Study and analyze ideas about the approach that Deaf sports clubs play in developing the Deaf culture in the world

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Abstract:

Sports practice, visibility and social integration of stigmatized groups "For a very long time, a large number of individuals were versed in deviant categories, were treated and treated as objects, even as residue of normal society. Recently these categories are changing as active minorities, create collective movements or participate in their creation. In other words, groups that were defined and defined, the more often, in a negative and pathological way compared to the social code dominant, have become groups that have their own code and, in addition, offer it to others as a model or alternative. " Serge Moscovici., (Ed. 2016, p. 11)

The sports phenomenon as a “total social fact” can be analyzed as a space social within which strategies are played out which then have repercussions on the social system in general. Given the importance of the media coverage of sports phenomena, we know today that the speeches produced in this sphere then flood all social spaces: all social strata, all professional categories and all geographic areas, as landlocked as they are, are affected by media coverage related to sport.

This is to show how stigmatized minorities (in the sense of Goffman, 2013) use sport to get out of disrepute and to leave the margins in which they are relegated. This analysis will then shed new light on the square that sport currently occupies in the social field. Sport seems to be the object today various appropriations, distortions,
questioning, even taunts on the part from different groups who are trying to invest in "land" to gain visibility social news.

From the stigmatized individual to the active minority:

This research is located in the field of a sociology of minorities which originates in the results of psychosociological research. This is actually to show here that the model of destigmatization strategies through sport, identified at the individual level and from the example of people with disabilities (Marcellini, 1991), allows a particular reading uses of sport by different stigmatized groups. Work has previously shown how sport participation of people with disabilities could take shape various depending on the progress of each individual in what can be called a "Destigmatization process". This research has highlighted the links between relationship that the disabled person has with disability, coping strategies the destigmatization she uses and the type of social integration she accesses (Marcellini, 1994, 1995). This work aims to show that, on the one hand, these individual logics today find their group translations, and on the other hand, beyond disability, other stigmatized minorities seem to focus on sports mediation to speed up their social integration.

This reflection is based on a definition of social integration that is necessary to clarify, there are so many of them today. It refers to the Latin origin of the term (integrare) which means "to complete, to complete". Integration is understood here as a diachronic process in which two previously distinct elements come into play interaction and modify each other to give birth to a new whole. The integration social can then be defined as the diachronic process in which two groups social meet and modify each other to give birth to a "new" groupthrough reciprocal adjustments. It refers to a “dynamic of transformation mutual ”(Oriol, 1993, p.80). This position is radically different from the conception of integration by assimilation linked to the functionalist model to situate oneself in the model genetics proposed by S. Moscovici (1976). This model views social reality as constructed, emphasizing the interaction between individuals and groups, and studying the social phenomena from the point of view of conflict. Furthermore, in this model, individuals and groups seek not to adapt to a system, but rather "to transform their condition and transform themselves - so deviant minorities become active minorities – or yet to create new ways of thinking and acting ",(Moscovici, 1976, p.15-Ed.1996).
In this context, social integration is conceived as an interactive, conflicting process, constantly building a transforming social reality. This model will allow us here to read in a particular way the actions and the sports commitments of some stigmatized minorities and to show that beyond the apparent assimilation to the sports model dominant, they are fundamentally working to transform their social position (integration) by transforming the way we look at them (destigmatization).

Emphasis will be placed on the diachronic dimension of the process of social integration of minorities stigmatized on the basis of the following hypothesis:

The positions expressed and the conflicts emerging in the sporting practice of stigmatized minorities are relevant indicators of the stage of social integration of these minorities, and their progress in the destigmatization process.

To test this hypothesis, the analysis will focus on several stigmatized groups who have, more or less recently, invaded the sports space in France: people with disabilities physical, hearing and deaf, visually impaired, and homosexuals.

Even though this bringing together of very different groups may seem like abusive amalgamation, the purpose here is to show how these different minority groups find themselves on the “sports field” in an attempt to “force” the transformation of the how society looks at them, and how they do it. Our work will therefore mainly focused on these minority groups, their positions, their debates and their internal logic. The starting data will be both scientific work already published on these specific groups, and the presentation of public positions of groups which have not yet been the subject of published analyzes.

I. The investment of sport by different minorities: available data and historicity:

I.1. Sports investment by people with physical disabilities:

Sport for people with physical disabilities finds its “official” origin in the person of Dr. L. Guttman who, in 1951, was the promoter of the first Games Specialized Internationals of Stoke Mandeville (Great Britain). Following this first development of sport for people with disabilities, initiated by the medical sector and closely linked to functional rehabilitation aims, disabled people themselves quickly took charge of the organization and promotion of these sports activities. Within the framework of
specialized, multisport sports federations, access to which has been reserved for people with bodily harm (in France, the French Federation Handisport), we were able to witness the development of new sports activities involving the use of specific materials and defining new rules (double rebound wheelchair tennis for example). Most of these activities are activities derived from "ordinary" sports activities, which most often keep through their appellation, a direct relation to the original activity: wheelchair tennis, basketball wheelchair, quad rugby, seated skiing etc.

The organization of competitions quickly forced the establishment of categories to ensure a certain fairness between the participants, despite the differences in bodily harm from each other.

Currently, the internal debates of these federations are mainly focused on two aspects which are linked: on the one hand the logic of categorizations and, on the other hand the opening of specific activities to all audiences, disabled or not. The categorizations, initially medical, gradually become functional in the sense that the subject is not higher ranked in relation to his impairment, bodily harm, but in relation to his abilities functional which are evaluated by field tests and linked to sports activity in question (Piéra & Pailler, 1996, p. 14). As a result, some people in wheelchairs (affected low or partial spinal cord, amputation) may be almost the same functional abilities in wheelchair sports that able-bodied people who would play in armchair: opening in equity is therefore possible. It is now effective in wheelchair basketball in France, where mixed teams (able-bodied and disabled) are formed and have participated in the Handisport championships in the 3rd division since the 1996-1997 season (Piéra & Pailler, 1996, p. 8).

This remarkable openness of athletes and executives of the French Federation Handisport, especially in wheelchair basketball, contrasts with the situation sport of blind and partially sighted people.

I.2. Investing in sport by the visually impaired: a logic of separation:

In France, sports activities for the visually impaired are also managed by the French Handisport Federation. It should be noted, however, the glaring differences in the logics which structure each other's practices. For example, Torball, sport collective created for the visually impaired, is, to date, "reserved" for athletes with a visual
acuity less than 1/10 ° or a visual field less than 20 ° (French Federation Handisport, 1994, doc. 1 & 2). It is therefore open in competition only to athletes falling under the three classes defined by IBSA4 (B1, B2 and B3). Yet these three classes are inoperative in Torball since this collective sport is played with blindfolds, which puts all players tied regardless of their visual acuity. It’s therefore a sporting activity one of the rules (blindfolded) eliminates the disadvantage created by differences of visual acuity, and thus ensures fairness for all in the game, and which, however, is not open to all and remains exclusively reserved for the visually impaired and blind (Deleuze & BuiXuan, 1998).

I.3. Homosexuals investing in sport: from hiding to grouping:

In France, gay and lesbian sport was organized in 1986, in the region Parisian. However, the “gay pride” (literal translation of gay pride) sport is visible since 1982, date of the first Gay Olympic Games in San Francisco, established by Tom Waddell, a former Olympic decathlete in Mexico City.

This initiative in sport reflects, according to B. Pronger (1990), a turning point in the sense of actions of the homosexual movement: of a collective denunciation of medical discourse which see homosexuality as a pathology, the mobilization of the 80s is moving more towards the promotion of gay pride. These first Olympic Games bring together more of a thousand athletes and this success will be confirmed during the second edition in Los Angeles5 in 1986, which will almost triple the number of participants. It’s the return of these second Games of Los Angeles that a group of French decides, on the one hand, to create a structure regional committee called Gay Paris Ile de France (CGPIF), and on the other hand, to design with the help of other European associations a homosexual European sports federation.

This will be born in 1989 under the name of European Gay and Lesbian Sports Federation, (EGLSF).

In France, the CGPIF adopted in 1990 a federative structure which brought together several homosexual sports associations. In 1997, the number of disciplines increased, the CGPIF has thirteen sports associations, over four hundred members and is responsible for the organization of the fifth Eurogames, European gay and lesbian multisport games, the during Gay Games at European level.
These Gay and Lesbian Games, whether European or global, bring focus on participation: no selection is made to take part in these tournaments sportsmen. Tom Waddell says at the Second Gay Olympic Games in 1986: "Given that anyone from anywhere can participate in this event, we transcend traditional issues of exclusion by age, gender, race and belonging to a nation." (cited by B. Pronger, 1990, p. 255).

However, during the last Gay Games in Amsterdam, from August 1 to 8, 1998, two competitive practice systems took place in parallel. This double possibility of participation, one more focused on leisure and the other on competition, is at the heart questions from the gay and lesbian sports movement, namely: decide for a integration into the federal environment through increased sporting activity or the choice to maintain a friendly event with the ambition to bring together the largest number of people without no selection (Lefèvre, 1998, p. 65).

I.4. Investing in sport for the hearing impaired: a community strong and ancient today integrated?

The deaf community presents a story that can be summed up in four major steps. Marked for decades by stigma and rejection, associated with an identification with "infirmity", even "imbecility", deaf people will access "Instruction" thanks to the opening of a specialized school by the Abbé de l'Epée in 1755 in Paris. Using deaf mimics, it allows them, for the first time, access to reading and writing, thus creating a veritable deaf elite during the 19th century. But in 1880, the Milan Congress, advocating oralism, decreed the ban on the use of signs in schools for the deaf, and prefers to learn lip reading and language Speak clearly. This decision will have disastrous consequences for the community, in particular on his literacy and his access to school culture, the only oral method found to be ineffective (Sacks, 1990). It was not until around 1960 that the questioning (progressive) of the only oral method will be done, opening again the way to the language of signs and a real possibility of access to education for the deaf. Oliver Sacks (1990, p.196) points out, moreover, that the 1970s (in the United States) saw the appearance of "Deaf Pride "and the" Deaf Power "movement asserting political rights and the right to self-determination of the deaf. In this context, deaf and hard of hearing people present a story particular with regard to our problematic, insofar as their specific
appropriation of sports space dates back to the beginning of the century. D. Séguillon (1994) specifies that the birth of "Silent sport" in the voluntary sector (between 1890 and 1920) is contemporary with the prohibition on using sign language inside the National Institute for Young Deaf People Paris. He emphasizes that "The flowering of these [notably sports] associations is not the accidental, but one of the consequences of the ban on practicing the language of signs in large boarding schools for young deaf people. So the associations remain the only way in which this linguistic minority can preserve use and transmission of his language, and beyond his own culture "(p. 15). Through historical analysis, he high lights the fact that "silent sport" was "a key element in the affirmation of the deaf collective identity."

The first deaf sports club was founded in 1911. Seven years later, in 1928, created the Sports Federation of the Deaf of France. It was in 1924 that the first Games Silent Internationals are organized in Paris. According to D. Séguiillon, the meeting between the deaf world and the sports world wanted by the deaf themselves operates as destigmatization in the sense that it calls into question the common association at that time between deafness and infirmity. The display of deaf sport activity, in the competitive sense of term, is "proof that they can successfully practice activities reserved by excellence to "healthy" beings. Indeed, it is in the field of performance, in trying to position themselves within the sporting dogma, that the deaf have invested the sphere of sport.

Today, French "silent" sport seems to be "falling apart". The championships empties of their participants, and deaf people who play sports often join "ordinary" sports spaces, in parallel with a growing school integration. Furthermore, if deaf sports groups have long maintained relations, at national and international level, with sports federations of people with disabilities, the most representative international organization in the sports community (the International Sports Committee for the Deaf6) recently withdrew (February 1995) from the International Paralympic Committee, thus excluding itself from the entire competitive system international specific for disabled people.
II. Emerging conflicts: Internal debates animating these minorities.

II.1. Opening or closing?

The debates over the opening or closing down of minorities here focused on the question of accepting or refusing to meet with the majority in sports. The visually impaired currently work only between them in the Torball activity, excluding the participation of able-bodied in competition. It's the case also many activities reserved for the physically handicapped. However, these the latter differentiate themselves from the visually impaired by engaging in internal debates. Of reflections have indeed been made on the question of the type of categorization to retain in the organization of competitions, and on the reverse "segregative" logic which leads to prohibit any non-disabled person from practicing "specific" sports activities, which would strengthen the "ghettoisation" 7.

These debates are based on the question of whether agrees to consider "adapted" activities as new sporting activities, or simply as forms adapted from the "ordinary" sports from which they come. What is implied in this question, is the place of the minority group concerned, that is to say people in wheelchairs and by enlargement people with disabilities physical. Is the group a "deficient" group trying, as best it can, to do as the others, or is it a specific group carrying novelty and proposals addressing everyone? On the other hand, the question of possible participation in the sport system Ordinary, physically disabled athletes are also asked (Benoit, 1996).

These debates relating to the opening or closing of sports groups of people physically disabled find an echo in the conflicts animating the gay and lesbian sport. He is whether the gay and lesbian sport should remain specific (with its share of parody, humor) or if it must integrate the sport legitimized by tradition. In France, the 5th Eurogames (1997) was an opportunity for gay sports clubs and lesbians to confront their different positions regarding the future of sport homosexual. If the principle of an affirmation of identity brings these associations together, their way can be distinguished according to two profiles: on the one hand, that of the clubs which act completely outside the traditional sports organization, and which respect the structure of the homosexual sports network, that is to say of the CGPIF, then of the EGLSF. Else part, that of the clubs which want to create bridges with the already established sports movement by fitting into their competition network. These two types of claims
are signifying dissensions between the supporters of the right to be different (closure) and those of the right to indifference (openness). The former refuse to imitate heterosexuals and prefer the gay and lesbian ghetto, the second claim the right to the indifference that generates the image recognized homosexuality, integrated into society, even trivialized (Lefèvre, 1998, p.65-66).

This amounts to asking the question of the current place of gays and lesbians in the sport: can they display themselves openly without risking stigma? Where should they continue to assert themselves positively in a sport that is specific to them?

These debates on the opening or closing of minority groups are therefore good significant internal issues and various positions, and the conflicts that ensue seem, from one minority to another, quite similar.

**They are also often associated with a question of "meaning" of the openness of the group:**

When the groups opt for openness, it is therefore necessary to distinguish different logic of meeting with the other. One of the logics consists, for the minority, in accepting the other "at home", that is to say to bring the majority to practice in a form which is that of the specific group. It is therefore a movement from the majority towards the minority. Through for example, heterosexuals (homosexual friends, or sports partners) join clubs homosexuals, and participate in Gay Games and Eurogames. Likewise, many able-bodied people practice sport with disabled people in leisure or in competition (friends, family, work or study relationships) by playing while standing (in tennis) either by putting yourself in a wheelchair (in basketball). This movement was called "Reverse integration", in the sense that it goes against the grain of classical logic (A. Raufast, 1981).

The other option is for the minority to agree to go "to the Other", that is to say to go and play sports in so-called "ordinary" sports institutions. It's a movement from the minority to the majority. This logic is present in certain groups of people with physical disabilities, homosexuals, and deaf people who invest in clubs, majority of sports competitions and places. For example, the gay club "Paris Aquatique" is officially registered in the swimming competitions of the F.I.N.A.8.
Similarly, some Handisport sections are linked with sports federations "Ordinary", and allow disabled people to participate in competitions official of these (Archery Federation, Table Tennis etc.). The participation of deaf to the competitions of "ordinary" federations is today a daily reality, allowed by adaptations when necessary (e.g. terms in judo arbitration).

This movement towards the Other can be called "integration in the place" in the sense that it joins the "common" vision of the integration of minorities (A. Raufast, 1981).

The advance of the deaf in this "integration into the place" today guides their internal debates on other questions: does "silent sport" still have a reason to be?

Should the disaffection with this institutional framework be accepted as a success integration, or fought by a new mobilization of the community?

The conflicts observable within the different minorities can therefore be summarized on the one hand to the question of the relevance of opening the group to the majority, and on the other hand the terms of this opening (if undertaken). The presentation of the forms of specific practices developed by different minorities and the identification of the identity of internal conflicts related to these now allows us to offer an interpretation of uses of sport by these different minorities, from a sociological perspective.

III. For a diachronic interpretation of conflicts: a longitudinal look at the social integration process of minorities.

Based on work on the different levels of social integration (Nirje, 1980) and on the different parallel destigmatization strategies (Marcellini, 1991), which have so far focused mainly on individuals, here is a particular interpretation of internal histories and conflicts of minorities presented above, an interpretation which gives all its importance to temporality and to what one might call social "maturation".

Indeed, the application of models for understanding individual trajectories of social integration makes it possible to situate the different actions of minority groups in a continuum of steps from discrimination to the most accomplished social integration, through the use of sport. This reading provides a model for understanding the integration process induced by active minorities.
Preliminary step: Stigmatized or discriminated individuals are not linked between them, they constitute a group that can be considered as anomic in the sense of Moscovici (1976). However, the attribute that brings them together is highly discredited by the environment.

1st stage: The construction of "we"

We can observe the construction of a group in particular by the construction of the "We". There is an emergence of a nomic group with a distinct position and affirmed by contrast or in opposition to the social system. The group is building a positive identity in a logic of internal destigmatization (working only for him, Marcellini, 1991) which involves questioning the dominant social representations which are its associated.

2nd step: Appropriation of sport: "be identified and be visible"

The group appropriates the sports space and enters into "sports invention": it modifies the rules, the spirit and creates "his" sport or modalities of sport practice which are specific. Through sporting commitment, a stage of differentiation is built corresponding to the updating of an identity positioning. We locate a logic confinement on the group associated with a need to exclude "others". Through sport the group updates a counter-normative (heterodox) position and acquires visibility.

3rd step: Negotiation: "meet the others"

This stage is characterized by the establishment of meetings between the minority incorporated and the dominant group. This step marks the entry into a period of opening to reciprocal adjustments, which in the sports system takes the form of the opening of activities specific to people not members of the group ("upside down"), and by the desired rapprochement with "ordinary" federations, the request to take into account specifics in the general sports movement ("at the place"). The group is the active force which pushes the environment to the adjustments necessary for the integration of the minority in the general social system.

4th step: Social recognition: "to be accepted by others in their difference"

Effective adjustments between minority and majority allow social participation standardized with respect for difference. There is effective destigmatization of the
group and societal integration: the group is recognized in a non-discriminatory social place. The activism becomes useless. The group is a peer group like any other, which represents the identity reference of the subjects and ensures a certain identity security. It's a group of belonging which can even become virtual for the subjects, that is to say with whom they do not have not necessarily effective relationships, but only symbolic ones.

This table allows you to summarize and visualize these steps by highlighting correspondence, for each group, the situation in the process of social integration, in the destigmatization process, the type of group logic and use of sport.

Torball players are therefore currently, if we rely on this model of reading, in a stage of specific appropriation of sport, through the invention of activity associated with a kind of "reservation" of his practice to peers. If the closing of group about itself is clear (excluding "Others"), public display through sport, which should allow social visibility, only partially bearing fruit. Indeed, the Media coverage of this sport is very recent and remains very low (Deleuze & Bui-Xuan, 2008).

With regard to homosexuals, the conflicts observed between different clubs about the logic to be followed during the Gay Games (Lefèvre, 2008) can be interpreted as dissonances linked to differences in perception of the intensity of the stigma.

Those who want to orient the Gay Games on a parody of the Olympic Games, a big sporting party open to all, without focusing on performance, make a choice that comes from what we have called stage two here: stage of specific appropriation of sport, during which the group builds its own standard by opposing the majority which stigmatizes him. The group is a force which aims to defend its members by playing an active role vis-à-vis the social: he wants to promote change. The grouping of gays and lesbians around sports activities, internal tournaments at the CGPIF, is characteristic of this stage.

Work to reinforce a positive identity seems necessary for them. The group asserts itself in a counter-normative position, that of refusing to play with "straight guys".

However, openness to "Others" exists for this group, with a view to integration "upside down", which could be a sign of progress towards stage three known as
negotiation. However, it should be noted that these "Others" to which these groups are open are, in reality, already relatives (friends, family etc.).

Those who, on the contrary, want to enter into sporting logic, into the game of performance in the classic sense of the term can be located in the last two stages:

Those of negotiation and effective identity recognition. They feel recognized in their difference, the stigma is no longer significant for them, they can enter the dominant logic because they no longer (not) feel that they are part of a minority truly excluded. Non-attack lapses the defense. The practice group specific, the club is no more than an affinity group like any other, in which people meet, appreciate and understand each other with reference to close life experiences. he it is interesting to note that it is the oldest clubs which opt for this position, while newer gay and lesbian clubs choose to maintain a logic of "regrouping" (Lefèvre, 1998). The fact that supporters of the "right to indifference "are concerned with joining the" ordinary "federal network and being recognized in as homosexual sportsmen by the official federations makes it possible to locate them with the last continuum steps. After appearing several times at the official competitions of the "ordinary" sports movement with the rainbow flag, emblem of gays and lesbians, and having been accepted under this flag, these clubs no longer see the need for activism relentless. Their recognized participation in these competitions is an indicator of the adjustments already operated between part of the homosexual minority (The "Paris Aquatique" club, by example) and the heterosexual majority.

Athletes with physical disabilities have acquired this visibility, in particular at through the institutionalization and media coverage of the Paralympic Games and through access from wheelchair racing to the official discipline status of the Olympic Games. They are today entered the negotiation: negotiation on the rules of participation of able-bodied to "their sports" and negotiation on the rules for their participation in sports for the able-bodied.

The step is tough. If they offer to play able-bodied people in wheelchair basketball in their assigning a specific rating to enter a category, some federations "Ordinary" also accept them, but without really recognizing their differences. Through example, it is possible today for a wheelchair tennis player to register for the French Tennis Federation and to participate in competitions, but in the rules of the game who are
able-bodied: that is, playing with a rebound, while in a wheelchair the rule is "two rebounds". Concretely this means that it is almost impossible for a wheelchair tennis player, even at a very high level, to win a tournament "Ordinary". But the security acquired through years of specific practice allows wheelchair players nevertheless take a positive (and humorous) look at the majority's “half-opening” towards them.

According to them, previously, no "valid" would have agreed to play with them. Now they agree to play, but "can't yet accept to lose ". It’s a first step. And they don't doubt the second, even if they anticipate conflicts that will still have to be overcome, as explained by a French player from wheelchair tennis10:

The deaf community in France would be situated in the stage of "Social recognition". The progressive disaffection of the deaf of the F.S.S.F. could interpret itself as a success of its militant action which has significantly reduced the stigma hanging over the group. Visibility is no longer to be built, destigmatization no longer needs to be done to the extent that recognition in difference seems acquired (or in way of being). The current discourse of the deaf community, taken up by Séguillon (1998) in conclusion of his thesis, aims at extracting the category of disabled people, and positioning in the neutral difference, not to say positive: "The difference that deaf people carry should not put them in the category disabled. To be deaf is to possess a language, which no other group of people with disabilities do not have their own culture and identity. ") (P.369).

This militant discourse of demarcation vis-à-vis other groups of people with disabilities (today very widespread in the social body and embodied, among other things, by the withdrawal of the I.P.C.) is a strategy of destigmatization which is not based on neutralization a stigmatizing attribute (the designation "disabled"), but on the refusal of this attribute11.

This logic can be interpreted as the updating of a process of "misappropriation of the stigma ") (Gruel, 1985), which, if it allows one to extract oneself from the stigma, operates by returning this stigma on others. This strategy, legitimate on the part of a stigmatized group which seeks to escape exclusion, however, should not mask the existence of a culture and own identities observable in others, especially in the group of people physically disabled (Marcellini, 1997).
This discourse should not mask the similarity of speeches and logics either from one minority to another. Indeed, remember here that this is not the issue of impairment or objective disability that is at stake here, but that of stigma, that is to say, discredit associated with a given characteristic, that is to say that of the negative image. All the minorities studied here have only two things in common:

the possession of an attribute strongly discredited in the social environment where they evolve and a will, by active involvement in sport, destigmatization. But why sport?

IV. Active minorities and social change: But why sport?

IV.1 Active minorities and passive minorities

This reflection centered on the actions undertaken by minorities in space sportsman brings us to two main conclusions.

First, we observed that when people stigmatized by a any attribute manage to form a nomic group, the logic of integration plays at both an individual and a group level. The groups thus formed enter in a long process of social integration which goes through various stages, during which they gradually modify their modalities of interaction with the majority: of a relationship exclusion and voluntary "ghettoisisation" which corresponds to a defensive position, a relationship of provoked and provocative interactions in a claim position, for end up in a fusion relationship, in which they dissolve, the object of their emergence (the need for defense in the face of stigma) becoming obsolete.

It should be noted here, in contrast, that people with intellectual disabilities, group stigmatized par excellence (Giami et al., 1988), if they are present in the field are only "by proxy". Indeed, the particular difficulties of people with mental disabilities seem to prohibit forming a real group nomic, and one can only note the nonexistence of an active minority representative of these people and likely to become a force for change. Their sports practice is registered and recognized in the institutional space of the French Federation of Adapted Sport,
but the rules and forms of participation and meeting with the "majority" are still chosen and decided by others. The group is then more the object of a regrouping and a social integration strategy conceived by others than the subject of a group strategy.

IV.II Why sport?

We observed that the sports community seemed to be elected by different minorities as a useful interlocutor in interaction games allowing the development of social integration process. This reality deserves a detour here and some leads interpretative, based on the data presented above. Why sport today (and yesterday with the deaf) is it invested as a relevant space to fight against negative social representations associated with a group? How to explain the use of sport as "mediator for minority claims"? S. Moscovici (1979) shows very clearly that one of the first tasks of a minority who want to be active consists in access to visibility: "Whatever the sacrifice, their first concern is actually to become visible, so to get full recognition of their existence in the eyes of the majority and in the minds of those who compose it "(p.224).

In the examples treated here, we focused on the use of sport, and its connection with the question of visibility seems obvious: given the importance of sport in our societies and more precisely the media attention of which it is the object, the appropriation of the sports space by a minority can be interpreted as a strategy of visibility of the most relevant. In fact, if a group seeks to assert its existence and have it recognized this, that homosexual groups explicitly state) then the display on the "sports square "guarantees real visibility. Official recognition in France of three sports federations of disabled people (F.F. Handisport, F.F. Sport Adapté and F. Sportive des Sourds de France), even if their regrouping is on the agenda12, signs the explicit recognition of the corresponding groups. The organization of sporting events such as gay games by homosexuals allows access to enhanced visibility, even if the organizing bodies are not officially recognized today.

A second line of interpretation could be that of representations of sport and athletic. The positive image of the athlete would be targeted to create a conflict of representations including the expected outcome would be that of a destigmatization of the image of the disabled, the deaf, the homosexual ... The negative axes of the group's representations ("passive, unhappy, sad, dependent "for the physically and
visually handicapped (Paicheler, 1982)," disabled, confined, debilitated "for the deaf (Mottez, 1977)," feminine, perverse, unhealthy, personality psychopathological "for homosexuals (Pollack, 1993)) by being joined to the image of could not remain as it is. But it should be emphasized that certain groups homosexuals are particularly innovative in their “specific appropriation of sport” and in their work on images. The staging of certain Eurogames events in 1997 in Paris was based on humor (corrosive some would say) and derision. The institution sporty was caricatured through a carnival party, based not on the sports performance, but on the festive grouping and provocative parody. for example a "handbag throw" event was organized by disguised athletes for the occasion in "big fools". This is a logic of "return to the sender" of common social representations on homosexuality, which aims to highlight the ridiculous and the exceeded. This type of appropriation / distortion of sport by reversing stereotypes discredits discrediting images through humor.

Beyond the search for visibility and positivity, sport also arises as normative reference. At a time of sport for all, to do sport is to be like everyone world "is to build a community space with the majority, even a place of identity. It’s sharing, despite its difference, a number of things socially valued, including adhering to the “performance cult” (Ehrenberg, 1991). The practice sport, as a normalizing practice, can therefore signify the desire for research into common beyond the claimed differences. This is particularly the case for the deaf, people with physical disabilities and the blind, who despite the adaptations of sports they practice, insist on sport aviation, that is to say on their adhesion and their will to enter in the competitive logic. This is in particular at the end of the so-called "appropriation" stage specific to sport ”, that this normative dimension is emphasized in the phases of negotiation with the majority. Groups then focus on the desire to belong to the sports community. Media coverage of sport for people with disabilities.

moreover, particularly reference to this normative logic. As R.C. Lachal shows (1997) in his analysis of French documentary programs on disability, when the sports theme is broached, it is always presented as a means of integration and standardization. This dimension also distinguishes groups of people with disabilities from homosexual groups, the latter remaining very divided on adherence to the sports model dominant and its competitive logic, as we saw earlier.
A final line of interpretation seems to us to be retained, that of the body. Sport, in as a bodily activity, is an activity which brings into play, or even stages, the bodies, and the minority groups we talked about here all seem to us to have "Body specifics". Whether these are related to sensory differences or physical (specificities of the biological body), or subjective differences (specificities of perception of gender in relation to sex), the minorities we have discussed here have a relationship with the particular body, and above all are perceived as having relationships to particular bodies and / or particular bodily practices.

The appropriation of sport could therefore be thought of as a means of showing off this particular body, whether to underline the differences or similarities with the norm bodily. The sports space here would be the place where various uses of the body are displayed, different ways of acting with the body, or even different bodies (for example the sick body of the AIDS patient displayed at the Gay Games, the amputated body of the skier in his shell while seated).

This is not a question of social visibility, but of a visibility objective "Physical" aiming at widening the limits of bodily models, by offering them new.

Other hypotheses would still surely be explored in an attempt to explain why sport is today "invaded" by multiple minority groups which ask, ask him to adapt, to adjust to integrate them.

V. The "sports ghetto" as a compulsory mediation of integration?

Is it because he is the guarantor of rules and standards that the "infiltration" of the environment sportsman and his acceptance of difference are targeted as signs of social acceptance irrevocable? Is it because it is the archetype of systems based on discrimination, exclusion and elitism that we want in the first place to "move"?

In any event, it appears, at the end of this study, that sport arises well as a play space in which the logics of social integration of minorities are updated at different levels: it could be represented as an "airlock" of integration which opens the way to "full" social recognition.

The intersection of the speeches and acts of different minorities engaged in this "game" also makes it possible to identify the "stages" of the process of social
integration of these minorities and to envisage their social trajectories in a prospective logic. In addition, it allows show that true integration requires conflict, negotiation and reciprocal adjustments between minority and majority.

It thus appears that sport can be the support of what N.J. Herman (1993) calls "Political activism", that is to say a collective strategy for managing the stigma that passes by grouping stigmatized “peers”. She also broadens the conclusions of her work, which focused on ex-psychiatric patients, homosexual groups, "Disabled in action" to "radical feminists" and points out that "political activism" of these groups serves a triple function: the repudiation of norms of normality, the building a positive identity, and spreading a new group image. According to political activism therefore has a social and personal "return".

The importance of bringing together stigmatized peers is clear, as a place to recognition and security, as a place for organizing collective action against stigma. This reflection underlines well, that during certain periods of the life of a subject stigmatized, as well as during certain stages in the life of a stigmatized group, such as says Pollack of homosexuals (1993), "happiness [is] in the ghetto";

"Ghetto" in which the stigmatized subject finds himself "on vacation from his stigma"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation in the process of social integration</th>
<th>Stage of the process destigmatization</th>
<th>Type of group logic</th>
<th>Type of sport use</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination and isolation</td>
<td>Stigma</td>
<td>“Stigmatized” individuals are not related. The group is defined from the outside but it is an anomic group</td>
<td>Individual sports practice in masking situation the stigmatizing attribute (when possible) or by Assuming discredit alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination, and regrouping.</td>
<td>The construction of &quot;we&quot; Building an identity collective positive Destigmatization process internal</td>
<td>Building a group nomic which redefines itself positively.</td>
<td>Individual sports practice in masking situation the stigmatizing attribute (when possible) or by assuming discredit alone.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social existence of the group. Institutionalization.</td>
<td>The display and pride of &quot;We&quot; Social visibility Destigmatization process internal and Activism.</td>
<td>Group development and of its own values. Work on affiliation to group of individuals &quot;Isolated&quot;. Business development of group</td>
<td>The specific appropriation of sport and the organization of specific practices Peer group practice. Grouping around a specific sporting logic, even sports activities specific. Updating of a specific identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social participation in activities and events not</td>
<td>The negotiation Conflicts and Processes adjustments in progress Destigmatization</td>
<td>Public expression, actions of communications,</td>
<td>Contact research with sports organizations &quot;Ordinary&quot;</td>
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specific to the group. Integration "at the place" and "Upside down" The physically handicapped, homosexuals.

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<th>process</th>
<th>strategy of highlight. Search for contact with people different from themselves.</th>
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<td>External and Activism</td>
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Sport as a visibility and positivation support for differences. Demonstrations and attempts at interference in the mainstream sport system, and welcoming everyone in "specific" sports. Updating of a logic of specific social participation.

Effective societal integration The deaf The most gay clubs old

Social recognition and widespread acceptance of the difference Effective destigmatization

Social participation standardized

Dissolution of specific sports structures. "Ordinary" leisure or competitions with recognition differences.
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