

Alan Ingham and John Loy, eds, *Sport in Social Development: Traditions, Transitions and Transformations*. Human Kinetics, Champaign, 1993. Index. pp. 273.

This collection of essays provides an important link between sports history and the sociology of sport through a focus on sport as an element of cultural studies. In particular, the authors contextualise their chapters around Raymond Williams' notion of dominant, residual and emergent cultures which he expounded in his 1977 book, *Marxism and Literature*. In the preface the editors state that the 'book offers a challenge to the conventional, statistical, neo-positivistic paradigm that has been dominant in North American sport studies (p. vii)'. They see cultural studies as the best avenue on which to develop a new agenda for sports studies as 'cultural studies is cross-disciplinary in nature and challenges the disciplinary and subdisciplinary loyalties of legitimacy in sports studies (p. vii)'. The book targets upper level undergraduate and postgraduate students specialising in the sociology of sport and at those interested generally in the dynamics of sport and social change.

While it is clear, despite the cross-disciplinary approach, that this is primarily a book of sports sociology, it has great value to historians with most chapters containing a historical context. Contributors include well known historians such as Stephen Hardy and Joseph Arbena as well as sports scholars such as Jennifer Hargreaves and David Andrews who have written historical and sociological works.

Although the essays are framed by the work of Raymond Williams, Ingham and Hardy in their introductory essay also draw upon the work of other social theorists. They agree with Elias and Dunning, for example, in that the 'civilising process' was a long revolution, though they see the 1840-1914 period as crucial in Britain and the USA. They conclude with a return to Williams and the problematic of hegemony. Quoting Williams (1977) they point out that 'a lived hegemony is always a process ...

(p. 14)'. Following this, Ingham and Hardy make a point that is crucial for historians of sport in that '*periodicity* in historical analysis is terribly important in the analysis of sport's contents, forms, and relations, for in any given period there will always be a dialectic of incorporation and resistance' (p. 15). They continue pointing out that 'concrete analyses, rather than theoretical fixations, expose the essences of discontinuities within the appearances of continuity and the appearances of discontinuity within, relatively speaking, the essences of continuity (p. 15)'.

The essays that follow range from the use of ancient athletic motifs in the modern Olympics to the rise of rugby as a national sport in Wales to sport and social change in Latin America to subcultures in sport, sexual oppression, labour relations and franchise movements in sport. Scholars of sports studies are thus exposed to a wide range of geographical and thematic coverage in the book. It hangs together well, though, through the use of a common theoretical approach.

In an excellent essay discussing the process of constructing the past in the present, Slowikowski and Loy discuss how ancient Greek athletic motifs became incorporated in the modernist movement of modern Olympic Games. They suggest that the 'past is active only in the sense that the present cultural context structures it to be active (p. 22)'. It is too bad that more historians of sport do not start from this premise. Continuing on this notion they state that our 'perception of the past is today often an artificial script of what we believe to be the past, and the motifs, the peripherals found in association with our great Olympic fest today, serve our culture as a kind of access to a past that is otherwise inaccessible to us'. Nostalgia is important in this process as idealised versions of the past invade our present constantly. One example of this are the versions of the past lives of our sporting heroes as evidenced in the eulogising of Ted Whitten in Australia and Mickey Mantle in the United States.

The essays by Andrews and Howell and Arbena demonstrate how hegemonic sporting cultures are created and utilised by political and social elites to promote their own social positions and power within society. Donnelly, on the other hand, explores the resilience of sporting subcultures that hold on to 'older meanings and ways until they fell out of step with the dominant sport culture' (p. 121), thus they were residual culture in the Williams sense. Donnelly shows then how residual sport subcultures become incorporated by the dominant sport culture and

finally the recent development of emergent sporting forms as dominant sporting cultures have been challenged in recent years. In a multiplicity of subheadings, Donnelly touches on a plethora of issues and processes that have led to various transformations of sport cultures, reminding us that the 'dynamic nature of culture and subcultures must be kept in mind, together with the specific spatial, temporal, and structural contexts' (p. 141).

The collection performs better on the issue of gender than its Human Kinetics competitor in the textbook market, *The Sports Process* (1993). While masculinity and sport is not critiqued fully, the issue of women in sport is examined in chapters by Dewar and Jennifer Hargreaves (who also has the chapter dealing with women in *The Sports Process*). These two chapters are predominantly overviews of issues of women in sport and analyses and theoretical approaches to women in sport which might lead to social transformation. It would be nice to see an essay in one of these collections which has the historical and geographical specificity of the emergence of rugby and the dominant sport in modernising Wales or that looks beyond Victorian English ideals of womanhood or North American approaches to integration of women in sport. Despite this, the two chapters are very useful in guiding students in the various approaches to the subjugation of women in modern sport and alternatives for resistance and transformation.

The final chapter by Clarke is both interesting and frustrating from a historian's point of view. Firstly, in discussing the emergence of modern sporting culture, there are no references to the excellent work of historians such as Richard Holt, Wray Vamplew and Dennis Brailsford.¹ Clarke suggests that 'in the 1880s British society was in transition, on the brink of capitalist industrialization and this brought a major transformation to the routines and rhythms of people's lives'. First of all, the process was well underway before the 1880s and as Brailsford demonstrates, the continuities between the latter eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries are not as dramatic as we once thought. The process of virtually eliminating 'St Monday' by 1850 and the emergence of the Saturday half-holiday in the 1870s pre-date this transforming period of the 1880s that Clarke describes. Despite his failure to engage with the work of sports historians, Clarke asks important questions, concluding with one of the most important for contemporary globalising society: 'What is leisure without health, housing and food?' (p. 262).

Finally, the chapter by Schimmel, Ingham and Howell examining civic boosterism and the factors surrounding professional sports franchises moving or staying in particular cities in North America is both informative and useful in considering professional sporting structures in Australia and elsewhere. While the North American model is different, many of the elements of North American professional sport are emerging in the Australian context. The use of sport for civic boosterism is rampant in this country with Jeff Kennett literally throwing money to attract major sporting events (while cutting many social services and education for the sake of fiscal savings and 'responsibility') and Brisbane, Melbourne and Sydney all bidding for recent Olympic Games. The chapter by Schimmel et al demonstrates that more than economics are at work in this process. For example, Robert Isray, the owner of the Baltimore, now Indianapolis Colts, moved the team to Indianapolis, Indiana despite being offered a better financial deal to stay in Baltimore or to move to Phoenix, Arizona. Perhaps ironically, Baltimore now has the most successful franchise in the Canadian Football League though they are not allowed to use the nickname 'Colts'. This chapter is important for the comparative possibilities it opens up.

All in all this is a very useful book for sports studies subjects and should be required reading for all postgraduates in the area. Additionally, it provides an excellent way to explore a range of historical and contemporary issues through the linking themes of hegemony and dominant, residual and emergent culture. This approach more than any other in my book allows for the best analysis of the process of change and continuity over time and the various relations of power that exist in any time or place.

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- 1 Such as Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History*, OUP, Oxford, 1989; Dennis Brailsford, *British Sport: A Social History*, Lutterworth Press, Cambridge, 1992; and Wray Vamplew, 'Sport and Industrialization: An Economic Interpretation of the Changes in Popular Sport in Nineteenth-Century England', in J A Mangan, ed., *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1974*, Frank Cass, London, 1988, pp. 7-20.