
Journal Article Reviews

Douglas Brown, "Modern Sport, Modernism and the Cultural Manifesto: De Coubertin's *Revue Olympique*." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 18, No. 2, June 2001, pp. 78-109. Reviewed by Robert Kossuth.

In his article, Douglas Brown investigates Pierre de Coubertin's *Revue Olympique* (*RO*) for the purposes of examining broader issues surrounding the relationship between sport and culture in the early years of the Olympic Movement. The examination focuses on the ideology promoted by Coubertin through this source, and the entrenched discourse of aestheticism and modernism found therein. The investigation, according to Brown, attempts to expand the understanding of the early Modern Olympics, which he argues has not received sufficient academic attention. To this end, the *RO* provides a vehicle for unravelling what constituted the core of the Olympic Movement as it was shaped and promoted by Coubertin in the first two decades of his governance.

Three primary concerns are identified by the author in terms of how Coubertin's *RO* served to promote his concept of Olympism. First, the content of the *RO* served to extend the cultural mission of the IOC outside the Games themselves. Second, the *RO* was employed to advance the modernist concept of the Games. Third, the content of the *RO* provides evidence of the close ties between Coubertin's vision of sport and aesthetic modernism.

The purpose of the *RO*, according to Brown, was to both control and disseminate the Olympic message. To examine the extent to which Coubertin managed to employ the *RO* for these ends, three related issues concerning this process are examined. Initially, it is suggested that Coubertin sought to gain legitimacy for the movement through forging strong ties with like-minded members of the American, British, and European publishing industry. The relationships cultivated with this group provide evidence of the modernist leanings of the IOC with respect to the shared ideas of what sport ought to be. Although Coubertin managed to control most of the messages about the Olympics authored by sympathetic publishers, his primary organ for disseminating the Olympic message after 1901 remained the *RO*.

The first materials published by the IOC beginning in 1894 remained practical documents concerned with the organization of the movement. The first *RO* was not published until 1901, and as Brown argues, Coubertin was interested primarily in spreading his message to the right people and not the cost involved in the project. Over the ensuing years, the material published in the *RO* became increasingly complex in the examination and promotion of Coubertin's ideology of Olympism. Thus, through to the start of the First World War, the *RO* acted as a tool for the promotion of social reform where sport and physical education were linked to the wider goal of social progress. This focus is clearly exhibited through Brown's examination of the content of the *RO* over this period.

The final level of analysis of the *RO* undertaken by Brown involves the discourse surrounding sport that sought to establish a link to broader high culture, including fine

art and aesthetics. The content of the *RO* demonstrated that the Olympic leaders were concerned not only with the athletes and their achievements, but also with the spectator and sport's place in advancing modern society. The role of the IOC in this project, according to Brown, led to both self-examination and self-justification within the *RO*. Brown identifies three methods by which Coubertin sought to promote the Olympics as 'beautiful' sport, having the ability to improve individual well being. These included the introduction of art as part of the Olympic program, linking sport with fine art and, ultimately, high culture. Similarly, the aesthetic qualities of sport were to be expressed through the use of the concepts of harmony, rhythm, composition, unity, and utility. This served to further Coubertin's assertion that sport existed as an element of high culture. Finally, Coubertin employed the concept of eurythmie -- sport imbued with modern, popular, and moral beauty -- as a means to tie the Olympic movement to broader ideas of modernism. Through this process, Brown suggests that the *RO* served to both establish and reflect Olympic sport as embodying the values of early twentieth century high culture.

Brown concludes that the *RO*, as literature, added a significant cultural dimension to the Olympic Movement between 1901 and 1914. The role of this organ of Olympic ideology is clearly examined both in terms of the promotion of Olympism, and the manner in which this promotion fell into the wider and popular concept of modernism. Clearly, Coubertin's ideology cannot be separated from this influence, and Brown provides a clear examination of how the two were linked.

Tara Magdalinski, "The Reinvention of Australia for the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17(2/3), June/Sept 2000, pp. 305-322. Reviewed by Janice Forsyth.

In this 'article, Magdalinski examines how history was utilized in the construction of a new national Australian identity for the 2000 Olympic Games. She shows how the country's elite chose certain sanitized images from Australia's sporting past to depict the country as a nation with a distinct passion for sport. For the Games, Australians were bombarded with images depicting the ideals of Olympism, where athletes succeed through hard work and dedication and not from the use of any performance enhancing drugs, and to recall the more pleasant days of 1950s suburbia, when all was well on the Australian continent. These images promoted Australia as a country that plays 'clean' and 'fair' to achieve gold medal standards in high performance sport.

Magdalinski argues that the construction of these images was politically motivated, designed to ease the social, political, and economic disquietude that was pervasive in Australia at the time. Through these socially-constructed images, the intent was to generate feelings of nostalgia for Australia as a 'sporty' nation to 1) justify its phenomenal spending on sport, while at the same time cutting funding to important public service sectors, like health care and education, and 2) to mask its increasing reliance on technology to enhance athletic performances.

While Magdalinski clearly demonstrates how a new national identity was created for Australia, her theoretical framework is weakened by the lack of attention to the social, political, and economic contexts that gave rise to the idealized images of an Australian sporting past. These aspects are mentioned only in passing and are easy to overlook in the first reading. Yet, the social and economic circumstances provide the foundation for her work, as they help explain why the Australian national identity was constructed to generate certain feelings of nostalgia.

Magdalinski argues that the Australian general public, from the Sydney Organizing Committee (SOCOG), corporations, task forces, educational institutions, and media all participated in the construction of this new national identity. She deconstructs some of the myths about Australian sport heritage. She points out that Edward Flack, the only representative for Australia at the first Olympic Games in 1896 was an Englishman studying in Australia. She also points out that Australia did not actually compete as an independent nation in 1908 and 1912. Rather, Australians and New Zealanders competed together as Australasia. As well, Magdalinski shows how the 1956 Games were not the last 'innocent' Games depicted by Olympic organizers as they were riddled with economic woes and political strife. The Australian sport heritage is far from the pristine image that the 2000 organizers had projected. In this well-sourced document, Magdalinski argues that a large portion of the population accepted the images, a testament to the power of the media and the images and meaning that are conveyed through it.

Hart Cantelon & Michael Letters, "The Making of the IOC Environmental Policy as the Third Dimension of the Olympic Movement," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2000, pp. 294-308. Reviewed by K. W. Kirkwood

Cantelon and Letters trace several sociological themes over a short historical time frame, and examine the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) adoption of environmentalism as their 'third pillar.' The authors begin with the assertion that with the expansion of economic markets to a global context, notions of global moral values and demands for human rights have given birth to transnational organizations concerned with these matters. Among these groups are environmental organizations that bring pressure to bear on environmentally unsound economic practices in various locales. It was these kinds of organizations that first called into question the environmental impact of IOC mega-events.

Readers are led through a passage that clearly defines the IOC as a transnational organization with a hierarchical bureaucracy, global brand name identity, and satellite affiliate organizations-National Olympic Committees (NOCs). The IOC possesses enormous revenue generation capacities that have been refined and heightened over the reign of President Juan Antonio Samaranch. Cantelon and Letters address the theoretical components of 'globalization' that contextualized the setting in which transnational organizations have grown. Amidst the definitional wrangling, Cantelon and

Letters consider several contrasting viewpoints, and synthesize the “dynamic notion of capitalism, the ability for capital, be it economic or cultural, to spread around the world more completely.” Of particular interest to the authors are the lasting effects of human industry on the environment, and the omission of this consideration in existing globalization paradigms.

The authors declare the critical event in the policy process of the IOC to be the 1992 Winter Olympics in Albertville, France. Even as Samaranch was lauding these Olympics as ‘returned to nature’ he clearly did not mean that nature would be considered when site constructors arrived. In fact, permanent environmental damage ensued, while the aesthetics of the venues was of greater concern. While it is likely that other Olympic Games wrought permanent damage on host ecologies, this disrespectful conduct became packed with a whole host of IOC corrupt practices publicized through international environmental lobbies and exposés like Simson and Jennings’ *The Lords of the Rings: Power, Money and Drugs in the Modern Olympic Games*.

From the ecological disaster of Albertville, the authors found that in this instance the global flow was from local to global. Local concerns and protest sped the development of IOC environmental policy, but it was not through Samaranch’s desires or programs that the policy took shape. Rather, the authors attribute the political will to ‘green the games’ to the hosts of the 1994 Winter Games in Lillehammer, Norway. Existing political organizations and popular sentiment in Norway leaned heavily towards an almost radical demand for environmental consciousness. The authors borrow the term “dark green environmentalism” from Helen LensykJ to contrast the Norwegian fervour with more commonplace “lighter greens” in other countries with activist environmentalism, such as in Australia. The IOC quickly embraced the Norwegian plan and codified many of the measures and methodologies learned from the Lillehammer organizing committee, while simultaneously revising the IOC’s abysmal environmental record.

Cantelon and Letters offer a truly innovative inquiry in the otherwise overcrowded and slogan-littered field of globalization studies. Some questions did arise that are not addressed in the article. Early on, the authors seek to locate the IOC within existing models of transnational organizations in order to justify their identifying it as such. I think this labeling technique does not adequately capture the uniqueness of the IOC as a global branding name that markets itself as possessing traditional entertainment services and liberal virtues. Even before they saw the convenience of environmental awareness, the Olympics have professed to demonstrate virtuosity to nations of the world. It is quite conceivable that the IOC needs to be defined on its own terms as a transnational entity, or at least as the progenitor of a new category. The other point that would provide further insight is if advertising contracts reflect the IOC’s new ‘darker green’ attitudes. Amidst reports of environmental insensitivities committed by some of their primary sponsors, one would think the natural extension of an environmental policy would be to use it to determine access to the enormous consumer market the IOC provides. This might further validate the inference made by Cantelon and Letters that the IOC, in part, utilized the environmentalism of Norwegians to repair their shattered facade of virtuosity.

Ian Jobling, "In Pursuit of Status, Respectability and Idealism: Pioneers of the Olympic Movement in Australasia," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 17, No. 2/3, June/September 2000, pp. 142-163. Reviewed by Fred Mason.

In this article, the author examines the influence in Australasia of three significant individuals, Edwin Flack, Leonard Cuff, and Robert Coombes on the Olympic Movement. Flack was most influential in bringing the Modern Olympic Games to the attention of the region. Australia's lone athlete in the 1896 Games, he won both the 800 and 1500 metres events, and popularized the Olympic Movement in the minds of the Australian people. Cuff was the original International Olympic Committee (IOC) member for Australasia, a position he held from 1894-1905, and was a founding member of the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association. Coombes took over from Cuff as IOC member, but had his greatest impact on sport as a journalist. The editor and writer for the Sydney-based sporting newspaper, *The Referee*, for over three decades, Coombes used his position to advance not only the Olympic Movement, but Australian sport in general.

Throughout this work, Jobling situates these men in the historical and social contexts of their times. The ideals of Victorian masculinity, amateurism, nationalism, imperialism, and loyalty to the Empire, are all woven into the narrative. Other influential people and circumstances, such as Pierre de Coubertin and the movement for a "Pan-Britannic Athletic Festival" are discussed. The greatest strength of this article is that Jobling continuously plays agency and individual influence off against wider social structures and movements.

The one minor weakness is that in dealing with three people in one piece of work, not much detail can be given on each person. Particularly with Cuff and Coombes, more might be done with their involvement in numerous sporting clubs and organizations. The reader is left wondering what impacts these men had on the early administration of sport in Australasia, and how this related to the popularization of the Olympic Movement.

This article will be of interest to Olympic scholars concerned with the origins and early development of the Olympic Movement in Australia and New Zealand. Sport and social historians who are interested in using a semi-biographical method to illuminate the "life and times" of a significant person will find this an accessible, if brief model, and a good starting place for explorations into the method.

Mark Savoie, "Broken Time and Broken Hearts: The Maritimes and the Selection of Canada's 1936 Olympic Hockey Team," *Sport History Review*, Vol. 31, No. 2, November 2000, pp. 120-138. Reviewed by Andrew Ross.

With their defeat of the Port Arthur Bearcats from Ontario, the Halifax (Nova Scotia) Wolverines captured the 1935 Allan Cup, the national championship of Canadian senior hockey. Therefore, by tradition, they would represent Canada at the upcoming 1936 Winter Olympic Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, a first for a Maritime (Atlantic Canada) team. But when the Canadian Olympic team set sail for Germany the next year there was not a single Wolverine on board; Ontario and Western players had been integrated into an all-star Port Arthur Bearcats team, with no Maritimers. Although the Wolverines had folded after their championship season and were not able to ice a team, four players were promised places on the Olympic team. However, they were dropped at the last minute ostensibly since they had violated the amateur ideal by demanding 'broken time' payments (money to replace wages lost by participating in the Olympics). This seemed petty and Maritime newspapers raised suspicions there had been a conspiracy by the central Canadian sporting establishment to prevent their players from participating.

Savoie searches for evidence of such a conspiracy and investigates the political and sport context of the interwar years. In this period, amateur hockey was being challenged by both professional teams and amateur teams in name only that paid star players under the table, arranged daytime jobs for them, and allowed broken time payments. Though rules against these activities were often not enforced, by the 1920s this 'shamateurism' was under attack by a strict simon-pure amateurism represented by the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU). The Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA) took the hard line and, on the issue of broken time payments, this position tended to favour central Canadian teams whose travel times and costs were lower. Ironically enough, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) at this time left the issue of broken time payments up to the National Olympic Committee (NOC), and in this case it was the Canadian Olympic Committee that decided on the hard line. Savoie is adept at setting the whole conflict against the background of Maritime political grievance, which was a strong undercurrent to the whole affair.

As far as source material is concerned, Savoie relies primarily on newspaper accounts and sport editorials. The sources are used critically with full awareness of their weaknesses and strengths in the provision of factual information and as a guide for public opinion. He acknowledges his heavy debt to Ronald S. Lappage's unpublished work on Canadian regional discontent in the world of sports, and it is this full immersion in secondary materials that allows him to forge strong links between the Olympic team controversy and issues of larger social and political concern at the time. In the end, Savoie sees little direct evidence of a conspiracy, but in detailing the web of influences on the Olympic team decision within the context of interwar sport and political conflict, the reader is left enlightened as to the competing interests that imbued the conflict with such perceived importance.

Andaluna Borcilia, "Nationalizing The Olympics Around and Away from 'Vulnerable Bodies of Women:' The NBC coverage of the 1996 Olympics and some moments after," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, May 2000, pp. 118-147. Reviewed by Charlene Weaving.

Borcilia examines the print media responses to NBC's coverage of the Atlanta Olympic Games, focusing on the women's gymnastics competition. While the article is well researched, the main argument does not become clear until midway through the piece. NBC's emphasis on the vulnerability of female gymnasts is the main issue.

International journalists criticized the 'nationalism element' of the NBC Olympic coverage and the 'feminization' of the 1996 Olympics. NBC was said to have catered to a female audience where individuals were more interested in the story rather than the actual results of the competition. Borcilia argues that NBC produced complicated ideals of femininity and nationality through its coverage. This was emphasized through NBC's showcasing of the vulnerable bodies of little girls. Scenes of gymnasts flying in the air and then cuddling with teddy bears are accompanied by music containing lyrics like: "You're in a man's world. You go girl. You're no sugar and spice" (p. 134). Locating the athletic prowess outside of women's bodies, according to Borcilia, is emphasized through accentuating the link between the young female gymnast and her coach, as well as emphasizing women's emotions via close up shots of them crying. Vulnerability was also exhibited through focusing on appearances and sexuality of female athletes rather than their actual athletic performances.

According to the author, viewers were asked to identify with the gymnasts' vulnerabilities. Their falls, their injuries become the major concern. Commentators ask such questions as: "Will Team USA prevail?"; "Or are these "little girls" not up to the challenge?" The viewers then become overwhelmed with concern for the athletes, "our little girls," she argues. Women's bodies imply national anxiety, as their vulnerability is associated with the vulnerability of little girls. Borcilia concludes that in the print media criticisms of the Olympics, journalists tend to remove themselves from this assumed vulnerability of women as spectators or audiences. The process of removal, as interpreted by the author, further displaces the anxiety that is produced by staging national fantasies on and round women's bodies.

Through this lengthy article, many examples are documented of how NBC emphasized the vulnerability of gymnasts throughout its coverage of the 1996 Olympic Games. Since the publication of this article, the International Gymnastics Federation added a new component of 'femininity' as criteria for judging the women's floor routine. This may provide a new focus for further examination on this topic.

Greg Andranovich, Matthew J. Burbank, and Charles H. Heying, "Olympic Cities: Lessons Learned from Mega-Event Politics," *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 113-131. Reviewed by Robert Kossuth.

The substantive issue addressed by Andranovich, Burbank, and Heying in their study is the adoption of mega-event strategies by the organizers of the Olympic Games held in Los Angeles (1984), Atlanta (1996), and Salt Lake City (2002), and the corresponding influence upon urban development policy in those cities. Specifically, the focus upon the role of the Olympic organizing committees operating as private entities responsible for staging the Games serves to illuminate the impact of the broader social, economic, and political influences. Urban governments and private interests continuing to seek **out** development projects to promote economic expansion characterize this situation, in the post-Federal era of economic development. The authors argue that this policy focus is played-out in areas such as leisure, entertainment, tourism, and sport. Thus, the Olympic Games represent the pre-eminent mega-event sought by city leaders in order to access consumption-based economic development through attracting tourist revenue and international media recognition – the staple of post-production based urban economies in the United States.

Cities have sought to expand into the arena of consumption-based economic development for two reasons, the authors argue: the construction of convention centres to attract tourists and the promotion of professional sports as means to prompt urban regeneration and growth. The fear of remaining, or worse becoming, a minor league city has driven these twin pursuits in the United States. In this context, the use of a high profile event, like the Olympic Games, as a focal point for consumption-based economic development is, to the authors, a logical course of action for any ambitious American city.

Comparisons drawn between the experiences of Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Salt Lake City serve to identify similarities and differences in the bidding strategies, Games organization, and the Olympic legacies for each city. Some concern exists with respect to the amount the authors can discern about the legacy of Salt Lake City. The need to account for the events of the Games cannot be overlooked and thus the estimates of the economic impact of the Games will have to be compared to the real figures following the Olympics. The bidding process for each city arises from slightly different origins. For example, the Los Angeles bid was initiated by the long established Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games, while in Atlanta the primary organizing body, the Atlanta Organizing Committee, wasn't formed until after Billy Payne established a base of support amongst Atlanta's business and political elite. The authors identify two critical features of all three bids. The first, identified as the driving force behind each bid, were the influential members of the cities' business elite and the endorsement of elected public officials. Also, the drive to enhance the city's image both nationally and internationally represented a commonality. Thus, according to the authors, support for the Olympics has traditionally been drawn from the dual use of powerful rhetoric and symbolism and the promise of economic development.

The three Olympic host cities shared several commonalities including the prob-

lem of balancing the need for physical development with opposing forces attempting to preserve the urban environment. To overcome these obstacles, the organizing committees operated as private non-profit organizations utilizing their distance from political and civic accountability to move ahead with the necessary developments. Although all the committees were able to access both public and private funds, they were able to limit public accountability and the necessity for ongoing public approval. In all three cases, because the ultimate power to determine how the Games were organized rested almost completely with the committees, there was little opportunity for voices of opposition to be heard.

The legacies of each of the most recent American Olympic Games are presented primarily in terms of the economic impacts upon the local economies involved. It is noted that the Los Angeles Olympics produced a large surplus, while Atlanta's legacy was somewhat questionable and highlighted by Samaranch's failure to proclaim the Games as "the best ever." Much less certain is what the legacy of Salt Lake City will be, particularly given the increased security concerns. However, the authors do provide a compelling argument that although the organizers have insisted that the Games will bring economic revitalization and urban regeneration, the evidence suggests that this has not been the case.

Despite the recognition by the authors that the Olympic Games did not assist in urban development in a meaningful manner and that public participation in the process was severely curtailed by the control exerted by the private bid and organizing committees, there are many American urban regions waiting in the wings to become Olympic cities. The authors do provide sufficient evidence to arrive at the above conclusions. From the perspective of attempting to understand the manner in which the Olympic Games have been used by cities to meet their growing aspirations to become world-class, the article provides important insight into why the opportunity to perform on the world stage will continue to attract actors even when the price to be paid is not always in the best interest of the city's long term urban development.

Jeremy Goldberg, "Sporting Diplomacy: Boosting the Size of the Diplomatic Corps," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4, November/December 2000, pp. 63-70. Reviewed by K. W. Kirkwood.

In the absence of a countervailing superpower to oppose the United States (US) on global issues, American foreign policy concerns have shifted to a number of smaller 'rogue states' who pose considerable threats to American interests. Jeremy Goldberg offers sport, particularly the Olympics, as an ideal mechanism for engaging, then integrating, these upstart nations into some unmentioned consensus with 'the world,' by which Goldberg seems to mean American global economic and social interests.

Sports, he notes, are political in their practice. Despite Avery Brundage's protests to the contrary, Goldberg notes that the modern *Olympic Charter* speaks of "building a peaceful and better world." He then proceeds to document numerous instances of

political agendas manifesting themselves in Olympic sport; beginning with the first Olympic festival in 776 B.C.E. through the 1936 Berlin Games, the protests of John Carlos and Tommie Smith in 1968, "Black September" in Munich, and concludes with the reciprocal boycotts by West and East in 1980 and 1984. All of these anecdotes lead the author to the conclusion that sport has a legitimating function in the global polity. Nations, such as East Germany, established themselves as a political 'player' through a domestic policy endorsing Olympic sporting successes as being indicative of social progress.

From this foundation, Goldberg incorporates John Hoberman's notion of a universal aesthetic of sport -- how a Michael Jordan dunk for the US Dream Team was an expression seen as breathtaking in all nations and cultures. It is this universally positive reading of sport that Goldberg feels can open up "conversational space" for more contentious issues.

Goldberg is certainly correct in one aspect of his account, that sport enjoys more mass appeal as a cultural exchange than the entire academic, artistic, and conventional diplomatic arrangements combined. In this sense he concurs with the South African Nobel Prize-winning novelist Nadine Gordimer's more concise rendering that the sport boycott was the single greatest external pressure that dismantled Apartheid. But his claim to universality in the interpretation of sport is fatuously simplistic. The author should cast his mind back to the Cold War period, and survey the consternation that Eastern Bloc's dominance over sport caused amongst the public. In a Canadian example, consider the Soviet hockey teams from nearly 40 years of Winter Olympics from the 1950s to late 1980s. Canadians' admiration for the Soviets' skills and fitness was buried under a red-hot fury over their perceived cheating and dishonorable conduct on the ice. In this same example, non-sporting political situations replicated themselves on the ice through Canadian perceptions of improper and unfair refereeing by East German referees or dubious wins by the Russians over Czechoslovakia. Certainly there are numerous examples of great displays of athleticism that were not appreciated as marvelous physical expressions, but dismissed as cheating or as indicative of what is wrong with the other country. By example, one can think of US weightlifter Ken Patera dismissing Soviet gold-medallist Vasily Alexiev's world record-setting power as a product of state-controlled doping in 1972. In this case, an athletic feat was not appreciated, but contextualized as symptomatic of the larger political and military threat posed to the US, and the 'by any means necessary' approach that its enemies would take in order to compromise the American way of life.

Goldberg's article concludes by suggesting that Nixon's 'ping-pong diplomacy' should be revisited and utilized more frequently in dealings with isolated states such as China, Cuba, and Iran. Goldberg does not clarify what sport is allowing the US to accomplish; the desired result could range from security from volatile nuclear-armed states to American economic imperialism. Regardless of the desired result, Goldberg fails to consider this topic historically or from some understanding of anti-Americanism found throughout the world. These sporting exchanges that the author feels will foster a better understanding between nations, might in fact serve to further define the US as the 'Great Satan.' Similar to the Cold War examples of North American responses to the period of communist dominance in sport, rogue states could use victory or defeat in order to glorify themselves and vilify the US.

Goldberg does not consider any alternative readings of the political elements of a sporting event, other than simplistic American boosterism. While his piece is directed towards academics and practitioners of diplomacy, the only real value of this article is that he brings considerations of sport to the eyes of those who may have failed to consider it. The callow theoretical underpinnings offered by Goldberg make the article of little other use.

Drew Whitelegg, "Going for Gold: Atlanta's Bid for Fame," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 24, No. 4, December 2000, pp. 801-817. Reviewed by Fred Mason.

This article by Whitelegg functions at two levels: On a basic level, it is a description of the promotion and organization of the 1996 Summer Olympics by the city of Atlanta and the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG). On a more complex and slightly less readable level, it is a theorization of the 1996 Atlanta Games within "the semiotics of the successful city" (primarily image management), and the revitalization of cities through sport.

In the article, Whitelegg describes how ACOG focused much more on the creation of a positive image for the city of Atlanta, than it did on the actual organization of the Games. The committee's reliance on high-tech communications, which quickly failed, is discussed, and the transportation problems and high daytime temperatures are mentioned. Whitelegg then details how the global media reacted to the organizational difficulties, ultimately ridiculing both the Games and the city, and how ACOG, formerly convinced of the importance of the media response, attacked the journalists who were writing critical stories.

In placing the Atlanta Games within the semiotics of the 'successful city,' Whitelegg discusses how an image of the city as economically successful and harmonious was created, and of the effects, both physical and symbolic, that the management of this image had on the city and its people. Centennial Park is a prime example in the creation and management of the image. The author proposes that the Park was created for three reasons: to promote the "successful" image of Atlanta, to recuperate a degenerating downtown area, and to leave a permanent legacy from the Games. In order to substantiate the Park, over 70 downtown businesses and 1000 homeless people were dislocated. The park itself was commercialized, its use channeled into popular consumer demand, and because of security, only "the desirable people" could attend events there. Through all of this, Atlanta was presented as an economically mobile, conflict-free environment, in line with precise, predictable forms of consumer culture. The image being presented to the world became more important than the urban landscape itself.

Whitelegg proposes that several lessons in the use of large sports events for urban transformation and civic boosterism can be learned from Atlanta's experience in hosting the Olympic Games. Notably, if organizers are planning to promote an "international city" through hosting an Olympic Games, they need to have the cultural capital

to back up their claims. Related to this, despite the great impact that the media has on the successful staging of events like the Olympics, too much focus on image production, and not enough on organization and social infrastructure, can lead to trouble. In addition, the experience of Atlanta indicates that contemporary problems and historical conflicts cannot be 'whitewashed' in the name of Olympic Spirit.

In short, this article by Whitelegg makes contributions to the literature on the Olympics, and to the study of sport geography. It highlights the importance of the media, both in staging a successful Modern Olympic Games, and in the transformation of a city's status through sport, but suggests that social infrastructure must not be subsumed to the images being promoted.

Matthew J. Burbank, Charles H. Heying, and Greg Andranovich, "Antigrowth Politics or Piecemeal Resistance? Citizen Opposition to Olympic-Related Economic Growth," *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3, January 2000, pp. 334-357. Reviewed by Andrew Ross.

The authors set out to explain the role of growth resistance within cities that are characterized by urban growth regimes. Regime theory, a mainstay in the study of political economy, predicts that opponents of growth will have little chance of success, and this model is tested on three U.S. cities that have hosted Olympic Games in the last two decades: Los Angeles (1984), Atlanta (1996) and Salt Lake City (2002). Following the work of Clarence Stone, this case study approach hopes to help answer larger questions and provide "fertile ground for reconsidering fundamental questions about human conflict in urban politics." The authors contend that supporters and critics of regime theory often talk past each other by generalizing from different data: regime theory supporters use large cities with 'active' growth regimes in place, and critics draw from a broader sample of metropolitan areas, many of which do not have growth regimes at all. As a compromise, the authors intend to study 'active' growth regime cities, "yet under conditions that should be most favorable to the creation of antigrowth movement," the logic being that if anti-growth opposition is significant in active growth regime cities, regime theory will be weakened.

Olympic bid committees are seen as a manifestation of the growth regime, whose purpose is to promote tourism and enhance the city's image as a location capable of holding such an event. Since Olympic development is of short duration and with limited beneficiaries, the authors believe it is a useful process through which opposition can be easily gathered and viewed.

As a model the study offers two broad categories of community resistance to Olympic development that differ by both motivation (reasons) and scope (strategy and tactics for opposition): antigrowth movements and piecemeal resistance. Antigrowth movements would usually be composed of longstanding anti-regime groups ordinarily committed to promoting use value either along with, or in preference to, exchange value. Piecemeal resistance is purely a reaction to plans and actions of growth opponents, i.e. it is ad hoc, temporary, and usually focused on a specific issue

or locality. The authors conclude that the resistance seen in Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Salt Lake City is piecemeal. Tax and geographical issues predominate, and bid committees compromise by mollifying taxpayers and local communities by shifting the financial burden away from the city's taxpayers and moving event sites to less controversial venues. In response to opposition in Los Angeles, the bid committee moved venues away from the ecologically sensitive Sepulveda basin and succeeded in getting the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to waive Rule 4, which released the city (and taxpayers) from any responsibility for Games debt. Opposition in Atlanta came after IOC selection and was primarily centred on residents' attempts to divert or limit the impact of Olympic development, as was the case in Salt Lake City. These piecemeal approaches lead the authors to support regime theory in their conclusion insofar as they determine that resistance to growth in an active urban growth regime faces serious difficulties in attempting to overcome the preeminence of economic development.

A major potential problem with this study is the focus on three successful Olympic bidding cities: they overcame all opposition so would not one expect to find it was ineffective? The authors acknowledge this weakness limits their ability to generalize, but argue that the approach is theoretically sound because "the high public profile and extended timeline of Olympic development should have provided a best-case scenario for the creation of an anti-growth movement." That the cases are only in the United States is also a concern that may hinder the ability of the results to be generally applied. In all, this study is a very specific contribution that sounds out the theoretical basis for the important issue of civic resistance to Olympic development.

M. Andrew Holowchak, "'Aretism' and Pharmacological Aids in Sport: Taking a Shot at the Use of Steroids." *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, XXVII, 2000, pp. 35-50. Reviewed by Charlene Weaving.

The philosophical debate surrounding illicit drug use in Olympic competition has been an issue since its inception, and as the 2002 Winter Games of Salt Lake City are soon approaching, it is relevant to examine such issues. Ultimate success in sport is measured in terms of being "number one," and today more and more athletes are encouraged and even pressured into taking whatever measures they can in order to enhance their athletic performances.

Holowchak proposes to examine the immorality of ergogenic aids focusing on anabolic steroid use in the Olympic Games. Many philosophers, Holowchak explains, claim that there are no relevant cogent arguments in favor of banning performance enhancers, such as anabolic steroids: hence they feel that the list itself is even unwarranted. The author argues that it is through autonomy in competitive sports that the current ban of steroids should be maintained rather than lifted. This implies that it is justifiable to interfere with one's activities if they demonstrate a certain degree of harm that extends beyond them.

The paper is organized into seven sections. outlining arguments that support the

banning of anabolic steroids from Olympic competition. The sections are: 1) liberalism and the argument from autonomy; 2) debunking liberalism: injury and fairness; 3) injury and coercion; 4) an issue of evidence; 5) a normative turn in the debate; 6) the concept of competition; and 7) innovation, social justice, and sport.

Holowchak points out that the most persuasive line of argument regarding the banning of anabolic steroids is concerned with the harm due to a coercion element. This implies that steroids should be banned because, if legalized, athletes could be forced to use them and unwillingly become exposed to horrific health-related risks. Holowchak also notes that if athletes choose not to take steroids, they are in fact choosing to give up competing at the highest levels of the sport.

The author examines the argument that not enough medical evidence exists to indicate that anabolic steroids are actually harmful to one's health. The complications of research are addressed and explained. Unfortunately laboratories cannot mimic the exact dosages that certain athletes take, since some athletes consume more than 100 times their body's own replacement level.

In concluding, Holowchak states that he does not perceive that there is anything inherently wicked about drugs, but rather drugs like anabolic steroids are wrong because they emphasize personal performance above everything else, even above concern for the health of athletes. He strongly argues that sport must somehow strive to steer clear of social injustice. Holowchak argues further that if the ban on steroids was lifted, a coercive environment would be created, promoting injury to others and, thus, injury to sport itself.

Overall, the author provides clear arguments in an organized fashion throughout the article and supports his position by referring to other philosophers who have written extensively on drug use such as Simon, Brown, and Schneider. which helps to strengthen his argument of autonomy.

Roe1 Puijk, "A Global Media Event? Coverage of the 1994 Lillehammer Olympic Games," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2000, pp. 309-330. Reviewed by Fred Mason.

The Olympic Games are widely considered a "global media event." In this article, the author argues that such a conceptualization misses many of the layers of meaning that are present, and does not illuminate the nature of the cross-cultural communication that occurs. Based on an international comparative study of the media coverage of the 1994 Lillehammer Olympic Games, Puijk suggests that the concept of 'the media event' has to be refined and differentiated, so that events like the Olympic Games may be analyzed less as a form of monolithic experience, and more as a series of events of varying 'strength' and meanings.

Puijk begins by discussing the concept of the media event. Media events serve an integrative function for the audience and provide some sort of collective experience; the audience tends to get drawn into the event. In this sense of shared experiences, the broadcast of the Olympics may be considered a global media event.

However, the author points out that because of factors such as differential access to the coverage of the Olympics, and nationalistic points of view, the conception of the Olympics as a global media event needs to be refined.

Data for the study was drawn from contributors in Norway, the U.S.A., France, Scotland, England, the Netherlands, Lithuania, and Italy. The work has a truly international perspective, as opposed to most media studies that limit their focus to a single nation's event coverage. In order to allow cultural differences to emerge from inside each country, a central methodology was not employed. Instead, each participant analyzed their national coverage in reference to the discourses that became dominant, and to one central theme -the image of Norway that was presented. While this choice meant that direct comparisons could not be made (and may make the data "suspect" in the minds of some researchers), it showed great cultural sensitivity, and allowed for the emergence of cultural differences that may not have otherwise appeared.

The data suggests that the conceptualization of the Olympic Games as a media event held true in Norway, but that in the other countries, other processes were at work. In Norway, the Lillehammer Games served an integrative function for the nation. A celebration of Norwegian culture occurred (even if somewhat inauthentic at times), and most Norwegians, even those initially opposed to the Games, were drawn into the event.

Puijk argues that in other countries, there were processes of selection, transformation, and contextualization that culturally interpreted the Games and changed the attached meanings. In terms of selection, national broadcasts tended to focus upon those sports in which the nation was particularly interested. In this process, the audience and the broadcaster mutually reinforced the other. Transformation was primarily a U.S. phenomenon. U.S. broadcasts were highly edited and fragmented. In comparison to the live coverage in the European nations, no events were shown live in the U.S., and events were restructured into a more dramatic sequence. The process of contextualization occurred when events were interpreted in different ways by different national media sources. Political overtones and 'unanticipated domestic issues' colored the interpretation of events, so that in certain cases, a single competition held different meanings in different nations.

While it may strike some that common sense dictates that different meanings will be found in an event from different national perspectives, Puijk has actually documented it. The main value of this article is that it problematizes the notion of the 'Olympic experience,' and shows that the Olympic Games, as a media event, need to be analyzed in a more complex fashion so that multiple layers of meaning can be uncovered.

Alina Bernstein, ““Things you can see from there you can’t see from here: Globalization, Media, and the Olympics,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, Vol. 24, No. 4, November 2000, pp. 351-369. Reviewed by Amanda Schweinbenz.

In this article, Bernstein argues that British and Israeli newspaper coverage of the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona focussed primarily on local and national athletes. She employs a framework of globalization to analyze this coverage. Bernstein performed a content analysis, supplemented with interviews with sports journalists and editors, of the print media’s coverage of Olympic-related articles appearing on the front pages of major newspapers in Britain and Israel, which included: *The Times*, *The Express*, *Yedioth Aharonoth*, and *Hadashot*. A total of 2,405 Olympic-related articles were analysed over a five-month period between 1 April 1992 and 1 September 1992.

Bernstein separated the article into two major sections: a review of literature related to theories of globalization and an analysis of Olympic-related newspaper articles. The literature review covers a wide variety of theories on globalization exploring the media, news, sport, and the Olympic Games. Bernstein argues that “sport, falls more convincingly into the concepts of Americanization and cultural imperialism.” This is demonstrated through the example of the international popularity of the National Basketball Association (NBA) and the 1992 American Dream Team. She follows with a less convincing argument that the Americanization of sport is evident as competition has transformed into ‘showbiz’ where the ability to attract sponsors and win television ratings is of importance; this mentality has its origins rooted in the United States.

Bernstein challenges Hall’s argument that, as a consequence of globalization, national identities are being eroded as we move toward cultural homogenization. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) has deemed the Olympic Games as a venue to bring nations together to facilitate international understanding. Yet, as Bernstein argues, the Games are portrayed by the media as “a competition between nation-states.” Importance is placed on the local within the global, or how well a country performs compared to the rest of the world.

The results of the content analysis clearly indicate that newspapers were more interested in reporting on national athletes than athletes of other countries. This is further supported with statements from sports reporters and editors that explain that readers are more interested in how *their-* athletes performed. Bernstein returns to the idea of the Americanization of sport by providing evidence that the four newspapers reported more on the United States than any other competing nation, therefore, arguing that in sports terms, “Americanization is a more convincing term than globalization.” She concludes that the concept of globalization of the Olympics is a “leaky” term and that the importance of the local is equally significant to that of the global and that Americanization process provides a more relevant argument. The author used a thorough list of secondary sources to provide pertinent background information on the topic of globalization and performed an extensive content analysis on the topic at hand to support her argument.