,[2] the road leading to it is not interesting for potential users. In turn, the area around FSPA is fenced and inaccessible after periods of events organized there. Therefore, apart from sporting activities (SEF, FSPA), all recreational activities have now moved from the Olympic complex to the area around the aforementioned cultural center.

Summary

Over the past one hundred and twenty years, when the world has been accompanied by the revived Olympic Games, a lot of sports facilities have been created, often setting trends in architecture and urban planning. In addition to

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[1] A coastal, busy four-lane road connecting Faliro with Glyfada.
[2] The reason for neglect is similar to the Hellinikon Olympic Complex – no interest in organized/professional beach volleyball practice.

obvious buildings such as stadiums or sports halls, countless smaller and larger facilities accompanying the games were built or modernized, housing training facilities, flats, logistics centers, headquarters of organizational committees, etc. The construction of such buildings brought, and still brings, changes in the surrounding space. The Games were therefore a pretext for the renovation of old, damaged buildings (as in the case of the Panathenaic Stadium or the Estació del Nord Sports Hall), the revitalization of existing facilities that would not meet the expectations of the Games or the organizers' vision (as in the case of the OAKA complex in Athens or the Olympic Stadium in Barcelona) and the construction of completely new buildings from scratch (such as the Olympic Stadium in Stockholm or the Faliro Sports Pavilion Arena). In each of these cases, a new public space was created in the city, which allowed residents and tourists to make use of sports development opportunities, often in completely new disciplines. New places for physical activity and rest cannot be omitted. Contrary to appearances, these are extremely valuable spaces for the city, enabling people to burn energy, to have fun, and to engage in learning and social interactions. Banal conversations on a bench in a park alley are the best proof that the city is teeming with life. Trivial walks can be important both from the city's point of view and that of a walker, because the walk "[...] introduces a set point of view into urban space" (Duda 2018: 146). Time spent outside of your own apartment, house, block or tenement can be spent in many ways – including those related to physical activity. Józef Lipiec notes that "along with the progressing urbanization, the pressure of environmental lifestyles also increased, gradually creating the foundations for urban leisure culture" (Lipiec 2018: 55). The Olympic Games undoubtedly create new opportunities for city dwellers to be able to take part in their favorite sports competitions, use their free time for recreational activities, to have fun and take a much needed rest. There is no doubt, however, that these options are not always used in the right way. Of course, this does not apply to the potential users of these places, but rather concerns the processes preceding construction. The meetings of planners, architects and urban planners with organizational committees, city authorities or the creators of specific ideas, turn out to be the key moment. The planning process should be preceded by in-depth research that will allow one to predict whether a given object in a particular place will be an enduring success after the Olympic torch is extinguished, or whether the construction should be of a more temporary nature, so that it does not become another ruin that discourages rather than attracts people. A properly carried out planning process can protect future organizers from the failures of their predecessors, but it can also be a catalyst for positive changes in urban space, which will not only change it, but also make it more people-friendly, thanks to which everyone will benefit.

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IGRZYSKA OLIMPIJSKIE A NOWE PRZESTRZENIE DLA SPORTU, REKREACJI I WYPOCZYNKU LOKALNEJ SPOŁECZNOŚCI

Abstrakt. Niniejszy artykuł jest próbą swego rodzaju rozeznania w temacie zmian, powodowanych przez organizację Igrzysk Olimpijskich. W ramach tych zmian powstają nowe miejsca do uprawiania sportu, nowe przestrzenie rekreacji i nowe wyzwania dla miasta. Omawiając ten temat, autor odwołuje się nie tylko do źródeł książkowych czy zasobów internetowych, ale przede wszystkim do swoich badań terenowych, które wykonane zostały m.in. w Atenach i Barcelonie. Stara się on także uporządkować i usystematyzować nowe miejsca i obiekty, które powstały lub zostały przeobrażone pod wpływem Igrzysk. Dodatkowo, uzupełniając treść o zdjęcia i relacje z własnych badań, autor próbuje wskazać na potencjalne powody zarówno sukcesów, jak i porażek organizacyjnych, które uwidaczniają się po dziś dzień w dziedzictwie Igrzysk Olimpijskich w konkretnych miastach.

Słowa kluczowe: igrzyska olimpijskie, olimpizm, przestrzeń miejska, lokalna społeczność.

BOOK REVIEW

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A TOURIST IN PURSUIT OF THE WORLD OF SPORT REVIEW OF THE BOOK BY EWA MALCHROWICZ--MOŚKO ENTITLED *SPORT TOURISM*, ACADEMY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN POZNAŃ, POZNAŃ 2018

Abstract. This text is a review of the book *Sport Tourism* by Ewa Malchrowicz-Mośko. The review analyses the topics proposed by the author, attempts to define them, and presents examples. The review focuses on the thematic division proposed in the book: into the history and development of tourism, the issue of sports events, the very phenomenon of sports tourism, and contemporary manifestations of sports tourism. The text focuses on the valuable advantages, but also tries to be critical of the publication and to highlight its weaker elements. Above all, however, it is an attempt to take a constructive approach to the subject of sports tourism and to encourage the use of a peer-reviewed book.

Keywords: sports tourism, event, tourist, experience, cultural tourism, sport.

Today, the tourist is undoubtedly a customer of special rank and position. Travel agents go to great lengths to satisfy the most exotic desires, and the spaces that such a person visits are often thriving markets with souvenirs and sights to see. However, as we learn from Ewa Malchrowicz-Mośko's book *Sport Tourism*, this sphere of human activity is completely different from the perception of our everyday tourist. It would certainly be appropriate to mention at the outset the basic definitions of the subject provided by the author of the book, but I will take the liberty of leaving this issue to the reader, as the multitude of all theoretical approaches to the issue of sports tourism means that giving this one could diminish and weaken the overtones of another. I would, however, like to propose a short, but very important quotation from the author, who emphasises in it, above all, the very diversity of influences, roots, currents, stampings and links of sports tourism:

> Contemporary sports tourism, as well as its components, is subject to conditions which have their own economic (economic), ecological and socio-cultural dimensions, connected with various motivations and needs of the character of emotional and sensual, aesthetic, intellectual sensations, usually influenced by progressive commercialization, fashion dictates and social prestige (Malchrowicz-Mośko 2018: 88).

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This long sentence shows us emphatically that, like most scientific studies, the phenomena investigated by scientists cannot be contained in an airtight and small package of simple and clear wording. The multitude of phenomena and factors influencing the area under study means that the number of books grows and new studies are constantly being published. This makes the book reviewed here all the more valuable for its synthesis and practical size.

Ewa Malchrowicz-Mośko's book opens with a fairly large introduction, which turns out to be a source of synthetic information about the content of individual chapters. In my opinion, this is a relatively large shortcoming of this publication. In the introduction – and also in scientific terms – as readers we usually expect a more personal touch from the author. This is a place for explanations related to the reasons for dealing with a selected topic, as well as for sharing possible observations, problems or remarks. After reading the introduction, therefore, we are already faced with the content of the book proper, divided into three similarly voluminous chapters, followed by a significantly more extensive one, and the last, extremely short chapter.

The first part of Chapter One deals with the history and development of tourism. This subchapter is important mainly because of the outline of the time background, numerous scientific definitions from different disciplines, and the various types and subtypes of tourism given (and partially described briefly). The beginning of this section is therefore a short sketch of the road the tourist has travelled from the search for the sacred in ancient times, through the medieval pilgrimage movement and the Enlightenment concept of the *Grand Tour*, to the creation of mass tourism in the middle of the 20th century. Readers who are more historically oriented may be somewhat disappointed by the quick transition to more modern times. Definitely more attention is devoted to the intensive development of tourism at the turn of the 20th and 21st century and in recent years. The author very accurately sets the subject of travel in the context of social development, referring to such sociologists as Krzysztof Przecławski, Jerzy Szacki and Piotr Sztompka. The turn towards a society of experience, a concept created by the German sociologist Gerhard Schulze, is extremely valuable here. The contemporary tourist is therefore a seeker of entertainment, emotions, adrenaline or risk. Today's tourism is in its general flowering, with many new forms and types of tourism, such as cultural, rural, business, space and sports tourism, among others. The dangers and controversies that accompany the new forms of world exploration are also significant. Here it suffices to mention *sex tourism* or *drug tourism*. A tourist in today's world is a person who wants to experience various emotions, connected with both discovering places and trying to establish contacts with representatives of other cultures. Ultimately, however, this leads, as the author rightly points out, to getting entangled in a closed circle of constant running after the proverbial rabbit. In the second part of the first chapter, the reader is taken on a journey through the history of sport: from the original games and competitions to its latest

dimensions. Of course, there are numerous definitions of sport, and the divisions between amateur and professionalism, as well as the recreational, health or competitive nature of sport, are outlined here. It is also important to pay attention to the links between sport and recreation and entertainment, which smoothly leads to its links with modern mass culture, commodification, globalisation and finally universalisation. The conclusion of this subchapter seems to cover the two main directions in which sport is currently heading. The first is the search for ever more extreme and increasingly strange and dangerous varieties of physical activity; the second is linked to individualism and a focus on one's own good. The last section, in turn, deals with the Olympic Games and other mass sports events over the centuries. The link between tourism and sport, as the author points out, has been an undeniable feature almost from the very beginning of sporting competition. Subsequent paragraphs take us through the history of sport and rivalry from ancient times, through the centuries of medieval knights and the tournaments in which they took part, then the forms of carnival that emerged at the end of the Middle Ages, and the beginnings of football in the British Isles or the Robert Dover Olympics in the 17th century. Finally, the author smoothly moves on to the resurrection of the Olympics before a short, though perhaps not entirely necessary, historical depiction of the Olympics themselves and the people associated with them. In the last two sections, the themes of the World Cup and the European Football Championship are touched upon, along with their impact on tourism, as well as the short theme of Polish sport and Polish sports clubs after Poland regained its independence.

Chapter Two is the history of the sporting event in the post-modern era. It is worth noting the explanation given in the footnote by the author of the name itself. The Polish translation of the word event does not reflect its holistic character and broader perspective. On subsequent pages of the first subchapter there are numerous typologies and divisions of events or reasons for the participation of spectators in these actions. Based on the juxtapositions proposed by various scientists, the most important features or characteristics can be drawn, which attract even more fans and tourists to numerous events. Thus, words such as emotion, fun, expression or filling in leisure time are used. As the author notes, the development of tourism is connected with the latter. From time to time, we also hear a phrase that was already quoted in the previous chapter. It is a *society of sensations* or *sensations* themselves. It turns out to be almost a key word in the issue of tourists' expectations with regard to a mass event in which they intend to participate. The next subchapter is devoted to the phenomenon of cheering. This is all the more important as the concept of a supporter is becoming increasingly mixed with that of a tourist. Today, people who want to watch a match and support their team are able to travel many thousands of kilometres, while visiting numerous countries and meeting interesting people. As before, the author wants to draw us a picture of the evolution that people have undergone – from spectators to post-fans. A lot of attention is devoted to probably

the most avid fans, namely football lovers. This part includes facts about the darker side of supporters, usually concerning their connection with a given subculture. The last part of the second chapter, although short, deals with the extremely important issue of city/region/country development due to the organisation of mass events and sporting events that are held there. Here the author provides examples of the positive impact of sporting events on economic development and – most importantly from the point of view of this book – tourism. Thanks to the power of simplicity and universality of the sporting message, it can become a strong impulse for changes on a variety of scales. The author does not overlook Poland and the effects of Euro 2012, which was organised jointly with Ukraine.

The third chapter is devoted to the main topic of the book, the phenomenon of sports tourism. The first part introduces us to the scientific research conducted by foreign scientists and research centres. So we get a dose of information about the scientific perception of sports tourism in Germany or the United Kingdom. The numerous definitions which the author cites are often in conflict with one another because of the different scopes and assumptions on which they are based. Questions are therefore asked about the purpose of tourists, the boundaries between sport and recreation are sought, and links between tourism and sporting events are indicated. This issue does not seem to be a simple one, and it is still a problem for scientists, who draw on a variety of fields, such as philosophy and the associated concept of *assimilation*, with its impact on both sides involved. The next section draws our attention to the Polish context, along with the path taken by scientists working on this subject. Polish researchers began to think about sports tourism relatively late. Linking tourism in our country with the activities of PTTK (the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society) was key to understanding its nature and manifestations. Researchers pointed out the main factor – competition, which distinguished qualified sport from qualified tourism. The latter was mainly focused on improving physical fitness, getting to know the country, cooperation and educating young people. The use of various concepts, which sometimes coincided with the definitions of the Western nomenclature, caused considerable chaos in Polish research. It was only at the beginning of the 21st century that sports tourism in Poland started to be mentioned, distinguishing the aforementioned qualified and extreme or active tourism. In recent years, as the author notes, sports tourism has been increasingly discussed, and is beginning to be associated with its impact on the country's economy. The last part of the third chapter is a description of contemporary changes and trends in sports tourism, which is becoming increasingly dynamic. The governments of many countries are beginning to see the benefits of the sporting lifestyle for their citizens. The author also draws our attention to the individualistic approach to sports tourism adopted by people who treat it as a means of self-development, maintaining health, and the achievement of their goals. It is important that in the era of sustainable development, both countries and residents, and tourists and service providers, should be able to benefit from

the activities undertaken by tourists that have the least possible impact on the environment and nature.

The fourth chapter is an extensive part describing in detail the various types of sports tourism. The typology and selected definition are based on a detailed review of both domestic and international literature. The first part of this chapter describes forms of *active sports tourism*. People travel around the world to participate in rare, traditional and often local games or sports, which are very strongly connected with the history of the region and its culture. This allows local people to continue and constantly cultivate their own regional identity, and at the same time for tourists to participate in something unusual and often little known. Finally, the whole is complemented by traditional Polish games and sports. Another type of sports tourism mentioned in the book is the *tourism of sports events*. Here the author gives numerous examples of older or younger editions of various sports events, such as Wimbledon or Monaco F1 Grand Prix. A Polish example is provided by the annually organised Tour de Pologne, on whose route numerous spectators and fans appear. In addition, such tourists can be divided into groups, in accordance with their activity or inactivity, which creates new subtypes of this tourism. Within this framework, the author briefly lists the most important features of, among others, *active tourism of amateur sports events* or *sports volunteer tourism* (which concerns travelling by volunteers). *Olympic tourism*, in turn, is discussed separately. The next topic addressed in this section is *running tourism*, which is related to participation in marathons, half marathons, charity runs, etc. What is important here is that running is a sport for all, without any restrictions. The last subtype sports events tourism mentioned in the book is *football tourism*. This is, of course, connected with the most varied football events, from the World Cup, through the continental championships, to local competitions. The author also addresses here the issue of Euro 2012, which is important for Poles, and the impact of organising this event on the country. The last type of sport tourism is *cultural sport tourism*. This involves tourists travelling to visit characteristic sports-related places, sports facilities, club headquarters, and sportsmen's homes, as well as participating in thematic meetings, shows or lessons. The author also mentions two subtypes of cultural sport tourism: *museum sport tourism* and *stadium tourism*, where she gives numerous examples of both museums and stadiums eagerly visited by tourists.

Chapter Five deals with the effects of sports tourism, although the author devotes most attention to the organisation of sports events – especially the largest ones. Among the socio-cultural effects are those related to heritage (both tangible and intangible), such as the Olympic Games, their impact on the environment, including urban space, as well as the development and exchange of ideas, experiences and traditions. A larger number of tourists also means more money left in the pockets of entrepreneurs and government. However, we should also not forget the negative economic effects. The organisation of the largest sporting events in particu-

lar is often associated with debt, unused material heritage or, ultimately, an adverse impact on other forms of tourism. The last effect the author takes up is the impact of mass events on the ecological situation. Mass events can also make a positive contribution to nature protection by implementing innovative ways of dealing with waste, reducing pollution, or addressing the subject of environmental education, which can bring much good in the long term to people and the environment they live in.

The last, extremely short chapter touches on the subject of sport tourism in areas of natural value and in culturally different areas. It could have been boldly incorporated into the previous chapters as a form of curiosity, or as a kind of introduction to the discussion on this topic. Devoting a separate chapter to this topic has somewhat detracted from the importance of individual chapters.

The book *Sport Tourism* addresses the subject matter as if it were relatively easy and light to read. However, this position is far from correct. The issues it contains, covering the evolution of tourism from pilgrims to post-tourists, provide a valuable lesson, and the book will certainly become an important reference point for current and future researchers. It seems particularly important to link tourism to a variety of scientific disciplines, from philosophy to sociology to geography. The author very often emphasises both the distinctiveness of sport and tourism, with their mutual connotations and often inseparable connections. Presenting the virtues of sports tourism, along with organization of mass events connected with sport, Ewa Malchrowicz-Mośko is not afraid to take up subjects far removed from the positive dimensions of this human activity. She therefore points just as often to the threats and opportunities arising from the increasingly rapid and intensive development of sports tourism. This seems to be one of the greatest assets of the publication under review. It gives us not only dry facts and definitions, but also a huge number of examples where it is much easier to explain the processes taking place. The author, however, does not stop at presenting only good and bad manifestations of the phenomena under discussion, but, above all, proposes solutions to situations which are often not easy, but which are nevertheless possible, and which may potentially seem to be without solution. The author also does not shy away from addressing the Polish context, and almost every example – where possible – is complemented by local elements. In order to construct a fairly synthetic summary, it is worth mentioning once again that sports tourism seems to have a significant impact on interpersonal ties, integration, the satisfaction of impressions and emotions, and the search for sensations and intense experiences. It also influences the development of sports education, the popularity of physical activity, and for regions or countries a sense of pride, community building and the strengthening of identity. Once again, I will probably repeat the most important element in which sports tourism can, and certainly does, have an impact. It is about education, building mutual respect and tolerance, and resisting all discrimination. Although this book is certainly not exhaustive, it can certainly be an excellent starting point for further discussions, debates and scientific deliberations on sports tourism.

TURYSTA W POGONI ZA ŚWIATEM SPORTU
RECENZJA KSIĄŻKI EWY MALCHROWICZ-MOŚKO
PT. *TURYSTYKA SPORTOWA*, AKADEMIA WYCHOWANIA FIZYCZNEGO
W POZNANIU, POZNAŃ 2018

Abstrakt. Niniejszy tekst jest recenzją książki pt. *Turystyka sportowa* autorstwa Ewy Malchrowicz-Mośko. Tekst ten ma być analizą zaproponowanych przez autorkę tematów, prób ich zdefiniowania oraz prezentowanych przykładów. Recenzja skupia się na zaproponowanym w książce podziale tematycznym na historię i rozwój turystyki, kwestii eventu sportowego, samym fenomenie turystyki sportowej oraz współczesnych przejawach turystyki sportowej. Tekst ten koncentruje się na zaletach, ale stara się także podejść krytycznie do całej publikacji i zaznaczyć jej słabsze elementy. Przede wszystkim jednak jest to próba konstruktywnego podejścia do tematu turystyki sportowej i zachęcenia do sięgnięcia po recenzowaną książkę.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka sportowa, event, turysta, doznania, turystyka kulturowa, sport.

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