

JOURNAL ARTICLE REVIEWS

Michael R. Real, "The Postmodern Olympics: Technology and the Commodification of the Olympic Movement," *Quest*, Vol. 48, No. 1, February 1996, 9-24. Reviewed by Scott G. Martyn.

Michael Real suggests that the classical formulations of Olympism, the "quasi-official" ideology of the Modern Olympic Movement, are firmly rooted in 19th century modernism and its belief in rational, scientific progress. Yet just as the ancient Olympic Games coincided with the intellectual birth of modernism in classical Athenian Greece, the century-long run of the modern Games has coincided with the intellectual birth of postmodernism. This article investigates the meaning behind the transition from the grand narratives of Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic ideology, to what the author has identified as postmodernism. According to Real, current postmodern conditions conflict with that original ideology and suggest a unity in the otherwise disparate aspects of change and conflict in the Olympic Movement, and that, conversely, the Olympics extend and clarify our understanding of the nature of the postmodern condition.

Borrowing from numerous definitions of postmodernism, Real devotes the first section of his essay to establishing the characteristics of the postmodern condition. The author contends that these competing definitions have made the label of postmodernism ambiguous and controversial. Hoping to clarify the definition, the author identifies a number of characteristics incorporated within his definition of postmodernism. He continues by stating that each of these characteristics has its expression in the phenomenon of the postmodern Olympic Games. Therefore, the Olympic Games in turn, as the preeminent expression of global media culture today, both reflect and extend the postmodern condition, testing the assumptions and shedding light on particular aspects of postmodernism.

The second section of the essay focuses on the breakdown of the grand narratives of Coubertin's Olympic ideology. The author provides a brief sketch of the classical Greek ideals which "dramatically" attracted Pierre de Coubertin and those which helped him revive the ancient games. The high hope of Renaissance humanism, the industrial revolution, the theory of evolution, universal education, and urbanization all came together in the modernist hope to create an efficient, abundant life for all. Accordingly, the author explains that this modernist framework dominated the rhetoric of the Olympic Movement from its inception until Coubertin's successors, especially Avery Brundage, continued the modernist ideals of amateurism and the celebration of the human body and elite physical culture as the foundation of modern Olympism. Significantly, the author cites Jean-François Lyotard when discussing the demise of modernism and its replacement by postmodernism. He ascribes this change to the breakdown of the grand narratives of 19th century science, reason, and progress. In their place is a sense of limits, of relativity, of varied styles and goals, and of skepticism over progress and perfectability.

The third and fourth sections of Real's essay explore the impact of the consumer culture of "late capitalism" on the ideals of the Modern Olympic Movement. As the Games began to gather momentum, the nature of contemporary capitalism took on increased importance. The author argues that this became evident in the Cold War battles of Western capitalism against the state capitalism of the Soviet bloc, as well as the trend towards expanded fundraising and commercial sponsorship, and the inclusion of the former European-controlled colonies. Significantly, however, he cites no other single force as having contributed more to the post-modernizing of the Olympics than television coverage in general and television rights fees in particular. The intrusion of late capitalism's commercialism into the Modern Olympic Movement through television and the rapidly increasing commercial sponsorship that followed, have signalled an economic shift from the modern to the postmodern Games. According to the author the shift from the aristocratic but idealistic Modern Games of Coubertin, to the pragmatically profit-centred postmodern Games, point to the qualities of late capitalism described by Fredric Jameson. In this sense, the author argues, the postmodern Olympic Games are not aberrations; but rather logical expressions of the age in which they exist.

The final section of this essay deals with the issues of race, gender and representation within the Modern Olympic Games. The author argues that although the Olympic ideals seem to have been aimed at erasing barriers of nationalism, racism, sexism, religious prosecution, and other exclusions, they have, in fact, been based on national representation, while excluding women and the working class. Coubertin's model of Olympism was carved from his clear view of ancient Hellenistic culture, a view that the author has called a relatively narrow Western European modernism. Importantly, he also notes that the International Olympic Committee has made the necessary adjustment to adapt to the contemporary world, and modified its original patriarchal, Caucasian exclusiveness. However, the author notes that the Olympic Movement has only imperfectly embraced the multicultural, post-patriarchal global populace, and remains considerably short of today's widely accepted ideology.

The essay concludes with a discussion of the limitations and positive contributions of the application of postmodern theory towards the understanding of the once modern, now postmodern Olympic Games. One important consequence of understanding the transition in the Olympic Games to postmodern, cited by the author, is a realization that the Olympic Games do not operate independently of the global cultural environment surrounding them. In short, the author suggests that the postmodern analysis offers to the Modern Olympic Movement a more comprehensive and developed frame for interpreting the many changes and problems it now faces. Depending largely on secondary sources, Real's article opens the door to discussion and greater consideration of the application of postmodern theory in the understanding of the Modern Olympic Movement.

Linda J. Borish, "Women at the Modern Olympic Games: An Interdisciplinary Look at American Culture," *Quest*, Vol. 48, No. 1, February 1996, 43-56. Reviewed by Gordon MacDonald.

In this article Borish explores the modern Olympic Games' impact on women in America (the United States) through an examination of their roles and their participation in this global event. She focuses on the gender messages evident in women's Olympic participation, and how these are related to broader American culture. Gender becomes a way of examining the power structures present in the Games.

Borish begins by noting that perceptions of appropriate gender roles played a part in the initial formulation of the Olympic Games. Hence, women were excluded by Coubertin. In a contemporary context, she argues that persistent gendered images in sport need to be examined. The media in particular play a large role in constructing and communicating gender roles, and Borish suggests that feminist approaches would provide a useful analysis.

Power and control over the Olympic Games also reflects a gendered structure. Several theorists have argued that sport is a terrain where men have resisted attempts by women to have inequalities removed. Borish argues that the Olympics provides a good example of this struggle between dominant and subordinate groups. Borish cites the classic example from the Olympic Games: namely, the rhetoric surrounding the 800 metre women's race at the 1928 Amsterdam Games. Because of dominant perceptions about women's bodies and what was appropriate for them, the exhausted condition of the women at the end of this race fuelled a heated controversy. (The race was subsequently discontinued and did not reappear until 1960.) Unfortunately, there is an error in the article (p. 47) stating that the 100 metre women's race was removed from the Games because of controversy over the women's failure to complete the distance. This was certainly not the case, as it was the 800 metre event that attracted all the negative attention.

Borish goes on to argue that the struggle over women's participation in the Games reflected broader disputes between the male custodians of the Olympics, female physical educators, and commentators - all of whom had their own ideas about the proper place of women - and those who wished to increase women's participation. Hence, she argues that there is a close connection between control of the physical body and predominant social beliefs about that body. She notes a couple of examples of how women at the Olympics have been perceived and how these perceptions were closely connected to American ideas about being a woman.

In the strongest part of the article, Borish suggests some methods for uncovering the 'matrix of messages' about women in the Olympics. Here she states that material culture studies can be a useful tool. Artifacts from particular Games can provide information on the values and belief structures in place at the time. They can provide clues as to the (American) perceptions of Olympic Games. Borish suggests a whole

list of materials that includes such things as women's costumes and women's images reflected in artifacts.

Another argument she explores is connected to consumerism and advertising in American culture. With the growth of a connection between athletic performance and consumerism, women became involved in the commercial industry. However, gender constraints meant that women were portrayed in suitably feminine sports. Borish argues that female athletes need to be examined in light of their public and commercial images to put them in a cultural and historical context.

Returning to an earlier theme, Borish notes that media portrayals of female athletes deserve study. The American media has historically had a difficult time reconciling a strong, vigorous female with the dominant ideology of what a woman should be. Again, Borish notes several examples of how the media treated women who achieved significant athletic feats.

In the final section of the article Borish turns to the topic of gendered spaces. She argues that gendered spaces separate women from the knowledge used by men to perpetuate their power. Here she notes that the IOC has, for most of its history, been composed exclusively of men. In order for women to have any real influence in the construction of the Games, they will have to continue to move into the spaces currently occupied by men.

Borish concludes the article by calling for more interdisciplinary studies of women's roles in American culture and noting that examining their participation in the Olympics provides a site for this research. Hence, gender should be a central concern in future analyses of the Olympics in order to provide a more complete story and understanding of this pervasive global event.

Jeffrey O. Segrave and Don Chu, "The Modern Olympic Games: An Access to Ontology" **Quest**, Vol. 48, No. 1, February 1996, 57-66. Reviewed by Scott G. Martyn.

In this article, the authors attempt to explain the remarkable popularity of the Modern Olympic Games on the basis of the cultural performance theory of John J. MacAloon and the more sociopsychological perspective of John W. Loy. Specifically, the authors argue that "the Olympic Games offer us an access to ontology; that is, they are an institutionalized cultural performance that every two years permits--even exhorts--us to inquire into and reflect upon the nature of our personal and collective selves." To accomplish this they have divided the article into two sections. The first explores MacAloon's four "genres of Olympism"; spectacle, festival, ritual, and game. The second examines sport as an expressive model. Accordingly, they argue that in the end, sport, and the Olympic Games in particular, are about understanding our sense of individual, cultural self-esteem, and self-worth.

Borrowing MacAloon's four "genres of Olympism," the first section of the article explores the order in which we might become attracted to the Olympic Games,

each compelling us to address increasingly significant questions about the nature of our personal and cultural existence. The authors note that spectacle, the first of MacAloon's performance genres, connotes something awesome, wonderful, and grandiose. The Olympic Games are, they argue, an athletic spectacle par excellence. No other sport institution offers visual impact as does the Olympic Games, and no other production captures better the epic or mythic quality of sport. The Olympics are "ablaze" with the spectacle of a culture, and nowhere is this more obvious than in the opening and closing ceremonies. It is here, the authors argue, that cultures make a true spectacle of themselves, while they urge us to confront ourselves and address the nature of our own cultural existence. The authors note that festival, the next of MacAloon's four "genres of Olympism," connotes joy, happiness, and celebration. The festive atmosphere that envelops the Olympics, as those who have made the pilgrimage to an Olympic Games will agree, are one of its most appealing ingredients. Unfortunately, this is also a performance genre that can be shattered in moments, as in the recent case of the explosion that rocked Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta. The authors suggest that the third of MacAloon's performance genre, ritual, invokes and involves religious or sacred forces, mythic and divine images. Further, they argue that Coubertin imbued his revival of the Modern Olympic Games with a religious motif from the very beginning. To Coubertin, "the central idea" of his revival was that "modern athletics is a religion, a cult, an impassioned soaring." The authors argue that the entire ritualized performance of the Games permits individuals to address important existential questions about the nature of their personal and collective selves. The last of MacAloon's four "genres of Olympism" is game. Importantly, the authors point out that MacAloon has identified that games and play-forms are perhaps the most paradoxical of all cultural processes. Games, according to MacAloon, "always involve fixed rules, predetermined roles, defined goals, and built-in criteria for evaluating the quality of the performance," yet nowhere has sport become more entrenched than in societies "typified by individual autonomy, optional and diversified role choice, contempt for coercive norms or for the voluntary acceptance of such norms, cultural pluralism, and class and status stratification." To the authors, sport offers "occasional experiences of ecstasy and a sublime release from the instrumental concerns of everyday life." This they wish to argue, is at the heart of our obsession with sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular.

The second section of the article explores sport as a subset of a larger class of expressive models. According to Loy these include art, dance, folktales, and myths. Borrowing from the writings of W. W. Lambert and W. E. Lambert, the authors state that expressive models serve two basic functions. First they provide a way of teaching people, particularly the young, some ways of getting important things done. Second they provide a kind of therapy, allowing an individual who is in some cultural conflict to live for a time in an easier fantasy world whose expressive models evade the actual world that troubles him. Sport, they argue, allows us to exist for a while in a safe world, free from interference and consequence. Sport and the Olympic Games are like fantasies in which an individual can "appropriate living persons and turn them into abstract members of social groups and ideal representations of that which" they "wish" themselves "as a people to be."

In the end, the authors argue, sport and the Olympic Games in particular, are about fathoming our sense of individual, cultural self-esteem, and self-worth. As we watch the dramatic performances of athletes, we address such questions as, Who am I? What am I? Am I what I am supposed to be? Are we as a culture better than others? What are we as humans? This, the authors suggest, is at the heart of the appeal of the Olympic Games, as every two years they offer each of us a mirror in which to view ourselves.

The authors have used a variety of secondary sources throughout the text of their paper, but none more so than those of John MacAloon. So much so, that at times, discerning the writings of MacAloon from those of the authors was a challenge.

Peter Donnelly, "Prolympism: Sport Monoculture as Crisis and Opportunity," **Quest**, Vol. 48, No.1, February 1996, 25-42.
Reviewed by Gordon MacDonald.

According to Donnelly, the two dominant sports ideologies of the twentieth century have been professionalism and Olympism. He argues in this paper that these ideologies have merged to such an extent that a single organic hegemony has been created. He wishes to call this new hegemony, prolympism. As the title suggests, this emerging sport monoculture will invariably create both limitations and opportunities.

Donnelly begins by outlining the basics of the two ideologies, showing how they have been so influential (at least in the Western world, although he does not say this). He argues that the ideals of Olympism are based in large part on Victorian codes of amateurism, fair play, sportsmanship, and muscular Christianity. Hence, sports are utilitarian in that they should be used for broader social goals. The professional view of sports, in contrast, is based on the idea that payment for high performance is fully justified. Donnelly notes that this view is fairly recent, having come as attitudes towards professionalism in sports shifted over time. Although the two ideologies have traditionally worked from different starting points - professionalism and amateurism - Donnelly argues that both have had deleterious effects on mass participation in sports. They have also interacted throughout this century, but only recently have they merged to such an extent that they may be considered a single ideology.

The recent interactions between professionalism and Olympism are presented in a two dimensional model. The dimensions run between inclusion and exclusion on the one hand, and process and outcome on the other. Professional sports, intuitively, fall into the zone encompassed by exclusion and outcome. Olympism, historically, while certainly exclusive, falls closer to the process side of the process-outcome continuum. While professionalism has stayed fairly consistent in its focus on exclusion and outcomes, Donnelly argues that Olympism has shifted away from process and towards an outcome orientation over the course of its one hundred year

existence. Sponsorship, the media (particularly television) and the IOC's removal of the word amateur from its charter are seen as the major contributing agents to this shift.

Donnelly goes on to argue that the shift of Olympism towards professionalism is tending to create a global sport monoculture. This is 'prolympism' and, he argues, it has a tendency both to reproduce itself, marginalize other sport ideologies, and create a momentum drawing all sports towards itself. The first evidence he presents for this argument is drawn from the 'televsualization' and commercialization of sport. Second, he shows how this dominant model is placing strains on indigenous and alternative sport forms.

Donnelly notes that the Olympics have become increasingly sensitive to the needs of television. This has included consideration of the types of sport on the program and the level of ability of the athletes competing. The modification of these categories has pushed Olympism towards professionalism's outcome orientation. Similarly, indigenous and alternative sports appear to be in trouble. With programs such as Olympic Solidarity providing support to various countries to aid in the development of Olympic sports, native sports may be neglected or pushed aside. In addition, alternative sports in Western countries seem to be following the professional model even if they had originally been designed as a counter to its dominance.

Having presented what appears to be a growing global monoculture, Donnelly is not prepared to give up on diversity. Drawing on the insights of a couple of prominent scholars (Levi-Strauss for example), he includes a section in which he argues that there does not seem ever to have been a static hegemony. There are always sights of resistance and alternative approaches and he suggests that there are still examples to be seen in sport.

In the last section of his paper he goes on to examine the question as to whether the current situation presents a crisis or opportunity in the world of sport. The crisis arises in the momentum the monoculture has in drawing all sports towards its particular ideology (and the various flaws therein). More generally, a monoculture, by definition, discourages diversity. In an interesting analogy, Donnelly notes that a lack of diversity in the physical world has been linked to greater susceptibility to disease and other problems. He suggests that a similar focus on cultural diversity would probably be helpful in avoiding what could be seen as social diseases. Indeed, opportunity may still be present. The very fact that Olympism has shifted towards professionalism has left much "ideological and cultural space" to be occupied by those who will take it. He provides several examples of sport-oriented groups doing just that. Even the IOC has created a Sport for All Commission, as well as promoting cultural festivals during each Olympic Games. Both of these could be part of the solution to the problem of the sport monoculture as he sees it. Donnelly concludes that the cultural space available will inevitably be tilled and now is the time to consider the form of sports to put in that place.

Robert K. Barney, "Resistance, Persistence, Providence: The 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games in Perspective," **Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport**, Vol. 67, No. 2, June 1996, 148-160. Reviewed by Scott G. Martyn.

At the twenty-first General Session of the IOC in Rome, in 1923, William May Garland of Los Angeles, attending only his second IOC meeting as an elected member, secured the unanimous support for Los Angeles as the host city for the 1932 Olympic Games. However, to achieve the IOC's blessing to be the host to the Olympic Games was one thing; to organize and stage what the Los Angeles Times called "The Greatest Show on Earth" was quite another. This essay examines some of the problems that beset the effort to secure, organize, and stage the Games of the Tenth Olympiad. To achieve this, the author has divided the essay into three sections; Resistance, Persistence, and Providence. In doing so, Barney attempts to place in perspective the chief contributions that these Games "gave" to the Modern Olympic Movement and to those Olympic Games that followed. In addition, the author contends that the Olympic Village, conceived for the Los Angeles Games by Zack J. Farmer, did more to achieve Baron Pierre de Coubertin's vision of Olympism than any other facet of these Games.

Barney begins his article by placing the reader in the midst of some 105,000 spectators who have gathered in the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum to witness the opening ceremonies of the Games of the Tenth Olympiad, a festival, he argues, that throughout the history of the Modern Olympic Games has come the closest to reflecting Coubertin's vision of peace, joy, and unity through sport. Although Coubertin was not present, the author suggests that had he been, he most certainly would have been ecstatic considering the circumstances of the decade previous to these Games. Few aside from Coubertin fully realized the obstacles that the Games' organizers had to overcome to produce "the finest of all Olympic Games."

The first section of the essay focuses on the initial resistance of Coubertin towards awarding the Olympic Games to Los Angeles. The author provides a brief sketch of the events that led to the IOC's decision to award this first post-war Games to Antwerp. Significantly, a spectator at these Games was one William May Garland of Los Angeles, a wealthy real estate developer and insurance magnate who was active in Republican politics at the local and state levels. Garland also served as president of the Los Angeles Athletic Club, president of the California Chamber of Commerce, chair of the Los Angeles Board of Education, and chair of the Community Development Association. According to the author, Garland's agenda in Antwerp was twofold: (1) to view the Olympic Games as an interesting sidelight to his family's European vacation, and (2) to present to the IOC the wish of Los Angeles to be a prospective Olympic host city for the 1924 Games. Although Coubertin was impressed by the Los Angeles bid and with Garland's presentation, he had other plans for the Games of the Eighth and Ninth Olympiad. The author notes that despite some

opposition to Coubertin's plans, the committee voted fourteen to four to award the 1924 Games to Paris and the 1928 Games to Amsterdam.

The second section of the paper deals with the events that surrounded the winning of the bid by Los Angeles to host the 1932 Olympic Games. The author notes that Coubertin, knowing that the bid from Los Angeles had been impressive and strongly presented, wrote Garland to offer the city a glimmer of hope and to notify him of his pending election to the IOC. Soon thereafter Garland found himself in Rome voting unanimously with other IOC colleagues to elect Los Angeles as the host city for the 1932 Olympic Games. However, it would take a dedicated, energetic, and influential group of Los Angelenos to muster the resources necessary to produce the Games of the Tenth Olympiad. The author notes that Garland was the obvious choice to head the local organizing committee, and was elected president. The "critical" post of general-secretary went to Zack J. Fanner, a forty-year-old journalist who had helped develop the original bid for the Games. Soon after taking up the post, Farmer was dispatched to Europe to assess the IOC, NOCs, IFs, and the Dutch organizational effort on hosting the Ninth Olympiad Games. His pessimistic report on IOC ineffectualness, squabbling IFs, and what he perceived as the failure of Olympism nearly led the Los Angeles Organizing Committee to return the Olympic Games to International Olympic authorities.

The final section of the paper deals with the awesome funding challenges associated with planning the 1932 Olympic Games. The author notes that some of the funds required to help support the Games were raised through a California State bond issue. In 1929, with the collapse of the stock market, there was cause to be far less optimistic. Los Angeles organizers also wrestled with a worrisome unknown--would anyone show up to participate in the Games, or would the affair simply be little more than a regional athletic meeting? To attract the world's athletes to Los Angeles, the Games' organizers knew they would need to secure discount fares for travel and guarantee accommodations. In the end, they were able to accomplish both, the most significant of which was the construction of the Olympic Games' first Olympic Village.

The author concludes with some final comments on the Los Angeles Olympic Games of 1932 and the many contributions it left behind. For instance, the author notes that it was in Los Angeles that the Olympic medal award ceremony took place for the first time with the winners arranged on elevated victory stands. Other contributions to the Olympic Games included photo-finish cameras, the media press box, and the Olympic Village, the latter of which, the author argues, "accomplished more to achieve Coubertin's vision of Olympism than all the pageantry, spectacle, show, and ritual put together."

Depending almost entirely on primary sources from the IOC Archives in Lausanne, Switzerland, the Amateur Athletic Federation in Los Angeles, and the Centre for Olympic Studies in London, Canada, the author has amassed an impressive collection of informative endnotes to substantiate the text of his essay.

John J. MacAloon, "On the Structural Origins of Olympic Individuality," **Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport**, Vol. 67, No. 2, June 1996, 136-147. Reviewed by Gordon MacDonald.

In this article MacAloon discusses the victory ceremony in the Modern Olympic Games. In doing so, he argues that the victory ceremony has been critically examined by neither popular culture nor by professional academics and is, thus, without a history. Few, if any, questions have been asked of the ceremony's origins and significance. MacAloon addresses this oversight and offers some important insights into the role and significance of the victory ceremony within modernist international society. He argues that the victory ceremony is a result of the installation of "a modernist structure of identities into Olympic ceremony by almost anonymous actors" and that 'individuality' is the category that had the most influence on the construction of the ceremony as it is now presented. MacAloon divides his examination into several parts. In the first he shows how it has been discussed and interpreted in popular discourse. In the second he relates how academics have neglected to examine its historical evolution and significance, and, third, he shows how it evolved into a ritualization of the individual athlete.

While the victory ceremony is now ubiquitous at the Olympic Games, MacAloon argues that it would be an illusion to see it as being universalist. He notes that even the IOC's own official languages (French and English) describe the event in different terms. When people talk about the ceremony, MacAloon has discovered that they are almost never able to relate its history. Narrative is generally a part of the description of the ceremony, but this does not extend to its social and historical significance. Interpretations of the ceremony, while generally including the same features or categories, differ in the ranking of those features from region to region internationally. For example, those features that celebrate the individual and patriotism/nationalism tend to be mentioned first in some countries, whereas the human being, group honour, and national solidarity tended to be at the forefront in others.

MacAloon also spends some time explaining how these features are interpreted within Olympic organizational structures. Drawing on the 1981 Olympic Congress held in Baden Baden Germany, he points out how the Soviet delegate on the Athletes' Commission focussed on the importance of the victory ceremony to the athletes' experience at the game. In MacAloon's view this perception fit well with the nation-building rhetoric of the socialist countries. In contrast, in the American context, the victory ceremony has been presented as a celebration of patriotism and individual excellence. With the end of the Cold War, the importance of the victory ceremonies presumably would be less important to Americans, but MacAloon argues that they still would not be happy to see a change that would remove the national symbols in the ceremony. Underlying the uncertainty, he argues, is the difficulty in distinguishing between society and the state and how the two should be balanced.

His main conclusions in this section are that the victory ceremony is about the connection between the individual, the nation, and humanity, and that there have been no questions at all about the history of this ritual.

Even in the academic realm, the victory ceremony has been treated in a cursory fashion only, and no work has been done on the significance of its evolution. Academic treatments have been, in MacAloon's terms, an acceptance of the ceremonies as an exemplar - they are abstract, naturalized identity concepts. Furthermore, the media has contributed to this situation because many scholars have depended upon the mass media for their sources. MacAloon complains that, even at a recent conference on Olympic ceremonies, scholars did not focus on the victory ceremony - as though there is nothing to be said about this ritual.

After these criticisms, MacAloon naturally has to offer some interpretations about the significance of the victory ceremonies. He provides an historical sketch of the evolution of the victory ceremony from the presentation of prizes at the closing ceremonies (which started at the Athens Games in 1896) to the podium events first seen at the 1932 and subsequent versions of the Olympic Games. He argues that the focus shifted from the officials and Olympic dignitaries to the individual athletes with the change to a podium-based event that occurred immediately after the conclusion of the competition, rather than at the closing ceremonies. Thus, the individual athletes were ritualized in a way they had not been prior to that time. Who gets the credit for these changes? Here is the where MacAloon feels the evidence is sketchy so far. The official reports for the 1932 Winter and Summer Olympic Games contain references to the changes, but the manner in which these decisions were made are not revealed. Here, then, is a site for more research. In fact, Robert K. Barney provides some clues in an article in the same issue of the *Research Quarterly* in which MacAloon's research appears. (See *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, Vol. 67, No. 2, June 1996, 148-160).

In sum, MacAloon concludes that the modern identities so prevalent in this century - individualism, nationalism, humanism - eventually influenced the victory ceremonies at the Olympic Games. The part missing at the beginning was the celebration of the individual, and the changes in the 1930s were a result of the pressures brought by this category of identity.

Cindy Himes Gissendanner, "African American Women Olympians: The Impact of Race, Gender, and Class Ideologies, 1932- 1968," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, Vol. 67, No. 2, June 1996, 172-182. Reviewed by Scott G. Martyn.

In recent years, increased interest in African-American sport history has sparked the publication of numerous articles attempting to chronicle various aspects of its history. However, for all of its progress, the production of scholarship on the black athletic experience lags far behind the so called "traditional" sport history. Cindy

Himes Gissendanner's study is one of the most recent to break from traditional scholarship and explore the impact of changing social constructions of race on the lived experience and print media images of black women Olympians between 1932 and 1968.

The author notes that for many black female athletes in this period, the starting point of their journey to the Olympic Games was crushing poverty, the result of institutionalized racism in the rural South and urban North. Although some benefited from private and public ventures aimed at developing athletic talent, the author argues that most competed without the economic security of their white counterparts. The widespread racial discrimination that underlaid hiring practices in business and industry meant that athletic teams backed by white-owned industrial and financial concerns were not usually open to African-American women. To support her argument, the author compares the path of one white working-class athlete, Mildred "Babe" Didrikson, to Olympic team membership and her subsequent Olympic luster with that of two African American women, Tidy Pickett and Louise Stokes, also of working-class origins. Pickett and Stokes won berths on the 1932 and the 1936 U.S. women's Olympic track and field team. Their stories reveal much about the nature of resistance, coping, and accommodation during this period in American history. The author also examines the careers of Alice Coachman, Wilma Rudolph, and Earlene Brown to add further support to her argument. Her findings suggest that African-American women athletes' personal narrative constructions of race, gender, and class meanings of their experiences on the road to Olympic competition often differ from their representation in both the black and white press.

The author concludes that between 1932 and 1968, female African American-Olympians were caught in the crosshairs of interlocking systems of oppression that sought to define their life experiences in ways that would contain their revolutionary implications. However, their voices gave testimony to the creativity with which they drew on black working-class cultural traditions as they confronted the problems of entering new worlds. The author argues that as they moved from poverty into middle-class feminized professions, they took with them the wholehearted support of working-class parents as well as methods of resistance and survival in a racist world. Significantly, upon retirement from Olympic competition, the author points out that a striking number of these black women Olympians entered community service jobs or teaching, thus carrying on the tradition that had benefited them of passing one's learned strategies for individual survival and community strength in the face of adversity to the next generation.

The strength of this article lies in its multi-ethnic analysis, which reveals more about the nature of discrimination experienced by African-American Olympians than those studies that have focussed on a single ethnic group. Despite the advantage of this approach, however, the author has pursued but a single case to support her primary thesis. Thus, the comparison of Didrikson's path to Olympic team membership and her Olympic fate, with that of Pickett and Stokes, contributes little to the further understanding of the impact of race, gender, and class ideologies on the experiences of African-American women Olympians. The author has, for the most part, depended on the more traditional historical narrative for the development of her analysis. Based largely on secondary sources, Gissendanner's article includes some

endnotes helpful for those who wish to pursue research on sport and the ethnic experience.

Stephen R. Wenn, "A House Divided: The U.S. Amateur Sport Establishment and the Issue of Participation in the 1936 Berlin Olympics," **Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport**, Vol. 67, No. 2, June 1996, 161-171. Reviewed by Gordon MacDonald.

In this article Stephen Wenn examines the conflict that evolved between the AAU and the American Olympic Association over the issue of whether the United States should participate in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. While the struggle technically occurred between two organizations, several individuals emerged as the primary players. The debate over participation also sheds light on some Americans' attitudes towards Jews in the 1930s as well as the impact of certain individuals' power and zealously-held beliefs to sway opinions.

Wenn provides some background information on the Americans' attempts to obtain assurances from the Germans that, despite their anti-Semitic policies, they would allow Jewish athletes to qualify and compete for Germany. When the Germans assured the Americans that Jewish athletes would indeed be allowed to compete, this was enough for Avery Brundage and several other American Olympic Committee officials. It was, however, not enough assurance for several of the leaders of the AAU, including Jeremiah T. Mahoney. Brundage and Mahoney soon became the protagonists in the struggle over American participation that culminated at the December 1935 AAU convention in New York.

Wenn also provides an overview of the discussions about American participation appearing in the U.S. media prior to the convention, noting scores of individuals and groups who lined up on either side of the debate. Media coverage was extensive, to the point of a Gallup poll being released on the issue of participation in the Games. Furthermore, the debates became progressively more vituperative throughout 1935. Brundage clearly was fearful of the potential of an AAU decision to boycott the Games. This fear prompted him to convince IOC President Henri Baillet-Latour to ignore the usual procedure of having the AAU verify the amateur status of US athletes before the Olympic Games. Mahoney, for his part, as president of the AAU, decided to present a resolution to the members that would withhold moral and financial support from the US Olympic team. However, by the time of the 1935 AAU convention, Brundage and his supporters were able to garner enough support from the delegates to table Mahoney's resolution. AOC member, Gustavus T. Kirby, who supported American attendance at Berlin, tabled another resolution that expressed concern over the German policies, but noted that the IOC should be concerned with determining whether Olympic rules were being breached. This

resolution passed and, by an extremely narrow margin, the AAU supported the US Olympic team in 1936.

Wenn notes that the aftermath of the vote saw the resignation of Mahoney and several others from the AOC. Ernst Lee Jahncke, the sole US IOC member who had spoken against American participation, ultimately found himself banished from IOC membership. (This, incidently, left a place open for another US member. The spot was filled by Brundage at the 1936 IOC meeting in Berlin.) Kirby, who wished to join Brundage as a member of the IOC, never fulfilled his dream as several European members were against his candidacy.

As usual, Wenn's article is assiduously documented (105 notes) and his use of primary sources provides more insight into the contents of the Avery Brundage papers. His analysis of the interplay between the power brokers at the top of American amateur sports in the 1930s provides an interesting, and sometimes disturbing, look at the impact of zealously-held beliefs on the ability of those leaders to think rationally and to conduct debates in a civilized manner.

Wayne Wilson, "The IOC and the Status of Women in the Olympic Movement: 1972-1996," **Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport**, Vol. 67, No. 2, June 1996, 183-192. Reviewed by Scott G. Martyn.

The entrance of women into the Modern Olympic Movement signified a long and arduous process, the foundations of which were laid by an earlier generation of emancipators. The purpose of Wilson's article is, however, to analyse the current "status of women by looking at three broad areas: (1) participation of female athletes in the Games, (2) content of the Olympic sports programs, and (3) women's membership on the IOC and other international sport-governing bodies." His analysis pays particular attention to the dominant role of the IOC as the "supreme authority of the Olympic Movement." For the most part, the author confines himself to a "broad-stroke historical overview," followed by an examination of those areas of women's participation that are easily quantified and over which the IOC exerts the most direct control.

Wilson argues that although formal approval of women's sports on the Olympic program came at the IOC's 1910 Luxembourg Session, female participation had occurred because of the efforts of local organizers since the Games of 1900. Despite the 1910 approval of swimming, gymnastics, and tennis for women, the only women's events at the 1912 Stockholm Games were in swimming, diving, and tennis. He notes that women once again participated in those events as well as yachting and figure skating at Antwerp in 1920, following the eight-year hiatus forced by World War I. Wilson focuses on Coubertin's ideas at some length to show his continuing opposition to women's participation in the Games. To Coubertin, the only role of

women in the Olympic Games was to provide “female applause” for the efforts of men.

The most serious dispute over women’s participation during the early history of the Games centred on Olympic track and field competitions for women. Frustrated by the lack of competitive opportunities for female athletes, Alice Milliat of France founded the Federation Sportive Feminine Internationale (FSFI) in 1921. The author notes that Milliat and the FSFI organized four successful international Women’s Games before the IOC decided it could no longer ignore the growth of international women’s sport. The successes of these track and field competitions helped to convince IOC members to include women’s track and field competitions at the 1928 Olympic Games. The next two decades following the 1928 Games, saw women make only modest gains. The author argues that an entrenched belief that women were biologically unsuited for vigorous athletic competition hampered their acceptance. Although not prepared to accept women’s participation in all sports that held a recognized women’s world championship, the IOC, throughout the 1960s and early 1970s approved the addition of a number of existing women’s sports and several new sports to the Olympic programme.

Although the expansion of the women’s program accelerated during the 1960s and 1970s the IOC remained an exclusively male organization. Significantly, the author notes that the first proposal within the IOC to add women to the committee came from France’s Count Jean de Beaumont in 1968 at the Mexico City Session. It would be another thirteen years, however, before the committee elected its first two women members: Flor Isava-Fonseca of Venezuela, and Pirjo Haggman of Finland. By 1995 the IOC had amassed a membership of 107, with only 7 percent female IOC membership. Wilson points out that the low representation of women within the IOC is also revealed in other ways. The committee sponsors twenty-two commissions and working groups that carry out the work of the IOC in various areas. Of these a woman chairs only one, the Working Group on Women and Sport.

Thematically, Wilson also examines the growth of women’s participation both in numbers and in events, as well as the present status of women’s participation in the Olympic Games and the various factors that have influenced its relative growth. Women, he concludes, have become a significant presence in the Modern Olympic Movement. In Atlanta, approximately 36 percent of the athletes were women, and they competed in 40 percent of the events. The women’s program has grown at a faster rate than the men’s. But does all of this represent a fundamental change within the IOC? Men and women, the author argues, continue to be unequal partners in the 1990s. While the growing number of female athletes and events for women are commendable, the present state of affairs witnesses a percentage of participation skewed towards men. The numerical difference, he contends, amounts to a continuation of the power imbalance within the Modern Olympic Movement.

The author has used a variety of primary sources for this article, including, but not limited to, IOC minutes from the Annual Sessions, and various personal correspondence. Much of the information utilized in his discussion for the later periods is based on various secondary sources. Wilson includes one table in the body of his text which shows the program changes for the 1996 Atlanta Games. This table

encapsulates nicely the additions, deletions, expansions, and modifications undertaken for the 1996 Atlanta Games.

Douglas A. Brown, "Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic Exploration of Modernism, 1894-1914: Aesthetics, Ideology and the Spectacle," **Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport**, Vol. 67, No. 2, June 1996, 121-135. Reviewed by Gordon MacDonald.

In this article Brown goes well beyond most previous attempts to examine Pierre de Coubertin's aesthetic ideas about sport. Contextualizing Coubertin's thinking within modernist ideas about aesthetics at the end of the 19th and early 20th, centuries, he presents several arguments as to why aesthetics were so important to the early conceptualization of modern Olympism. In particular, Brown outlines Coubertin's 'aesthetic imperative': eurythmie, and then provides examples of how the IOC President went about constructing his concept of eurythmie.

Brown begins by explaining the essential aspects of modernism and its intimate connection to aesthetics. Modernism flowed from a set of ideas and beliefs about how art, culture, and society should be. He notes that its promoters generally had a moral and ethical mission to improve the human condition - much like the Olympic Movement. Aesthetics played a part in these ideas because, as a theory of perception, it was believed to contribute value and insight into the normative nature of the beautiful.

For Coubertin, according to Brown, eurythmie was the aesthetic ideal. Brown offers three similar conceptions and definitions of the term, and argues that eurythmie was "more than an assessment of beauty; it was an experience and a state of being." Coubertin seems to have used it in ways that related to all of the conceptions. Furthermore, Brown posits that Coubertin was more indebted to John Ruskin's thoughts on eurythmie than has previously been discussed by other historians. Accordingly, he provides an overview of how Coubertin drew on the Scottish philosopher's ideas.

Having given the reader a context, Brown moves on to elucidate how Coubertin went about constructing eurythmie. Beginning with architecture, he claims it was probably the essential art form for Coubertin's sporting aesthetic idea. Coubertin wrote about the intimate connection between sport and the setting in which it was practised, and provided a number of opinions about how that setting should be constructed. Incidentally, as Brown notes, these opinions meshed well with the aesthetic goals of modernism. Not content simply to write about these ideals, in 1911 Coubertin arranged, under the auspices of the IOC, an international architecture contest with the goal of producing a modern Olympia. While it did not attract as many participants as he had hoped, the contest did afford Coubertin the opportunity

to expand significantly his own philosophy on aesthetics, sport, and architecture. (Coubertin wrote the rules for the contest, and tried to promote the competition.)

The *fête sportif* was another technique Coubertin used to achieve the aesthetic goal of eurythmie. These events occurred on many of the occasions when the IOC met for Congresses or general session meetings. Brown highlights several of the more significant ones. For example, the closing ceremonies of the 1906 Conference on the Arts included - among choral performances, poetry readings, and fanfares - a fencing match. Brown states that it was, for Coubertin, a 'source of aesthetic contemplation,' and the fencers were seen as 'embodiments of modern harmony'. The movement of the fencers could be contrasted with the 'static' beauty of the poetry and the auditory beauty of the music. Also, unlike dance, the fencing contest was an unscripted performance and its beauty was, in part, related to the uncertainty of the outcome.

In a similar way, among the festivities surrounding the Congress in 1894 at which the Olympic Games were formally revived, Coubertin included a number of sports events that were staged in conjunction with more traditional artistic endeavours. The events all took place outside during the evening and were lit by torchlight and lanterns, lending a fantastic, enchanted quality to them. Importantly, the spectators were integrated into the events, and so became a part of the overall spectacle. This, too, was a critical aspect of Coubertin's aesthetic modernist ideal. To further buttress his argument, Brown notes that events of this type also were staged at the twentieth anniversary celebrations of the IOC in 1914.

In the last section of the paper, Brown argues that Coubertin's ideas about the *fête sportif* were also closely related, and indebted, to the influence of the Frenchman Maurice Pottecher, founder of the Théâtre du Peuple, a troupe dedicated to extending theater to all classes of people. Pottecher participated in the 1906 Conference, and he and Coubertin forged a friendship that contributed to the development of both their ideas about cultural productions. Their correspondence led to efforts to combine the dramatic and the sportive together in several settings (including the celebrations in honour of the Architecture Competition of 1911) that reflected Coubertin's eurythmic ideals.

Finally, Brown notes that Coubertin developed his theories in a period of "great cultural contradictions." A polemic existed between high and popular culture, and Coubertin's efforts to bridge the gap were not always successful, or even that well-formed. However, as Brown concludes this important piece, Coubertin must be given credit for his ability to convert his ideas into experience.