

Sport, Development, and Mexican Nationalism, 1920-1970¹

Joseph L. Arbena
Department of History
Clemson University

On the eve of the 1986 soccer Mundial, the second to be played in Mexico, journalist Adriana de la Mora argued that staging this global spectacle was not likely to resolve Mexico's chronic economic crisis. But it could help to raise the country's morale, and it could help to project the country's "positive aspects, as well as the Mexican people's natural generosity." She continued: "Mexico will once again host an international event that will put us in the global limelight and will attract millions of European and American fans whose affluence and goodwill toward our country is more welcome today than ever before."² Equally enthusiastic was Jose Gonzalez Bailo, president of Mexico City's Chamber of Commerce, who boasted that his country served as a brilliant example to the world of "organization and modernity" and predicted that this sports festival would open a new stage in the flowering of the national tourist industry and in the cooperation between government and private investment in developing programs of international acclaim.³

This was not the first time that Mexicans had looked to involvement in sporting activities as a means to enhance their international stature or to improve some aspect of their domestic situation. Though surely less significant than other political, economic, educational, cultural, and diplomatic tools, sports continually reappear in Mexican history over the last century linked to programs of national development and international interaction. As such Mexico is very much like most members of the expanding nation-state community which, in varying degrees, have, consciously or not, embraced and promoted the so-called "modern" sports that have diffused outward from western Europe (mainly Great Britain) and the United States since the mid-nineteenth century.⁴

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the VIII Conference of Mexican and North American Historians, San Diego, CA, October 18-20, 1990.

2. Adriana de la Mora, "The World Soccer Cup Is Here," *Voices of Mexico*, No. 0 (June-August 1986), 8-10.

3. See *Comercio* 306 (May 1986): 3. A former member of the Mexican national soccer team and a commentator for Televisa likewise expressed pride in Mexico as a modern nation with a rich cultural heritage and as the repeat host of the World Cup; Juan Dosal [Estrada], *México 86. El Mundial en casa* (Mexico, D.F.: Sistemas Técnicos de Edición, 1986).

4. John Bale, "International Sports History as Innovation Diffusion," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 15 (May 1984): 38-63; Allen Guttman, "'Our Former Colonial Masters': The Diffusion of Sports and the Question of Cultural Imperialism," *Stadion* 14 (1988): 49-63; Joseph L. Arbena, "The Diffusion of Modern European Sport in Latin America: A Case Study of Cultural Imperialism?" *South Eastern Latin Americanist* 33 (March 1990): 1-8. A fascinating picture of the early spread of American football in Mexico is provided by Luis

The Porfiriano and the Revolution

In the Mexican case, as William Beezley has extensively recounted, by the 1890s there had emerged, at least in the “modernizing” sectors of society, a style of thought and behavior which Beezley labels the Porfirian persuasion. As Mexicans became enamoured of progress in the United States and Europe, they revealed, in their leisure as in other areas of life, attitudes, notions, and proclivities which represented a merger of a desire to appear as advanced as their role models with a move toward adaptations to the rhythm and values of an increasingly technological world. Speed, coordination, and cooperation among people or between people and machines led to an interest in ballooning, horse racing and, above all, cycling. Admiration for and contact with North Americans also led to the introduction of baseball in central and northern regions. To a lesser degree, the British also made an impact through polo, golf, rugby, rowing, and soccer, the first three especially among the Porfirian elites.⁵

This elite and increasingly urban middle sector’s embracing of foreign sports and recreation had two disruptive consequences. On the one hand, the obvious challenge to traditional society exacerbated social tensions by enlarging the distance between the more European (“white”) upper classes and the more Indian and mestizo (“darker”) elements. Secondly, through the experience of athletic competition, even in the arena defined by Europeans, Mexicans gradually became a bit more sensitive to their status as Mexicans. Clearly, the events that began in October 1910 were not primarily concerned with sports. Yet, sports and related forms of popular diversion were demonstrably reflective of the conditions that led up to the Revolution and that influenced its evolving aims and methods.

In terms of sports and recreation, the Revolution created potential opportunities for change in several areas. Ever the optimist, fifty years after the violent phase had ended, the late North American historian, Frank Tannenbaum, saw the Revolution as the source of a cultural rejuvenation based on a freer, more playful atmosphere akin to that of Ancient Greece. Only a nation built on liberty, cooperation, and harmony with nature could produce the

Amador de Gama, ed., *Historia gráfica del fútbol americano en México*, I: 1936-1945 (Mexico, D.F.: Olmecca Impresiones Finas, 1982). A critical Mexican view of the “manipulative” impact of these imported, “modern” sports on “dependent” societies such as Mexico’s is stated in Alejandro Cadavel, *El deporte visto por los universitarios* (Mexico, D.F.: UNAM, 1979).

5. Beezley’s views are summarized in William H. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987) and his earlier “El estilo porfiriano: deportes y diversiones de fin de siglo,” *Historia Mexicana* 33 (130), (October-December 1983): 265-284. On the introduction of baseball in the highlands, also see Beezley’s “The Rise of Baseball in Mexico and the First Valenzuela,” *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 4 (1985): 3-13. An analysis of the meaning and practice of early baseball in the Yucatan is found in Gilbert M. Joseph, “Forging the Regional Pastime: Baseball and Class in Yucatan,” in *Sport and Society in Latin America: Diffusion, Dependency, and the Rise of Mass Culture*, ed. Joseph L. Arbeno (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 29-61. On ballooning see Gary Kuhn, “Fiestas and Fiascoes-Balloon Flights in Nineteenth-Century Mexico,” *Journal of Sport History* 13 (Summer 1986): 111-118. The late Mexican writer Alfonso Reyes has left us a slightly humorous comment on the nature of golf and, more specifically, on the extensive vocabulary of golf and its transfer either directly or through translation into Spanish: see “Palabras del golf,” in *Obras completas* (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981), XXI:16-24. On the impact of baseball jargon on Mexican Spanish, see Seymour Menton, “Mexican Baseball Terminology: An Example of Linguistic Growth,” *Hispania*, 37 (December 1954): 478-481.

revitalized Mexico that hosted the 1968 Olympic Games.⁶ Sociologist Norman Hayner similarly concluded that the Revolution gave Mexicans more personal freedom, one outlet for which was play. The result, he believed, was a shift from a small number of members or participants at private clubs to larger numbers of players usually under public sponsorship. At the same time, the mix of recreational activities had changed, with traditional forms giving way to mostly imported, commercialized varieties in more urbanized settings.⁷ In one sense, despite the Revolution, the Porfirians—or at least their values—won after all, in that they chose the fields on which future games were to be played.

Without debating the assertions of Tannenbaum and Hayner, this essay focuses on an analysis of the place of sport in Mexico in the half century after the end of the Revolution's most violent years by looking at three dimensions of what might be called "official" sports policy: the domestic promotion of sports and physical education; the sponsorship of Mexican participation in international sporting events in foreign countries; and, the hosting of international sporting events on Mexican soil. In each case, it considers, however tentatively, motives, methods, and results, looking most specifically at the interrelated questions of national integration and national identity.⁸ Finally, it comments briefly on how the Mexican experience compares with that of other Latin American countries.

Identity and Change: The 1920s and 1930s

In the 1920s, there is evidence that some (but not many) government officials saw in popular sports and physical education appropriate tools for political mobilization and social development.⁹ More so they contemplated in sports a mechanism for reestablishing Mexican credibility in the international community. Also among *politicos* and some educators was a preoccupation with cultural nationalism, but this was rarely linked to sports directly. Even a bilingual attempt in 1926 to publicize the long-distance running abilities of the Tarahumara Indians had the dual objectives of having such endurance races (of around 100 kilometers) included in the 1928 Olympics and of obliging "the

6. Frank Tannenbaum, "Del juego y su significación social: reflexiones sobre los juegos olímpicos en México," in Antonio Alatorre, et al., *Extremos de México. Homenaje a don Daniel Casío Villegas* (Mexico, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1971), pp. 501-510.

7. Norman S. Hayner, *New Patterns in Old Mexico: A Study of Town and Metropolis* (New Haven: College & University Press, 1966). Some of the same material appears in Hayner's earlier "Mexicans at Play—A Revolution," *Sociology and Social Research* 38 (November-December 1953): 80-83.

8. Anthony H. Richmond offers a most helpful discussion of the differences between ethnic and other types of nationalism and of the relationship between nationalism and political and social action; see his "Ethnic Nationalism: Social Science Paradigms," *International Social Science Journal* 111 (February 1987): 3-18. It seems clear that Mexico lacks a true ethnic nationalism and has struggled to create instead a sense of nationalism based on geographic proximity and shared historical experience. James H. Frey provides a more general discussion of the various potential links between sport and development in "The Internal and External Role of Sport in National Development," *Journal of National Development* 1 (Winter 1988): 65-82.

9. In the Yucatan, at least, some regional Revolutionaries appreciated the potential which sport (in particular, baseball) offered for actively mobilizing the lower classes. See Joseph, "Forging the Regional Pastime"; Gilbert M. Joseph and Allen Wells, "The Rough-and-Tumble Career of Pedro Crespo," in *The Human Tradition in Latin America: The Twentieth Century*, ed. William H. Beezley and Judith Ewell (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1987), pp. 27-40; and Gilbert M. Joseph, "Documenting a Regional Pastime: Baseball in Yucatan," in *Windows on Latin America: Understanding Society Through Photographs*, ed. Robert M. Levine (Coral Gables: North-South Center, University of Miami, 1987), pp. 77-89.

public to drive away the black lies that foreigners as a rule tell of Mexico, through ignorance and calumny, by denying all national attainments to this country."¹⁰

The limited interest which existed in the 1920s in promoting mass physical education is illustrated in a series of administrative programs instituted at the national level. In fact, as early as 1908 Luciano Merignac had founded the Escuela Magistral de Esgrima y Gimnasia, an institution devoted to training instructors in selected physical activities. But its focus was strictly on military men and their sports, and it was closed in 1914 due to the disruptions accompanying the Revolution. The more comprehensive Escuela Elemental de Educación Física, linked to the Departamento de Bellas Artes, was created in 1923.¹¹ Eventually arguments over admission requirements, curriculum, and budget led to the school's reorganization in 1927 as the Escuela Universitaria de Educación Física, that time under the jurisdiction of the UNAM, Mexico's national university. Each step brought more emphasis on "professionalization" and on the place of physical education within "general culture" and its ties to the students' intellectual, social, and moral development. This physical education program in turn died around 1930 because of political and economic crises plaguing the UNAM.¹²

The ideas of José Vasconcelos, as rector of the UNAM and more importantly and successfully as Minister of Education (1921-1924), lent credibility to the belief that play, games, exercise, physical education, and sports should be integrated into the total educational process. The highly respected, though at times politically unorthodox Vasconcelos linked such activities to individual health and morality and thus to the development of Mexican youth and society. In terms that would be heard in later decades, he argued that exercise and sports would teach "team-work," a spirit of sacrifice, loyalty, an appreciation for beauty, and the "Christian virtue" which results from sport conquering sensuality.¹³

Nevertheless, while studies of the Mexican school system from bottom to top in the 1920s reveal some promotion of health and hygiene, arts and crafts, even folklore, they document virtually nothing regarding physical culture and athletic competition. Thus there appears to have been little downward implementation or impact of those earliest programs designed at the national bureaucratic level.¹⁴

10. Pablo Buendía Aguirre, et al., *Pro México. La Carrera Tarahumara/The Tarahumara Race* (Mexico, D.F.: [n.p.], 1927).

11. The link between physical education and sports and Bellas Artes is not as strange as it may appear. Among many others over the years, after observing the work of the Primer Congreso Internacional del Derecho de Deporte, held in conjunction with the 1968 Olympics, Mario De la Cueva argued that sport belongs among the "fine arts" in that it is performed by people who feel the need to show grace, pleasure, and beauty in their physical movement; see "El deporte como una de las bellas artes," *Excelsior* (October 27, 1970).

12. Luis Lopez Cabrera, et al., "Ensayo histórico de la educación física en México," in *Geschichte der Leibestübungen*, Vol. 6: *Perspektiven des Weltsports*, ed. Horst Ueberhorst (Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz, 1989), pp. 1095-1112.

13. José Vasconcelos, *Antología de textos sobre educación*, ed. Alicia Molina (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981), pp. 93-101, 127-134.

14. See Mary Kay Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982) and John S. Innes, "The Universidad Popular Mexicana," *The Americas* 30 (July 1973): 110-122.

Still, it is important to recognize that even at this point the ideological thrust of projected physical education programs was to direct social change and enhance state consolidation; the objectives, if not the means, were taking shape.¹⁵

Several developments of the 1920s seem representative of the parallel and more visible Mexican effort to use sports to gain respectability and even influence through international sports. First was the decision to send a Mexican team to the Paris (1924) and Amsterdam (1928) Olympic Games. That the Mexicans brought home no medals was probably of little importance. The fact that they participated at all was miracle enough and testimony enough to the intended message that Mexicans played “a sport besides pistols.”¹⁶

A second step that Mexico took into the international sporting arena was in organizing the first Central American and Caribbean Games in 1926, the idea for which emerged from a committee recommendation at the Paris Olympics two years before. Only Cuba and Guatemala joined the Mexicans in contesting seven sports, but a tradition was begun which was repeated for the sixteenth time in 1990, returning to Mexico City after scheduled host Guatemala backed out at the last minute. Again, less significant in some ways than the athletic competition itself in 1926 was Mexico’s ability to show its neighbors and the civilized world what the Revolution was achieving, that peace had been restored, and that Mexico was a potential international leader, at least in its own geopolitical sphere.¹⁷ In 1929 Mexico likewise officially joined the world soccer community by affiliating with FIFA, that decision following by two years the creation of the Federación Mexicana de Fútbol Asociación.¹⁸

By the 1930s, however, Mexican leaders and other nationalists showed increasing interest not only in expanding the extent of international representation but also in promoting a variety of internal athletic programs. It appears that Mexicans perceived that without such programs they would produce few athletes capable of competing effectively on the international level. But, perhaps in imitation of trends across Europe¹⁹ and in a few Latin American countries with programs already in place,²⁰ there also emerged the conviction

15. Lopez Cabrera, et al., “Ensayo histórico.” For a representative statement of the goals in Mexican education of teaching practical skills, individual and social discipline, cultural integration, and national identity, see Dr. J. M. Puig Casauranc’s comments in Secretaría de Educación Pública, *El sistema de escuelas rurales en México* (Mexico, D.F.: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1927) pp. xx-xxi.

16. Armando Satow, “En Amsterdam, nuestro futbol empezó a coleccionar derrotas,” *Uno Más Uno*, No. 953 (July 7, 1980), 31; William H. Beezley, “‘A Sport Besides Pistols’: Mexico’s Participation in the Olympics in the 1920s and 1930s” (Unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Charlotte, NC, November 1986); Antonio Lavín Ugalde, *México en los Juegos Olímpicos* (Mexico, D.F.: Asociación Nacional de Periodistas, 1968).

17. Alejandro Aguilar Reyes, *México en los IV Juegos Deportivos Centroamericanos y del Caribe* (Mexico, D.F.: La Afición, 1938); Jesús Domínguez, *Boxeo cubano en los Juegos Deportivos Centroamericanos y del Caribe* (La Habana: Editorial Científico-Técnica, 1985).

18. *National Associations of FIFA* (Zurich: Federation Internationale de Football Association, 1982).

19. John M. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984); David A. Steinberg, “The Workers’ Sport International, 1920-28,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 13 (April 1978): 233-251; Robert F. Wheeler, “Organized Sport and Organized Labour: The Workers’ Sports Movement,” *ibid.*, 191-210.

20. Chile and Argentina, for example, had established institutes to train physical education teachers as early as 1905 and 1906 respectively; see Carlos Vera Guardia, “La educación física en la América Latina,” in Ueberhorst, *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, 6:830.

that sport and physical education could facilitate various aspects of domestic development broadly defined; and this conviction was increasingly tied, however paradoxically, to the older Revolutionary concern for cultural nationalism and national identity.²¹

To this end in 1932 the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (later the PRI) announced plans for the creation of a Confederación Deportiva Mexicana to coordinate national sports activities and increase their quantity and quality. This action was based on the expressed conviction that sport “is an essential element in forming an integrated nation [composed] of healthy, virile, and dynamic men.” The Revolution, it was declared, “has a sacred obligation” to seek the nation’s physical as well as its economic and social betterment.²²

Concretely, in an official context, this is seen first in the content and philosophical bases of curriculums developed within the Secretaría de Educación Pública. An official survey of public education during the presidential administration of Lázaro Gárdenas (1934-1940) documents the extent to which a wide range of physical activities were included in the overall educational programs at the primary and secondary levels, always with the expressed intent of developing the physical and social life of the student and of contributing to the aesthetic as well as corporal senses. There was also the expectation that what was taught and learned in the schools would be applied to leisure time and community life away from the schools. Beyond the desire that all of this would aid the physical well-being of youth and adults alike, helping them in turn to perform their social chores, there appears the hope that sport and physical education would “release in people [those] feelings of solidarity, discipline, initiative, and collaboration demanded by a society democratically oriented.”²³

Working from the assumption that “el juego en la gimnasia y la gimnasia en forma de juego, debe ser la fórmula de la educación en el campo,” [“play in exercise and exercise in the form of play should be the formula for education in the countryside”], Luis Obregón, a member of the national education bureaucracy, prepared an extensive manual with instructions for teaching physical education in rural schools and communities by means of games, festivals, and activities in parks and playgrounds. Here again, the objectives went beyond the admitted but limited desire to improve the health and hygiene of the population. Playful physical education would attract community interest and support for the schools, reduce alcoholism and other social ills, produce happier citizens, and promote nationalism. Although Obregón was more open than most in questioning the applicability to Mexico of physical education models imported from abroad, he did not hesitate to cite modern, Darwinian

21. Edgar Llinás Alvarez, *Revolución, educación y mexicanidad: la búsqueda de la identidad nacional en el pensamiento educativo mexicano* (México, D.F.: UNAM, 1979).

22. J. F. Maldonado Aspe, et al., *Confederación Deportiva Mexicana* (México, D.F.: Partido Nacional Revolucionario, 1932).

23. Secretaría de Educación Pública, *La educación pública en México, desde el 1 de diciembre de 1934 hasta el 30 de noviembre de 1940* (México, D.F.: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1941). I:281-284; III:59-60, 163-166, 219-222.

theories to propose physical education as a means “to make of Mexico a better, healthier, and stronger people, capable of all those virile acts which solidify our nationality.”²⁴

The “sacred obligation” was addressed secondly in the justifications offered for holding the so-called *Juegos Deportivos Nacionales de la Revolución* in November 1941, an event for male and female amateur athletes in some 25 sports to celebrate the 31st anniversary of the Mexican Revolution. Although all of the official sports were of the “western” variety, the festivities included, on a demonstration basis, native-style archery, two versions of autochthonous ball games, and performances of folkloric dancing. Besides honoring the Revolution and its goals of national development and international prestige, the games were projected to improve coaching and playing skills, to raise national interest in sports, to build community solidarity, to strengthen ties of loyalty between citizens and all federal entities, and to instill in the masses the practice of organization and discipline which would prepare them for their obligatory military service. The latter point seems reasonable given the decision in the 1930s to put the military in nominal charge of at least some aspects of national sports through the *Confederación Deportiva Mexicana* whose collaboration in the conduct of this event was essential. After the event, Professor Graciano Sanchez declared that the life, joy, agility, and achievement associated with the festivities made a fitting contrast with the death and desolation associated with the memory of the Revolution.²⁵

Thirdly, the commitment to pursue physical culture is demonstrated in the continued restructuring of, or at least tinkering with, the national sports and physical education hierarchy, however ineffective down the line. In 1935 the government founded the *Departamento Autónomo de Educación Física* headed by the energetic General Tirso Hernández García who, in turn, pressured for the creation the next year of the *Escuela Normal de Educación Física*, located at the *Centro Deportivo Venustiano Carranza* (D.F.). At the time it was replaced in 1939 by the *Dirección Nacional de Educación Física*, the *Departamento Autónomo* had outlined four areas of action: cooperation with other agencies to organize physical activities for all popular sectors; construction of facilities for the practice of physical education and sport; publication of a monthly magazine, *Educación Física*; and, operation of a reference office (*consultorio*) which sponsored lectures and responded to inquiries on matters pertaining to sport and physical education.²⁶

Typically, Dr. Salvador Ojeda, chief of the *Departamento de Psicopedagogía y Médico Escolar* and one of the promoters of mass physical education, exalted

24. Luis Felipe Obregón Andrade, *Recreación física para escuelas y comunidades rurales* (Mexico, D.F.: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1935), pp. 9-16.

25. Dirección General de Educación Física, *Juegos Deportivos Nacionales de la Revolución. Reglamento y programa general* (Mexico, D.F.: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1941), pp. 17-18; Alvaro Méndez M., et al., *Memoria de los Juegos Deportivos Nacionales de la Revolución* (Mexico, D.F.: Dirección Nacional de Educación Física, 1941), Sanchez quote from p. 30. A small-scale version of these games had apparently been held in 1930, but with minimal impact. A second officially counted version was organized in 1949, after which the tradition appears to have died out; see *Deporte Gráfico 4* (November 1948): 4-13.

26. Lopez Cabrera, et al., “Ensayo histórico.”

the value of sports and physical education for teaching to the masses habits of hard work, order, discipline, and organization, and called for more scientific study and practical application to provide the requisite resources for achieving these goals.²⁷ Whatever the limitations of these efforts, one government report estimated that between 1936 and 1940 the number of physical education teachers increased from 58 to 300, not counting the 58 pianists who provided musical accompaniment during exercise classes.** In sum, relatively speaking, during the Cárdenas years (1934-1940), physical education was awarded the value and recognition, though not necessarily the full material support, it deserved for its potentially important social role, integrated into the broader goals of the government's education scheme.

Throughout the 1930s Mexico continued to strengthen its representation at international sporting events, and even began to log a few victories in the expanded Central American and Caribbean Games and the Olympics.²⁹ In an attempt to improve international performances and to contribute to the domestic objectives of the government's sports and physical education program, the Departamento de Psicopedagogía y Medico Escolar also sponsored a physiological analysis of male and female athletes who represented Mexico in Panama in 1937 and concluded that the Mexican athletes had not received competent training and care.³⁰

Random perusal of at least the Distrito Federal press suggests that these official endorsements of the efficacy of sport and physical education for national development and integration were shared in wider circles. Carlos Gonzalez Peña proclaimed in 1938 that sport, with its implicit competitive nature, is so valuable to the mental and physical well-being of the individual in modern society that it should be promoted even if the "athlete" has limited skills and no chance of becoming a champion. A writer in the influential daily *Excelsior* pronounced good the recent expansion of both amateur and professional sports in Mexico because they improve the physical and moral state of society, cultivating friendships and offering alternatives to bars and other places of low life; as long, that is, as enthusiasm for sports does not degenerate into scenes of violence.³¹

27. See Prologue in José Gómez Robledo and Luis Argoytia, *Deportistas* (México, D.F.: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1940), pp. 9-10.

28. *La educación pública, 1934-1940*, 1:282.

29. Armando Satow, "En Berlín 1936, el basquetbol, el polo y Fidel Ortiz," *Uno, Más Uno*, No. 955 (July 9, 1980), 31; Aguilar Reyes, *México en los IV Juegos Deportivos*; Roberto Carmona B., "Biography of José de Jesus Clark Flores: 'Man of Honor'" (Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981). That Mexico's involvement internationally is not always as triumphant as might be desired has provoked numerous comments; on the mediocre record of the national soccer team, see Carlos F. Ramírez, *Selección nacional* (Mexico, D.F.: Grupo Editorial Sayrols, 1986).

30. Gómez Robledo and Argoytia, *Deportistas*. This publication raises, although secondarily, the question of a conflict between the sports and exercise programs with mass educational goals and the needs of elite ("professional") athletes who compete internationally. The issue was raised again, almost thirty years later, by Guillermo de Valasco Polo who basically concluded that Mexicans, who are "artists and artisans," could never hope to dominate in world sports so, rather than spend huge sums on international teams, would be better advised to invest in mass sport for personal and social ends; see "Por qué los equipos mexicanos siempre pierden," *El Heraldo de México* (June 14, 1978).

31. Carlos Gonzalez Peña, "Los deportes y el ideal deportivo," *El Universal* (November 24, 1938); "La afición deportiva y el salvajismo," *Excelsior* (March 23, 1937), 10.

El Nacional found that “physical education, more than any other activity, more than any other plan, helps to improve the possibilities that man has for producing meaningful work. The sportsman is an organized worker.” Sport teaches organization, cooperation, solidarity, working for an end and seeing results, controlling passions, and vices—all of which aid in fighting for “the greatness and liberty of the nation” and the betterment of all. And, as Mexico moved from the years of destructive Revolution to a phase of constructive progress, above all it needed willing and able workers with such characteristics.³²

Pesos y Pelotas

On one level, Mexican sport after World War II reflected the increasing impact of commercialization, internationalization, and mass consumption, processes which would ultimately contribute to the thinking that brought Mexico the world’s two greatest sporting events. Two items serve as illustrations: First was the inauguration in late 1945 of *Deporte Gráfico*, a monthly all-sports magazine with, for the time, abundant illustrations. It covered mostly Mexican sports, but carried news of sports in the United States and throughout Middle America. It also reported extensively on international competitions involving Mexicans. In addition, no doubt to reach a broader market, it carried occasional reports on “society” news and on general entertainment such as music and cinema. Topping off the merchandizing was an ample supply of typical 1940s “cheesecake.”³³

A second example of post-war entrepreneurial sportsmanship was the attempt of Jorge Pasquel Casanueva and his brothers to found a new, high quality professional Mexican baseball league built in part on players drawn south of the border by inflated salaries. In the face of threats from Major League Baseball, not many Americans accepted and the effort ultimately failed. But the project did make more Americans aware of Mexican sport, probably built Mexican confidence in their own abilities, and may indirectly have led to an improvement of conditions for United States big leaguers. The down side was that it no doubt made many North American baseball owners, journalists, and a few politicians more than a bit suspicious of Mexican intentions in the sporting world.³⁴

In the area of physical education, the *Escuela Normal de Educación Física*, which during World War II had become an agency of the *Defensa Nacional*, was returned to the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* and in 1949 its name was changed to *Nacional de Educación Física*. Also, in later years its curriculum was frequently modified to reflect changing philosophical and pedagogical

32. “El deporte en la vida del pueblo mexicano,” *El Nacional* (August 17, 1939), 8.

33. I have found a partial run of this helpful source in the Library of Congress.

34. Teófilo Manuel Agundis, *El verdadero Jorge Pasquel. Ensayo biográfico sobre un carácter* (México, D.F.: Gráfica Atenea, 1956); Harold Rosenthal, “The War with Mexico,” *Baseball Digest* 22 (December 1963-January 1964): 53-56. A recent study of Latin baseball contends that “Jorge Pasquel’s legacy to Mexicans and Mexican baseball is that he headed the only foreign league to successfully raid the U.S. major leagues. Like Pancho Villa, he was not afraid to stand up to the giant nation to the north. These victories may be symbolic at best, but they remain important victories to the Mexican people”; Michael M. and Mary Adams Oleksak, *Béisbol: Latin Americans and the Grand Old Game* (Grand Rapids, MI: Masters Press, 1991) p. 52.

trends. Still, until the Nacional occupied its new installations at the Ciudad Deportiva in 1960, physical education, like all Mexican education, lagged well behind due to dramatic demographic shifts. Even after 1960, although similar schools were gradually established throughout the Republic, basically more bureaucracy was created, new (numerous) plans were adopted, etc., but physical education as career and as service failed to keep pace with national requirements.³⁵

Fuegos y Copas

In some ways, Mexico's greatest sporting triumph of the last generation came not in the form of an athletic conquest but in a political and administrative coup: the successful bidding for and hosting of the Olympic Games of 1968 and the World Cup of 1970, both a logical consequence of attitudes and political processes which began at least as early as the 1920s and, in a sense, several decades before.³⁶ In justifying the expense involved in promoting these two festivals, Mexican officials fell back on many traditional arguments. Haro Oliva, for example, announced that what Mexico wished to achieve in hosting the 1968 Olympics was to unite sport and art, to promote international friendship, to demonstrate that Mexico supports sports, to show the world what Mexico has produced as a society, and to confirm that Mexico is capable of properly organizing such a complex and significant event.³⁷ Mexico might thereby also assist, however indirectly, "in the teaching and practice of sport" in other Latin American countries.³⁸ A bit more pragmatic, respected writer and intellectual Jose Revueltas expressed in narrower terms the optimistic hope that the extensive television equipment being installed to transmit the Olympic Games would later be used for serious, formal educational purposes and that watching the Games would cultivate in Mexicans a greater psychological willingness to learn via the screen.³⁹ In an extensive series of publications, before, during, and after the actual athletic events, Mexico's Comité Organizador de los Decimonovenos Juegos Olímpicos repeatedly used the Games to publicize Mexico's natural beauty and resources, economic potential, tourist facilities, cultural traditions, political stability, etc. As part of the Olympic festivities, the committee and the government sponsored numerous cultural programs and academic conferences. In sum, the objective was to show Mexico at its best, both to enhance image and pride as an end in itself, but clearly also to open channels for more trade, investment, and tourism.⁴⁰

35. Lopez Cabrera, et al., "Ensayo histórico."

36. Armando Satow, "En 1963, se obtuvo la sede de los XIX JO; en Tokio, se fracasó," *Uno Más Uno*, No. 960 (July 14, 1980), 31; Julio Mera Carrasco, *De Tokio a México: Los juegos Olímpicos* (Mexico, D.F.: Ediciones Deportemas, 1968); Julio Mera Carrasco, *Fútbol (La Copa del Mundo en sus manos)* (Mexico, D.F.: Ediciones Mexicanos Unidos, 1970).

37. Haro Oliva, *Olimpícos. Breve historia del deporte y de los juegos* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Novaro, 1968).

38. Amado Tovilla Laguna, et al., *Manual deportivo olímpico* (Mexico, D.F.: Union Tipográfica Editorial Hispano Americana, 1968).

39. José Revueltas, "TV y cultura en los juegos deportivos de la XIX Olimpiada," *La Palabra y el Hombre*, No. 23, Nueva época (July-September 1977): 6-7.

40. As an example, see *México 68. Memoria oficial de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada* (Mexico, D.F.: Comité Organizador de los Decimonovenos Juegos Olímpicos, 1969), 4 vols. in 5.

Against the backdrop of the Tlatelolco massacre, where government forces killed dozens of students and workers in a plaza near downtown Mexico City, and of related repressive state actions, it is debatable whether Mexico's image at home and abroad was markedly improved. There are also serious questions about the physical and economic benefits derived from the national and foreign expenditures. Yet, the Olympics and the Mundial combined did lead to the construction of important facilities for the training of athletes and the practice of sport, exposed Mexicans to the example of world-class performances in many sports, brought to Mexico experts in various sports-related fields who shared their knowledge, and inspired Mexican competitors to perform at admirable levels.⁴¹ And while historians with long memories may still lament the sufferings of 1968, it seems that tourists and sports fans, like conservative politicians, carry a more favorable, or at least neutral image of Mexico's handling of the total process. The decision to award the 1986 Mundial to Mexico, after Colombia withdrew, suggests a sense of confidence in Mexican organizational abilities, a reward for the ruling PRI and the government, if not the entire population.⁴² But, after all, it was government and its business allies that set the policies which earned Mexico its status in world sporting centers.⁴³

Typical, perhaps, of the most optimistic, nationalistic-one might say, romantic-feelings of some Mexicans who took such pride in the achievements of the 1960s, were those expressed by one Eusebio Castro in a short poem/chant written in celebration of the XIX Olympiad which links the spirit (flame) of the ancient and modern Olympic games with the spirit (sun) of the Mexican/Aztec past to illuminate the hope for a better world. The arrival from the east of the Olympic torch is equated symbolically with the reappearance of the mythical god-man, culture-hero Quetzalcóatl whose predicted return centuries before had anticipated an era of greater peace.⁴⁴

Winners or Losers?

The Mexican approach to sport after 1920 suggests more continuity than discontinuity when compared to the Porfiriato, a conclusion which seems consistent with general trends in current Mexican historiography. Without

41. Armando Satow, "1968: el mejor resultado de la historia," *Uno Más Uno*, No. 962 (July 16, 1980), 31.

42. Before the 1970 Mundial, FIFA commissioned a report on the soccer tournament held in Mexico in conjunction with the 1968 Olympics; the author labeled that competition "better organized" than any he ever attended. See Dettmar Cramer, *Olympic Football Tournament 1968* ([n.p.]: FIFA, [1969]).

43. Alastair Reid, "The Sporting Scene: Shades of Tlachtlí," *The New Yorker* 46 (July 18, 1970: 60-71; "México '86," *Vogue (México)*, Special Issue (1986). In 1986 the urbane Reid had little good to say for Mexico or the quality of the soccer, except for that displayed by the Argentine Diego Maradona and in the Brazil v. France quarter final classic; "The Sporting Scene. Mundial Notebook: Ariel v. Caliban," *The New Yorker* 62 (September 29, 1986): 45-60.

44. Eusebio Castro, *Olimpico* 68 (México, D.F.: Impresora Ambris, 1968). Representative lines from the chant include: "Mirad: Del 'mar divino' / Donde ardió Quetzalcóatl / Mudándose en lucero, / Se anuncia ya la aurora / Del último relevo / Con luciente antorcha / . . . / ¡Es fuego del Olimpo! / . . . / Anunciando el portento: / RESURGE QUETZALCOATL! / ¡Y ESTALLA EL FUEGO NUEVO / QUE AL MUNDO SALVARA!" ["Behold: From the 'divine sea' / Where Quetzalcóatl blazed / Transformed into the Morning star / The dawn is approaching / In final relief / With shining torch / . . . / It's the flame from Olympia! / . . . / Proclaiming the wondrous news: / QUETZALCOATL IS REBORN! / AND BURSTS FORTH THE NEW FLAME / WHICH WILL SAVE THE WORLD!"]

ignoring the probability that in the 1910s something “revolutionary” did happen in Mexico,⁴⁵ nor the broadened opportunities for play glorified by Tannenbaum and Hayner, nor the youth-oriented physical education programs elaborated within the educational system, the perception is that the Revolution did not alter the dominant tendency to see sport and recreation as means to promote western (“capitalist”) style development and to (re)gain acceptance in the western (“conservative”) community of nations and businesses.⁴⁶ Mexican sports policy from 1920 onward reflects domestically an increased devotion to “developmentalism” and internationally a technique to bolster that first objective while projecting Mexico’s influence as a “middle power,” both dimensions conforming to Mexico’s limited resources and capabilities.⁴⁷

One interesting corollary of this perspective was (is?) the general lack of concern for the true welfare of the athlete, either in aiding the improvement of the amateur or in protecting the rights and resources of the professional. Even the most successful of Mexico’s international competitors—such as world champion and Olympic medalist walker, Raúl González Rodríguez—have basically made it on their own.⁴⁸ And efforts at unionization among baseball and soccer players, for example, have gained little more than hostility even from a government theoretically committed to defending the working classes.⁴⁹

Equally obvious has been the government’s inability to maintain adequate facilities for the recreational needs of the bulk of the Mexican population. In his unpublished thesis (1973), Raúl García Gómez well documents how far the

45. Mark Wasserman, “The Mexican Revolution: Region and Theory, Signifying Nothing?” *Latin American Research Review* 25 (1990): 231-242.

46. Emiliano Villalta, a Guatemalan journalist who covered the 1970 Mundial in Mexico, was especially critical of the extent to which the host organizers were openly pushing the event to promote commercial sales and make big money; see, “El fútbol es una industria,” *La Nación* (Guatemala City), I:28 (March 21, 1970), 28. In 1986 Alastair Reid similarly denounced the commercialization and kitsch (*cursi*) that marred the conduct of the second Mexican Mundial: “The Sporting Scene. Ariel v. Caliban.”

47. David R. Mares, “Mexico’s Foreign Policy as a Middle Power: The Nicaragua Connection, 1884-1986,” *Latin American Research Review* 23 (1988): 81-107. For a similar analysis of Revolutionary Cuba’s use of sport as a form of “unconventional diplomacy” to counter its relative lack of resources and clout, see Paula J. Pettavino, “The Politics of Sport Under Communism: A Comparative Study of Competitive Athletics in the Soviet Union and Cuba” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1982), and “Novel Revolutionary Forms: The Use of Unconventional Diplomacy in Cuba” (Unpublished manuscript, 1987).

48. Raúl González Rodríguez, *Así gané; mi espíritu de lucha . . . y voluntad de triunfo* (Monterrey, Nuevo Leon: Ediciones Castillo, 1986). Long involved in Mexican soccer, Fernando Marcos admitted Mexico’s poor performances in international competition no doubt reflected weaknesses imbedded in the larger society; *Mi amante el fútbol* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Grijalbo, 1980).

49. Aspects of the unionization movements among professional athletes are discussed in Alfonso López Barrenquy, *Vivir de l deporte* (Mexico, D.F.: Impresos Zambrano, 1968); Benito Terrazas, *Casa llena, bola roja. La lucha de los peloteros de la ANABE* (Mexico, D.F.: Information Obrera-Leega, 1984); and, David G. LaFrance, “The 1980 Mexican Baseball Strike” (Unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Charlotte, NC, November 1986). A fictional account of the problems facing professional soccer players who pursue unionization is offered in Guillermo Samperio, “Lenin en el fútbol,” pp. 27-33 in *Lenin en el fútbol* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Grijalbo, 1978). A more favorable view of the protection which Mexican labor law provides professional athletes is found in José Urbano Farías Hernández, “Los deportistas profesionales,” *Revista Mexicana del Trabajo* 17 (1970): 49-73. A recent summary of the application of labor law to sports in Mexico is provided by Mariano Albor Salcedo, *Deporte y derecho* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Trillas, 1989), especially pp. 272-290; the conclusion is that athletes have not been treated well in the prevailing legal and political atmosphere. The failures of the union movement among Mexican athletes suggest a parallel with the reaction of the “pro-labor” peronista regime in Argentina in the late 1940s in the face of a soccer players organization and strike; see Armando Ramos Ruiz, *Nuestro fútbol, grandeza y decadencia* (Buenos Aires: LV Producciones, 1973) and Pablo A. Ramírez, “Alzas y bajas en el fervor por el fútbol,” *Todo Es Historia*, 23 (February 1990): 88-96.

institutional reality falls short of the statutory goals of providing the mass sport essential for the development of the “total” human being and the achievement of Mexico’s destiny. Long-time sports activist Jorge Muñoz Murillo likewise argues that, despite some progress since the mid-1920s, Mexico’s youth sports programs suffer from “ignorance, bad faith, lack of responsibility,” failures he blames on too much bureaucracy and political interference. Patricia Méndez, in turn, attributes such imbalance to Mexico’s imitation of imperialist models, a consequence of ideological penetration, that glorifies the production of champions as objects of consumption. For her, sport in Mexico is the privilege of a few; the nation lacks an authentic sports consciousness.⁵⁰

In short, though at times couched in nationalistic terminology, the overall goals were usually the discipline, order, achievement, and production—whether in the factories or in and on the fields—which would win Mexicans prestige among nations whose favor they coveted. The emphasis was always on belonging or being alike, not on separation or distinctiveness. In general, the sporting focus has been increasingly on the spectacle (or spectacular) rather than on the needs or desires of the common folk, and the leadership has often sought to exploit rather than change or even hide this fact.⁵¹

In that sense, Mexico differs little from its Latin American peers. In sports, as well as music and other cultural forms, Latin American national identity and nationalism have been most often defined since the late 1800s not in terms of the rejection of European and North American cultural forms but in trying to perform these as well as or better than the source nations. That was a Porfirian standard, and the Revolution did not change it in Mexico.

On their best days: Dominicans beat Americans at baseball; West Indians defeat Englishmen at cricket; Argentines conquer Italians on the soccer pitch; Fernando Valenzuela wins the Cy Young award in the gringo bigs; Brazilians take the Pan American gold in basketball; Peruvian women carry home Olympic silver in volleyball, etc. Even the Cubans, for all their nationalistic and ideological rhetoric, prove the success of their Revolution, if only to themselves, by playing Anglo sports better than the Anglos or than others who have bought into the same system.⁵²

50. Raúl García Gómez, “La fundación social del estado en la educación física, la recreación y el deporte en México” (Thesis, Universidad de Guanajuato, 1973); Jorge Muñoz Murillo, *Deporte en México (Anecdótico)* (Mexico, D.F.: UNAM, 1979); Patricia Méndez, “Urge estructurar el deporte en México,” *El Día* (August 4, 1984). Long-time sportswriter Manuel Buendía also frequently criticized the use of sports to promote gambling and the consumption of alcohol, both vices which he saw as detrimental to the Mexican masses; see *El fútbol y la TV: apuestas, derrotas y vicios deportivos* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Oriental de Uruguay, 1988).

51. Francisco Ponce, “Ocio y deporte,” *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, No. 95-96 (January-June 1979): 79-90, articulates the accusation. The Banco Nacional de México is one institution which illustrates it; see Jose Ignacio Echeagaray, et al., *El paisaje del espectáculo en México*, (Mexico, D.F.: Banco Nacional de México, 1974). For examples of how Mexican politicians, including President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, have tried to benefit from association with popular sports heroes, see Armando Zenteno C., *Julio César Chávez; nuestro campeón* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Pax Mexico, 1990), pp. 77-80, 103.

52. See Joseph L. Arbena’s “Sport and Nationalism in Latin America, 1880-1970: The Paradox of Promoting and Performing ‘European’ Sports” (Paper presented at the second conference of the International Society for the Study of European Ideas, Leuven, Belgium, September 1990), and ‘Sport and Revolution: The Continuing Cuban Experience,’ *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 9 (1990): 319-328. Henning Eichberg offers the best statement on the continued “western” domination of the global sporting system; see “Olympic Sport—Neocolonization and Alternatives,” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 19 (1984): 97-105.

This interpretation of the sporting realm seems consistent with the much broader observation of political scientist H.C.F. Mansilla that, “despite all attempts by the peripheral societies to redefine national identity and establish an autonomous development model, they have not succeeded in drawing up a real contrast program and a qualitative alternative to Western capitalism and Eastern socialism, an alternative that would differ in decisive and not merely secondary characteristics.” They lack, in other words, an “autonomous formulation of goals.”⁵³ And, to the extent that they really enjoy playing or watching these imported (now global) sports, they may not wish to formulate truly autonomous goals.⁵⁴

As in Mexico, there has been throughout the hemisphere an increased emphasis on hosting international sporting events, at various geographical and competitive levels, as a means to impress the world, to cultivate domestic pride, to prove the competency of regime and society, perhaps even to make a bit of money, though it is questionable if such results have been achieved at all, let alone sustained over the long haul. For example, Uruguay, perhaps the premier soccer power of the 1920s, hosted and won the first Mundial in 1930, using the opportunity to inaugurate the Estadio Centenario and to celebrate a century of national independence. Whether that made the coming Great Depression easier for Uruguayans is doubtful.⁵⁵

Two decades later Brazil dedicated Rio’s magnificent Maracanã in anticipation of winning the fourth Mundial, only to see its dreams shattered by another courageous Uruguayan squad captained by the independent-minded and controversial Obdulio Varela. Subsequently, President Getúlio Vargas committed suicide in 1954 and Brazil’s political and social situation continually worsened, despite eventual World Cup victories in 1958, 1962, and 1970.⁵⁶ Also in 1950 the regime of Juan Jose Arévalo sought vigorously to legitimize the Guatemalan Revolution through the elaborate sponsorship of the Sixth Central American and Caribbean Games. The Ciudad Olímpica still stands; the successor regime of Jacobo Arbenz lasted only three years, ending in the infamous invasion and coup which initiated decades of often brutal military rule and civil violence.⁵⁷ Cali, self-proclaimed sports capital of Colombia, was equally

53. H.C.F. Mansilla, “Latin America Within the Third World: The Search for a New Identity,” *New World: A Journal of Latin American Studies* 3 (1988-1989): 23.

54. #en the contextual reworking of an imported sport or other cultural expression makes it more “indigenous” than foreign is a question discussed in Jay R. and Joan D. Mandel, *Grass Roots Commitment: Basketball and Society in Trinidad and Tobago* (Parkersburg, IA: Caribbean Books, 1988). John Krich contends that in Latin America baseball was not forced on the local populations and that now it is as much “their” game as it is “ours”; see *El Béisbol: Travels Through the Pan-American Pastime* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1989).

55. Enrique E. Buero, *Negociaciones internacionales* (Brussels: Imp. Puvrez, 1932); Arturo Carbonell Debali, *Primer Campeonato Mundial de Fútbol* (Montevideo: Impresora Uruguaya, 1930).

56. On Brazil’s suffering in the face of that 1950 defeat, see Paulo Perdigão, *Antonomía de una derrota* (Porto Alegre: L&PM Editores, 1986). On the role of soccer as a potential force for social cohesion and political manipulation since the 1950s, see Janet Lever, *Soccer Madness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

57. Among various sources which brag on Guatemala’s success in running the Games are *Boletín de la Oficina de Publicidad de los VI Juegos Deportivos Centroamericanos y del Caribe* (Issued irregularly between February and April 1950) and Benjamin Paniagua S., et al., *Guatemala* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1950). A slogan frequently seen in relation to the Games was “Haciendo Deporte, Haremos Patria” [“Doing Sport, We Build the Fatherland”]

boastful when hosting the Pan American Games in 1971; again, the memories and physical plant survive, but *caleños* today exist amidst pollution, poverty, crime, violence, and fear. And Cali is better than other Colombian cities.⁵⁸

Perhaps the most notorious case was the attempt by the Argentine generals and admirals to exploit the 1978 Mundial as a means to divert attention away from the corruption and terror associated with the *proceso* and to claim a right to rule based on their competency in organizing the event and in putting a winning team on the field. They saved neither themselves nor their nation's economy.⁵⁹ Finally, given the dwindling size of the global "socialist" community, Fidel Castro was well prepared to manipulate the 1991 Pan American Games in Havana to refurbish his image at home and abroad and to bring dollars into his sagging economy.⁶⁰

¿Empatados? (*Being a Form of Conclusion*)

The conduct of Mexican sports policy since 1920 may have made some citizens healthier, happier, and even prouder to be Mexicans. And in so doing it may have made it easier for Mexicans to laugh at life, its adversity and despair.⁶¹ However, it has not contributed significantly to overcoming those much deeper problems and characteristics which, according to Roger Bartra, keep Mexican nationalism in crisis even today.⁶² Nevertheless, in Mexico, as elsewhere in Latin America, leaders in politics, education, and public health, regardless of ideology, will surely continue to presume to find in sport a mechanism for achieving their respective goals, usually sung to the tune of *el himno nacional* [the national anthem].⁶³

58. Alfonso Bonilla Aragón, et al., *Cali Panamericana* (Cali: Carvajal & Cía., 1971), 2 vols; Alberto Galvis Ramírez, "El acontecimiento del siglo (I)," *Deporte Gráfico* (Bogota), No. 15 (July 1991): 34-36.

59. On the ambivalent emotions and political implications surrounding the 1978 Mundial in Argentina, see Joseph L. Arbena, "Generals and Goals: Assessing the Connection Between the Military and Soccer in Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7 (May 1990): 120-130. Also, Osvaldo Bayer, *Fútbol argentino* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1990).

60. Steve Wulf, "Running on Empty," *Sports Illustrated* 75 (May 21, 1990): 42-47.

61. James W. Wilkie, "First-Class Stereotypes: Conversations on Delta LAX-MEX, 1988," *New World: A Journal of Latin American Studies* 3 (1988-1989): 1-8. A long-time Mexican sportswriter contends that the purpose of soccer is "to provoke in the masses a shout which brings them happiness and momentary escape from this world," though the quality of play in Mexico has not always lived up to expectations; see Manuel Seyde, *La fiesta del alarido y las Copas del Mundo* (Mexico, D.F.: Litográfica Cultural, 1984), p. 253 for quote.

62. Roger Bartra, "La crisis del nacionalismo en México," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 51 (July-September 1989): 181-220. Frey similarly concludes that the impact of sport on overall development, including the growth of nationalism, is likely to be "short-term, superficial, and superfluous"; see Frey, "The Internal and External Role of Sport," 79.

63. Joseph L. Arbena discusses the role of sport across Latin American history in both promoting and retarding social change in "Deporte y cambio social en América Latina," *Pretextos* I (August 1990): 77-90. Additional sources on all aspects of Mexican sport are cited in Joseph L. Arbena, comp., *An Annotated Bibliography of Latin American Sport: Pre-conquest to the Present* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989).