
KLAUSEN, ARNE MARTÍN, ED. *Olympic Games as Performance and Public Event: The Case of the XVII Winter Olympic Games in Norway*. New York: Berghahn Books, 1999. Pp. 230. \$19.95 pb.

When the Olympic caravan replete with planning, building, ceremonies, and take-down comes to town it invariably weaves certain paths of destruction but also engineers tides of change in the landscape and in the social, economic, and political fabric of the host city. In Arne Martín Klausen's edited book, *Olympic Games as Performance and Public Event*, the culmination of research by a group of anthropologists on the 1994 Winter Games in Norway, these currents of change are particularly evident. Spaces that, for local residents, have been valorized by more recent or even ancient traditional meanings are forever changed and old customs are recast in modernist tones, since the demands for massive infrastructural development and the creation of a nationally flavored festival must be met by the country hosting the Olympic Games.

No stranger to symbol, ceremony, and the Olympic spectacle, cultural anthropologist John MacAloon sets the table for the work to follow with an introductory chapter that carries the torch for anthropological research. A brief methodological rant against structuration aside, his call for "progressive" subject-centered ethnographies is important for Olympic studies in general. An interesting aside on the politics of things Olympic, including scholarship, is the social capital he attributes to insider research credentials and research grants. The history of MacAloon's Olympic field research serves a legitimizing function for the book but, given the quality of research in this collection, the chapter was not necessary.

The book is unique for Olympic studies, invoking a pre-planned micro-research approach, what MacAloon appropriately sums as a "remarkable accomplishment of an inside-out view" (p. 24). With multiple authors the collection offers a variety in method and methodology, topic, and multiple levels of analysis. However, this can be detracting since deeper meanings are explored in some sections, exposing the limited analytical depth of others. Klausen's first chapter documents the engagement of Norwegian political culture with the Olympics both historically and leading up to the Games in Lillehammer. His second chapter describes the conflict that emerged in the planning processes over the merging of the Norwegian Morgedal flame, ceremoniously established in the 1950s to celebrate older traditions of skiing and land exploration, with the "real" or Olympic flame that would arrive in Norway for the Olympic torch relay and opening ceremonies. The questions raised here through such seemingly paltry conflicts are really some of the most

integral moments of analysis for the study of Olympic host cities. And, Odd Are Berkaak's poignant chapters on Olympic hyperbole and landscape cut to the heart of the issue.

The templates of Olympic ritual, sterile by virtue of their universal city-to-city renderings, meet head-on with longstanding traditions and local memories and place names historically specific to the host nation. Berkaak suggests that the Olympic venue or the "modern installation . . . empties a traditional terrain of its memories and de-signifies the place" (p. 156). Of course new kinds of signification then, in this case economic or attendant to a particular global market, valorize the reconstructed space. Attracting world attention, in part by a re-orienting of traditions—changing the landscape—has become a significant point of departure for organizing committees and for the rhetoric of Olympic boosterism promoting host cities. Berkaak's reading of the use of hyperbole, as a legitimizing strategy for organizers in Lillehammer, rings true for other host cities such as Calgary or, more recently, Sydney and Salt Lake City. The analysis begs questions: Toward what ends are local memories re-shaped by non-localized, global meanings? How and why are decisions made with respect to the "marketplace" and what specifically comprises the national or global economic landscape in relation to how interest groups or individuals seek to position Norway or Lillehammer. As such, the foci of the micro-anthropological strategy employed here tend to obfuscate where power is situated. Surely, such decision-making and the shaping of landscape, both physically and ideologically, have structural boundaries and impositions, at least with respect to political and economic currents of significance operating beyond the level of individuals.

The mutability of images and identities projected through Olympic spectacle, in spite of the boundaries of ritual, is evident in the mediated versions of the opening ceremonies by American and Norwegian television, respectively. Roel Puijk discusses, in a distributional context, how national symbols are mobilized and highlighted specifically through selective television coverage. Symbols and meanings unique to specific rural areas, for example, were projected to foreign viewers as being typically Norwegian. Once again, the authenticity of the "national" identities celebrated through Olympic ceremonies, generally, is questionable.

Thematically, Ingrid Rudie's chapter on communicating femininities through the Games is a loose fit with the other pieces. (Archetti's chapter on Albertville stands alone.) Rudie explores the idea of constructing gender through winter sports insofar as there are similarities and tensions between the universalized Olympic cultural meanings and traditional Norwegian meanings about sport and femininity. An interesting twist on the previously elaborated text on the valorization of site and space is the protest by thirteen female alpine skiers over the site selection for the women's downhill, based primarily on a contestation over the abilities of the best female skiers to handle the same terrain as the elite male skiers.

Klausen's book serves as an excellent research model for studying Olympic host cities. The insightful analysis is the result of good planning and a research paradigm that focuses on local landscape and identity—significantly different than mainstream Olympic research that has tended to be overwhelmed by the magnitude of the event as it is superimposed on host cities, at the expense of meanings and symbols that had local, long-standing traditions. The few methodological shortcomings of this collection point Olympic researchers

to a more interdisciplinary approach through which anthropological ethnographic methods operate in tandem with appropriate sociological questions and historical context.

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