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## Journal Article Reviews

Tony Meenaghan, "Point of View: Ambush Marketing: Immoral or Imaginative Practice?" *Journal of Advertising Research*, Vol. 34, No. 5, September/October 1994, 77-88. Reviewed by Scott G. Martyn.

In this article, Meenaghan examines the strategies utilized by "ambush marketers" within the realm of commercial sponsorship, as well as the counter strategies which corporate sponsors can use to protect their investments. Extending his analysis, the author discusses the effectiveness of ambush marketing, including the morality of this increasingly prevalent competitive behaviour. Further, he proposes a research agenda for this "pathetically" under-researched aspect of marketing communications. As a marketing lecturer in the Graduate Business School at University College in Dublin, Meenaghan brings impressive qualifications to his subject. He published one of the first major works in the field of corporate sponsorship in 1983, entitled *Commercial Sponsorship*, and has also been involved in preparing position papers for both the International Advertising Association (IAA) and the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA) on this topic.

According to Meenaghan, commercial sponsorship represents one of the most significant marketing developments in recent decades. While the elementary foundations of sponsorship may be found in the behaviour of Greek and Roman patrons and the later Medicis of medieval Europe, Meenaghan argues that commercial sponsorship is very much a modern phenomenon. The major growth in this relatively new medium has predominately transpired over the last twenty-five years. According to the author, the growth of sponsorship is symptomatic of the desire of marketing communicators to open new and cost-efficient lines of access to customer groups. This desire has manifested itself in a shift of emphasis from traditional "above the line" media to an array of opportunities categorised as "below the line" expenditures. In support of this contention, Meenaghan points to the vast market found in the United States where "below the line" promotions now account for more than 70 percent of all advertising revenue. It is within this milieu of "below the line" opportunities - direct mail, creative sales promotions, access innovations such as product placement, and the advertorial and interactive media developments - that sponsorship finds both its classification and, argues the author, its justification.

By implementing a sponsorship program as part of its marketing communications mix, the sponsor is seeking to reap the benefits of the public attention generated by the activity. Such a program can also benefit the sponsor by transferring certain image connotations inherent in the activity onto the company or brand. One example of image transfer provided by Meenaghan, occurred during the Olympic Games in Seoul, South Korea. Maximizing their sponsorship of the Games, the Eastman Kodak Company developed a highly effective campaign utilizing the "Go for the Gold" theme.

As noted by Meenaghan, a typical sponsorship arrangement involves a sponsor purchasing the sponsorship property rights to an activity or event and using support promotion to draw further public attention to its involvement. The practice whereby

another company, often a competitor, intrudes upon public attention surrounding the event, thereby deflecting attention towards themselves and away from the legitimate sponsor, is known as “ambush marketing.” According to Meenaghan, the term “ambush marketing” was initially coined to describe the activities of those companies who sought to associate themselves with an event, such as the Olympic Games, without paying for the privilege. The term was first used in connection with highly competitive promotional programs around the Games of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Olympiad in Los Angeles. Meenaghan notes that during the Calgary Winter Olympics the public observed Wendy’s “ambushing” McDonald’s, American Express “ambushing” VISA, and Quality Inns “ambushing” Hilton, to name but a few cases.

Meenaghan argues that any major event can represent a wide variety of promotional opportunities, and thus is fertile ground for “ambush marketing.” As such, it has significant implications for event owners such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association, the governing body for World Cup Soccer. In the view of the IOC, this activity is done intentionally to create consumer confusion, thereby denying the legitimate sponsor clear recognition of its role as an official sponsor. This, according to the IOC marketing department, is extremely serious as it has the potential to destroy sponsorship by undermining the value of its Olympic marks in the short term. If left unchecked, it has the capacity to financially undermine the future staging of the Olympic Games. As one Olympic family member stated, “one of our greatest sources of revenue is licensing companies to call themselves the ‘Official Olympic Company’ or ‘Official Olympic Supplier’ in a particular category,” and if they did not react energetically to protect their “official marks” they “would be cutting” their “own throats.”

According to Meenaghan, the question of whether “ambush marketing” is an immoral or imaginative practice is one which is widely debated within the sponsorship industry. In truth, he argues, the answer may well lie in the eye of the beholder. Arguments for, or against, “ambush marketing” will vary widely depending on whether one is taking a narrow or broad view of the practice itself, as mentioned earlier. However, Meenaghan contends that there is a considerable difference between the traditional view of ambushing which involves no fee to the event owner, yet still implies involvement with that event, and the more generic form of ambushing through involvement with a variety of other legitimate sponsorship opportunities.

The author concludes the article by noting that the growth in sponsorship expenditure worldwide has been accompanied by a parallel growth in the practice of “ambush marketing.” Recognizing the promotional opportunities available at major events, and the possibility of low-cost association by highly creative ambushers, Meenaghan contends that ambush marketing activities will continue long into the new millennium.

Depending largely on secondary sources, the author’s essay draws needed attention to the limited discourse surrounding commercial sponsorship. Unfortunately, within the subset of sponsorship that is “ambushing marketing,” the level of accumulated research in the public domain is “pathetically” low. It is hoped that through this effort, Meenaghan has pried open a closet of insight that other scholars might peer into, adding to our collective understanding of commercial sponsorship in the process.

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David L. Andrews, "Feminizing Olympic Reality: Preliminary Dispatches from Baudrillard's Atlanta," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 1998, 5-18. Reviewed by Robert S. Kossuth.

How does French cultural commentator Jean Baudrillard's analysis of the media's role in presenting the Persian Gulf War to the American public fit in with David Andrews' investigation of NBC's coverage of the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games? The connection, Andrews charges, lies in how the television coverage of both events was manipulated to present a constructed reality very different to the reality of the actual events. In the case of CNN's coverage of the Gulf War, Baudrillard suggests that the network presented a pentagon-sanctioned, sanitized version of the war that selectively focussed on events which presented American actions in a positive light. Thus, Baudrillard argues that the reality of what took place during the war was, for the American public, that reality which was created by the networks through the selected coverage of events.

By using Baudrillard's approach, Andrews presents a compelling argument that NBC formulated a plan to present the Atlanta Olympics in a manner that would readily appeal to a female audience. This decision, he argues, was made after it was determined, through market research, that men would watch the games no matter how they were presented. Armed with this information NBC sought to increase its television ratings by taking specific steps to construct an Olympic reality that would appeal to female viewers. This was, according to Andrews, achieved through the manipulation of time, the order in which events were presented, and the use of narratives to increase female interest in the performances. The implementation of these production methods led to what Andrews describes as a 'hyperreality'. Andrews borrows this term from Baudrillard to describe NBC's creation of a "hyperreal Olympics that were 'more real than reality itself'". (9) Ultimately, Andrews suggests, the goal of using this strategy to attract a larger female audience was to provide the advertisers with ratings that would satisfy their monetary investment in the games (corporate advertisers had been guaranteed a 17 Nielsen rating by NBC).

To put a face to NBC's decisions concerning the coverage of the Olympics, Andrews focusses upon Dick Ebersol the president of NBC Sports. Under Ebersol's direction it was decided that coverage of the 1996 Games would be primarily concerned with attracting a female audience. Andrews, I believe, is correct when he criticizes NBC's reliance on so-called 'scientific' market research to arrive at a production strategy. A second more credible reason for the decision according to Andrews was the success of the network's broadcast of the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona which had been successful in garnering increased female viewership. Based on the transparent motives behind the network's production of the 1996 Olympic Games, it is understandable that Andrews takes the position that the events that represented women were highlighted in ways that he terms as "hyperfeminine." Unfortunately, the reader is not provided with an explanation of the difference between "feminized" and a "hyperfeminized" Olympic television coverage. We are left to assume that there was more happening than the simple introduction of a feminized focus to the coverage of the games, yet no explanation is provided of what this may have been.

Despite this, Andrews is clear that the “feminizing” or “hyperfeminizing” of the games was made possible by the economic sway that NBC held over the IOC which allowed certain events such as gymnastics to be scheduled during prime-time to maximize female viewer numbers while less marketable events such as weight lifting were held during the day-time. This, Andrews suggests, was one of a number of tactics that allowed NBC to impose its [hyper]feminized reality upon the presentation of games to the American public.

A critical technique employed by Ebersol to present the viewers with NBC’s interpretation of the Olympic experience was the manipulation of time. Specifically, Andrews suggests that NBC believed it could attract a greater number of female viewers by not treating the Olympics as a normal results-driven televised sporting event but by generating a narrative that would appeal to “the habitually empathetic female psyche” (13). In order to achieve this end it was necessary for NBC to manipulate “Olympic reality” through the control of the production and meaning of information which was accomplished through the “intermingling of purely live, live-on-tape, and taped coverage”(13). The use of tape-delayed coverage allowed the viewers to believe they were watching a live event when in reality it had been pre-packaged to be presented at a specific time in order to maximize the event’s drama. An example, which Andrews suggests highlights this deceptive practice, was the delaying and packaging of injured U.S. gymnast Kerri Strug’s final vault into a moment of high drama, hours after the event took place. By ignoring the fact that the vault was not critical (Strug’s team had already secured the gold medal), the drama of the situation was amplified. Although this represents an extreme example, Andrews suggests that this strategy was maintained throughout the Games.

A second method used by NBC to create drama where none existed, according to Andrews, was the use of taped personal profiles of athletes. These profiles were inserted into the Olympic story in order to form a connection between the audience and the athlete of the moment. Andrews likens these televised segments to “motivational informercials,” in that the producers are attempting to sell the story to viewers by providing an avenue for greater emotional investment. These pre-packaged narratives were then placed within the broader narrative of the games which Andrews argues created the equivalent of the “Oprah Olympics” or a “17-day Marathon Melrose Place.” Therefore, once one has waded through Andrews’ arguments, his conclusion is plainly presented -- NBC coverage of the Atlanta Olympic Games was a ‘soap opera’ where entertainment was the main ingredient and female support was the ultimate objective.

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Catherine O’Brien, “The Legacy of Sport for Women in the Eastern Block,” *The Journal of Comparative Physical Education and Sport*, Vol. 18, (1996) pp. 19-23. Reviewed by Greg Gillespie.

This article examines sport participation opportunities for women in the former USSR (Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics), the former GDR (German Demo-

cratic Republic), and Poland. Speculation on future possibilities within the changing economic and political environment of the aforementioned countries figured prominently throughout O'Brien's discussion.

The former USSR was the first to be examined. O'Brien noted a number of sport participation statistics and wisely acknowledged the enigmatic nature of the statistical information produced by the Soviets from the 1960s to the 1980s. O'Brien also voiced a concern over the capitalism of sport and insightfully recognized that, "Glasnost and perestroika opened and closed doors for everyone involved in sports, especially where money was concerned." (p.20) She concludes by recognizing that women had been exposed to exploitation as much in the USSR as in other countries.

The following section examines the German Democratic Republic. Specifically, O'Brien notes the former domination by East German women in Olympic competition. Successful forays in this international arena resulted in financial gifts, cars, and other perks for these athletes. O'Brien argues that after the worst period of upheaval, December 1989 to March 1990, sport became a secondary concern in Germany. The fall of the Wall brought forth many stories of doping such as the use of 13-15 year old females in experimental drug programs.

Finally, the participation of women in sport in Poland was reviewed. The identification of the recent "Sports for All" movement in that country was particularly interesting and clearly showed an internal concern in Poland for the future of participation opportunities generally.

In short, O'Brien's account of women's participation in these three Eastern Bloc countries was little more than an overview. She made note of a number of problematic areas for researchers, such as statistics from the former republics; yet, overall, failed to account for the sheer breadth of complexities involved in a study of women's participation in the former USSR, GDR, and Poland. O'Brien needs more and varied evidence in order to legitimize her larger claims. The topic of women's participation in the Eastern Bloc countries was extremely interesting but the study itself failed to engage the reader with appropriate source material. As a result, her conclusions were pure conjecture. This article would have been significantly improved if the focus had been placed on a comparison of two countries rather than three. Perhaps a comparison of women's participation in two Eastern Bloc countries may have offered more insight.

In conclusion, this topic offered no real insight into women's participation in the former USSR, GDR, or Poland. O'Brien's line of thought was erratic and, as a result, she touched on a number of secondary ideas that did not significantly reinforce her primary line of inquiry. But, a comparative approach to women's participation in these countries was an interesting approach and is deserving of further study.

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Helen Jefferson Lenskyj, "When Winners are Losers: Toronto and Sydney Bids for the Summer Olympics," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, Vol. 20, No. 4, November 1996, 392-410. Reviewed by Scott G. Martyn.

On the evening of 23 September 1993 in the beautiful hillside city of Monte Carlo, Juan Antonio Samaranch, President of the International Olympic Committee, announced that Sydney had won the right to be the host to the Games of the 27<sup>th</sup> Olympiad. Three years prior to this announcement, in the Japanese capital of Tokyo, Samaranch had awarded the Games of the 26<sup>th</sup> Olympiad to the city of Atlanta. Among the leading candidates vying for the "privilege" of hosting those Games, was the metropolitan city of Toronto, Canada.

In this article, Lenskyj analyses the events surrounding the Toronto and Sydney bids, with a focus on the ways in which politicians, sport leaders, corporations, and the media attempted to manufacture public consent, as well as the ways in which individuals and groups resisted such attempts. The "explicit politicization of sport" by the critics and supporters of the Olympic bidding process is the central theme of this article. For the purpose of her analysis, Lenskyj has embraced the basic principles of participatory democracy as developed by Saul Alinsky, Paulo Freire, and others. Simply stated, the author has assumed the position that citizens have the right to participate in decisions that affect their future, and that conscientization and community activism are effective routes to self-determination.

Commencing with an overview of the methodology utilized in her analysis, Lenskyj relies primarily on printed materials, including the official publications of the bid committees and newspaper coverage of events surrounding the bid procedure. Additional sources were obtained from the Toronto City Council and the Toronto Olympic Task Force. The author also conducted an interview with a key member of the Toronto based Bread Not Circuses (BNC) Coalition. Formed in 1989, the BNC had grown to become a coalition of more than 1,500 individuals and almost sixty organizations which harboured "critical" concerns about Toronto's bid for the 1996 Games. Finally, Lenskyj travelled to Sydney to witness the public advertising campaign first-hand during July and August of 1993, and April and May of 1994.

Lenskyj notes that both Toronto and Sydney have a history of successful community-based movements involving labour, women, and ethnic minorities, to name but a few, dating back several decades. However, the author argues that Sydney lacks some of Toronto's formal structures within municipal governments that facilitate community involvement on issues such as public education and neighbourhood renewal. She contends that this difference, combined with the discrepancies in the public's perception of sport in general, and the Olympic Games in particular, may have accounted for the dissimilar outcomes of their respective Olympic bids. In support of this contention, Lenskyj notes that Australia has not been host to an Olympic Games since Melbourne in 1956, whereas Canadians have recent memories of the financial debacle surrounding the Games of the 21<sup>st</sup> Olympiad in Montreal, and the public costs associated with 1988 Winter Olympic Games in Calgary. Thus, the author suggests that the Sydney Olympic Bid Committee was able to seduce the pub-

lit into believing that the Games would lead to Australia's economic recovery through the influx of tourist dollars during the Games and the expected long-term boost to tourism and trade.

In order to understand the mechanics of the bid process, Lenskyj offers the reader a brief sketch of the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) guidelines to candidate cities. As the supreme authority for "things Olympic," the IOC has final say on contracts and agreements made by the host city, commercial and otherwise. Following the selection of a host city through a process of elimination, and in collaboration with its National Olympic Committee (NOC), the successful candidate is required to enter into a contract with the IOC. Shortly thereafter, an Olympic Games Organizing Committee (OCOG) must also be established and become a signatory party to the aforementioned contract. As no other organization is party to such a contract, Lenskyj argues that it is possible for the bid process to be completely controlled by corporations, and not by the government agencies elected to represent the community. Such a structure, she argues, establishes an environment in which the potential exploitation of thousands of volunteer workers, and the resulting negative impact on unionized workers, have been identified as serious labour concerns in the staging of the Olympic Games.

Despite the "traditional" assertions of political neutrality in the Olympic Games, they have frequently become the site of political demonstration and protest. According to Lenskyj, the conventional rhetoric from within the Olympic Movement intended to keep politics out of sport has been replaced by the "explicit politicizing of the bid process by boosters and critics alike." Critics have repeatedly cited the burden on taxpayers and disadvantaged groups, as well as the threat to the environment. Supporters on the other hand, have pointed to the positive effects on the economy and labour markets. In her analysis of materials, Lenskyj found evidence of both positions swirling within the debates surrounding the Toronto and Sydney bids, although the outcomes were dramatically different.

Although it is easily asserted that the Sydney and Toronto campaigns provided graphic examples of winning and losing strategies for organizing consent around the hosting of Olympic Games, Lenskyj argues that the loser, in this case Toronto, is in fact the winner when judged by the criterion of democratic decision-making. The strategic and well timed, high-profile public relations campaign organized by Sydney's bid committee ensured that the Sydney 2000 logo, and the values it purported to represent, were "firmly embedded in the consciousness of Sydney residents." This, combined with the media's "sympathetic reporting," according to Lenskyj, easily persuaded Australians to rally behind Sydney's efforts to be the host to the Olympic Games in 2000.

This was not to be the case in Toronto, as its citizens were far more cynical of the campaign mounted by the Toronto Ontario Olympic Committee (TOOC), the city's official agent in bidding for the Olympic Games. Lenskyj also notes that unlike Sydney, TOOC was held accountable right from the beginning by the city's elected representatives. As such, it could not easily circumvent the public participation process required by Toronto City Council's *Olympic Commitment* statement adopted in September 1989.

Lenskyj concludes the article by stating that the events surrounding the Toronto and Sydney bids cast doubt on the validity of the IOC's Olympic bid process. She

argues that given the economic disparity between “North and South,” and the political “cold war” between the worlds developed nations, the process itself is inherently unfair. Moreover, Lenskyj contends that there are dramatic differences between the IOC’s notion of community participation and those of grassroots groups. “Given the current economic conditions around the world,” Lenskyj remarks, “should public money be used to subsidize a circus when people need bread? Or could it be that if one looks closely, some good can be found in hosting one of the world’s greatest sporting festivals?”

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D.B. Welky, “Viking Girls, Mermaids, and Little Brown Men: U.S. Journalism and the 1932 Olympics,” *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring 1997, 24-49. Reviewed by Robert S. Kossuth.

David Welky explores the newspaper coverage of the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles with specific reference to the role played by the mainstream American press as a vehicle for reasserting conservative social values which had been eroded during the liberal decade of the 1920s. The study is neatly placed within the broader context of national events that took place during the early 1930s that were both involved in and reflective of the conservative backlash of this period. Examples cited that support Welky’s assertion of a reemerging conservatism during the early years of the Great Depression include the sharp decline in employment opportunities for women and the faltering of minority political movements such as The Harlem Renaissance. It was within this increasingly conservative atmosphere that the Associated Press, which was controlled by influential media barons of the day, including the Pulitzer family and William Randolph Hearst, reported the events of the Olympic Games in a manner, Welky argues, that reflected and supported the ideals of these conservative elites.

The 1932 Olympic Games were notable for a number of reasons, including the size of the crowds, the success of the athletes, innovations such as the athletes’ village, and the extensive press coverage. Of particular interest to Welky was the amount of press coverage devoted to the relatively small number of women competing at the Games (127 of 1,408 participants). Although this coverage was extensive, it differed in a number of ways from that which was written about male athletes. Welky, in his examination, undertook a survey of fifteen U.S. newspapers in order to glean a national perspective of Olympic coverage. In terms of women’s coverage he found that the focus of articles rarely fell on their athletic abilities. The majority of coverage adhered to the popular conservative ideals that prescribed what a women should and should not do. This value-based coverage was particularly evident in track and field events where female athletes were often criticized for their loss of femininity and neglect of their traditional roles in society which expected women to be primarily concerned with their families. Other observations made by Welky included the focus of the press focus on general non-athletic attributes, such as beauty, while downplaying their athletic achievements.

Welky is careful not to fall into the trap of painting all coverage of female Olympic athletes in Los Angeles with the same brush. His examination of Mildred "Babe" Didrickson suggests that there were exceptions. In Didrickson's case her athletic talent set her apart. As a result she clearly represented a threat to the dominant belief that women were inferior and subordinate to men, particularly in athletics. Didrickson, because of her exceptional talent, was also able to attract attention and support from sport journalists, including the storied Grantland Rice. However, this support was conditional upon her maintaining requisite physical and social feminine qualities.

In contrast to the coverage received by Didrickson and other track athletes, Welky points out that women swimmers and divers were more readily accepted because they participated in activities that were not considered a threat to traditional gender roles. In the case of these sports it was common for the reporters to emphasize the physical attributes of the competitors instead of the quality of their athletic performance. Thus, according to Welky, "The fact that women could be athletic had little significance for the Olympic story-tellers . . . it was much more important to place these women in a context that appealed to the traditional elements of society" (34). Although Welky's insight into the problems faced by female athletes is in no way revolutionary, he does effectively use his findings to support the broader argument concerning the role of the press in reasserting traditional conservative views of the differing social roles expected of men and women during the early 1930s.

Welky does not limit his investigation to the coverage received by female athletes, and extends his inquiry to the experiences of two minority groups, the American black sprinters Eddie Tolan and Ralph Metcalfe, and the Japanese Olympic team. Welky's interest in Tolan and Metcalfe is based on the pharisaic treatment they received from reporters who hailed them as the saviours of U.S. dominance in world sprinting while simultaneously relying on racially derogatory statements that often appeared within the same article. Welky also points out that the coverage of black athletes was not uniform throughout the U.S. He notes that the southern newspapers tended to ignore the sprinters' success while the northern papers were more willing to hail their victories, although their accomplishments were often qualified and attributed to their innate physical gifts. These qualifications permitted white Americans to remain secure in their cultural superiority. Japanese athletes were dealt with in a slightly different manner by the mainstream American press. These athletes were presented in the newspaper as a threat based on their uncommon team unity; yet this threat was quickly diffused through references to their short stature. This example exhibits Welky's use of a varied perspective with the inclusion of both the mainstream press and a local Japanese newspaper reporting in his analysis of how the Japanese team was perceived. In both these cases the point which is clearly made is that the treatment of the black and Japanese athletes by the mainstream U.S. press was used to downplay perceived threats to the superiority of white Americans.

A final element of U.S. newspaper coverage of the 1932 Olympics identified by Welky which worked to reaffirm conservative values was the strong nationalist sentiment that arose within the reporting of the games. The focus of this nationalist coverage was concerned with how America had proven itself the best in the world, not only by success in competition but also through the organization of the games. This nationalism, along with the manner in which women, minority, and foreign athletes were treated in the press, leads Welky to conclude that any threat to traditional Amer-

ican values and U.S. athletic superiority was actively refuted by the press in a manner that was consistent with the values, beliefs, and ideals of conservative, white American males as they existed during the 1930s. In the final analysis, Welky blends solid evidence and a clear argument to make his point.

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William Morgan, "Sports and the Making of National Identities: A Moral View," *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 1997, XXIV, 1-20. Reviewed by Greg Gillespie.

In this article, Morgan provides a discussion on sport and the role sport plays in cultivating national identity as well as imposing one's national identity on others. The moral implication of imposing Western sporting practices on the international community was also identified and remained a common theme throughout the paper.

Morgan's research angle stemmed from the belief that "...enlisting sports in the cause of nationalism is enlisting them in a cause that is at best morally parochial and at worst morally, not to mention politically, dangerous" (p. 2). He continued by stating that the source of this moral parochialism developed from the following notion, "...when nations imagine themselves through sports or other media, they always imagine themselves as inherently limited, tightly bounded communities" (p. 2). These tightly bound communities reinforced divisive regionalism and the development of an "us" and "them" attitude. The reinforcing of regionalism through sport reaffirmed national superiority, while, at the same time, identified the inferiority and irrelevance of others. For Morgan this was highly undesirable, "...because it weakens the unity and taints the purity of our community" (p.2). It might sound contrary to the above but Morgan argues a pro- sportive nationalist perspective. This perspective is based on the following moral ideals: first, that each nation must discover and maintain its own identity, and, second, that the identification of that selfsameness is a dialogical matter that depends upon interaction with other nations. Morgan examines these ideals by looking at the contemporary sports scene, the moral credentials of nationalism itself, and, finally, by looking at sports as moral carriers of national identity.

In this article, Morgan leans heavily on a number of scholars. These included MacAloon, Wilson and Walzer. Overall, Morgan integrates the thoughts of these individuals well and the continuation of his own thoughts, or that of others, in the endnote section additionally contributed to the overall work.

When considered altogether, there was at least one issue absent from this paper. Unfortunately the issue of ethnicity was not examined, even in passing. Morgan repeatedly acknowledged the self- reinforcing superiority of "limited, tightly bounded communities" and yet never alluded to how race or ethnicity could impact national identity or to the subsequent implications or complications this could have to the moral issues in this article. The vast majority of sport participation in Ireland, for example, continues to revolve around traditional games such as Gaelic football and hurling. This nation walks amongst the others at the Olympics but can Ireland ever hope to achieve the Olympic success of other nations when its sporting emphasis

remains on traditional, ethnic games that have been played in that country for centuries? What implications, moral or otherwise, does this have for Ireland's identity within the international community? Can this nation ever "arrive" if international sporting emphasis remains on Western games?

In sum, this well written article focuses on a number of moral issues as they pertain to national identity. Morgan brought forth a number of interesting insights, and, overall, provided a stimulating account of the subject.

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Steven W. Pope, "Virtual Games: The Media Coverage of the 1996 Olympics," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring 1997, 63-73. Reviewed by Scott G. Martyn.

Two years ago, as Film, Media, and Museum Reviews Editor for the *Journal of Sport History*, Steve Pope introduced the "roundtable" as an annual feature of the journal. His initial effort (Volume 23, Spring 1996) focussed the attention of three recognized experts on Ken Burns's nine-part 1994 documentary "*Baseball*." The scholars included in this pioneering effort were Steven Riess, Jules Tygiel, and Larry Gerlach, each a recognized scholar of baseball history.

For this article, Pope focuses the attention of another select group of scholars to "the media extravaganza that was the 1996 Olympic Games" held in Atlanta, Georgia. In advance of the Games, he approached several international scholars to track the media coverage in their respective countries. According to Pope, this undertaking was aided by a "stimulating" discussion as the Games unfolded on the sport history E-mail network (SPORTHIST) operated at the University of Windsor. In compiling this article, Pope brought together comments from SPORTHIST and observations from the following panellists: Daryl Adair, Mark Dyreson, Tara Magdalinski, Robert Rinehart, and Dwight Zakus. In doing so, the author has taken some editorial license and juxtaposed the assembled comments and observations in a manner that presents a single, flowing conversation. What develops, is a staged compilation of commentary with a decidedly "Western" orientation delivered by an almost exclusively male cast of observers.

Pope has set the discussion in a sports bar in mid August 1996. The participants have ordered a first round of beverages while exchanging pleasantries around two English-styled pub tables. The discussion opens with a condemning comment related to NBC's framing of the Atlanta Games. Suggesting that NBC has taken its coverage to a new stage of televised American chauvinism, the speaker takes issue with the network's failure to showcase other teams. Further criticism is levelled against the so called "expert" commentators who, Pope suggests, seem to be merely cheerleaders for the American team. Responding to this initial barrage, others joined the discussion, each interjecting their own opinions and perceptions of the topic at hand. As one line of inquiry played itself out, another would be infused into the discussion by one or more of the participants. However, the participants' scrutiny was not limited to topics forwarded by those occupying the two tables. In one instance, a question

was even posed by a curious eavesdropper who was intrigued by the lively debate. Finally, and following a toast proposed by one participant, each agreed to end the discussion and go their separate ways.

Although this article offers the reader few, if any, bibliographical sources, it was an enjoyable departure from the norm. Yet, its presence in the *Journal of Sport History* leaves one to question the scholarly contribution of such an article beyond what can be found on SPORHIST.

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G. Daddario. "Gendered Sports Programming: 1992 Summer Olympic Coverage and the Feminine Narrative Form," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1997, 103-120. Reviewed by Robert S. Kossuth.

The way in which the Olympic games are presented to the world through the medium of television represents a critical element that Gina Daddario argues is a key factor in the continuing popularity of the quadrennial festival. Daddario focuses upon the major U.S. network's increased interest in attracting female viewers, a relatively recent trend in Olympic television coverage. Specifically, the study is centered on NBC's coverage of the 1992 Summer Olympic Games in Barcelona and seeks to shed light on why and how women, not the typical audience for professional sporting events, were targeted to increase the event's television ratings. According to Daddario, NBC decided that coverage of the 1992 games should be focussed on increasing female viewership. To accomplish this end the producers adopted an "event management" strategy which scheduled events primarily for their entertainment value and not in their chronological order -- the standard practice in past games coverage -- while also concentrating on sports that appealed to female viewers.

Daddario frames her investigation within sociological literature that analyses how television production is specifically tailored to suit certain social groups. The clearest examples, and a popular focus of this area of study, are soap operas which have been identified as being a successful forum for attracting female viewers based on their use of a female narrative. It is from this sociological base that Daddario provides her interpretation of the differences between male and female narratives (how the story is presented) and rhetorical conventions (how people are presented physically) in order to outline her analysis of the televised production of the 1992 Olympics. In framing her position she provides excellent examples that clearly exhibit the differences between male and female narratives. These examples include 'cop shows' which are motivated by personal goals and achievements, and 'soap operas' which incorporate female ideals which, in turn, are motivated by interpersonal relationships realized through dialogue, emotion, and intimate conversation. NBC's coverage of the 1992 Olympic Games, according to Daddario, deviated from the traditional male-dominated narrative by implementing a female narrative specifically designed to attract female viewers.

An examination of both the text and the conventions utilized by NBC to present the Olympics and the resulting increase in the number of female viewers confirms

Daddario's argument that producers adhered to a female narrative which focussed on female sports. The effectiveness of this strategy, argues Daddario, is due primarily to the natural gender division of the Games' audience, the number of sports participated in by females athletes in the Olympic program when compared to other high profile sports, and the two-week format of the festival which allowed NBC to maintain an ongoing story line. The author, although she does not provide precise examples of how previous Olympic coverage did not include a female narrative, is able to present compelling evidence of its existence in the Barcelona Olympic Games coverage.

The most effective, and for that matter the most interesting, sections of this study are the examples used by Daddario to demonstrate the production techniques employed by NBC to form a female narrative. One method employed to meet this end was the construction of an underlying plot line that both facilitated viewer identification with the athletes and provided an avenue to highlight continuing conflict between athletes. An example of conflict that was incorporated within the plot line of the Barcelona Games was the controversy surrounding accusations made by the American sprinter, Gwen Torrence, that her opponents were using performance-enhancing drugs. NBC, according to Daddario, shifted its coverage to focus on Torrence's statements, and by repeatedly returning to the story was able to form a sub-theme that dominated coverage of the female sprinting events. Similarly the conflict between U.S. gymnastic teammates Kim Zmeskal and Shannon Miller was presented by Daddario as an example of the network's use of interpersonal conflict to generate interest in the games. This and other cases of interpersonal conflict, suggests Daddario, served as mini-narratives and represented a reoccurring theme that appeals to female viewers in much the same way as soap opera rivals continue to battle one another show after show. Although this comparison to a soap opera rivalry may seem to be too simplistic, it is an effective analogy that supports the author's argument.

A second method of creating a female narrative that Daddario identifies as being present in the production of the Barcelona Games was the use of emotion and intimacy to allow viewers to identify with the athletes. The most obvious avenue for cultivating these essential elements was the athlete profiles aired over the course of the Olympics. One such athlete profile that was noted by Daddario was that of Anita Hall, a sixteen year old U.S. swimmer, who was portrayed as not only an Olympic caliber athlete but also as a high school student preparing for her prom. This type of intimacy provided a link to the athletes that made it possible for the viewers to identify them, not as athletes solely, but as human beings also. An excellent example of the female-centred coverage of the Games that supports the author's findings is that topics of discussion such as an athletes' menstrual cycle would clearly not have been included in previously male-focussed Olympic Games coverage.

Daddario is able to construct a plausible argument to explain the reasons why NBC's coverage of the Barcelona Olympic Games was not presented in the traditionally male-focussed manner common to the vast majority of televised sporting events. It is evident that changes were implemented to the televised coverage of the Games with the specific purpose of attracting a larger female audience. The end result, Daddario suggests, was the production "a female-inclusive sports subgenre" (104). I would argue that this subgenre is not exclusive to Olympic coverage, and elements of the female narrative, as defined by the author, have been and remain present within the coverage of football, baseball, and other traditionally male sporting contests. For

example, the televised coverage of Mark Maguire's home run record pursuit this past season focussed not only on his life as a baseball player, but also examined other aspects of his life. Therefore, the question that must be answered to place the impact of the Barcelona Games coverage in historical perspective is whether the female narrative first infiltrated traditionally male-centred sports coverage prior to 1992, and if so did the experience of earlier attempts play a role in shaping NBC's production of the Games?

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Stephen Wenn, "Death-knell for the Amateur Athletic Union: Avery Brundage, Jeremiah Mahoney, and the 1935 AAU Convention," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Dec. 1996), pp. 261-289. Reviewed by Greg Gillespie.

Within the realm of sport, personal politics and power struggles often come to the fore. In many cases, these situations are played out as personality or philosophical conflicts among organizational administrators. Such was the case between Avery Brundage, the American Olympic Committee (AOC) President, and Jeremiah Mahoney, an AOC member and New York Supreme Court Justice, at the 1935 Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) Convention in New York. At this convention Brundage and Mahoney clashed over the issue of American participation in the 1936 Olympic Games held in Berlin. Wenn's paper focuses on the power struggle between these two heavyweights at the 1935 Convention and the subsequent ramifications for both the AAU and Brundage.

As a prelude to the main discussion, Wenn identified the pre-convention posturing of Gustavus Kirby, the AOC Treasurer, Brundage and Mahoney. In addition, this section provides a brief history of the AAU as it pertained to "allied body" associations and the distribution of votes at the convention. The delineation of both the individuals eligible to vote and the actual number of votes cast would later figure prominently in Wenn's analysis.

With the pre-convention posturing having been identified, the body of the paper examines the actual confrontation and see-saw politicking between Mahoney and Brundage. Through Brundage's leadership the pro-participation forces solidified their hold on the AAU convention and this development spring-boarded Brundage's later International Olympic Committee (IOC) appointment.

In the concluding section, Wenn examines the inconsistencies in the voting procedure at the 1935 AAU convention. Brundage's post-convention efforts to rid the AOC of individuals opposed to participation, in addition to the spill-over debate into broader American society, was also addressed.

The strengths of this paper are twofold. First, Wenn's analysis of the *Minutes of the 1935 AAU Convention* provide detail on the Brundage-Mahoney tilt beyond that of other historical work to date. Furthermore, the inclusion of the voting results from the Convention significantly contributed to the overall account. Second, within the context of the AAU Convention itself, Wenn, through his narrative, skillfully brings

the primary figures of Brundage and Mahoney to life for the reader. Moreover, by detailing the “tactical efforts” and “preemptive strikes” of both Mahoney and Brundage, the atmosphere of the convention itself was brought forth and the sense of urgency that consumed both men was imparted to the participation issue.

In sum, Wenn’s article addresses the importance of the 1935 AAU Convention in determining the participation\non-participation issue for the United States in the mid-1930s. His primary focus on the individual figures involved with the issue could be interpreted as reductionist; however, I found his humanist approach first-rate. This article provides an insightfully detailed account of the Convention, the prominent individuals involved, and the broader implications for American involvement in the 1936 Olympic Festival.

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