



University of Physical Education in Krakow, Poland

Studies in Sport Humanities

25

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From the Editor



Studies in Sport Humanities is a scientific journal that publishes original works on physical culture prepared on the basis of a multidisciplinary approach (including the perspectives of history, psychology, sociology, philosophy, cultural anthropology, Olympism, physical education theory, recreation and tourism theory, and management sciences).

The journal includes book reviews, polemics, conference proceedings and reports from other important scientific events. Detailed guidance for preparing texts, procedures for reviews and other editorial requirements are located in the publishing regulations.

The journal is published by the University of Physical Education in Kraków. The journal appears is indexed in the Index Copernicus international database. Since 2016, the journal has only been published in electronic version (open access). We warmly invite you to submit texts related to social studies and the humanities linked with the broadly understood notion of physical culture.

Editor-in-Chief

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to read "Blecharz". The signature is written in a cursive style with a horizontal line underneath.

Associate Professor Jan Blecharz, Ph.D

From the volume Editor: *Some remarks on sport from its historical-cultural horizon*

Maria Zowisło

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The beautiful parable of Pythagoras, handed down by Cicero (*Tusculanae Disputationes*, V, 3), about the Greek Games as a metaphor of human life, is well-known. In this parable, the great philosopher and mathematician presents three groups of people who come to the Games (figuratively, the World Games, the Theatre of Life): these are athletes – applying for fame and a wreath of victory, viewers – motivated by an impartial desire to watch the competitions and merchants – putting up stalls for the sale of goods and profit. The featured groups serve Pythagoras as allegories of social roles and human aspirations for values: prestigious and elite (athletes), cognitive and exploratory (spectators) as well as mercantile and consumer (merchants). This parabola essentially serves to expose a sense of philosophy, love wisdom, based on pure and autotelic cognitive curiosity (viewers represent this attitude). The fact that Pythagoras uses the image of the Games here is not accidental, since Greek philosophers were greatly interested in athletics (Pythagoras was friends with the famous wrestler Milo of Croton). Greek athletes were, in fact, spectacular and faithful representatives of their culture, marked by strong individualism flourishing in the tensions between the two oppositional poles: time (fame) and *ajdos* (shame). The sources of the ancient Hellenic “culture of glory and shame” are rooted in the heroic myths of Homer’s rhapsode. These myths were later subjected to rational sublimation in the ethical and anthropological considerations of philosophers (Pythagoras made a brilliant and, at the same time, raw contribution to them). They also became an archetypal element of the pan-Hellenic agonist ethos and the local athletic and artistic games. Pierre de Coubertin, nostalgically fixated on noble myth and heroic ethos, transferred his senses and values to the ideology of neo-Olympism, desiring the modern Olympic movement be not only a government of bodies, but also a lesson of character, a government of souls. He initiated not only modern *Olympiads*, but also the theoretical hermeneutics of sport, which is still doing well and developing in the form of, among others, Olympic education, philosophy and ethics of sport, histo-

ry of sport and physical education, sociology of physical culture. Here is today’s participation in the Games of these Pythagorean spectators – theoreticians (Greek *theoria*, a panorama, observation), researchers, scientists who develop an ideological and axio-normative basis of sports practices.

Despite didactic efforts, effective crystallization and articulation of principles and ideological imperatives by Coubertin and his followers, sport today seems to be losing its archetypal *eidōs*. According to numerous diagnoses, this is the result of the faster appropriation of athletic spaces by heterogeneous economic influences (Pythagorean traders!), – those political, media- and marketing-related. Pure sports values, such as competition, perfectionism, pageantry, bodily and psychological power of man are today subjected to instrumentalisation processes and are used for non-sporting purposes. Critics practicing jeremiads on the condition of modern sport and the decline in the value of its ethos even go as far as to theorise that “sport no longer exists” because it gave the field to foreign dictates. Therefore, sport may appear as a “contemporary slave market”, “marketplace of vanity and greed”, “post-human laboratory”, “pitch of imperial skirmishes of world political powers”. All these affairs actually concern the condition of not only sport, but also the state of society and culture in general. Sport, due to its spectacular presence in the global world, is particularly predisposed to focus dominant trends, influences and interests within it. Sport is not more immoral than the world of which it is a part. For these reasons, it is so eagerly analysed by historians, sociologists and cultural scholars, for whom it is a heuristic model for studying the dynamics of cultural changes. Sport is a mirror focusing the whole of social life and historical processes occurring within the human world, i.e. culture. Approaching this from a hermeneutic understanding and interpreting reflection towards sport, we can (as Hans-Georg Gadamer taught) fuse horizons of historical tradition and contexts that are the result of problems, crises and dilemmas of our time. A meaningful interpretation of these collisions regards

extracting vital meaning for current life, as well as increasing the level of human self-knowledge and responsibility. Sport, in its rich historical tradition, in the solstices, barriers, temptations and challenges of present day, requires such a complex understanding. In the introduction to *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, Hegel expressed an unusual and invariably current formula: "The owl of Minerva spreads its wings only with the falling of the dusk". Wisdom is born at dusk, it is the knowledge of the times that passes by in the eyes of the people who create it. Only at the end of events can one clearly and unambiguously draw (against the symbolism of dusk) explanations of their important moments, including the symptoms and causes of crises. There is no wisdom without a historical sense and reflection on the transformation of culture. Wilhelm Dilthey, the creator of philosophical hermeneutics, extended the self-knowledge of man to the knowledge of the vast history of the past, stating that only history tells man who he really is. We can use these directives to study the evolution of sport, both in its historical forms of flourishing and decadence, as well as in the institutions, biographies of sports champions, the fate of ideas and values deposited in it. Sport studied in such a manner has the

power of anthropological recognition, it can tell a man who he himself is. Despite the symptoms of crisis, sport is still important for a person, arousing his enthusiasm, giving birth to new masters who become admired models and personal authorities. A man defends sport, fair play and the values that fund his ethos, because he cares about sport, considering it an expression and fulfilment of the rudiments of his own existence. The collection of articles presented in this volume of *Studies in Sport Humanities* can be viewed as a small fragment of the wider fresco of sport culture in its historical changes and present shapes. Two historical texts relate to the development of sport in the Polish inter-war period, on the example of the individual career of the Polish footballer Ernest Wilimowski and institutional management of sports disciplines in Volhynia, an extremely ethnically and culturally diverse province at the time. The other two articles present contemporary discussions on sports tourism (casus of the Philippines) and the religious dimension of sport. We invite you to read, and through these texts to, continue the debate on the historical and current great and smaller matters of sport.

Maria Zowisło

Organisational development of sport in the Volhynian province during the Second Polish Republic

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Summary

The aim of this paper is to present the development of organisational sport structures in the Volhynian province in the years 1921-1939 regarding the establishment of district and sub-district associations within individual disciplines of physical activity. During the interwar period, the Volhynian province was inhabited by, among others, the Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish, German, Czech and Russian population. In this respect, the Volhynian province stood out on an all-Poland level.

In the years 1921-1939, associations were set up for individual sports disciplines in the Volhynian province district and sub-district. During this period, district sports associations were established in, among others, Volhynia, for the following disciplines: boxing, ice hockey, track-and-field, skiing, football. On the territory of the Volhynian province, sports structures began to appear on levels lower than districts and sub-districts, within areas of physical activity. The development of district sports associations in Volhynia was particularly noticeable in the 1930s. In the 1920s, clubs and associations, running sports sections, mainly made up district sports associations with their seats in Lublin and Lviv. The establishment of district and sub-district associations in the Volhynian province facilitated the development of sports competition, making it possible to select the best sportspeople, and also increased the number of sports events.

Keywords: Volhynian province, district sports association, the Second Polish Republic.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present the organisational development of sport in the Volhynian province in the years 1921-1939 in terms of establishing district and sub-district associations within individual disciplines of physical activity. The time periods of the paper cover the years 1921-1939. The initial date – 1921 – the establishment of the Volhynian province, after regaining independence by the Second Polish Republic; the closing date – 1939, the outbreak of World War II. The eastern border of the Volhynian province was a border with the Soviet Union. The area of the province was inhabited by several nationalities: the population of the Polish nationality – 16.6% (346,600), of Ukrainian nationality – 68.4% (1,426,900), Jewish nationality – 9.9% (205,500), German nationality – 2.3% (46,900), of Czech nationality – 1.5% (31,000), and Russian nationality – 1.1% (23,400); the remaining nationalities comprised – 0.2% (Małolepszy, Drozdek-Małolepsza, Bakota, 2017, p. 12). The Volhynian province consisted of the following counties: Dubno, Horokhiv, Kostopil (since 1925), Kovel, Kremenets, Liuboml, Lutsk, Rivne, Sarny (since 1930), Volodymyr and Zdolbuniv.

The history of sport in Volhynia during the interwar period is a subject of study dealing with the present state of research in this area (Małolepszy, 2018, pp. 78-86). In the historiography of the history of physical culture in the Volhynian province, there is a publication dedicated to the outline of the activities regarding administrative structures of the State Office of Physical Education and Military Training in the Volhynian province in the years 1927-1939 (Małolepszy, Drozdek-Małolepsza, Bakota, 2018, pp. 89-103). Also worth mentioning are publications by S. Zaborniak concerning the history of physical culture of the Ukrainian population on the Polish territory in the period of 1868-1939 (Zaborniak, 2007). In the historiography to date, there have been no works devoted to the development of organisational structures in the form of district and sub-district sports associations in the Volhynian province during the interwar period.

Research methods and problems

As part of the preparation of this study, the following research methods have been used: analysis of historical sources, the method of synthesis, induction, deduction,

and the comparative method. The following research questions have been put forward:

1. What district and sub-districts sports associations were established during the interwar period in the area of the Volhynian province?
2. What impact did the organisational structures – district and sub-district associations – have on sports activities in the Volhynian province?

Results and discussion

The establishment of organisational structures in various sports disciplines in terms of district and sub-district sports associations played a major role in the development of sport in the Volhynian province. One of the most popular sports disciplines in the Volhynian province was football. In the years 1922-1927, the Volhynian football clubs participated in the matches of the Lublin District Association of Football – the DAF of Lublin (*MW* 2017, No. 9, p. 7; Goksiński, 2012, pp. 377-379). The board of the DAF of Lublin (as of 1922) was composed of: Maj Grabowski (president), Capt. Laliczyński, Lieut. Jarosz (vice-presidents), Lieut. Kulczycki (treasurer), Sgt. Heidrych – secretary (*PS* 1922, No. 10, p. 3). The seat of the DAF of Lublin was located at 7 Lipowa street. As of 1923, the DAF of Lublin comprised 16 clubs conducting football sections in class A, B and C matches: (*PS* 1923, No. 44, p. 2)¹. In 1925, the board of the DAF of Lublin was composed of: Lieut. Roman Kopanicki (president), Capt. Antoni Sikorski (1st vice-president), Capt. T. Rożek (2nd vice-president), Kasperski (treasurer), Jerzy Rozmej (secretary), Wojciech Grabowski, Leon Kożuchowski, Hersz Nissenbaum, Maj Stefan Lipowski, Szewczyk, Jaśnicki, Michał Hałgas (*PS* 1925, No. 18, p. 18).

In the consecutive period (1928-1930), clubs of the Volhynian province took part in the matches of Lviv DFA. The Volhynian sub-district of Football was established with the announcement of the Lviv DAF No. 4 of 30 March 1928 (*ZW* 1928, No. 3, pp. 2-3; *MW* 2017, No. 9, p. 7). On 6 May 1928, in the seat of JSC Hasmonaea Rivne, a founding meeting of the Volhynian Sub-district of Football (VSF) was held. The seat of the sub-district was the city of Rivne. In the following year (1929), VSF officially operated within the structures of the Lviv DAF. The president of the sub-district was Witold Gorowic (member of the Gymnastic Society – GC “Sokół” [“Falcon”] Rivne).

The Volhynian DAF, with its seat in Rivne, was established in 1930 (Goksiński, 2012, p. 380). The association was then composed of 20 teams (as of 1930). The statutes of the Volhynian DAF were approved in Lutsk on 2 May 1932 by the Volhynian Provincial Office (Державний архів Волинської області, фонд 170, опис 1с, справа 3, с. 14) [State Archive of Volhynian District, set of records 170, description 1, reference number 3, p. 14]. The General Meeting of the delegates of the Volhynian DAF was held on 29 January 1933 (*W* 1933, No. 6, p. 7). The meeting was attended by the delegates of 31 sports clubs holding 25 votes. The representatives of the teams playing in class A matches had – in accordance with the regulations – 3 votes. Not all club delegates had a voting right, which applied to the representatives of the clubs having financial arrears to the Volhynian DAF. In 1932, 7 clubs were established which declared the intention of joining the association. Sports clubs and associations had 13 sports pitches (*W* 1933, No. 6, p. 7). Delegates of sports clubs and associations paid particular attention to there being no coaching staff in the football sections. In addition, football clubs and associations had problems of financial nature, which resulted in the payments to the Volhynian DAF, which amounted to 60% of the preliminary sum. In the structures of the Volhynian DAF, the activity of the Department of Games and Discipline was to improve. The final issue of the General Meeting was the election of the new board of the Volhynian DAF, which was composed by, among others, Col. Bronisław Prugar-Ketling – president, Tadeusz Rożek and Heller – vice-presidents, Roth, Rejdel, Szpak – members (*W* 1933, No. 6, p. 7). In 1934, as many as 31 sports clubs and associations had a football section registered in the Volhynian DAF (*RS* 1934, pp. 409-410)².

The decision to move the seat of the Association from Rivne to Lutsk was made during the General Meeting of the Volhynian DAF on 19 January 1936. On 22 February 1936, the seat of the Volhynian DAF was transferred from Rivne to Lutsk (Державний архів Волинської області, фонд 170, опис 1, справа 1, с. 10) [State Archive of Volhynian District, set of records 170, description 1, reference number 1, p. 10]. During the General Meeting of the Volhynian DAF, its authorities were appointed. The management board of the Volhynian DAF was composed of: Jan Kościółek (Starost of Lutsk) – president, Lieut. Jan Banasiak, Waclaw Studziński (vice-presidents), Edward Piotrowski – secre-

¹ They were the following clubs: Military Sports Club (MSC), Lublin, MSC Chelm, MSC Kresy Brześć upon Bug, MSC Hallerczyk Rivne; in class B matches: MSC Zamość, MSC Volodymyr-Volynskiy, MSC Kovel, MSC Lutsk, Sports Club (SC) Lublinianka Lublin, Jewish Sports Club (JSC) Makkabi Lublin; in class C matches: SC Strzelec Lublin, Student Sport Association – SSA Lublin, SC Szomrija Lublin, SC Zagończyk Sarny, MSC Dubno and Scout SC Lublin were ranked as extraordinary members.

² In 1934, the Volhynian DAF was composed of the following: Jewish Gymnastic and Sports Society (JGSC) Amatorzy Volodymyr, PGSC Czarni Kostopil, Workers' Association of Physical Education (WAPE) Gwiazda-Sztern Kovel, JSC Hakoach Rivne, JSC Hakoach Dubno, JSC Hapoel Lutsk, JSC Hasmonaea Rivne, JSC Hasmonaea Kovel, JSC Hasmonaea Lutsk, JSC Hasmonaea Kremenets, WAPE Jutrznia Kremenets, WAPE Jutrznia Rivne, WAPE Jutrznia Lutsk, JSC Kadimach Lutsk, Railway Military Training (RMT) Rivne, Kremenets SC, Post Military Training (PMT) Lutsk, Volhynian SC Pogoń Rivne, Police Sports Club (PSC) Rivne, PSC Lutsk, PSC Volodymyr, Polish Gymnastic Society (PGS) “Sokół” [“Falcon”] Dubno, Lutsk SC Strzelec Lutsk, JSC Szomrija Rivne, JSC Trumpeldorja Kostopil, Society of Workers' Universities (SWU) Kovel, Military Sports Club (MSC) Rivne, MSC Lutsk, Shooting Association (SA) Rivne, SA Zdobuniv, Strzelec Janowa Dolina.

tary, Borys Fajntuch – treasurer, Zygmunt Chrzanoski (captain of the association), Jan Berenda, Schacks, Natan Hamerman, Stanisław Bara (members), Capt. Witczak, Piotr Litauer, Szymon Bąkowiecki, Szmul Sztilerman. The Department of Games and Disciplines was made up of the following persons: Lieut. Jan Banasiak (chairman), Stanisław Baranowski and Dr. Franciszek Ksok (vice-chairman), Izrael Dossik (secretary), Marek Kiperman, M. Motowilowkier, Jakób Granicz (members), Dr. Waks (deputy member). The Audit Committee was also elected. This body was composed of: Lieut. Pawłowicz, Benjamin Farsztein, Mongird, Zygmunt Zomtag. In connection with the introduction by the Polish Football Association (PFA) of the transition to the autumn-winter system of matches, the activists of the Volhynian DAF decided to end the current competition by 1 July 1936 (including the selection of the champion of the Volhynian DAF). At the same time, it was decided to divide class A matches into two groups: 1st group – Lutsk, Volodymyr-Volynskiy, Kremenets; 2nd group – Rivne, Zdolbuniv, Kostopil (Державний архів Волинської області, фонд 170, опис 1, справа 1, с. 10) [State Archive of Volhynian District, set of records 170, description 1, reference number 1, p. 10]. The following teams were qualified for group 1: JGSC Amatorzy Volodymyr, Kremenets SC Kremenets, PSC Lutsk, MSC-SC Strzelec Lutsk, JSC Hasmonia Lutsk; for group 2: PSC Zdolbuniv, SC Strzelec Janowa Dolina, MSC Rivne, Volhynian SC Pogoń Rivne and JSC Hasmonia Rivne.

Class B matches (in the 1st half of 1936) were divided into four groups: group 1 – Lutsk, Rivne, Zdolbuniv; Group 2 – Kremenets, Dubno; Group 3 – Kostopil, Sarny; Group 4 – Volodymyr-Volynskiy, Kovel. In announcement No. 4 of the Department of Games and Disciplines, some changes were made in class B matches taking three groups of matches into account. It is worth mentioning that the board of the Volhynian DAF approved the merger of MSC Lutsk with SC Strzelec Lutsk and the establishment of MSC-SC Strzelec Lutsk. During the matches of the Volhynian DAF in the 1st half of 1936, the team of PSC Zdolbuniv changed its name to RMT Zdolbuniv. In addition, the following sports clubs were admitted to the Volhynian DAF: SC Rezerwa Lutsk, SC Slucz Sarny, SC Sparta Rivne, Polish Gymnastic Society (PGS) Czarni Kostopil, SC Cegielnia Zdolbuniv and the Ukrainian Sports Club (USC) Hart Zdolbuniv and Clerical Family Kamin-Kashyrskiy (Державний архів Волинської області, фонд 170, опис 1, справа 1, с. 28, 39) [State Archive of Volhynian District, set of records 170, description 1, reference number 1, p. 28, 39]; Announcement of the Volhynian DAF, 1936). In 1936, the Volhynian DAF had 731 players. Over the period of a year, there were 271 new players in the district, 47 ones left, and 2 players were deleted from the list of the district association.

In class B matches (as of the 1st half of 1936), the following teams, among others, participated: PSC Zdolbuniv, SC Strzelec Kovel, SC Strzelec Lutsk, WAPE Jutrznia Kremenets, the Strzelec Dubno Shooting As-

sociation, the Strzelec Volodymyr-Volynskiy Shooting Association, JSC Hasmonia Kremenets, JSC Szomrija Rivne, JSC Trumpeldoria Kostopil, JSC Gwiazda-Sztern Kovel, JSC Haroel Volodymyr-Volynskiy (Державний архів Волинської області, фонд 170, опис 1, справа 1, с. 11) [State Archive of the Volhynian District, set of records 170, description 1, reference number 1, p. 11]. In Class C competitions (as of the 1st half of 1936), the following took part: Volunteer Fire Brigade at the Szpanów Sugar Factory (Szpanów, Rivne district) Organisation “Brith-Trumpeldor” in Volhynia in Rivne, PGS Czarni Kostopil, SSC Horyn Rivne, the Strzelec Zdolbuniv Shooting Association.

In the announcement of the Volhynian DAF No. 5 from 27 July 1936, there is some information about further reorganisation of football matches, based on which a district league was established. Representatives of 16 clubs were in favour of creating the district league, whereas representatives of 9 clubs abstained from voting. The board of the Volhynian DAF proposed that sports clubs and societies be divided into 4 classes: the district league (8 teams), A class (8 teams), B class (12 teams), C class (from 8 to 24 teams). The autumn round was to be played in the period from 15 August to 15 November 1936, while the spring round, in the period from 15 March until 15 June 1937. In August 1936, the board of the Volhynian DAF appointed the district league for the season of 1936/1937 comprising: PSC Lutsk, MSC – SA Strzelec Lutsk, JSC Hasmonia Lutsk, MSC Rivne, Volhynian SC Pogoń Rivne, JSC Hasmonia Rivne, SC Strzelec Janowa Dolina and Kremenets SC (Державний архів Волинської області, фонд 170, опис 1, справа 1, с. 23) [State Archive of Volhynian District, set of records 170, description 1, reference number 1, p. 23]. In announcement No. 10 of the Department of Games and Disciplines of the Volhynian DAF from 25 September 1936, the composition of the class A team was determined: JGSC Amatorzy Volodymyr, RMT Zdolbuniv, SC Strzelec Dubno, SC Strzelec Zdolbuniv, JSC Hasmonia Kremenets, SC Rezerwa Lutsk, SC Strzelec Kovel, JSC Hasmonia Kovel.

In the district league of the Volhynian DAF, the following teams participated in the 1938/1939 season: PSC Lutsk, MSC Lutsk Hasmonia Lutsk, Hasmonia Rivne, Volhynian SC Pogoń Rivne, SC Strzelec Janowa Dolina, MSC Dubno, Strzelec Kovel (Małolepszy, 2011, p. 96).

The activists of the Volhynian DAF paid attention to issues concerned with the infrastructure and security of sports pitches and stadiums. In this respect, SC Strzelec Janowa Dolina was commissioned to fence off the sports pitch of the County Committee for Physical Education and Military Training (CCPEMT) in Kostopil from the audience with a 1.10 m barrier (Державний архів Волинської області, фонд 170, опис 1, справа 1, с. 7) [State Archive of Volhynian District, set of records 170, description 1, reference number 1, p. 7].

An important element in the activities of the Volhynian DAF was the financial factor. The budget estimates for the period from 1 January to 31 December 1937 of

the Volhynian DAF provided for the proceeds of 2,156 zloty. These included, among others, membership fees from 8 clubs of the district league (560 zloty), membership fees from 8 class A clubs (400 zloty), membership fees from 5 class B clubs (175 zloty), membership fees from 5 class C clubs (125 zloty), income from prints (25 zloty), income from the organisation of the “Volhynian DAF Day” (100 zloty), registration fees and deposits (50 zloty), proceeds from debts (100 zloty) and from the Department of Referee Affairs (450 zloty), deficit, subsidies from Warsaw, if any, 271 zloty (Державний архів Волинської області, фонд 170, опис 1, справа 1, с. 37) [State Archive of Volhynian District, set of records 170, description 1, reference number 1, p. 37]. On the expenditure side, the amount of 2,156 zloty was also allocated to “personal” expenses, travel costs, purchase and repair of “inventory”, costs of maintaining the seat of the Volhynian DAF, costs of the Department of Referee Affairs and repayment of liabilities.

At the convention of heads of VDAF football sections in Lutsk on 7 April 1937, a resolution was adopted on holding a football tournament in the junior age category with the reservation that the best team of the district would compete in the all-Poland matches (Announcement of the Volhynian DAF, 1937). The obligation of establishing teams in the junior age category of the Volhynian DAF was to be fulfilled among the teams playing in A and B classes starting from the 1st half of 1936. It was planned that the junior teams would compete (in 1937) at 3 locations: Kovel, Lutsk and Rivne. The best teams were to play at the final tournament in Lutsk. The activists of the Volhynian DAF did not succeed in initiating junior matches in 1936, as a result of which the best team of juniors from Volhynia did not participate at the PFA camp in Sieraków and the Polish Championship competition. In 1933, the Volhynian District Association of Sports Games conducted its activities – the Volhynian DASG (State Archive in Katowice, County Office of Zawiercie, Ref. no. 12/880/0/757, p. 78). The seat of the Volhynian DASG was located at the PE Centre in Lutsk.

On the territory of the Volhynian province, there were district structures of other Polish Sports Associations. The Volhynian Regional Boxing Association (Volhynian RBA) conducted its activity which, among others, in 1939, had difficulties with referee personnel (Małolepszy, 2011, p. 92). In the region, 2 boxing referees were registered. The seat of the Volhynian RBA was located in Rivne. The Volhynian RBA was established in the 2nd half of the 1930s. Prior to the establishment of the Volhynian RBA, sports clubs and associations conducting boxing sections made up the Lublin RBA, among others, as of 1934, the activity was conducted by the sports club (SC) Strzelec Lutsk – at the Headquarters of the SA Volhynian Sub-district (RS 1934, pp. 443-447).

The Volhynian Regional Association of Ice Hockey (Volhynian RAIH) was initially established in Rivne and then in Kovel (RS 1934, p. 460; Małolepszy, 2012, p. 358)³. The RAIH was composed of the following clubs: Lublin Students Sports Association (SSA), Ognisko Kovel, Pogoń Rivne, Strzelec Janowa Dolina. According to the editors of *Wolyn* [Volhynia] magazine, it was already in January 1933 that the Volhynian Sub-district of Ice Hockey was in operation (W 1933, No. 5, p. 7). In ice hockey competitions during the 1933 season (the beginning of the year), clubs from the following cities were to take part: Lutsk, Kovel, Kremenets and Rivne. On the initiative of the Volhynian Sub-district of Ice Hockey, a “liaison” meeting of the Rivne sports club was held. At the meeting, it was resolved that “members of all clubs be given 50% concessionary tickets to events organised by all clubs and it was decided that individual clubs maintain proper relations”⁴ (W 1933, No. 15, p. 7).

In the 2nd half of 1933, the Polish Ice Hockey Association (PIHA), following the suggestion of the Sports Committee of the Association, renamed the existing Volhynian Sub-district to the independent Volhynian RAIH (W 1933, No. 51, p. 6). The General Meeting of the Volhynian RAIH was held on 22 October 1933 in Rivne. The management board of the district was composed of: Col. Józef Werobej (president), Izydor Rosenmann (vice-president), Józef Tarnogórski (secretary, treasurer), Bolesław Bukowiecki (sports captain), inspector Paweł Piotr Kochmański, Zam Abraham, Chaim Gelman (members). In addition to the board, the Audit Committee and the Fellow Member Arbitration Board were also elected. The former body was composed of the following: Lieut. Leon Kukiołk, Józef Gelb, Manus Barman, Waclaw Studziński and Lieut. Roman Szpindura; and the Fellow Member Arbitration Board of: Comm. Jan Bober, Jakób Motowilowker and Waclaw Studziński. The teams were divided in respect of league competitions. Class A of the Volhynian RAIH included the Volhynian SC Pogoń Rivne, MSC Rivne and PSC Rivne. Jan Krysztopa became a delegate to the Lutsk district of the Polish Skating Association (PSA) in 1937 (Małolepszy, 2012, p. 360). The seat of the district was located in Lutsk.

As part of structures of the Polish Association of Track-and-Field (PATF), the Lublin District Association of Track-and-Field conducted its activities (Lublin DATF). In its structures, on 31 March 1928, the Rivne Sub-district of the Lublin DATF was established (ZW 1928, No. 3, pp. 2-3). The management board of the sub-district was constituted by: Maj Andrzejewski (president, commander of the 13th Infantry district), Maj Rusiecki (1st vice-president), Hofmann (2nd vice-president) Borowicz, Eisler, Koźmiński, Kulawik, Nowosielski (board members). On the initiative of the sub-district, competitions were held on the national holiday – 3 May

¹ As of 1934, the seat of the Volhynian RAIH was located in Rivne, and the district was made up of: Volhynian SC Pogoń Rivne, MSC Rivne and PSC Rivne.

² All transl. by Aleksandra Hetmańczyk.

1928, during which an athlete of MSC Rivne – Srokowski – achieved valuable results. According to the editors of the *Ziemia Wołyńska* [Volhynian Land] magazine, in addition to the sub-district in Rivne, two more athletic sub-districts were established (making up the Lublin DATF), in Kovel and Lutsk.

The Volhynian District Association of Track-and-Field (Volhynian DATF) was set up in 1931 (*W* 1933, No. 20, p. 12). The Volhynian DATF was an organiser of Polish Championships in cross-country races which were held in Lutsk. The Lutsk PSC had a strong track-and-field section, especially having Menke as one of the activists. Apart from Lutsk Rivne, was another a location where Track-and-Field events were conducted. In this city, a district track-and-field competition was held for the first time in 1928, with considerable participation of the youth. The editors of the magazine stressed that in Rivne, the sports clubs greater emphasis “is put on football” (*W* 1933, No. 20, p. 12). From among other cities in Volhynia, it was Volodymyr that played an important role in the development of track-and-field. It was in Volodymyr that all track-and-field events planned in the calendar of competitions of the Volhynian DAA were organised (until 1932), including: autumn cross-country races for the women’s and men’s district championship (16 October 1931), first women’s competition for the championship of Volhynia and athletic pentathlon competition. MSC of 27th FAR [field artillery regiment] in Volodymyr had an outstanding track-and-field section⁵. The SC of PEMT Kovel was engaged in buoyant athletic activity mainly owing to the co-operation of CCPEMT in Kovel with physical education teachers. The president of the Volhynian DAA in 1933 was Dr. Szpak (*W* 1933, No. 26, p. 9). As of 1934, the Volhynian DATF consisted of 10 athletic sections of sports clubs and societies (*RS* 1934, pp. 418-419)⁶.

The Volhynian District Skiing Association (Volhynian DSA) was established on 20 October 1934 (*ZK* 1934, No. 3, pp. 85-86, 1934 No. 10, pp. 332-333; Zaborniak, 2013, p. 81)⁷. The association was based in Kremenets. The 1933/1934 sports season for skiing in Volhynia started under the banner of organising the Volhynian DSA. On 16-17 December 1933, on the initiative of the Skiing Committee of the Sections of State Defence and Physical Education (SD and PE) of the Union of Social Organisations, a convention of delegates of clubs and societies from the Volhynian province was held in Kremenets in order to “prepare for the organisation of the district”. The programme of the 2-day conven-

tion included lectures on skiing; performance of skiing gymnastics lessons; field practice; visiting skiing areas; exhibition of skiing equipment produced by local manufacturers. The final result of the convention was the adoption of a resolution addressed to the Polish Skiing Association (PSA) in Cracow for the establishment of the Volhynian DSA based in Kremenets (*ZK* 1934, No. 3, p. 85). The issue of establishing the Volhynian DSA was to be considered at the meeting of the Skiing Council in Cracow on 6 May 1934.

The issue of the establishment of the Volhynian DSA was included in the agenda and was approved at the meeting of the Skiing Council on 20 October 1934, held in Cracow. The session of the council was attended by Julian Kozłowski – member of the USO Skiing Committee. The territory of the Volhynian DSA operation was to cover the area of the Volhynian province, and even go beyond its borders. The authorities of the Volhynian DSA were to be elected during a convention of the representatives of sports clubs from the territory of Volhynia, to be held in Kremenets on 8-9 December 1934. During the meeting of the PSA Skiing Council, a programming committee had its session when it “took [...] the schedule of winter events for Kremenets into account, and the communication committee promised its support for the issue of trains popular for Kremenets” (*ZK* 1934, No. 10, pp. 332-333). Support for “popular trains” was associated with concessionary fares for passengers.

The All-Volhynia Skiing Conference, combined with the convention of the Volhynian DSA and held in Kremenets on 24 November 1935, was of considerable significance for the development of skiing sports (*ZK* 1935, No. 12, pp. 531-534). The meeting was attended by, among others: Jan Beupre (mayor of Kremenets), Jerzy Bonkowicz-Sittauer, Stefan Czarnocki, Lieut. Waclaw Dziewulak (delegate of HCS No. 2 in Lublin), Puławski, representatives of local social organisations and delegates of 22 sports clubs. The session was chaired by the starost of Dubno – J. Bonkowicz-Sittauer⁸. The participants represented the following locations in Volhynia: Białokrynica, Dederkały, Dubno, Janowa Dolina, Kremenets, Lutsk, Rivne, Sarny, Zdolbuniv. During the meeting, the participants listened to a report on the condition of Volhynian skiing and the report of the Volhynian DSA management board. Also, the programme of works for the skiing season of 1935 was presented. A new board of the Volhynian DSA was elected, composed of: Julian Kozłowski – president (Kremenets),

⁵ 27th FAR. – 27th field artillery regiment. On 31 January 1931, the Minister of Military Affairs – Marshal Józef Piłsudski renamed the 27th FAR to the 27th regiment of light artillery (RLA).

⁶ The Volhynian DAA was composed of the following Track-and-Field sections: GS “Sokół” [“Falcon”] Lutsk, Military Sports Club (MSC) 27 RLA. Volodymyr, Police Sports Club (PSC) Sarny, MSC 24 pp Lutsk, Jewish Sports Club (JSC) Hasmona Lutsk, SC of PEMT (State Lower Secondary School) Kovel, MSC Rivne, PSC Lutsk, SC Strzelec Lutsk, Shooting Association (SA) Strzelec Kovel.

⁷ Until the establishment of the Volhynian DSA, skiing sections of sports clubs and associations of the Volhynian province were included in the Lviv DSA; they were, among others, the following skiing sections: the Bona Kremenets Amateur Sports Club (ASC), JSC Hasmona Kremenets, Polish SC Horyń Kremenets, Kremenets SC and the Skiing Department at the Union of Social Organisations of Kremenets County.

⁸ Jerzy Bonkowicz-Sittauer was a starost of Dubno during the period from February 1933 to July 1936.

Lieut. W. Dziewulak – vice-president (Lutsk), Ludwik Gronowski – sports clerk (Kremenets), Kazimierz Żyliński and Andrzej Mackiewicz – secretaries, Urbanowicz (Janowa Dolina), Romanowski (Lutsk), Hatała (Rivne), Tarkowski and S. Czarnocki (Kremenets), W. Jeremi Śliwiński (Rivne) – board members. The participants of the convention appealed to the management of the Secondary School in Kremenets, the County Office in Kremenets, Municipality of the city of Kremenets, the Volhynian Provincial Committee of Physical Education and Military Training, the District Office of PE at the Headquarters of Corps District (HCD) No. 2 in Lublin “to allocate appropriate subsidies to the Volhynian DSA for the development of skiing tourism and to conduct skiing training”; they turned to the Lviv and Radom Railway Management and the Ministry of Communication with a request to improve railway communication with Kremenets. A resolution was passed to finance a challenge prize for winning the largest number of skiing badges by a club from the territory of the Volhynian province regarding membership fees (ŻK 1935, No. 12, p. 534).

The establishment of the Volhynian DSA influenced the development of skiing sport, and a greater interest of the local community in this field of physical activity was noted. Editors of *Życie Krzemienieckie*, in issue 3 from 1935, summed up the 1934/1935 sports season as follows: “The last season undoubtedly ranks among one of the most beautiful ones in terms of snow and weather, as well as being rich in successes in terms of sport. However, we still haven’t made use of a number of opportunities and a lot of work is waiting ahead of us to make Kremenets a real Volhynian Zakopane” (ŻK 1935, No. 3, p. 131). In the 1936 sports programme (during the January – February period), 24 sports events were held (ŻK 1935, No. 12, p. 533). Skiing competitions were to be organised in various towns of the Volhynian province, including Derdekały, Dubno, Janowa Dolina, Klewań, Kremenets, Kulików, Lutsk, Rivne, Sarny, Wiśniowiec and Zdobuniv. In the calendar of events, the most important one was the Championship of Volhynian DSA, which was to be held on 1-2 February 1936 in Kremenets.

The programme of sports events organised by the Volhynian DSA was richer and richer with every year, for example in the period from 27 December to 21 February 1937, the programme of skiing competition included: season opening competition, ski races for the Badge of PSA, jump competition – first step on a jump (27 December 1936, Kremenets, organiser – Skiing Section of USO); tobogganing competition (3 January 1937, Kremenets, KNWF); 4 × 5 km relay (6 January 1937, Kremenets, Committee of PEMT); ski races for the badge of PSA, or skiing excursions (6 January 1937, Lutsk, Dubno, Janowa Dolina, Rivne, Zdobuniv, Kulików, Committees of PEMT); team competitions between clubs for a challenge prize from the District Office of PEMT in Lublin (10 January 1937, Kremenets, SS KSC); relay of MT Troops (10 January 1937, Dubno, CCPEMT); 15-km skiing race for the challenge prize

of the Municipality of the city of Kremenets (16 January 1937, SS USO); ski jumps competition for the prize of the County Department in Kremenets (17 January 1937, SS USO); skiing competition (23 January 1937, Kremenets, JSC Hasmonaea); skiing races for the badge of PSA (24 January 1937, Wiśniowiec, CCPEMT); district championships in a 30-km skiing race (24 January 1937 Janowa Dolina, SA); a 15-km skiing race for the championship of Lutsk and a ski jump show (31 January 1937, Lutsk, SSN PSA); Winter Youth Games – skiing, tobogganing, ice hockey, figure skating (31 January – 2 February 1937, Kremenets); skiing races for the badge of PSA (2 February 1937) Dubno, Lutsk, Rivne, Janowa Dolina, Ostroh, Zdobuniv, Committees of PEMT); championships of the Volhynian DSA, an 18-km skiing race, ski jumps, Nordic combined (6 February 1937, Kremenets, Management Board of the Volhynian DSA); 4 × 10 km relay for the championship of the Volhynian DSA (14 February 1937, Lutsk, PSA); championships of Jewish societies (13-14 February 1937, Kremenets, Makkabi, Hasmonaea); tobogganing competition for the championship of Kremenets and skijöring (14 February 1937); a gear patrol for the challenge prize of the Provincial State Police Station (21 February 1937, Kremenets, SS PSC Horyń); skiing race for the badge of PSA (21 February 1937, Kulików, Gliding School (ŻK 1936, No. 11, pp. 451-452). It is worth emphasizing that the share of skiing courses, training ski camps, courses and exams for skiing judge and instructor candidates, as well as qualified tourism events (ski hiking tours), came along with an increase in the activity of the Volhynian DSA, with e.g. courses in gliding and skiing, in lowland skiing and in women’s skiing, being organised.

As of 1936, in addition to the Volhynian district, within the structures of PSA, the following district skiing associations conducted their activity: Grodno, Cracow, Lviv, Podhale, Przemyśl, Pomerania, Silesia, Warsaw and Vilnius (Zaborniak, 2013, p. 91). The representative of the Volhynian DSA – Dr. Gronowski participated in the conference (meeting) of PSA which took place on 28 November 1937.

On the territory of the Volhynian province, sports structures began to appear at levels lower than a district and sub-district. A meeting of the Shooting and Archery Liaison Committee was held in Lutsk on 21 January 1933 (*W* 1933, No. 20, p. 13). During the meeting, a board was elected composed of: Józef Kurmanowicz (president, SA), Emilia Malinowska (vice-president, Women’s Military Training – WMT), Krzywdziński (secretary, Volhynian Society of Cyclists and Motorcyclists – VSCM), Dłużniewski (treasurer, Temida), Godlewski (sports captain), Fijałkowski (head of county – Lutsk SA), Julian Marynowicz, Pikulski (PSC Lutsk) – board members. The activity of the committee was aimed at the development of archery and shooting.

On 6 May, the Lutsk Committee of Rowing Societies (LCRS) was established. The committee’s objective was to “run an organisation of rowing life common to all rowing associations in Lutsk, holding joint rowing

events and water sports propaganda" (*W* 1933, No. 20, Bulletin of Lutsk Rowing Society (supplement), p. 2). The meeting was held at the Rowing Club (RC) Temida, with the participation of the representatives of: Lutsk Rowing Society (LRS) – Władysław Nakrasz and Bohdan Bieńkowski; RC Temida – Alfons Surmiński and Marian Dłużniewski; RSC Lutsk – Maj S. Kowalski and Lieut. Bolesław Klajment. During the meeting, it was resolved that the Presidency in the LCRS would be held by individual associations, "according to seniority", with the term of one year from January each year; resolutions applied to all associations, with the exception of a representative of one of them, who had not reserved the presentation of a given issue to be decided by the board of the society; any events, within a year, would be held on the premises of this association, which in a given year presided in the committee. In 1933, the Presidency of LCRS was held by LRS.

Sports clubs and societies of the Volhynian province were registered in other sports associations. The Volhynian Society of Cyclists and Motorcyclists in Lutsk was registered in the Polish Association of Cycling Societies (PACS); MSC Rivne was registered in the Polish Association of Lawn-Tennis (PALT); Volhynian Horse Riding Club in Rivne was registered in the Polish Horse Riding Association (PHA) and KSRC (Kayaking Section of Rowing Club) Temida Lutsk was registered in the Polish Kayaking Association (PKA) (State Archive in Katowice, County Office of Zawiercie, Ref. No. 12/880/0/757, p. 78; *RS* 1934, pp. 429-437, 465-471). A member of the Polish Automobile Club was the Volhynian Automobile Club, with its seat in Lutsk (*RS* 1934, pp. 472-473).

As part of the PKA structure, dated 1936, the activity was conducted by 5 district sports associations: Silesia and Lesser Poland, Lviv, Poznań, Pomerania and Warsaw (Archives of Modern Records, Fragmentary Archive Group, Ref. No. 231, p. 4). None of these districts covered clubs or societies with kayaking sections from the territory of the Volhynian province. The existing clubs and societies running kayaking sections were located in Kostopil and Lutsk, for example: the Temida Lutsk Rowing Club, Lutsk Rowing Association, Section of Water Tourism of the Polish Sightseeing Association Kostopil – 5 members (Archives of Modern Records, Fragmentary Archive Group, Ref. 231, p. 5, 27). Kayaking sections of clubs and societies were directly subordinate to the Executive Board of PKA.

Conclusions

In the years 1921-1939, associations were set up in five sports disciplines in the Volhynian province district and sub-district. During this period, district sports associations were established in Volhynia for the following disciplines: boxing, ice hockey, athletics, skiing and football. On the territory of the Volhynian province, sports structures began to appear at levels lower than districts and sub-districts, within areas of physical activi-

ty – an example, among others, could be the activity of the Shooting and Archery Liaison Committee in Lutsk. The earliest established and engaged in buoyant activity was the Volhynian District Association of Football. It was much faster that organisational district and sub-district structures were established in the Volhynian province in the 1930s. In the 1920s, clubs and societies, running sports sections mainly made up district sports associations, with their seats in Lublin and Lviv. In some sports disciplines, before the establishment of a district sports association, the structures of the association were created at a sub-district level. Establishing district and sub-district organisational structures of associations was related to the emergence of a greater and greater number of clubs and societies engaged in sports sections.

The establishment of district and sub-district associations in the Volhynian province facilitated the development of sports competition, making it possible to select the best sportspeople, and also increased the number of sports events. These factors contributed to the growth of sports infrastructure, the training of coaches, instructors and referees, and to the increase in the level of sport in the Volhynian province during the interwar period.

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Ernest Wilimowski – the forgotten Polish football star

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Summary

The objective of this paper is to report on Ernest Wilimowski's extraordinary sports career, with particular emphasis on the interwar period, when he was the biggest star of the Polish national football team. Analysis of the press corpus was applied as the basic study technique.

Ernest Wilimowski was born in 1916 in Katowice, in the territory of the German Reich. In 1922, Katowice and a part of Upper Silesia were incorporated into Poland. He won league games four times with the *Ruch Wielkie Hajduki* club. He made his debut on the Polish national team as a 17-year-old. He played on it until the end of August 1939. In 22 matches, he scored 21 goals. During the Nazi occupation, he acted as a native German. On June 1, 1941, he made his debut on the German national team. He played for the team of the Third Reich 8 times and scored 13 goals. He felt and acted like a sports star. His modern approach to football did not match the idea of amateurism that was mainstream in this period. For him, most important were the benefits that could be gained from the game of football.

Key words: Ernest Wilimowski, sport, football, sportpress, Second Polish Republic

Introduction

The end of World War I and Poland regaining independence were not synonymous with the end of the process of displacing borders in this part of Europe. Despite failure in the attempts made by Central Powers to decide on the state membership of Upper Silesia, pursuant to art. 88 of the Versailles Treaty, a plebiscite was applied to make a decision regarding this issue. For Poland, the negative result from this plebiscite led to the outbreak of the Third Silesian Uprising, which was attended by members of Polish sports clubs and associations that were established in the Upper Silesia region only two years earlier. Finally, on the basis of a decision made by the Council of Ambassadors, Poland received one third of the plebiscite area. It was not until June 1922 that the Polish army entered the eastern part of Upper Silesia, and the civil authorities took over administration of this area. Katowice became the capital of the autonomous Silesian province, the inhabitants of which chose Germany during the plebiscite.

Ernest Wilimowski was born in Katowice in 1916, which was then part of the German Empire, and throughout his career, he became an outstanding footballer and sports star. This text forms a follow-up of a series of articles relating to the activities of individuals associated with physical culture of the interwar period and initiatives promoting physical culture in the reviving Republic of Poland.

The interwar period brought Poland over a dozen Olympic medals. New sports authorities were established, and a modern press and radio were founded. There were also extraordinary personalities that formed the Polish tradition of physical culture. The biggest sports stars were then athletes (among others: Halina Konopacka, Janusz Kusociński, Stanisława Walasiewicz) and Jadwiga Jędrzejowska, a tennis player. Ernest Wilimowski's football career developed in an unusual way in the 1930s. Unfortunately, great politics and war dramatically interfered in the course of his career in September 1939.

The objective of the study reported in this article includes the presentation of Ernest Wilimowski's extraordinary sports career, with particular emphasis on the interwar period, when he was the biggest star of the Polish national football team. Analysis of the press corpus was applied as the basic research technique. The research concerned with this area includes, first of all, the studies by Joachim Waloszek, Paweł Czado, Andrzej Górzewski, (also the team comprising authors and collaborators of the GiA publishing house, where a commemorative book entitled *90 lat. Śląski Związek Piłki Nożnej Katowice* [Eng. 90 years. The Silesian Football Association in Katowice], was published), Thomas Urban (*Schwarze Adler, weiße Adler. Deutsche und polnische Fußballer im Räderwerk der Politik*) and Diethelm Blecking. In 1996, Wilimowski's biography was made public by his son-in-law – Karl Heinz Harke and

Georg Kachel – entitled *Fußball – Sport ohne Grenzen. Die Lebensgeschichte des Fußball-Altnationalspielers Ernst Willimowski*.

The Ruch Wielkie Hajduki club

Wilimowski was born on June 23, 1916 as Ernst Otto Pradella. He was raised by his mother in the German culture. German was his first language that he spoke at home, but at school and on the playground, he spoke Polish. At the age of 13, he was adopted and took his stepfather's surname (Snoch 2006, p. 126; Waloszek, Czado 2012, p. 23).

The origin of his sports career should be sought at the local pitch. Like most children in this area, he started by kicking a rag football on a children's team from Francuska, a street in Katowice. However, at the age of nine, he began his trainings at *1. FC Katowice*. It was one of the most successful football clubs in the Upper Silesia region. It was founded in 1905 as *FC Preussen Kattowitz* (later *1. FC Kattowitz*). In 1907, 1908, 1909 and 1913, it won the championship of Upper Silesia. This entitled its members to play in the competition for the championship of south-eastern Germany. When the Polish championship in football was initiated with a competition held in a league system, the team from Katowice was at the forefront. The team that was identified by members of the German minority in Poland lost the championship title in 1927 after a controversial match with *Wisła Kraków*, which ended in fights among the fans and stadium riots (Jasnorzewski 2006, p. 12; Urban 2012, pp. 22-29, 46).

In the line of attack comprising five players, Wilimowski played as the left wide midfielder, i.e. a player whose role was concerned with interaction between the middle striker and the left wing. He scored important goals and at the age of 17, he was voted as the best player of his team. In the autumn of 1933, activists of the *Wielkie Hajduki* club (later *Ruch Chorzów*), became interested in him. His transfer to *Ruch*, which was the Polish champion, was therefore associated with his personal promotion as a footballer. Political arguments also supported the transfer. The players of *1. FC Katowice* felt abused by the decisions of the referees and Polish sports authorities. Jerzy Herisz, who also played in Katowice and later moved to *Polonia Warszawa*, advised Wilimowski to carry on his career in a Polish club (Waloszek 1998a, p. 22).

Ruch was represented by a club of Polish patriots, Silesian insurgents. It was established in 1920 as part of the plebiscite campaign to establish Polish clubs in Upper Silesia. As many as 160 Polish clubs associating over 30,000 players were established as part of this process. The name *Ruch* was selected to symbolise the national liberation movement of the Polish citizens in Upper Silesia. The club won the Polish championship five times in the 1930s (Stecki 1982, pp. 212-212).

The authorities of *Ruch* paid *1. FC Katowice* the amount of 1,000 PLN for the transfer of the new player,

Ernest Wilimowski. At that time, this was the equivalent of 200 USD or ten salaries of a postman. *Ruch* was obliged to play two matches with the club based in Katowice (Czado 2003, p. 16). Wilimowski got a job as a courier at the heavy plate department of Batory steelworks in Chorzów. His unemployed stepfather was offered the job of a porter. At that time, despite the end of the era of the Great economic crisis, it was not easy to find a job (Waloszek 1998, p. 22). The circumstances marked by crisis and the socio-economic outcomes related with it also affected the sports movement, which also suffered from the effects of unemployment and a general lack of stability. As a result, professional competition also emerged in Upper Silesian sport (Steuer 2008, pp. 149-152).

Wilimowski made his debut in *Ruch* on January 2, 1934, and participated in the league matches in April of that year. He immediately became a revelation of the games. He scored his first goal on April 29 in a 4:1 win in the match versus *Wisła Kraków*. A crowd comprising 10,000 spectators attended this match. As noted by the reporter of *Przegląd Sportowy* [Eng. Sports Review], Wilimowski was closely covered during this match, which is why he carried out only a few individual attacks (PS 1934a, p. 2). In his third match, against the *Podgórze Kraków* team, he scored 5 goals. One of the goals was scored after he passed five opponent players. The *Ruch* team won this match 13:0, and already at the beginning of the season did he become the journalists' favourite for the championship title (PS 1934b, p. 2).

During the first season of his career in the *Ruch* club, Wilimowski scored 33 goals and became the top scorer in the league. Together with Gerard Wodarz and Teodor Peterek, he created the so-called "Three Kings Attack", which amused fans. Wilimowski's style made him a spectators' favourite, as he was admired for his technical skills and speed as well as the great delight derived from the football game (Krzoska 2006, p. 86).

Only after one season in the first league, was he elected the fourth athlete in Poland in the plebiscite held by *Przegląd Sportowy*. Only the following athletes were better: Stanisława Walasiewiczówna, Jadwiga Wąjsówna and Janusz Kusociński. The newspaper noted that "Wilimowski's name was repeated on almost all elector's cards, which best demonstrates that this *Ruch's* talented and young striker has long become the anticipated personification of those football values that encourage the masses" (PS 1935, p. 6).

In 1936, he was again at the top of the league, this time with a colleague from the team, Teodor Peterek. He also scored the most goals in the unfinished 1939 season. In *Ruch*, Wilimowski played 86 league matches, in which he scored 112 goals. Throughout his career in *Ruch*, this club won the Polish championship title four times. In one of the matches, he entered the list of scorers ten times. On May 21, 1939, in a match won by *Ruch* against *Union Touring Łódź* 12:1, he set a record of goals in the competition. During this match, Wilimowski skillfully exploited the mistakes of the opponent's defense line, performing spectacular

rallies with the ball from the middle of the pitch (PS 1939, p. 2).

Ruch Wielkie Hajduki, which turned out to be the top team on domestic fields, also competed with international clubs. At a time when European cups did not exist, Polish clubs contracted matches with teams from Czechoslovakia, Germany and even England. In 1934, *Ruch* competed with *09 Beuthen* twice, which was the champion of Southeastern Germany. In spring, the match ended in a 7:0 win for the Polish champion. The October rematch held in Bytom also ended with the success of the Polish team. The team was supported by numerous compatriots who came to this match from the Opolskie Province and won 5:3 (RDT 1934a, p. 10). On December 30, 1934, *Ruch* recorded a historic success by defeating FC Bayern. At the Munich stadium on Grünwalder Straße, the score was 0:1, and the hero of the match was the goalkeeper Eryk Tatuś, who saved a penalty kick (Gliner 1935a, p. 5). Three days later, on a muddy clay pitch, after three goals by Wilimowski and two by Wodarz, *Ruch* defeated *VFB Stuttgart* 5:4 (Gliner 1935b, p. 2). After the return to their home town, crowds of supporters waited at the train station. *Ruch*, along with *Cracovia*, became the most popular clubs in Poland (Czado 2004, p. 20).

The Polish national team

The head of the association, i.e. the Polish national team's coach – Józef Kaluża, appointed Wilimowski to the national team after only five league matches. The young player from *Ruch* had already scored 7 goals and enjoyed an enthusiastic attitude of the press. Wilimowski's debut on the Polish national team took place on May 21, 1934 in Copenhagen, in a match that finished in a 4:2 loss to Denmark. At the time, Wilimowski was 17 years, 10 months and 28 days old. Thus, he became the youngest international debutant on the Polish national team. Interestingly, the youngest player was on the team for the next four years. The consent to let the underage player go to Scandinavia had to be signed by an official of the Batory steelworks in Chorzów (Gowarzewski 1991, pp. 103-104).

After the match against Denmark, the editor-in-chief of *Przegląd Sportowy*, Marian Strzelecki, included a positive review of Wilimowski's performance in his magazine. He considered the young footballer, alongside Gerard Wodarz, as one of the major figures of the match. According to the editor, these two offensive players won in faceoffs and worked out the vast majority of attacks and shots on the opponent's goal (Strzelecki 1934a, p. 2). On the other hand, it was noticed in the weekly *Raz, Dwa, Trzy* [Eng. One, Two, Three] that Wilimowski was able to integrate well with the team's game, and performed too slowly close to the opponent's goal; therefore, he did not manage to score in many of the accessible situations (RDT 1934b, p. 3).

He scored his first goal for Poland two days later in Stockholm. After spectacular dribbling, his goal gave

Poland's team a 2:2 draw, but Józef Kaluża's players lost again 4:2 (Strzelecki 1934b, p. 1).

In 1934, he starred in three matches played by the national team, i.e. in a lost match against Yugoslavia and Germany and a draw against Romania. He scored a total of two goals in them.

Since Wilimowski was excessively exploited and fouled permanently, he dropped out of the team in autumn 1934 as a result of injuries. For various reasons, he did not play on it for two years. In 1935, supporters followed news reports about his health, renewing injuries, hospital stays and operations.

The Berlin Olympic Games were held in 1936. As a result of his suspension, Wilimowski did not participate in the football tournament. *Ruch* players were suspended several days before the inauguration of the summer Games. The extremely harsh decision of the football authorities was the consequence of a scandal that broke out after *Ruch's* friendly match against *Cracovia*, which was then listed in the A class at the time, who unexpectedly beat the Polish champion 9:0. The day before this match, *Ruch* won a league match against *Wisła*, and the lucky players decided to celebrate their victory at the Silesia restaurant in Katowice. The loud conversations in the restaurant included topics such as the money that the club paid to players for wins in two matches. The players were to receive 50 PLN each. The topic was picked up by the media, and the union set up a special League commission, which questioned the players, examining whether the principles of amateurism were not broken (PS 1936a, p. 5). Ultimately, the Polish Football Association decided that the Wilimowski's behaviour violated the Olympic principles because he provided false testimony to the commission. PZPN decided to remove Wilimowski's name from the list of the Polish representation in the Olympics and to inform the Polish Olympic Committee. In connection with this event, the player was forced to leave the training (PS 1936b, p. 4).

During the Olympic tournament, the Polish players defeated the amateur national teams of Hungary, Great Britain and Austria, and lost 2:3 in the match for the bronze medal against Norway. Inter-war Polish football did not have a strong position in Europe. In the World Cup qualifications for championships in Italy in 1934, the Poles were beaten by Czechoslovakia, who later became the world vice-champions. Yugoslavia was the Pole's opponent in the qualifications for the World Cup in France in 1938. On October 10, 1937, Poles won 4:0 in Warsaw (in the match one of the goals was scored by Wilimowski), which with a minimal defeat in the rematch, ensured the promotion of the Polish representation to the tournament taking place in the knock-out system.

On June 5, 1938, at the Strasbourg stadium, Poles faced Brazil in a match that went down in football history and made Wilimowski a world-class star.

Before this match, the Polish press, citing the opinions of French experts, gave the players of the Kaluża team better chances of winning. On the one hand, the

advantage of Brazilians was emphasized, as it was demonstrated by their better physical conditions and better performance in ball handling, and on the other, voices appearing on the pages of the largest French sports newspaper *L'Auto* (currently *L'Equipe*), indicated that Poland should have been the actual likely winner in this match (IKC 1938a, p. 11). Similar opinions were found in the Italian and Swiss press, which Polish sports journalists considered an objective and deserved recognition of the work undertaken by Kaluża's staff (PS 1938, p. 1).

The Brazilians were led by Leonidas da Silva, the then top scorer of the tournament, and controlled the beginning of the match. As a result, they scored three goals in the first half against one goal gained by the Poles. The latter seemed intimidated by the opponents' skills and played chaotically. After the break, the Polish team played much better in defense and attack, which made them the fans' favourite. The Poles clearly liked the change in weather conditions. In the falling rain, which turned into a downpour, Wilimowski scored three goals. This led to the 3:3 draw followed by the result 4:4 in the course of the match. The fourth goal by Wilimowski, which was already scored in the extra time, decreased the defeat of the Poles in the match to 5:6 (IKS 1938, p. 2). Poland dropped out of the tournament, but Wilimowski's unprecedented performance at this level formed one of the leading topics on the sports pages of Polish newspapers for several days. The papers proudly cited the reviews in the French daily *L'Auto*, which described Wilimowski as the leading figure in the match and the soul of all attacks by the Polish national team. He was delighted with his dribbling and ability to handle the ball. His successful fight with Brazilian defender Domingos was highlighted (IKC 1938b, p. 13).

On the pages of *Przegląd Sportowy*, Brazil's victory was considered as totally deserved. However, the report contained a note that if the Polish team played less nervously in the first half and demonstrated more tactical skills, this match could take on a different course (N.S. 1938, p. 2).

Wilimowski appeared on the Polish national team 22 times, and scored 21 goals. He closed this impressive balance in one of the best matches in his career. In the match against Hungary, which was then the world vice-champion on August 27, 1938, Wilimowski scored three goals in the last match of the Second Polish Republic, and the Poles won in Warsaw 4:2. This match was symbolic, because in the first confrontation after regaining independence in 1921, the Polish footballers also played with Hungary, and lost 0:1 in Budapest.

On a hot, Sunday afternoon, Warsaw was crowded with vacationers who had just returned from holidays. In the seating section of the Polish Army Stadium, reservists with hanging gas mask bags, gathered in the stadium next to numerous fans. The audience greeted them with a vigorous applause. Hungarians also enjoyed a friendly reception of the crowds. Before the match, their uncompromising and solidarity attitude was emphasised, which forced them, in these uncertain times, to come to Warsaw and play a football match.

The press considered Wilimowski as the main motor of the offensive actions of the Polish national team. Once again, the reports stressed the face-offs that he won, his work for the team and accurate passes. His last two goals were particularly effective, as they were preceded by impressive dribbles. After the match, the enthusiastic audience burst onto the pitch. Some supporters lifted the players onto their shoulders, both the Polish and Hungarians, and took them off the pitch (A. Sz. 1939, pp. 2-3). When the crowd left the stadium and flooded the streets of Warsaw, the applause was endless. This time, however, spectators cheered the soldiers passing on car platforms (K.G. 1939, p. 2). Five days later, German troops invaded Poland, leading to the largest armed conflict in world history.

The wartime period

World War II changed the lives of millions of people, and this also applied to athletes and footballers. Some players fought at the warfront, others played on underground teams, some of them were killed. From among the players playing for *Ruch*, the majority were conscripted into Wehrmacht. In 1939, Gerard Wodarz was in the Polish army and participated in the September campaign. In the years 1942-44, he served in Wehrmacht. He was captured by the Allied forces, from which he then joined the ranks of the Polish Army in Great Britain. Teodor Peterek, who was incorporated into Wehrmacht in 1942, during his stay in France, also surrendered to the Allied forces, and then joined the Polish Armed Forces (Jatkowska 2017, p. 300).

Alike most Silesian players, Wilimowski signed the *volkslist* and continued to play football, but this time, in German clubs. Until February 1940, he performed in the 1st FC *Kattowitz* reactivated by the Germans. Then, in order not to serve in the Wehrmacht, he moved to the police club *Polizei SV 1920 Chemnitz*, which competed in the League of Saxony. In 1942, he had already played in *TSV 1860 Munich*. He won the German Cup with this club and became the best scorer of these games (Czado 2013, pp. 12-13). In Germany, he was in life form. He scored goals and made history as the top scorer of Saxony in 1941 and Bavaria in 1942 (Rostropowicz 2006, p. 101).

The Germany national team's coach – Sepp Herberger, who admired Wilimowski's style during the match against Brazil at the 1938 World Cup, invited him to the training camp with his team. Wilimowski's debut in German colours was extremely successful. On June 1, 1941 in Bucharest, Germany defeated Romania 4:1, and Wilimowski scored two goals and permanently entered the team managed by Herberger, taking the place of Helmut Schön (Urban 2012, pp. 43-44, 59-60).

He appeared on the Third Reich team eight times and scored 13 goals. He performed best in a match against Switzerland. On October 18, 1942, at the Bern stadium, Wilimowski defeated one of the best defensive

lines in the world. He scored 4 goals and the Germans defeated the hosts 5:3 (Blecking, Huhn 2016). After the defeat in the battle of Stalingrad, the Third Reich suspended playing matches for the national team.

Discussion

In connection with the fact that Wilimowski played for the German team representation during World War II, the authorities in Poland made attempts to erase his name from football history. Post-war communist propaganda considered him a traitor who passed over to the occupier. His name was not included in publications concerned with national football history.

During the political transformation period following 1989, Wilimowski's name and his amazing sports accomplishments were recalled by sports journalists: Andrzej Gowarzewski and Joachim Waloszek from Katowice. In the works which described the complexity of his career in cruel times, it was stressed that this player was only interested in playing football. Subsequent attempts to rehabilitate the player presented him as an innocent victim of politics. The press materials disseminated in the Upper Silesia region clarified that Wilimowski was not interested in national issues, because he was neither a politician nor a soldier, but a footballer from whom a heroic attitude could not be expected.

Unexpectedly, the dispute over Wilimowski's career was again revived in 2012. On the occasion of the European Football Championship, an exhibition titled *White eagles, black eagles. Polish and German footballers in the shadow of politics* was organised at the German embassy in Warsaw. At that time, questions were asked about the player's choices and their moral consequences in the face of a totalitarian system. The discussion also included issues whether these historians should consider these events a trivial fact, as some researchers do, or whether they should be viewed as proof of disloyalty to Poland. Not accusing Wilimowski of involvement in the apparatus of violence of the Third Reich, it was reminded that his image was used by the Nazi propaganda. It was also suggested that the representatives of the Polish national team were not nameless citizens, and their attitude could be perceived by fans as an act of betrayal (Semka 2012, pp. 6-7).

We can note here, that not all great footballers from the countries occupied by the Third Reich agreed to play in the representation of this state. Oscar Heisserer, a representative of France and the best player of Alsace, refused this option to play for Herberger, and helped Jews escape from the occupied country during the war. He told the German coach – "I cannot be a French representative and a German representative. It's impossible, right?" (Kuper 2013, pp. 176-177).

The analysis of the press corpus has offered the author the possibility to make another point regarding the career of Ernest Wilimowski. The famous football player was an opportunity-seeker who pursued his sports career

with calculation. He changed clubs and national teams guided solely by personal, immediate benefits. We can also emphasise that he quickly adapted to the changing circumstances of the restless and cruel times of the inter-war period and the Second World War.

Concluding remarks

After the war, Wilimowski played in German clubs until 1959. He died on August 30, 1997 in Karlsruhe.

According to *Sport-Brockhaus*, a German encyclopaedia, his long career involved a total of 1,175 scored goals. In contrast, according to the Soccer Statistics Foundation, he scored 554 goals in official matches, and held the record of 10 goals on two occasions (Waloszek 1998b, p. 5).

His sports skills and lifestyle predisposed him to be a star. Wilimowski, who loved women and banquets, quickly started to live the life of a king. When discussing his sports career, it can also be noted that he was a type of modern footballer. The scandal, which blocked his way to the Berlin Games, clearly demonstrated that Wilimowski did not fit into the idea of amateurism. For him, most important were the benefits that he derived from playing football. He did not want to go to work nor did he want to join the army.

The decisions taken resulted in Wilimowski's opportunistic attitude. In 1934 he was transferred from a German minority club that was experiencing temporary problems to a team of Polish patriots. His career after this decision definitely accelerated. In 1939, he conducted negotiations with Junak Drohobycz. The debutant team in the national league of the 1940 season was planning a massive transfer in the offensive line due to the financial support of the local oil industry (Czado 2004, p. 20). These bold ideas were interrupted by World War II. In the first days after its outbreak, Wilimowski hid carefully. He did not want to wear a Polish uniform and go to the front (Urban 2012, p. 56). He also avoided the German army, leaving Katowice for the second time and moving to a police team from Saxony. Despite the fact that he was a Polish representative, he responded positively to the call of coach Herberger, putting the shirt of the Third Reich national team on during the war.

After the war, Herberger forgot about Wilimowski. He did not call him to his new team, which unexpectedly reached the world championship in 1954.

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Is the comparison of sport to religion justified?

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Summary

The aim of this paper is to point out certain reasons for which some scholars perceive modern sport as a phenomenon that is significantly similar to or (in stronger variants) identical to religion. Referring to the distinction between substantive and functional definitions of religion, I would like to show that this approach is based on the latter and, as such, is burdened with some serious flaws. In criticizing functional definitions of religion I argue for a standpoint that comprises elements of the substantive as well as the functional perspective. In order to illustrate the heuristic merit of this approach, I refer to the analysis which has been put forward by a French anthropologist, Christian Bromberger. Drawing on the conclusions of his studies, I attempt to show that the substantive-functional perspective (a) enables a more detailed description of both sport and religion, which, apart from the similarities, brings out significant differences between them, and (b) helps to understand some features of modern Western societies.

Keywords: Harry Edwards, Charles Prebish, Christian Bromberger, religion, sport, modernity

Introduction

Sport is compared to religion in both academic discourse and broader public spheres. In newspapers, interviews, television programs and sports comments, people often come across the following slogans: “sport is the new religion”, “football is not a sport but a religion”, “football is a modern religion”, etc. One of the historical sources of this perception of sport through the prism of religion can be found in the work of Pierre de Coubertin, who often pointed to the religious dimension of Olympism and sport. For example, in *Address from Olympia to the Youth of the World* from 1927, Coubertin urges future Olympians to become “new adepts of the religion of sports” and expresses the hope that Olympism will be a “school of moral nobility and purity as well as of physical endurance and energy” (2014, p. 87).

However, Coubertin’s concept of the religion of sport is far from unambiguous. In an article entitled *The religio athletae, Olympism and peace*, Jim Parry (2007, pp. 206, 210) warns against identifying the meaning of this concept with what we understand by traditional religion. In his opinion, Coubertin’s religion of sport cannot be seen as an alternative to traditional faith. Although some statements by this French baron may suggest that sport is a modern religion, in others he strongly distances himself from identifying sport or Olympism with religion¹.

Should we therefore agree to a completely secular interpretation of the concept of the religion of sport? This view – as Parry argues – is also not correct. In his opinion, Coubertin, using the term religion of sport, pointed to the importance of “religious sentiment” for Olympism. In this approach, religiousness therefore means the symbolic, ritual, emotional and moral dimension of sport related to the values of equality, peace and pursuit of perfection (Parry, 2007, p. 210). It should be emphasized that according to Coubertin sport is not a religion in the traditional sense of the word; however, some of its features enable it to be perceived as phenomenon of a “spiritual” (Parry, 2007)¹ or “quasi-religious” (Zowislo, 2001, p. 110) nature.

Sport as a quasi-religion

More systematic analyses which discuss the similarities between sport and religion appeared in the second half of the 20th century; of particular interest are the considerations of the American sociologist Harry Edwards that are presented in his book *Sociology of Sport* (1973). Edwards begins his analysis by highlighting the soaring popularity of sport in the United States in the second half of the 20th century. He observes that sport has become more popular than politics, and there is a sim-

¹ This is noticeable when Coubertin emphasizes that the term *religiosus* is used by him in a way not fully analogous to its conventional usage (see Coubertin, 1966, p. 17).

² Parry (2007) interprets Coubertin’s idea of Olympism as a “spiritual movement”, which promotes “moral commitment and communal seriousness of purpose in the significant effort to achieve human excellence” (p. 210). In a very similar way Coubertin’s notion of *religio athletae* is interpreted by Jirásek (2005, pp. 290-299).

ilar level of interest in major sporting events and presidential elections. Given the very high level of religiosity in the United States, Edwards (1973) states that “For the American fan [...] sport [...] has achieved a stature not wholly unlike that enjoyed by traditional religions” (p. 260).

So which features do sport and religion share? Before discussing the answer given by Edwards to this question, I would like to make one point about religion. A number of scholars indicate that religious phenomena should be considered on several levels, therefore it is argued that religion is usually characterized by certain aspects or dimensions. The following aspects can be distinguished: (a) the doctrinal aspect – the doctrine which is the subject of religious faith; (b) the organizational aspect – religion as an organization that unites the faithful; (c) the practical-symbolic aspect – religious practice, places of worship, religious symbols that manifest religious affiliation; (d) the existential aspect – religious experience, religion as a source of meaning in the life of an individual; (f) religious authorities – priests, prophets, saints, exegetes, hierarchs. Edwards approaches the phenomenon of sport in a similar way and distinguishes those features which are attributed to religion. Sport, like religion, has doctrinal, organizational, practical-symbolic and existential aspects, and others related to authority³.

Thus sport, as Edwards (1973, p. 261) notices, has its “gods”⁴ – charismatic, very talented athletes who are adored by people around the world. In the world of sport, we also find “believers” – fans who support their team or favorite athlete. The degree of involvement in the affairs of one’s favorite club can be very high and lead, as in the case of religion, to fanaticism. Edwards emphasizes the meaning-giving nature of this feature of sport – being a fan or an athlete gives life deeper purpose and direction⁵.

Another feature that is common for sport and religion is that both of these phenomena have, as Edwards (1973) puts it, “ruling patriarchs” (p. 261). These are the people who occupy high positions in the hierarchy of sports institutions; they usually enjoy great authority, prestige, power and influence. The existence of patriarchs is closely related to the existence of the institutions over which they preside. The objective of such organizations is – as Edwards (1973) says – “to make and interpret the rules of sports involvement” (p. 261).

Just as religion has temples where believers gather, so does sport. In this case, the places of worship are stadiums, halls and other sports facilities where followers meet to support their favorite team or athlete. Sport also has its own “shrines” (e.g. national halls of fame), which are places that are considered to be particularly “sacred”

and therefore become the destination of numerous “pilgrimages” (Edwards, 1973, p. 262).

As for the symbolic dimension of sport, Edwards first points to material objects such as medals, trophies and team emblems, which in the eyes of people associated with the world of sport have extremely high intangible value. Secondly, he draws attention to the ritual dimension of sport that makes human life meaningful. As Edwards (1973) puts it, “Sport involves »feeling«, ritual and the celebration of human achievement. It provides fans with a set of organized principles which give meaning to their secular strivings and sufferings” (p. 262).

Finally, in the case of sport one can also talk about the doctrinal aspect in the form of “dogmas”. In my opinion, this is one of the most interesting threads of Edwards’s considerations, so I will discuss it in more detail. Edwards claims that sport, like religion, has dogmas, i.e. statements that are believed to be true under a certain authority and the legitimacy of which is therefore also rarely questioned. These dogmas point to some features of sport thanks to which it is surrounded by reverential respect. According to Edwards (1973), the functioning of sport in society, its acceptance, and the legitimacy of practices related to it are based on a “body of formally stated beliefs, accepted on faith by great masses of people” (p. 261).

Analyzing various sources regarding the social perception of sport, including scientific journals, press materials, articles, interviews, biographies of athletes, legal documents, etc., Edwards extracts a set of beliefs which he describes as “the dominant American sport creeds” (1973, p. 71). He gives the following examples of social imaginaries concerning sport: “Sports participation develops »good character«, “Sports participation generates a value on social and/or self-control”, “Sports participation prepares athletes for life” (Edwards, 1973, pp. 317–332). The striking feature of these beliefs is their ideological nature. Unlike scientific inquiry, their goal is not to provide an impartial and objective description of a given phenomenon; it is to evoke a specific type of response and strengthen certain attitudes towards sport (Edwards, 1973, p. 72-73). These beliefs offer an emotionally marked vision of sport and thus aim to consolidate a stance which affirms the institution of sport.

The ideological nature of “sport creeds” means that the beliefs which form them are to a great extent “selective”. Thus, proponents of these beliefs focus only on certain facts and examples which confirm them, while ignoring or diminishing those which are contradictory. Edwards (1973) claims that the acceptance of “sport creeds” is not a derivative of the analysis of various facts or arguments but is instead based on “faith” (p. 80). We

³ An analogous approach is present in Zbigniew Pasek’s (2012, p. 106) considerations. Referring to Ninian Smart, a religious studies scholar, he distinguishes seven dimensions of religion (doctrinal, mythological, ethical, ritual, experiential, institutional, material), and then analyzes football in this respect on the example of the Cracovia club in Krakow.

⁴ I limit myself to mentioning only some of the features discussed by Edwards. The order in which I cite them has also been changed.

⁵ On the analysis of the social and psychological aspects of the phenomenon of fandom, see D.L. Wann, M.J. Melznick, G.W. Russell, D.G. Pease (2001).

can say that this is a kind of “wishful thinking” by which we recognize something as the truth because we want it to be true. In order to justify their view, proponents of the belief that “sport prepares for life” will cite examples of athletes who have achieved success in some other areas of human activity after the end of their sporting career. At the same time, they will ignore or undermine the importance of opposing examples – the numerous cases of former athletes who are addicted to alcohol or drugs, have problems with the law, or are socially dysfunctional.

One of the most important issues discussed by Edwards concerns the question of the persuasive power of “sport dogmas”, whose evocative nature has two sources in his opinion: firstly, these statements are very general in their form; secondly and most importantly, the persuasive power of sport dogmas results from the fact that they relate substantially to the tradition and heritage of the culture in which they operate, otherwise they would appear to be incomprehensible and would thus have no chance of gaining broad acceptance. By referring to the values and cultural resources of American society, these “dogmas” not only legitimize sport as a social institution but also confirm the validity and significance of the ideals that constitute the identity of American culture (Edwards, 1973, pp. 333-347).

The belief in the superior value of hard work, discipline, renunciation, dedication, and the conviction that success is a merit is one of the pillars of American society. At the root of the American ideology of sport that was studied by Edwards is the conviction (which is fundamental to this society) in the value of individual success achieved through hard work. According to Edwards (1973), this belief and the values associated with it determine the spirit of American sport, which can be described as “achievement orientation” (p. 334)⁶.

Thus, how does Edwards view sport in relation to religion? In this regard, he gives two answers which appear to be conflicting at first glance. On one hand, he writes that “If there is a universal popular religion in America it is to be found within the institution of sport” (Edwards, 1973, p. 90). On the other hand, he defines sport as a “quasi-religious institution”, which – as it should be emphasized – “does not [...] constitute an alternative to or substitute for formal sacred religious involvement” (Edwards, 1973, p. 90). When Edwards refers to sport as a universal American religion, he does not mean traditional religion. As I understand, he indicates that the huge interest in sport and the fact that it is rooted in collective values mean that it can be seen as a form of “civil religion”⁷. From this perspective the religion of sport and traditional religion are not mutually

exclusive as these two types of commitment can overlap and form a generally complementary arrangement (Edwards, 1973, p. 90).

Sport as a religion

In an article entitled “*Heavenly Father, Divine Goalie*”: *Sport and Religion*, Charles Prebish (1984, pp. 306–318) cites with appreciation the similarities described by Edwards between sport and religion. At the same time, he criticizes Edwards for inconsistency as he did not articulate the obvious fact that comparing sport to religion reveals not so much the convergence or analogy of these phenomena but their identity. As he writes:

For me, it is not just a parallel that is emerging between sport and religion, but rather a *complete identity*. Sport is religion for growing numbers of Americans, and this is no product of simply facile reasoning or wishful thinking. Further, for many, sport religion has become a more appropriate expression of personal religiosity than Christianity, Judaism, or any of the traditional religions. (Prebish, 1984, p. 312)

While for Edwards sport as a form of universal American religion is not an alternative to traditional religions, for Prebish the opposite is true. By placing “sport religion” on the same footing as traditional religion, he argues that one cannot profess both at the same time. So, why do many people who are genuinely involved in sport describe themselves as Catholics, Protestants, Muslims etc.? According to Prebish (1984, p. 318) this is not because they are truly concerned with religious tradition, i.e. Protestantism, but rather because of the pressure they feel due to non-religious and socio-cultural factors.

What are the reasons behind Prebish’s standpoint? He observes that religious and sporting rituals have the same effect on their participants: they can “resacralize” the everyday humdrum and thus provide meaning to their lives. This is because rituals, whether religious or related to sports, lead to transcending the boundaries of one’s own self, and this in turn opens us up to “the possibility of experiencing a different, non-ordinary reality” (Prebish, 1984, p. 314). The question that arises within this context is how Prebish understands religion. He adopts the definition of religion according to which it constitutes “a means of ultimate transformation” (Prebish, 1984, p. 316). Sport should therefore be identified with religion because it enables personal reinvention as a result of “experiencing ultimacy”. The important thing

⁶ This kind of attitude is nowadays perceived as the source of various malaises of sport. For a discussion of this issue, see N.J. Watson, J. White (2007, pp. 61-67).

⁷ The concept of civil religion comes from Jean Jacques Rousseau, who discussed it in *The Social Contract* (1762/1968). In the twentieth century, the concept of civil religion was developed by Robert Bellah (1967), who used this category to describe some features of American society. Within this context, religion mainly serves to maintain and legitimize social order. Although Edwards does not use this term, to the institution of sport he ascribes the qualities that define civil religion.

here is that the concept of “the ultimate” does not have – as opposed to traditional religions – a specific meaning but is always determined in relation to a specific person. An example of the “experience of the ultimate” that Prebish (1984) gives is the feeling of “oneness with nature” (p. 317). Prebish does not go into the details of what life transformation means, he merely observes that it is multidimensional and concerns “attitudes, values, frames of reference, interpersonal relationships, and social involvements” (1984, p. 318). Bearing this last element in mind, Prebish emphasizes that sport could not be a religion if the beneficiary of the personal transformation it offers were not the whole of society. Thus, the individual experience that takes place in the context of the religion of sport reciprocally supports the functioning of society (Prebish, 1984, p. 316).

Functional approach to religion

Now I would like to critically assess Edwards’ considerations and Prebish’s standpoint, which was inspired by them. I believe that they are based on a functional approach to religion and thus they are exposed to the criticisms of supporters of the substantive understanding of religion.

The functional approach focuses on “what religion *does*”, namely what functions it performs in relation to individuals and societies (Davie, 2007, pp. 19–21; Dobbelaere, 2004, pp. 49–55; Robertson, 1970, pp. 36–41). When it comes to the human psyche, a typical feature of religion is that it answers fundamental questions about the meaning of life. As for society, an important function of religion is to integrate people and connect them into a collective entity. One of the first representatives of the functional approach to religion was Émile Durkheim, whose proposed definition of religion is as follows: “A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single community called a Church, all those who adhere to them” (Durkheim, 1995, p. 44). Despite the presence of a substantial element (separation of the sacred and the profane), this definition is functional. In Durkheim’s view, as Włodzimierz Pawluczuk (2000) notes, “holiness is reduced to what is social” (p. 288). The privileged nature of the *sacrum* is not determined by its content but by the function it performs. This function consists in the fact that it is integrative; it is a social binder that cements the community. Thanks to religion, society consolidates its foundations (Davie, 2007, p. 30–31).

This approach allows Durkheim to look for functional equivalents of traditional religion in modern societies, i.e. phenomena that replace traditional religious systems in playing an integrative role. National assemblies are an example of new forms of *sacrum* manifestations that replace the “old gods” and take on integrative functions. As Durkheim (1995) rhetorically puts it, “What basic difference is there between Christians celebrating the

principal dates of Christ’s life [...] and a citizens’ meeting commemorating the advent of a new moral charter or some other great event of national life?” (p. 429).

Referring to Edwards’s considerations, I think that his take on sport as a phenomenon of a “religious” or “quasi-religious” nature results from the functional perspective at the root of his arguments. Just as Durkheim’s religion has a mainly integrative function, the same can be said about Edwards’s sport. This is clearly evident in his statement:

by infusing exceptional, but “intrinsically” neutral, physical activity with socially significant values, societies reinforce prevalent sentiment regarding acceptable perspectives and behavior. They thus establish avenues of communicating to the populace those values focusing upon solutions to critical problems, most notably those involving needs for *societal integration* [emphasis, D.B.]. (Edwards, 1973, p. 89)

Grace Davie (2007) notes that according to Durkheim “religion is nothing more than the symbolic expression of social experience” (p. 30–31). Can a similar approach to sport be found in Edwards analysis? I believe so. This can be seen, for example, in his perception of sport as “popular religion”, or when he states that “an attack upon sport is an attack upon the society itself” (Edwards, 1973, p. 90).

Based on the analysis by Edwards, it can be said that society itself and its important values underlie the popularity of sport, the adoration shown for athletes, and the intense emotions that accompany great sporting events. Inasmuch as sport strengthens the sense of communal belonging, it constitutes “civil religion”. Commenting on the concept of sport as a “civil religion”, Radosław Kossakowski (2017) notes that it emphasizes the “bond-forming nature” of sporting events. As he writes, “with the help of games, anthems, national colors and »a collective soul« – members of modern societies glorify a nation, its myths and greatness” (Kossakowski, 2017).

The functional approach is also present in Prebish’s standpoint. I agree with Gregg Twietmeyer (2015) here, who notes that “According to the functionalists, religion is not about content, but rather about commitment(s). That which holds our ultimate allegiance is our religion. It is from this point of view that some scholars have argued that »sport is the modern religion«” (p. 241). What is sacred is therefore determined by our commitment. By treating certain areas of life as the most important or ultimate, we define their nature as religious or sacred. From the point of view of the functional understanding of religion, in addition to sport, nationalism, humanism, capitalism, scientism, etc. may also be regarded as religion.

Prebish’s standpoint should be seen from this perspective. His conception of religion as a way of achieving personal transformation leaves aside the specific content of religious beliefs and is purely functional. Whether a phenomenon is a religion or not is determined by

the function it performs or the result to which it leads rather than by the content of the beliefs of its followers. Sport is a religion because in relation to the human psyche it plays the same role – it gives deeper meaning to human life and allows the ultimate to be experienced. As has been already stated about Prebish's considerations, the notion of the ultimate has no definite meaning and depends on what the individual understands by it. On this view, therefore, some "sports experiences"⁸ as well as values associated with various secular ideologies can be considered religious.

Although Prebish focuses on the existential dimension of religion, in his considerations the social aspect is also noticeable, which is in accordance with Edwards's approach. As Prebish (1984) puts it, "The results of ultimate transformation through sport must be *socially functional* [emphasis D.B.] in a way that is consistent with sport and the ethical imperative that derives from its practice" (p. 316).

Substantive approach to religion and criticism of functionalism

The functional approach to religion is criticized by supporters of the substantive view, who mainly pay attention to "what religion *is*" (Davie, 2007, p. 19). In this case, the content of beliefs or the object of faith are decisive in determining religion. Proponents of the substantive approach try to isolate the constitutive elements of religion which account for its specificity. In their view, what determines the nature of religion and at the same time distinguishes it from other spheres of culture is belief in the existence of supernatural or transcendent beings, i.e. those that transcend the domain of natural phenomena. Max Weber is considered a supporter of the substantive approach to religion. Although he did not provide a definition of religion, in his research – as Davie (2007) notes – Weber drew attention primarily to "the content (or substance) of a particular religion" (p. 29). A very important tradition in this context is the 20th-century phenomenology of religion, whose representatives (Rudolf Otto and Mircea Eliade) sought to grasp the essence of the religious phenomenon. Therefore, these authors advocated an idiogenetic understanding of religion and thus defended its autonomy and irreducibility to other areas of culture.

In contemporary times the substantive approach to religion can be found, for instance, in the work of Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor (2007) and the Scottish sociologist Steve Bruce (2002). Bruce understands religion as "beliefs, actions and institutions predicated on the existence of entities with powers of agency (that is, gods) or impersonal powers or processes possessed of moral purpose [...] which can set the conditions of, or intervene in, human affairs" (2002, p. 2).

The main flaw of functional definitions is their excessive inclusiveness (Davie, 2007, p. 20; Dobbelaere, 2004, p. 50), which undermines their theoretical value. If we consider that providing individuals with a system of morals and societies with an integrative framework is a defining feature of religion, then all social phenomena performing such functions must be considered religious. Thus, if we expect the definitions to order and separate certain spheres of reality or explain the conventional understanding of certain phenomena, then the functional approach to religion turns out to be too broad. Here I agree with Bruce (2011), who notes that functionalism "obscures more than it illuminates" (p. 110). In this regard, as Bruce (2011) writes:

Defining football as a religion discourages a detailed consideration of the differences between sport and religion and achieves by fiat what should be established by empirical demonstration. Broadening the notion of religion to include anything that shares any of its features runs counter to the one of the key purposes of definition, which is to isolate the distinctive features of phenomena. (p. 110)

Roland Robertson (1970, p. 41) and Karl Dobbelaere (2004, p. 50) criticize the functional definition advocates for their inconsistency, which lies in introducing – most frequently implicitly – certain elements of substantive nature into their considerations. Robertson (1970, p. 40) notes that on a general level Robert Bellah advocates the functional definition, which allows him to develop the concept of "civil religion". On the other hand, in the face of more specific issues Bellah is forced to assume the substantive approach to religion.

Finally, relying on an inclusive understanding of religion means that we are unable to acknowledge the individual secularization process of many modern societies, which involves substituting traditional religion with a nonreligious worldview. Although US society is an exception in this respect, many researchers claim that the secularization of Western Europe constitutes a social fact (Davie, 2007, p. 44; Dobbelaere, 2004, p. 140; Norris, Inglehart 2011). If every phenomenon (e.g. sport, humanism, nationalism) that provides an individual with a meaning system is religious by definition, then one cannot really talk about secularization of Western societies (Robertson, 1970, p. 39).

Apparently, the substantive approach is not free of reservations. The main objection which is formulated against it is that defining religion by means of the supernatural realm is ethnocentric: it only comprises some forms of religion that are characteristic of Western culture and excludes others not related to it. This objection is apt if our aim is to present a definition of religion that is universally valid. However, if we limit research to a specific culture – in our case Western culture – this reservation must be weakened.

⁸ For an in-depth analysis showing differences between sporting experience and religious experience, see H. Machoń (2012, pp. 93–115).

Sport and religion: similarities and differences

The objections against functional definitions which have been presented here are not intended to completely reject functionalism. The substantive approach, as Dobbe-laere (2004, p. 52) notes, does not have to exclude the functional perspective. In this regard I do not agree with Davie (2007), who describes the approach that combines substantive elements with functional ones as an attempt to “square the circle” (p. 20). In trying to identify the specificity of a given phenomenon, one can also analyze its functions. Thus, I agree that sport can be an important element of both individual and collective identity, and it may perform an integrative role; however, this does not mean that it can be considered a religion. General similarities cannot obscure significant differences.

An excellent illustration of the standpoint presented here can be found in the studies by the French anthropologist Christian Bromberger (1995, pp. 293–311). The basis of Bromberger’s analysis is the research on the emotional and ritual dimension of collective attitudes towards football that he and his collaborators conducted in Marseille, Naples and Turin (Bromberger, Hayot, Mariottini, 1995)⁹. Trying to point to the sources of the widespread fascination with sport, Bromberger rejects the revisionist approach, according to which sport is “the opium of the people” (Harris, 1981). In a manner reminiscent of Edwards, he argues that the extremely high interest in sport is due to the fact that it is an expression of “the basic values underlying modern societies” (Bromberger, 1995, p. 296). Bromberger notes that during major sporting events society reveals its “definite image”, which contains elements that merge it as well as contradictions and ambiguities that tear it apart. Sport is therefore a manifestation of liberal-democratic values that are often in tension. On the one hand, they are individualistic values: freedom, hard work, success, competition. On the other, they are collective values: equality, cooperation and solidarity. In addition, football, through the tension between merit and chance that reflects the unpredictability of the result and the phenomenon of rapidly fading fame reveals an important feature of the condition of a modern individual that consists of a sense of uncertainty about its fate (Bromberger, 1995, p. 296).

Noting the analogy of sporting events and religion, Bromberger discusses the issue of their ritual dimension. Referring to Victor Turner’s (1991) considerations, he describes a ritual as “a powerful moment that gives meaning to existence through the necessary intermixing of operative and exegetical aspects pertaining to other dimensions” (Bromberger, 1995, p. 306). Bearing that in mind, Bromberger lists the features of rituals: “break with everyday routine”, “specific spatio-temporal framework”, “carefully programmed schedule of ceremonies recurring in a regular cycle”, “moral obligation to partic-

ipate”, etc. He focuses particularly on Turner’s concept of *communitas*, which points to the essentially collective aspect of ritual. In this approach, one of the main goals of rituals is to renew and consolidate a sense of communal belonging.

In this regard, Bromberger claims that sporting events are similar in many respects to religious rituals. Sports rituals, like religious ones, are based on “repetitive and codified modes of behavior”; they occur regularly in strictly defined places, allow one to forget about everyday life, and they have rich symbolism. In addition to equality (*communitas*), they also reflect a hierarchical arrangement that involves division into specific roles, and they contain elements of sacrifice and dramaturgy (Bromberger, 1995, pp. 306–308). However, the most valuable and inspiring aspect of Bromberger’s analysis is that it is not limited to demonstrating the similarities between sport and religion, but – by describing the differences between these phenomena – it seeks to capture the specificity of the sport ritual. The question is, what are the differences here?

First of all, the fundamental difference between a religious and sporting ritual is that the latter is not significantly based on belief in the existence of a supernatural reality (Bromberger, 1995, pp. 308–309). It can be said that if such a reference appears as part of modern sport, it is of contingent nature and, as such, does not constitute the specificity of a sporting event. Secondly, while religious rituals are characterized by a mood of solemnity, great sporting events are performances in which the “solemn run alongside the ridiculous; the tragic alternates with the comic, drama with parody, commitment with aloofness” (Bromberger, 1995, p. 310). These qualities partly explain why sports performances, unlike religious ceremonies, are greatly exciting. Thirdly, the motivation to participate in sporting events, apart from certain elements related to commitment (loyalty to a given team), is also associated with the need for entertainment and, as such, cannot be equated with a religious imperative to worship a higher being. The fourth difference results from the close relationship emphasized by Turner between the exegesis of the ritual and its meaning and form. In this sense, football is a “ritual with no »exege-sis«”. A sporting ritual is a “bricolage” of various symbolic forms that do not have at their basis a specific and canonical set of beliefs that determines their meaning (Bromberger, 1995, p. 310). Therefore, a sport ritual is hermeneutically indeterminate and is thus susceptible to multiple interpretations. This openness to various readings harmonizes with the pluralism of worldviews that defines modern societies.

Finally, sport rituals – in contrast to traditional rituals – are characterized by their “uniqueness” (its course, despite some fixed reference points, is always different), which also determines the popularity of sport. Henryk Machoń (2012) also draws attention to the connection between the “one-timeness” of sports experiences

⁹ For a summary of the considerations included in the book, see Ch. Bromberger (1995, pp. 293–311).

and their attractiveness. He notes that the uniqueness of sporting events is strictly related to their dramaturgy and “gives the fan the impression of participating in something *special* which will never happen again as it will end within the limits of one sporting match” (Machoń, 2012, p. 99). This uniqueness is closely related to another characteristic of sport, namely the “instability” that is manifested in the changeability of collective moods regarding who is considered an “idol”. This is reflected in popular slogans that try to show the fate of an athlete: “from zero to hero” and “from hero to zero”. According to Bromberger (1995, p. 311), this uniqueness and instability not only point to the specificity of sporting rituals but also reveal a sense of uncertainty which essentially characterizes the modern subject.

Thus, Bromberger would agree that sports rituals, like religion, have a meaning-giving nature. However, he claims that sport, unlike religion, does not provide a narrative about “where we come from and where we are going” (Bromberger, 1995, p. 311). A similar conclusion was reached by Machoń (2012) who argues that one of the main differences between sport and religion concerns “cognitive content” (p. 111). Religion, unlike sport, as Machoń (2012) says, “attempts a holistic interpretation of reality. From the perspective of faith, it shows such truths as the beginning of the universe, the nature of God/deity, the way of (good) life [...], fate after death” (p. 111). In a somewhat similar vein, Danièle Hervieu-Léger (2000) notes that one of the characteristics of sport which manifests itself during large sporting events is preoccupation with what is happening “here and now”. She also adds that this feature of the sporting experience, goes in hand with modern “subjectivization of systems of meaning” (Hervieu-Léger, p. 103). Although sport, unlike religion, cannot offer sufficiently capacious frames that would connect the past with the future, the hermeneutic space created thanks to it is “deep enough” (Bromberger, 1995, p. 311) to show, at least partially, who we are. Such disclosure, however, is not of a purely integrative nature since it often implies intra-social polarization (“we”–“they”) based on social conflicts and divisions.

Final remarks

In this article I have pointed to certain aspects of sport which in the opinion of some researchers make it a phenomenon similar or even identical to religion. The analogy of sport and religion is determined by the fact that they have the same role: they give meaning to human life, they are an important determinant of individual and collective identity, they preserve and reproduce community values, their ritual aspect satisfies the need to transcend daily routine, etc. However, – as I have tried to show – underlying this comparison is the functional understanding of religion, which is burdened with significant difficulties. One of the main disadvantages of the functional perspective is that it is too broad and includes

in the category of religion ideologies or worldviews that are essentially secular. Emphasizing the functional aspect of the phenomena under study neglects their substance and leads to an unjustified equation of sport and religion.

Therefore, are comparative analyses of sport and religion completely unjustified? Maria Zowisło (2016) notes that “Modern sport and its pulse in the form of the Olympic Games are cultural phenomena that are heuristically inspiring for the scholars interested in myths and rituals of secularized modernity” (p. 45). As I have attempted to demonstrate on the example of Bromberger’s analyses, the study of sport through the prism of religion not only can lead to an in-depth understanding of these phenomena but can also shed light on some aspects of modern Western societies. However, I believe that this requires a substantive-functional approach to religion in which the indication of the similarities between sport and religion is complemented by articulation and description of their significant differences.

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Residents' Perception towards Hosting the 2019 Southeast Asian Games: Is the Philippines as a Developing Country Ready for Sport Tourism?

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Summary

Sport tourism has been identified as one of the most important industries of recent years. Research about Philippine sport tourism, however, is scarce. The aim of the present investigation was to assess residents' perception on the impact of hosting an international sports event on their community. A previously validated impact questionnaire was used in this study. The respondents were 262 (Males, $n=47\%$; Females, $n=53\%$) residents of the different cities hosting the 2019 Southeast Asian Games (SEAG) in the Philippines. They were generally well-educated (87%), of prime working age (68%), average earners (76%), physically active (61.3%), and watched sports (51%) using mobile devices (59%). The results revealed that the respondents (81.3%) generally support the present SEAG. The majority agree that the event would signal urban development (77.8%), develop positive socio-psychological benefits (84%) such as civic pride but also bring about negative consequences (57.6%) such as overcrowding and traffic congestion. There is general ambivalence about the positive outcomes outweighing the negative ones. Among the demographic variables, age ($p=0.002$), gender ($p=0.004$), income status ($p=0.027$) and media preference ($p=0.018$) have significant effects on the respondents' support for the event. Although there is general support for hosting the international sports event, the respondents' general perception was marred by domestic issues related to corruption, environmental destruction and displacement of some ethnic groups.

Keywords: sport tourism, residents' perceptions, impact, 2019 Southeast Asian Games, Philippines, developing nations, event hosting

Introduction

At the turn of the twentieth century, sport tourism has been recognised as an important and exciting topic among the academe, and emerging and stimulating development in the tourism industry (Gibson, 1998). This does not mean, however, that the concept was unknown to the centuries that precede ours. Sport tourism in ancient and medieval times assumed the role of religious pilgrimages (Mylik, 2010). In ancient Greek contests, where neighbouring city-states and those even further from Italy and Asia, spectators travelled to host cities to watch renowned sports heroes in action (Poliakoff, 1987). However, the scope and magnitude of current mega-sports events far exceed those that precede them in terms of economic, social, cultural and even political impact. In the U.S., a report published by the National Association of Sports Commissions revealed a growth of 3% in the sport tourism industry in 2014, translating to 25.65 million sports visitors and \$8.96 billion in visitor spending (Schumacher, 2015). On the other hand, in a study commissioned by the Directorate-General of

Education and Culture of the European Commission (2012), it was reported that the share of value added by sport to the overall gross value in 2012 was 1.76% or €173.86 billion.

Unsurprisingly, Asian governments and cities have also started to take advantage of sport tourism in general, and hosting international sports events in particular. Dolles and Söderman (2008) traced the development of mega sporting events in Asia and reported that nations have different motives for bidding the rights to host such events. Aside from economic growth, other motives include showcasing a country's cultural heritage, high technological capacity, improved infrastructure and political stability. Thus far, Japan, South Korea, India and Qatar, countries that have hosted mega-sports events such as the Summer and Winter Olympics, the Asian Games and the FIFA World Cup, have all benefitted in terms of urban development, improved image as a destination of interest and attracted new investments. Recent studies paid closer attention to the impact of these events on host cities in Asia. For instance, Singh and Zhou (2016) found that Beijing benefitted from host-

ing the Summer Olympics in 2008 not only in terms of improved infrastructure including new roads and transport facilities but also, among other benefits, in developing positive attitudes of the residents towards foreigners. The authors identified the support of the local community as a crucial factor in the growth of sport tourism.

A handful of studies investigated the perception or attitude of host city's residents towards the hosting of mega or giga-sports events and their impact. In their study on the 2008 Summer Olympic Games, in the survey by Zhou and Ap (2009), it was revealed that the majority of the people of Beijing supported the event and even had a high tolerance for its supposedly negative impact. Using the theory of social representation, the positive attitude was attributed to the residents' uniform experience and education under an influential government. Hosting of the Games was viewed as a symbol to unequivocally show China's greatness and power. Mega events, as defined by Müller (2015), pertain to "ambulatory occasions of a fixed duration that attract a large number of visitors, have large mediated reach, come with great costs and have huge impact on the built environment and the population" (p. 638). Only a few studies have focused on non-mega or major sports events in developing nations. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to examine how residents of host cities in the Philippines perceive the potential impact of hosting an international sports event on their community.

What is sport tourism?

Leiper (1979) was the first to propose a framework of tourism integrating its multi-faceted nature and defining the term as a "system involving the discretionary travel and temporary stay of persons away from their usual place of residence for one or more nights, except tours made for the primary purpose of earning remuneration from points en route" (p. 404). It became the basis of later definitions both in tourism and sport tourism. The framework consists of geographical, behavioural, industrial and broader environmental elements which include the tourist, the country of origin and destination, and the resources and industries supporting tourism. These elements dynamically interact with the physical, cultural, social, economic, political, and technological environments of both the origin and destination of the tourist.

Sport tourism gradually emerged as an independent concept from the more inclusive concept of event tourism. Essentially, event tourism refers to special events organised to promote tourism either locally, regionally or nationally (Walo, Bull, & Breen, 1996). These events loosely include major fairs, expositions, and cultural as well as sporting exhibitions (Hall, 1989). Getz (2008), on the other hand, described these events in more detail and classified tourism into cultural celebrations (e.g. festivals and religious events), political and state occasions (e.g. summits), arts and entertainment (e.g. concerts), business and trade (e.g. conventions and trade shows),

educational and scientific (e.g. conferences and seminars), sport competition and recreational activities, and private events such as weddings and other social events (See Getz's typology of planned events).

Over the years, several clarifications of the definition of sport tourism have been suggested in the literature. Gibson (2003) proposed three behavioural sets involved in the concept and defined sport tourism as "leisure-based travel that takes individuals temporarily outside of their home communities to participate in physical activities, to watch physical activities, or to venerate attractions associated with physical activities" (p. 207). On the other hand, Getz and McConnell (2011) differentiate sport tourism from serious sport tourism in relation to higher and deeper involvement of the tourist towards participation as well as the formation and reinforcement of social identity. Similarly, Gammon and Robinson distinguish sport tourism from sport tourism and between hard and soft definitions (Robinson & Gammon, 2011). The hard definition of sport tourism refers to participation in competitive events such as the Olympics, Tour de France or National Ice Hockey League. The soft definition constitutes participation in sports in the pursuit of leisure such as joining fun runs or skiing in the Alps. In this paper, sport tourism is defined as a sport activity that brings together stakeholders such as athletes, organisers, governments, residents and other individuals involved, directly or indirectly, in the staging of a sport event.

The 2019 Southeast Asian Games in the Philippines

The Philippines are reportedly sport-loving people, both as participants and as spectators. Basketball is the most watched as well as the most practiced sport in the country. It is not hard to find a makeshift basketball court at almost every corner of a city or a fan of one of the local basketball professional teams or players. In terms of sports event hosting, the country has organised various international sporting events since the beginning of the 20th century. The Philippines first hosted an international sports event in the form of the Asian Games (formerly, Far Eastern Championship Games) in 1913 and did so consistently until 1954. From 1960 to 1979, it hosted single-sport events in, among others, basketball, softball and golf. It came back to hosting another multi-sport event in 1981 which is the Southeast Asian Games (SEAG or Games or SEA Games) and hosted it two more times in 1991 and 2005.

The target sport event in the study is the 2019 SEA Games. The 11 countries participating in the SEAG including the Philippines are Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar (Burma), East Timor and Brunei. Fifty-six sports were approved to be contested for the Games this year. Reportedly to be the first to include e-sports in its roster of events, it is the biggest so far, with the greatest number of sports included in the programme (2019seagames.com). Apart from e-sports, about 10 other new sports

complete the line-up of events including beach handball, surfing, and skateboarding (White 2019). Approximately 8,000 athletes and team officials are expected to arrive in the country for the Games. The event is considered unique for it offers the possibility of holding indigenous or traditional sports as well as new sports. In fact, there are thirteen combat sports included in the Games compared to the regular 5 or 6 in the Olympics. Aside from the regular combat sports such as judo and taekwondo, the Games will also highlight arnis (stick fighting), ju-jitsu, kurash, kickboxing and sambo.

Methodology

Participants

The respondents were 262 residents of the different cities hosting the various sports events in the 2019 SEAG to be held in the Philippines in November. There are 4 key city clusters established and the hosting of the different sports events has been distributed to each of those clusters or hubs according to availability of facilities. The Metro Manila cluster includes the city of Manila, which is the country's capital, and surrounding cities such as Makati, Mandaluyong, Pasay, Pasig and San Juan. The Clark cluster includes the cities of Angeles, Lubao, Mabalacat, San Fernando, Capas and Tarlac City. The Subic cluster comprises the cities of Subic and Olongapo, while the Other Areas cluster includes cities of Calatagan, Imus, Tagaytay, Biñan, Los Baños, Sta. Rosa and La Union (2019seagames.com). Clark and Subic are first class municipalities in the country.

Instrument

A descriptive research design was employed in this study, adopting a previously validated impact questionnaire (Zhou & Ap, 2009). There were 20-impact statements in the original scale covering 4 major factors: urban development, social-psychological, economic development and social life. The survey in this study was divided into 2 sections. The first section was dedicated to obtaining the demographic profile of the respondents and the second section contained a total of 21 impact statements. The additional statement was related to damage of properties due to influx of visitors. Also, 1 item (price level) from the social life area was moved to the economic impact area. Regarding the items about general perception, 1 item about the event being too commercialised was revised into 2 statements related to lack of promotion for the event and the suitability of events held in respective cities. The respondents chose from a 7-point Likert Scale, with 7 being the highest (equivalent to very strongly agree) and 1 being the lowest (equivalent to very strongly disagree). In addition to the scale items, an open-ended question was included at the bottom of the survey to determine impacts that might be distinct to the country under study. The sur-

vey was made available online and dissemination was accomplished using a popular social networking site.

RESULTS

The data was first analysed to give a description in terms of means and standard deviations for all impact statements included in the survey questionnaire. Then, a series of ANOVA tests were employed to test the differences between the residents' support for the Games. The level of significance was set at $p < 0.05$.

Participants' demographics

Analysis of the respondents' demographic profile shows that the number of males (46.9%) and females (53.1%) did not differ significantly and that they were generally highly educated, with most of them (87.1%) having earned a bachelor's degree or higher. Most of the respondents were of prime working age (70.5%), i.e. 25 to 56 years old, and considered themselves average earners (76%). The majority said that they were physically active (64.5%) or take part in sports or physical activity at least once a week. A little more than half of the respondents (51%) watched sports and they did so using mobile devices (59%) such as mobile phones and laptops.

Residents' perception towards hosting of the SEA Games

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics of the respondents' perception towards hosting the Games. The mean for all 27 items was 4.68, on a 7-point Likert scale, showing a great deal of ambivalence among the respondents towards the impact, whether positive or negative, on their city hosting the SEAG. When the four impact factors were measured separately, the Social-psychology factor ($M = 5.78$) and the Urban development factor ($M = 5.53$) show, however, a high agreement among the residents that the Games would bring the Filipino community together, that it would be a source of national pride for them and an opportunity for cultural exchange. Social life has the lowest mean (3.21) and although the standard deviation (SD) is slightly higher than 1, it can be supposed that there is widespread agreement regarding the negative impact of the Games on the people's normal life.

General perception – Although the respondents support (81.3%) the present SEAG, only a little more than half (54.6%) of the respondents agree that the Philippines should host similar sporting events in the future. There is slight disagreement ($SD = 1.67$) among the respondents that the positive outcomes of the Games would outweigh the negative ones. It also seems that the government or event organisers have failed to inform the public early on about the event with the majority of the respondents (80.1%) not aware of the purpose and goals of the sports event. Such a negative percep-

Table 1. Means and standard deviations for perceived impact and general perception

Impact areas	Mean	SD
A. General perception		
1. I support the idea of hosting the 2019 Southeast Asian (SEA) Games by the Philippines in November.	5.71	1.52
2. The Philippines should apply to host other major events like the Olympic Games.	4.63	2.08
3. Overall, the positive impacts of the 2019 SEA Games will outweigh the negative ones.	5.08	1.67
4. The SEA Games lack promotion and education of the public about its goals and benefits.	2.46	1.40
5. Too much politics is involved in the SEA Games.	2.62	1.53
6. The sporting events being hosted by my city are appropriate and suitable for our locality.	4.81	1.58
B. Impact: Economic development		
1. It will increase business opportunities in cities hosting the Games.	5.84	1.39
2. It will increase employment opportunities in host cities.	5.52	1.56
3. It will increase price levels (food, transportation, etc.) in cities involved in the Games.	2.68	1.35
C. Social-psychological		
1. The SEA Games will provide local residents the opportunity to attend international sports events.	5.77	1.49
2. It will help Filipinos understand different people and cultures.	5.56	1.53
3. It will promote the Philippines as a tourism destination.	5.90	1.38
4. It will give the Philippines a chance to show the world what we are capable of doing.	5.88	1.36
5. It will increase the pride of the Filipino people.	5.89	1.44
6. It will bring the Filipino community together.	5.65	1.58
7. It will give the residents of host cities a chance to meet new people.	5.82	1.43
D. Urban development		
1. The SEA Games will enhance the Philippine's international identity by world media exposure.	5.66	1.50
2. It will improve the appearance of the cities hosting the different events.	5.48	1.59
3. It makes the development of new public facilities (e.g. sports complexes), which can be used by the locals, possible.	5.65	1.54
4. It makes the improvement of road conditions possible.	5.32	1.69
E. Social life		
1. There will be overcrowding in the use of local facilities during the Games.	2.35	1.29
2. It will disrupt the city's residents' peace and normal life.	3.17	1.65
3. The level of crime will increase during the Games.	3.87	1.70
4. Inconvenience for local residents due to increased traffic congestion.	2.52	1.56
5. There will be more noise which will annoy the residents of the host cities.	3.45	1.74
6. Damage to properties is expected due to the arrival of tourists.	3.55	1.82
7. It will damage the natural environment.	3.53	1.80

tion was shared by most of the respondents (68.3%) towards the possibility of too great politicising in relation to the SEA Games. The respondents ($M = 4.81$) were also unsure or ignorant regarding the specific events to be held in their community. Overall, only 45.9% of the respondents have a positive general perception of hosting the Games.

Economic development impact – There is lack of agreement among the residents regarding the ability of the Games to bring new or more business ($SD = 1.39$) and job ($SD = 1.56$) opportunities for the local people. However, they largely agree (74.5%) that hosting the event would increase the prices of commodities. Generally, a little more than half of them (57%) are optimistic regarding the economic possibilities of the Games.

Socio-psychological impact – The majority of the respondents (84%) have a positive perception concerning interaction with fellow Filipinos and those from other cultures. Among the socio-psychological factors, it is the tourism-related statement that yielded the highest mean

(5.90) although the pride of hosting ($M = 5.89$) and showcasing the country's ability to hold and manage such a major international event ($M = 5.88$) are not far behind. The chance to witness an international sports event and meet foreigners also appears to be positive in view of the residents, being at 80.6% and 83.9%, respectively.

Urban development impact – The majority of the respondents agree that the Games would improve their city's appearance (80%) and that it meant improved road conditions (71.4%) and development of useful facilities in the future (82.1%). Most of them (81.7%) agree that hosting the Games would bring forward a positive image of the Philippines in the international scene.

Social life impact – Most of the residents were concerned about possible overcrowding (81.2%) that would disrupt the city's peace and order (57.6%). The respondents, however, were not quite in agreement ($SD = 1.70$) whether the Games would increase the crime level in the community or not. Although, they seem to relatively agree that there would be inconveniences caused by

traffic congestion (75.2%) and increased noise (50.4%) in the community. There was no solid agreement among the respondents whether the Games would cause actual damage to the environment.

Differences in perception among residents and demographic variables

ANOVA reveals that among the demographic variables: age, gender, income status and media preference for watching sports, have significant effects on residents' support for the Games. In Table 2, the results of analysis for the remaining variables and support for the event are shown. Specifically, male respondents (5.99 ± 1.41), more than their female counterparts (5.45 ± 1.58), those of prime working age (5.92 ± 1.40) in comparison with other age groups, those who considered themselves as average earners (5.80 ± 1.49) compared to other income status groups, and those who watched sports using mobile devices (5.78 ± 1.51), have all expressed higher support for the Games.

Negative opinions regarding hosting the Games

Analysis of the responses to the open-ended question at the bottom of the survey revealed that almost 18% of the total respondents either reiterated similar items in

the survey or indicated other concerns not covered by the survey's impact areas. Of these, 74% expressed negative opinions regarding their city's hosting the event. In Table 4, a description of the summary of these responses is shown. The top concern (20.4%) among the respondents regarded the politicians who might use the event for their own self-interest and personal gain as well as political instability in the country. Another major concern was the destruction of residents' livelihood, i.e. farm lands, due to building new roads and sports facilities. Some indigenous groups were also displaced to make way in need of new constructions for the Games. Many of the residents felt that the money being used for the Games should instead be used for improving the lives of the Filipino people.

Discussion

The study revealed that the majority (81.3%) support their city's hosting the Games with 45.8% of the total respondents expressing very strong support. However, considering that there is general ambivalence regarding the positive impact of the event outweighing negative ones, it shows how Filipinos are always hoping for the best under uncertain situations and outcomes.

This seemingly carefree attitude is reflected in the common expression "*Babala na*", which is similar to the

Table 2. Analysis of variance for support for the Games†

Demographic variables	df	F	p
Age	256	6.28	0.002
Gender	260	-2.90	0.004
Education	259	0.24	0.785
Profession	259	2.58	0.078
Income	259	3.67	0.027
Active	260	1.76	0.079
Watch sports	259	2.34	0.098
Media preference	259	4.07	0.018

Note: †Southeast Asian Games; ‡ = t-test

Significant at $p < 0.05$ level.

Table 3. Summary of the residents' other concerns regarding the Games

Issues raised	Number (%)
Intervening and corrupt politicians, political instability	9 (20.4)
Destruction of farm lands, ancestral domain and the environment in general	8 (18.2)
Waste of money, prioritising the Games over building of new schools and hospitals as well as alleviating poverty and addressing unemployment	7 (15.9)
Worse traffic condition, waste management	6 (13.6)
Prioritising the Games over developing sport in the country and supporting the Filipino athletes	5 (11.4)
Security issues and anti-terrorism	4 (9.1)
Build stronger ties with Asian neighbours than the West†	2 (4.5)
New jobs to help the economy†	2 (4.5)
Community involvement†	1 (2.2)

Spanish *Que sera, sera* (Whatever will be, will be) and is considered a manifestation of folk spirituality in the country. It reflects a Filipino's optimism and trust, generally towards a Supreme Being or cosmic force, but at the same time, reveals a fatalistic attitude towards adversities and difficulties. This optimism, however, can take on extreme forms and makes them complacent or fails to elicit in them a sense of urgency in dealing with life's concerns, and can even function as a religious escape mechanism (Casino 2005). This explains the seemingly contradictory support towards the Games on one hand, and general distrust towards their politicians on the other. This also shows how it was equally easy for the respondents to agree to supporting the event while condemning its negative consequences.

Despite anticipating corruption among politicians, the respondents still look at the positive benefits of the Games, especially in terms of the inevitable improvement in infrastructure as well as the meaningful values to be derived from cooperating with fellow Filipinos and interaction with foreign visitors. Although not included on Svensson's list (2005) of the 10 most corrupt countries, a developing nation like the Philippines shares characteristics of countries high in corruption. The World Bank classifies the Philippines as a lower-middle income economy, however, more than half of the country's population in 2015 still belongs to low and poor income levels at 37% and 22%, respectively (Albert, Santos, Vizmanos, 2018).

In a case study on Gabon's hosting the 2012 Africa Cup of Nations, Swart, Tichaawa, Othy and Daniels (2018) highlighted the importance of addressing corruption in government organisations to strengthen a country's sport tourism industry. Similar concerns were raised by Elendu (2013) in his review of Nigeria's sport tourism culture. Unless the people trust their public servants, it would be a challenge for the event organisers to find real support and not just lip service from the local community.

Support from the local community is identified as an important factor in the success of any sport tourism event (González-García, Añó-Sanz, Parra-Camacho, & Calbuig-Moreno, 2018; Singh & Zhou, 2016). In a case study conducted by Ntloko and Swart (2008) on a surfing event in Cape Town, they found lack of awareness among game organisers regarding some key issues in the community related to the sport event. Involving the community gives members a sense of ownership towards the event and ensures more active participation. In accordance with the stakeholder theory, there should be a close relationship among the primary stakeholders of an event to ensure survival or success (Clarkson, 1995). On the other hand, community participation in developing nations is also limited by operational, structural and cultural barriers (Tosun, 2000). In the present study, the respondents indicated that there was lack of information about the event. In some informal communication forms, a few of the respondents were even unaware of their city's hosting the event. This might be due to

the time the survey was held, which was five months before the opening of the SEA Games. A cursory glance at Philippine online newspapers shows that the number of articles about the Games doubled between June, when the survey was disseminated, and July. In short, there is a lack of buzz about the event that should have started several months prior to its commencement (Murrillo 2019). Game officials explain that there are several reasons for this silence including the national elections happening in May, focus on training local athletes and late preparation for the event. Indeed, the Philippines accepted the invitation to host the event only in 2017 after the withdrawal in 2015 of the original host Brunei ("Philippines step in", 2015).

Economic growth or impact is the main reason for many sports initiatives including sport tourism-related events (Dolles & Söderman, 2008) even when this is sometimes hardly justified by the amount of spending required for such events to take place (Gratton, Shibli, & Coleman, 2006). It was reported that the Philippine senate approved a 5 billion-peso budget or roughly \$96 million, a big part of which is being spent on building new roads and sports facilities, for the Games. The event is expected to contribute to sustainable development in the country as it matches the "Build, Build, Build" programme of the incumbent government. However, in a study on 10 major events in the UK, Gratton et al. (2006) concluded that substantial economic benefits are possible only when there are no significant infrastructure investments to be made. Referring to mega-sports events, Pop, Kanovici, Ghic and Andrei (2016) argue, on the other hand, that the infrastructures themselves are the main legacies. How these investments play out depends on the country and the sport events that country may consider bidding for in the future. It will take a long time after the last games have been played before the real impact of the 2019 SEA Games to the Philippines can be fully assessed. Also, economic impact is usually measured in terms of new jobs and businesses generated by a sports event. More than half of the respondents are doubtful that the Games would mean new job and business opportunities for the city. Although such feelings are not shared by respondents in other studies in which there is a positive perception of the economic development promised by such sports events or the positive impact overshadowing the negative ones (González-García et al., 2018; Hritz & Ross, 2011; Marumo, Lubbe, & Pelser, 2015; Zhou 2009).

Unfortunately, there is a scarcity of research on the impact of hosting the Southeast Asian Games on cities and countries that have hosted it in the past. One study investigated the leveraging strategies used by local businesses in the 2017 SEA Games in Malaysia, specifically those surrounding the ice-rink venue for the new winter sports events (Thuraiselvam, 2018). The author reported that almost none of the establishments took advantage of the event to market their business. A few other studies focused on successful hosting of the Games as a symbol of triumph amidst political woes for mem-

ber nations such as Myanmar (Creak, 2014) and Laos (Creak, 2011). Surely, more research should be generated addressing the impact of the SEA Games on host countries, considering that most of them are developing economies. Mules and Dwyer (2005) suggest that governments should discriminate events that would surely bring economic benefits. Several studies have identified the power of sport tourism in stimulating economic growth in developing nations (Swart et al., 2018). This was countered by Maharaj (2015) who revealed that the supposed benefits from such enterprises tend to go to a few privileged instead of the general public. He enumerates several negative outcomes of mega-events in India, Brazil and South Africa. Similar social issues such as displacement of residents leading to loss of livelihood emerged in the results of the present study.

Also in developing nations, people are usually more concerned about basic public services such as schools and hospitals. Some of the respondents in this study expressed the view that the Games are just a waste of money and that the funds would be better spent on improving public services and alleviating the plight of the poor. Pranić, Petrić and Setinić (2012) reported similar sentiments among Croatian residents during a major event in handball despite the positive perception of residents towards the social impact of hosting a major handball event in the country. The highest percentage of agreement in the present study refers to the perception of the respondents towards the ability of the Games to unite the Filipino community, being a source of national pride for them and providing an opportunity for cultural exchange. These positive social influences, however, do not go unchallenged as some authors consider them short-lived (Bob & Swart, 2010).

In the present study, the effects of several variables on residents' support for the Games were also identified. Results from ANOVA confirmed that more males than females are inclined towards sports or supporting a sports event. Even though it was not part of the goal of this paper to ascertain whether the expressed support of the respondents will translate into actual attendance at any of the games, it is highly probable that such support arises from sport-related motives such as enjoyment of watching sports they enjoy playing themselves (James & Ross, 2004).

With respect to the age group, it is not surprising that those who are in their prime working age would be more supportive of the Games compared to other age groups. Firstly, it can be supposed that they have the means to attend such events. On the other hand, they are also the ones most affected by the inconveniences related to the event such as traffic congestion and road closures. Despite this contradiction, the Games might serve to reduce work-related stress as a form of diversion (Tokuyama & Greenwell, 2011).

The average earners in this study can be roughly classified as those who have more spending power and, hence, have more interest in activities not related to work such as attending sporting events. In fact, admis-

sion to those events was identified as part of middle-class entertainment spending ("Trends in middle-class", 2012). Indeed, Studer, Schlesinger and Engel (2011) reported that, consistent with the basic behavioural economic model, income has great impact on sports participation. In general, although new socio-cultural characteristics such as media preference explain sports participation or involvement, traditional social stratification mechanisms, such as those based on age and gender, remain important (Moens & Scheerder, 2004).

Conclusions and recommendations

As a response to the lack of research on regional major sports events such as the SEA Games, this study aimed to assess the perception of residents towards their city's hosting an international sports event. Overall, the respondents support the Philippines' hosting the 2019 SEA Games. However, there was general ambivalence among the respondents towards the positive economic benefits of the event and whether the positive outcomes could outweigh the negative ones. Their perception was marred by concerns about corruption, environmental protection, and respect for ancestral domains as well as disturbances to their normal life. An important implication for game organisers includes the promotion of a sports event, specifically targeting female members of the community, to increase the support base. Also, strategies to gain support from low-income earners should be explored.

Challenges for the future of Philippine sport tourism include consultation and communication with the local community regarding the benefits of sports events. Such would ensure not only support but also active participation. Also, the local members should be involved in planning and organising future sports events. This would give them a sense of ownership towards the event and may increase their tolerance towards future inconveniences. Moreover, the development of infrastructure and facilities should consider their future use to avoid dealing with white elephants. Furthermore, game organisers and the government would benefit from winning the trust of the people. Finally, more research in the country should be done to create and generate databases useful for planning, organising and decision making concerning future sports events.

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