



Sport, Politics and the Engaged Historian

Author(s): Allen Guttman

Source: *Journal of Contemporary History*, Jul., 2003, Vol. 38, No. 3, Sport and Politics (Jul., 2003), pp. 363-375

Published by: Sage Publications, Ltd.

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3180642>

REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

https://www.jstor.org/stable/3180642?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Sage Publications, Ltd. is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of Contemporary History*

Allen Guttman

Sport, Politics and the Engaged Historian

The intersection of sport and politics has been a major focus of contemporary sports history. This was definitely not the case in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when historians seldom commented on the political implications of sport or on the political controversies it engendered. Immensely valuable pioneer work was done by the British antiquarian Joseph Strutt in *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, by the German *Gymnasium* teacher, Johann Heinrich Krause, in *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*, and by the French diplomat, Jean J. Jusserand, in *Les Sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France*, but the primary interest of these and other early historians of sport was in rules and regulations and the notable exploits of famous athletes.¹ An uncontextualized interest in 'how the game was played' continues, of course, to preoccupy twenty-first-century sports fans and the journalists who write for them, but contemporary historians are far more conscious of the intersection of sport and politics than were men like Strutt, Krause and Jusserand. Although some historians continue to write as if sport and politics were immiscible categories, most now acknowledge the political implications of sport and many emphasize the political controversies that have occurred within and around the domain of sport.

The sheer range of the work — from studies of Roman Catholic sports policy in Belgium to an analysis of squabbles over the alleged lesbianism of the Australian national women's cricket team² — makes it difficult even to imagine a comprehensive survey. It seems reasonable, therefore, to comment on six broad areas that have received sustained and intensive attention. 1. Politically-engaged German, Italian and — to a lesser extent — Japanese historians have written extensively about the role of sport under fascist regimes. 2. There have also been numerous efforts to analyse the role of sport in communist societies (as well as considerable attention paid to 'workers' sports' in the 1920s and 1930s). 3. Many politically-engaged historians have

1 Joseph Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, 2nd edn (London 1838); Johann Heinrich Krause, *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*, 2 vols (Leipzig 1841); Jean J. Jusserand, *Les Sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France* (Paris 1901). Krause published a number of other notable works: *Theagenes* (Halle 1835); *Olympia* (Vienna 1838), and *Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien* (Leipzig 1841).

2 Mark D'hoker, Roland Renson, Jan Tolleneer (eds), *Voor Lichaam en Geest* (Leuven 1994); Angela Burroughs, Leonie Seebohm and Liz Ashburn, '“A Leso Story”: A Case Study of Australian Women's Cricket and its Media Experience', *Sporting Traditions*, 12, 1 (November 1995), 27–46.

dealt with sport and the politics of race and ethnicity (especially, but not exclusively, in South Africa, the USA, Australia and Ireland). 4. European and American historians have also written extensively and with considerable passion about the politics of gender discrimination. 5. The Olympic Games, which their founder intended as a political force, have been a fifth focus of historical scrutiny. 6. A small but prolific group of French and German neo-Marxist historians and sociologists have argued that modern sports are a mirror image of capitalist institutions and are, therefore, inherently repressive. These are obviously not the only rubrics under which to summarize the historiography of politics and sport, but all six represent areas of intense and intensive attention.

The late Hajo Bernett was unquestionably the most important historian to analyse the role of German sport during the 12 years of nazi rule. His collection of primary documents, *Nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung*, provided a basis for serious discussion.³ In his subsequent work in this area — *Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich*, *Der Weg des Sports in die Nationalsozialistische Diktatur*, and many more specialized books and essays⁴ — Bernett exposed and excoriated not only the nazi instrumentalization of sport but also the abject acceptance of this instrumentalization on the part of ‘bourgeois’ sports administrators who had previously proclaimed the conventional liberal mantra, ‘Politics should not interfere with sports.’ Bernett’s work was occasionally polemical. He seemed, for instance, obsessed by a desire to denigrate Carl Diem, the ‘bourgeois’ sports administrator whose relationship with the nazi regime continues to provoke intense controversy. Like most sports historians in the liberal or social-democratic tradition, Bernett assumed that modern sports were a positive phenomenon; he referred repeatedly to their ‘misuse’ (*Mißbrauch*) and rejected the neo-Marxist argument that sports are inherently repressive. Bernett’s work on sport during the nazi era has been ably continued by Hans-Joachim Teichler in *Internationale Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich*.⁵ The intensely controversial 1936 Olympics Games are discussed later.

Although Hitler was willing to use sport to improve German physical fitness (for war, for motherhood) and to enhance German prestige in Olympic competition, he cared little for sports. Mussolini, on the other hand, was ostentatiously athletic. He presented himself to the world as an athlete, e.g. stripped to the waist on an alpine ski slope. He posed as a model for young fascists

3 Hajo Bernett (ed.), *Nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung* (Schorndorf 1966).

4 Hajo Bernett, *Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Schorndorf 1971); idem, *Untersuchungen zur Zeitgeschichte des Sports* (Schorndorf 1973); idem, *Guido von Mengden* (Berlin 1976); idem, *Der jüdische Sport im Nationalsozialistischen Deutschland, 1933–1938* (Schorndorf 1978); idem, *Der Weg des Sports in die Nationalsozialistische Diktatur* (Schorndorf 1983); idem, *Sportunterricht in der Nationalsozialistischen Schule* (Schorndorf 1985).

5 Hans-Joachim Teichler, *Internationale Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Schorndorf 1991).

(who did, indeed, perform well in international competitions). Early accounts of the theory and practice of the fascist regime's sports programme appeared in Felice Fabrizio's *Sport e fascismo* and in Victoria De Grazia's *The Culture of Consent*.⁶ A collection of primary documents was published in 1983.⁷ Much has been written on the participation in sport of young women, which the fascists encouraged, despite intense opposition from the Roman Catholic Church. Isidori Frasca's . . . *e il Duce le volla Sportiva* was a journalistic discussion, but Gigliola Gori's *L'Atleta e la nazione* does fuller justice to this important topic.⁸ Fascist Italy's international sports relations are discussed in Angela Teja's 'Italian Sport and International Relations under Fascism'.⁹

Compared to the extensive body of work done on sport in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, relatively little has been written on sport in Falangist Spain, Vichy France and early Shōwa-period Japan. Teresa González Aja has published several essays on Spanish sport under General Franco and there is a short critical monograph by Jean-Louis Gay-Lescot on French sport under General Pétain.¹⁰ Contrary to what one might expect on the basis of their markedly unapologetic histories of the second world war, Japanese historians have been quite critical of their country's sports system during Japan's fascist era. Irie Katsumi has argued persuasively in *Nihon fashizumu to no taiikushisō* that the paramilitary instrumentalization of Japanese sport began not during the early Shōwa era (1926–37) but rather in the intensely nationalistic atmosphere of the late nineteenth century.¹¹ A trio of Japanese historians have published a briefer but more accessible study — equally critical of paramilitary sports — in the *International Journal of the History of Sport*.¹² Two recent issues of this journal have been devoted to fascist conceptions of the human body, but, like Klaus Theweleit's *Männerphantasien* (1977–78), these issues tend to focus on imagery and ideals rather than on sport.¹³

* * *

6 Felice Fabrizio, *Sport e fascismo* (Rimini-Firenze 1976); Victoria De Grazia, *The Culture of Consent* (Cambridge 1981).

7 Renato Biana, Giuseppe Leone, Gianni Rossi and Adolfo Urso (eds), *Atleti in Camicia Nera* (Rome 1983).

8 Isidori Frasca, . . . *e il Duce le volla Sportive* (Bologna 1983); Gigliola Gori, *L'Atleta e la nazione* (Rimini 1996). The sports participation of German women under nazism is discussed, superficially, in Regina Landschoof and Karin Huels, *Frauensport im Faschismus* (Hamburg 1985).

9 Angela Teja, 'Italian Sport and International Relations under Fascism' in Pierre Arnaud and James Riordan (eds), *Sport and International Politics* (London 1998), 147–70.

10 Teresa González Aja, 'Le Football...Ambassadeur de Franquisme' in van der Merwe (ed.), *Sport as Symbol, Symbols in Sport* (Sankt Augustin 1996), 95–104; 'Spanish Sports Policy in Republican and Fascist Spain' in Arnaud and Riordan (eds), *Sport and International Politics*, op. cit., 97–113; Jean-Louis Gay-Lescot, *Sport et éducation sous Vichy* (Lyon 1991).

11 Irie Katsumi, *Nihon fashizumu to no taiikushisō* (Tokyo 1986).

12 Abe Ikuo, Kiyohara Yasuharu and Nakajima Ken, 'Fascism, Sport and Society in Japan', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 9, 1 (April 1992), 1–28.

13 *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 16, 2 and 16, 4 (June and December 1999).

Disagreements about the role of sport in communist regimes are much more pronounced than differences in the assessment of sport under fascism. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, there were innumerable academic defenders of the sports system developed in the USSR and institutionalized in the post-war years in the nations of Eastern Europe, in the People's Republic of China and in Cuba. On the nations of Eastern Europe, the Polish scholar Andrzej Wohl can be taken as a representative figure. In addition to an important interpretation of the origin of modern sport¹⁴ — seen simply and directly as the product of industrial capitalism — Wohl published a number of essays in *The International Review of Sport Sociology*, a journal which he edited from 1966 to 1983. Together with other Eastern European contributors to the *IRSS*, Wohl insisted that the USSR and its allies had overcome the 'contradictions' inherent in 'bourgeois' sports. Sports in Eastern Europe were not the 'oasis of freedom' envisioned by 'bourgeois' writers; sports were the incubator of 'New Socialist Man'. The same arguments were presented in *Theorie und Praxis der Körperkultur* and in other academic journals published throughout Eastern Europe. The centralized, state-run system that Wohl praised as uniquely emancipatory was condemned by Peter Kühnst and other West German historians as very similar to that of a prison.¹⁵ As his title — *Der mißbrauchte Sport* — implies, Kühnst condemned the instrumentalization of sports that the Marxist historians of Eastern Europe took for granted.

The English historian James Riordan managed to rise above the tempests of Cold War rhetoric. *Sport in Soviet Society* mapped the many changes in Soviet sports policy, indicated the repressive aspects to which Wohl seemed blind and acknowledged the USSR's achievements in sport, most notably the inclusion of previously excluded women.¹⁶ In addition to this major study and a number of important essays, Riordan edited *Sport under Communism* and co-edited *Playing Politics: Soviet Sport Diplomacy to 1992* as well as *Sport and Physical Education in China*.¹⁷

The politics of Chinese sport was the focus of Jonathan Kolatch's somewhat polemical study, *Sport, Politics, and Ideology in China*.¹⁸ More recent and more balanced monographs have been produced by Susan Brownell in *Training the Body for China* and Fan Hong in *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom*.¹⁹ Sympathetic but not uncritical accounts of Cuban sport under the aegis of communism have been published by Wolf Krâmer-Mandau and Paula Pettavino

14 Andrzej Wohl, *Die gesellschaftlich-historischen Grundlagen des bürgerlichen Sports* (Cologne 1973).

15 Peter Kühnst, *Der mißbrauchte Sport* (Cologne 1982).

16 James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society* (London 1977).

17 James Riordan, *Sport under Communism* (Montreal 1978); idem with Victor Peppard, *Playing Politics: Soviet Sport Diplomacy to 1992* (Greenwich 1998); idem with Robin Jones, *Sport and Physical Education in China* (London 1999).

18 Jonathan Kolatch, *Sport, Politics, and Ideology in China* (Middle Village, NY 1972).

19 Susan Brownell, *Training the Body for China* (Chicago 1995); Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom* (London 1997).

(with GERALYN PYE).²⁰ Needless to say, writing from an avowedly Marxist position, Chinese and Cuban writers have produced innumerable books and essays that affirm the excellence of their countries' sports systems.²¹

Although none of the nations of Western Europe has had a communist regime, the years 1919–33 were the heyday of the workers' sports movement. The first and most important manifestation of this movement was the establishment in 1893 of Germany's Arbeiter-Turnerbund (ATB), a sports organization closely allied to the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands.²² By 1928, the organization had 770,058 members (and another 400,000 Germans were enrolled in eight smaller working-class sports organizations).²³ Smaller federations were formed elsewhere in Europe and — from 1925 to 1937 — quadrennial 'Workers' Olympics' were celebrated the year after the 'bourgeois' games. Through most of the *entre deux guerres* period there were two mutually hostile international organizations for workers' sports — the Lucerne Sport International (LSI), which was socialist, and the Red Sport International (RSI), which was controlled by the Soviet Union. Sports historians have generally shown more sympathy for the former.²⁴ The Nazi dictatorship destroyed Germany's working-class sports organizations and the second world war destroyed the others or reduced them to insignificance.

Sports sociologists have done a great deal of work on racial 'stacking' in sports.²⁵ John Loy and others have shown, for instance, how African-American baseball players have been shunted to outfield positions from which coaches and managers are seldom recruited. (This approach, which relies on the concept of spatial and/or social 'centrality', has also been applied to ethnic 'stacking' in ice hockey and other sports.²⁶) Sociological analysis can, however, become absurd when sociologists discover racism in mass-media accounts of Michael Tyson's violence and Michael Jordan's modesty.²⁷ (Depictions of

20 Wolf Krämer-Mandau, *Sport und Körperkultur auf Cuba* (Cologne 1988); Paula Pettavino and GERALYN PYE, *Sport in Cuba* (Pittsburgh 1994).

21 A typical example is Frank Guiral, *Mariá Caridad Colón* (Havana 1986).

22 Horst Ueberhorst, *Frisch Frei Stark und Treu: Die Arbeitersportbewegung in Deutschland, 1893–1933* (Düsseldorf 1973).

23 Ibid., 114.

24 Pierre Arnaud (ed.), *Les Origines du sport ouvrier en Europe* (Paris 1994); Arnd Krüger and James Riordan (eds), *The Story of Worker Sport* (Champaign, IL 1996).

25 The seminal article on stacking by John Loy and Joseph F. McElvogue (originally printed as 'Elvogue') has been replicated dozens of times; for Loy and McElvogue, see 'Racial Segregation in American Sport', *International Review of Sport Sociology*, 5 (1970), 5–23; for a recent article with references to the literature on stacking, see Benjamin Margolis and Jane Allyn Piliavin, "'Stacking" in Major League Baseball', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 16, 1 (1999), 16–34.

26 Marc Lavoie, 'Stacking, Performance Differentials, and Salary Discrimination in Professional Ice Hockey', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 6, 1 (March 1989), 17–35.

27 John L. Sloop, 'Mike Tyson and the Perils of Discursive Constraint' in Aaron Baker and Todd Boyd (eds), *Out of Bounds: Sports, Media and the Politics of Identity* (Bloomington, IN 1997), 102–22; Mary G. McDonald, 'Michael Jordan's Family Values: Marketing, Meaning, and Post-Reagan America', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 13, 4 (1996), 344–65.

Jordan's 'modest attire' are allegedly racist because they are 'representative of the cultural anxiety around black masculinity and sexuality'.²⁸) Equally absurd are the accusations of racism directed against John Hoberman, whose exemplary study, *Darwin's Athletes*, restates a truth spoken decades earlier by Arthur Ashe: concentration on sports performance to the neglect of academic achievement has been a disaster for the African-American community.²⁹

Sports economists have examined the relationship of pay to performance in professional sports and have documented the fact that, until quite recently, African-American athletes who were paid *more* than white athletes were nonetheless paid less than they deserved on the basis of their objectively measured performance.³⁰

Sports historians, who have not always paid sufficient attention to the work done by sociologists and economists, have concentrated on the struggle for racial integration in American, South African and Australian sports. Most of the historical work has been narrative, descriptive and narrowly focused. There are, for instance, many biographies and oral histories of African-American baseball players whose careers were limited to playing in racially-segregated 'Negro' leagues.³¹ While the majority of these books tend to be moralistic rather than analytical, the best historical studies have been attentive to the politics of race relations. Among the excellent books that immediately come to mind are Jules Tygiel's on the racial integration of American baseball, Richard Lapchick's on South Africa's expulsion from the Olympic Games, Colin Tatz's on the plight of Australia's aboriginal athletes, and Bernadette Deville-Danthu's on black and white athletes in France's West African colonies.³² Research into the role of sport within the racial politics of South Africa has been especially intensive. Extending early work by Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon, Douglas Booth and John Nauright are notably sophisticated in their analyses of apartheid and its aftermath.³³

The range and diversity of the research into sport and ethnic politics has been immense. There has, for instance, been work on the sports clubs of ethnic Turks living in Germany,³⁴ on Israeli-Palestinian interaction on the soccer

28 Ibid., 355.

29 Arthur Ashe, 'An Open Letter to Black Parents: Send Your Children to the Libraries', *New York Times*, 6 February 1977; John Hoberman, *Darwin's Athletes* (Boston 1997).

30 The seminal article is Gerald W. Scully, 'Discrimination: The Case of Baseball' in Roger G. Noll (ed.), *Government and the Sports Business* (Washington DC 1974). Gerald Scully, *The Business of Major League Baseball* (Chicago 1989).

31 John B. Holway, *Josh and Satch: The Life and Times of Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige* (New York 1992).

32 Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment* (New York 1983); Richard Edward Lapchick, *The Politics of Race and International Sport* (Westport, CT 1975); Colin Tatz, *Obstacle Race: Aborigines in Sport* (Sydney 1995); Bernadette Deville-Danthu, *Le Sport en noir et blanc* (Paris 1997).

33 Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game: Sport and Racism* (London 1982); Douglas Booth, *The Race Game* (London 1998); John Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa* (London 1997).

34 Thomas Schwarz, *Türkische Sportler in Berlin zwischen Integration und Segregation* (Berlin 1987).

pitch,³⁵ on Croatian football clubs in Australia,³⁶ and on the traditional folk-sports of ethnic minorities.³⁷ Important research has been done on the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884), founded as an Irish nationalist effort to create Celtic alternatives to the modern sports brought to Ireland by its British rulers.³⁸ Much has been written on the role of sport in the 'troubles' of Northern Ireland³⁹ and in Glasgow's less bloody ethnic conflicts.⁴⁰ (The debate over the alleged 'sectarianism' of the the Ranger and Celtic football clubs has been feud-like in its intensity.) A number of essays on sport as a means to assert contested ethnic identity have been published in edited collections.⁴¹ Although emphases vary, one common strand is the analysis of modern sport as a means for an ethnic minority to participate in the larger society while simultaneously maintaining its sense of a separate ethnic identity. Another common strand is the variation by gender in the rate that modern sports are adopted by ethnic minorities; female members of minority populations are almost invariably slower than male members to abandon traditional recreations and adopt modern sports. South Asian women in the United Kingdom are an instance of this phenomenon.⁴²

It is now a platitude that, with the emergence of modernity, the difference between conventionally male and conventionally female roles has decreased and modern sports have become what Brian Pronger — in another context —

35 Yoram S. Carmeli and Iris Bar, 'Team Selection and the Chosen People in Israel: The Case of Hapoel Taibeh' in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (eds), *Football Cultures and Identities* (Basingstoke 1999), 164–75.

36 Roy Hay, 'Croatia: Community, Conflict, and Culture: The Role of Soccer Clubs in Migrant Identity' in Mike Cronin and David Mayall (eds), *Sporting Nationalisms* (London 1998), 49–66.

37 Vicky Paraschak, 'Sport Festivals and Race Relations in the Northwest Territories of Canada' in Grant Jarvie (ed.), *Sport, Racism and Ethnicity* (London 1991), 74–93.

38 W.F. Mandle, 'Sport as Politics: The Gaelic Athletic Association, 1884–1916' in Richard Cashman and Michael McKernan (eds), *Sport in History* (St Lucia, Queensland 1979), 99–123; John Sugden and Alan Bairner, *Sport, Sectarianism and Society in Divided Ireland* (London 1993); Michael Cronin, *Sport and Nationalism in Ireland* (Dublin 1999).

39 Mike Cronin, 'Which Nation, Which Flag? Boxing and National Identities in Ireland', *International Review of Sport Sociology*, 32, 2 (June 1997), 131–46; idem, 'Fighting for Ireland, Playing for England', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15, 3 (December 1998), 36–57; Alan Bairner and Peter Shirlow, 'The Territorial Politics of Soccer in Northern Ireland' in Armstrong and Giulianotti (eds), *Football Cultures*, op. cit., 152–63.

40 Bill Murray, *The Old Firm: Sectarianism, Sport and Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1984); H.F. Moorhouse, 'Professional Football and Working Class Culture: English Theories and Scottish Evidence', *Sociological Review*, 32 (May 1984), 285–315; Joseph M. Bradley, 'Football in Scotland', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 12, 1 (April 1995), 81–98.

41 Grant Jarvie (ed.), *Sport, Racism and Ethnicity* (London 1991); George Eisen and David Wiggins (eds), *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History* (Westport, CT 1994); Jeremy MacClancy (ed.), *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity* (Oxford 1996); Mike Cronin and David Mayall (eds), *Sporting Nationalisms* (London 1998).

42 Tessa Lovell, 'Sport, Racism, and Young Women' in Grant Jarvie (ed.), *Sport, Racism and Ethnicity* (London 1991), 58–73.

referred to as an 'arena of masculinity', a site where men are able to display their physical prowess.⁴³ Michael Messner has done as much as anyone to drive home this point.⁴⁴ It should also be a platitude, although it is not, that modern sports have also become a venue for femininity, a site where women are able to display *their* physical prowess. The athleticism of Jackie Joyner-Kersey or Mia Hamm is obviously very different from the domesticity prized by Victorian ideologues. The 'sexual politics' within modern sports has very largely been about the transition from one ideal to another. As more and more women have refused to be content with conventionally feminine sports (like tennis) and have 'intruded' into traditionally male sports (like rugby), male resentment has taken the form of solicitude (rough sports are said to endanger a woman's reproductive organs) or hostility (female athletes are said to be lesbians). Some radical feminist sports sociologists have overstated men's resistance to women's sports, but there was (and is) resistance.

During the last quarter of the twentieth century, sports sociologists and sports historians rushed into the study of women's sports in such numbers that a paucity of research quickly turned into a plethora. Studies by Jennifer Hargreaves and M. Ann Hall are exceptions to the rule that the best sociological work has taken the form of articles published in specialized journals.⁴⁵ Fortunately, a number of the most important articles have been collected and republished (along with previously unpublished essays).⁴⁶ Although 'patriarchy' and 'hegemonic masculinity' are targeted for special scorn and indignation, feminist sociologists have launched more than a few missiles at one another. The sociologists who have studied women's sports can be divided — with a bit of simplification — into two frequently hostile camps: the liberal feminists (who argue for equal treatment and the full acceptance of women within the domain of modern sports) and radical feminists (who argue for a transformed, more egalitarian, more humane sports world). Liberal-feminist sports sociologists have tended to focus their research on questions of law and equity (such as the distribution of economic resources between men's and women's sports programmes). Radical-feminist sports sociologists, for whom numerical parity is an insufficient measure of equality, have had a different agenda. They have, for example, been especially vehement about the 'sexual-

43 Brian Pronger, *The Arena of Masculinity* (New York 1990). Pronger's focus was on homosexual men. See also Varda Burstyn, *The Rites of Men* (Toronto 1999).

44 Michael A. Messner, 'Where Bodies Are Weapons', *International Review of Sport Sociology*, 25, 3 (1990), 203–20; Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo, *Sport, Men, and the Gender Order* (Champaign, IL 1990); Michael A. Messner, *Power Play* (Boston 1992); Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo, *Sex, Violence, and Power in Sports* (Freedom, CA 1994).

45 Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (London 1994); M. Ann Hall, *Feminism and Sporting Bodies* (Champaign, IL 1996).

46 Greta L. Cohen (ed.), *Women in Sport* (Newbury Park, CA 1993); Susan Birrell and Cheryl L. Cole (eds), *Women, Sport, and Culture* (Champaign, IL 1994); Pamela J. Creedon (ed.), *Women, Media and Sport* (Thousand Oaks, CA 1994); Susan Birrell and Mary G. McDonald (eds), *Reading Sport* (Boston 2000).

ization' of female athletes by the mass media. Entire books, for instance, have been written to castigate the voyeurism of the 'swimsuit issue' of *Sports Illustrated* and of the sports section of *Bild Zeitung* (Germany's most widely read newspaper).⁴⁷ The liberal-feminist response that the athletic body and the athletic performance are inherently erotic, that the physical attractiveness of male and female athletes should be celebrated rather than condemned, has been dismissed as voyeuristic or simply ignored.⁴⁸

While the history of women's sport is rife with political controversy, historians of women's sport have been more or less in agreement. Women have never been totally excluded from sport, but they have — until quite recently — seldom been granted the same opportunities as men. Opportunity came only after a prolonged struggle on the part of female athletes and their male supporters (who were seldom as numerous as the women's male opponents). In addition to innumerable essays published in sports-historical journals, there are excellent histories of women's sport in Great Britain,⁴⁹ the USA,⁵⁰ Germany⁵¹ and Australia.⁵² The *Histoire du sport féminin*, edited by Pierre Arnaud and Thierry Terret, is devoted largely but not entirely to women's sport in France.⁵³ In addition to a score or more of essays on women's sport in Germany, Gertrud Pfister has published a valuable set of primary documents.⁵⁴ There have also been two efforts to paint the entire panorama of women's sport (in the West) from antiquity to the present.⁵⁵

Although Pierre de Coubertin revived the Olympic Games as an instrument of

47 Laurel R. Davis, 'The Swimsuit Issue and Sport: Hegemonic Masculinity' in *Sports Illustrated* (Albany, NY 1997); Marie-Luise Klein and Gertrud Pfister, *Goldmädels, Rennmiezzen und Turnkücken* (Berlin 1985).

48 Allen Guttmann, *The Erotic in Sports* (New York 1996).

49 Kathleen McCrone, *Playing the Game: Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870–1914* (Lexington, KY 1988); Manuela Müller-Windisch, *Aufgeschürt und außer Atem* (Frankfurt 1995); J. A. Mangan and Roberta A. Park (eds), *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Era* (London 1987) on women's sport in Great Britain, the USA and Canada.

50 Susan Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport* (New York 1994); Mary Jo Festle, *Playing Nice: Politics and Apologies in Women's Sports* (New York 1996).

51 Gabriela Wesp, *Frisch, Fromm, Fröhlich, Frau* (Koenigstein 1998). Among the more specialized studies is Sigrid Block, *Frauen und Mädchen in der Arbeitersportbewegung* (Münster 1987).

52 Marion K. Stell, *Half the Race: A History of Australian Women in Sport* (Sydney 1991). Among the single-sport studies is Richard Cashman and Amanda Weaver, *Wicket Women: Cricket and Women in Australia* (Kensington 1991).

53 Pierre Arnaud and Thierry Terret (eds), *Histoire du sport féminin* (Paris 1996).

54 Gertrud Pfister (ed.), *Frau und Sport* (Frankfurt 1980). Pfister has also written an excellent historiographical essay: 'Die andere Perspektive: Frauenforschung und Sportgeschichte', *Stadion*, 16, 1 (1990), 143–69.

55 Uriel Simri, *A Concise World History of Women's Sports* (Netanya 1983); Allen Guttmann, *Women's Sports* (New York 1991).

international reconciliation,⁵⁶ his successors as president of the International Olympic Committee have been tireless in their insistence that 'politics' should not interfere with sport and unsuccessful in their attempts to insulate the games from political controversy.⁵⁷ The first modern games, celebrated in Athens in 1896, were very nearly drowned in the whirlpool of Greek domestic politics.⁵⁸ The games of 1900 (Paris) and 1904 (St Louis) were caught in the crossfire of bureaucratic turf wars because both were embedded within world fairs whose organizers had other priorities than Coubertin's. In 1908, Irish and Irish-American athletes were seen by many British officials as proxies for Sinn Féin (founded in 1906). Sports writers have tended to ignore these (and other) political controversies; sports historians have not.⁵⁹

The most intense political controversy was probably that which surrounded the 1936 games. In response to nazi racial policies, which (despite promises to the contrary) threatened to exclude German Jews from their national team, boycott movements were launched in the USA and several other countries whose participation was seen as crucial to the games' success.⁶⁰ Although a number of Jewish athletes refused the opportunity to compete in Berlin, the boycotts failed, the games took place as planned, and nazi propagandists proclaimed them the most impressive ever staged, an assessment reluctantly shared by many historians. They *were* impressive; were they also a propaganda coup? Were they a distortion of Coubertin's original vision or merely the inevitable consequence of it? The historical debate has been prolonged and intensive.⁶¹ The most extreme position (Coubertin was proto-nazi) was taken by Jean-Marie Brohm, the most balanced and insightful by Thomas Alkemeyer (a comparison of 'Olympism' and nazism reveals similarities and dissimilarities).⁶²

Politics played a much less intrusive role from 1948 (London) through 1964

56 Hans Lenk, *Werte, Ziele, Wirklichkeit der modernen Olympischen Spiele* (Schorndorf 1964).

57 Not all scholars share this view of Coubertin's motives; for a severely negative view see Ulrike Prokop, *Soziologie der Olympischen Spiele* (Munich 1971).

58 Richard D. Mandell, *The First Modern Olympics* (Berkeley, CA 1976); John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago 1981).

59 David B. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games* (Boulder, CO 1981); Allen Guttmann, *The Olympics* (Urbana, IL 2002); Alfred E. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games* (Champaign, IL 1999). Richard Espy's *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (Berkeley, CA 1979) is a study of the post-second world war games.

60 Richard D. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* (New York 1971); Arnd Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 und die Weltmeinung* (Berlin 1972).

61 In addition to the previously-cited books by Mandell and Krüger, see Friedrich Bohlen, *Die XI. Olympischen Spiele Berlin 1936* (Cologne 1979); Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York 1984); Hilmar Hoffmann, *Mythos Olympia* (Berlin 1993). There has also been prolonged and intensive controversy over Leni Riefenstahl's documentary of the games: *Olympia* (1938).

62 Jean-Marie Brohm, *Le Mythe olympique* (Paris 1981); Thomas Alkemeyer, *Körper, Kult und Politik: von der 'Muskelereligion' Pierre de Coubertins zur Inszenierung von Macht in den Olympischen Spielen von 1936* (Frankfurt 1996).

(Tokyo), but the most vivid and memorable images from Mexico City and Munich were of the 'Black Power' salute (1968) and masked Palestinian terrorists (1972).⁶³ The 'era of the boycott' continued in 1976. Twenty-eight African teams departed from Montreal immediately before the 1976 Olympics because the International Olympic Committee refused to expel New Zealand's Olympic team.⁶⁴ (New Zealand had played rugby, a non-Olympic sport, against South Africa.) More disruptive than the African departure were the boycotts occasioned directly (1980) and indirectly (1984) by the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.⁶⁵ (Once the USA led the boycott that greatly diminished the games, it was all but inevitable that the USSR retaliated with a boycott of the games celebrated four years later in Los Angeles.) Although most non-communist historians have been more critical of the Soviet Union than of the USA, Japan's Kiyokawa Masaji — a former Olympian and an IOC member — sided with the communist historians who condemned the USA for bringing politics into the world of sport.⁶⁶

Except for North Korea's boycott of the Seoul Olympics,⁶⁷ recent Olympic controversy has tended to be economic rather than political, more concerned with the commercialization of the games by the IOC than with the politics of the host nation.⁶⁸ Political controversy has, however, tarnished the image of the man most responsible for the commercialization: IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch. In two books, journalists Vyv Simson and Andrew Jennings have not only condemned Samaranch and his allies within the IOC for selling the Olympics to the highest bidder, they have also castigated him for his rôle as a sports administrator during the Franco regime.⁶⁹ David Miller, a third British journalist, has attempted to refute such accusations in a biography of Samaranch that verges on the sycophantic.⁷⁰ It is doubtless too early for a nuanced assessment of Samaranch's presidency.

* * *

63 In addition to Guttmann's *The Games Must Go On*, see Rolf Pfeiffer, *Sport und Politik: Die Boykottdiskussionen um die Olympischen Spiele von Mexiko City 1968 bis Los Angeles 1984* (Frankfurt 1987). The most extensive study of the 1972 massacre is Serge Groussard's *La Médaille de sang* (Paris 1973).

64 Michael Morris (Lord Killanin), *My Olympic Years* (London 1983).

65 For the 1980 games, see Baruch A. Hazan, *Olympic Sports and Propaganda Games: Moscow 1980* (New Brunswick, NJ 1980); Derick L. Hulme, Jr, *The Political Olympics* (New York 1980); Willi Knecht, *Der Boykott* (Cologne 1980); Günter Müller and Dieter Kühnle, *Moskauer Spiele* (Gütersloh 1980). For the 1984 games, see Bill Shaikin, *Sport and Politics* (Westport, CT 1988).

66 Kiyokawa Masaji, *Supôtsu to Seiji* (Tokyo 1987). For the communist view, see *Spiele der XXII. Olympiade. Moskau 1980* (Berlin 1980).

67 North Korea demanded that half of the Olympic competition take place on its territory and boycotted the games when the IOC offered less than half.

68 Christopher R. Hill's *Olympic Politics* (Manchester 1992) is concerned as much with economic as with political issues.

69 Vyv Simson and Andrew Jennings, *Lords of the Rings* (New York 1992); Andrew Jennings, *The New Lords of the Rings* (London 1996).

70 David Miller, *Olympic Revolution: The Olympic Biography of Juan Antonio Samaranch* (London 1994).

Although Marxist and other materialist historians have tended to explain the emergence of modern sports by reference to economic factors, their analyses have, inevitably, included commentary on political developments. Much of the sports history written from an avowedly Marxist perspective has been too reductive and too dogmatic to be taken seriously,⁷¹ but John Hargreaves, Richard Gruneau and others associated with the ‘cultural studies’⁷² approach have done substantial and influential work from a materialist perspective.⁷³ Their emphasis on class relationships and inequalities of power in British and North American sport effectively shifted the centre of gravity in sports studies. In comparison, however, to the French and German neo-Marxists whose work appeared a decade earlier than theirs, Hargreaves and Gruneau seemed almost like apologists for capitalism. Beginning with Bero Rigauer’s Adorno-influenced *Sport und Arbeit*, a number of books argued that modern sports are an example of Weberian instrumental rationality, a subtle means of social control.⁷⁴ Modern sports, maintained Rigauer and other neo-Marxist writers, are not merely the ‘superstructure’ of the economic ‘basis’. Sports are the mirror image of — rather than an emancipatory alternative to — the repressive, exploitive, achievement-oriented world of work. (They acknowledged that the sports system developed by the Soviet Union and its allies was nearly as inhumane as that developed in Western Europe.) Needless to say, there were responses to the neo-Marxist critique, the most effective of which were probably those by Hans Lenk, Josef Schmitz and William J. Morgan.⁷⁵ Among the counter-arguments was the observation that a sports *contest* was very different from the admittedly dreary grind of a scientifically-designed *workout* (which Rigauer and others saw as the paradigm and epitome of modern sport). The neo-Marxist critique was extreme, but — like the work of Hargreaves and Gruneau — it underscored the theoretical weakness of ‘idealist’ historians too prone to write as if sport were a realm of perfect freedom.

A brief and inevitably simplified discussion of six areas of sustained and intensive attention cannot do more than suggest the importance of politics in sports

71 Wolfgang Eichel (ed.), *Geschichte der Körperkultur in Deutschland*, 4 vols (Berlin 1964–69).

72 For the influence of cultural studies on sports, see David L. Andrews and John W. Loy, ‘British Cultural Studies and Sport’, *Quest*, 45, 2 (May 1993), 255–76.

73 John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture* (Oxford 1986); Richard Gruneau, *Class, Sports, and Social Development* (Amherst, MA 1983). Jennifer Hargreaves’s *Sporting Females*, cited above, is another major contribution to the ‘materialist’ analysis of sports.

74 Bero Rigauer, *Sport und Arbeit* (Frankfurt 1969); Gerhard Vinnai, *Fußballsport als Ideologie* (Frankfurt 1970); Gerhard Vinnai (ed.), *Sport in der Klassengesellschaft* (Munich 1972); Jac Olaf Böhme, Jürgen Gadow, Sven Guldenpfennig, Jörn Jensen and Renate Pfister, *Sport im Spätkapitalismus* (Frankfurt 1972); Karin Rittner, *Sport und Arbeitsteilung* (Frankfurt 1976); Jean-Marie Brohm, *Sociologie politique du sport* (Paris 1976); idem, *Critiques du sport* (Paris 1976).

75 Hans Lenk, *Leistungssport: Ideologie oder Mythos?* (Stuttgart 1972); Josef N. Schmitz, *Sport und Leibeserziehung zwischen Spätkapitalismus und Frühsozialismus* (Schorndorf 1974); William J. Morgan, *Leftist Theories of Sport* (Urbana, IL 1994).

history and in sports historiography. New areas of widespread concern are emerging. Can a crowd of sports spectators be likened to the vigilant watchman of Michel Foucault's panopticon? Although no sports historian seems ready to declare himself or herself a disciple of Foucault, French versions of poststructuralism and 'postmodernism' have greatly influenced a number of sports sociologists (especially those working on sports and sexuality).⁷⁶ The global diffusion of modern sports from Europe and North America is a topic that may develop into a widespread concern.⁷⁷ Is the Japanese abandonment of kemari and inuoumono⁷⁸ and the adoption of baseball, rugby and soccer better understood as an example of cultural imperialism or as an instance of Veblenian emulation?⁷⁹ Whatever the answers, it seems likely that questions of this sort will continue to engage an ever-increasing number of sports historians and sports sociologists.

Allen Guttmann

teaches American history and literature at Amherst College, Massachusetts. He is the author of *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York 1978), *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York 1994) and eight other sports histories. He is the co-editor, with Karen Christensen and Gertrud Pfister, of the 3-volume *International Encyclopedia of Women and Sport* (London 2002).

76 David L. Andrews, 'Desperately Seeking Michel: Foucault's Genealogy, the Body, and Critical Sport Sociology', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 10, 2 (June 1993), 148–67; Margaret Carlisle Duncan, 'The Politics of Women's Body Images and Practices: Foucault, the Panopticon, and SHAPE Magazine', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 18, 1 (February 1994), 48–55; Genevieve Rail and Jean Harvey, 'Body at Work: Michel Foucault and the Sociology of Sport', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 12, 2 (1995), 164–79.

77 On this topic, see J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism* (New York 1986); Allen Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York 1994); Joseph Maguire, *Global Sport* (Cambridge 1999).

78 Kemari was a courtly game in which eight players kicked a ball and attempted to keep it aloft as long as possible; inuoumono was a sport in which mounted archers shot blunted arrows at dogs.

79 See Allen Guttmann and Lee Thompson, *Japanese Sports: A History* (Honolulu, forthcoming).