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Sport and Society

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INTRODUCTION

In "Program for a Sociology of Sport, " Bourdieu (1988:153) referred to the "special difficulties that the sociology of sport encounters: scorned by sociologists, it is despised by sportspersons." A few years ago, a member of the Bryn Mawr College curriculum committee responded to our request to teach a course on "Sport and Society" with an incredulous "why don't people just read the daily sports page?" The American Sociological Association not only lacks a Sociology of Sports section, its 2000 Annual Meeting lists only 5 of its 577 sessions under the designation "Leisure/Sports/Recreation."¹

Yet, sports, indeed, constitute a major part of the US economy: the expenditures in 1998 for commercial sports totaled \$17.7 billion and an additional \$21.4 billion was spent on physical fitness, golf, bowling, and sports and recreation clubs (US Census Bureau 1999:46). These numbers don't even include the payments made by television to air sporting events. The pervasive interest in sports is revealed in varied forms. Sports get a separate section in every major daily newspaper; they fill stadiums and arenas around the world on a regular basis as people root, often maniacally, for their home teams; they spawned thousands of rotisserie leagues (i.e., sports leagues composed of fan-chosen teams) along with debates about the best players, teams, etc.; they occupy the weekends and evenings of parents and children; they receive massive expenditures of funds by schools and colleges in the United States; they occupy hours and hours of weekly commercial radio and television air time with accompanying astronomical advertising revenues; and they are increasingly the object of public policy as they engage the concerns of voters and politicians at the local, state, and federal levels. For all these reasons, we need a deeper understanding of this industry/activity/market/field.

The last review of sport and society in *Annual Review of Sociology* (Frey & Eitzen 1991) lamented the lack of theoretical development in the field. Though the field is still relatively underdeveloped, our review discovered an increased number of studies that are theoretically driven by two concerns: social stratification (especially with respect to race/ethnicity, gender, and, to a much lesser extent, class) and the institutional/organizational context of sports. Much of this new work draws on two fields related to sociology-cultural studies and social history. Though we do not attempt to cover all the work published by our disciplinary cousins, we do incorporate their insights into our discussion of stratification and social context. Briefly stated, this review article both explicates the new theoretical directions and summarizes the relevant literature pertaining to sports sociology.

¹ An external reviewer commented that, in arguing that sport studies ought to be more central in sociology, we "overstate the underdevelopment of sport sociology as a working network of scholars who have been at it for 20-30 years." The reviewer goes on to point out that there is a free-standing association-North American Society for the Sociology of Sport, an annual meeting, a journal, and a sports book series by SUNY Press. Our work, very obviously, owes a lot to the work of these scholars. Our point, however, is precisely that they have been marginalized by the ASA and have had to go elsewhere to do their work.

Our cultural studies cousins have engaged various themes, such as hegemony and the body, in their attempt to understand the role of sports in the larger US culture. Drawing on the work of Raymond Williams (1977), students of sport began to use the concept of hegemony in their examination of media coverage of sport, sports fans' behavior (e.g. soccer hooliganism), and "hegemonic masculinity" (e.g., Connell 1990, 1995). In addition, various developments in sport have been studied as aspects of popular culture (Andrews & Loy 1993) and examined as residual or emergent phenomena (Williams 1977), constituting various forms of resistance (or challenges for incorporation) to the dominant hegemonic patterns. This approach suggests that sports and popular culture "be viewed as a site of ideological struggle where individual lives and experiences are involved in a process of interpretive negotiation with the surrounding social structures" (Andrews & Loy 1993:269, McDonald & Birrell 1999). Here, too, we must stress that we wish to link individual experience and meaning with the larger structural patterns in the society.

The cultural studies focus on the body and sport is often associated with issues of gender, sexuality, and feminism. There is an attempt to deal with how the body is presented and marketed, incorporated and marginalized. There are many examples of cultural studies' attention to the social constructions of the body and the ways in which these articulate with hegemonic notions of maleness, femaleness, homosexuality, and heterosexuality as well as race/ethnicity. Though many of these studies are focused on one or another specific "text" and thus have limited generalizability, there is an abiding attention to power and its contestation or reinforcement.

We have generally restricted ourselves to writings published since 1989. In a few cases, we cite earlier studies to contextualize a given argument or to highlight a portion of the field not covered in the previous review. Also, though we refer to some studies in other societies and the topic of "globalization of sport," this review emphasizes sport/society relations in the United States.

SOCIAL CLASS AND SPORT

As is true of its linkage to many institutions in the United States, social class is perceived as being only marginally relevant to sports. In fact, the sports sphere-- with its obvious meritocratic orientation--prides itself on the degree to which one's social origins are of no import on the field, court, or course. The Williams sisters in tennis, African-Americans from modest social origins, have succeeded in a sport that caters primarily to those who are white and upper middle class or above. Indeed, there are many examples of athletes who have ascended from working class backgrounds into wealth and fame via sports. Hoberman (1997) has suggested that the astronomical social mobility of many black athletes, who represent, obviously, only a small percentage of the population, distort public perceptions of the opportunity structure for blacks, causing many whites to assume that blacks no longer face discrimination. But as a number of recent reviews have pointed out, the notion that sport is a readily accessible avenue to upward social mobility is a myth that continues to fuel the American Dream (Eitzen 1999, Coakley 1998, Reiss 1990a). The only studies that show statistically significant positive effects on mobility are those that focus on the collegiate experience (see, e.g. Sack & Thiel 1979).

Other studies of the link between social class and athletics have been produced primarily by historians (for an overview, see Pope 1997 and Reiss 1990b), who generally include class, race, and ethnicity in their discussions of sports. Steven Reiss, in a rich, highly contextualized study (1989), has examined how different social classes related to sports as the urban landscape changed from the late nineteenth through the twentieth century. Gorn (1997) focuses on the articulation of boxing with working class culture after the Civil War. Markovits & Hellerman (2001 and see below) discuss the role of social classes in helping to cement the sports space of a country during the period of industrialization. Foley (1990) discusses the ways the rituals that surround football in a small Texas town help to reproduce patterns of race, gender, and class inequality. E. Digby Baltzell (1995), known for his studies of the upper class, studied the transformation of tennis from an aristocratic sport of amateur gentlemen, playing under the rule of a class authority that emphasized duty, to a democratic and bureaucratized game of professionals that recognizes only rights. This transformation, Baltzell argues, is part and parcel of the decline of civility in sports and in society more generally.

As noted above, Gramsci's notion of hegemony-especially as interpreted by Raymond Williams-has become an important concept in sports studies, especially in relation to discussions of social class. Gruneau & Whitson's *Hockey Night in Canada* (1993) and Eric Dunning's *Sport Matters* (1999), for example, discuss the ways in which class variations in emotions and notions of decorum lead to different patterns of behavior for both players and fans. Indeed, current discussions of violence in sport and among fans (especially soccer hooliganism) owe much to the figurational sociology of Norbert Elias and his students (see, e.g. Elias and Dunning 1986).

From our perspective, social class is a key component of our understanding of sports. It is important to understand what connects particular groups of people to particular sports activities and what role these play in the reproduction of inequality in a given society. Bourdieu's major statement on "Sports and Social Class" (1991; originally published in 1978; see, also, Bourdieu 1988) makes a number of key points: (a) sports must be considered a "field" which has its own dynamics, history, and chronology and is relatively autonomous from the society of which it is a part; (b) "sport, like any other practice, is an object of struggles between the fractions of the dominant class and between the social classes" (1991:361); (c) we must understand both what led to the "shift whereby sport as an elite practice reserved for amateurs became sport as a spectacle produced by professionals for consumption by the masses" (1991:364) and the political economy of all the accompanying personnel and industries involved with equipment, production, administration, etc.; and (d) the relationship between a social class and its sports participation will depend on spare time, economic and cultural capital, and the meanings and functions attributed to the sports practices by the various social classes. The latter, according to Bourdieu, might have to do with whether, for example, one wants to produce a strong body with protruding muscles, as in the working class, or a strong, healthy body, "properly" toned, as for the dominant class. Finally, along with any intrinsic benefits that might go to the body, Bourdieu wishes to add an appreciation of the "social value accruing from the pursuit of certain sports by virtue of the distinctive rarity they derive from their class distribution" (1991:369). The golf and polo practiced at exclusive clubs, Bourdieu suggests, for example, "enable the accumulation of social capital" and are a "pretext for select encounters ... a technique of sociability" (1991:372). Part and parcel, then, of an understanding of sports participation is the conscious and unconscious orientations of different groups toward engaging in distinctive (as conceived by their social

group), potentially rewarding (economically, culturally, and socially), and reinforcing (especially their positions in their local community) practices.

Bourdieu's sociology of taste, elaborated in *Distinction* (1984), attempts to link specific classes or class fractions to a particular orientation to the future (which he calls the habitus). These dispositions are related to these groups' relations to their bodies and to the adoption of specific lifestyles. Thus, Bourdieu elaborates the links between the locations of people in social space and their patterns of participation in and attention to different sports as a key aspect of the sociology of sports. This is revealed by the relatively autonomous space of sporting practices and its relation to leisure practices in general. Further, Bourdieu argues that class fractions not only engage in different sports but even when they engage in the same one, they often attach different intrinsic or extrinsic meanings to it. Critical to this approach is an historical or contextual grounding: hence this approach, for example, would analyze college football in 1900 by emphasizing its links to elite colleges, while in 2000 it would perhaps analyze college football by highlighting its links to television contracts and the professional game.

We believe that Bourdieu's emphasis on both the body and the relation of a group's social origin to its sports space provides a more theoretically grounded approach to the sociology of sports than those previously offered. Bourdieu's notion of habitus, which links one's social origins to one's likely destination through a set of dispositions toward the future, manifests itself in the body, which in turn is the "materialization of class taste" (Bourdieu 1984: 190). In addition, Bourdieu argues that each class and class fraction has a different instrumental relation to the body and that this is associated with its most common sports preferences: the working classes preferring contact sports; the middle classes (especially the upwardly mobile) orienting toward activities that lead to an attractive "body-for-- others"; and the dominant classes engaging in sports activities that are played in exclusive clubs with little, if any, bodily contact between the competitors (1984: 212-217). Bourdieu hypothesizes "a general law that a sport is most likely to be adopted by a social class if it does not contradict that social class's relation to the body at its deepest and most unconscious level, i.e. the body schema, which is the depository of a whole world view and a whole philosophy of the person and the body" (1984: 217-18).²

With this perspective in mind, we can see how Wacquant's ethnographic account of a boxing gym on the South Side of Chicago not only allows us to understand the attraction of a violent sport insofar as it provides respite from the unplanned violence of the city (1992) (as well as a vague possibility of economic advance) but "the promise of social difference and even transcendence: the professional ethic of sacrifice enables boxers to tear themselves away from the everyday world and create a moral and sensual universe *sui generis* wherein a transcendent masculine self may be constructed" (1998:325).

Though Bourdieu's work focuses primarily on social class, a broader notion of social origin, which would include race/ethnicity and gender, would be appropriate for the United States. Along these lines, then, we might think of using biographies of athletes to understand the links between their social origin, habitus, and ultimate sport destination. Similarly, we think that comparative studies of cultural consumption and participation would help us delineate more clearly the complex links between background, habitus, and sport participation.

² Bourdieu's work includes empirical research on France; his approach needs to be tested in cross-cultural context.

RACE AND SPORT

As in the larger society, patterns of race discrimination in sport are rampant. These patterns, including evidence of institutional racism, receive far more attention than any other topic in the area of race relations and sport. In addition, however, sociologists have attended to the effect of sports participation for racial and ethnic minorities on social mobility, self-esteem, and group identity. The role of the media in creating and reinforcing racialized representations of athletes has also been discussed. Finally, there have been exchanges about sport and race as contested terrain (see, below, gender as well) along with the issue of race and differential sports performance.

Though some of the studies about race and sport concern past discrimination, most focus on current practices. The key issues addressed are: racial disparity in the payment of professional athletes, stacking (discrimination in allocating players' positions in team sports), retention barriers (discrimination in retaining sub-star minority athletes), and continuing practices of racial exclusion or tokenism.

Several recent studies have pointed to unequal pay for equal ability in the National Basketball Association (NBA). One suggests that the NBA's black players are paid from \$17,000 to \$26,000 less than white players (Koch & VanderHill 1988). Another study, focusing only on sub-star starters, indicates that whites are paid 18% more than blacks, but it goes on to suggest that white sub-star starters are preferred because they increase fan attendance (Leonhardt 1997). In the case of major league baseball (MLB), it has been suggested that analyses of racially based pay disparities are confounded by the fact that many more sub-star whites are likely to be retained on team rosters, such that the remaining pool of blacks have clearly superior statistics (Eitzen 1999:22). Similar racial disparities have been found in the salaries of coaches. One study, for example, comparing coaches at the same hierarchical level, found that white coaches were paid as much as 14% more than their black counterparts (Pattnayak & Leonard 1994).

Stacking, or allocating minorities to playing positions that have less centrality and control, has been documented in such sports as college and professional football, professional baseball, and women's volleyball (Smith & Leonard 1997, Margolis & Piliavin 1999, Eitzen 1999). During the 1998 National Football League (NFL) season, stacking was evidenced in the following positions: quarterback (91% white), center (83% white), wide receiver (92% black), running back (87% black), cornerback (99% black) and safety (91% black) (Lapchick 1999a). Preference for whites in certain playing positions has also been evidenced in high school football, sometimes with corrosive effects on a community's race relations (Hersch 1989).

In reference to the issues of racial group exclusion and tokenism in sports, recent works consist of both retrospective and current accounts that assess opportunities for participation. One source of retrospective accounts of racial exclusion is journalistic, specifically recent biographical profiles and biographies of pioneer black American athletes: e.g., Jackie Robinson in baseball (Kahn 1997, Tygiel 1983), Arthur Ashe in tennis (Ashe & Rampersad 1993), and Tiger Woods in golf (Feinstein 1998). Each discusses the earlier practices of segregation and the current state of progress in the sport. Other recent accounts present historical studies of racism and racial

exclusion focused on, among other topics, African-American golfers, sports in the late-nineteenth-century Philadelphia black community, and British rugby (Dawkins & Kinlock 2000, Jable 1994, Eisen & Wiggins 1994). An excellent critical historical overview is provided by Sammons (1994).

Studies of current opportunities for participation in sports document persisting patterns of institutional racism in sports organizations. For example, professional team contrasts between percentages of white owners and black players: (NFL 100% vs. 67%); (NBA 100% vs. 80%); (MLB 97% vs. 18%). Similar predominance of whites can be seen among professional team head coaches/managers, directors of player personnel or general managers, and assistant coaches (Lapchick 1999a, Kravitz 1998, Weiberg 1998). In the four major professional sports leagues, for example, the NBA shows the greatest representation of head coaches/managers of color with only 17% (5 of 29) at the beginning of the 1997-1998 season. College sports organizations also exhibit strong patterns of institutional racism (Lapchick 1999a, Eitzen 1999). For example, in 1997-1998, excluding historically black institutions, Divisions I, II, and III colleges employed white head coaches in over 87% of basketball programs and approximately 97% of football and baseball programs. Similarly, over 95% of the Athletic Directors in each of the three divisions were white (Lapchick 1999a). There has also been some discussion of strategies for remedying institutional racism in sports (Shropshire 1996, Magdalinski 1997, Eitzen 1999).

While the topic of discrimination attracted the most scholarly interest, there has been increasing interest in sports as a contested terrain where racial meanings "are not only made but struggled over" (Hartmann 2000). South Africa has been a major object of studies that demonstrated the influential role of sports in the struggle against racial apartheid (Rees 1996, Booth 1998, Jarvie 1985). Also, several studies of British sports have focused on sports contests and sport stadiums as settings where white working class fans routinely harass racial minorities both on the playing fields and in the surrounding neighborhoods. One study notes that, while Britain had a strong and effective anti-apartheid movement in the 1970s and 1980s advocating sanctions against white South African sports teams, recent Parliamentary legislation has weakened protests against racism in British sports (Greenfield & Osborn 1997). A related set of recent studies have focused on the ways in which racial minorities use sports to manifest resistance to racial subordination: the black American athletes' revolt at the 1968 Olympics as a courageous stand that threatened to disrupt the link "between sport culture and liberal democratic ideology that legitimizes individualist, assimilationist visions of racial justice in the United States" (Hartman 1996, Moore 1991); black American expressiveness on the playing field as defiance of white control (Andrews 1996); black cricket clubs in Britain as both assertions of black masculinity and symbolic markers of black community (Carrington 1998); and Native American protests against sports teams' use of Native American mascots as challenges to traditional notions of white American masculinity (Davis 1993). Taking a different direction with interesting implications for these conflicts, several studies present social policy perspectives suggesting that sports sociology should operate not only as an intellectual enterprise but also as a vehicle for promoting universal norms of democratization and social justice (Donnelly 1993, Rowe 1998).

Contrasted to these studies of sports as a site of conflict and resistance are studies that emphasize the effects of sports for minority group members' social mobility, group identity, and self-esteem. While many individual minority group members have experienced upward social

mobility as a result of their achievements in sports, most studies agree that actual mobility outcomes for minority group communities have been exaggerated. For instance, the odds facing a high school graduate who aspires to a professional sports career is a prohibitive 10,000 to 1 (Eitzen 1999). Moreover, such opportunities for racial minorities have been provided by only a few sports (baseball, basketball, football, and boxing). Nevertheless, despite the prohibitive odds, aspirations for upward social mobility through sports can sometimes affect the culture of an entire society as in case of the Dominican Republic (Klein 1991). This theme also appears in works focused on basketball and boxing in inner city black American communities (Frey 1994; Wacquant 1992).

Most studies dealing with sports and social mobility in minority group communities emphasize the negative effects. These studies stress such things as the exaggerated expectations the sports success of a Julius Erving or a Michael Jordan can encourage in minority youths (Lashley 1995); the enormous time demands on college student-athletes that cause them to disengage from their student roles (Adler & Adler 1991); the exploitation of black student athletes by colleges resulting in low academic performance and reinforcement of the American racial hierarchy (Spigner 1993, Zimbalist 1999); and the abysmally low graduation rates of black student-athletes in many top level Division I basketball and football programs (Eitzen 1999). While these rates approximate the overall poor graduation rates for college students, there is little evidence that college athletic departments care about improving the academic skills of the black student athletes they recruit (Eitzen 1999, Zimbalist 1999).

The NCAA passed Proposition 48, a measure raising admission standards for college athletes, which most black NCAA coaches opposed because they felt it unfairly deprived underprivileged black athletes of an opportunity to attend college (Reed & Chaney 1989). With specific reference to female athletes, studies of the effects of sports participation indicate there were benefits for white and Hispanic women; no equivalent academic benefits were found for black females (Kraus & Hanson 1999). More studies of the academic experiences of black college female athletes are needed to clarify the actual dynamics of their student-athlete roles. In contrast to the apparent negative impact of sports participation on minorities' academic performance, several studies have found that it enhances their self-esteem-through allowing them to display a more individualistic style (Sailes 1996); acquire more social capital (Miller, et al. 1999); or develop a positive identity that eases the struggle to assimilate into the United States from an immigrant culture (Lord 1984). The benefit derived from sports most highlighted in recent studies is that of community or subcultural identity: through playing basketball in Brooklyn, NY (Frey 1994); through playing football for Black Americans and Native Americans (Gems 1998); through boxing in a black Chicago inner city gym (Wacquant 1992); through segregated sports in black Pittsburgh (Ruck 1993); through an Irish football club in twentieth century Scotland (Bradley 1996).

These studies of mobility, identity, and self-esteem are directly relevant to the theoretical conceptions of sports as contested terrain and the Bourdieu-an approach. Just as individuals struggle to enhance their personal status/distinction within their sport and community, they also struggle to enhance their sport's status in the larger community and society. Focusing on those sports, we must study the layered relationships of the individual sports participants to the community's and society's reward structure as well as to the larger opportunity structure.

Studies of media representations of racial minority athletes and their sports achievements have increased sharply over the past decade—in part reflecting the expanded role of media in big-time college and professional sports. Most of these studies share the assumption that "race is constructed largely in media culture . . ." which serves the interests of the dominant white community (Kellner 1996). This is reflected in the predominance of white radio and television announcers for professional sports—NBA 77%; NFL 82%; and MLB 78% (Lapchick 1999a). Lapchick also reports that 90% of the 1600 daily newspapers in the United States have no African-American sports writers. Many of these studies regard the media as the source of negative racial stereotypes of black athletes that stress their physical rather than intellectual abilities (Curry 1997, McCarthy & Jones 1997, Rada 1996). Also, it has been suggested that the media disproportionately emphasize black athletes' social deviance (Albom 1993, Lapchick 1999b). In an interesting departure from these static conceptions of the media's representations of black athletes, a recent biography of Joe Louis revealed a dynamic process of media racial representation as it showed how Joe Louis' image was transformed from racist stereotype to heroic figure after he defeated the German champion (Mead 1985).

Another important area of investigation focused on media representation of minority athletes in advertising. Here, too, most studies suggest that the media has played a negative role. One study based on a content analysis of ads in *Sports Illustrated* from 1985 to 1995 indicated that black athletes were more likely to be depicted as succeeding because of their innate ability, whereas white athletes were more often depicted as succeeding because of hard work, intelligence, or leadership skills. Black athletes were also depicted in these ads as being angry, violent, and hypersexual (Dufur 1997). Similar views were presented by other studies suggesting, for example, that a Nike advertising campaign stereotyped black athletes as belonging to either athletic groups or gangs (Cole 1996) and that the media routinely indulges in "enlightened racism" or token racism to mask the society's class, sexual, and racial inequalities (McKay 1995; see also Jamieson 1998 on Nancy Lopez).

A more neutral assessment of the effects of advertising on black athletes is presented in a *Sports Illustrated* article that concludes that some black superstars (e.g. Michael Jordan, David Robinson) have achieved cross-over status, which allows them to shed their racial identity and cash in on their celebrity (Swift 1991). Going even further, another study sees the effects of advertised images of black superstars as positive because they transcend the historical stereotypes of black men as being erotic or dangerous (McDonald 1996). These few positive accounts of the media's role notwithstanding, most studies indicate that the media representations are damaging because they have a large hand in projecting negative public images of black American males.

Closely related and perhaps the most emotionally charged debate pertaining to sports and race relations focuses on the disproportionate black American presence in certain professional and big time collegiate sports. This debate was ignited most recently by John Hoberman, who argues in *Darwin's Athletes*, that black sports achievements are sustaining the traditional stereotypes of blacks as physically primitive. Hoberman also argues that the current cultural fixation on black athletes has negatively impacted black intellectual achievement (1997). The book encountered a groundswell of critical reviews. Most targeted his argument alleging a black community fixation

on sports. Among their counterarguments were suggestions that the overrepresentation of black Americans in major sports was due to the failure of the American political economy to provide adequate opportunities for black Americans (Curtis 1998) and that the fixation on sports derived not from the black community but American society (Sigelman 1998). Others argued that Hoberman's book reinforced ideas about black inferiority and contributed to preserving the mythical concept of race (Myers 1998). Several black scholars argued that Hoberman's book not only insulted black intellectuals and black athletes but also exhibited white intellectual arrogance by suggesting that the alleged black fixation on sport had resulted in the underdevelopment of the black intellectual community (Shropshire & Smith 1998).

Hoberman's book was hardly written in an intellectual vacuum. Several earlier articles in *Sports Illustrated* had drawn attention to the way black athletes in the 1960s transformed racially restrictive or segregated college and professional sports (Fimrite 1987, Kirkpatrick 1991, Price 1997). Such articles and the Hoberman book led to a new book that pushed the debate about black athletic dominance beyond cultural arguments to a genetic explanation. This view was presented in the provocatively titled book-*Taboo: Why Black Athletes Dominate Sports and Why We Are Afraid To Talk About It* (Entine 2000). Despite its controversial thesis, this book has attracted much less serious scholarly attention than Hoberman's book. No doubt this was influenced by the fact that the author lacked training in biology. Genetic explanations of black athletic achievements have been countered by both social constructionist arguments and physical anthropological research (Harrison 1998, Gladwell 1997, Goldsmith 2000).

GENDER AND SPORT

The work in the field of gender and sport ranges from the very concrete, empirical reports of the Racial and Gender Report Card (Lapchick 1999a) and marketing studies (Lopiano 1998, Millman 1997) to the more ethereal cultural studies that include references to Baudrillard and Foucault (e.g. Andrews 1998, Eskes et al 1998). The two primary foci in this area concern constructions of masculinity and femininity and Title IX. Scholars have begun to ask questions about how gender articulates with race, class, and sexuality in determining patterns of sports participation and experience (e.g. Festle 1996, Carrington 1998, McKay et al. 2000, Gruneau & Whitson 1993, Messner 1992, Davis 1997). The literature on Title IX, primarily journalistic, focuses on the struggles for athletic resources among contending groups, the various court cases that have arisen, and the successes and failures of its implementation. The work that deals with femininity and masculinity recognizes that many contradictions lurk beneath the assumed positive outcome of increased female sports participation such as homophobia, "emphasized femininity" (Connell 1990), etc. This area of research also touches on issues involving the media (especially, lack of coverage of women's sports'), the body, and language.

At a very basic level, there is the question of gender equity in sports: Are equivalent resources available to men and women? The answer, despite an enormous start to closing the gap, is NO. A number of new opportunities for women have emerged in the US sports world. Perhaps, most notably, the relatively new Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) has provided unprecedented opportunities for women to play professional basketball.³ Women's soccer has

³ Banet-Weiser (1999) suggests, in fact, that the emergence of the WNBA, especially in comparison to the male NBA, makes possible as well new representations of masculinity and femininity.

quickly established itself as world class. Similarly, an explosion has occurred in women's sports participation in schools and colleges. In the first 25 years after Title IX's enactment in 1972, the number of girls playing interscholastic sports increased eightfold. At the college level, even two years after Title IX was passed, the ratio of male to female athletic scholarships was 1,000 to 1; in 1998, it was 1.38 to 1 (US Department of Education 1997, Lapchick 1999a). At the same time, women's participation in professional and college sports-at all levels (management, coaching, playing)-pales in comparison to men's (for an extensive review, see Lapchick 1999a). Perhaps the most disappointing effect of Title IX has been with respect to the coaches of women's teams: In 1972, more than 90% of women's teams were coached by females, whereas in 1998 men held the majority of head coaching positions of women's teams.⁴

The most recent data (Suggs 2000) reveal that in 1998-1999 women made up 42% of Division I athletes, received 42% of scholarship monies, 31% of recruiting budgets, 34% of coaching-salary budgets, and 33% of total operating expenses. According to Andrew Zimbalist (2000:B9), women "still play in inferior facilities, stay in lower-caliber hotels on the road, eat in cheaper restaurants, benefit from smaller promotional budgets, and have fewer assistant coaches." Bhonslay (1997) notes women athletes' major advances in getting product endorsement deals but laments that their attempts to commodify themselves lag behind men's [see also Lopiano (1998), Millman (1997)].

The research on masculinity and femininity in sports encompasses a diverse range of topics-from male/female participation and media studies to studies of resistance and transformation of gendered power relations. The most impressive works attempt to relate sports participation to theories of gender identity and inequality and to examine the links among gender, race, class, and the larger political economy. Carrington (1998), for example, argues that the assertion of a masculine identity through sports allows black men to assert their racial identity in a more unified way, one that protects them from the ideologies and practices of white racism. He goes on to point out, however, how this excludes black women from this construction of racial identity.

The starting point for much of this work on gender construction and sport is Messner's (1988) claim that female athletes' identities are contested ideological terrain. Messner's and others' (e.g. McKay et al 2000, Klein 1993) work on masculinities also focuses on the contested nature of this gender construction. A number of historical studies of women athletes recognize this and attempt to describe the nature and social construction of that contested terrain (e.g., Griffin 1998, Festle 1996, Cahn 1994, Nelson 1994, Guttman 1991).

Research on masculine identities and sports often focuses on the relationship between sports and violence. Nixon (1997), in a very exploratory study, found that for men, a belief in the value of toughness in sport, an experience of having hurt other athletes, and participation in team and contact sport were related to physical aggression outside of sport; whereas for women only participation in contact sport was related to physical aggression outside of sport. In a study of the relationship between gender, athletic participation, and attitudes toward violence, Nixon (1996) found that both general socialization of males and specific socialization of males in sport engender attitudes of toughness and perceptions of pressure to play hurt, which, in turn, could

⁴ For a longitudinal overview of women's participation in intercollegiate sport, see Acosta & Carpenter (2000).

cause them to engage in risky or violent behavior. McKay and associates' (2000) *Masculinities, Gender Relations, and Sport* devotes an entire section to "men's violence and sport," with specific studies on such phenomena as televised sports and domestic violence, bar fights and college athletics, and the violence of boxing.

Many of these analyses on the social construction of gender suggest that males and females are pressured to help maintain the appearances of "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell 1987), in which men appear to be well-muscled, strong, unemotional, and extremely oriented to a win-at-all-costs code of athletics, and women appear uninterested in sports. If they do engage in athletic endeavors, women must "emphasize their femininity" (Connell 1987) by wearing their hair long and their dresses frilly; if possible, they should sport a husband. Jane O'Hara (1997) reports that her mom told her that if she was going to be an athlete, she should "walk softly and carry a big lipstick." The dominant constructions of masculinity and femininity hover menacingly above athletes' behavior. For example, in women's sports, homophobic concerns are especially troubling (Greendorfer & Rubinson 1997, Griffin 1998). Pointing to one major source of these hegemonic constructions, Messner and associates (1993) argue that televised sports commentary tends to reinforce gender and racial hierarchies by considering women athletes and activities as "other," by infantilizing them, and by framing women athletes' accomplishments ambivalently. Another series of studies focuses on the way dominant gender relations are structured and reinforced among adolescents. Eder & Parker (1987), in an analysis of a peer-group culture at a working class middle school, found that athletic-related activities-especially the male athletic events that were the main social activities of the school-tended to reinforce dominant notions of gender because sports usually gave the male athletes and female cheerleaders high visibility and social status. The boys' involvement in competitive, achievement-oriented activities and the girls' involvement in appearance and emotion-- management activities helped further cement the hegemonic notions of gender.

Shifting to a related but different emphasis, Miller and colleagues (1998) focus on the relationship between sports participation and sexual behavior. They note that athletic participation, while enhancing each gender's social status, has opposite effects on boys' and girls' sexual activity: boys gain greater resources to get sex and the girls greater resources to resist it. Similarly, Holland & Andre's (1994) analysis of high school and college students also suggests that higher social status is associated with athletic participation and that this is even more the case for athletes in "sex appropriate" sports. Investigating the links between sports, gender construction, and status, two studies of elementary school-one low-income, primarily black (Hasbrook & Harris 2000) and the other upper middle-class white (Adler et al 1992)-found very similar constructions of hegemonic masculinity with physically dominant, sports-oriented boys enjoying relatively high status.

Many of the analyses of masculinity and femininity look for contradictions, revealing how current sporting practices may in some ways resist or subvert the hegemonic influences while in other ways they reinforce it. Kane (1995), Theberge (1997, 1998), and, in a more anecdotal vein, Nelson (1994) present both theoretical and empirical analyses that suggest how sport may transform the assumed female/male "oppositional binary." Kane argues that sport should be seen as a continuum on which, simply, athletes (of different levels) compete; the male/female dichotomy is dropped and the possibilities for, e.g., co-ed competition become real. The social

construction of mixed-sex cheerleading as a sport suggests both that sport is not an exclusive male preserve and that it is not only women athletes who struggle with assumptions of gender-inappropriate behavior (Grindstaff & West 2000). In a series of interesting analyses of women's ice hockey, Theberge (1997, 1998, 2000) argues that even as women's hockey contests dominant notions of gender construction, it still reinforces them in that the men's game is considered the norm against which all else is measured. Andrews' (1998) study of "feminizing Olympic reality" similarly showed that even as women's sports and female athletes got increased coverage in the 1996 Olympics, NBC consciously tried (successfully!) to seduce female viewers into watching sports in a way that reinforced essentialist notions of women and femininity.

Eskes and colleagues (1998) argue that women's fitness texts use a feminist label-empowerment-to draw women into the exercise and fitness regimens, only to resurrect and reinforce ideals of physical beauty and conventional notions of femininity, rather than focusing on "true" empowerment: health and equality in the larger society. As Judith Butler says, "you only have permission to be this strong if you can also look this beautiful" (quoted in Wheaton & Tomlinson 1998). In their study of windsurfing subcultures, Wheaton & Tomlinson (1998) provide a trenchant analysis of an attempt by women to construct a new cultural identity in the context of a new subculture. Their work suggests both the possibilities of engaging in oppositional activity-e.g., constructing identities as female athletes, developing muscles and bodily skills-and the difficulties of undermining dominant power relations. In an interesting but methodologically flawed analysis, Snyder & Ammons (1993) report on patterns of male-female play on the field in a coed softball league that is dedicated through its rules to equalizing men's and women's participation. It turns out that as the level of skill of the league increases, competition increases, and men increasingly attempt to exclude women from key plays. Thing (1998), in a study of Danish female elite athletes, found that the women tended to maintain a dual gender notion but enjoyed the emotions associated with sport even (especially?) as they deviated from traditional notions of femininity. Thing asks how the emotions that are associated with sport play out differently in men and women outside of sport.

Though the range of issues that we have subsumed under the label of masculinity and femininity is quite broad, all can be linked to issues of power, status, and social construction. While this broader focus has become more common in studies of gender and sport, we urge scholars to incorporate this focus in studies of race/ethnicity and social class (as some already have) and to contextualize their studies in reference to the political, economic, and organizational dynamics of cultural consumption and participation in the larger society.

MEDIA AND SPORTS

Scholars have explored the relations of various media to sports but have focused chiefly on television, which most think has fundamentally altered sports. In the words of one, "television does not present us with a sports event but with a sports event (already highly structured by the commodity-logic) that is mediated by television" (Jhally 1989). A variety of analytical models and theoretical perspectives have been used to explore the role and significance of mediated sports. Among the most prominent are the critical approaches, the transactional model, and the circuit of capital model. The critical approaches stress the negative ideological effects of mediated sports on political consciousness and political mobilization. While highlighting

important issues, these critical approaches too often are based on simplistic explanations that reduce sports to their presumed political significance. The transactional model presents a more complex approach that consists primarily of a research agenda on mediated sports, which focuses on: (a) the audience experience-how it differs from the stadium experience, its unique gratifications, and its socialization effects; (b) the nature of mediated sports content-- the different languages presented (spoken, written, visual), value motifs, and links to dominant American values; and (c) the dynamics of the mediated sports production complex comprised of sports and media organizations that exert pressures on sports journalism-issues of ownership, organizational control, and internal decision making (Wenner 1989). In contrast, the circuit-of-capital model is based on an adaptation of Marxian theory that focuses on four moments: (a) the production of cultural products; (b) the texts that are produced; (c) how these texts are read by ordinary people; and (d) 'lived cultures' and social relations-the use made of reading texts and their potential as materials for new cultural production (Jhally 1989). These more complex analytical approaches to understanding the relationship of media and sports (which may include concern with the ideological implications) focus primarily on process.

It is now generally acknowledged that mediated sports are a highly profitable commodity. The increased importance of media in sports is revealed in the scale of finances involved. In the NBA, the 1999 regular season 30-second commercial cost \$75,000 rising to \$400,000 for the championship (Heisler 1999). For the 1999 World Series, NBC initially charged \$300,000 for a 30 second commercial, about 20% more than Fox charged in 1998. The demand, however, was so strong that NBC increased its rate to \$320,000 per 30 seconds (Freeman et al. 1999). For the Super Bowl, in 1998, the cost for a 30-second spot averaged \$1.6 million, which was up from \$1.3 million two years before; and in 1999, the average price increased by 25% with one advertiser paying \$3 million for a 30-second ad (McClellan 1999).

The increased financial leverage of mediated sports has augmented its influence and power. This can be seen in both big time Division I college sports and professional sports (Eitzen 1999). Some scholars suggest that this media involvement has resulted in the increased commodification of sports, which has ruined sports for the fans (Klatell & Marcus 1988). One study predicts, based on current trends, that economic forces will remove the most important sports events from broadcasting to pay-per-view unless Congress intervenes to constrain them (Eastman & Meyer 1989). This rampant commercialization has already occurred in boxing. Noting that the balance of power has tilted in favor of television, another study suggests a model of government intervention based on the experience of Australia where the government imposed controls over media imperialism to protect citizens' cultural rights (Rowe 1996). This may not, however, be feasible in some nations.

Looking at the media-sports linkage from the other end, one study found that commercial sports had greater influence over the daily press than did noncommercial sports because sports writers, under the pressure of deadlines, depend on routine news sources (e.g. athletes, spokespersons, team officials). Commercial sports teams easily provided these news sources, thus making the sports writers' alliance with them a practical necessity (Lowes 1997). This is yet another illustration of the impact of commodification.

Also attracting a good deal of recent scholarly attention is the topic of media influence on images of race and gender in society (Duncan & Messner 2000). While there have been some notable examples of positive racial images, for example in the representations of such black sports superstars as Michael Jordan and Tiger Woods, the media has often used its enormous power to represent black athletes as poster boys for various social transgressions and taboos (Kellner 1996, Lapchick 1999b). An example of this is revealed in a recent Sports Illustrated article on out-of-- wedlock fathers, which highlighted mostly black NBA players (Wahl & Wertheim 1998). Numerous studies have also documented skewed representations of gender in everything from coverage of women's sports and descriptions of women's sports in media guides to comments about non-athletic aspects of the women's lives (Eitzen 1999). Sports media also influence governmental perceptions of social problems as evidenced, for example, in the influence of Sports Illustrated reports that prompted Congress to hold hearings on steroid use (Denham 1997).

One of the most frequently discussed topics in sports sociology concerns the meaning of sports for social identity. "The identities forged in sport which may be multiple or overlapping, include gendered, local, ethnic, national, or supernational" (MacClancy 1996). While studies of the impact of sports on social identity initially focused on this topic without regard to the media, a number of recent studies have explored directly the effects of mediated sports on social identity, particularly national identity. One study, finding pervasive national stereotypes in newspaper and television sports reporting, concluded that the media has the ability both to unify a nation with pride and to create hostile feelings toward opponents or outsiders (Blain et al. 1993). Coming to similar conclusions, another study, investigating the role of media in constructing images of several nations (England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales) during the 1995 Rugby World Cup match in South Africa, found that the media contributed significantly to the "I/we and us/them identities" of those national groups (Tuck 1998). What if the sport and the sports media hail from different countries? A study based on a content analysis of Sports Illustrated Canada suggests that national identity may be weakened if the sport and media are foreign (Vallentine 1997). Sports Illustrated Canada was forced to close after three years because it failed to meet the 80% Canadian content level required by Canadian law. Sometimes these issues of national identity may be complicated by having to choose between cultural protection of national identity and consumer freedom of choice (Boyle & Haynes 1996).

One of the most important and complex topics pertaining to mediated sports concerns the quality of the television viewers' experience. While it is generally agreed that the television experience differs fundamentally from the stadium experience, there is much debate about its nature. An earlier 1984 study argued that television altered the relationship between fan and athlete, causing irreparable damage to the traditional spectator experience (Rader 1984). Relating the development of television sports to broader social changes, it argued that this development corresponded to the increasing suburbanization of the population and the privatization of leisure. Moreover, it argued that as the teams with television contracts became more professionalized and commercialized, amateur sports declined. Expressing a similar view, a more recent study has argued that the mediated sport has several consequences: it creates a pseudo-social relationship between viewer and athlete; it nurtures symbolic identification with dominant societal values and norms; and-perhaps most important-it reduces life's complexities to simple competition within the framework of rules, making sport a central, if not entirely artificial, source of life motivation

and social gratification (Weiss 1996). With the proliferation of rotisserie leagues, a fan's interest in individual players supersedes that in the team or the game; the rotisserie team owner's relationship to sport is through a box score or, in some leagues, through email and web reports.

Most of these negative assessments of mediated sports are based on theoretical arguments rather than empirical data. One earlier study offering a more empirically grounded analysis compared the effects of media on national sports in Britain (cricket and soccer) and the United States (football and baseball) and tennis in both countries. Among its findings, this study suggested that British sports are centered around live attendance, whereas sport in the United States is centered around television viewing. And following from the more important role of televised sports viewing in the United States, it noted, television announcers in the US were expected to entertain and attract large audiences. In contrast, it suggested Britain lacked a similar level of mediated, commercialized sports (Chandler 1988).

Recent studies of televised sports viewing have evidenced a stronger emphasis on determining empirical patterns (Wenner & Gratz 1989). Among some of the more interesting empirical findings: (a) men gravitate to contact and fast paced sports, and women to more slow-paced and less violent sports; (b) the strongest affective involvement in sports viewing came in "feeling happy" when fan favorites did well. As expected, viewers of contact or fast paced sports felt greater amounts of both happiness and sadness in responding to the fates of their teams. Perhaps the most important finding-that different kinds of people (e.g. casual fans vs. serious fans, men vs. women, tennis vs. pro football fans) have different experiences of watching TV sports-underscores the complexity of the viewing experience and the need for more empirical studies.

Increasing concentration and centralization of sports team ownership by media conglomerates may radically change the mediated nature of sports presentation. Future studies must focus on the ways that the changing nature of ownership affects the control of team and league policy, the relations to players, and the quality of the sports experience for fans. This has been recently evidenced in the "feminized Olympic reality" (Andrews 1998) foisted upon fans in 1996 and the "TV time-outs" (rather than a coach's time-out or even an "official" time-out) experienced by viewers of March madness. Equally important, we must study how the increasingly mediated field of sport is affected by patterns of power in the larger political economy.

GLOBALIZATION AND SPORT

Intimately connected with our discussion of the media, the globalization of sport-- some argue that it should be termed "Americanization" (e.g. Whannel 1992, McKay & Miller 1991-seems to follow patterns associated with the political economy of the world system. Indeed, at a basic level, US corporate sport-at the core of the world economy-appears to have a dominant position. There are football teams owned by the National Football League that play in Europe, regular season National Basketball Association games are played in Japan, and the National Hockey League draws a large percentage of its players from Europe. Student athletes (raw materials?) in US colleges and universities increasingly are recruited from the economic periphery abroad and increasingly are the winners in NCAA events-especially track and field. Without much of a

soccer presence, the United States was still able to host the 1994 World Cup. And, in a twelve-year period, the US was able to be home to two Summer Olympics games.⁵

Despite claims of the impending globalization of everything, which would involve, among other processes, integration, diffusion, emulation, homogenization, and interdependence of economic, political, and cultural forces around the world (see, e.g., Friedman 1999), many scholars have correctly pointed to the continued role of multinational corporations, transnational organizations [e.g., Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)], national states, and local and regional cultural patterns, especially the peculiarities of individual sports' developments in given countries, to understand the international situation (Maguire 1994, Rowe et al. 1994, Sugden & Tomlinson 1998, Markovits & Hellerman 2001, Guttmann 1994). Indeed, it is only at the very general level of what Guttmann calls "ludic diffusion" that we see true globalization. Under closer examination, we always see specific, differentially resourced interests struggling at the local level to incorporate, resist, or transform the sports) that is being "offered." Whether it is basketball in Trinidad and Tobago (see Mandle & Mandle 1988, 1994) or golf in Japan (see Home 1998), most authors argue that one needs to take into account local culture, organization, and economic and political power to understand the expansion and incorporation of a particular form of sports. Home, for example, reminds us that for every corporation that attempts to build another golf course in Japan, there are many environmental activists and advocates for the poor who oppose the diverting of waters from rice paddies to golf courses or the increased use of grass fertilizers.

Klein (1997), as well, contributes to our understanding of the expansion of sports across national borders by offering a fascinating ethnographic account of one minor league baseball team—the Tecolotes de los Dos Laredos—which considered its hometown both Laredo, Texas, US and Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, Mexico. Klein examines closely issues of nationalism and identity in this bi-national context.

One of the most interesting attempts to understand the spread of sports internationally is Markovits & Hellerman's *Offside* (2001). Not only do they question the seemingly teleological globalization thesis, but they assert that we need to understand a given country's history and even more so its sports history to grasp how its sports space is configured. Thus, in attempting to explain "why there is no soccer in the US," they discuss the role that powerful organizations have played in cementing baseball, basketball, and football (and to a lesser extent, hockey) into the US sports space during the key 1870-1930 industrialization period and how difficult it has been for other endeavors to gain a strong foothold. Markovits & Hellerman's integration of media, political, and economic factors into this analysis and their complex comparative design (comparisons of sports, countries, time periods) provide us with an excellent model to follow and engage in our further studies of the internationalization (or not!) of sports.

CONCLUSION

⁵ Lenskyj (2000), in an expose/political economy of the Olympics industry, argues that the Olympics should be examined as a transnational corporation that has and should call forth local resistance movements to its almost inevitable economic exploitation, stifling of democracy, and media collaboration.

Our review of sport and society has focused on inequality by race/ethnicity, class, and gender as well as the changing social context of sports, especially as revealed by the expanded role of the media and globalization. We have stressed the need for studies that clarify how sports articulate with other patterns of cultural consumption and participation by different social groups. Cultural and sports sociologists need to attend more closely to how leisure products and practices are produced and distributed, and how they intersect with educational, political, and cultural institutions.

As Bourdieu suggests, one must build into the analysis of sport an explanation of its institutional context. Though Bourdieu's discussions of "fields of power" and "social spaces" are useful, we believe it is more straightforward to use the notion of organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell 1983) to situate our understanding of sports. This notion highlights the degree to which sport constitutes its own relatively autonomous field (and thus cannot simply be seen as a reflection of society⁶) as well as the necessity of seeing it in relation to its relevant markets (e.g. for audiences, products, advertisers, suppliers, etc.), regulators, competitors for entertainment dollars, etc. The "new institutionalism" (Powell & DiMaggio 1991), in fact, provides an excellent lens through which to view developments in sports, especially as they engulf and are engulfed by other organizations and social spaces (e.g. government, media, education, etc.). In addition, we must understand historically the social composition of the contemporary sports space and the limits of relative autonomy from other organizational fields. From this perspective, it behooves us, for example, to think about the relative explosion of "new" Olympic sports in the last few decades. We would not be able to understand the change in women's track and field from the pentathlon to the heptathlon or the inclusion of a women's marathon and pole vault without understanding the role of the worldwide women's movement and the implementation of Title IX in the United States. Indeed, it would be interesting to try to understand the logic and patterns of new sports' inclusion into the Olympic pantheon. Why, for instance, was tennis—a sport with upper-class origins—included in the Olympics only in 1988⁷ while weightlifting—a working class sport—has been part of the Games for decades. Obviously, the class origins of a given sport are not the key variable: the relationships among nations, other sports organizations, the composition of the Olympic committee, etc. all have important effects. An institutional analysis of the development of sport implores us to include in our explanations the roles of urbanization, immigration, industrialization, and government's role in the development of these processes. To understand fully the social composition of today's soccer teams in the United States, for example, we must understand how the forces of industrial development and the government's role in transport and housing markets after World War II stimulated the growth of the suburbs. These emergent patterns, along with immigration, played a major contextual role in determining the disproportionately white and middle class character of today's US-born soccer playing youth.

Finally, we must mention the increasing concentration and centralization of capital, especially as it manifests itself through the media, that is fueling the dynamics of change and stasis in the field

⁶ As we hope we have made clear in our discussions of various forms of inequality, the study of sports also provides a window into other societal processes that are more apparent in the field of sports than they are in other domains. The unassailably meritocratic character of sports provides clear evidence when deviations from the meritocratic standard occur.

⁷ It had been included in the Olympics from 1896 until 1924.

of big time sports. As media conglomerates involve themselves not only in broadcasting sports but in owning franchises, they obviously become bigger players on the sports stage. Similarly, through various sorts of mimetic organizational processes (DiMaggio & Powell 1983), the powerful actors involved in sports production enact scripts that increasingly lead to the costs of sports being socialized (e.g., through the state's use of taxes in funding new stadiums) while the benefits remain privatized. Though this is not an entirely new phenomenon, the competition among cities, states, and regions within the United States to attract professional sports teams has magnified the degree to which the sports field is an object of public policy and a potential cause of fiscal struggle and crisis (Noll & Zimbalist 1997, Eitzen 1999). Indeed, a neo-institutional analysis would predict a similar set of processes to occur throughout the United States in all the sports leagues. Though we have not reviewed the field of sports and public policy, we hope that this field continues to develop, especially insofar as it incorporates an emphasis on inter-institutional relations.

We end this review with a call to sociologists to make sports more central to our analysis of society. After all, as a number of media critics have noted, there are many cities about whose newspapers it could be written: If the president were assassinated yesterday, today's City Press headline would read Hometown 3, Visitors 2. Sociologists, most of whom, we suspect, did not play starring roles on their high school sports teams, have ignored this object of mass attention. While the upper classes have made attendance at other cultural events and institutions (theater, opera, museums, etc.) a component of elite status-and an object of sociologists' attention (!), sport seems to have escaped such appreciation. An institutional and reflexive analysis of sociology would suggest that, in ignoring sport, we have been following the scripts set by the powerful forces both in our discipline and in the larger society. It is time to give sport its due.

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