Versión electrónica: ISSN 0719-367x http://www.cuadernos.info https://doi.org/10.7764/cdi.46.1428



Received: 06-27-2018 / Accepted: 09-05-2019

# Sport, advertising and brands in physical education textbooks

Deporte, publicidad y marcas en los libros de texto de educación física

Sport, advertising and brands in physical education textbooks

Esporte, publicidade e marcas nos livros didáticos de educação física

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**ABSTRACT** The brand mania is characterized by an unreflective and excessive consumption, guided by the exhibition of brands, symbol of prestige and identification with the great media personalities, including sports figures. The aim of this study was to identify the presence of hidden advertising and brands in Physical Education textbooks in Spain. This aspect compromises the current legislation and educational objectives regarding education for responsible consumption. We conducted a descriptive and content analysis of 6773 photographs, performed univariate and bivariate analyses, and applied the  $\chi^2$  test, with a significance level of 95%. The percentage of photographs with brands in Physical Education textbooks indicated a lack of attention to this phenomenon by the educational institution. Textbooks reproduce the brands system and sports sponsorship in their photographs. The presence of photographs with brands in sports clothes entrenches the branding phenomenon in pupils. The hallmarks found in these textbooks are linked to competitive people, who belong to the elite, wear brand clothes and profit from sports sponsorship, regardless of the business ethic of the sponsoring company. Thus, school manuals contribute to private commercial interests.

**KEYWORDS**: physical education; sport; advertising; brand; textbooks.

#### **FORMA DE CITAR**

Cómo citar: González-Palomares, A. & Rey-Cao, A. (2020). Deporte, publicidad y marcas en los libros de texto de educación física. *Cuadernos.info*, (46), 281-306. https://doi.org/10.7764/cdi.46.1428

**RESUMEN** | El marquismo se caracteriza por un consumo irreflexivo y desmedido, quiado por la exhibición de marcas, símbolo de prestigio e identificación con los grandes agentes mediáticos, entre ellos las figuras deportivas. El objetivo de este estudio fue identificar la presencia de publicidad encubierta y marcas en los libros de texto de Educación Física en España. Este aspecto compromete las finalidades del sistema educativo con respecto al consumo responsable. El estudio fue descriptivo y llevó a cabo un análisis de contenido de 6773 fotografías. Se realizó un análisis univariante y bivariante y se aplicó el test  $\chi^2$ , con una confianza de 95%. El porcentaje de fotografías con presencia de marca en los libros de Educación Física indicó una falta de atención a este fenómeno por parte de la institución educativa. Los libros reprodujeron el sistema de marcas y el patrocinio deportivo en sus fotografías. La presencia de marcas en los atuendos deportivos contribuye al fenómeno del marquismo en el alumnado. Las señas de identidad que encuentran los estudiantes en los libros de texto se vinculan con personas competitivas, que forman parte de la élite, visten ropa de marca y lucran con el patrocinio deportivo, independientemente de la ética comercial de la empresa patrocinadora. Así, los manuales escolares contribuyen a intereses comerciales privados.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** educación física; deporte; publicidad; marca; libros de textos.

**RESUMO** O marquismo é caracterizado pelo consumo impensado e excessivo, guiado pela exibição de marcas, símbolo de prestígio e identificação com os grandes agentes da mídia, incluindo figuras do esporte. O objetivo do estudo foi identificar a presença de publicidade dissimulada e marcas nos livros de texto de Educação Física na Espanha. Esse aspecto compromete os objetivos do sistema educacional em relação ao consumo responsável. O estudo foi descritivo e foi realizada uma análise de conteúdo de 6773 fotografias. Foi feita uma análise univariada e bivariada e o teste do  $\chi^2$  foi aplicado com 95% de confiança. O percentual de fotografias com presença de marca nos livros de Educação Física indicou uma falta de atenção a esse fenômeno por parte da instituição de ensino. Os livros reproduziram o sistema de marcas e o patrocínio esportivo em suas fotografias. A presença de marcas em roupas esportivas contribui para o fenômeno do marquismo nos alunos. As senhas de identidade que encontra o alunado nos livros de texto estão ligadas com pessoas competitivas, que fazem parte da elite, vestem roupas de marca e lucram com o patrocínio esportivo, independentemente da ética comercial da empresa patrocinadora. Assim, os manuais escolares contribuem para interesses comerciais particulares.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: educação física; esporte; publicidade; marca; livros didáticos.

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Advertising is one of the tools with greater visibility and notoriety in consumer societies (Baudrillard, 2009; Fernández, 2002). Its action has infiltrated every aspect of social and cultural life, including art, politics, or, as this work addresses, formal education (Klein, 2001; Vera, 1998).

The interest in revealing the hidden curriculum transmitted from school has led in recent years to an extensive literature related to the critical analysis of textbooks. In the case of Physical Education, these studies have focused on variables related to gender (González-Palomares, Altmann, & Rey-Cao, 2015; González-Palomares, Táboas-Pais, & Rey-Cao, 2017; Herrador, 2013; Moya, Ros, Bastida, & Menescardi, 2013; Sánchez, Martos-García, & López, 2017), disability (Botelho-Gomes, Silva, Queirós, & Caetano, 2008; González-Palomares, Rey-Cao, & Táboas-Pais, 2015; Hardin, 2007; Moya-Mata, Ruiz, Martín, Pérez, & Ros, 2017; Táboas-Pais & Rey-Cao, 2012), age (Botelho & Neira, 2014; González-Palomares & Rey -Cao, 2017; Rey-Cao, Táboas-Pais, & Canales-Lacruz, 2013) or race (González-Palomares & Rey-Cao, 2019; McDonald, 2013; Táboas-Pais & Rey-Cao, 2015). However, the analysis of the presence of advertising has not been addressed.

The main objective of this study was to identify the presence of hidden advertising in Spanish Physical Education –PE– textbooks, which in turn resulted in two exploratory objectives: to describe the presence of brands in PE textbooks. and analyze the representation of sports sponsorship in the images of those books.

To contextualize the research, we explain the role of brands in today's society, the impact they have on the young population, their link with PE through sport and, finally, the impact that the presence of advertising in textbooks can have in students.

# BRANDING, ADVERTISING, SPORTS, AND TEXTBOOKS: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK Brand and brand mania

Companies use advertising as a method to educate and seduce the modern consumer, the brand consumer (Lipovetsky, 2007). The brand of a product is the distinctive hallmark assigned to distinguish it from other similar products that exist in the market. It has a unique, coherent and recognizable meaning, which can be made up of a name, a symbol, a logo, a sign or a combination of all of the above (Mayorga, 2014; Osuna, 2008). The brand creates value for both the consumer and the company that markets it (de Sousa, 2013). As Bourdieu (2006) points out, consumption is a practice that reveals a certain social position, a class habitus. Brands, like luxury products, would have "the virtually exclusive fonction [...] to classify their owners" (p. 229).

The brand system supposes a semiotic exposure, an investment in an image that extends and becomes independent from its commercial bases and creates its own mythology, which leads to individualistic consumption, alien to the ethical questions related to the origins of these products (Enrique, 2007). In the reference work No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies (2001), Melanie Klein analyzes the perverse influence of brands in contemporary societies: their deplorable effects on the labor market, global consumption and the colonization of space public by the private. The evolution of the economy has caused the brand to end up being more important than the product, and the ubiquity of logos has made them the closest thing to an international language. Products often marketed by multinationals that eat away the poorest countries in the world to accumulate unimaginable benefits (Klein, 2001).

The youth audience is the most attractive to established brands: it is vulnerable, sensitive to emotional and scarcely rational messages, with a growing purchasing power, a great influence on the type of expenses-purchases made by the family, a strong advertising culture and they identify with brands very easily (Sánchez, Megías, & Rodríguez, 2004). These factors feed the brand: a growing dependence, obsession, or strong attraction for certain brands (García, 1997; Fernández, 2002; Gil & García, 2003) that conditions lifestyles (Méndiz, 2005).

# Sport as a strategy for brand consumption

The field of sports practices delimits the social space occupied by physicalsports practices. In this field,

There are fights that have as their object [enjeu], among other things, the monopoly of the legitimate definition of sporting activity and the legitimate function of sporting activity (...) and is in turn inserted in the field of struggles by the definition of legitimate body and the legitimate use of the body (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 181).

Agents' interest in participating in the field is based on a habitus that generates consumer practices (Bourdieu, 1999) and materializes in the choice of clothing, implements or different products to access the field, whether as a spectator, practitioner or symbolic beneficiary of certain distinctions (Desbordes, Ohl, & Tribou, 2001).

Sports spectacle is the main cultural exhibition of the mass movement (Perelman, 2014), and a privileged space for the interests of neoliberal globalization (Miller, Lawrence, McKay, & Rowe, 2001). It is part of the seductive framework of advertising and acts in turn as a means of communication, since the public participates directly or indirectly in sports activity (Godoi, Dummel, & Sá, 2016). Sports marketing

exploits its intangible values: emotional connection, identification with sports entities, sports modalities themselves, or athletes (Mayorga, 2014). Sponsorship is used by companies and institutions so that the image of the sponsored person and its values are transmitted to the sponsor (Nogales, 2006; Sáez, 2008). The main interest is the figure of an elite athlete because sports success becomes a benchmark for brands (Marín, 2010). Sports clubs and athletes become brands, advertising all kinds of consumer objects: clothing, perfumes, cars, etc. (Eguizábal, 2012). The brand mania, as Martínez (2000) points out in the context of a simple experience with ten students from a basketball school, is characterized by "thoughtless and excessive consumption guided by the exhibition of sports brands (...) symbol of prestige and identification with the great sports figures"(p. 1).

IMG Consulting, an international company of professional services related to sports, tourism and leisure (IMG, 2008-2012) has produced, for five consecutive years -2008/2012- a ranking on the notoriety of two types of brands: sports equipment and sports sponsors. Brand awareness can be defined as "1. That which manifests itself with evidence, both physically and communicationally. 2. Or the one known by potential consumers, i.e., with high availability and mental accessibility. 3. Or the one with name, fame and reputation" (Del Moral, 2003, p. 2).

The young population is the main target of sports brands advertising campaigns, since they enthusiastically respond to their calls and prefer brands used by their sports idols over cheaper products (Desbordes et al., 2001). Fernández (2002) analyzed through a survey the relationship of teenagers with brands. 40.2% of the sample liked branded products, compared to 8.6% who did not. Half answered, "it depends". The most attractive products were clothing and sports shoes. The reasons seem clear: they are part of the external appearance and serve as a presentation card. In the answer to the question "What brands come to mind more quickly?", twelve of the 40 most remembered brands are sportive ones. Among the top eight brands, seven are sports equipment. The most frequently named were Nike, Adidas, Kelme, and Reebok. These data agree with the research conducted by Gil and García (2003), in which the students of the School of Teacher-Training of Albacete showed to have this order of preferences for the brands: Nike, Reebok, and Adidas. Martínez (2000) applied a questionnaire and a discussion about shoe brands to 10-year-old boys and girls from a basketball school in Madrid. The experience revealed that they preferred Nike, because it is the one that is most advertised. Gil and García (2003) also presented the beliefs, consumption habits and preferences of the future teaching staff regarding the garment, clothing, or sports clothing. The specialties of Music Education, Physical Education and Early Childhood Education leaned towards the relationship between quality and brand when buying, with percentages of 42.2%, 56.9% and 52.3%, respectively. The brands preferred by

the surveyed students were Nike, Reebok, and Adidas. The authors of the study highlighted the contradiction of the students when they stated that the brand mania is a phenomenon that affects boys and girls, but not future teachers. A large majority of the surveyed students acquire and consume certain sports brands (Gil & García, 2003). Bringué, Navas and Sánchez (2005) analyzed the messages that came through the advertising spots of seven television networks. One of the roles most developed by young people is that of consumers (19.3%), and the attire they used to wear at the spots was sports clothes (10.8%). Méndiz (2005), based on a report conducted by FAD-INJUVE in 2004, indicates that sports shoes are identified as very relevant for youth consumption, which corresponds to one of the sectors in which advertising can act effectively.

Despite these factors, sport is a hegemonic content in PE, both in practical development content (Robles, Giménez, & Abad, 2010) and in presence in textbooks (González-Palomares & Rey-Cao, 2015). That is why many of "the material resources used in different activities are the object of a commercialization that relies on sports idols, associating through advertising the person's sports values with the quality values of sports equipment" (Hernández & Velázquez, 1996, p. 149).

## Textbooks and illegal advertising

School textbooks, like advertising and consumption (Vera, 1998; Enrique, 2007), have a considerable influence on the creation of student identity and the configuration of a legitimate imaginary (Aamotsbakken, 2006; Jorquera, 2010). Textbooks reduce the complexity of social reality (Gallardo, 2001) and establish a biased microworld that often reproduces legitimations of the established social order (Bernete, 1994). In this regard, the multidisciplinary study by Atienza and Van Dijk (2010) on ten Social Sciences textbooks for 2nd and 3rd year of Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO by its Spanish acronym), demonstrated the existence of an ideological prejudice in favor of Spanish and European in-groups against migrants and non-European groups. This manifestation, concealed from ideology in school textbooks, had also been shown by Atienza (2006, 2007) in the analysis of History and Social Sciences books for secondary education students.

Specifically linked to advertising and branding, a study by Lee (2009) analyzed the content of three South Korean high school English textbooks to investigate the ways in which globalization is reflected. The work revealed that the manuals promoted western culture in positive terms, particularly the American one, by including trademarks, along with other elements referring to popular culture and Western arts.

This specific form of reproduction is aggravated because adolescents may find themselves lacking sufficient critical capacity to deal with advertising content (Bermejo, 2013; Martínez & Sánchez, 2012), due to the low relevance of visual literacy in secondary education (Pérez & Pi, 2015) and because the brand is legitimized thanks to its presence in textbooks, bearers of formal curriculum. A message is less persuasive if it is explicitly disclosed as a commercial advertisement (Briñol, Cárdaba, Gallardo, & Horcajo, 2015). The alleged commercial neutrality of textbooks with respect to a certain brand causes them to have a greater capacity to condition social values and attitudes than other instances of explicit advertising activity (Sánchez et al., 2004). As Bermejo (2013) points out, the types of hidden advertising are characterized by the fact that the subject accesses a text of an informative nature, such as a school manual, in which an advertising message is incorporated that is not highlighted or delimited by codes that make it independent as autonomous content. This message triggers peripheral and low-level attentional processes that, even being subconscious, can influence purchasing decisions. This hiding causes the person to relax and not adopt defensive and counter-arguing attitudes against advertising messages. A study by Brennan and McCalman (2011) revealed that the recognition and recall of brands included in textbooks occurred even though this incorporation did not have an economic consideration and that this process was more effective when the brands were already familiar to the student body.

These facts are known to advertising creatives and have determined that the legislation explicitly prohibits illegal advertising. Law 34/1988, of November 11, General Advertising in Spain, determines the suppression of illegal advertising and includes the principle of authenticity, referring to the need for the public to clearly recognize that a message is advertising. When the public is not revealed that the communication is advertising, they are deceived, even if the content is truthful (Higueras, 1998).

The study carried out by Táboas-Pais and Rey-Cao (2011) with ESO students revealed their attention to certain brands present in textbooks. The authors conducted a perception test using photographs from ESO's PE books. The results revealed that 64.3% of the students –56 of 87 participants– described the clothing and brands worn by the protagonists of the images: testimonies such as "Adidas boots, Boss sweatshirt or Coca-Cola sponsorship" (p. 108) are present in the student's discourse. This interest in the brands, especially sports ones, of their PE books had not been previously shown in the scientific literature and had not been included as a variable in previous studies on curriculum materials either. The truth is that the relationship established with brands and advertising in the processes of formal education has been scarcely analyzed, perhaps because its supposed lack of intention has left it outside the theoretical conceptualizations of propaganda and advertising (Tarín, 2018). But advertising is a form of ideological propaganda (Screti, 2011): it propagates the ideology of consumption, the capitalist

ideology, and the idea that happiness depends on the products purchased and their brand. The images of brands linked to people or spaces that illustrate references of success, healthy life patterns or appropriate behaviors implicitly convey what is considered correct and end up being legitimized as elements of the ideal lifestyle. Through the visual representations present in the contexts of formal education, the students put into operation the mechanisms of the absent curriculum, to know what they do not teach us. "Through visual language, school institutions prepare us for adult life and, unconsciously, students accept a series of values that they would not accept if they were explicitly transmitted" (Acaso & Nuere, 2005, p. 219).

Textbooks can be a hidden advertising medium if they include notoriety marks in the illustrative photographs of the curricular content. The Organic Law of Education –LOE, by its Spanish acronym– (Ley Orgánica 2/2006 de Educación, 2006) in its fourth additional provision, establishes that,

The supervision of textbooks (...) will be part of the ordinary inspection process exercised by the educational Administration on all the elements that constitute the teaching and learning process, which must ensure respect for the principles and values contained in the Constitution and in the provisions of this Law (p. 17195).

Therefore, the diffusion of messages that stimulate brand mania would compromise the functionality of this type of curricular material because it would produce knowledge, values and ways of acting inconsistent with the objectives and purposes of the Spanish educational system and legal context (De la Orden, 2009). Both the LOE and the Organic Law for the Improvement of Educational Quality –LOMCE, by its Spanish acronym– cover education for consumption when they establish in ESO objectives "k) (...). Critically value social habits related to health, consumption, care of living beings and the environment, contributing to their conservation and improvement" (Real Decreto 1631/2006, p. 679; Real Decreto 1105/2014, p. 177).

#### **MATERIAL AND METHOD**

The study was of an empirical and descriptive nature among the textbooks of the different Spanish publishers. We used content analysis as a research technique and the indicators were based on the tool proposed by Táboas-Pais (2009), modeled ad hoc.

### Sample

The sample consisted of 6,773 photographs of PE's textbooks for ESO. They belong to 39 PE books published by 12 Spanish publishers who edited them for the four ESO courses between 2006 – the beginning of the LOE– and 2011 – closing of

Categories	Indicators	
	1.1.1. Well-known brand outfit	
	1.1.2. Space with the presence of a well-known brand	
1.1. Brand	1.1.3. Various	
	1.1.4. Without brand	
	1.1.5. Not distinguishable	
	1.2.1. Competitive	
	1.2.2. Formal educational	
	1.2.3. Non-formal educational	
1.2 Coope	1.2.4. Informal	
1.2. Scope	1.2.5. Functional	
	1.2.6. Instrumentalized	
	1.2.7. Scenic	
	1.2.8. Not distinguishable	
	1.3.1. Elite	
1.3. Level	1.3.2. Non elite	
	1.3.3. Not distinguishable	

Table 1. Category system

Source: Own elaboration.

the sample. The publishers analyzed were: Akal, Almadraba, Anaya, Bruño: Pila Teleña, Edelvives, Kip Kiné, Laberinto, Paidotribo, Pila Teleña, Santillana, Serbal: Proyecto Olimpia and Teide. All publishers that published PE ESO manuals in the indicated period were analyzed. For those publishers that published more than one project, the one closest to the year of publication of the Law was selected. All the photographs were analyzed, except for those in which the human figure body dimension did not appear or in which the *type* of motor expression –motor expression dimension– was not clear.

#### Variables and instrument

The variables analyzed were: brand -presence of any brand or logo of a sponsoring company-, scope of practice -context or situation where the activity is carried out-, and level -level of dedication, seriousness and/or professionalism. The independent variable was the brand and the crossing with the variables scope and level was used to determine if sports sponsorship was represented in the images of PE textbooks. Table 1 explains the indicators that operationalize each of the variables and configured the coding system.

#### Method

The system combines entirely original categories with categories from a previous coding system (Táboas-Pais, 2009). We created the brand variable and modified the scope of practice category, following the indications of the conclusions of this author's doctoral thesis. The validity, reliability, objectivity, and practical utility (Heinemann, 2003) of the category was verified in three phases:

- 1. Pilot test. 539 images extracted using a random number table were analyzed. This number was selected following the criteria of Lacy and Riffe (1996).
- 2. Consultation with experts. Three experts in content analysis participated. A webpage was designed that included the category system, 15 sample images and a form. We asked their opinion on the suitability of the system for the object of study, exhaustiveness and mutual exclusivity of the categories, clarity in the wording of the definitions and minimization of the subjectivity of the observer. The information was collected with a Likert scale with values ranging from 1 –strongly disagree– to 5 –strongly agree– and complementary qualitative information. Most of the items received a rating of 4 or 5 by the three experts.
- 3. Intercoder testing. Three experts in content analysis categorized 50 images from the final sample. Twenty of the 50 images responded to a non-random sampling to obtain cases that allowed testing all of the instrument's subcategories. The remaining 30 corresponded to a simple random sampling. Krippendorff's alpha revealed high reliability in all variables: scope of practice  $\alpha$ =0.90, level  $\alpha$ =0.92, and brand  $\alpha$ =0.86. A person external to this process encoded 300 images belonging to the final sample. Krippendorff's alpha was recalculated. The selection of the images for this second test was by simple random sampling and the Krippendorff alpha also obtained high reliability: scope of practice  $\alpha$ =0.84, level  $\alpha$ =0.85, and brand  $\alpha$ =0.88.

The software used was SPSS 20.0; we performed a univariate descriptive analysis and association measures between the different variables –bivariate. We used contingency tables and adjusted standardized residuals. Pearson's Chisquare test ( $\chi^2$ ) was applied with a significance level of 5% ( $\alpha$  = 0.05). For this level of significance, the adjusted standardized residuals are significant when the values are greater than ± 1.96 in absolute value.

#### **RESULTS**

There were 195 lost cases -2.9% in the analysis of the brand variable, in which it was not possible to distinguish if there was any notorious brand in the image.

The remaining 6,578 cases were considered (N=6578). The results are presented based on the specific objectives set.

The first specific objective of the study was to describe the presence of brands in Pe's textbooks. The results showed that 21.9% of the sample –1,441 images – made reference to some well-known brand. In 78.1% of the images –5,137 photographs—there was no brand. 93.5% –1,347 photographs— of the images that featured a well-known brand showed it through the outfit –clothing or sports equipment. In 3.7% of the cases –54 photographs—it was present in the space where the physical-sports activity was carried out. In 2.8% of the sample –40 photographs—it appeared both in the outfit of the protagonist of the action and in the practice space. Sports brands were the most present, and the three most common were Adidas with 722 pictures –10.4%—, Nike with 369 images –5.8%— and Reebok with 86 images –1.2%. Other brands were also found: Asics, with 32 images; Umbro, with 27; Lotto, with 22 images, and Speedo, with 13 photographs.

Among the non-sports brands, Coca-Cola stood out with 22 images, San Miguel with eight, and Banesto and Vodafone with six, respectively.

The second specific objective sought to analyze the representation of sports sponsorship in the images of textbooks. For the cross mark-scope of practice, we obtained an associated p-value of 0.000 in the  $\chi^2$  test, so the null hypothesis was rejected at the 0.05 significance level. Therefore, it is admitted that there was a statistically significant relationship between the scope of practice and the presence of brands. The percentages in Table 2 reveal that 32.8% of the photographs that were located within the scope of the competition showed outfits with a brand, 2.5% spaces with a brand presence, 2.3% presented both outfits and spaces with brands and 62.4% of the photographs did not feature a brand. The images that did not show them were represented in a higher percentage in the other areas. The analysis of the adjusted residuals indicates that the relationships were positive in the photographs that presented a brand in the competitive scope: residual sports attire -12.0-, space with the presence of the brand -8.0- and images in which people with sports outfits and brands in space coexist or, what is the same, various -8.9-. The relationship was negative between the competitive environment and the photographs that did not refer to any brand -residual -15.2.

Figure 1 shows that the photographs that referred to some brand were more represented in the competitive field (N=612). The images that did not show brands were mostly represented in other non-competitive areas (N=3241).

For the crossing of the brand and elite variables, the p-value obtained in  $\chi^2$  was 0.000, which means that, at the previously established level of significance

			Scope		
			Competitive	Others	
	Well-known brand outfit	Count	534	722	
		% scope	32.8%	18.2%	
		Adjusted residuals	12.0	-12.0	
	Space with the presence of a well-known brand	Count	41	11	
		% scope	2.5%	0.3%	
		Adjusted residuals	8.0	-8.0	
Brand	Various	Count	37	3	
		% scope	2.3%	0.1%	
		Adjusted residuals	8.9	-8.9	
	No brand	Count	1014	3241	
		% scope	62.4%	81.5%	
		Adjusted residuals	-15.2	15.2	

χ<sup>2</sup>=307.611; gl=3; p<0.000

Table 2. Contingency table for brand variables and scope of practice

Source: Own elaboration.

 $-\alpha$ =.05-, the alternative hypothesis  $-H_1$ - was accepted. The presence of a brand depended on the scope of practice in which the photograph appeared.

As Table 3 shows, 42.6% of the photographs linked to high performance presented people with branded outfits, 3.1% branded spaces, 2.8% people with branded outfits and branded spaces. 51.4% of the images did not refer to any brand. 82.2% of photographs linked to non-elite physical-sports activities did not refer to any brand and 17.2% presented people in branded outfits.

The adjusted typified residues indicated great relationships in those images in which a brand was shown in high-performance physical-sports activities: sports attire –residual 16.7–, space with the presence of a well-known brand –residual 8.7 – and images in which the two previous indicators –residual 9.1– appeared together. On the contrary, a high negative relationship was found between the level of elite sports and those photographs in which no brand was represented – residual –19.8–. Figure 2 shows how the percentage of photographs that presented a brand is higher in elite physical-sports activities (N = 393) than in non-elite physical-sports activities (N = 959).

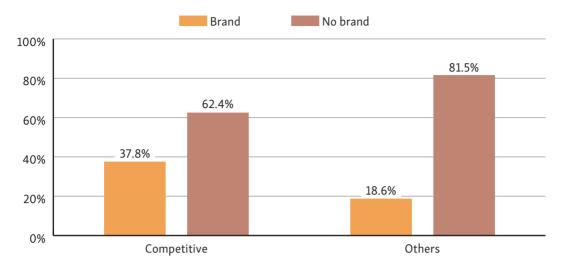


Figure 1. Scope of practice based on brand

Source: Own elaboration.

		_	Level		
			Elite	Non- elite	
	- Well-known brand outfit -	Count	345	927	
		% scope	42.6%	17.2%	
Brand		Adjusted residuals	16.7	-16.7	
	Space with the presence of a well-known brand	Count	25	19	
		% scope	3.1%	0.4%	
		Adjusted residuals	8.7	-8.7	
	Various	Count	23	13	
		% scope	2.8%	0.2%	
		Adjusted residuals	9.1	-9.1	
		Count	416	4433	
	No brand	% scope	51.4%	82.2%	
		Adjusted residuals	-19.8	19.8	

 $<sup>\</sup>chi^2$ =463.819; gl=3; p<0.000

Table 3. Contingency table for brand and level variables

Source: Own elaboration.

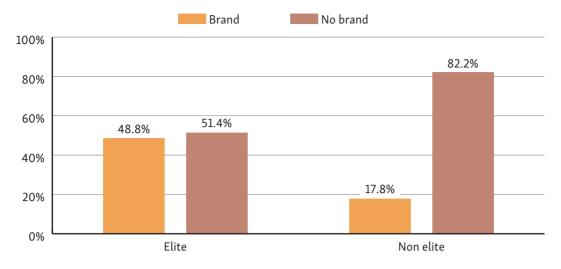


Figure 2. Level of practice represented based on brand

Source: Own elaboration.

#### DISCUSSION

The percentage of photographs with brand presence in PE books –21.9%– indicates a lack of attention to this phenomenon by the educational administration. This fact may have been reinforced by the scarcity of scientific literature on the matter.

The presence of hidden advertising poses the following question: Is their apparent lack of intentionality exempt from ideology, in this case linked to a neoliberal trade logic? This question is posed by Tarín (2018) regarding the spontaneous reproduction of propaganda, concluding that what is relevant is to reveal the ideological content of communicative phenomena, regardless of whether or not their intentions are deliberate, or that they occur in an advertising spot or in a school textbook. As Screti (2011) points out, the fact that advertising goes unnoticed reveals that it becomes natural, that it becomes the default ideology, in a total and totalizing hegemony, transparent and invisible. The inclusion of hidden advertising in the formal sphere pierces the classic distinction between propaganda and advertising, because the persuasion and rhetoric used in the transmission of educational content (that belongs to the political domain) is intertwined with the commercial sphere. Brands are so present that they have been legitimized as normal (Baudrillard, 2009).

The predominant content in PE textbooks is sports (González-Palomares & Rey-Cao, 2015). The photographs reproduce its normality, to which sports sponsorship is essential. Brands provide young people with identity features (Méndiz, 2005) and those found in textbooks are linked to competitive people, the elite, who wear brand clothes and profit from sports sponsorship, regardless of the business ethics of the sponsoring company. These features are inferred

from the PE textbooks because they showed significant relationships between the images located in the field of competition and the presence of brands in the outfit, in the scope of practice and in both –figure 1. In contrast, images without well-known brands were associated with other areas of practice less present in PE content. These data coincide with the literature that shows that advertising companies find in sports a strategy to bring their products closer to the public, managing brands through the world of competition (Eguizábal, 2012; Del Moral, 2003; Nogales, 2006).

The presence of brands was linked to the sports elite, both in the outfits, in the spaces or in both indicators –figure 2. This data is consistent with previous studies that show that advertising companies link brands to elite athletes (Hernández & Velázquez, 1996; Klein, 2001; Marín, 2010; Martínez, 2000).

In this regard, it is important to note that previous research in secondary school textbooks found that women (González-Palomares et al., 2017) and older people (González-Palomares & Rey-Cao, 2017; Rey-Cao et al., 2013) are less represented in elite and competitive sports than men and young people, while people with functional diversity are mostly shown performing elite and competitive sports (González-Palomares et al., 2015; Táboas-Pais & Rey-Cao, 2012), so it would be interesting to corroborate to what extent the brand system of textbooks also reproduces the stereotypes of gender, age and disability present in sport. The study conducted by Táboas-Pais and Rey-Cao (2011) revealed that the brand provokes selective attention from ESO students when they look at the photographs in textbooks, so it would be appropriate to address this problem with an active research in the classroom and stimulate visual literacy from PE.

The most common advertising strategy –93.5% of branded images— was through clothing – sports attires or equipment. This data becomes important when contrasted with the students' consumption habits. Gil and García (2003) showed that PE students are those who consume the most brand sportswear. The high percentage of images with brands in sports attire is consistent with research done in the field of advertising (Bringué et al., 2005; Méndiz, 2005) and the aforementioned surveys on brands conducted by Fernández (2002), Gil and García (2003) and Martínez (2001). These researches revealed that sportswear is part of the criteria for selecting a product, both by the advertising companies and by the population that consumes brands. In fact, the brands with more presence in the photographs analyzed in this research are sports ones. Figures 3 and 4 show both the Nike and Adidas logos. In the study by Táboas-Pais and Rey-Cao (2011), ESO students looked at the brands of the protagonists' clothing as a fundamental element to describe the photographs in LOGSE books.

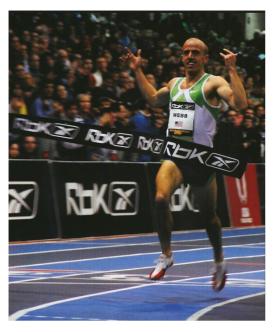


Image 1. Representation of the brand in the outfit and in the space in a competitive environment

Source: Alonso, Blanco, Laiz, Navarro, & Valín (2008, p. 22).



Image 2. Representation of the brand in the outfit and space in elite sports

Source: González & Riera (2007b, p. 115).

The analyzed textbooks reproduced the brand system to the point that four of the most represented brands in the sample of this study –Nike, Reebook, Adidas and Coca-Cola- coincided with those mentioned by Naomi Klein (2001) as great exponents of the expansion of brands and commercial practices of dubious ethics, with the ranking of the company IMG (2008-2012) of well-known brands in sports equipment and sponsoring companies, and with the preferences of the youth public detected in different studies (Fernández, 2002; Gil & García, 2003).

The brand has become a cultural element that is part of the curriculum content. As Klein (2001) points out, "branding becomes troubling (...) when the balance tips in favor of the sponsoring brand, stripping the hosting culture of its inherent value and treating it as little more than a promotional tool" (p. 66).

These results indicate that, although sport is a transcendental phenomenon in today's societies, it is not a neutral or universally kind educational content (Barbero, 2006; Rey-Cao, 2014). It is a product of modernity steeped in the logic of neoliberalism in late capitalism (Miller et al., 2001; Perelman, 2014).

There is fear that companies will become aware –if they have not already done so– of the potential of textbooks to advertise their products and begin



Image 3. Representation of the Nike logo Source: González & Riera (2007a, p. 25).



Image 4. Representation of the Adidas logo

Source: Villada & Vizuete (2008, p. 17).

to select and make better use of this medium to target the audience of school-attending young people and adolescents. As Naomi Klein (2001) pointed out, the school resisted brands for a while, but in the United States companies managed to knock down their doors in less than a decade through computer technology. The educational centers were forced to seek financing in the private sector. After entering schools, "brand managers are now doing what they have done in music, sports and journalism outside the schools: trying to overwhelm their host, to grab the spotlight" (p. 121).

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

Advertising is infiltrated into formal education through apparently disinterested mechanisms, such as the selection of illustrative photographs for textbooks. In PE's textbooks there are brands that coincide with the most representative of the *brand system* and with those preferred by the youth public, especially sports ones.

PE's textbooks reproduce the neoliberal logics of sport by including sports sponsorship and the *brandsystem* in visual content linked to the elite and competition.

Despite this apparent innocuousness of brands, this work points to the need for the educational administration and the teaching staff to review the curricular materials used in the classrooms to avoid contributing to the reproduction of the *brands system* and the *brand mania*. Textbooks contain illicit advertising that violates the principle of authenticity, referring to the need for students to clearly recognize that a message is advertising. Thus, they contribute to private commercial interests from the educational field.

The presence of the brand in competitive sport is a phenomenon inherent to it, so PE teachers could use photographs with brands to work on responsible consumption and create critical awareness regarding the contribution of modern sport to capitalism (Perelman, 2014). Students are not a passive subject, but teachers can be a mediator so that audiovisual content is received through a dialogue that allows decoding messages and analyzing them critically (Bermejo, 2013; Rodríguez, Medrano, Aierbe, & Martínez, 2013). Transmitting critical attitudes regarding the consumption of materials and products linked to the practice of physical-sports activity, would contribute to the achievement of the ESO objective, which aims for students to critically value social habits related to consumption. Thus, it would help to achieve the LOMCE objective of preparing students for the exercise of citizenship and active participation in economic, social, and cultural life, with a critical and responsible attitude.

The danger is that the school, when its budgets are reduced, becomes associated with private companies. Textbooks would not only be sponsored items, but the sponsoring companies would be the culture to transmit (Klein, 2001, p. 58).

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