



# NEIGHBOURHOOD SPORT FACILITY

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**NEIGHBOURHOOD  
SPORT FACILITY**



ATELIER LOIDL

Trampolins in the yard of Park am  
Gleisdreieck in Berlin.

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# IMPROVING PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES AT LOCAL ARENAS **IMPALA**

EU-Financed research and developing  
project 2015–2016 in Finland

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# SPORT

# FACILITY

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# CHAPTER IV

## The changing sport policy – changing infrastructure

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## Sport policy is becoming thoroughly capitalized and quasi-governmental

This article aims to provide answers to the following questions: What should Finland's future policy for sport and physical activity be? How does a change in this policy affect the policy governing sport and physical activity facilities and, in particular, those located in neighbourhoods? How does national sport policy change when alternative and popular sport cultures are suffocated by the expansion of a commercial-elitist sport policy?

In acculturation, the encounters of different cultures in change situations do not only result in new cultures – the different cultures also have an impact on each other through their interaction. Every cultural signal, also in relation to sports culture, affects the other culture. There are at least four alternative outcomes of acculturation when cultural fields affect each other: acculturation (1) creates completely new culture, (2) extinguishes cultures, (3) brings forth only partly renewed culture or (4) the different cultures reject each other and continue unchanged. (Varis 2011)

The changes are explored in this article through the theories of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and the German politics researcher Joachim Hirsch. One of Bourdieu's best-known theories is his idea of tension between different cultural fields (Bourdieu original publication 1973), which is a force that keeps societies together – a jointing compound. A society without tension may become a monotonous autocracy or, in extreme cases, even a dictatorship (Bourdieu 1985). Bourdieu understands the

tension between cultural fields as positive competition for social hegemony between these fields.

Hirsch is renowned for his acculturation research. His key concepts are 'thorough state'; it is in Germany *Durchstaatlichung* (*läpivaltiollistuminen* in Finnish,) in English quasi-governmental manner and 'thorough capitalization'; it is in Germany *Durchkapitalisierung* (*läpikapitalisoituminen* in Finnish), which lead to a 'security state' (*turvavaltio* in Finnish) (Hirsch 2005.) In this article in English the original a supervisory state system extends its tentacles everywhere. According to Hirsch, thorough capitalization and quasi-governmental manner have parallel effects, which make money the most central tool in steering society in the direction the elite wishes. The power of money penetrates everything and leads to thorough capitalization. In quasi-governmental and thorough capitalized exercise of political power, might is power that is obtained through parliamentary or representative elections. This is a Darwinist right of the stronger, which does not sufficiently consider so-called weak signals (Suomi 2006b). In direct democracy, people aim at influencing directly according to their personal interests, without such representatives as members of parliament or municipal council. Direct democracy is the opposite of Darwinist right of the stronger. In this article the direct democracy is not the democracy without democratic organisation, what the right wing popular parties use in their organisation e.g. Peppe Grillo in Italy so called Five Star Party where voting by 50 000 in internet is more important than 8 million votes in Italian parliament election. Direct democracy means visible, transparency structure and legal impact tools in direct action.

Hirsch regards parliamentary representative democracy and its ally, the elite of public employees, as elements of

power politics in the state system. This means that the thoroughly capitalized power elite changes things in their preferred direction. A state like this is a quasi-governmental security state that also controls the political parties, which in principle are part of civil society. In representative democracy, the political parties are at risk of becoming to the quasi-governmental manner. The parties begin to execute governmental bureaucratic power politics even though they should embody direct democracy – alongside or instead of representative democracy – and be representatives of the people and their members in relation to the power system. In the right wing popular parties there are the tendency to keep power in party leader 's hand and even in the leader 's hand that is outside of democratic bodies of representative organs like parliament. In this kind of cases there are the unsolved conflicts between semi-direct democracy and representative democracy where e.g. parliament members are not ready to follow more the opinions of the voters than semi-direct democracy in internet. (Suomi 2006).

The same applies to sport organizations, which in the process of quasi-governmental manner begin to flatter the policies made official by the state in order to receive larger government subsidies and benefits for the organization. The sport organizations thus implement governmental sport policies even though they should be aiming at the goals of civil society in relation to sports, defined by the members and not by the state. Various sport organizations such as TUL (Finnish Workers' Sports Federation) consider that their goals are based on the needs of both their members and the entire population. Thorough"municipalization" (in Finnish kunnallistuminen, läpikunnallistuminen) occurs between sports clubs and municipalities: the clubs become municipalized and begin to implement municipal sports

policies together with the municipality even though they should advocate their members' interests. This often implies networks between various partners, which are called, for example, public-private-civic-media-partnerships. These partnerships are realized through collaboration between the different sectors of society, making sport policy more collaborative. That is the reason to use the name of collaborative sport policy (in Finnish yhteistoiminnallinen liikuntapolitiikka) as the umbrella of this kind of sport policy. Collaborative sport policy collects the political forces together if they have enough common interests in sport policy and this kind of interest groups build alternative sport policy against the elite sport policy e.g. National Olympic Committees in national level. (Suomi 2006a).

## Sports culture and policy as parts of international politics

As the significance of nation states has decreased, Couperin's Olympism is only a memory. However, they continue to be used in promoting both global and national economic, political and even military interests (Keridis 2009, 201–205). States have been replaced or accompanied by enterprises. Throughout history, the modern Olympic movement has been a political tool for nations. For example, table tennis – so-called ping-pong diplomacy – was used to improve the relationship between China and the USA in the 1970s, and the Moscow and Los Angeles Olympics were boycotted



because of the Cold War (Wang & Jinsheng 2010). There are also the opposite ways in leading countries like USA and Russian Federation where one political feature is to add nationalism in international and domestic policy. This kind of political change may strengthen the patriotic nationalism inside the countries but same time it strengthens the International Olympic Committee because the high competition between the national countries is important for competition between the countries. The modern concept of the thorough capitalization change is the competition between huge international companies like Nike or Adidas instead of national countries.

The Beijing Olympics in 2008 are regarded as the most striking example of recent nationalization and capitalization in international sports politics. The Chinese Olympic Committee used the competition to: (1) stabilize international politics through sports in order to increase peace and mutual understanding in the world, (2) stabilize international trade and markets through sports, (3) enhance the harmonious development of the international sports movement, and (4) guarantee the interests of the Olympic movement (Min, Xiuying & Shuguang 2010).

The Chinese see sport as an instrument for international military and security politics as well as for trade politics. Their promotion is most important, and the goals of the sports and Olympic movement are subordinate to global trade and politics. Capitalization and nationalization were more transparent at the Beijing Olympics than ever before: sport stability was used to improve trade conditions. In the Beijing University Press (2008), the Chinese themselves call this model the 'socialist market economy'. The promotion of the interests of the Chinese socialist market economy is easy to understand considering the fact that more than

50% of the world's sportswear and shoes are made in China (Suomi 2011).

Amateur sports and the fair play ideal ruled for a long time within the Olympic movement. It was only after 1980, during the presidency of the Spaniard Juan Antonio Samaranch (President of the International Olympic Committee from 1980 to 2001), that professional sports began to replace amateur sports and professionals were allowed to participate in the Olympics. Samaranch was also the minister of sports under the Franco regime (Keridis 2009). The 1980s saw an increase in the freedom of international trade and the growth of TV as a global medium, which was used for financing world-class sports. Later on, the internet made interaction more global than it had ever been in the history of humanity (Weinreich 2014).

## Acculturation in the cultural fields of sport

In Figure 1 commercial sports culture C, for which Hirsch uses the concept of thorough capitalization, occupies an increasing role in sport. The figure also shows that the various cultural fields of sport interact with each other. The arrows at the edges of the figure show what kind of capital differences people have or do not have, and to what fields of sports culture people commit as capital grows or decreases. Sports culture is examined through four fields: C = Commercial sports culture, E = Elite sports culture, P = Popular sports culture, and A = Alternative sports culture.

## Capitalized sport and physical activity

In Figure 1, the C refers to commercialized sports culture. The thorough capitalization referred to in Figure 1 is most clearly visible in the cooperation between sports and businesses, such as sponsorships. Sport as such is not good or bad business. By utilizing the mental images and brands of sport, the positive image of sport and physical activity can be combined with different business activities, such as selling cars, clothes, food, TV channels or travelling.

Between elite competitions, the series outside of the competition systems of official international sport federations

provide an arena in which sport can be more clearly harnessed to serve the markets. The best-known examples of these series are e.g. the IAAF Diamond League in track and field, the European Champions Hockey League, the Russian KHL in ice hockey and the North American NHL and North American Basketball Association NBA.

This situation can be defined as the regional monopoly capitalism: a sport is used to create market areas that the official national sport federations try to challenge in the name of national sport development. The international and national sport federations could use their sport's international monopoly role and official international rules to prohibit the series outside of the competition system (Ming, MacIntosh & Gonzalo 2012). According to Ming et al. (2012), national sport

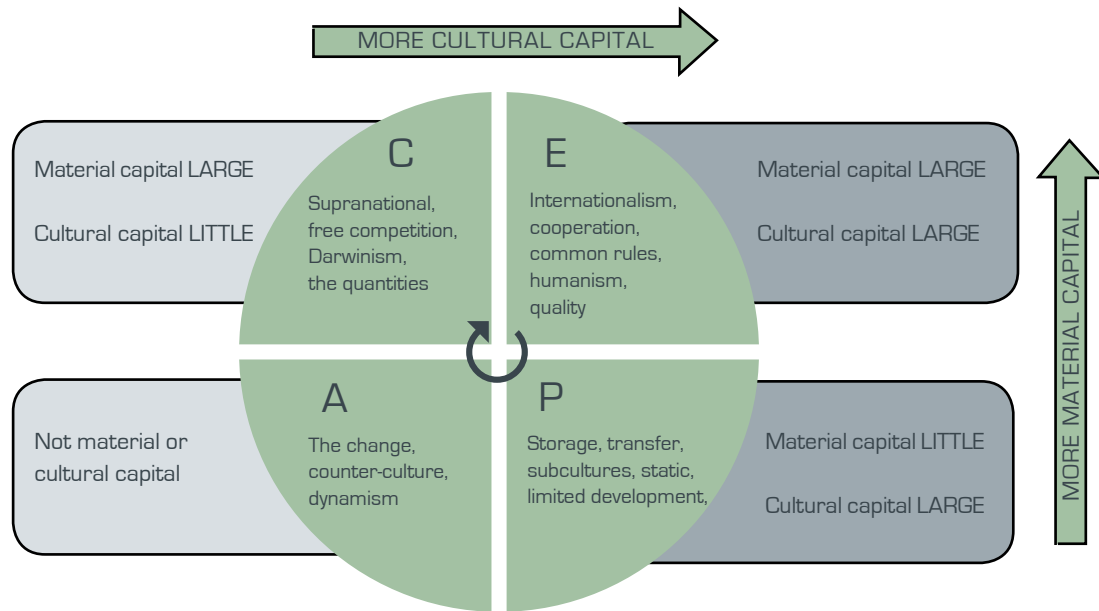


Figure 1. The cultural fields of sport culture [Suomi et al. 2014]. The examples in the clouds describe persons who typically commit to the cultural field.

federations have been granted a monopoly by international and continent-specific federations. However, the national federations are so thoroughly capitalized that they do not use their right to intervene in international activities. This leads to conflicts in international and national elite sports. For example, the doping rules for unofficial series are not compatible with the anti-doping rules of national federations, and federations may therefore have to break international agreements in their anti-doping activities. This happened last at the 2016 Hockey World Cup. Thoroughly capitalized competitive top sport is parallel of international monopoly capitalism in international and domestic sport markets. Most monopolized sport organ in international level is International Olympic Committee with corruption and bad faith. Same situation is in domestic competitive sport in National Olympic Committees around the world. National Olympic Committee has complete monopoly in Olympic sports. International and national sport federations in one sport discipline are the perfect type of monopoly competition culture nationally and internationally.

If the national sport federations reacted to the operation of unofficial series, they would be considered to disturb the markets, which they do not want to do because they receive money from the operation of the series. For instance, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) allots Hat Trick funding for national federations, which distribute this money further to be used in developing local football facilities (Palloliitto 2014).

In Finland, the national sport governing bodies, that is, sport federations, have a dominant market position in their own sport. A monopoly was formed in the early 1990s when the organisation of sport series by TUL (Finnish Workers' Sports Federation) was prohibited and national sport federations obtained a monopoly for sport-specific

licenses in adult, senior and junior sports. There have been public suspicions that the federations would abuse their dominant market position when making federation-specific sponsorship agreements that are obligatory for the sports clubs (Suomi 2006b). In Finland, the thorough capitalization of sport federations is a highly organized process: the national federation signs agreements that are binding for the lower organizational levels, that is, the member clubs or regional and local organizations. This means that civil society in relation to the sport declines due to thorough capitalization (Seurapalvelut 2014). Capitalization goes particularly far in the rules of the Finnish Olympic Committee, in which a monopoly in national decisions is given to the Olympic sport federations operating in Finland. According to the rules approved by the Finnish Patent and Registration Office, the Olympic sport federations must have a majority in the most important decisions of the Finnish Olympic Committee (extraordinary meeting of the Finnish Olympic Committee on 20 June 2016). Based on its rules, the Olympic Committee also appoints its own judges for the processes of national contract law to make decisions that are binding for various actors in the field of sport. Even though the impartiality and independence of judges is in principle realized through their judicial oaths, the possibility to appoint one's 'own' judges guarantees quasi-governmental. In the name of free competition, the media puts pressure on national federations and local sports clubs. It is also common that national sport-specific activities have been subordinated to serve the Olympic movement in the name of national elite sport success. In many countries, sport federations are becoming bystanders in international elite sport activities (Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nødland & Rommetvedt 2009).

In some European countries, such as Italy, the national Olympic organization has formed regional and local associations as well. The Finnish Olympic Committee, according to the documents of its annual meeting on 26 November 2016, has a similar aim. The aim in Italy is to create local sponsorship agreements using the 'rings of the Olympic lords' principle: the selling of Olympic rings has been delegated from the central administration of the national Olympic committee CONI (Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano) to regional or local Olympic associations. At the local and regional levels, funds are raised for the national Olympic committee, and the local level receives some money for local sports activities as well. However, these activities have now been mainly given up because the local level lost the money to the central administration of CONI (Olympism 2014).

Also in Finland, the largest sport federations and a few other large national organizations are currently worried about becoming subordinated by a national sports cluster. Therefore, the largest federations, along with TUL (20 % of all sports club members in Finland), initially stayed outside of VALO (Finnish Sports Confederation), and TUL never joined VALO. The fear of a totalitarian and monopoly capitalization of sports organizations was first promoted by the fact that the Finnish Olympic Association and VALO shared a chairperson and highest official (secretary general). On 20 June 2016, the extraordinary meetings of the Olympic Committee and VALO confirmed the merger of VALO and the Olympic Committee by the end of 2016. The highest decision-making bodies of both organizations

decided formally and unanimously on the matter. They also confirmed Finland's national sport success strategy, in which seven to nine regional 'Olympic movements' are created at the regional level according to the Italian model. The concept of regional activity was broadened later in the documents of the Olympic Committee, for example, in its last annual meeting on 26 November 2016. For synergy advantages, personnel policy and strategies were initially planned in the same body, and the staffs are merging at the beginning of 2017 (VALO has 40 employees and the Olympic Committee 20). Synergy cooperation is encouraged by the Ministry of Education and Culture. A textbook example of quasi-governmental was the 2014 National Sports Forum, which was managed, among others, by the national broadcasting company YLE. This guarantees that the media are also involved in quasi-governmentalism and capitalization development (Kansallinen Liikuntafoorumi 2014). Last example of quasi-governmentalism is that highest officer of National Olympic Committee fired in the beginning of the year 2017 when NOC started the unification of National Olympic Committee and VALO. They informed the staff to start Co-operation negotiations will significantly reduce staff and has begun the search for a new CEO like the head hunting of the leading person: it is managing director in normal companies in Finland. Is this change good example to change also sport culture from civic society to over commercialized sport culture at national level?

## The facilities of commercial sports culture

The facilities of commercial sports culture are created for business purposes. Therefore, the sports and physical activity consumer's journey from home to the sports facility and back is also significant. The facility as such is only one axis in thoroughly capitalized sports. Advance information on statistics and the 'rivals' of a certain event is obtained at home in newspapers and other media, for example, the internet. The journey is also used for commercial purposes so that, for instance, the means of public transport provide information on the event, and the townscape is utilized to lead people to the event. Parking and entrance to the venue provide various opportunities for high-level virtual and online marketing. Marketing can be promoted before, during and after the occasion. In roofed facilities, it is possible to use lights, shadows, colors, the crowd and the athletes themselves for marketing. Digitalized sensors on spectators as well as on athletes produce interactive effects and highlights in advertising through such innovations as intelligent sportswear and tickets.

Thanks to technology, a thoroughly capitalized commercial sports facility is as intelligent as possible. The journey back home is the scene of after-marketing: the urban space, the means of public transport and especially local media are full of relevant information. The aim is also to equip the capitalized sports facilities for post-match events, the most typical of which are 'the third half-time' in football, 'the fourth period' in ice hockey or Finnish baseball and 'the fifth quarter' in basketball, in which the players, coaches, peer spectators and supporters jointly participate in after-

marketing and comment on the events for the public.

Based on democratic decisions, a public provider of sports facilities often has to utilize taxpayers' money to offer a market-based infrastructure for the marketers of sports-related and other by-products. This implies huge indirect support to the over commercialized sports culture that has become highly capitalized through sports facilities.

## Elite sports and physical activity

In Figure 1, the E refers to elite sports and exercise culture, which offers a forum for world-class sports activities controlled by official rules. Elite sport is more strictly regulated than Darwinist free commercial sport, and it is not purely market-based sports culture capitalized by money and power. The Olympic movement provides the sports elite with activities that have more precise rules than the series outside of the official competition system (World, European and National - e.g. Finnish Championships). Official national and international federations pay more attention to national and international agreements with their sanctions than do the unofficial series and leagues. This is visible in their objection to racism, doping, sports violence and inequality, on which international agreements have been signed (Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nødland & Rommetvedt 2009). Sports fraud and violence among athletes and spectators is not just an internal concern of sport federations and the sporting community.

In Finland, an organization that ignores the side effects of sport is not entitled to state support. National sanctions only apply to the recipients of sports state aid based on the newest Sport Act on the Promotion of Sports and Physical Activity (390/2015). The leagues that break the rules are usually not among the recipients. For example, when the Finnish men's national ice-hockey team participated in the North American World Cup, it did not commit to the international code of World Anti-Doping Agency WADA but to the World Cup's own anti-doping rules. In practice, the Finnish national team did not commit to international anti-doping regulations, and the Finnish ministry of sport responsible especially for sports (the Ministry of Sport and Culture) did not interfere in the activity that constituted a violation of international anti-doping rules.

The offences in the Finnish baseball match-result-fixing scandal were committed in the league called Pesisliiga, it is Baseball League Ltd, but the sanctions were imposed on the Finnish Baseball Association (Pesäpalloliitto), which reduced children's and youth activities in the association. When the Finnish Olympic Committee abused state subsidies, the money was recovered from it. The Olympic Committee subsequently declared that, due to the claim for recovery, it would have to reduce the training of young athletes for the Olympics, and that Finland would not send a team to the following Students Universidad winter games. In these cases, the violation of rules has led to a reduction in youth sport, but adult elite sport has not suffered at all. Young athletes are the scapegoats here.

In practice, the relationship of sport governing bodies (federations) and league organizations is problematic in thoroughly capitalized elite sport. It is difficult for outsiders to influence the operation of an independent 'Sports League Ltd', whose board members are primarily responsible for

the league's success. Based on Finland's Limited Liability Companies Act, it is unrealistic to imagine that the representatives of teams and sports clubs would primarily represent them at the board of the league. In a Sports League Ltd, teams ('Team Ltd') are shareholders, and the activities are based on shareholders' agreements and the aforementioned Act. The board members of the league, elected from teams at shareholders' meetings, are primarily responsible to the Sports league Ltd, also for success. They are not chiefly responsible to the team or the federation. The owners can interfere in the operation of the Sports League Ltd only at shareholder meetings. The Limited Liability Companies Act thus provides the Sports League Ltd with great autonomy. Both have started to lead their own lives, and autonomous capitalization has gained strength in the operation of these 'limited companies'. Sports leagues are thus enterprises managed purely based on business principles, aiming at financial profit, without the intrinsically valuable functions of sport or its instrumental values, such as health and wellbeing. Floorball is an exception because the federation owns a majority of its league and can decide on the operation of the league (Rauste 1997). However, floorball is not an Olympic sport, and the federation is committed to its members' will as a member community.

There is a grey area between commercial sports culture and elite competitive sports culture: recreational sports among children, young people and young adults; health-enhancing physical activity of seniors and working-aged people; and workplace physical activity. Commercial sports culture aims at turning recreational sports and particularly health-enhancing sports into service products within commercially organized business activity. A good example of this is the intention of the Finnish Olympic Committee to strengthen the operation of its own limited company by such activities

as commercialization of children's afternoon sports activities and adults' wellness activities (annual meeting documents of the Finnish Olympic Committee / Suomen Olympiakomitea ry:n vuosikokouksen 26.11.2016 asiakirjat).

According to the report of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (Vesterinen 2014), there are attempts to commercialize health-enhancing physical activity and workplace physical activity as products of international companies that offer wellness services. The report shows that these domains of sport are a significant business sector in Finland: their annual turnover is 5.5 billion euros and their employment effect 25,000 person-work years. In sports, the public and third sectors have an annual volume potential of about 4.1 billion euros and 7,000 person-work years (Gholamzadeh Fasandos 2016). This means that the annual volume of sports was 9.6 billion euros and 32,000 person-work years in 2012. The share of sports in GDP is 4.2%, which corresponds to a good European average (Vesterinen 2014). PhD Hamid Gholamzadeh Fasandos has informed in his Doctoral Thesis in May 2016 that Cross National Production in Finnish sport industry is total 10.1 billion euros annually.

One of the main goals of Finland's health and social services reform (SOTE) is the proactive prevention of illnesses, in which physical activity plays a significant role. This clearly increases the possibilities of the wellness business when tenders are invited from public, private and third-sector sports service providers for preventive activities in municipality level.

The thorough capitalization of sport and physical activity is about sharing a market of approximately ten billion euros. In reality, sports euros are 'radiant': their indirect,

instrumental effect is bigger than their relatively small direct effect measured in euros. In workplace physical activity, one euro invested by a company in PA saves three to four euros as a decrease in absences and premature retirements. One public euro invested in building sports facilities yields four to five euros back to society through the impact it has on employment and building materials as well as health impacts (Suomi et al. 2012).

The differences between commercial, thoroughly capitalized sports culture (C in Figure 1) and elite sports culture (E) are small. It is common to talk about the expansion of commercial-elite sports and exercise culture. Who are the people committed to commercial or elite sports and exercise culture? According to Figure 1, commercial sports culture attracts people who have more material capital e.g. money and less cultural capital e.g. education. Material capital refers to financial accumulation and cultural capital to capital developed through education and schooling. In people's commitment to elite sports and exercise culture, both cultural and material capitals are emphasized. In Finland, well-educated people with a good professional and economic status more clearly commit to elite competitive sports culture. In addition to active engagement in sports, this implies that they follow elite sport in the media, consume it and use its symbols as a proof of belonging to the elite. These symbols include, for example, the use of discreet Olympic rings in clothing – but not so much the gaudy logos of commercial international enterprises, which are typically used by people committed to commercial sports culture – logos of Puma and Amer Sports Wilson trade mark. (Bourdieu 1985, Roos 2006).

## Elite sports facilities

An elite sports facility can be compared to elite high culture such as the world of the national opera, symphonies, theatre and ballet. Many elite sports facilities are patriotic symbols such as Olympic stadiums, where the gilded names of the best athletes on marble statues – like in the Olympia grove in ancient Greece – correspond to ‘soldier’s graves’ or war heroes. For example, the main entrance gate of the old Olympic stadium in Melbourne is all that is left of the 1956 summer Olympics’ principal venue. The gate bears the names of gold medalists carved on stone in gilded letters, but the stadium itself is currently called the Melbourne Cricket Ground, known worldwide as the MCG stadium. The stadium is reserved for Australian football half of the year and for cricket for the other half. Olympism is not commercially attractive enough, so it is necessary to find a new use for the mostly underutilized venues of previous Olympics. Only the most popular sporting events are staged in these facilities, even though elitism may be given up for commercial purposes in order to organize such events as stadium concerts. Australians have softened the hard business culture in MCG so that the land under the stadium is owned by Victorian state in Australian Federal Republic. This is a symbol that the land is owned by all the citizens in Australia; it is public owned. The signal of this kind of symbolism is that “use your own stadium – you are one owner of YOUR stadium”. Ownership is not true because the Victoria State and City of Melbourne support the stadium very much and private owned Australian football and cricket teams make much profit.

There is one private TV channel where are only Australian football and this TV Corporation earns also huge profit which is highly supported by Victoria State and City of Melbourne. Same kind of public direct support for private companies is not possible in Europe because of EU free market laws – the idea is that too big support disturbs the free markets.

An elite sports facility is often a central landmark, the only one in the city – in the same way as, for example, a public central(ized) transport terminal is. The aim is often to synchronize the use of elite sports facilities by organizing a series of coordinated mass events one after the other, like in People’s Republic of China’s capital city Beijing: first the Universidad for student athletes, then the Asian Games, and finally the Olympics, Paralympics and World championships, at which the facilities and machinery are ideally fine-tuned.

As a rule, elite sports facilities are substantially subsidized by public actors – the state and municipalities – through either building investments or utilization fees in order to promote patriotism and allow the majority of the population to participate. The aim is to provide as large crowds as possible with equal opportunities to enjoy this elite patriotism. However in Europe, EU legislation has introduced requirements that public support must not harm the markets, which is why public funding for large stadiums has been reduced. A current example: The Finnish state uses proceeds from the lottery to provide funding for half of the renovation costs of the Helsinki Olympic Stadium, and the City of Helsinki pays for the other half of the over 100 million euro total costs. The costs of Helsinki Olympic Stadium Renovation were totally 200 million euros at first. Now just before the publishing this book the budget of



stadium is at least 100 million euros more – totally 300 million euros and the financier are state and Helsinki City. Main reason for extended budget is wrong evaluated costs of the foundation of the stadium. (Bale, J. 2000) This public support is off from counties and regional level. This concentrates public subsidies too much for capitol region.

## Popular sports culture

The bottom right corner of Figure 1. (P) represents popular sports culture, which typically records and preserves sports culture tradition and transfers it to the next generations. This is visible in, for instance, children's outdoor games and in folk dances. Popular sports culture also comprises such incidental exercise as berry- and mushroom picking, fishing, hunting, lawn mowing and gardening in winter time e.g. cleaning the snow off at the yards.

The sports culture of Finland's Swedish-speaking population emphasizes linguistic and cultural characteristics. The outdoor activities of the Outdoor Association of Finland (Suomen Latu ry) are popular recreational activities open to all and part of health-enhancing exercise culture. The tradition of TUL (Finnish Workers' Sports Federation) based on community spirit belonged to the same category until the 1980s: the sports and exercise needs of people committed to the tradition of workers' sports were met based on collective responsibility, but also autonomously (Suomi 2006a).

Voluntariness is a challenge for the vitality of popular sports culture. According to the voluntarist McElroy,

voluntarism can imply the libertarian doctrine that human relationships should be based on voluntariness. Altruistic voluntarism is difficult in popular culture even though the large Finnish middle class provides good opportunities for developing voluntarism. Watner and McElroy (2003) state that voluntarism is an ideology of free choice, except when capitalism is at risk. Collective responsibility is facing a challenging situation in capitalism. Families often have their own bookkeeping on the voluntary work they have carried out for their own children in sports clubs. They are thus not acting for the common good but doing it out of self-interest, which may sometimes involve tax avoidance through the voluntary activities and it is illegal action.

Popular sports culture is typically static rather than dynamic – even though new folk dances and such new forms of outdoor activity as Nordic sticking and walking continuously emerge to counterbalance 'screen time'. Popular sports are linked to the local community, community spirit, and decentralized sports and exercise culture.

Workplace physical activity seems to become a form of popular sports culture as well. It is very decentralized, as are local agreements at workplaces on dividing the costs of sports and PA between employees and the employer. This is clearly an agreement in principle on who is responsible for the costs of workforce reproduction and how.

Recreational sports without competitive goals, as well as amateur competitive sports, belong to popular sports culture and remain outside of elite competitive and top sports. Local series sponsored by companies are typical popular sports with non-olympic standards, in which the competition is based on community spirit and has no standard concept. Outside of official sports club activities, spontaneous small-scale series are formed among teams of students, workplaces, professional fields, study fields,

friends, pensioners and different hobbyists as well as city residents' associations and village committees. The physical activity groups at evening adult education centers can also be counted as popular sports (Suomi 2006b).

People with more educational and less material capital tend to commit to popular sports culture. A typical representative is a highly educated white-collar employee who likes to go into nature and benefit from it (Suomi 2011).

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) wants to control popular sports too. Because of the great market potential, it wants to embrace popular sports culture under its umbrella by capitalizing it thoroughly (Taylor 2010). The IOC does this by harnessing the international workers' sports movement to this purpose. The over hundred-year-old (founded in 1913) Confédération Sportive Internationale Travailleuse et Amateur (CSIT) organization changed its name from an international workers' sports federation to the International Workers and Amateurs in Sports Confederation. In CSIT, amateurship refers to recreational sports, in which one can also compete based on adapted rules that differ from Olympic standards. The IOC would like CSIT to have a role in the international Olympic family, and income from taking under its wings 'wild', health-enhancing amateur competitive sports. Workers' sport integrates 'fair play' ideology with amateur competitive sports, turning its back on doping scandals, sports violence, racism and over-commercialization (CSIT 2014). CSIT is a member in Socialist International organisation (SI) which is very large organisation for national level center trade unions and national level social democracy parties. TUL is a member in CSIT.

Correspondingly, at the national level we could think that a national workers' sports federation would be anchored under the national Olympic umbrella. Workers' sports are

in charge of promoting low-threshold recreational sports without competitive goals among children and youth. For adults, it ensures workforce reproduction and the good health status of employees. This has been the long-term mission of the international workers' sport movement (CSIT) since 1913. The 1929 Prague declaration of CSIT crystallizes this mission: 'We do not nurture the soul or the body but the human!'

## The facilities of popular sports culture

Typical venues of popular sports culture are naturally formed or untreated genuine natural environments. Natural settings for physical activity are formed in, for example, Nordic cities in which the aim is to promote active commuting by bike or on foot. This is not possible in all European environments because there are few or no pedestrian and bicycle routes. In such urban communities, physical activity is restricted to pedestrian streets, squares and parks. In some European metropolises, residents have actively occupied streets and other urban space, making it the most popular venue for physical activity.

Authentic unbuilt natural environments provide ideal opportunities for popular sports culture as well. These environments include forests, which cover e.g. over 70 % of Finland's land area. Recreational routes and nature trails in forests and parks promote popular sports, just like nature conservation areas and national parks. In compliance with EU regulations, State, the Republic of

Finland has also established significant Natura areas and parks, which promote the recreational use of nature – in nature but also in lakes and oceans, peninsulas, islands in lakes and oceans, huge large forest areas, rivers and other see areas around Baltic Sea area in Finland. One element of nature sport is the protection of nature and sustainable development of nature.

The recreational use of nature is governed in Finland by the Outdoor Recreation Act (606/1973). The Act also defines ‘everyman’s right’ or the right of public access, according to which everyone is entitled to use nature even though they do not own land, as long as they do no harm to the environment, do not cut growing trees or light an open fire without the landowner’s permission. It is also forbidden to do harm to the landowner’s source of livelihood or housing. Furthermore, landowners cannot prevent the building of recreational routes or cross-country ski tracks on their property without clear grounds. For these cases, the aforementioned Act has a separate section, according to which land can be bought or rented from a landowner if the municipality proposes it to the local ELY Centre in Finland (15 offices in Finland; in this office there are the combinations of regional officers – of different ministers like business, transportation and nature – which then orders potential land surveying or determines the price to be paid to the landowner. The rental can be fixed term or permanent. Recreation routes can be located on land, snow, ice or water.

## Alternative sports culture

The bottom left corner of Figure 1 (A) represents alternative sports culture. It is defined as a counter-culture and alternative to the mainstream sports culture, which is commercial and elitist. Alternative sports culture is typically dynamic and actively pursues change, which differs from the static, conservative nature and cultural reproduction of popular sports culture.

Eichberg, Bale and Philo (2002) define alternative sports culture according to the degree of freedom for the identities of physical culture. Alternative sports culture could be realized if it were free of rules, organizations and external support.

Alternative sports culture is free of rules. Its rules are unique, unlike the universal rules for Olympic sports. The rules are made separately for each situation, exactly for the social need in question. The rules are created for a specific temporal and spatial need in which unique tools for physical activity are used. This can refer to a spontaneous sports session in an urban space in which, for example, an invented game object is kicked or transported to a ‘goal’. Parkour is close to the idea of alternative sports culture. However, parkour also has features of organized popular sports, such as different training certificates for coaches or organized parkour parks (Borgogni 2012).

Alternative sports culture is free of organizations. Because of its spontaneity, it does not need organizations. One of the goals in alternative sports is to occupy urban space, particularly for young people. The presence of young people in the urban space provides an arena for youth culture, which can convey a message of young people’s problems, hopes and opinions through weak signals. The lack of

organizations guarantees that moving oneself is the only exercise of power. An unorganized community cannot be occupied because it wanders freely and nomadically in the urban space, continuously changing its participants, form and content (Heinilä 2010).

Juggling and doing circus tricks with different tools in the urban space can be included in alternative sports. The same applies to expressive physical activity even if it were organized as a performance in order to collect money from passers-by. This resembles the former park movement in cities – an urban cultural tradition that claimed parks as ‘lungs’ for cities polluted by industry and traffic (Salo 2010) and arenas for parks for performing ‘artists’.

Alternative sports culture is free of external support. Heinilä (2010), Honko and Pentikäinen (1970) suggested already in 1970 that spontaneous unorganized sports culture neither applies for nor receives external financial support such as sports club subsidies. Economic independence guarantees independence from other organizations that may have an utterly capitalizing or the quasi-governmental influence. Staying outside of financial support from society and operation outside of capitalization often imply modest conditions for the activities. However, they ensure the economic freedom to undertake activities without dancing to the tune of the support providers. This highlights the ‘perfect’ independence of the activities. This also leaves one outside of “municipalization” and without access to municipal facilities and benefits. The collection of voluntary fees for expressive PA performances does not create independence between the performer and the paying passers-by.

What is the source of alternative sports culture, and what are its goals? In accordance with the arrows of material capital and cultural capital in Figure 1, alternative culture arises out of scarce capital – poverty and misery. People

committed to this cultural field have neither material nor cultural capital.

## The neighbourhood sports facilities of alternative sports culture

The venues, sites and facilities for alternative sports culture is a neighbourhood sports facility. A neighbourhood sports facility is so close to the home that no changing and washing rooms are needed. These settings provide no spectator stands because they are not meant for competitions. They provide no parking lots either because they can be reached on foot. No sessions can be booked for them as they are always open and free of charge. Different games are played in these facilities often among teams that happen to be available at that moment. The rules are created individually for each situation, and they can have changed by the next time. No visible organization for facility-users is needed because it would have no purpose in this kind of alternative sport. Information on meetings is provided through the ‘jungle telegraph’ or on social media. One unsolved question regarding these facilities is risk and safety management. The owners of the facilities should ideally provide safety instructions for potential accidents. Of course there are invisible organizations of the owners of the housing and living systems but they don’t disturb the facility-users often.

The requirements for sustainable development and accessibility also apply to neighbourhood sports facilities: the building materials and location should not burden the

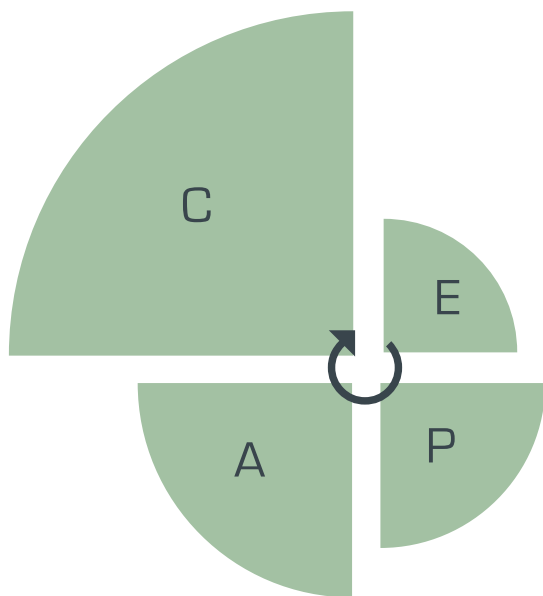
environment unreasonably. Recycled materials are often used, and the facility is centrally located in a compact community – preferably within the common yard, playing ground, block or neighbourhood as the users.

they have not yet completely disappeared but are losing ground to commercial sports and physical activity culture.

The cultural effects between different fields are multidirectional (Suomi et al. 2014). The simultaneous impact of various cultures produces cultural exchange, in which the cultures absorb influences from each other – new culture is created, old culture disappears, some cultures are renewed and some extinguished. Punk rock was thoroughly

## Thorough capitalization destroys equality

Figure 2 represents a thoroughly capitalized acculturative situation, in which commercial sports culture (the capital C) has marginalized other types of sports culture. The other cultures have become insignificant cultural agents:



**Table 1. The outdoor sports grounds per inhabitant in Finland's 12 largest cities in 2011**

City	Inhabitants	Outdoor sports grounds	Grounds / 10,000 inhabitants
Espoo	244,330	183	7.49
Vantaa	197,636	243	12.30
Joensuu	72,704	77	10.59
Jyväskylä	129,623	119	9.18
Kouvola	88,174	148	16.78
Kuopio	92,626	115	12.42
Lahti	100,854	60	5.95
Lappeenranta	70,414	106	15.05
Oulu	139,133	150	10.78
Pori	76,286	98	12.85
Tampere	211,507	82	3.88
Turku	176,087	228	12.95
<b>Average</b>	<b>134.08</b>		<b>10.85</b>

FIGURE 2. The capital C – commercial sports and physical activity culture – plays a dominant role in the entire domain of sports culture.

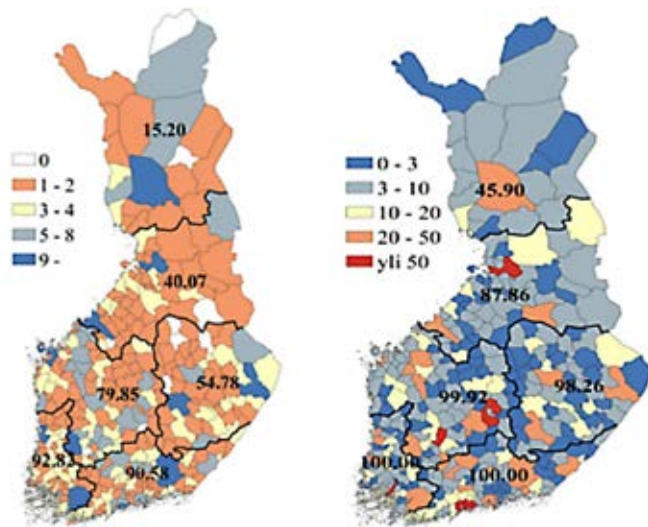


FIGURE 3. The coverage percentages of sports grounds (left) and sports halls (right) within an average usage distance in Finland's six AVI (Regional State Administrative Agency) regions (Suomi et al. 2014) Data based on LIPAS-GIS-Geographical Information Systems.

capitalized relatively quickly. In this process, the arrows in Figure 2 had a complex impact: the capital C, capitalized punk rock even though it was also influenced by punk rock. The complex impact of the arrows between the cultural fields is essential – everything affects everything, and commercial thorough capitalization dominates the other fields. The large size of the capital C sector symbolizes the expansion of commercialism.

The superiority of commercialism over the other fields of sports culture is presently in harmony with the prevailing sports policy and the administration that has become its instrument (Suomi et al. 2014). The main sports policy goal

in the 1998 Sports Act was to increase equality through physical activity and in physical activity. Since the early 1990s recession, economic inequality in sports has never been as striking as today. Inequality between regions and municipalities is increasing remarkably. For example, in the Northern Savonia region, only one municipality – Varkaus – reaches the national average in investments in sports and physical activity. Capitalization is dividing Finland into two different parts: the well-equipped southern, southwestern, western and central parts of the country and the declining eastern and northern parts (Suomi et al. 2014). In the sports policy goals of Nordic welfare state in the newest Sports Act which was in power since May 2015. In the Act there are same goals as before: the purpose of Sport Act is to add equity in Finland and use sport as a most important tool in implementation of Sports Act.

Table 1 shows how unequal Finland's 12 largest cities are as regards their outdoor sports grounds in relation to the number of inhabitants. On the average, the cities had nearly 11 sports grounds per 10,000 people. The best city was Kouvola with its nearly 17 grounds per 10,000 inhabitants. In Kouvola the reason for high numbers is the huge unification of many municipalities in Kouvola region and the North part of the Kymenlaakso County. The weakest was Tampere, which had less than four grounds per 10,000 people, the difference thus being 13 grounds per 10,000 inhabitants (Suomi et al. 2014).

In Figure 3, regional inequality is examined using statistical thematic maps in the two largest sports facility groups: sports grounds and indoor halls. The coverage percentages represent the sports facilities within an average usage distance.

Figure 3 validates the idea of inequality in Finnish sports culture. In the two southernmost AVI regions, the coverage

percentage of sports grounds exceeds 90 % and in eastern Finland 50 %, but in Lapland County it is only 15 %. The results for sports halls demonstrate the same situation: from the south to the Vaasa–Kuopio line in central Finland, the coverage is almost 100%. In Northern Ostrobothnia and Kainuu, the percentage is 88, and Lapland remains under 50 % (Suomi et al. 2014).

## Quasi-governmental manners destroys sports facility services

Finland's renewed Act on the Promotion of Sports and Physical Activity from 2015 maintains the division of tasks defined by the Sports Act Committee (Liikuntalakikomitea) established in 1973. The public sector provides the conditions for sports, and civil society is in charge of organizing the actual sports activities (Ministry of Sport and Culture 2014). The private sector has been left outside the Act even though it plays a key role in capitalizing Finnish sports culture – no one wants to chain the market while eliminating regulations.

Finland's organized commercial-elitist and partly popular sports culture depend on broad collaboration. The fragmentation of sports culture continues, but different sports interest groups are committed to its political counterforce – a collaborative sports policy – in order to control the fragmentation jointly.

Over 40 years ago, very traditional sport scientist Pekka Kiviaho stated that the greatest risk for sports culture is that all sports interest groups are regarded as identical, which would remove the tensions between the different sports fields (Kiviaho 1973, 1976). The interest groups are quasi-governmental to put sports legislation into practice in an identical way. The objectives of sports policy are determined by centralized, thoroughly nationalized sports organizations, whose goals are illustrated by the vision for 2020 that 'Finns will pursue more physical activity and sit less during the course of their lives'. Everyone should be aiming at this goal even though we lag behind many other countries in this pursuit.

The thoroughly capitalized sports economy causes centralization especially in sport facility services; the actors in the field manage their economy based on the same model by copying the practices of the professionalized and thoroughly capitalized Olympic movement to recreational and health-promoting physical activity. Voluntary activity decreases and, at the same time, civil society in relation to sport declines, as does the nature of sport as a popular movement. One current example of this is the result that one third of families regarded costs as an obstacle to engagement in physical activities. The corresponding figure 15 years ago was 10%, which also means that Finland has a long way to go if it wants to be the world's most physically active nation (Suomi et al. 2012).

## What kind of sports policy and sports facilities do we need?

The new Sport Act from May 2015 governing Finnish sports policy brings nothing new to the sports scene. For the success of our sports culture, it is crucial how tolerant and collaborative sports culture can be. If the commercial, elite, popular and alternative sports cultures are allowed to do their best freely side by side, sports culture will manage to offer something for all population groups because of its complexity. One field of a monopolized, thoroughly capitalized and quasi-governmental sports culture cannot reach them alone (Suomi et al. 2014).

A lot of tolerance is needed in sports policy. The producers of weak signals should be taken into account – those who move the least produce the weakest signals. The merger of the Finnish Sports Confederation VALO with the Finnish Olympic Committee by streamlining the operations of both organizations does not seem promising for civil society in relation to sport (Suomi et al. 2014).

Finland's alternative sports culture is so weak that its weakest signals are not heard. By now, our thoroughly capitalized commercial sports culture has marginalized our alternative sports culture, which therefore does not become a sports trend – not to mention a megatrend.

Future sports policies should promote social equality through sports and the provision of equal opportunities for engagement in physical activities in the entire country. Furthermore, it would be important to ensure the living space and opportunities of all four main sectors of sports culture to develop spontaneously, yet with collective responsibility,

and without an imperative, quasi-governmental sports policy. People should have more freedom of choice based on their own needs and the needs of their common and collaborative communities.

Thorough capitalization in sports policy implies the emergence of models that do not leave enough room for alternative and popular sports cultures. In practice, it is not beneficial to society as a whole to create a private chargeable sports infrastructure that only a small part of the population can use due to high fees. The privatization of sports facilities is also a possibility even though it has increased, on the average, 0.50 % each year over the last 35 years (Suomi et al. 2014). For example, neighbourhood sports facilities established by housing companies or real estate companies for an individual block of flats or block may in the future be as natural as are now the parking lots guaranteed by the Land Use and Building Act. These neighbourhood sports facilities can be managed and maintained in connection with other building maintenance tasks, and the residents pay for them in their rent or maintenance charge just like for water and electricity. Such a decentralized network of neighbourhood sports facilities could significantly promote the wellbeing of children and young people as well as that of entire families and older people – in principle sport facilities for all but not facilities and functions with olympic-rules.

Particularly at the local level, public sports policy should support such administrative models that enable people to satisfy their needs for physical activity autonomously in their communities. Encouraging, permissive, collaborative and tolerant sports policies constitute a multifaceted whole of sports culture.



## Envisioning the future of neighbourhood sport facilities (NSF)

As debated in the previous paragraphs, Local or neighbourhood sport facilities (NSF) are among the key factors of success for the promotion of physical activity (PA) and active lifestyles (Suomi et al., 2012). To the aim of this chapter, NSF are infrastructures or facilities that can be used to practice physical activity for sport or leisure purposes. They include also the informal spaces and the network of connecting tracks, paths, sidewalks, to be used by walking, cycling and with any other active means of transport.

Nonetheless, what could be the future role, and, consequently, the planning of neighbourhood sport facilities in Finland, which is probably the most advanced and innovative European country, and in Europe? Which could be the role of neighbourhood sport facilities in the light of the cultural, political and economic issues discussed in the previous paragraphs?

### Transforming the approach: from leisure time to physical activity

Playgrounds for children and adolescent are quite usual in the European cities. The planning of these infrastructures has followed, for decades, a leisure time logic offering opportunities to play for children, to practice some sport for adolescents, and strolling or resting for adults and elders. Starting from the nineties, in the light of the growing alarm about the advance of overweight and obesity, a new planning

approach, intending to contrast inactive lifestyles, has been developed, starting from Scandinavian countries, based on five main concepts: a design of the neighbourhood sport facilities more focusing on physical activity and sport; a relocation of the neighbourhood sport facilities around the city boroughs making them available at walking distance for everyone; a design of the exercise machines, apparatuses, and equipment suitable, or specifically designed, for the involvement of adults and elderly people; a diversification in the design towards post-modern sports like rolling, skateboard, bmx ramps, and parkour parks; the improvement of the accessibility in terms of connections and in terms of facilitating the use of mobility-impaired people. These concepts embracing more and more the popular and the alternative sports cultures described above.

Therefore, following a clear, even scattered, direction towards the city sustainability, it is plausible to envisage that the urban landscape will be more and more filled by infrastructures related to physical activity and sport in a double direction: the sport and PA infrastructures in strict sense built in the public space as those we mentioned; the connecting networks, made up by sidewalks, cycle lanes, and paths, accessible in active ways.

### A comprehensive classification

According to the EU projects IMPALA (Improving Infrastructures for Leisure Time Physical Activity in the Local Arena) and IMPALA.net, the infrastructures can be classified in Sport Facilities in strict sense (e.g. swimming pools, stadia, gyms), leisure time infrastructures providing specific opportunities for sports and PA (e.g. playgrounds, cycling paths), and urban and green spaces that might be used for

sport and PA (e.g. sidewalks, public places, woods, beaches, rivers, lakes) (Rütten 2001). A further sub-classification of public spaces includes those informally appropriated for PA and sport. They can be part of the historical heritage of the cities like walls, buildings, parks; recent infrastructures and areas without a specific using scope or used in a way not foreseen in the planning; spaces like wastelands, hidden parts of green areas and parks, paths, and shortcuts or desire lanes (Borgogni, 2012). The latter perspective is focused on users' experience and touches profound social challenges related with PA and sport because these spaces are often, but not only, used by low socio economic status people like migrants and refugees.

The Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games could emblematically represent one of the turn point concerning infrastructures in Southern Europe. The Olympics, in fact, led not only to build sport infrastructures but also dozens of small, free of charge, widespread spaces like skate parks, tennis and paddle courts, climbing walls, basketball, volley and ecua-volley courts. Moreover, the newly opened seafront and beaches were also provided with outdoor gyms, among the first in Europe, and cycle lanes. Along with the general city regeneration and the building of these infrastructures, a novel way of using public spaces, including those for sport and PA, came to light. From one side Barcelona became attractive as popular destination for sport, from the other side, beside the sport practiced in the conventional spaces and thanks to the presence of migrants, especially from South America, many informal, sometimes hidden, spaces were discovered for sport practices and tournaments (Puig, N. 2017 <https://www.ucm.es/heie2/grupos-de-investigacion>). These practices of informal appropriation can be, anyhow, positively considered as examples of bottom-up participatory planning approaches (Borgogni, 2012).

## The planning

The usual way of planning NSF has been centred on a top-down and functional approach. In many situations, planners took the decision to build a playground in a new district financed by planning fees as obligation by the construction laws to provide the neighbourhoods sufficient green areas and leisure infrastructures. The results had frequently been, at least in Southern Europe, a low quality of the infrastructures often not matching the demographic characteristics of the neighbourhood, and any involvement of the citizens in the planning process. These top-down approaches, in several cases, resulted in failures, measured in terms of number of people using the infrastructures, poor maintenance, and acts of vandalism.

The nineties witnessed a growing attention to the involvement of citizens in planning in general and, more specifically, in planning sport and leisure infrastructures. The main examples of this new trend were the cooperative planning approach (Suomi, 2008) followed by the collaborative planning (Rütten, 2008).

Since last decade, new cooperative ways of planning were developed thanks to the introduction of web platforms like Optima. Optima is the digitalized platform in internet. It offers for participants the huge role to produce the planning information in organized form. Optima-system has used much in collaborative planning for sport environment in Finland. (Suomi, 2011)

Since the development of the technologies on portable devices new opportunities and trends have been generated: tracing the activity of the users in the space could help a deeper understanding of the usages and of the less or more frequented parts. These new possibilities can help planners and decision makers even before the construction of the

infrastructure, and the monitoring, after the construction, of the people's movements, the usability of the exercise machines or apparatus; in some virtuous experiences, these new tools come along with the more traditional, anyway effective, qualitative methods like observation, interviews (Klinker et al., 2014; Bittner, Schneider, Kolb, 2015) meetings and planning promenades.

Through crowdsourcing, participants can interact with the system giving and receiving feedbacks on the quality of the space, the paths, the infrastructures. In this vein, Quercia, Schifanella, and Aiello (2014) chose the issue of the pleasantness of the routes around London combining them with the distances receiving thousands of users' votes on the perception of the characteristics of the routes discovering that those recommended were quieter and happier even if longer. Ratti (2014) highlights the needs of an open source planning starting from scratch and proposing a "choral architect" view.

Once more, we would refer to Bourdieu (1980) applying the concept of habitus to our argumentation in two, interrelated, directions. The reciprocity of the relationships between structure and agency, individuals and public space's policies could find a possible synthesis in participatory processes coping with the concept of habitus. The habitus, in fact, is a generative system of social attitudes product of (life) history and producing (life) histories rooted in the external objective reality of the person. Participatory processes write new shared (hi)stories shaping the living environments thus, dealing with the second direction, influencing individual habitus, namely, extending the concept to our field, the lifestyles of the persons.

A hopeful vision could be represented by the merging, even in a clear taxonomy prioritizing human aspects, of the technological features with those related with the body and bodily practices. A "human technology" approach could envision a future in which the technology not only enhances people's everyday life as it happens in several fields, but also in the sense of a reciprocal virtuous exchange in which the achievement of better life conditions is related with that of "common and public good" – A genuine, warm, socio-anthropological bodily experience harmonising with cold, socio-technological, computational machine know-how.

Perhaps, we do hope so, the concepts of top-down and bottom-up planning could be outdone by a non-contrasting approach in which the sense of cooperation and collaboration is not driven from anybody but lays in the feeling of everybody to have the right, directly and through technology, to be a city maker.

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