

Discipline and Indulgence: College Football, Media, and the American Way of Life during the Cold War. By Jeffrey Montez de Oca. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2013. Pp. xii+175. \$75.00 (cloth); \$24.95 (paper).

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Although often overlooked in cultural studies scholarship, sport is a significant social institution in American society and a prominent component of our culture. In his richly informative new book, Jeffrey Montez de Oca illustrates how sport reflected and created important aspects of culture and identity in America during the early Cold War period. *Discipline and Indulgence* delivers a comprehensive cultural history of college football during the early years of the Cold War (1947–67), focusing on cultural citizenship and governmentality. In a rigorous, theoretically primed textual analysis of Cold War media, *Discipline and Indulgence* constructs a clear picture of how college football, “fortified masculinity,” and the media worked together to expand the militarism that shaped the U.S. political economy of the Cold War era. The author conceptualizes a version of masculinity, fortified masculinity, “which is the social construction of masculine, white citizens who could fulfill the state’s Cold War needs as disciplined, patriotic workers, warriors, and consumers” (p. 20). During this period, militarism marked by “military values and beliefs” became a “banal aspect of everyday life” (p. 4). As a result, sports and physical education became a training ground for men to develop mental and physical toughness and become the desired “vigorous masculine citizens” thought necessary for U.S. expansionism (p. 9).

The author argues that postwar affluence gave way to fear of a loss of manhood—a fear that U.S. boys were falling behind Soviet boys—creating a perceived muscle gap similar to the perceived missile gap. Americans felt vulnerable to the possible penetration of Soviet communism. Consumerism and its comforts were “cultivating a generation of soft youth who, if not corrected, would ultimately deplete the masculinity of the nation” (p. 33). White male masculinity was fundamental to the protection of the American way of life. Thus, Montez de Oca argues, physical fitness and rugged masculinity were directly tied to the security of the nation. Physical education became a matter of national security. The author coded 50 newspaper and magazine articles highlighting physical fitness testing and 38 articles claiming “medicoscientific” testing methods as a solution to male youth softness. Physical education and exercise regimens “invested social power in White Male bodies by defining them as protectors of the nation” (p. 56). Further, football was the quintessential form of physical and mental training needed to fortify masculinity and train possible wartime draftees to be warriors.

College football grew in popularity alongside the development of television broadcast of the sport. In the emergence of the television age, college

football provided a ritual that one could enjoy from the comfort of home. Television made sports consumption an American way of life. College football broadcasts were centered on fortifying the masculinity of both the athletes and the fans, argues Montez de Oca. For example, the narration was meant to frame the athletes as heroic and their bodies as weapons of war. As networks began to contract with schools such as Notre Dame and the University of Pennsylvania, college football broadcasts increased rapidly. The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) was established to regulate the new markets that televised games created. According to the author, the NCAA framed its regulations in accordance with the cultural tendencies of the early Cold War. Football and athletics on college campuses were seen as training for U.S. youths, and any attempt to curtail college football would jeopardize their training, adding to the muscle gap. Football was seen as remedy to “depleted masculinity” (p. 85). The NCAA capitalized on that belief, framing football as “character building” and training for our future national leaders.

Through an analysis of Cold War football coverage in *Sports Illustrated* (*SI*), *Discipline and Indulgence* furthers its conceptualization of fortified masculinity. Montez de Oca’s analysis of *SI* articles uncovered heroic narratives that constructed football as militaristic training. This training produced leadership skills and fortified competitive masculinity. Indeed, these narratives’ focus on “courage, discipline, homosocial bonding, ritualized violence, and intense competition” (p. 15) encouraged readers to assimilate themselves “in a manner consistent with the needs of the state and the economy” (p. 112).

The author sets out to discover the relationship between sports and individual identity. *Discipline and Indulgence* is a superb illustration of how sport creates, maintains, and reinforces shared meanings, identities, norms, and other important aspects of culture. Filled with rich data from a wide variety of primary sources, the author produced a theoretically sound and thorough analysis of college football and the American way of life during the early Cold War. One of the major contributions of this book is Jeffery Montez de Oca’s conceptualization of fortified masculinity. This concept is well developed and adds to the cultural studies literature as well as masculinity and critical men’s studies literature. His detailed analysis of military-industrial Keynesianism, governmentality, the media, and the political economy of the Cold War undoubtedly reveals how college football “participated in producing masculine citizens” (p. 130) during the early Cold War.