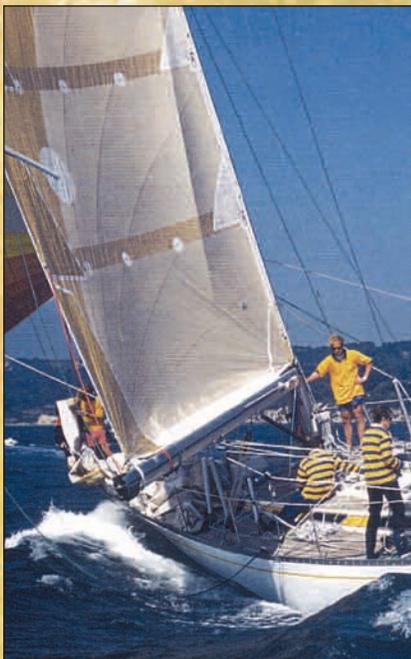


BERKSHIRE PUBLISHING GROUP

BERKSHIRE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

WORLD SPORT



Volume 4

David Levinson & Karen Christensen, Editors

BERKSHIRE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

*World
Sport*

BERKSHIRE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

World Sport



VOLUME **1**

David Levinson *and*
Karen Christensen

Editors

BERKSHIRE PUBLISHING GROUP

Great Barrington, Massachusetts U.S.A.

www.iWorldSport.com

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For information:

Berkshire Publishing Group LLC
314 Main Street
Great Barrington, Massachusetts 01230
www.berkshirepublishing.com

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Berkshire encyclopedia of world sport / David Levinson and Karen Christensen, general editors.

p. cm.

Summary: "Covers the whole world of sport, from major professional sports and sporting events to community and youth sport, as well as the business of sports and key social issues"—Provided by publisher.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-9743091-1-7

1. Sports—Encyclopedias. I. Levinson, David, 1947- II. Christensen, Karen, 1957-

GV567.B48 2005

796.03-dc22

2005013050



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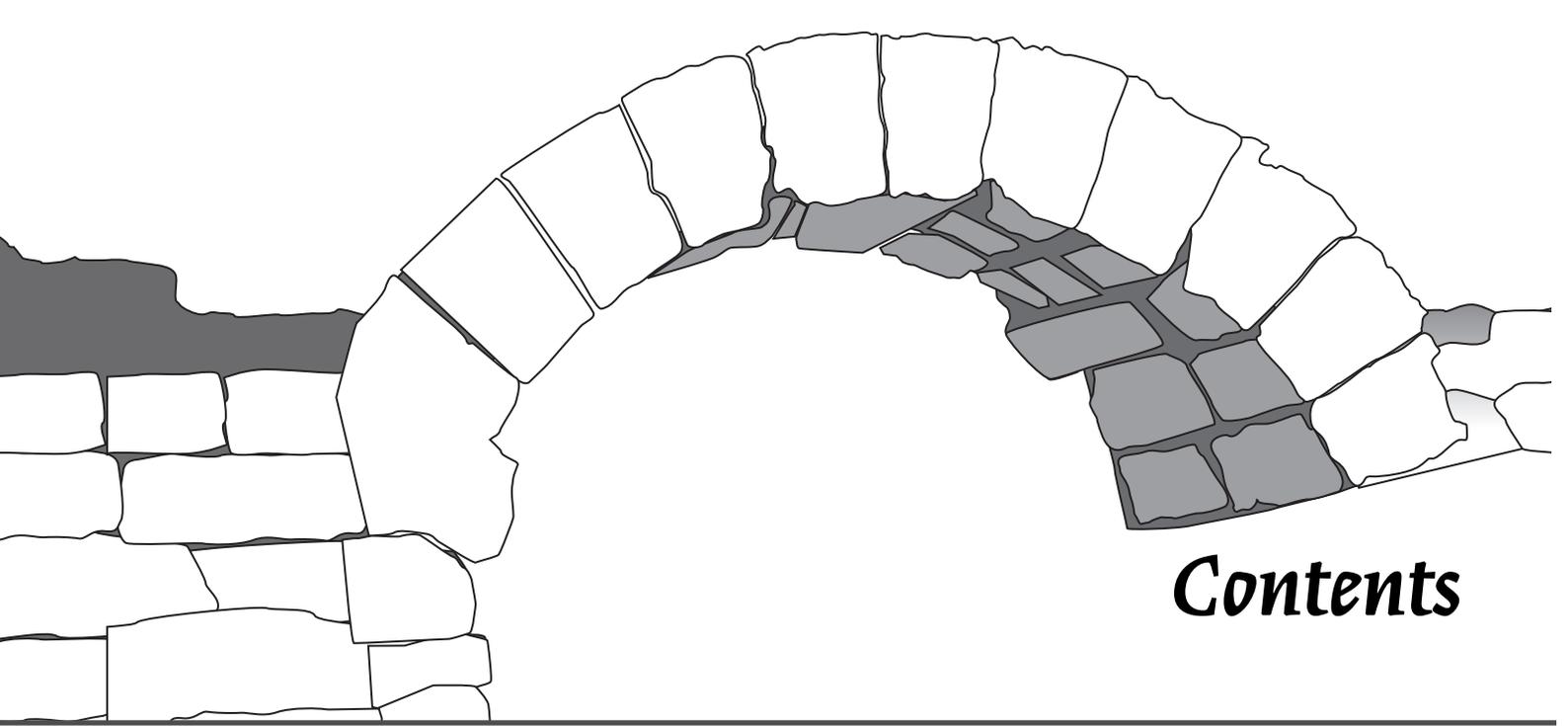
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Contents

List of Entries, ix
Reader's Guide, xiii
Contributors, xix
Introduction, xxxi
Acknowledgments, xxxiv
About the Editors, xxxv

Entries

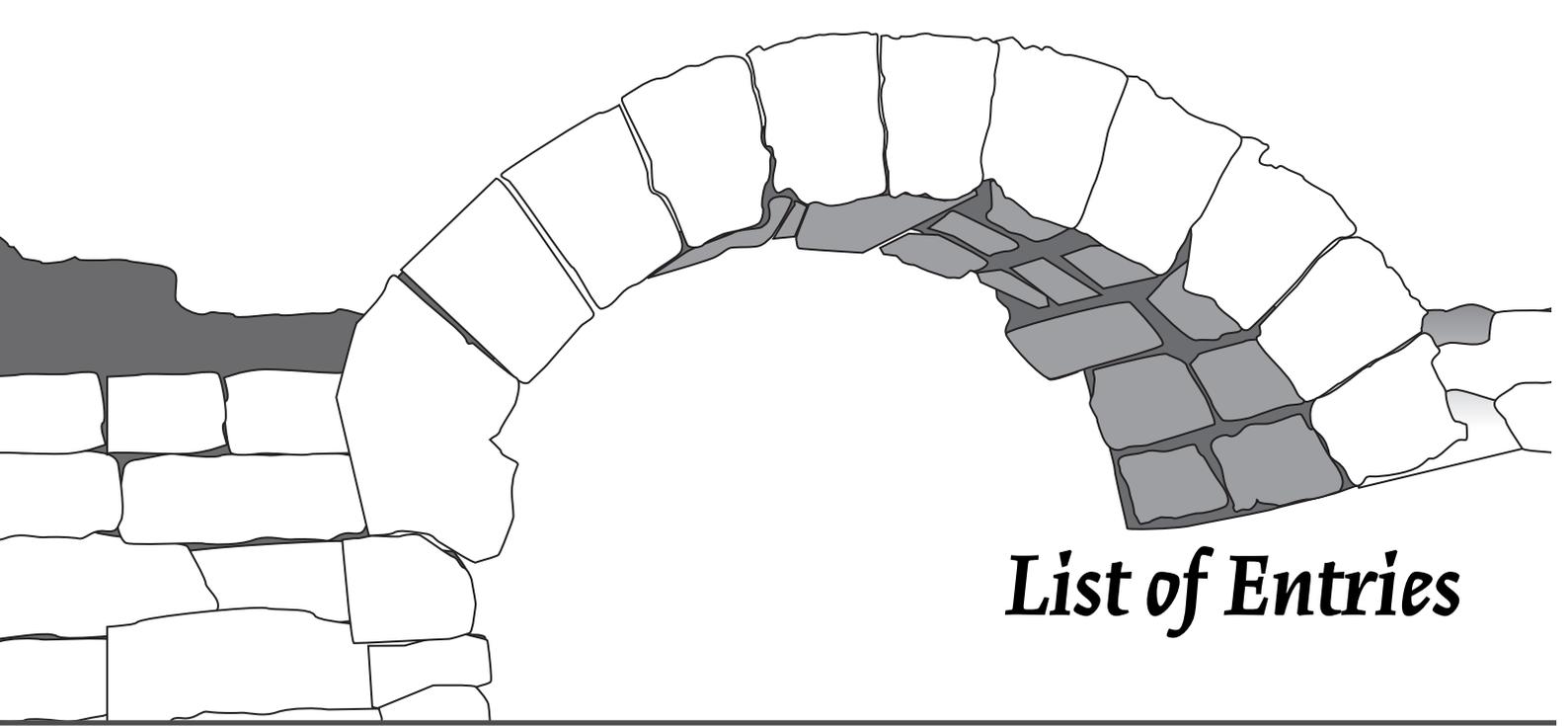
VOLUME I:
Academies and Camps, Sport–Dance
2

VOLUME II:
DanceSport–Kinesiology
443

VOLUME III:
Kite Sports–Sexual Harassment
903

VOLUME IV:
Sexuality–Youth Sports
1357

Index 1751



List of Entries

- Academies and Camps, Sport
Adapted Physical Education
Adventure Education
Aerobics
Aesthetics
African Games
Agents
AIDS and HIV
Aikido
All England Lawn Tennis and
 Croquet Club
Alternative Sports
Amateur vs. Professional Debate
American Sports Exceptionalism
American Youth Soccer
 Organization (AYSO)
America's Cup
Anemia
Animal Rights
Anthropology Days
Anti-Jock Movement
Arab Games
Archery
Argentina
Arm Wrestling
Art
Ascot
Ashes, The
Asian Games
Astrodome
- Athletes as Celebrities
Athletes as Heroes
Athletic Talent Migration
Athletic Training
Australia
Australian Rules Football
Austria
Auto Racing
- Badminton
Ballooning
Baseball
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Wives
Basketball
Baton Twirling
Beauty
Belgium
Biathlon and Triathlon
Billiards
Biomechanics
Biotechnology
Bislett Stadium
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Boating, Ice
Bobsledding
Body Image
Bodybuilding
Bondi Beach
- Boomerang Throwing
Boston Marathon
Bowls and Bowling
Boxing
Brand Management
Brazil
British Open
Bulgaria
Bullfighting
Burnout
Buzkashi
- Cameroon
Camogie
Canada
Canoeing and Kayaking
Capoeira
Carnegie Report
Carriage Driving
Central American and
 Caribbean Games
Cheerleading
Child Sport Stars
China
Clubsport Systems
Coaching
Coeducational Sport
Coliseum (Rome)
Collective Bargaining
College Athletes

- Commercialization of College Sports
- Commodification and Commercialization
- Commonwealth Games
- Community
- Competition
- Competitive Balance
- Cooperation
- Country Club
- Cricket
- Cricket World Cup
- Croquet
- Cross-Country Running
- Cuba
- Cultural Studies Theory
- Curling
- Cycling
- Czech Republic

- Dance
- DanceSport
- Darts
- Davis Cup
- Deaflympics
- Denmark
- Diet and Weight Loss
- Disability Sport
- Disordered Eating
- Diving
- Drake Group
- Duathlon

- East Germany
- Economics and Public Policy
- Egypt
- Eiger North Face
- Elfstudentocht
- Elite Sports Parents
- Endorsements
- Endurance
- Environment

- ESPN
- Euro 2004
- European Football Championship
- Eurosport
- Exercise and Health
- Extreme Sports
- Extreme Surfing

- Facility Management
- Facility Naming Rights
- Falconry
- Family Involvement
- Fan Loyalty
- Fantasy Sports
- Fashion
- Feminist Perspective
- Fencing
- Fenway Park
- Finland
- Fishing
- Fitness
- Fitness Industry
- Floorball
- Flying
- Folk Sports
- Footbag
- Football
- Football, Canadian
- Football, Flag
- Football, Gaelic
- Foro Italico
- Foxhunting
- France
- Franchise Relocation
- Free Agency

- Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0)
- Gay Games
- Gender Equity
- Gender Verification
- Germany

- Globalization
- Goalball
- Golf
- Greece
- Greece, Ancient
- Growth and Development
- Gymnastics, Apparatus
- Gymnastics, Rhythmic

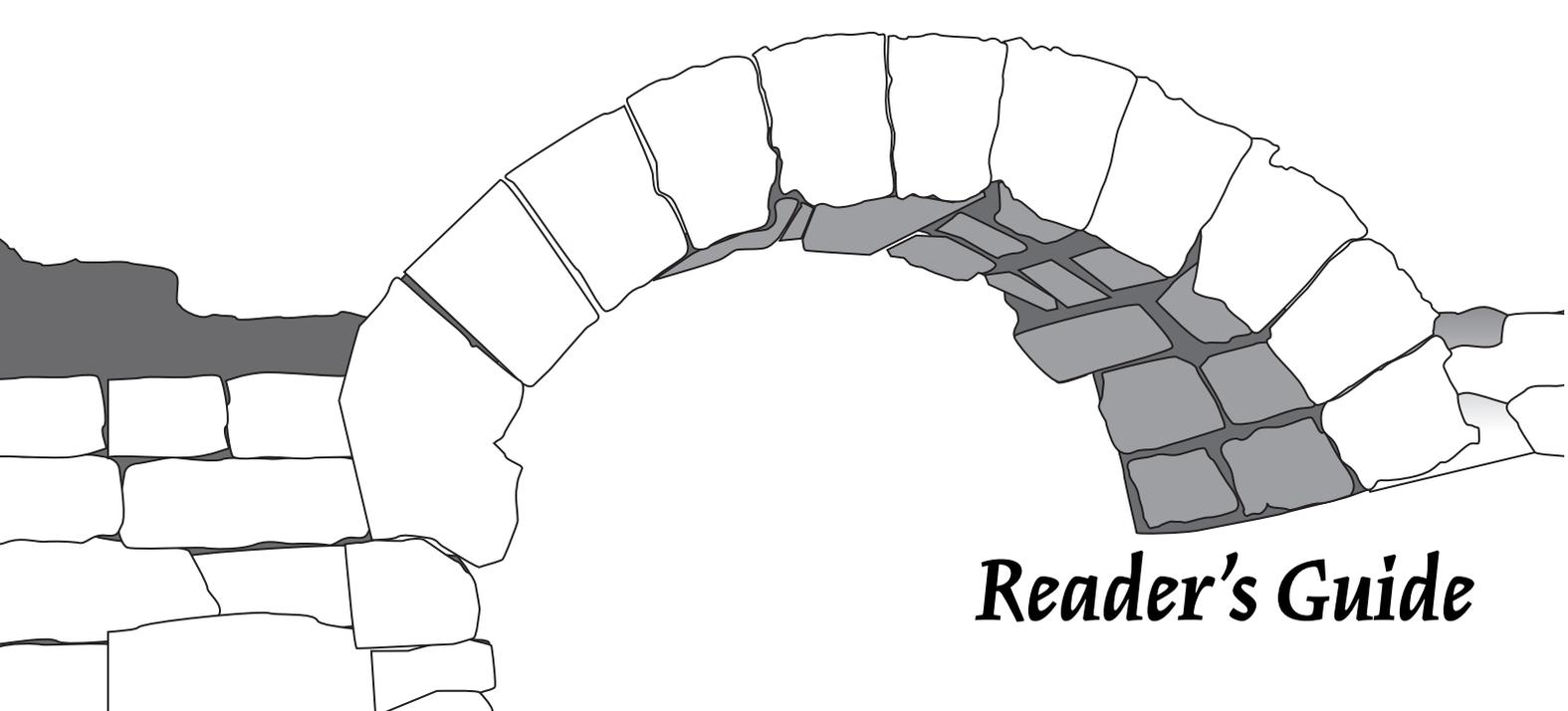
- Handball, Team
- Hang Gliding
- Hazing
- Henley Regatta
- Heptathlon
- Highland Games
- Hockey, Field
- Hockey, Ice
- Hockey, In-line
- Holmenkollen Ski Jump
- Holmenkollen Sunday
- Home Field Advantage
- Homophobia
- Honduras
- Horse Racing
- Horseback Riding
- Human Movement Studies
- Hungary
- Hunting
- Hurling

- Iditarod
- India
- Indianapolis 500
- Injuries, Youth
- Injury
- Injury Risk in Women's Sport
- Innebandy
- Interallied Games
- Intercollegiate Athletics
- International Olympic Academy
- International Politics
- Internet



- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Interpretive Sociology | Marathon and Distance Running | Pain |
| Iran | Marketing | Pan American Games |
| Ireland | Mascots | Parachuting |
| Ironman Triathlon | Masculinity | Paralympics |
| Islamic Countries' Women's
Sports Solidarity Games | Masters | Pebble Beach |
| Israel | Media-Sports Complex | Pelota |
| Italy | Memorabilia Industry | Pentathlon, Modern |
| | Mental Conditioning | Performance |
| | Mesoamerican Ball Court Games | Performance Enhancement |
| Jamaica | Mexico | Personality |
| Japan | Mixed Martial Arts | Physical Education |
| Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional | Motivation | Pilates |
| Jogging | Motorboat Racing | Play vs. Organized Sport |
| Jousting | Motorcycle Racing | Play-by-Play Announcing |
| Judo | Mount Everest | Poland |
| Jujutsu | Mountain Biking | Polo |
| | Mountaineering | Polo, Bicycle |
| Karate | Movies | Polo, Water |
| Karting | Multiculturalism | Portugal |
| Kendo | | Postmodernism |
| Kenya | Naginata | Powerlifting |
| Kinesiology | Narrative Theory | Prayer |
| Kite Sports | Native American Games and
Sports | Professionalism |
| Koreas | Netball | Psychology |
| Korfball | Netherlands | Psychology of Gender Differences |
| | New Zealand | |
| Lacrosse | Newspapers | Race Walking |
| Lake Placid | Nextel (Winston) Cup | Racism |
| Law | Nigeria | Racquetball |
| Le Mans | Norway | Radio |
| Lesbianism | Nutrition | Religion |
| Lifeguarding | | Reproduction |
| Literature | Officiating | Revenue Sharing |
| Lord's Cricket Ground | Olympia | Ringette |
| Luge | Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936 | Rituals |
| | Olympics, 2004 | Rodeo |
| Maccabiah Games | Olympics, Summer | Romania |
| Madison Square Garden | Olympics, Winter | Rome, Ancient |
| Magazines | Orienteering | Rope Jumping |
| Management | Osteoporosis | Rounders and Stoolball |
| Maple Leaf Gardens | Ownership | Rowing |
| Maracana Stadium | | Rugby |

- Russia and USSR
- Ryder Cup
- Sail Sports
- Sailing
- Salary Caps
- Scholar-Baller
- School Performance
- Scotland
- Senegal
- Senior Sport
- Sepak Takraw
- Sex and Performance
- Sexual Harassment
- Sexuality
- Shinty
- Shooting
- Silat
- Singapore
- Skateboarding
- Skating, Ice Figure
- Skating, Ice Speed
- Skating, In-line
- Skating, Roller
- Ski Jumping
- Skiing, Alpine
- Skiing, Cross-Country
- Skiing, Freestyle
- Skiing, Water
- Sled Dog Racing
- Sledding—Skeleton
- Snowboarding
- Snowshoe Racing
- Soaring
- Soccer
- Social Class
- Social Constructivism
- Social Identity
- Softball
- South Africa
- South East Asian Games
- Spain
- Special Olympics
- Spectator Consumption Behavior
- Spectators
- Speedball
- Sponsorship
- Sport and National Identity
- Sport as Religion
- Sport as Spectacle
- Sport Politics
- Sport Science
- Sport Tourism
- Sporting Goods Industry
- Sports Medicine
- Sportsmanship
- Sportswriting and Reporting
- Squash
- St. Andrews
- St. Moritz
- Stanley Cup
- Strength
- Stress
- Sumo
- Sumo Grand Tournament Series
- Super Bowl
- Surf Lifesaving
- Surfing
- Sweden
- Swimming
- Swimming, Synchronized
- Switzerland
- Table Tennis
- Taekwando
- Tai Chi
- Technology
- Tennis
- Title IX
- Tour de France
- Track and Field—Jumping and Throwing
- Track and Field—Running and Hurdling
- Tug of War
- Turkey
- Turner Festivals
- Ultimate
- Underwater Sports
- Unionism
- United Kingdom
- Values and Ethics
- Venice Beach
- Violence
- Volleyball
- Volleyball, Beach
- Wakeboarding
- Weightlifting
- Wembley Stadium
- Wimbledon
- Windsurfing
- Women’s Sports, Media Coverage of
- Women’s World Cup
- Worker Sports
- World Cup
- World Series
- World University Games
- Wrestling
- Wrigley Field
- Wushu
- X Games
- Yankee Stadium
- Yoga
- Youth Culture and Sport
- Youth Sports



Reader's Guide

College Sports

Amateur vs. Professional Debate
Carnegie Report
College Athletes
Drake Group
Intercollegiate Athletics
Racism
Title IX

Culture of Sport

Adapted Physical Education
Adventure Education
Athletes as Celebrities
Athletes as Heroes
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Wives
Burnout
Clubsport Systems
Coaching
Coeducational Sport
Fan Loyalty
Gender Verification
Hazing
Home Field Advantage
Homophobia
Mascots
Mental Conditioning
Motivation
Multiculturalism

Officiating
Performance Enhancement
Personality
Professionalism
Rituals
Sex and Performance
Spectators
Sport as Religion
Sport as Spectacle
Sport Politics
Sportsmanship

Events

African Games
America's Cup
Anthropology Days
Arab Games
Ashes, The
Asian Games
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Boston Marathon
British Open
Central American and Caribbean
Games
Commonwealth Games
Cricket World Cup
Davis Cup
Deaflympics
Elfstedentocht
Euro 2004

European Football Championship
Games of the New Emerging
Forces (GANEFO)
Gay Games
Henley Regatta
Highland Games
Holmenkollen Sunday
Iditarod
Indianapolis 500
Interallied Games
Ironman Triathlon
Islamic Countries' Women's
Sports Solidarity Games
Le Mans
Maccabiah Games
Masters
Nextel (Winston) Cup
Olympics, 2004
Olympics, Summer
Olympics, Winter
Pan American Games
Paralympics
Ryder Cup
South East Asian Games
Special Olympics
Stanley Cup
Sumo Grand Tournament Series
Super Bowl
Tour de France
Turner Festivals



Wimbledon
Women's World Cup
World Cup
World Series
World University Games
X Games

Health and Fitness

Aerobics
AIDS and HIV
Anemia
Athletic Training
Biomechanics
Biotechnology
Diet and Weight Loss
Disordered Eating
Endurance
Exercise and Health
Fitness
Fitness Industry
Injury
Injury Risk in Women's Sport
Jogging
Nutrition
Osteoporosis
Pain
Performance
Pilates
Reproduction
Sports Medicine
Strength
Stress
Tai Chi
Yoga

Media

ESPN
Eurosport
Internet
Magazines
Media-Sports Complex
Newspapers

Play-by-Play Announcing
Radio
Sportswriting and Reporting
Women's Sports,
Media Coverage of

National Profiles

Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Bulgaria
Cameroon
Canada
China
Cuba
Czech Republic
Denmark
East Germany
Egypt
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Greece, Ancient
Honduras
Hungary
India
Iran
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Jamaica
Japan
Kenya
Koreas
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nigeria
Norway

Poland
Portugal
Romania
Rome, Ancient
Russia and USSR
Scotland
Senegal
Singapore
South Africa
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
United Kingdom

Paradigms and Perspectives

Cultural Studies Theory
Feminist Perspective
Human Movement Studies
Interpretive Sociology
Kinesiology
Narrative Theory
Physical Education
Postmodernism
Social Constructivism
Sport Science

Sports Industry

Agents
Athletic Talent Migration
Brand Management
Collective Bargaining
Commodification and Commercialization
Competitive Balance
Endorsements
Facility Management
Facility Naming Rights
Fashion
Franchise Relocation
Free Agency

Management
 Marketing
 Memorabilia Industry
 Ownership
 Revenue Sharing
 Salary Caps
 Spectator Consumption Behavior
 Sponsorship
 Sport Tourism
 Sporting Goods Industry
 Unionism

Sport in Society

Aesthetics
 American Sports Exceptionalism
 Animal Rights
 Art
 Beauty
 Body Image
 Commercialization
 Community
 Competition
 Cooperation
 Country Club
 Economics and Public Policy
 Environment
 Gender Equity
 Globalization
 International Politics
 Law
 Lesbianism
 Literature
 Masculinity
 Movies
 Prayer
 Psychology
 Psychology of Gender Differences
 Religion
 Scholar-Baller
 Sexual Harassment
 Sexuality
 Social Class

Social Identity
 Sport and National Identity
 Technology
 Values and Ethics
 Violence

Sports—Air

Ballooning
 Flying
 Hang Gliding
 Kite Sports
 Parachuting
 Soaring

Sports—Animal

Bullfighting
 Buzkashi
 Carriage Driving
 Falconry
 Foxhunting
 Horse Racing
 Horseback Riding
 Hunting
 Jousting
 Polo
 Rodeo

Sports—Ball

Basketball
 Bowls and Bowling
 Floorball
 Football
 Goalball
 Handball, Team
 Korfball
 Mesoamerican Ball Court Games
 Pelota
 Netball
 Volleyball
 Volleyball, Beach
 Sepak takraw
 Speedball

Sports—Body Movement and Strength

Baton Twirling
 Bodybuilding
 Capoeira
 Cheerleading
 Dance
 DanceSport
 Gymnastics, Apparatus
 Gymnastics, Rhythmic
 Powerlifting
 Rope Jumping
 Tug of War
 Weightlifting

Sports—Combative and Martial

Aikido
 Archery
 Arm Wrestling
 Boxing
 Bullfighting
 Buzkashi
 Fencing
 Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional
 Jousting
 Judo
 Jujutsu
 Karate
 Kendo
 Mixed Martial Arts
 Naginata
 Shooting
 Silat
 Sumo
 Taekwando
 Wrestling
 Wushu

Sports—Environmental

Fishing
 Hunting

Foxhunting
Mountaineering
Orienteering

Sports—Field

Australian Rules Football
Camogie
Football
Football, Canadian
Football, Flag
Football, Gaelic
Hockey, Field
Hurling
Innebandy
Lacrosse
Rugby
Shinty
Soccer

Sports—General

Alternative Sports
Disability Sport
Fantasy Sports
Folk Sports
Native American Games and Sports
Senior Sport
Worker Sports

Sports—Ice and Snow

Boating, Ice
Bobsledding
Curling
Hockey, Ice
Luge
Skating, Ice Figure
Skating, Ice Speed
Ski Jumping
Skiing, Alpine
Skiing, Cross-Country
Skiing, Freestyle
Sled Dog Racing

Sledding—Skeleton
Snowboarding
Snowshoe Racing

Sports—Mechanized and Motor

Auto Racing
Carriage Driving
Cycling
Hockey, In-line
Karting
Motorboat Racing
Motorcycle Racing
Mountain Biking
Polo, Bicycle
Skateboarding
Skating, In-line
Skating, Roller

Sports—Mixed

Biathlon and Triathlon
Duathlon
Extreme Sports
Heptathlon
Pentathlon, Modern

Sports—Racket

Badminton
Racquetball
Squash
Table Tennis
Tennis

Sports—Running and Jumping

Cross-Country Running
Heptathlon
Marathon and Distance Running
Race Walking
Track and Field—Running and Hurdling

Sports—Stick and Ball

Baseball
Billiards
Cricket
Croquet
Golf
Rounders and Stoolball
Softball

Sports—Throwing

Boomerang Throwing
Darts
Heptathlon
Ultimate
Track and Field—Jumping and Throwing

Sports—Water

Canoeing and Kayaking
Diving
Extreme Surfing
Lifeguarding
Polo, Water
Rowing
Sail Sports
Sailing
Skiing, Water
Surf Lifesaving
Surfing
Swimming
Swimming, Synchronized
Underwater Sports
Wakeboarding
Windsurfing

Venues

All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club
Ascot
Astrodome
Bislett Stadium
Bondi Beach



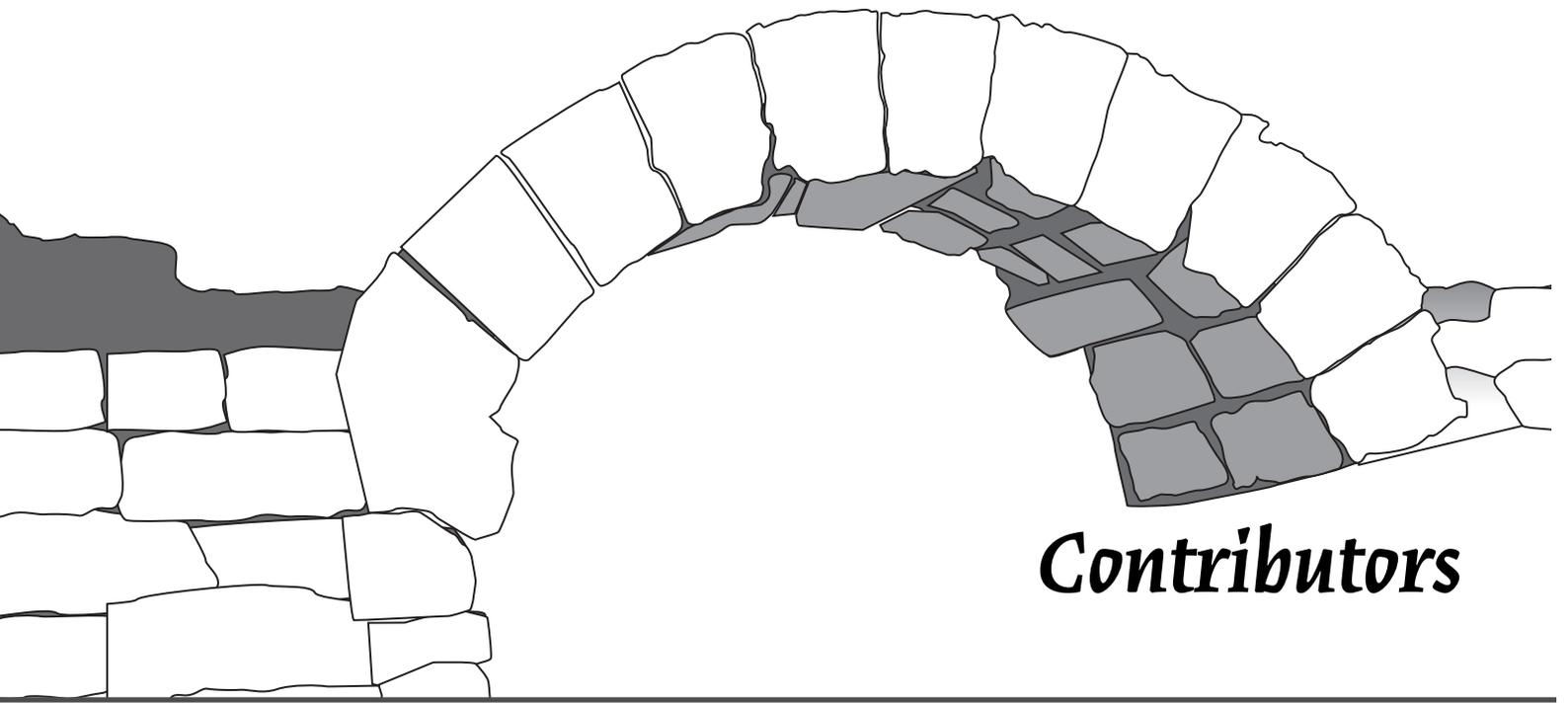
Coliseum (Rome)
 Eiger North Face
 Fenway Park
 Foro Italico
 Holmenkollen Ski Jump
 International Olympic Academy
 Lake Placid
 Lord's Cricket Ground
 Madison Square Garden
 Maple Leaf Gardens
 Maracana Stadium
 Mount Everest
 Olympia

Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936
 Pebble Beach
 St. Andrews
 St. Moritz
 Venice Beach
 Wembley Stadium
 Wrigley Field
 Yankee Stadium

Youth Sports

Academies and Camps, Sport
 American Youth Soccer
 Organization (AYSO)

Anti-Jock Movement
 Child Sport Stars
 Elite Sports Parents
 Family Involvement
 Growth and Development
 Injuries, Youth
 Play vs. Organized Sport
 School Performance
 Youth Culture and Sport
 Youth Sports



Contributors

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Harvey Abrams Books
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Flying

Adams, Mary Louise
Queen's University, Ontario
Skating, Ice Figure

Albers, Angela
University of North Dakota
*Track and Field—Jumping and
Throwing*

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Argosy University
Performance Enhancement

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Sports Medicine
Athletic Training

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South Africa

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Skiing, Cross-Country
St. Moritz*

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West Virginia University
College Athletes

Amdur, Ellis
Independent Scholar
Naginata

Anderson, Dean F.
Iowa State University
Spectator Consumption Behavior

Anderson, Julie
De Montfort University
Skating, Ice Speed

Anderson, Peter B.
University of New Orleans
Sex and Performance

Aplin, Nicholas G.
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Azoy, G. Whitney
Lawrenceville School
Buzkashi

Bailey, Ted
Independent Scholar
Boomerang Throwing

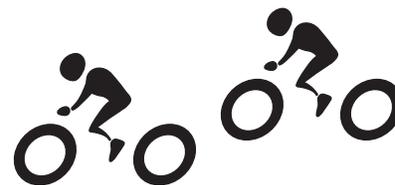
Baker, William
University of Maine
Religion

Bale, John
Keele University
Environment

Ballinger, Debra Ann
University of Rhode Island
*British Open
Fishing
Golf*

Barr, Carol A.
University of Massachusetts,
Amherst
Title IX

Beal, Becky
University of the Pacific
Skateboarding



Beauchamp, Edward
University of Hawaii
Boxing

Bell, Daniel
International Games Archive
African Games
Arab Games
Asian Games
Central American and Caribbean Games
Commonwealth Games
Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0)
South East Asian Games

Bell, Robert
University of Tennessee
Social Class

Belles, A. Gilbert
Western Illinois University
Handball, Team

Bennett, Alexander
Internation Research Centre for Japanese Studies
Kendo

Bensel-Meyers, Linda
University of Denver
Drake Group

Bernstein, Alina
Tel Aviv University
Womens Sports, Media Coverage of

Beunen, Gaston
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Growth and Development

Birkholz, Stefanie
Independent Scholar
Eurosport

Blanchard, Kendall
Fort Lewis College
Mascots

Blecking, Diethelm
Institut fur Sportgeschichte
Poland

Boggan, Tim
USA Table Tennis
Table Tennis

Bolin, Anne
Elon University
Bodybuilding

Bolz, Daphné
University of Strasbourg II and Free University Berlin
Foro Italico
Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936

Bonini, Gherardo
Historical Archives of European Union
India
Italy
Koreas
Luge

Motorcycle Racing
Romania
Senegal
Sledding—Skeleton

Booth, Douglas
University of Waikato
Bondi Beach
Extreme Surfing
Surf Lifesaving

Booth, Ross
Monash University
Revenue Sharing

Boucher, Stan
American Alpine Club
Mount Everest
Mountaineering

Bowman, John S.
Independent Scholar
Cooperation

Boyd, Jean A.
Arizona State University
Scholar-Baller

Bradley, Joseph M.
University of Stirling
Scotland

Brooks, Dana D.
West Virginia University
College Athletes

Brousse, Michel
Université de Bordeaux
Judo
Jujutsu

Brown, Matt
Ohio University
Collective Bargaining

Brownell, Susan
University of Missouri, St. Louis
Multiculturalism

Bruce, Toni
University of Waikato
Newspapers
Play-by-Play Announcing

Burdsey, Daniel
University of Brighton
Social Identity

Burnett, Cora
Rand Afrikaans University
Rituals

- Bush, Anthony
Independent Scholar
Polo, Bicycle
- Butler, Brian S.
University of Texas-Pan American
Astrodome
- Cardoza, Monica
Independent Scholar
Karate
- Cashman, Richard
University of Technology, Sydney
Australian Rules Football
Cricket
Cricket World Cup
Lord's Cricket Ground
- Chandler, Timothy J.
Kent State University
Hurling
- Chaplin, Patrick
Anglia Polytechnic University,
Cambridge
Darts
- Charlston, Jeffery A.
U.S. Army Center of Military
History
Skating, In-line
Underwater Sports
- Chase, Laura Frances
California State Polytechnic Uni-
versity, Pomona
Hockey, Ice
Stanley Cup
- Chehabi, H. E.
Boston University
Iran
- Chelladurai, Packianathan
Ohio State University
Management
- Cherubini, Jeff
Manhattan College
Motivation
- Chick, Garry
Pennsylvania State University
Auto Racing
Billiards
Indianapolis 500
Mesoamerican Ball Court Games
- Christensen, Karen
Berkshire Publishing Group
Ashes, The
- Clark, Becky
International Sports Sciences
Association and
Dr. Becky's Fitness
Deaflympics
Exercise and Health
Senior Sport
Special Olympics
- Coakley, Jay
University of Colorado,
Colorado Springs
Youth Sports
- Cook, Philippa
Brunel University, UK
Postmodernism
- Covil, Eric C.
Springfield College
Radio
- Crawford, Russ
University of Nebraska, Lincoln
ESPN
Gymnastics, Apparatus
Movies
Spectators
World Series
Yankee Stadium
- Crawford, Sally
Independent Scholar
Aerobics
- Crawford, Scott A. G. M.
Eastern Illinois University
Auto Racing
Croquet
Netball
Shinty
Sled Dog Racing
Tug of War
- Crawford, Simon J.
Illinois Wesleyan University
Parachuting
- Crocker, Peter R. E.
University of British Columbia
Stress
- Cronin, Mike
De Montfort University
Bobsledding
Camogie
Football, Gaelic
Ireland
- Crum, Bart
Free University, Amsterdam
Korfball
- Cumo, Christopher M.
Independent Scholar
Bulgaria
Cycling
Greece
Hunting
Strength
Sweden
Switzerland
- Czech, Michaela
University of Goettingen
Biathlon and Triathlon

- Daniels, Dayna B.
University of Lethbridge
Country Club
Lesbianism
- Davis, Michael
Northern Missouri State
University
Tai Chi
- De Knop, Paul
Vrije Universiteit Brussel and
Tilburg University
Sport Tourism
- de Melo, Victor Andrade
Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
Brazil
- DeMarco, Michael A.
Journal of the Asian Martial Arts
Wushu
- DePauw, Karen P.
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and
State University
Disability Sport
- Depken, Craig A.
University of Texas, Arlington
Free Agency
- DiBrezza, Rosalie
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
Biomechanics
- Diketmüller, Rosa
University of Vienna
Austria
- Doll-Tepper, Gudrun
Freie Universität Berlin
Paralympics
- Donnelly, Peter
University of Toronto
Interpretive Sociology
- Drakich, Kristine
University of Toronto
Volleyball, Beach
- Dyer-Bennet, Bonnie
Independent Scholar
Biathlon and Triathlon
- Eichberg, Henning
University of Southern Denmark
Folk Sports
- Eisen, George
Nazareth College of Rochester
Maccabiah Games
- Elling, Agnes
Tilburg University
Gay Games
- Emiola, Lasun
National Institute for Sports
Nigeria
- Epstein, Adam
Central Michigan University
Law
- Fair, John D.
Georgia College and
State University
Powerlifting
Venice Beach
Weightlifting
- Falcous, Mark
University of Otago, New Zealand
Media-Sports Complex
- Fasting, Kari
Norwegian University of Sport
and Physical Education
Gender Equity
Norway
- Field, Russell
University of Toronto
Maple Leaf Gardens
- Fort, Inza
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
Biomechanics
- Fragale, Mark
Independent Scholar
Surfing
- Gaskin, Cadeyrn
Victoria University
Personality
- Gelberg, J. Nadine
Rochester Institute of Technology
Technology
- Gentner, Noah B.
Tennessee Wesleyan College
Mental Conditioning
Performance
Pilates
- Georgiadis, Kostas
International Olympic Academy
International Olympic Academy
- Ghent, Gretchen
University of Calgary Library
Magazines
- Gildea, Dennis
Springfield College
Sportswriting and Reporting
- Gill, Diane L.
University of North Carolina,
Greensboro
Psychology of Gender Differences
- Gladden, Jay
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Brand Management
- Gmelch, George
Union College
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Wives



Goksøyr, Matti
Norwegian University of Sport
and Physical Education

Anthropology Days
Bislett Stadium
Holmenkollen Ski Jump
Holmenkollen Sunday
Ski Jumping

González Aja, Teresa
Universidad Politécnica de Madrid
Spain

Gragg, Derrick
University of Arkansas
Intercollegiate Athletics

Graham, Richard Neil
InlineHockeyCentral.com
Hockey, In-line

Green, B. Christine
University of Texas, Austin
Football, Flag

Gullion, Laurie
University of New Hampshire,
Durham
Canoeing and Kayaking

Gundogan, Nese
National Olympic Committee of
Turkey
Turkey

Guttmann, Allen
Amherst College
Art
Literature
Sexuality
Sumo
Sumo Grand Tournament Series

Hadd, Valerie
University of British Columbia
Stress

Handegard, Loretta A.
Florida State University
Officiating

Hanley, Elizabeth A.
Pennsylvania State University
DanceSport

Hargreaves, Jennifer
Brunel University, UK
Feminist Perspective
South Africa

Harris, John
University of Wales Institute,
Cardiff
Diet and Weight Loss

Harris, Sally S.
Palo Alto Medical Clinic
Anemia

Harrison, C. Keith
Arizona State University
Scholar-Baller

Hartmann, Douglas
University of Minnesota
Community

Hasbrook, Cynthia A.
University of Wisconsin,
Milwaukee
Family Involvement

Hasse, Manuela
Universidade Tecnica de Lisboa
Portugal

Hatfield, Disa
University of Connecticut
Sport Science

Hattery, Angela J.
Wake Forest University
Commercialization of College Sports
Violence

Heidemann, Berit
German Sport University Cologne
Adventure Education

Hennessey, Christina L.
Loyola Marymount University
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Elfstedentocht
European Football Championship
Highland Games
Le Mans
Nextel (Winston) Cup

Henry, Amy
Bowling Green State University
Track and Field—Running and
Hurdling

Hess, Robert
Victoria University
Australia

Heywood, Leslie
State University of New York,
Binghamton
Cross-Country Running
Narrative Theory
Social Constructivism

Hofmann, Annette
University of Münster
Skiing, Freestyle
Snowboarding
Turner Festivals

Hong, Fan
De Montfort University
China

Horne, John D.
University of Edinburgh
Athletic Talent Migration
Sporting Goods Industry

Hudson, Ian
University of Manitoba
Economics and Public Policy



Huffman, Julie
University of California,
Los Angeles
Maracana Stadium

Huggins, Mike
St. Martins College
Ascot

Hult, Joan
University of Maryland
Speedball

Humphreys, Brad R.
University of Illinois
Competitive Balance

Ikeda, Keiko M.
Yamaguchi University
Japan

Jackson, Steven J.
University of Otago, New Zealand
Athletes as Heroes

James, Jeffrey D.
Florida State University
Fan Loyalty

Jamison, Wesley V.
Dordt College
Animal Rights

Janning, Michelle Y.
Whitman College
Women's World Cup

Jarvie, Grant
University of Stirling
Racism

Jobling, Ian
Centre for Olympic Studies,
University of Queensland
Olympics, 2004

Johnes, Martin
St. Martin's College
Soccer
United Kingdom

Jori, Alberto
University of Tübingen
Greece, Ancient
Rome, Ancient

Joseph, Janelle
University of Toronto
Alternative Sports
Gender Verification
Sport as Spectacle
Sportsmanship

Jutel, Annemarie
Otago Polytechnic
Body Image
Marathon and Distance Running

Kaufman, Haim
Wingate Institute
Israel

Kay, Joyce
University of Stirling
Horse Racing

Kidd, Bruce
University of Toronto
Canada

Kirby, Sandra
University of Winnipeg
Homophobia

Kleitman, Sabina
University of Sydney
School Performance

Klens-Bigman, Deborah
New York Budokai
Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional

Kozub, Francis M.
Indiana University
Adapted Physical Education

Kraemer, William J.
University of Connecticut
Sport Science

Ladda, Shawn
Manhattan College
Diving

Laine, Leena
Independent Scholar
Finland

LeCompte, Mary Lou
University of Texas, Austin
Rodeo

Lee, Jason
Troy State University
Prayer

Lennartz, Karl
German Sport University Cologne
Olympia
Olympics, Summer

Leonard, David J.
Washington State University
Internet

Levinson, David
Berkshire Publishing Group
Auto Racing

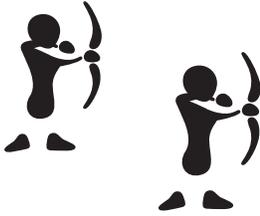
Boxing
Extreme Sports
Football, Canadian
Gymnastics, Rhythmic

Horseback Riding
Lake Placid
Madison Square Garden

Super Bowl
Wembley Stadium
Wrigley Field

- Levy, Donald P.
University of Connecticut
Fantasy Sports
- Lewis, Tina
International Footbag Players'
Association
Footbag
- Lidor, Ronnie
Zinman College of Physical
Education and Sport Sciences
Psychology
- Lincoln, Kate
Forbes Newspapers
Carriage Driving
- Lockman Hall, Cara Joy
Positive Performance
Wakeboarding
- Long, Kathy
Independent Scholar
Mixed Martial Arts
- Lough, Nancy L.
University of New Mexico
*Commodification and
Commercialization
Sponsorship*
- Lowerson, John
University of Sussex
*Bowls and Bowling
Foxhunting
Rounders and Stoolball*
- Lucas, Shelley
Boise State University
Mountain Biking
- Ludwig, Ruth
BFA Publications
Ballooning
- Maguire, Joseph A.
Loughborough University
Globalization
- Marivoet, Salomé
Universidade de Coimbra
Euro 2004
- Markovits, Andrei S.
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American Sports Exceptionalism
- Marsh, David
University of Western Sydney
Television
- Marsh, Herbert
Independent Scholar
School Performance
- Mason, Daniel S.
University of Alberta
*Agents
Franchise Relocation*
- Maughan, Ronald J.
Loughborough University
Nutrition
- McConnell, Robin
University of Ulster
*Academies and Camps, Sport
Clubsport Systems*
- McEvoy, Chad D.
Illinois State University
Collective Bargaining
- McGehee, Richard V.
Concordia University, Austin
*Argentina
Cuba
Gymnastics, apparatus
Honduras
Jamaica
Mexico
Pan American Games*
- McKernan, Tamara
Ringette Alberta
Ringette
- McNeil, Teresa
Cuyamaca College
Pelota
- Mellor, Gordon T.
De Montfort University
Falconry
- Miller, Walter D.
Independent Scholar
Soaring
- Mitchell, Timothy
Texas A & M University
Bullfighting
- Mojer, Linda
American Amateur Racquetball
Association
Racquetball
- Mott, Morris
Brandon University, Manitoba
Curling
- Mottola, Michelle F.
University of Western Ontario
Reproduction
- Mulrooney, Aaron
Kent State University
*Facility Management
Fenway Park*
- Myers, Helen
State University of New York,
Geneseo
Dance
- Nack, Annette
Independent Scholar
*Fitness
Lacrosse
X Games*

- Nagel, Mark S.
Georgia State University
Collective Bargaining
Facility Naming Rights
Salary Caps
- Nelson, Kelly
Arizona State University
Race Walking
- Maria Newton
University of Utah
Tennis
- Nicholson, Matthew
Victoria University
Australia
- O'Sullivan, Robin K.
University of Texas, Austin
Sail Sports
Snowshoe Racing
Speedball
Tug of War
Ultimate
- Ottesen, Laila
University of Copenhagen
Denmark
- Page, Sarah E.
Independent Scholar
Yoga
- Pagen, Claire
United States Hang Gliding
Association
Hang Gliding
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University of Windsor
Iditarod
Native American Games and Sports
- Park, Roberta J.
University of California, Berkeley
Human Movement Studies
Physical Education
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All England Lawn Tennis and
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Pilates
- Pauka, Kirstin
University of Hawaii, Manoa
Silat
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University of Copenhagen
Competition
Elite Sports Parents
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Rope Jumping
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America
Softball
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Quality
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University of Iowa
Boston Marathon
Ironman Triathlon
Jogging
- Rahman, Nabilla Ahmed
Alexandria University
Egypt
- Ransdell, Lynda B.
Boise State University
Mountain Biking
Tennis
- Rascher, Daniel A.
University of San Francisco
Collective Bargaining
- Reekie, Shirley
San José State University
Sailing
- Reel, Justine
University of Utah
Cheerleading
- Reilly, Erin
Auburn University, Montgomery
Taekwando
- Renson, Roland
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Archery
Belgium
Olympics, Winter
World University Games
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America True and Women's Sports
Foundation
America's Cup



Riordan, James
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History

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Russia and USSR
Worker Sports

Roessler, Kirsten Kaya
University of Southern Denmark
Pain

Rosenthal, Joshua M.
State University of New York,
Oneonta
Capoeira

Ruddle, Andrew
University of Manchester
Rowing

Rühl, Joachim K.
German Sport University Cologne
Jousting

Ryba, Tatiana V
University of Tennessee
Cultural Studies Theory
Yoga

Sachs, Michael
Temple University
Play vs. Organized Sport

Sack, Allen L.
University of New Haven
Amateur vs. Professional Debate

Sacks, David Neil
Florida State University
Officiating

Sagert, Kelly Boyer
Independent Scholar
Baseball
Basketball
Boomerang Throwing

Saint Sing, Susan
Independent Scholar
Henley Regatta

Sam, Michael
University of Otago, New Zealand
Sport and National Identity

San Antonio, Patricia
University of Maryland, Baltimore
County
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Wives

Scherer, Jay
University of Otago, New Zealand
Sport and National Identity

Scott, Eugenia
Butler University
Goalball

Seeley, Andy
US ACRS
Skating, Roller

Seiler, Roland
Sport Science Institute
Orienteering

Sell, Katie
University of Utah
Cheerleader
Tennis
Wimbledon

Sheffer, Mary Lou
Louisiana State University
Sport as Religion

Shepherd, Roy J.
University of Toronto
Osteoporosis

Shiple, Stan
Independent Scholar
Boxing

Shishida, Fumiaki
Waseda University, Tokyo
Aikido

Short, Martin
University of North Dakota
*Track and Field—Jumping and
Throwing*

Simcock, Susie
World Squash Federation
Squash

Sisjord, Mari Kristin
Norwegian University of Sport
and Physical Education
Wrestling

Skinner, Scott R.
Drachen Foundation
Kite Sports

Sloggett, Tony
Meadowbrook Farm
Masters
Pebble Beach
Ryder Cup
St. Andrews

Smith, D. Randall
Rutgers University
Home Field Advantage

Smith, Earl
Wake Forest University
*Commercialization of College
Sports*
Violence

Smith, Ronald A.
Pennsylvania State University
Carnegie Report
Football

SooHoo, Sonya
University of Utah
Cheerleading



Spence, Kate
United States Badminton
Association
Badminton

Spitzer, Giseler
University of Potsdam, Germany
East Germany

Stanley, Linda
University of British Columbia
Innebandy

Staurowsky, Ellen J.
Ithaca College
Hazing

Stotlar, David K.
University of Northern Colorado
Endorsements
Marketing

Strudler, Keith Andrew
Marist College
Duathlon

Styles, Alvy
Ashland University
Facility Management
Fenway Park

Su, Mila C.
Penn State Altoona College
Floorball
Hockey, Field

Sundgot-Borgen, Jorunn
Norwegian University of Sport
and Physical Education
Disordered Eating

Szikora, Katalin
Hungarian University of Physical
Education
Hungary

Teja, Angela
University of Cassino
Rome, Ancient

Terret, Thierry
University of Lyon
Cameroon
France
Interallied Games
Polo, Water
Swimming
Swimming, Synchronized
Tour de France

Thomas, Jonathan M.
St. Martin's College
Ownership
Polo
Professionalism
Rugby
Sport Politics

Thomson, Rex W.
Unitec New Zealand
New Zealand

Tikander, Vesa
Independent Scholar
Finland

Tishman, Jeffrey
United States Fencing Coaches
Association
Fencing
Pentathlon, Modern

Toftgaard Nielson, Jan
Institute of Exercise and Sport
Sciences, Copenhagen
Sexual Harassment

Toscano, Lisa
Manhattan College
Endurance

Townes, John
Berkshire Trade and Commerce
Arm Wrestling

Auto Racing
Boating, Ice
Karting
Motorboat Racing
Skiing, Water

Trail, Galen T.
University of Florida
Spectator Consumption Behavior

Trevithick, Alan
Independent Scholar
Sepak Takraw
Snowshoe Racing
Volleyball

Trumper, Ricardo
Okanagan University College
Athletes as Celebrities

Turner, Brian A.
Ohio State University
Management

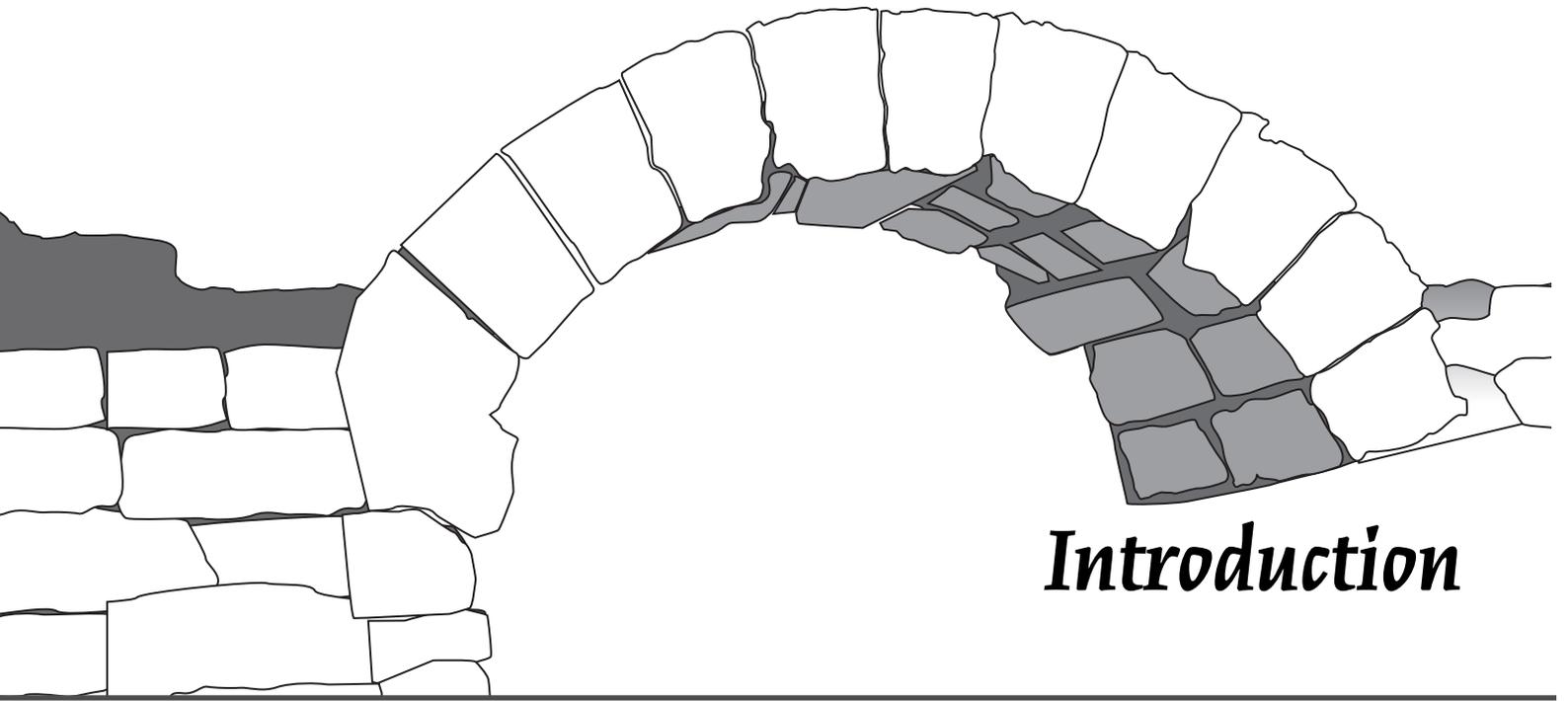
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University of New Brunswick
Child Sport Stars

Vamplew, Wray
University of Stirling
Horse Racing

van Bottenburg, Maarten
Utrecht University
Netherlands

van Hilvoorde, Ivo
Universiteit Maastricht
Biotechnology
Fitness Industry

- van Zwoll, Wayne C.
National Shooting Sports
Foundation
Shooting
- Vaverka, Frantisek
Palacky University
Czech Republic
- Wachs, Faye Linda
California State Polytechnic
University, Pomona
AIDS and HIV
Masculinity
Values and Ethics
- Wade, Michael
University of Minnesota
Kinesiology
- Waite, Barbara Teetor
Grinnell College
Coaching
- Waldron, Jennifer J.
University of Northern Iowa
Burnout
- Walk, Stephan
California State University,
Fullerton
Injuries, Youth
Youth Culture and Sport
- Wallbuton, Edward J.
World Squash Federation
Squash
- Warner, Sally
University of Washington
Mountain Biking
- Wassong, Stephan
German Sport University Cologne
Adventure Education
Olympia
Olympics, Summer
- Wheaton, Belinda
University of Surrey Roehampton
Windsurfing
- Wieting, Stephen
University of Iowa
Aesthetics
Kenya
- Willman, Valerie Ludwick
Clinical Neuroscience Center
Baton Twirling
- Wilson, Brian
University of British Columbia
Anti-Jock Movement
- Wilson, Wayne
Amateur Athletic Foundation
American Youth Soccer
Organization (AYSO)
- Wise, Suzanne
Appalachian State University
Auto Racing
- Woltmann, Bernard
Akademia Wychowania
Fizycznego
Poland
- Wong, Lloyd L.
University of Calgary
Athletes as Celebrities
- Wrynn, Alison M.
California State University, Long
Beach
Lifeguarding
Sports Medicine
- Wushanley, Ying
Millersville University
Coliseum (Rome)
Davis Cup
World Cup
- Zimbalist, Andrew
Smith College
Unionism



Introduction

The *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World Sport* is the first truly encyclopedic resource bringing together in one publication knowledge from all the disciplines involved in the study of sports. With sports studies now a diverse, global field, the integrated and interdisciplinary approach of the *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World Sport* is crucial because it fully meets the information needs of students, teachers, researchers, professionals, and sports enthusiasts of all interests.

The encyclopedia covers a range of topics in 430 articles. It covers individual sports themselves, with articles on the origins, history, and significance of major world sports such as basketball and cricket, as well as articles on regional and historic sports, including sumo and jousting. It covers issues both major and minor, from injuries and sponsorship to tailgate parties (see “Stadium Life”) and mascots. Key social issues such as performance enhancement, racism, sexism, civic life, youth participation, and public policy are amply covered. Moreover, the encyclopedia reaches out to cover other sports topics, including the sports industry; famous arenas, stadiums, and events; media coverage; youth sports and college sports; health and fitness; and a survey of sports in nations around the world.

Berkshire developed the encyclopedia under the direction of eight leading scholars and educators, representing several sports disciplines and coming from three nations. Among them are the two first recipients of the International Olympic Committee’s awards for sports history, Allen Guttmann and Roland Renson, and the

past and present presidents of the International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport, Gertrud Pfister and Thierry Terret. The board also well represents several other central interests in sports studies, including sport in society and youth sports (Jay Coakley), sports management and college sports (Allen L. Sack), education (Edward Beauchamp), women’s studies and sports and the humanities (Leslie Heywood), and sports information and knowledge management (Wayne Wilson). Because several of the editors—and many of the contributors—are athletes themselves, their contributions are informed by both research and personal experience.

Audiences

The *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World Sport* creates a new arena in which to watch and explore the entire world of sports. It connects sports with academic learning, so kids and teachers who adore sports can use favorite sports topics—baseball or cricket or karate—as a way to learn about U.S. or world history, international relations, ethnicity and racism, or globalization. By making a resource such as this encyclopedia available, we hope to offer students (including reluctant readers, who often struggle with classroom materials but manage the sports page every day) a new and appealing tool for preparing class reports and presentations. When students are excited about learning, teachers’ and parents’ job educating them becomes easier; for more information on teaching uses of the encyclopedia see iworldsport.com.

For sports scholars in all disciplines, the encyclopedia provides an integrated state-of-the-art review of the sports that brings readers up to speed on what has been discovered in related fields. And for sports enthusiasts, it provides context for understanding new developments and issues that influence their chosen sports.

The Range of Sports Studies

Until not very long ago, sports studies was a limited enterprise, attracting mainly researchers and instructors in physical education departments and a few isolated scholars in history, sociology, and anthropology whose study of sports often dismayed their colleagues. Over the last fifteen or so years, sports studies has expanded and grown at an ever faster pace. It now includes a number of academic disciplines, each with its own interests, programs and departments, professional publications, and conferences. These include sports management, sport science, kinesiology, human movement studies, physical education, sports medicine, and sports law. In addition, sport remains an interest of scholars in recreation and leisure studies, history, sociology, economics, anthropology, and public policy. More and more sports research now looks at the role of sports in society, providing balance to the earlier emphasis on the historiography of individual sports. Sports studies is much more scientific now, and researchers use clinical and laboratory methods to study topics such as biomechanics, performance enhancement, and injury risk. In short, we now have a merging of the sports experience, social science, clinical and laboratory science, and policy analysis.

Because communication across disciplines is often limited, encyclopedias such as this are especially valuable. Our goal has been to integrate perspectives and knowledge from these different disciplines so that readers can have as full an understanding of what we know about sports in 2005 as possible.

The Global Nature of Sport

Sport is a part of globalization. When the British empire dominated the globe, British sports traveled to colonial

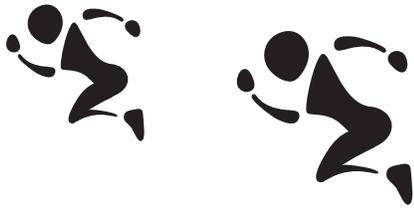
outposts and took root around the world. With the rise of the United States in the twentieth century, it was the turn of sports such as basketball and volleyball to make a similar journey, along with new ideas about what sports means, what it takes or should take to win, and how sport fits into the overall human experience. The twentieth century was particularly notable for the political and nationalistic overtones that colored sports. Many nations invested heavily in the development of “world-class” sports programs, facilities, and athletes, intending to use international sports success to inspire national pride and patriotism. Sport has also inspired international cooperation, with athletes, coaches, sports delegations, international federations, and competitions more and more crossing national boundaries.

While there are many global sports, there are also vast numbers of regional and local sports. One might consider American football as an example: played as an exotic minority pastime in a few European nations, it does not seem poised to become a major global sport. Less well-known traditional sports and games include bicycle polo, pedestrianism, camogie (an Irish women’s game), buzkashi (Afghan goat dragging), Finnish baseball, and Australian-rules football (which is quite similar to rugby).

Sports is also now a major global business, fed by a nearly insatiable demand among sports participants and fans for anything having to do with sports, and especially with their sport and their team. Leagues, teams, athletes, coaches, support personnel, equipment, fashion, memorabilia, scholarships, and fan loyalty are among the commodities to be bought and sold in this global marketplace. The media is so vital a component of the global sports industry that what is labeled the “media sports complex” is seen by some experts as the core of the entire enterprise. Round-the-clock coverage via satellite television and the Internet now makes it possible for sports fans to watch a staggering array of sports and for advertisers to sell their products nonstop.

An Overview of Our Coverage

The encyclopedia provides 430 articles, organized A through Z. For conceptual purposes, the articles can be



assigned to 12 general categories covering the world of sports, past and present:

- College Sports—7 articles (including Amateur vs. Professional Debate, Title IX)
- Culture of Sport—28 articles (including Officiating, Sex and Performance, Mascots)
- Events—51 articles (including Asian Games, Gay Games, The Olympics, Henley Regatta, Indianapolis 500)
- Health and Fitness—27 articles (including Diet and Weight Loss, Injury, Pilates)
- Media—10 articles (including ESPN, Internet)
- Nation and Region Profiles—49 articles
- Paradigms and Perspectives—10 articles (including Postmodernism, Sport Science)
- Sports Industry—22 articles (including Brand Management, Fashion, Salary Caps)
- Sport in Society—39 articles (including Art, Prayer, Value and Ethics)
- Sports—149 articles on individual sports and groups of related sports
- Venues—26 articles (including Bondi Beach, Fenway Park, Mt. Everest)
- Youth Sports—12 articles (including Child Sport Superstars, School Performance)

It is important to define what we mean by sports. We have defined an activity as a sport if it meets three criteria: (1) there are clear rules agreed to by the participants; (2) there are clear criteria for determining the winner; (3) winning is based substantially on variability in the physical abilities of the competitors. This does not mean that strategy and luck cannot also be important, but physical ability must also matter. We do not cover sports in which animals are the only competitors, such as cock fighting, bear baiting, dog racing, or fish fighting, but we do cover animal sports with human competitors, such as horse racing. We also cover motor sports.

This encyclopedia is not meant to be a source of statistics, rules of play, or biographies, though we include some of this information. Statistical and biographical information changes rapidly and is easily available on the

Web or in sport-specific statistical compendiums. The *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World Sport* is intended to provide context, the big picture, and a wealth of information and analysis that readers cannot get anywhere else. We want to know how well we have succeeded, and readers can be sure that we will be updating and adding to this collection of global knowledge on sports and the sporting world at iworldsport.com—visit us soon.

As with all Berkshire reference works, the encyclopedia offers more than just textual content. There are more than one thousand sidebars, quotes, photographs, and illustrations. Many of the sidebars are extracts from primary source material (participant accounts, journalism, literature, poetry, song) designed to give readers a first-hand sense of what the sports experience was or is like for participants. Each article is also followed by a rich annotation (Further Reading) of key sources, including both those used in writing the article and others of related interest.

How to Use the Encyclopedia

Given our emphasis on gathering information from different perspectives and on covering sports from a global perspective, it was important to us that the encyclopedia allow users to see connections across articles and to move around easily. We have provided four tools to facilitate such movement.

1. The Reader's Guide at the beginning of each volume classifies all articles into twenty-seven topical categories, with articles placed in as many categories as appropriate.
2. Several dozen blind entries throughout the volume direct readers who search for articles under one heading to their correct location under a different heading.
3. Extensive cross-references at the end of articles point readers to other related articles.
4. Volume 4 provides an extensive index of people, places, events, sports, concepts, and theories. The index indicates both volume and page numbers.

Acknowledgements

One reason we wanted to make sports part of our initial lineup as independent publishers was that we had so thoroughly enjoyed working with sports scholars on previous projects. Many of the contributors to this work have become friends. We have met them at conferences and visited them in their own countries. These relationships make the kind of publishing we do satisfying and fun—like sports themselves.

We are often asked how we became experts on world sport, and we have to give credit to the real experts, who have been coaching us for years. Allen Guttmann, who has written many well-known books on sports, including the recent, brilliantly titled *Sports: The First Five Millennia*, has our special thanks for providing a broad perspective on sports through history and a knowledge of historical scholarship that is unrivaled. He has provided us with many contacts, as well as with the illustration of a lovely Persian tapestry that adorns our cover.

Many of our experts are also athletes, coaches, and passionate fans. We have been inspired by their energy. Ed Beauchamp, who was the Japan editor for Berkshire's *Encyclopedia of Modern Asia*, is also a boxing enthusiast and actually got Karen to try it—and like it! He even sent a t-shirt that says, “A woman's place is in the ring.” Wayne Wilson and his staff at the Amateur Athletic Foundation in Los Angeles graciously opened their world-class collection to us. Especially valuable was the historical collection, a source of many of our older sidebars and illustrations. Gertrud Pfister, Thierry Terret, and Roland Renson continually pulled us away from our U.S. experience and directed us to key people, ideas, and resources in the global sports study arena, while Jay Coakley, Allen Sack, and Leslie Heywood led us into the new worlds of sports management, youth and college sports, and paradigms and perspectives.

Contributors Becky Clark, Richard Graham, Rob Hess, Brad Humphreys, Bruce Kidd, Richard McGehee, and Michael Sachs merit special thanks for providing extra help by suggesting topics, recommending contributors, and reviewing articles. The national Shooting Sports Foundation secured the shooting-articles con-

tributor for us, and the International Council for Sport Science and Physical Education in Berlin provided assistance in identifying and locating sports experts outside the United States. A former editorial staffer, Robin O'Sullivan, also contributed several articles. In addition to copyediting many of the articles, Mike Nichols provided valuable help in researching and updating information in a number of the articles.

Several editors and contributors (and a couple of helpful noncontributors) were generous in supplying us with photos; these include Alex Bennett, Michel Brousse, Daniel Burdsey, Brian Butler, Patrick Chaplin, Becky Clark, Jo-Ann Enweazor, Allen Guttmann, Amy Henry, Annette Hofmann, Fan Hong, Keiko Ikeda, Sue Lane, Tina Lewis, Richard McGehee, Morris Mott, Kirstin Pauka, Gertud Pfister, Roland Renson, Philip St. Gelinias, Latazik Szikora, and Ying Wushanley.

The cover photo of the yacht was provided by Stephen Matthews, a London banker whom Karen worked for many years ago. The Sport Museum of Flanders also provided several photos.

We want to acknowledge the contributions of our staff to this project. Liz Eno was the initial project coordinator; Courtney Linehan ably continued her work after Liz left for graduate school. Jess LaPointe stepped in to move articles through at the end and to assist with copyediting and proofing. Gabby Templet took the lead in photo research, and Joe DiStefano prepared the photos and designed the letter openers and other elements. Marcy Ross edited articles, tracked down missing information, and managed the production process.

We would also like to share an important personal event that coincided with the completion of *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World Sport*. In April Karen was invited to Knoxville, Tennessee, to attend a charity event for the prevention of child abuse. Speaking at that event was one of our contributors, Becky Clark, a researcher and deaf athlete who wrote our article on “Deaflympics” and sent us the story of playing basketball as a Lady Vol under Pat Summitt, the famous Tennessee coach. At the time she was a Lady Vol, Becky was going deaf, and Coach Summitt taught her the importance of



anticipation—a story Becky recounted in the sidebar to our College Athletes article. Meeting contributors is always special, but this was something more—both because Becky is a person of unique courage and warmth, and because this event, which set sport within its social and personal context, showed what our encyclopedia is really about.

As it happened, Pat Summitt herself was also a speaker at the event. Listening to her, one was struck by the connection between sports and leadership. She is the “winningest” coach in NCAA history, having won more basketball games than any other college basketball coach, male or female. Her leadership style is not exactly what you would call empathetic. She is fierce. She yells. She demands.

But she also loves her players and clearly feels an immense sense of responsibility for, and to, them. Her toughness is not only about winning, but also courage, self-reliance, and determination—qualities that will help her players in every aspect of their lives. And coach is a role all of us have a chance to play—as teachers, parents, bosses, and even as friends. Sports can help us set our sights high. Summitt remarked that her Lady Vols sometimes ask her, “Coach, aren’t you *ever* going to be satisfied?” She said, “I tell them I see more in them than they see in themselves.” Working with the remarkable group of experts that has created this encyclopedia has helped us set our sights as publishers, and inspires us as a company to be the “winningest” team.

David Levinson and Karen Christensen

About the Editors

Editors

David Levinson and **Karen Christensen** have edited and written award-winning titles on an array of global topics. Among their personal favorites are the best-selling *Encyclopedia of World Sport* (ABC-CLIO 1996; one-volume edition, Oxford 1999) and the *International Encyclopedia of Women and Sport* (Macmillan 2001). Levinson is a cultural anthropologist and passionate sports spectator while Christensen is an environmental author and wannabe jock. They have been actively involved with NASSH (North American Society for Sport History) and ISHPES (International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport) and decided in 2003 that it was time to create an expanded international team to develop a truly comprehensive reference work on the whole wide world of sports.

Levinson has been an editor of numerous multi-volume encyclopedias, most recently the *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World History* (2004), and he is author of *Ethnic Groups Worldwide*, *Toward Explaining Human*

Culture, and *Tribal Living Book*. Christensen has edited the *Encyclopedia of World Environmental History* (Routledge 2004), and she is author of *Eco Living*, *The Green Home*, and *The Armchair Environmentalist*.

Editorial Board

Edward Beauchamp (Professor Emeritus of Education and Japanese Studies, University of Hawaii) is author of a dozen books and editor of *Studies of Modern Japan* and *Perspectives on the Twentieth Century*.

Jay Coakley (Professor of Sociology, University of Colorado) is editor of the *Handbook of Sports Studies* and author of *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies*.

Allen Guttmann (Emily C. Jordan Folger Professor of English and American Studies, Amherst College) won the first International Olympics Committee Award for sports history and is author of, among others, *From Ritual to Record* and in 2004 *Sports: The First Five Millennia*.

Leslie Heywood (Associate Professor of English, State University of New York, Binghamton) is author of



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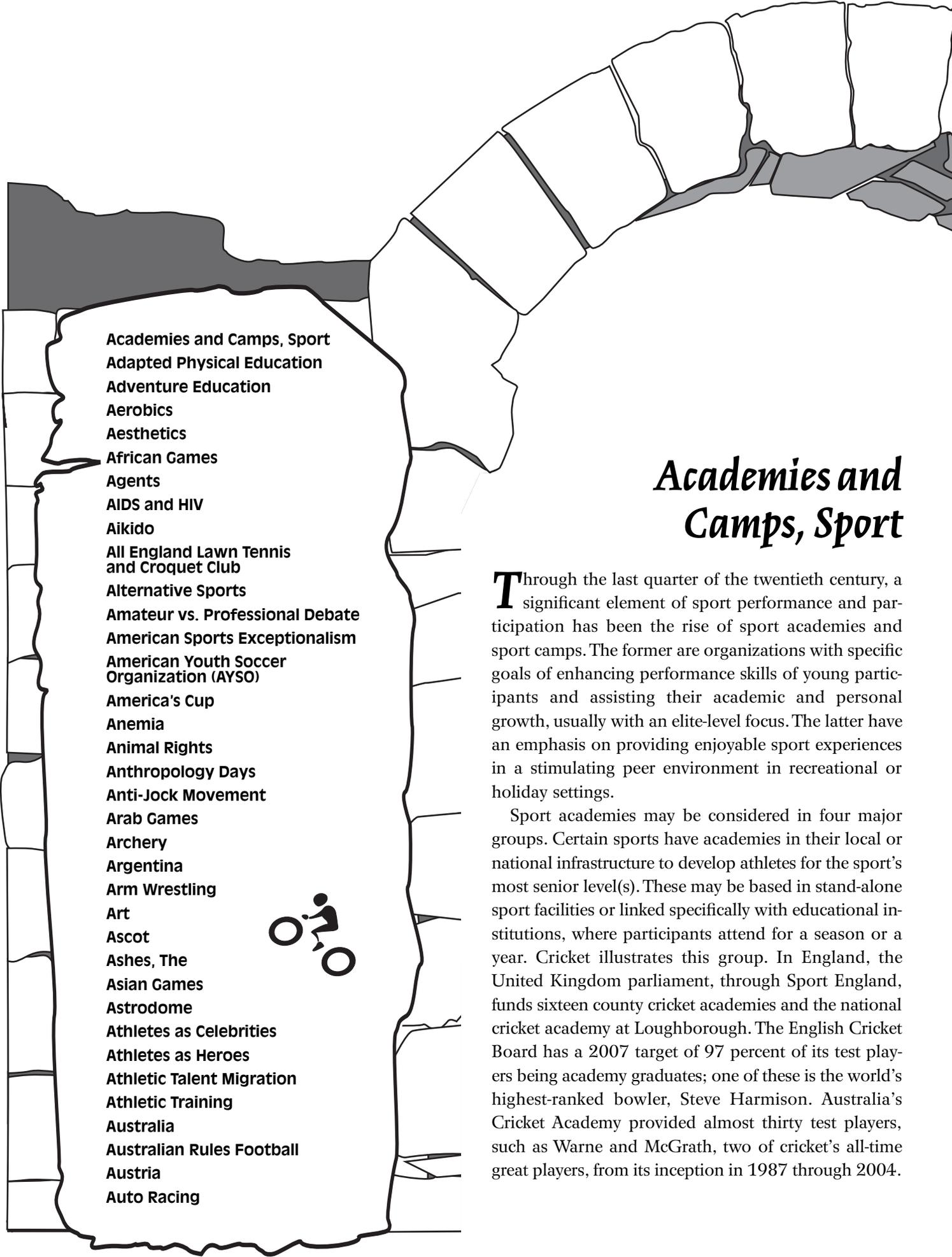
the author of *College Athletes for Hire: The Evolution and Legacy of the NCAA's Amateur Myth* as well as numerous columns in the sports media.

Thierry Terret (Professor of Sports Science and History, University of Lyon, France) is president of the International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport and author of *Les Jeux interalliés de 1919: Sport, guerre et relations internationales* and *Pratiques sportives et identités locales*.

Wayne Wilson (Vice-President for Research at the Amateur Athletic Foundation, Los Angeles) is executive producer of the CD-ROM *An Olympic Journey: The Story of Women in the Olympic Games* and coeditor of *Doping in Elite Sport: The Politics of Drugs in the Olympic Movement*.

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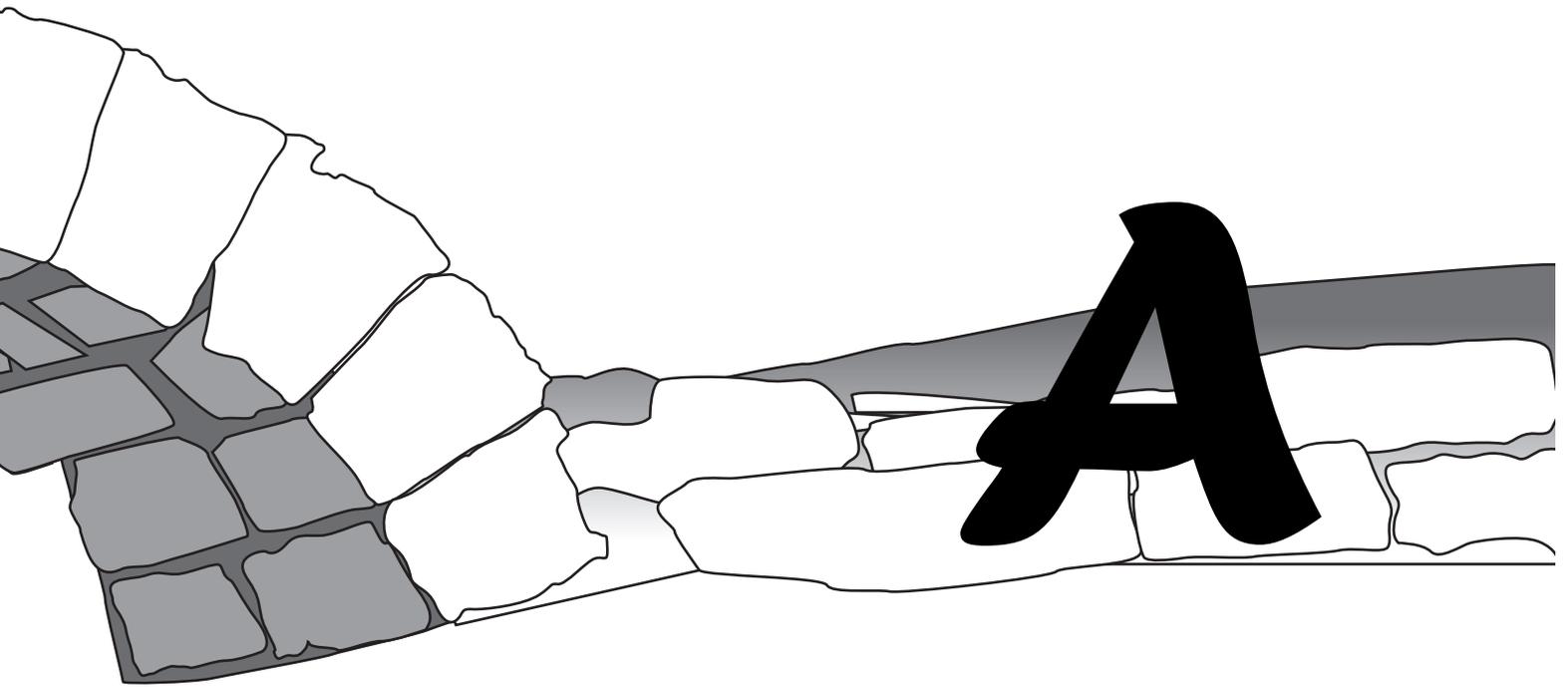


Academies and Camps, Sport
Adapted Physical Education
Adventure Education
Aerobics
Aesthetics
African Games
Agents
AIDS and HIV
Aikido
All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club
Alternative Sports
Amateur vs. Professional Debate
American Sports Exceptionalism
American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO)
America's Cup
Anemia
Animal Rights
Anthropology Days
Anti-Jock Movement
Arab Games
Archery
Argentina
Arm Wrestling
Art
Ascot
Ashes, The
Asian Games
Astrodome
Athletes as Celebrities
Athletes as Heroes
Athletic Talent Migration
Athletic Training
Australia
Australian Rules Football
Austria
Auto Racing

Academies and Camps, Sport

Through the last quarter of the twentieth century, a significant element of sport performance and participation has been the rise of sport academies and sport camps. The former are organizations with specific goals of enhancing performance skills of young participants and assisting their academic and personal growth, usually with an elite-level focus. The latter have an emphasis on providing enjoyable sport experiences in a stimulating peer environment in recreational or holiday settings.

Sport academies may be considered in four major groups. Certain sports have academies in their local or national infrastructure to develop athletes for the sport's most senior level(s). These may be based in stand-alone sport facilities or linked specifically with educational institutions, where participants attend for a season or a year. Cricket illustrates this group. In England, the United Kingdom parliament, through Sport England, funds sixteen county cricket academies and the national cricket academy at Loughborough. The English Cricket Board has a 2007 target of 97 percent of its test players being academy graduates; one of these is the world's highest-ranked bowler, Steve Harmison. Australia's Cricket Academy provided almost thirty test players, such as Warne and McGrath, two of cricket's all-time great players, from its inception in 1987 through 2004.



As with other academies in this group, athletes live on-site, develop their fitness, have access to medical support, continue academic or vocational studies, are monitored closely, receive dietary advice, and have assistance with personal development. Participants are in the broad 18–23-years age group. Virtually all sports have some type of academy or developmental group.

A second group has privately run academies with concomitant goals of skills development for potential elite-level sport achievers and generation of profit for academy owners. In tennis, the John Newcombe Academy in Texas illustrates this group. The Surfing Academy at Porthcawl, South Wales, and San Diego Surfing Academy in California are smaller examples of profit-making academies. A feature of sport academies and some sport camps is their association with famous names, such as the Evert and Newcombe tennis academies.

Tennis and other academies have generated criticism of perceived demands upon youngsters and the low proportion of their athletes who make a full-time living from professional sport. However, high-achieving youngsters annually come from the ranks of such academies. The International Tennis Federation (ITF) lists academies in eighteen countries. A camp in Russia, near the Black Sea, named for Yevgeny Kafilnikov, has been operative for forty years. Nick Bollettieri founded an academy in 1978 that has been associated with Agassi, Becker, Seles, Sharapova, and the Williams sisters. The seventy courts and two hundred acres are at the upper range of such establishments.

The third broad grouping encompasses small-scale academies, usually attached to educational institutions, businesses, or local or regional sports or nonsport bodies. A plethora of academies fits this group through the sport world. One of the few national networks planning to link with selected schools is that of the Hockey Canada Skills Academy programme. Year-long academies operate under the LA Kids program of Los Angeles, and the Combined Sports Academy provides for young people with learning difficulties at South East Derbyshire College in England. These particular athletes receive up to nine hours of sport tuition a week and engage in vocational and academic learning. At the highest educational level, the Queen's University in Belfast has sport academies, including one for Gaelic games. In India, the Tata Archery Academy and Tata Football Academy are run by the Tata Steel Company, which has its own sport complex.

In the final group of sport academies, “academy” terminology is used for what may be better described as a sport camp, conference, workshop, or short-term course. The Jai-Alai Academy in Miami fits the sport-camp model, and the two-day 2003 Yugoslav Handball Coaching Academy may be better described as a short course.

Internet analysis of sport structures reveals an increasing number and diversity in sport academies. In the 1990s in the small country of New Zealand, for example, the private International Rugby Academy of New Zealand (IRANZ) in Wellington was developed, as was a local soccer academy (Wynrs Academy) in Auckland. Each is typical of the second grouping noted

above, in that they are privately operated for profit by prominent past international players. One of IRANZ's major goals is to encourage careers in playing or coaching rugby and "more importantly to achieve excellence in this area." The Wynrs Academy aims to "show these players a clear pathway to professional soccer." Additionally, the country has sport academies attached to a number of high schools and networks of regional rugby academies.

Sport camps may or may not have a goal of enhancing performance and are oriented to providing enjoyable sport experiences, usually in purpose-built vacation camps or in urban areas that have accommodation and access to sport facilities. They usually offer participation during school vacations. The placement of academies and camps near tourist destinations adds to their appeal, although the link between such centers and weather conducive to outdoor sport is also a significant factor. The financial demands on prospective participants can be daunting—the Evert "Fantasy Camps" in 2004 cost US\$7,200 for three days. Camps may be run for profit (e.g., Tahoe Extreme Sports Camps) or for social or educational reasons. Camp networks have increased, as illustrated by the US Sports Camps network, which offers over five hundred camps. Certain camps, such as the Junior Tennis Camps at the John Newcombe Tennis Ranch, are linked with academies as opportunities for young athletes (eight to eighteen years old) to participate in recreational or competitive sport environments.

Children may be sent to such camps for social and sport reasons or for a sport-cum-leisure activity vacation. Certain camps may be seen as profit generating and oriented excessively to achievement, and the compulsory engagement of youngsters with sports in some settings may be counterproductive. But a well-run sport camp, with options and individual considerations, has the potential to positively engage children and young people.

The seeming proliferation of academies and camps, including sport and fantasy camps for adults, has rarely

been examined in sport management. Academies, despite developing athletes for high performance, rarely provide any emphasis on systematic and in-depth leadership development (McConnell 2004). Academies for coaches and officials are few and, when offered, attempt to cover a range of topics in a brief period. Minority cultures and women are underrepresented in some sports (such as polo) that do not have wide-entry academies, although others espouse action to enhance wider participation and academy opportunities, such as with the Black Summit of skiers. Few academies or camps offer a focus on special populations. Longitudinal studies of academy members and their lives could provide valuable perspectives on the efficacy of such organizations.

Robin McConnell

See also Anti-Jock Movement; Child Sports Superstars; Youth Sports

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Adapted Physical Education

Adapted physical education, adapted physical activity, and a host of other terms are sometimes used interchangeably to describe physical activity programming that is individualized to suit the unique motor needs of individuals with disabilities. More accurately, adapted physical activity is a broad term that includes adapted physical education. The latter is a subdiscipline specifically referring to specialized physical education services that help school-age children with disabilities learn. The purpose of this article is to clarify terms and discuss adapted physical education and adapted physical activity as they exist in today's society. Further, this article will discuss disability sport as a continuum of growing opportunities of competitive sport that has a past and a present consistent with other avenues of sport that permeate today's culture.

What Is Adapted Physical Education?

Adapted physical education is a program of study that targets the development of physical and motor fitness including basic movement patterns such as throwing, hopping, skipping, and a host of other age-appropriate skills that allow for participation in games and sports. Developmentally, children learn very simple locomotor patterns that later become more advanced and are used in conjunction with sport-specific skills required to engage in the games popular in our society. The focus in adapted physical education is on individualized instruction to help learners build on motor patterns that are necessary for later, more advanced sport and recreational participation. In physical education the goal is to instruct in this important curricular area rather than train to alleviate "cure" disability. The addition of "adapted" in front of "physical education" does not imply that the program has a therapy base, but rather it is a service that utilizes individualized educational

services to reach goals similar to those outlined for general physical education. Although recreational play and even more basic functional movements can be part of a physical education program for individuals with disabilities, most advocate adapted physical education programs that are consistent with the intent of physical education for all children as stated in the National Association for Sport and Physical Education standards, including skills necessary to create lifelong learners and movers who choose physical activity over more sedentary pursuits.

Physical education (adapted or regular) is an important curricular area that has the potential to improve the quality of life for persons with disabilities. This is evident by the fact that physical education continues to be the only curricular area that is specifically mentioned in the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1997. This is not to say that physical education is the most important area of development for school-age children with disabilities. However, two important foundational premises undoubtedly played a critical role in the minds of those who advocated that the current Individuals with Disabilities Education Act mention physical education. First, in the past many children with disabilities were denied appropriate physical education as a matter of practice, the idea being that some individuals were not "able" to benefit or perhaps had needs that were more important than those targeted in programs that focused on development of play and more general sport participation. Second, physical development is an avenue related to both personal enjoyment and lifetime health necessary in even the most basic functional skills. Even the most talented leaders would be of no use to society if they could not navigate curbs that line streets, lacked fitness abilities necessary for healthy living, or were unable to move from place to place. This is not to say that any person who needs physical assistance cannot be a leader, but rather to imply that all things in life are related to physical skills and even small improvements in physical areas are linked to independence. This was stated best by Paul Jansma, an early leader of



the adapted physical education movement, who believed that a “physical imperative” existed where independence and physical skills are closely linked.

In describing specifically how adapted physical education differs from physical education, it is important to understand the individualized nature of special education. School-age children with disabilities are eligible for individualized programs of instruction in physical education (adapted physical education) if unique motor needs exist. “Individualized” should in no way be confused with a different placement or setting for instruction from peers without disabilities but instead indicate services that are individualized to meet a child’s needs. Many confuse adapted physical education to mean some segregated or highly specialized placement, but this is only true in a small number of cases, with students who have very serious disabilities. For most children with disabilities, successful physical education programming requires very basic modifications of the already existing program. These modifications occur in the same place where children without disabilities are also learning valuable lifetime physical activity skills. Adapted physical education is best characterized as a service rather than a placement, and this is consistent with descriptions of special education in general and the intent of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1997.

Debate about where services for most children with disabilities should occur began in the early 1980s. This spurred much discussion in the United States about appropriate education placements, related services, and legislative intent. Inclusion became a topic of considerable debate, debate that continues today as educators try to implement programs for children with disabilities in light of other educational issues, such as limited funding for schools. More recently, inclusion has become a focus for children with disabilities in physical education. Ethical and legal arguments that all children should receive physical education services in the same settings appeared in multiple publications by authors such as Martin E. Block and others who appeared to waiver over time on the extent that inclusion meant “all

children” in “all situations” belong in general physical education classes. However, inclusion is not the law in the United States, nor is this principle radically different from the legal concepts of least restrictive environment (LRE). Today, even the most steadfast “inclusionists” ponder earlier debates in light of what actually exists in public schools and what is best for some children with severe disabilities. In the end adapted physical education has little to do with inclusion movements and is based on the premise that some children require individualized attention that may or may not require segregated placements. Further, all children in general physical education classes can benefit from programs that take into account differences in abilities and learning styles.

In many school districts confusion exists over where medically oriented physical therapy programs are utilized over adapted physical education programs. It should be noted that all children with disabilities require physical education, whereas only a select few require additional physical therapy. This therapy is not synonymous with adapted physical education and is a separate service all together, by the terms of U.S. legislation. Physical education and physical therapy fall into two very different service categories; neither is substituted for the other. Physical education is considered a direct service (required for all who receive special education), while physical therapy is a related service (necessary only when a child needs therapy to benefit from his or her special education program). Both are equally important for some children. Further, these two different programs can work in tandem by targeting similar goals and having practitioners work collaboratively.

Adapted Physical Activity

As stated earlier, adapted physical activity includes many movement opportunities for individuals with disabilities, including adult recreational activities, family-based home programming, and even elite disability sport options. Given the pervasive nature of sport in the world, it is fitting that the concepts outlined earlier about physical education and adapted physical educa-

Strength does not come from winning. Your struggles develop your strengths. When you go through hardships and decide not to surrender, that is strength. ■ ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER

tion have their roots in sport. Since the early Olympic Games, sports and related physical activities as leisure pursuits have permeated society. The same is true for early movement opportunities for individuals with disabilities as more therapy-based programming led to competitive wheelchair games. This was initially the result of work done with many of the individuals around the world who returned from World War II with permanent physical disabilities. As these early movement opportunities developed, it was recognized that movement is enhanced by competitive play rather than training to alleviate disability.

The earliest sporting experiences for individuals with disabilities included the Stoke Mandeville Games in England. These and many postwar programs in the United States and abroad came in recognition of the value of sport and play as not only therapy for the body but also as vital to the human spirit. Since these earlier games, Special Olympics programs (outcomes of the 1965 task force on recreation for persons with mental retardation) and more recent Paralympic events have become mainstays in the broader sporting world, with the last growing in popularity and featuring outstanding athletic accomplishments as individuals with disabilities utilize advances in technology and training practices.

Adapted physical activity and specifically the sport participation of individuals with disabilities occur on a continuum. Joseph Winnick created one of the earlier and still relevant models outlining the potential sport-related options for persons with disabilities. His model includes regular sports with no modifications. As an example, Olympic athlete Oliver Halazy participated in an elite international athletic event alongside persons without disabilities and won an Olympic gold medal as part of the 1936 Hungarian water polo team. Next on the continuum, are regular sports with accommodations, such as judo, where a judoka with a visual impairment needs rule modifications that allow for integrated competition. For example, this would include rules requiring a grip must be maintained at all times during standing portions of the sport. The idea is to

equate play and not allow rule changes to alter the nature of the sport for participants. In the judo example, a visually impaired judoka would be at a disadvantage if a sighted opponent was not in physical contact, whereas maintaining a grip does not give one player an advantage over the other and still allows for a full range of throws to occur. This may alter strategy in play, but does not change the sport.

The issue of what changes the nature of participation or even creates an advantage for the person with a disability in integrated play between individuals with and without disabilities is covered by the Americans with Disabilities Act in the United States, and by other international sporting organizations. More recently, the court case of the golfer Casey Martin wanting to use a golf cart for Professional Golf Association (PGA) tour events in the United States illustrates this issue. In regular sports that make accommodations, not all changes to play are allowable, and each of these issues—such as a judoka requiring a basic rule change or a golfer requesting additional equipment (not available to all)—is handled on a case-by-case basis. The goal is to maintain the integrity of the sport involved while trying to afford equal opportunities to persons with disabilities.

Segregated sporting events are believed by many to not only be necessary for some individuals with disabilities, but their right. Winnick's classifications include a level of participation with events for the general population and persons with disabilities that occur at the same time, but do not involve direct competition between persons with and without disabilities. As in the Boston marathon, racers compete at the same time but within their locomotion category. This practice leads to an important debate in adapted physical activity related to who should participate in, for example, wheelchair races. Is it acceptable for a person with no or minimal disability to choose a wheelchair division over a bipedal competition? (This debate goes beyond the scope of the current paper and the reader is referred to Hans Lindstrom's 1992 work on the topic.)

Finally, there is the more traditional format of segregated sport in which based on predetermined criteria

Besides pride, loyalty, discipline, heart, and mind, confidence is the key to all the locks. ■ JOE PATERNO

only individuals with disabilities compete in events and at times separate from individuals without disabilities. Take, for example, wheelchair basketball. Athletes who want to participate in Wheelchair USA basketball events are evaluated and, based on level and nature of limitations, are ranked and scored for equitable play. For example, a class I participant would be scored one point whereas a higher-functioning class III participant would be scored three points. A team can have a total of eleven points on the floor at a time. These scores equate play and ensure that participants of all levels are valued and that disability sport participation is maintained for individuals with disabilities. Other governing bodies may have similar grouping criteria aimed at creating fair play within a group of individuals who have similar disabilities.

What is important to note is that as society in general accepts athletes who participate in modified games or sports that can parallel more general events, such as judo or swimming, or even those who participate in more specialized events, such as goal ball or wheelchair races, disability sport has become a product worth selling. The same is true of all sport in society and this development marks a level of “arrival” or acceptance of persons with disabilities. Studies show that the marketing side of disability sport is on the rise and that products related to play are part of the endorsement deals, resulting in gains by companies in many areas that go beyond product sells and immediate profit. Today, the company that makes the fastest prosthetic limb is on par with golfing supply companies that make the drivers professionals use to hit the longest shots. This satisfies important corporate goals: Sport becomes an avenue of profits for companies producing superior products; in addition, “accepting” diversity enhances the corporate image. Finally, in society there is an overall understanding that sport excellence in any form has been and always will be valued. Media exposure and general acknowledgment by members of society that athletic abilities come in any type of body, even those that may on the surface appear different, is a sign of the times.

The significance of sports exposure as it relates to media coverage and product sales is an indicator of progress in the struggle for acceptance by individuals with disabilities. Claudine Sherrill, a leader in the adapted physical activity community, highlights the dichotomy of disability viewed as a form of diversity rather than less able. High-level competitive sport that accents the essence of human spirit helps others view the runner without sight, for example, as able rather than disabled. Today, it is clear that advances in training, technology, and general attitude make it likely that males and females, with and without disabilities, runners and those propelling themselves in a wheelchair, will reach the highest levels of athletic achievement. Programming that helps school-age children become more athletically proficient and interested in physical activity in general (as is the case for adapted programs for some children) feeds community programs whose participants vie for success similar to that of their counterparts without disabilities. In some cases elite athletes with disabilities emerge to compete for their countries at the highest Olympic and world levels.

The Future

So what does it all mean? From the perspective of an adapted physical educator, programs focus on the same types of learning experiences for children with disabilities as children without disabilities. In summary, adapted physical education is a part of the broader adapted physical activity and enjoyment of movement is an important theme. In today’s society, marked by pervasive inactivity, where many diseases preventable through regular physical activity are on the rise, it is important to recognize the role that movement plays in preventing disease, improving the quality of life, and in some cases helping people become more able. Physical activity patterns by persons with disabilities are motivated by the same factors that encourage all humans to move. Adapted physical activity, and more specifically adapted physical education, should be presented in terms of how much fun they are, the educational goals they offer, and the opportunity for physical activity they

present in a time when computers and other innovations make it likely that many humans will be less active today than they were yesterday.

Francis M. Kozub

See also Disability Sport

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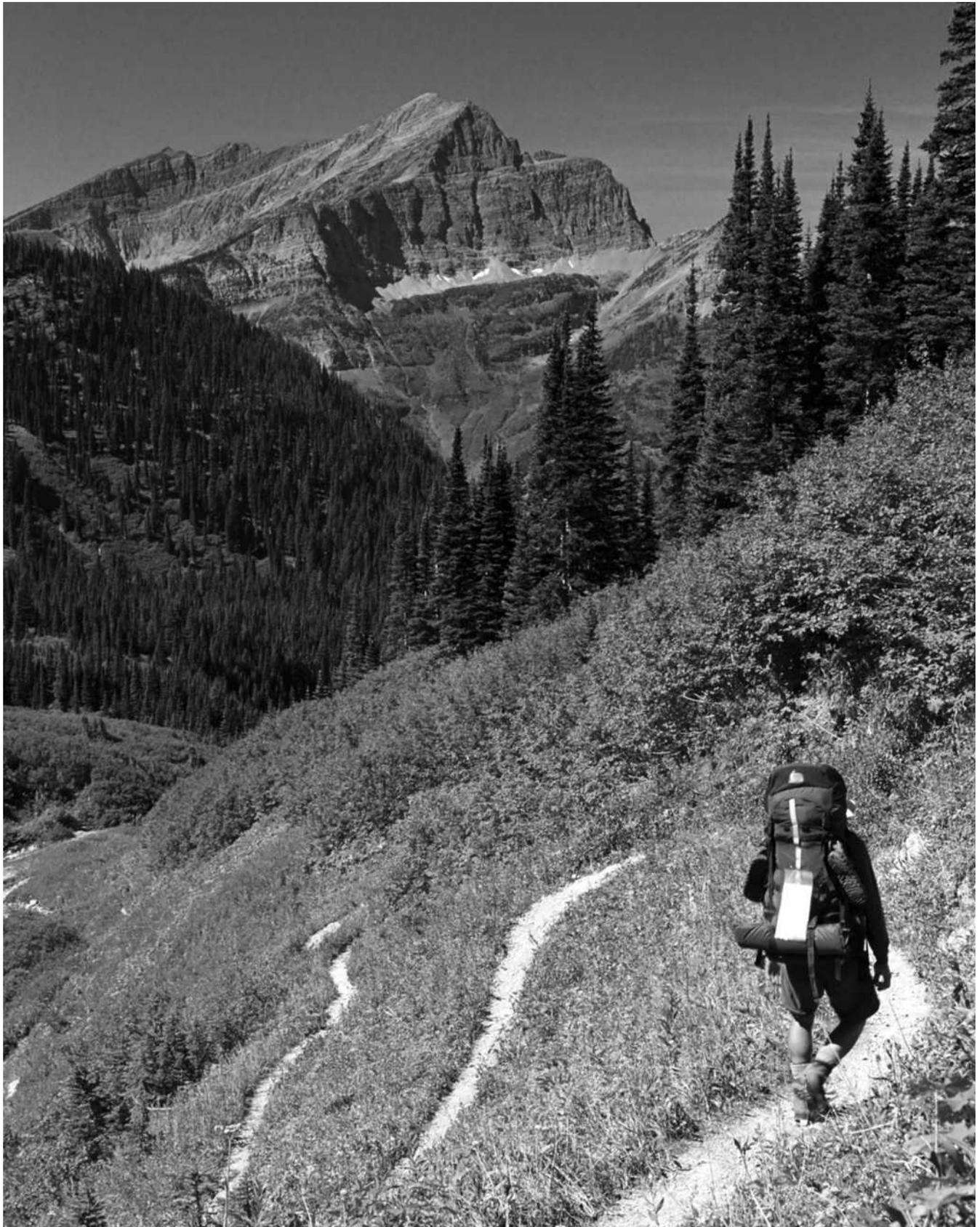
British citizenship in 1940 after he was arrested by the National Socialists in 1933, regarded traditional education as too weak to counteract the political, social, and moral disease of modern society. By 1920 he began developing a progressive model of education. His emphasis did not lie in pure teaching, but more in character education. The central elements of his model were the physical fitness program, the expedition, the project, and service-oriented activities. According to Hahn, the educational value of the model was greatly diminished if only one element was missing.

He claimed that the physical fitness program helped prevent “underexercise,” with its detrimental effect on the cardiovascular system. Hahn regarded physical activities as an educational means to develop self-discipline, fair play, team spirit, and goal-oriented behavior. Expeditions to the outdoors should inspire the spirit of adventure, he felt, and expeditions and their organizations should nourish character traits that each person should have, such as toughness, care for others, and decision making. The project was to offer people the chance to engage in a subject matter with full dedication and endurance to counteract the swift pace of industrialized life. According to Hahn, the restlessness of modern life decreases compassion. Service-oriented activities should help counteract this decrease and lead to the development of altruism and civic duty.

Hahn’s model, with its four elements, came to fruition in Great Britain. Through various intermediate stages Hahn developed short-term schools. A month-long course was a mixture of athletic endeavors, cross-country route finding, expeditions into the outdoors, project-oriented activities, and service to local people. Participants were sent by schools, companies, the merchant navy, and police and fire departments. The British shipping magnate Lawrence Holt was particularly impressed by Hahn’s educational model, which Holt regarded as an effective means to train his seamen. In 1941 Holt financed a professional training school named “Outward Bound Sea School Aberdovey.” This name was well chosen because *outward bound* is the

Adventure Education

The German educator and politician Kurt Hahn (1886–1974) is known as the “father” of adventure education, which teaches life skills through outdoor activities. As a progressive educator Hahn, who took



A backpacker descends a switchbacked trail at Glacier National Park, Montana.

Source: istockphoto.com/Saturated.

nautical term for a ship's departure from the certainties of the harbor. During World War II many youngsters who were planning to join the armed forces attended this school.

Outward Bound

What became prominent as a wartime school for survival in Great Britain developed into a highly recognized educational program that used adventure experience to stimulate personal growth in the decades after World War II. Today Outward Bound has developed into a global movement. Each Outward Bound school has programs that are attended by participants from target groups, such as managers, pupils, students, drug addicts, and juvenile delinquents. Outward Bound has given rise to a whole industry of adventure education. Numerous organizations had been founded as spinoffs of Outward Bound, and each offers programs aimed at teaching personal growth by adventure.

The popularity of adventure education is a measure of personal needs, which are strongly influenced by current social structures and conditions. The pluralism and individualism of today's private and professional lives have led to a decrease in the validity of social rules and an increase in competing values. Stable social structures and bonds are replaced by the pressure of self-reliance and the compulsion to be responsible for one's own actions.

As social relationships begin to disintegrate, the acquisition of social competencies becomes more difficult. On the one hand, life offers more possibilities for experience, scope, and decision making in a heterogeneous and pluralistic society; on the other hand, life demands a higher degree of flexibility, decision-making ability, personal responsibility, and interpersonal patterns of behavior. Daily life is strongly influenced by mechanization and the modern media. The consumption of modern media and the interactive handling of information particularly lead to an estrangement from reality. The limits of reality and the virtual world become more blurred. The stimulus satiation by the modern media pushes people into a passive receptivity that leads to a loss of first-hand experience.

In professional life rationality, effectiveness, and achievement are often the only indicators of human quality. In education cognitive achievements are the most important goals. The result is a growing alienation from the body. Apart from this alienation, urbanization hinders first-hand natural experiences and an easy and healthy engagement in physical activities.

A consequence of this need for experience is an increase in leisure activities. People seek activities that promise to provide personal growth, well-being, and self-determination. In this context adventure education develops its effectiveness. Programs in adventure education have become popular not only in traditional educational settings such as schools, but also in training courses for managers or programs for the socialization of drug addicts, juvenile delinquents, or handicapped people. Rafting and canoeing trips, expeditions into the outdoors, and high rope courses have become popular because they teach social and moral values—traits that are difficult to realize in daily life.

Transferral

Although adventure education can nourish positive character traits, some people question whether the social and moral skills that participants are taught can be easily transferred to the participants' daily social and professional lives. The success of transferral is an element of uncertainty in adventure education. In adventure education people are confronted with nonspecific transferral, which means that the learning experiences in adventure education courses take place in an environment (mountains, rivers, lakes, etc.) that is different from the environment in which participants have to make use of such learning experiences.

Stephan Wassong and Berit Heidemann

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The word aerobics comes from two Greek words: aero, meaning “ability to,” and bics, meaning “withstand tremendous boredom.” ■ DAVE BARRY

Aerobics

The word *aerobic* means “with oxygen.” Aerobics is a system of exercises designed to promote the supply and use of oxygen in the body. Aerobic exercises include biking, walking, running, dancing, rowing, and skating. Aerobic exercises increase cardiorespiratory fitness, which is the heart’s ability to pump blood and deliver oxygen throughout the body. Benefits of cardiorespiratory fitness include increased endurance and energy, decreased heart disease, blood pressure, and cholesterol, and an increased ability to manage stress and control weight.

Development

The word *aerobics* is relatively new in the context of exercise and sport. Dr. Kenneth Cooper, a U.S. Air Force physician, in 1968 published a book entitled *Aerobics*, which was based on Cooper’s research on coronary artery disease. Cardiovascular diseases, at their peak during the 1960s, accounted for 55 percent of all U.S. deaths annually. Cooper developed his aerobic exercise program in the spirit of preventive medicine, feeling that the contributions of aerobic exercise to cardiovascular health are significant. Cooper felt that if people lower their blood pressure and cholesterol, control their weight, and eat a proper diet they can lower the incidence of cardiovascular disease. One goal of Cooper’s aerobic research was to develop a prescription for exercise, a specific program for people to follow. His book identified the quantity, kind, and frequency of such exercise. Cooper continued to spread his message with later books: *The New Aerobics* (1970), *Aerobics for Women* (1972), and *The Aerobics Way* (1977). Cooper traveled all over the world lecturing and explaining his beliefs and methods, contending that aerobics, exercise, and preventive medicine know no barriers of culture, language, or ethnicity. The Congress of International Military Sports in 1968 adopted Cooper’s program for Sweden, the United States, Austria, Finland, Brazil, and Korea. His aerobic program spread from these military

influences to civilian populations. For example, in Brazil runners ask, “Have you done your Cooper today?” meaning, “Have you done your running or jogging?”

Aerobic dancing developed as an alternative to running for women who wanted to improve their physical fitness. About the time Cooper was promoting his program in 1968, Judy Sheppard Missett was beginning an aerobic exercise program called “Jazzercise.” It was a highly choreographed set of exercises set to music. It incorporated muscle group work with new dance trends. In 1969 Jackie Sorenson started “aerobic dance,” which was also a choreographed set of dance patterns set to music with the goal of increased cardiovascular fitness. By the early 1970s people used the terms *aerobics*, *aerobic dance*, and *dance exercise* interchangeably to describe the combination of dance movements and exercise set to music. Most participants in the early aerobic dance classes were women.

To attract more men, by the late 1970s and early 1980s advocates shortened the term *aerobic dance* to *aerobics*. Co-educational classes were now offered, and the aerobics boom followed. Aerobic classes were offered in a variety of settings: churches, schools, community centers, and, of course, health clubs. The popularity of aerobics is attributable in part to the social support and reinforcement inherent in a group exercise situation. The U.S. movie actress Jane Fonda and the U.S. fitness expert Richard Simmons contributed to the growth of aerobics, and the boom spread all over the world. Fonda’s early exercises primarily were resistance exercises for different parts of the body performed in one spot. Therefore, although she encouraged participants to work hard and to discipline themselves to obtain desired body changes, in the strict sense of the word, her programs did not contain aerobic exercises, and her early workouts were criticized as being unsuitable for ordinary exercisers. The emphasis of Simmons’s exercise programs shifted from dance and fun to the weight-loss benefits of exercise. Aerobics consequently began to be connected closely with improved appearance.

Today many women celebrities (such as models Elle MacPherson and Cindy Crawford) promote their own

exercise programs. Although these beautiful women might employ professional fitness experts to design and demonstrate their programs, they do further cement the notion that aerobics is a means to an improved body. When aerobics became a means to the perfect body, it also became increasingly commercialized, institutionalized, professionalized, and specialized.

Many of the early aerobic classes were what is called “high impact,” that is, both of a participant’s feet may be off the floor at any given time. High-impact aerobics was characterized by running or jogging in place or performing jumping jacks or small jumps or hops. This style was an exciting beginning; however, it created a tremendous amount of stress on the joints, and many participants developed impact-related injuries. Thus, “low-impact” aerobics was developed in response to the increase in injuries. “Low-impact” means that one foot is kept on the floor at all times; the routines are characterized by marching in place and traveling from one side of the room to the other. Next came variable-impact aerobics, which is a combination of high- and low-impact moves. This style combined the intensity of high impact with the safety of low impact. Many new types of aerobic classes have been developed. These include water aerobics, strength, sculpting, abdominal, sports conditioning, and circuit or interval classes. Step aerobics, which the U.S. gymnast Gin Miller developed while recovering from a knee injury, took the aerobic industry by storm. Step aerobics involves stepping up and down from a platform that is 15 to 30 centimeters high while performing step combinations.

As the boom spread, U.S. instructors began to travel to other countries to train new instructors. In the United States an estimated 6 million people participated in 1978, 19 million in 1982, and 22 million in 1987. By the late 1990s, some 25 million people participated. Forty-five percent of aerobic participants were women aged thirty to fifty, and aerobics was their only form of exercise. Another 45 percent of participants added aerobics to their regimen of sport and recreational activities. Ten percent of participants were instructors. Aerobics quickly evolved from its early



Aerobics

Kenneth Cooper on Aerobics

Countless people in every walk of life have found aerobics a workable way to achieve new levels of physical competence and personal well being. Professional athletic teams have found it to be an excellent way to maintain a high level of fitness during the off-season. Many colleges and universities throughout the country have adopted aerobics as part of their physical education program. All have shown interest in the program because it is the first scientific attempt to validate and quantify the effect of exercise—and to answer the questions of what kind, how often, and how much [...] the widespread interest in exercise has caused physicians and public health authorities to take an appraising look at aerobic. If properly implemented and supervised, some of them see it as possible countermeasure to the Nations number one health problem: heart disease.

Source: Cooper, K. H. (1970). *The new aerobics* (pp. 9–10). New York: Bantam.

choreographed dance format to a varied form of dance, sport, and exercise movements set to music. Now virtually every community offers some sort of aerobic exercise class. Aerobics has even expanded into the home: One can see aerobic dance leaders on television at just about any hour or rent or buy aerobic videos.

Training and educational organizations have emerged to ensure safe and effective programs. In the United States the Aerobic and Fitness Association of America (AFAA) and the International Dance Exercise Association (IDEA) developed into two of the largest in the world, helping to promote aerobics in virtually every country. IDEA had more than nineteen thousand instructor-members in more than eighty countries in 2004. Such organizations helped to develop fundamental components of the aerobic exercise class. A well-designed aerobic exercise class consists of five segments: the warm-up or prestretch (10 minutes), the aerobic segment (20–45 minutes), cool-down (5–10 minutes),



A woman in southern Africa engaging in step aerobics using improvised apparatus.

aerobics presented in the United States. Its format and rules have become the international standard for aerobic competition around the world. In 1989 Howard Schwartz founded the International Competitive Aerobics Federation (ICAF), which became the governing body of the sport. The growth of the sport has been impressive: In 1990 the first World Aerobic Championship was held among sixteen countries. It was televised in thirty countries. In 1994 thirty-five countries took part. A year later the World Aerobic Championship was televised in 175 countries. More recently, the Federation of International Sports Aerobics and Fitness, which has some twenty-five member nations, has sponsored the Professional World Aerobic Championship in Adelaide, Australia (2004) and Ghent, Netherlands (2005).

Championship competitive aerobics is a rigorous display of both compulsory and freestyle moves choreographed into a two-minute routine set to music. People have called it the “toughest two minutes in sports.” The performance showcases flexibility, strength, and endurance as well as creativity and dance. The competitors follow rules and regulations and are judged by an international panel.

Sally Crawford

See also Fitness

strength work (10–20 minutes), and the final stretch (5–10 minutes).

Aerobics helps participants to develop overall physical fitness. Aerobic dance, for example, can improve a participant’s cardiovascular fitness, flexibility, strength, and body composition (percentage of body fat). The rhythmic movements performed to music also help to develop coordination and balance.

Competition

The sport of competitive aerobics has evolved naturally out of aerobic exercise classes. The National Aerobic Championship (NAC) was created in 1983 by Karen and Howard Schwartz, who founded competitive aerobics. The NAC was the first national competition for

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*What other people may find in poetry or art museums,
I find in the flight of a good drive.* ■ ARNOLD PALMER

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Aesthetics

Aesthetics captures a culture's ideas of beauty, proportion, and taste. It fulfills a purpose like politics, the economy, and religion, similarly addressing the social tasks a society must resolve. Vince Lombardi, the legendary coach of the U.S. professional football team, the Green Bay Packers, urged, "Winning is not everything; it is the only thing." Aesthetics appears in the injunction that, "It is not whether you win or lose, but how you play the game."

Eminent philosophers seriously contemplate aesthetic standards. Aristotle (384–322 BCE) is honored for his theories of knowledge and his political philosophy, but his *Poetics* develops his idea of beauty with consummate rigor. Immanuel Kant's (1724–1804) total philosophical system includes guidelines for evaluating knowledge (*Critique of Pure Reason*) and ethics (*Critique of Practical Reason*) but also his theory of aesthetics (*Critique of Judgment*). Standards of the good, proportion, and beauty infuse a culture with ultimate goals— aesthetics. Sport is physical, rule governed, usually an end in itself, and matters deeply to those who compete and watch. The activity is a serviceable medium of a culture's memories through stories, performances of athletes, and rituals surrounding sport.

Sport serves economic, political, and, possibly, religious ends. But in the forms of social memory, sport is most efficient when meeting expectations of a culture's aesthetics. Sport is especially serviceable as a vehicle of

social memory, since it is a common vocabulary for citizens, it evokes attention from all our senses, and the characteristic clear winner rivets our interest within an ordinary world where performances are usually indistinguishable. Identifying the standards of quality in this type of social memory gives sport its potential for maximum importance in carrying its moral load; compromising of aesthetic standards portends loss of this vehicle of cultural memory. Two hundred countries participated in the 2004 Olympics; the outcome for each was heightened when the athletes faithfully embodied the cultures' aesthetic standards.

The Value of Stories

Stories appear exceedingly early in human civilization and are general; hence, they offer efficient entry into what is considered good in a culture. They do this by selection of topics, adequacy in evoking responses of accuracy by audiences, and their serviceability in showing the values of a society—what is prized and what is deplored. A very early sport story occurs in the *Iliad* (approximately eighth century BCE) when Achilles memorializes his fallen friend Patroclus with a round of athletic events, including a chariot race, boxing, wrestling, a footrace, javelin and discus throwing, archery, and sword fighting. Elaborate descriptions of the site, competitors, events, and prizes create an aura of authenticity (verisimilitude). Then, there is a narrative for each event that conveys not only the facts of performance but also the style and quality of conduct in each event.

SPORTS WRITING

For sixty years the best sports stories have been collected for North American sports, with the present series, *The Best American Sports Writing*, occurring since 1991. We know how the editors of the series evaluate sports performance by selection of type of sport, the degree of accuracy in evoking a sense of reality, how they sharply mark off prevailing values of society (intelligence, perseverance, motivation, self-sacrifice, for example) and how they negate bad values such as laziness, deceit, and personal aggrandizement. Cultures

produce, select, and retain stories that encapsulate the values of their peoples. Often the achievements of a team or an individual are foregrounded as heroic, and the basis of the special achievement encapsulates the aesthetic of a culture.

CINEMA

Movies and critical evaluation of the cinema also convey aesthetic ideals of a society. While they may be driven by primarily commercial objectives, the themes occur and remain depending on the tastes of consuming publics. Several recent lists of the “best” suggest the operation of norms of goodness. The electronic version of *Sports Illustrated* listed these as the magazine’s top ten: *Bull Durham* (baseball, 1988), *Rocky* (boxing, 1976), *Raging Bull* (boxing, 1980), *Hoop Dreams* (basketball, 1994), *Slap Shot* (hockey, 1977), *Hoosiers* (basketball, 1986), *Olympia* (Olympic Games, 1936), *Breaking Away* (cycling, 1979), *Chariots of Fire* (1924 Olympics, 1981), and *When We Were Kings* (boxing, 1996). Their listing in 2003 includes within-sport ordering of films in addition to the top-ten aggregate list, as well as a provision of aesthetic standards used in judgment.

The Body in Shape, Attire, and Performance

The rules of sport intend equal chances for competitors and some protection for participants, yet they must establish barriers for physical acumen so that the test creates a challenge that yields differences in success. Despite these factors, periods and sites display variations in the aesthetic features of performance. Artistic gymnastics and figure skating are examples where whole events include express and implied aesthetic criteria of performance. Derogatory comments on performances that technically accord with rules occur in all sports, such as displaying poor manners (one could not remove an article of clothing without penalty in the 1924 Tour de France), insufficient effort, clumsy execution, mean-spirited demeanor, or an inadequately flashy end (“the victory of a moribund,” said Henri Degranges,



Statue of *The Archer* originally located in Dresden, Germany. Source: istockphoto/heizfrosch.

the race director, of Maurice de Waele’s victory in the 1929 Tour de France).

Body proportions and comportment themselves may produce reasons for aesthetic valorization or criticism. The body of the gymnast was of a mature woman through the early 1970s, but with the performance of Nadia Comaneci in the 1976 Olympics, the women’s-gymnastics body was required to conform to new standards. Dress conventions for athletes required to meet the same physical demands of contrived hazard show how standards of aesthetics override demands of the sport itself. While purity was expressed by nudity in the ancient Olympics, dress conventions of participants since that time reflect prevailing national standards. Participation in sports and interest itself may depend on

a minimal preoccupation with the body as a medium of cultural identity and memory. Restrictions on clothing suitable for maximum athletic performance may exist in current cultures (Islamic, for example) that exclude women from performing since they may have to display, inappropriately, anatomical parts.

An athlete's nonathletic identity and orientation may enter into an aesthetic evaluation of the performer's sport proficiency and success. One's sexual orientation, for example, though entirely unrelated to eligibility to perform, quality of effort, and event success, may affect evaluations by other performers, journalists, and spectators.

In the mid-twentieth century, when public views of age- and sex-appropriate activities stereotyped older, married women as unfit for sport, aesthetic evaluations of momentous athletic accomplishments done by mothers could be muted or negative. Francina "Fanny" Blankers-Koen won four gold medals for Holland in the 1948 Games in London (100m and 200m runs, 80m hurdles, and the 4×100m relay). But her initial entry into the Games was strongly criticized by the public and press in her country, because she was married, had borne two children, and was thought too old to compete. (Aesthetic guidelines for tastes are often mutable, of course, as once this athlete had won, her country liberally welcomed her home as a heroine.)

Ritual in Sport

It is difficult to report a sporting contest where no rituals precede and conclude the events and punctuated revered activity. The ancient Olympics included several days of purification of athletes prior to the events, regularized procedures before and after the events, and closing ceremonies. The current Olympic Games set aside massive resources for rituals before and after the official schedule of competitions. Even impromptu sporting contests everywhere in the world include mechanisms of selection of sides, starting the action, and symbolizing venerated performances. Each day of the Tour de France ends with an elaborate ritual of the



Aesthetics

Bill Tilden on Tennis

Tennis is more than just a sport. It's an art, like the ballet. Or like a performance in the theater. When I step on the court I feel like Anna Pavlova. Or like Adelina Patti. Or even like Sarah Bernhardt. I see the footlights in front of me. I hear the whisperings of the audience. I feel an icy shudder. Win or die! Now or never! It's the crisis of my life.

stage winner and leader, wearing the yellow jersey. Softball players at the Olympics elaborately queue at the end of a game to shake hands respectfully with each of the opposing team's players.

Deviations from aesthetic standards yield strong censure among governing bodies and audiences. Tommie Smith and John Carlos won, respectively, gold and bronze medals in the 200m race in Mexico City in 1968. On the medal stand they displayed civil-rights badges (as did the silver medalist, Peter Norman of Australia). Smith and Carlos made the "black-power salute" with gloved fists during the playing of the U.S. national anthem. Their breach of ritual form infuriated the International Olympic Committee, which demanded the United States Olympic Committee send them home and banish them from further competition.

The Dark Side of Aesthetic Standards

Aesthetics defines the good in athletic memory, as found in stories, performances, and collective rituals. Defining the good marks off, in turn, the less valued aspects of sport for social valuation. These can be compromised by other forces such as economics and cheating, and the aesthetic ends of sport can vanish when a sport is expunged from a culture. Three instances show aesthetic standards warped, compromised, or lost altogether. They illustrate a certain dark side of these evaluations and prompt social vigilance in retaining aesthetic standards for sport in its role in storing venerated cultural memories.

A retro sign for a bowling alley, showing pins and a ball. The sign is illuminated with neon at night.

Source: istockphoto/Acerebel.

DEVALUATION BY EXCLUSION

First, aesthetic standards that valorize groups and performances in stories, bodily ideals, and ritual celebrations may intentionally or by inattention devalue other groups and performances. The culture's aesthetics, that is, may compromise other central social values such as equality and social justice—on the face not different from the “level playing field” component of sports at their core. The widely praised anthologies of sports writing examine each year thousands of potential stories. The inclusion, though, is of male sports endeavors. In the sample of fifty-nine entries in *The Best American Sports Writing of the Century*, there is no entry about a women's-sport performance. Among the twenty-five entries in *The Best American Sports Writing* of 2003, one focuses on a woman. The *Sports Illustrated* list of best films includes women participants only in *Olympia*. The sport television station, ESPN, extends its list to twenty films, and an investigator has to search through the continuation list to number 22 to find a film about women in sports (*A League of Their Own* records women's baseball played during World War II). There has been movement of female visibility in sport at secondary, collegiate, and international levels throughout the West and much of the East over the last decade. The virtual absence of valorized stories about women in sport shows a disturbing corner of omission of social valuation concerning women.

COMPROMISED STANDARDS

Second, have structural factors of increased volume and diversity of labor, advanced technology, and economic capital created an aura of compromised performance norms for elite athletes in international events? Rigid guidelines existed for competitors in the ancient Olympics for correct conduct before, during, and after the events. Rule violation in competition resulted in



disqualification and public condemnation and could elicit flogging. While there were material rewards given at the early sport event at Patroclus's funeral and many of the early Greek minor-games sites, there was not at the main games—the “crown” games at Nemea, Isthmae, Delphi, and Olympia. The award to the winner denoted the supreme physical and aesthetic characteristics of *arete*. The victor embodied the credential, which “includes the concepts of excellence, goodness, valor, nobility, and virtue . . .” (Miller 2004, 242).

The valorization of *arete* in the early Olympic cycle when contrasted with the preoccupation of testing for drugs and exclusion of participation has to give warning that the very idea of an aesthetic standard within international sports is diminishing. By the end of the 2004 Olympic Games, twenty-four athletes, the most in any Games, had been cited for drug violations. The Tour de France is considered by event organizers and

huge sectors of the French population as a cultural treasure. But since the notorious drug scandal in the 1998 race, which led to half of the competitors being forced out through some association with the drug arrests, the specter of drugs has continued to compromise the aesthetic integrity of the event through the last occurrence in the summer of 2004.

ROLE OF SPORT IN CULTURAL INTEGRITY

A third example comes from a district of Sudan where sport and a rigid cultural aesthetic carried by sport have been all but obliterated, with consequences for the integrity of the people. The Republic of the Sudan achieved independence from the United Kingdom in 1956. A military Islamist government has ruled since 1989, with continuous resistance from Christian groups and peoples with native religious beliefs. This conflict is being brokered in Kenya just now, with an apparent armistice between the government and the non-Islamist groups. But recently, Islamist rebels in the Southwest have violently attacked black groups and Christians, with the apparent acquiescence of the government in Khartoum.

The Nuba are a black population living in the Nuban Mountains, a remote area within the Kardofan district in central Sudan. Traditionally they had lived in an uneasy peace with the Arab groups to the north and west. But during the recent rebellion, comprising Nilotic groups to the south and east, both sides conscripted Nuba into their armies. One estimate is that as many as 40 percent of the military of the ruling Muslim/military government [National Congress Party (NCP), formerly the National Islamic Front] are Nuba. The opposition Christian group in the south, the Sudanese People's Liberation Party, have conscripted Nuba males and children as well.

S. F. Nadel, an anthropologist, was commissioned to study the Nuba in 1938. Following World War II, George Rodger, a Western photographer, began a journey across Africa seeking a certain humane purity, after his photographic work during the world conflict. He located the Nuba and in February and March 1949 cap-

tured vestiges of their disappearing life, including wrestling, in a series of photographs. Leni Reifenstahl, having encountered imprisonment and censure for her involvement with Nazi Germany, saw Rodger's work and sought to locate the Nuba in the 1960s. Between 1962 and 1969, she spent time among these tribes and produced her famous photographic volume, *The Last of the Nuba*.

In Nadel's commentary on wrestling in his study, and other forms of ritualized combat such as stick fighting, the sports assume an important role within the order and pace of the society. Wrestling in both Rodger's and Reifenstahl's recording occurs after the harvest season in the late fall and may continue through the spring. The sport of wrestling among the Nuba contains relatively noncomplicated rules for victory—simply throwing the other to the ground. But the ritual and meaning define age relations and relations among the sexes and mediate violence among subgroups of Nuba. The aesthetics of the sport, that is, are central to the integrity and social existence of this group. During the last ten years, wrestling has been prohibited. Nuba men have been conscripted into warring factions in the tragic conflict in the Sudan. The centrality of sport, as practiced within durable norms of form and proportion, is ending. Its loss for the Nuba signals diminution of the core of this people's civilization.

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See also Art; Beauty

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African Games

Apartheid, lack of economic resources, government instability, and war, issues affecting Africa in the postcolonial period, have all played a part in creating a difficult environment for continental games to take root in Africa.

The first attempts to organize games for the African continent occurred from 1925 to 1929. At the International Olympic Committee (IOC) session in Rome in 1923, a plan was unveiled to create regional games in Africa, to be held biennially. Algiers, Algeria, was to hold the first games in 1925, but this was too soon and

the games were not held. The games were rescheduled for 1927 in Alexandria, Egypt, but facilities could not be prepared in time and once again the games were postponed, until 1929. Under the patronage of King Fouad I the games were set to open in April of 1929, when the British and French colonial rulers fearing that the games would prove dangerous to their power if African unity were to succeed, arranged for the games to be canceled at the very last minute.

The new stadium in Alexandria was reportedly built in the same spot as Alexandria's ancient Olympic stadium at the time of the Ptolemies. Though the stadium was not used for the canceled 1929 games, it made history when it hosted the first Mediterranean Games in 1951. Women were to be explicitly excluded from participation in the first games according to the published rules for the proposed 1927 games. However, women were to be included in lawn tennis in the 1929 edition.

Over three decades later, after regional games such as the West African Games and the French-backed Community-Friendship Games were held in Africa, the African games idea was revived. On 12 April 1963, the organizers of the West African Games and the Community-Friendship Games of the previous three years met in Dakar, Senegal, and awarded the first All-African Games to Brazzaville, Congo.

The original aim was to provide "a genuine means of fostering friendship, unity and brotherhood among African nations" (Mathias 1990, 16). South Africa and Rhodesia were specifically excluded from this gathering and would not be included in the games due to their apartheid policies. The International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) originally protested this exclusion, claiming that the organizers would need to choose a name other than African Games if South Africa were not allowed to compete.

The organizers replied that the IOC had excluded South Africa from the 1964 Olympic Games over the issue of apartheid, and also noted that all of the nations of Africa could easily join the new Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFo) movement and not become part of the Olympic movement. The IOC took the



threats seriously and began a closer working relationship with the organizing committee, in part so it could more closely control the preparations.

China had planned a political exhibition in Brazzaville during the 1965 games, specifically to take advantage of the large crowds that would be present. Games organizers made sure the exhibition did not take place as this would have been a violation of the rules set up by the IOC for regional games, which stated that regional games were not to be held in conjunction with other events or exhibitions, and “There must be no extraneous events connected with the Games, particularly those of a political nature” (Rules for Regional Games 1952, 12–13).

The 1965 African Games

The games opened under a tight ring of security. The Congo-Brazzaville army patrolled entrances to the city to guard against “counter-revolutionaries” that might want to disrupt the games. International Olympic Committee president Avery Brundage was present at the games and met with the organizers to discuss ways in which the IOC could help the African nations firmly establish the games. Jean-Claude Ganga of the Congo served as the head of the organizing committee for the 1965 games, and helped to found the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) in 1966, which became responsible for the organization of the African Games.

The 1973 African Games

Quadrennial plans for the games did not materialize. During the Brazzaville games, Bamako, Mali, was awarded the next games, to be held in 1969. A coup in 1968 canceled those games, which were then moved to Lagos, Nigeria, and rescheduled for 1971. The games were postponed once again and finally held in January of 1973.

Nigerian General Yakubu Gowon opened the 1973 games, with new IOC president Lord Killanin and former IOC president Avery Brundage in attendance. The games torch was relayed from Brazzaville to Lagos. According to a games report by IOC member Artur

Takacs, traffic and crowd control at the opening ceremonies was chaotic and eight IOC members could not get in the stadium to see the ceremony.

The 1978 African Games

Algiers, Algeria, hosted the 1978 games, but controversy began before the games when IOC members noted that an official poster for the games was overtly political in violation of the Olympic Charter. The poster featured an oversized continent of Africa, all in black, shaped into a large fist, poised to smash the continent of Europe, drawn in white. Several IOC members and international federation officials exchanged hasty letters, and IOC president Killanin contacted the organizers and was assured that all of the posters would be removed.

After beating Libya 1-0, the Egyptian soccer team was attacked by the Libyan football players and by spectators armed with clubs and metal bars. The violence was shown on live television and Egypt’s Prime Minister Mamduh Salem ordered all Egyptian athletes home immediately. Kenya’s Henry Rono, having already set four distance-running world records in 1978, would win the 3,000-meter steeplechase and 10,000-meter run in Algiers.

The issue of apartheid in South Africa and Rhodesia had not been solved and once again these nations were excluded from the games. Rhodesia never participated in the African Games. The nation became Zimbabwe

Table 1.

Locations of the African Games

Year	Location	Dates
1965	Brazzaville, Congo	July 18–25
1973	Lagos, Nigeria	January 7–18
1978	Algiers, Algeria	July 13–28
1987	Nairobi, Kenya	August 1–12
1991	Cairo, Egypt	September 20–October 1
1995	Harare, Zimbabwe	September 13–23
1999	Johannesburg, South Africa	September 10–19
2003	Abuja, Nigeria	October 4–18

and first competed in the 1987 African Games. South Africa had been reinstated by the IOC in time for the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games and first competed in the 1995 African Games.

The 1987 African Games

After the 1978 games in Algiers, it was hoped the games could finally be organized on a quadrennial schedule and the 1982 games were awarded to Nairobi, Kenya. In December of 1980 Kenya informed the SCSA that they would not be able to hold the games on time. Pressure was put on the SCSA to move the games to Tunis, Tunisia, but the SCSA backed Nairobi. After several delays and near cancellation, and after China stepped in to help build the main stadium, the fourth African Games opened in August of 1987.

Kenyan distance runner Kip Keino and Kenyan Paralympian Japheth Musyoki started out the Fourth All-African Games month-long torch run with John Ngugi, Kenya's world champion cross-country star, lighting the cauldron during the opening ceremony. Morocco boycotted the games, pulling out of activities involving the Organization of African Unity over its dispute with Western Sahara.

The 1991 African Games

Cairo, Egypt, hosted the next games in 1991, the first time the games had been held in a four-year schedule. The Egyptians hoped to impress the IOC and convince them that an African city was ready to hold the Olympic Games. The games did not run as smoothly as expected. A stampede by spectators at the opening ceremonies prevented some dignitaries from getting inside the stadium. The Egyptians had spent some US\$250 million for facilities for the games, and gave away most of the tickets to the games for free to fill the stands. Once the games began, the Egyptians were accused on numerous occasions of biased officiating, and computer systems did not work as well as expected. The medals for the diving events were struck from the records after the completion of the competition when it was ruled

that not enough nations had participated in order to make it an official competition.

The 1995 African Games

South Africa was finally welcomed to the games in 1995, when the games were held in Harare, Zimbabwe. The opening ceremony held in Harare's 60,000-seat National Sports Stadium had just 6,000 spectators in attendance. The games involved several protests, doping, poor sportsmanship, and a general lack of organization. Drug suspensions included Egyptian wrestler Mohy Abdel in the 100-kilogram class, Nigeria's 4×100-meter relay after team member Paul Egonye failed his drug test, and long jumpers Andrew Osuwu of Ghana, who lost the men's silver medal, and Karen Botha of South Africa, stripped of the women's long jump bronze medal.

Violence between the athletes and teams was especially disturbing at the games. The Zimbabwean security forces used police dogs to assist in escorting the football referee from the field after angry Nigerians confronted him after the match with Egypt. Boxers from Nigeria and fans from Egypt brawled in the boxing arena. Nigerians and Algerians fought during the volleyball competition. Women's handball teams from Zimbabwe and Egypt fought off court.

Controversies and arguments occurred over unfair judging in tae kwon do. The Egyptian team also protested that the South African women's gymnastics teams uniforms were too revealing. The Egyptian boxing contingent made claims that boxers from South Africa had AIDS, but later issued a retraction and an apology in an Egyptian newspaper. At the end of the games one Nigerian official stated that North Africans don't want to accept defeat and always think they are superior to black Africa.

Women's diving and netball were demoted to demonstration sports when not enough nations showed up to compete. South African hammer thrower Rumne Koprivchin won the gold medal but had only been given his South African citizenship in May, less than the



King Seezigeera, the last Tege King of Rwanda, with his bow.

Source: R. Bourgeois, Sport Museum Flanders.

had generally been the most successful nation in terms of medals won in previous games, but an instant rivalry was created when South Africa entered the games in 1995. The two nations both won 154 medals at the games, with South Africa claiming 64 gold medals and Egypt 61. The new rivalry was considered to be one of the reasons that the 1995 games were more contentious than most.

The games of Harare were the largest African Games up to that time with forty-six nations and 6,000 participants. International Olympic Committee president Juan Antonio Samaranch warned future African Games hosts not to copy the Olympic Games, that it would be harmful to try to organize games that were beyond the resources of most African nations.

The Seventh African Games

The seventh African Games were held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in September of 1999 with some 25,000 visitors, 6,000 athletes, and 3,000 officials from throughout the continent. Just prior to the 1999 African Games the SCSA met to discuss problems and issues in African sport and the sport movement worldwide, and passed a Code of Ethics for the African Sport Movement. The detailed code strongly emphasized that the members and associations of the African sport movement were to be ethical in all of their activities and stressed that there should be no discrimination or harassment of any kind, no doping, free and public elections, no forms of embezzlement, bribery, or conflict of interest, and no cheating or violence in sport.

Spectator interest in the Johannesburg games was low, however, with the opening ceremonies staged in a stadium with fewer than 15,000 spectators present. Johannesburg, which had lost to Athens for a bid for the 2004 Olympic Games, was hoping to impress the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) in hopes of landing the 2006 World Cup, a bid Johannesburg did not win. Laborers protested outside games venues with a strike, pressing for higher wages. Police escorted the Egyptian basketball team from the

six months required for eligibility in the games, and was disqualified. Okkert Brits, a pole vaulter from South Africa, was the heavy favorite in the event. Traveling from Europe to compete in the games, his pole vaulting poles were lost. Organizers postponed the pole vault event for several days, until the equipment arrived allowing Brits to compete and win the gold medal.

One modern difficulty of the games is that many of the bigger athletics stars choose to skip the games, preferring to make money in other competitions, leading to a decline in spectator interest. In 1995 the main no-shows were Nouredine Morceli, Moses Kiptanui, Hasiba Boulmerka, Samuel Matete, Frankie Fredericks, and Haile Gebreselassie.

South Africa is a sporting power in Africa, and their participation changed the dynamics of the games. Egypt



African Games

The Importance of Sport for Young Africans

Charismatic athletes provide models for African youths. Filbert Bayi and Suleiman Nyambi Mujaya, for example, represented new possibilities for Tanzanian hero-worshippers. "Our young people like to run, to compete. But all they have done in the past is run and they have been satisfied with beating whomever they happened to be racing against," observed Erasto Zamboni, Tanzania's national coach, in 1976. "Now that there is talk of records and medals and trips abroad, they have something to aim for."

Source: Baker, W. J. (1987). The meaning of international sport for independent Africa. In J. A. Mangan, (Ed.), *Sport in Africa—Essays in social history* (p. 282). New York: American Publishing Company.

court after an on-court brawl between Angola and Egypt. Women's field hockey became a nonmedal event after the Nigerian team dropped out of the tournament and not enough teams were present to make it a medal sport.

Overall, though, the games impressed IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch enough that he concluded that South Africa was ready to hold big events.

The Eighth African Games, Abuja, Nigeria

Labor unions once again called for strikes both before and during the eighth African Games in Abuja, Nigeria, in 2003, in protest over the government-mandated prices for fuel. The unions also asked spectators to boycott the games. At the closing ceremonies, spectators protesting the fuel prices and the cost of the games booed Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, cutting his final speech short. Spectators also complained that ticket prices were out of reach for most Nigerians, and security was so tight and took so long that even those who had tickets had some difficulty getting into the venues.

Money and budget issues for the games were so severe that the Japanese television equipment company JVC (Japan Victor Company) refused to turn over the

keys to the television equipment it had installed for the games because organizers had not paid for the work, and JVC was afraid they might never see the money. The issue was solved right at the beginning of the games and Nigerian television was allowed use of the equipment.

Nigeria's efforts to top the medals table brought protests from South Africa and Egypt and claims that Nigeria was counting several medals that were not official. Nigeria claimed that medals won by its disabled weightlifters counted in the medals table. The agreement was that disabled medals would count, but, in some of the events, South Africa and Egypt claimed that there were not enough competitors in the event to make the results official, that at least four nations had to participate in each weight class for official medals to be awarded. In one weight class, only one Nigerian competed and took home a medal. The games ended with the official count still in dispute. Sadly, several athletes and visitors contracted malaria while at the games and two Egyptians, one South African, and one Ethiopian died from the disease.

The Future

The next African Games are scheduled to be held in 2007 in Algiers, Algeria. Algiers should be well prepared to host the games after hosting the Arab Games in the fall of 2004. Algiers has already hosted the African Games, the Mediterranean Games, and the Arab Games, the only city on the world to have the distinction of hosting three of the major regional games. The continent of Africa is still hoping to host a future Olympic Games, with Egypt, South Africa, and Nigeria most often mentioned as possible hosts.

Daniel Bell

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There are only two options regarding commitment, You're either in or you're out. There's no such thing as life in between. ■ ANONYMOUS

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Agents

Although commercialized sports have been around since the nineteenth century, the widespread use of agents by athletes has been a relatively recent phenomenon. In using a skilled negotiator rather than negotiating on their own behalf, athletes have been able to compensate for an imbalance in bargaining position that has traditionally existed between themselves and management while freeing up the time to focus on developing their athletic skills.

Prior to the 1960s the bargaining position of professional athletes was weak; in professional team sports many people have described the historical relationship between players and teams as a dictatorship, with owners exercising considerable control over players. Owners were able to exercise such control through the use of the reserve clause, which bound a player to a specific team and was enforced by a lack of alternative employment opportunities available to professional athletes. This practice continued because athletes historically represented themselves and negotiated with a general manager or another representative of a club who likely

had many years of negotiating experience. Players also understood that many other athletes were more than willing to replace them should they show any dislike for the terms offered by management. As a result many athletes felt exploited and underpaid. Thus, we can see the development of agents and players' associations in professional sports as an attempt by players to overcome their inferior bargaining position by acquiring the services of a skilled agent to negotiate the terms of their contracts and by collectively bargaining with owners as a single unit.

Agents have a close relationship with the players' associations in their clients' respective sports, and the agent's role is necessary because of the uniqueness of the representation provided by players' associations. In contrast to a decline in unionism in most industries, in sports players' associations have only recently emerged as powerful bargaining units, and their adversarial relationships with their respective leagues in North America have been the cause of frequent work stoppages in recent years. However, players' associations are different from other labor unions in that they do not focus on establishing individual salaries in the process of collective bargaining. For this reason agents have become an important part of the professional sports industry, while players' associations have focused on other means of increasing player salaries, by negotiating minimum salary levels and bargaining for mechanisms such as free agency and salary arbitration. The Major League Baseball (MLB) Players' Association leader, Donald Fehr, and other union leaders have acknowledged that agents are more effective at negotiating players' salaries than are unions because of the disparity of the various athletes' playing skills. Because playing skill is the prime determinant of an athlete's wages, the assistance of a capable agent can only increase potential earnings during an athlete's relatively short career span and assist the athlete in establishing a foundation for lifetime financial stability.

Agents began to emerge throughout professional sports during the mid-1960s, although agents had affiliated with prominent athletes for decades. The first

widely known agent in professional sports was C. C. “Cash and Carry” Pyle, a promoter and movie theater manager who negotiated a playing salary and endorsement contracts for the U.S. college football great Red Grange in 1925. Pyle organized a series of playing tours that, combined with endorsement deals, resulted in earnings in excess of \$325,000 for Grange. However, the true pioneers of the sports agent profession as it is known today are considered to be Bob Woolf and Marty Blackman and Mark McCormack of International Management Group (IMG).

Although many agents represented athletes independently, during the 1970s sports management organizations, such as IMG and Pro-Serv, emerged to look after the affairs of athletes. In 1975 IMG employed 250 people and had twelve offices throughout the world representing athletes in individual sports. By 1991 IMG had forty-three offices in twenty countries, employing one thousand people and representing more than four hundred athletes in a variety of sports. Today IMG is considered to be the largest sports management agency in the world, generating \$1.4 billion in revenues in 2001 alone, employing more than thirty-five hundred people worldwide, and representing more than one thousand athletes.

Agent Services

An athlete delegates authority to an agent to negotiate contracts with the team that holds the athlete’s rights and to provide other services, such as seeking endorsement opportunities. Today most agents charge a player a fee based on a percentage of the total salary or endorsements negotiated on behalf of the player, although the actual percentage has decreased as total transaction values have increased. The industry standard for contract negotiations in North America has decreased from 10 percent during the late 1960s and 1970s to between 2 percent and 5 percent, depending on the services provided to the player. With more agents vying to represent players, financial rewards for agents are likely to decrease as agents accept less favorable terms in order to contract with players. Thus, the agent business

is a highly competitive profession in which aspiring agents establish themselves only with difficulty.

Typically agents enter into a written contract with the players they represent. Similar to the standard player’s contract that is negotiated with a team by the agent on behalf of a player, a standard representation contract (SRC) is negotiated between player and agent. The SRC establishes the rights and responsibilities between player and agent and clearly defines the period of service, exclusivity of representation, fee system, and if/how agent expenses are repaid. The terms of the SRC are created and enforced by the players’ association. Although initiated to protect players, the SRC cannot fully police agent competence in the sense that the contract calls only for a good-faith effort on the part of the agent; in other words, the agent’s efforts do not necessarily have to be successful. The player-agent relationship is also considered to be fiduciary: Agents are bound to act faithfully and honestly toward the players they represent. In this manner any breaches of contract are treated like breaches of service contracts that govern any other agency relationship, such as that between a vehicle owner and a mechanic. Thus, the agent is bound by two types of legal duty to the player: The agent must agree to perform the services contracted for and must act in the best interests of the player. Although this arrangement may seem straightforward, the ability of the agent to fulfill the terms of the contract can vary greatly.

In addition to negotiating a player’s contract with a team, an agent may provide a number of other services. These may include (1) providing legal counseling, (2) obtaining endorsements and other income for the player, (3) providing financial planning and management, (4) providing career planning and counseling, (5) improving the player’s public image, and (6) resolving disputes under the employment contract, such as arbitration. Agents are then compensated based on the services they provide, which is typically achieved in any of four ways: (1) on an hourly rate, (2) a flat rate, (3) a percentage of the athlete’s salary, such as a commission, or (4) any combination of the preceding three

Show me the money! ■ CUBA GOODING JR AS
ROD TIDWELL IN JERRY MAGUIRE

ways. By far the most popular means of compensation is using a performance-contingent compensation (commission) system, although agents providing specific services may use a compensation scheme that is standard for their profession, such as attorneys who choose to bill at an hourly rate. Many agents do not represent players as a full-time occupation, and they perform services to other principals in the disciplines they have been trained in, such as financial planning or law. As salaries have escalated, the percentage that agents have charged players has decreased. Endorsements usually result in a substantially higher fee. The rationale for charging more is simple: An agent is more directly responsible for obtaining an endorsement and therefore expects to be paid more for the effort.

In order to perform the variety of services offered to players, agents must be cognizant of many issues in professional sports. Planning strategies, legal issues involved in creating personal service corporations, rights to publicity (an athlete's ability to retain the right to his or her name and likeness while agreeing to play for a team or in an event), tax planning, and state and local income taxation of professional athletes playing outside of their residences are important issues of which agents must be aware. In addition, agents must be aware of issues specific to the sport of their client, such as the application of revenue laws and codes to foreign-born athletes playing in other countries and the growing internationalization of sports, which today can involve complex transfer fees paid to foreign sports clubs or associations to release players to play elsewhere.

However, the relationship between player and agent cannot be defined solely on the basis of services that are provided in the SRC. Agents also provide a number of other benefits that are not so easily defined. Some contract negotiations can last for prolonged periods, which can be grueling for a player and strain relations between player and team and reduce team morale. In this instance an agent can act as a buffer between management and player. Because at contract time team management tries to minimize the player's contribution to the team in order to pay a lower salary, an agent can re-

duce any emotional trauma that the player might endure as result of having his or her abilities downplayed by team management. The agent also can act as a lightning rod for criticism; team management and local media members can more easily vilify an agent than a player for being greedy.

Agents are often expected to provide other services that are not necessarily addressed by a SRC. For example, the pioneer agent Bob Woolf recalled when his client, the former Boston Bruin Derek Sanderson, was on vacation in Hawaii and had left a number of urgent messages for Woolf at his office in Boston. Sanderson wanted Woolf to call the manager of the hotel that Sanderson was staying at in Hawaii to complain about the lack of hot water in his room.

Issues and Problems

Given the number of athletes in professional sports, the number of agents is relatively small compared with the number of agents in other industries, such as real estate. Despite this fact, sports agents have developed an unseemly reputation in the eyes of many people, a reputation that Bob Woolf claimed is a spillover from other fields such as the entertainment industry. Unfortunately for players, in many instances agents have not acted ethically and competently when performing services. The activities of several notorious agents have been well documented. However, estimating just how prevalent opportunistic behavior is in the agent profession would be difficult; media focus on the issue might lead one to assume that such behavior is commonplace. However, some commentators have claimed that agent opportunism is not as prevalent as media reports suggest.

One problem between players and agents in professional sports occurs when an agent misrepresents his or her ability in order to represent a player. Such misrepresentation can be largely attributed to a lack of standards of competency and explains why incidences of opportunism have occurred during the past three decades. Because no standard training is required for a person to become an agent—such as the law degree required for a person to become an attorney—players



have not always known or understood the types of training and experience that make a good agent. Thus, the likelihood of a player selecting an incompetent or unreliable agent is more likely to occur. The problem has been worsened by agents who have deliberately misrepresented their training and abilities in order to acquire a player as a client.

As player salaries have increased (increasing the potential financial benefits of representing professional athletes), competition between agents has grown; such competition may result in more abuses by agents who attempt to induce players to contract with them by any means possible. Some agents have resorted to soliciting players by providing prospective clients or their families with cars, money, or other perks. Problems of recruitment are compounded when an agent circumvents regulations set out by sports governing bodies such as the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) or when an agent is an attorney and violates solicitation rules set out in codes of conduct for the legal profession. Examples of agents lurking on college campuses have been well documented; players and their families have been forced to change their telephone numbers frequently and even forced out of their living accommodations to avoid persistent agents.

In other situations agents, although not guilty of putting forth inadequate effort, have been guilty of engaging in morally questionable behavior in order to contract with players. Given that an agent is willing to circumvent collegiate regulations and the law, that agent is capable of shirking his or her duties on behalf of the player in the future. In one instance a National Hockey League (NHL) team had an arrangement with an unscrupulous agent by which the team paid the agent money to negotiate on behalf of his players specifically with that team. Other agents have offered amateur coaches financial rewards to steer amateur athletes to those agents.

Another problem is conflicts of interest. The most common conflict of interest occurs when an agent represents multiple clients, such as players competing with each other for a position on the same team. Agents

should reveal such conflicts. Comprehensive sports management firms face another conflict. A large firm with multiple clients, such as IMG, may have conflicts in which the firm is also involved in event management. A player might be encouraged to attend or engage in a tournament that would further the interests of the firm but not necessarily those of the player.

Monitoring

Athletes have several means by which they can seek recourse for abuses by their agents. Just as teams and players may seek judicial and nonjudicial solutions to breaches of the standard player's contract, industry stakeholders have created methods by which players can obtain relief from breaches of the standard representation contract. Typically player-agent disputes are treated like disputes involving other principal-agent service contracts. In one high-profile case two football agents in the United States were convicted by invocation of the mail fraud statute.

In response to widespread claims of agent abuses in sports in the United States, individual states during the early 1980s began examining the possibilities of creating agent certification programs. In large part the motive for state involvement was the desire to address recruiting problems occurring on college campuses. Thus, a goal was to protect athletes and the collegiate athletic programs within a state's jurisdiction. Most state certification programs require agents to register and to post a bond. Registration fees vary widely from state to state, and several are contingent upon enforcement of the NCAA.

Because most athletes in North American professional sports receive their amateur training at U.S. colleges, the NCAA has also explored its own means of policing agents. In 1984 the NCAA created an annual registration for agents, often working in concert with state regulations. Obviously a motive for intervention by the NCAA was to prevent its member institutions from losing the eligibility of their high-profile athletes.

Other industry parties were concerned by agent abuses during the 1970s, and the agents themselves

also expressed a desire to reduce agent abuses. As the agent profession developed a reputation as being unscrupulous, many competent, trustworthy agents recognized that the behavior of a few agents was hurting the image of the profession as a whole. Thus, the agents themselves sought to control and monitor behavior within their own ranks by creating a code of ethics for agents. The result was formation in 1978 of the Association of Representatives of Professional Athletes (ARPA), which grew to four hundred members by 1988. However, ARPA lacked the ability to sanction agents and folded.

Just as ARPA was created by agents to foster trustworthy behavior, lend credibility to their profession, and set standards of competency, other professions have developed similar codes of conduct. As a result some agents are influenced by codes of conduct of other professions in which they have been trained. When an agent has been trained and practices in another profession, such as law or accounting, that agent must also adhere to the standards of that profession. Other professions, such as financial advising, also have codes of conduct. Lawyers face additional constraints through their own professional standards; in the United States lawyers are bound by the code of the American Bar Association, which sets standards of professional ethics. If a lawyer engages in conduct that violates such a code, the lawyer risks being disbarred—a sanction that provides an additional means of deterring sports agent opportunism.

Finally, as a result of concern over agent opportunism, players' associations created their own agent certification programs. These programs remove the burden of regulation from other industry parties. In North America MLB, the NHL, National Football League (NFL), and National Basketball Association (NBA) have developed agent certification programs that establish the terms of the SRC, fees, and forms of dispute resolution.

The Future

Agents will continue to provide valuable services to athletes. During the past thirty years agents have become prominent stakeholders in professional sports as

players have enjoyed significant salary increases and have been paid a higher percentage of total revenues generated in the industry. In addition, some players have substantially supplemented their playing salaries through endorsements obtained by agents. However, agents have at times acted opportunistically to the detriment of the athletes they represent. As a result industry stakeholders have regulated agent behavior. This trend will continue in the future.

Daniel S. Mason

See also Athletic Talent Migration; Free Agency

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AIDS and HIV

In 1978 gay men in Sweden and the United States and heterosexuals in Tanzania and Haiti began developing unusual symptoms and ailments. In 1982, what at first seemed like a host of diseases was identified as a virus that attacked the immune system. Transmitted through sharing body fluids, the disease was named acquired immune deficiency syndrome or AIDS. Many individuals may be carriers prior to the onset of symptoms; these people have contracted the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Though HIV-positive individuals experience no symptoms, they may spread the virus to others. AIDS/HIV is generally contracted through unprotected sex, sharing contaminated needles, or prenatal contact (mother to fetus).

The AIDS epidemic has had tragic global consequences. Globally, AIDS is the leading cause of death due to infectious disease and the fourth leading cause of death overall. It is estimated that there are 33.6 million people worldwide living with HIV/AIDS. Though the majority of AIDS infections are found in poor nations (over 90 percent of cases reported), over a million people in the United States have contracted HIV since the emergence of the disease, and twenty thousand new cases are reported annually. The emergence of a deadly incurable contagious disease has had significant consequences in many areas of social life, including sports.

AIDS Enters the World of Sports

In the early stages of the epidemic, the emerging threat was largely ignored by the sports world in the United States. As it was incorrectly perceived as a disease con-

tracted mainly by homosexuals, sporting institutions did not develop cohesive AIDS/HIV policies early on. The conflation of AIDS with gay men and the largely erroneous assumption that male athletes are heterosexual allowed sports leagues to avoid considering the risks posed by the disease. The role sports has played in defining masculinity in American culture, cultural conflations of effeminacy and male homosexuality, and the discrimination and loss of endorsement dollars that threaten out gay athletes led to a pervasive belief that there were and are no homosexual athletes in “manly sports” such as baseball, football, and basketball. Hence, the world of sports largely ignored HIV/AIDS during the early years of the epidemic.

The problem of the athlete with HIV and AIDS could no longer be ignored after 7 November 1991, when future Hall of Fame Laker point guard Earvin “Magic” Johnson announced that he had tested positive for HIV during a routine physical. Charismatic, popular, and respected, Johnson’s announcement shook the world of sports. Johnson alleged that he had contracted HIV through heterosexual contact. This announcement revealed the risk of contagion among heterosexuals, something significantly underestimated in the United States. Because AIDS/HIV had long been associated with homosexuality, and specifically promiscuous homosexuality, the disease carried a significant social stigma, and Johnson’s announcement was considered a courageous act. At the time Johnson chose to retire from the league, but he subsequently returned to play for the Lakers during the 1995–1996 season. He also continued to participate in basketball internationally after having been diagnosed. Though some expressed hesitation at competing with an athlete known to be infected, the public and league support Johnson received indicated a willingness to accept infected athletes, or at least extraordinarily talented ones.

Some debate has centered on the role of the media in “outing” those infected with the disease, and what obligations athletes have as public figures. Many point out that as public figures, athletes must raise awareness about the risks of the disease and the ability to live

with contagion. By the same token, others are critical of a media that forces athletes to publicly discuss a painful diagnosis. This debate came to a head in 1992. When made aware that *USA Today* intended to reveal his previously undisclosed infection, Arthur Ashe announced he had AIDS. Ashe had previously contracted the virus during a blood transfusion in 1983. Though currently retired, former Wimbledon champion Ashe was still well known for his breaking down of racial barriers in the world of tennis and was a prominent philanthropist. Ashe died in 1993 of AIDS-related complications. Public response to Ashe was largely sympathetic, but the media's role in forcing Ashe to announce his status remains a point of contention.

Several other notable athletes have since announced HIV positive status or their status has been revealed posthumously. In 1995, diver Greg Louganis, arguably the best diver in the world for over a decade, revealed to Barbara Walters that he had AIDS and had been HIV positive in 1988 when he won two gold medals at the Olympic Games. Louganis had won his second medal only after recovering from an accident during competition, when he hit his head on the board and required stitches prior to continuing. In 1996 boxer Tommy Morrison, known for his portrayal of a young fighter in *Rocky V*, announced he had contracted HIV through heterosexual sex. Later he acknowledged it was most likely contracted through sharing needles while injecting steroids. Though banned from boxing in the United States, Morrison has participated in events since his retirement, including a much-publicized fund-raiser in which he knocked out his opponent in the first round. Other notables include former Olympic decathlete and founder of the Gay Games, Tom Waddell, who died of complications related to AIDS in 1987; Esteban de Jesus, the former World Boxing Council lightweight champion who died of AIDS while serving a life sentence for murder; Jon Curry, former Olympic and world champion figure skater who died from AIDS-related illness in 1994; and Glenn Burke, former Los Angeles Dodger and Oakland A's outfielder who died of AIDS-related complications in 1995. Further, Jerry Smith, for-



AIDS and HIV

The Magic Johnson Announcement

In a November 1991 press conference, the star basketball player Magic Johnson told the world he had tested positive for the HIV virus. In an instant, his announcement changed the face of AIDS/HIV from a "gay disease" to a disease that, in Johnson's words, "can happen to everybody." Below are excerpts from his announcement.

I plan on going on, living for a long time . . . and going on with my life. . . . I will now become a spokesman for the HIV virus. I want people, young people, to realize that they can practice safe sex. Sometimes you're a little naïve about it. . . . You only thought it could happen to other people. It *has* happened. But I'm going to deal with it. Life is going to go on for me, and I'm going to be a happy man. . . .

Source: Johnson, E. (1992). *My life* (pp. 266–267). New York: Random House.

mer member of the Washington Redskins, died of complications related to AIDS in 1986; stock car racer Tim Richmond died of complications caused by AIDS in 1989; Alan Wiggins, former member of the San Diego Padres and Baltimore Orioles, died of complications caused by AIDS in 1991; and Bill Goldsworthy, National Hockey League veteran and one of the original Minnesota North Stars, died of complications from AIDS in 1996. Certainly, the problems faced by many athletes after revealing their status may have led many others to remain silent.

Public Responses to Athletes with HIV/AIDS

The public response to athletes with AIDS has varied widely depending on the status and sexual orientation of the athlete. While heterosexual high profile Magic Johnson was labeled a hero for publicly acknowledging his HIV-positive status, Greg Louganis was faulted for failing to disclose his status to the doctor who treated



AIDS and HIV

HIV and Interscholastic Sports Policies

In the wake of Magic Johnson's announcement in 1991 that he tested positive for HIV, sports organizations scrambled to put policies in place concerning potential contact with HIV-positive athletes. Below is one such policy put forth by the state of Alaska in its Epidemiology Bulletin (6 November 1992).

Publicity surrounding Magic Johnson's infection with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), his participation in the Olympics, and his recent attempt to return to the National Basketball Association has focused attention on the possibility of HIV transmission through participation in sports. Concern among parents, coaches, and athletes is based on the fact that injuries and bleeding often occur during contact sports, and HIV can be transmitted through blood-to-blood contact with an infected individual. This widespread focus on athletic contact as a potential risk factor for HIV infection is misplaced, however, and diverts public attention from the activities repeatedly shown to be involved in HIV transmission: sexual intercourse and sharing contaminated needles and syringes for injection drug use.

As the HIV epidemic continues, we must use our knowledge and resources wisely to prevent transmission of HIV. The risk of HIV transmission through participation in interscholastic sports is infinitesimally small. It is important to remember that HIV is not transmitted through such things as saliva, sweat, tears, urine, respiratory droplets, handshaking, swimming pool water, communal bath water, showers, toilets, food, or drinking water. Numerous organizations . . . have carefully reviewed the available scientific evidence and developed recommendations for athletes, coaches, and others who participate in

sports. The following recommendations are consistent with the statements of these organizations:

1. Based on current scientific evidence, the risk of HIV transmission due to participation in contact sports is infinitesimally small. There have been no documented instances of HIV transmission between athletes during athletic training or competition.
2. There is no public health basis for excluding a player from participation in any sport because the player is infected with HIV. The decision for an HIV-infected person to continue participation in any sport is a medical decision involving the HIV-infected person and his or her personal physician.
3. There is no medical or public health justification for mandatory or routine HIV testing of participants in any sports activity.
4. Consistent with routine, sound medical practice, all sports teams should employ universal precautions when providing first-aid or cleaning-up blood or body fluids visibly contaminated with blood, as recommended by the National Centers for Disease Control and the Alaska Division of Public Health.
5. Athletes, coaches, and athletic trainers should receive training in prevention of HIV transmission. This training should concentrate on known high-risk behaviors associated with HIV transmission: sexual intercourse and blood-to-blood transmission associated with sharing contaminated drug injection equipment. Risks associated with sharing needles/syringes for anabolic steroid injection should be included in these discussions.

him during the 1988 Olympic Games. The doctor has publicly acknowledged his clear understanding of universal precautions and that he holds Louganis blameless. While Louganis was stigmatized as a carrier of the illness, sportscasters and writers lambasted athletes like

Karl Malone for having expressed concern at having to face Magic Johnson on the court, claiming their fears were groundless and citing ignorance about the disease. While heterosexual Arthur Ashe's illness was front page news, gay Glenn Burke's departure from baseball

and subsequent death went largely unnoticed. Burke contended that he was blackballed from baseball because of his sexual orientation. Certainly the difference in the relative status of an athlete has some correlation with public exposure. However, athletes whose heterosexuality was unquestioned were treated very differently than openly gay or sexually ambiguous athletes. While Magic Johnson was appointed to presidential committees on HIV/AIDS, Greg Louganis was banned from speaking on a college campus and was unable to transition into a prominent diving commentator role in subsequent Olympic games. While the media was heavily criticized for forcing Ashe to reveal his illness, Greg Louganis was heavily criticized for failing to disclose his. It is clear that the social location of the athlete affects media and public response.

The Impact of AIDS on Sports

AIDS has impacted sporting bodies in a number of ways. In the first case, the world of sports has had to seriously consider risk of transmission. In addition to actual risk, the fear of risk of transmission also needs to be considered. Second, the ethical and legal consequences of policies and procedures must be considered. Special attention should be paid to the rights and protections afforded to infected and uninfected athletes. Third, the role of sports institutions in developing, adopting, and enforcing policies, procedures, and protections must be considered.

RISK OF TRANSMISSION

At the center of current debates is risk of transmission. The risk of transmission of HIV/AIDS through sports participation appears to be infinitesimally small. Most medical experts agree that there have been no cases of HIV being contracted during an athletic competition. Though a few anecdotal reports exist, these cases are questionable at best. Given the low level of risk, the question becomes, is the level of risk acceptable? Is the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS comparable with other risks assumed by athletes? Certainly, participating in sports carries with it the acceptance of an assortment of

varying degrees of risk of injury and infirmity that are far more likely and extremely debilitating. Studies on masculinity, gender, and sport by Brian Pronger, Michael Messner, Don Sabo, and others note the myriad of ways in which men's sports encourage risky behavior. For example, athletes routinely play with injuries, exacerbating the existing injury and risking further injury. Moreover, sports sometimes overlook medical evidence of risk in favor of preserving elements of a sport or competition. As Rodger Jackson (1999) notes, while U.S. boxing federations prohibit HIV-positive individuals from participating once diagnosed, other risky practices are ignored. Despite incontrovertible medical evidence that links blows to the head with the risk of death or long-term debilitation due to head injuries, headgear is not imposed at the professional level. In addition, many athletes engage in a variety of risky practices in an attempt to gain an athletic advantage. The triad of women's sports (eating disorders, exercise compulsion, amenorrhea) common among female athletes involved in sports such as track, cross country, figure skating, and gymnastics; rampant use and abuse of legal and illegal substances (recall that Tommy Morrison contracted HIV through sharing needles used to inject steroids); and excessive training regimes have lasting consequences on the health of individuals. Athletes are considered competent to accept these risks as part of participation in sports. While some of the risks assumed by athletes are questionable at best, the risk for contracting HIV/AIDS is extremely low, and therefore similar to or less than a host of other assumed risks. As a result, few sports organizations have chosen to ban HIV-positive individuals.

ETHICAL AND LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS

A host of ethical and legal considerations surround HIV-positive athletes' participation in sports. Foremost is the issue of confidentiality. Currently, most leagues and professional organizations do not require mandatory testing. However, U.S. boxers are tested when they apply for a license to fight and testing positive for HIV will lead to a revocation of the license. Boxers who

compete against an opponent who he or she knows to be HIV positive also forfeits his or her license. The question of whether or not leagues can require testing and what the implications of that information should be is a thorny ethical dilemma. Given that the risk of contracting HIV is virtually nil, do leagues have the right to prohibit HIV-positive athletes from participation? Moreover, what responsibility do leagues and athletes have regarding informing other participants of potential risk? Does the perception of risk that the individual has matter? If mandatory testing is instituted, who would have access to information and what consequences are imposed on those who inappropriately disclose the status of others? What are the rules governing disclosure and what would be done to protect athletes from risk of disclosure? Indeed, an even more complex issue emerges when one considers how infected and noninfected athletes may use their status to intimidate or ostracize teammates or competitors. There are no clear-cut answers to such dilemmas. Ethicist Rodger Jackson (1999) suggests that any ethical inquiry into HIV/AIDS and sports should adhere to four rules: (1) specific details of any recommendations made must be given; (2) the goals of each recommendation must be stated clearly and honestly; (3) ethical and factual justification for the recommendation must be given; and (4) possible objections to the recommendation must be given.

In addition to ethical considerations are legal considerations. Leagues must deal with a host of issues pertaining to legal issues and HIV-positive athletes. In the first case, a person with HIV is viewed by the law as a person with a disability. Hence, leagues, personnel, and athletes must be familiar with the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990. The difficulty is that while the acts protect the rights of the disabled to restrict or limit physical activity, for athletes, sports participation is by its nature physical activity. The ADA further protects the rights of qualified athletes to reasonable accommodations from employers, unless undue hardship would

Ask not what your teammates can do for you. Ask what you can do for your teammates. ■ MAGIC JOHNSON

result. Defining things like undue hardship and reasonable accommodations in the arena of professional and high-level amateur sports is difficult. Because physical ability is a necessity in sports, what types of accommodations are acceptable and what are not? What exactly constitutes an undue hardship and when is an athlete's performance problematic because of HIV as opposed to a host of other factors?

Currently, there are no clear legal precedents governing the participation of HIV-positive athletes, though access to health and fitness facilities for HIV-positive athletes is clearly protected. While most leagues permit the participation of HIV-positive athletes, and such practices have remained legal, leagues that have prohibited their participation, such as boxing, have received legal support as well. The problem becomes even more complex at the recreational level. The ADA requires that accommodations for recreational sports be made for disabled persons; however, for the HIV positive, it is generally unclear what these accommodations should be. At what point can leagues deem an athlete a danger to himself or herself or others? Past cases have suggested that leagues can ban an athlete to protect him or her from undue injury. At what point is an HIV-positive athlete a risk to himself or herself? Could beliefs about risk to the self or others be used to couch discrimination against HIV-positive athletes? Who is in a position to make such a decision and what are the legal repercussions for leagues who remove such athletes and leagues that do not?

Further, when considering athletes with HIV, one must consider ethical and legal issues pertaining to confidentiality. Who needs to know about an athlete's status? Recent legal cases have sent conflicting messages, sometimes ruling to protect the privacy of the individual, sometimes ruling that the HIV status of an individual should be revealed to colleagues. When considering such issues, two aspects are paramount: access to and control of the information. Recent rulings suggest that overall the confidentiality of the patient must be maintained. Given the complexity of the legal and ethical is-

sues surrounding HIV-positive athletes, it is paramount that sports organizations develop clear legal guidelines in dealing with such athletes.

POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

Policies have now been adopted by most professional, amateur, and recreational sports leagues. Generally, most leagues advocate some variation of universal precautions. This means that leagues now operate on the assumption that any athlete may be infected and therefore have adopted safety policies and procedures to deal with bleeding athletes and blood spills. This requires that officials present be aware of policies and procedures for minimizing exposure to infectious agents. Policies and procedures vary by sport and league and generally focus on cleaning up blood, controlling bleeding, and exchanging or changing bloody uniforms. Teams or athletes requiring such accommodations are not penalized. Such issues become thornier in recreational settings, where there may be no qualified personnel to handle the situation.

The Future

While most sports have neither required testing nor banned HIV-positive athletes, the United States Boxing Commission denies licenses to HIV-positive boxers and bans them from further competition. Boxers are tested once a year, when they apply for a new license. By contrast, the National Collegiate Athletic Association institutes strict and extensive guidelines pertaining to blood-borne pathogens and communicable skin infections, but does not prohibit HIV-positive individuals from participating. Over time, leagues have developed what seem to be safe and reasonable policies for handling the threat of contagion.

Advances in treating HIV/AIDS mean that infected athletes can now enjoy prolonged involvement in sports. Further medical advances may eventually render fears about HIV/AIDS obsolete. In the meantime, it would seem that most leagues will adopt guidelines similar to the NCAA, adopting policies that regulate the

treatment of all bleeding athletes, rather than discriminating against specific individuals.

Faye Linda Wachs

See also Homophobia

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Aikido

Aikido is a Japanese martial art that includes techniques for fighting empty handed, with weapons, or for subduing an armed opponent. The distinctive feature of aikido is characterized by a training method based on “kata” (a practice of aikido forms), while other Japanese martial arts, like judo, use two training methods, kata and randori (a free practice using the moves of kata in a more realistic and competitive setting). The kata method is well suited to younger and older people and to women because it is a safer and enjoyable way to practice a martial art. People are often impressed by aikido’s

graceful movements because, as many instructors point out, aikido movements maintain a person's stable center with an emphasis on spherical rotation characterized by flowing, circular, and dance-like motions.

Aikido is largely divided into two categories: joint (wrist, elbow, and shoulder, etc.) techniques (*kansetsu waza*) and striking techniques (*atemi waza*). Although aikido techniques have the power to kill and injure, their fundamental purpose is to seize and control an opponent. All of the principles of Japanese swordsmanship (eye contact, proper distance, timing, and cutting methods) are incorporated into the movements of aikido.

Morihei Ueshiba (1883–1969) founded aikido and promoted it throughout Japan with his son and heir Kisshomaru Ueshiba (1921–1999). He learned several forms of martial arts, but he derived the major techniques of aikido from the Daito-ryu jujitsu style, which he learned from Sokaku Takeda (1860–1943). Jujitsu is an art of weaponless fighting that employs holds, throws, and paralyzing blows to subdue an opponent. Ueshiba also established the Aiki-kai aikido association.

As to the meaning of aiki—the core concept of aikido—“ai” means to come together or harmonize, while “ki” means energy or spirit or mind. We can trace *aiki* back to martial arts literature of the Edo era (1600/1603–1868). *Toka Mondo* (Candlelight Discussion), written by a master of Kito-ryu jujitsu in 1764, says *aiki* means that two fighters come to a standstill in a bout when they have focused their attention on each other's breathing. Other interpretations exist. For example, the book *Budo-hiketsu Aiki no Jutsu* (Secret Keys to Martial Arts Techniques), published in 1892, says *aiki* is the ultimate goal in the study of martial arts and may be accomplished by “taking a step ahead of the enemy.”

Organizations

There are three other major organizations that were established by Ueshiba's leading pupils in the world of aikido. The Ki-Society (established in 1974) is regarded in second position. Its founder is Koichi Tohei (b. 1920) who started aikido in 1939 and was at one time supposed to be Ueshiba's successor in Aiki-kai. He em-

phasizes the power of “*Ki*” in aikido, which he defines as the unification of mind and body, and became independent from Aiki-kai in 1974. Yoshinkan (established in 1955) is in third place. Its founder Gozo Shioda (1915–1994) practiced with Ueshiba beginning in 1932, and established a practical training method while teaching aikido at the police academy in Tokyo. The Japan Aikido Association (JAA, established in 1974) is in fourth place. Its founder Kenji Tomiki (1900–1979) originated the randori (free practice) training method of aikido in about 1961. It combines Ueshiba's techniques with judo, founder Jigoro Kano's theory on the modernization of Japanese schools of jujitsu. The JAA is the only school in the big four to promote the practice of both kata and competition. There are other smaller groups in Japan and other countries that are or were led by master instructors, among them Noriaki Inoue (Shineitaido school), Minoru Mochizuki (Youseikan), Minoru Hirai (Korindo), Kanshu Sunadomari (Manseikan), and Kenji Shimizu (Tendoryu).

Aikido Around the World

Aikido has the greatest number of schools in Japan, France, the United States, England, Germany, and Italy, in that order. Minoru Mochizuki was the first person to teach aikido in France, from 1951 to 1953. Then Tadashi Abe and Nobuyoshi Tamura of Aiki-kai followed. Aiki-kai aikido in France was promoted in affiliation with the French Judo Federation, which allowed aikido instructors to more easily receive government subsidies and to rent fully equipped gymnasiums at minimal cost. Consequently, tuition costs have been reasonable, a fact that has also helped to draw followers. France has approximately fourteen hundred clubs in two large organizations.

In North America Yoshimitsu Yamada and other younger instructors contributed to the rapid popularization of Aiki-kai aikido during the late 1960s. As of 2005 there were six hundred and forty clubs from various schools. The United States Aikido Federation (Aiki-kai, www.usaikifed.com) has the most with around two hundred and twenty clubs on the mainland. The United



An aikido dojo, with students being taught by their sensei.

Kingdom has around three hundred and thirty clubs under the British Aikido Board (BAB, www.bab.org.uk).

Three of the four main schools now have their own international organizations, the International Aikido Federation (Aiki-kai, www.aikido-international.org), the International Yoshinkan Aikido Federation (Yoshinkan, www.yoshinkan-aikido.org) and the Tomiki Aikido Network (JAA).

The Future

Aikido will likely develop on a large scale because there is significant demand from people who have tired of competitive sports and because many individuals have welcomed aikido as a unique form of physical activity that offers a combination of mental and physical stimulation not available elsewhere.

On the other hand, the increasing popularity and success of competitive martial arts such as judo and taekwondo in the Olympic Games bodes well for aikido, too. The Tomiki Aikido Network has held international competitions and contests since 1989, with widespread excitement evident among the participants, who enjoy the thrill of competition as in other athletic sports.

This enthusiasm for competition, however, is not generally shared by practitioners of other styles of aikido. Indeed, Aiki-kai strongly forbade competition after Kenji Tomiki created the free practice training method in 1961, which allows two aikido practitioners to compete. The reasoning behind the ban is that contests may produce a mind-set that is more interested in competition than cooperation.

More recently, however, a contest in the format of kata, with the winner being decided by a judging panel that scores each participant's performance, has become popular in many non-Tomiki aikido schools. Some clubs and some schools hold contests and give commendations to winning participants as an incentive, although strictly speaking this practice may result in producing a mind that wants to compete against other people. Going forward, the competitive mind-set—pro and con—is likely to remain a thorny issue in the aikido world.

Fumiaki Shishida

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All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club

The All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club is the site of the most prestigious tournament in tennis: Wimbledon. Also known as “the Championships,” Wimbledon challenges elite junior and professional players from around the world to compete on the club’s

famous grass courts. Of the four major tennis tournaments played every year that compose the Grand Slam of tennis—the Australian, the French, Wimbledon, and the U.S. Open—Wimbledon is the oldest and the only one played on grass. It is often referred to as the truest test of tennis because it requires players to adapt their playing style to the low bounces produced by the grass surface.

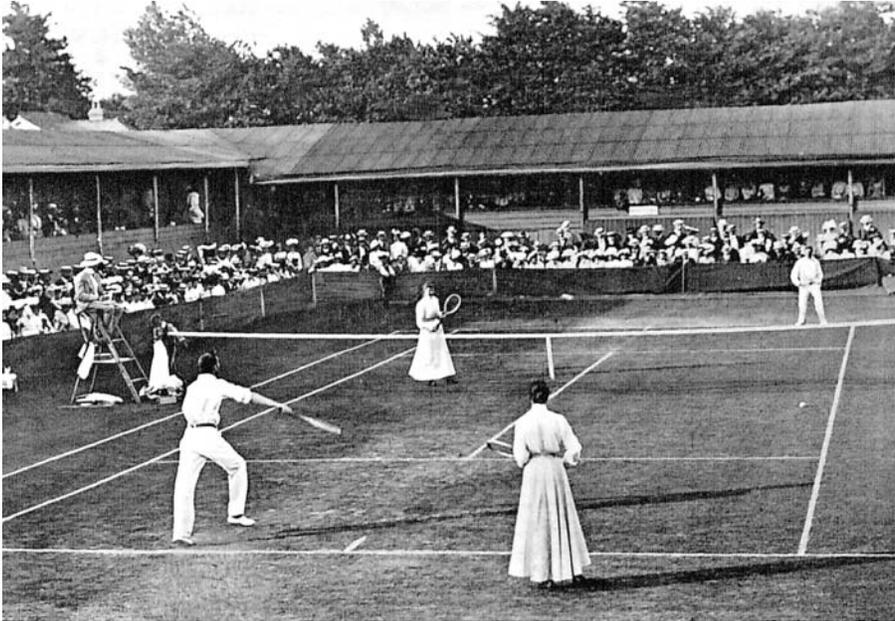
Traditions

Playing on the hallowed grounds of Wimbledon requires competitors to conform to some of the long-standing traditions of the club. While bowing on Center Court to the Royal Box (where members of the British Royal family sit on occasion) is no longer required, players must still wear all-white tennis apparel. Although over the years some players have protested Wimbledon’s preeminent role in the sport, many players still view tradition-rich Wimbledon as the most important tournament to win.

History

The All England Croquet Club began in 1868 as a private club in the small town of Wimbledon just outside of London. In 1875 Major Walter C. Wingfield introduced a game called lawn tennis, which was immediately popular with club members. The game left such an impression on its members that two years later they decided to rename the club “The All England Croquet and Lawn Tennis Club.” That same year the inaugural Lawn Tennis Championships were held using several of the same rules and regulations that govern the game today. The first Gentlemen’s Singles champion was Spencer Gore, who bested a field of twenty-two participants.

In 1884 two significant events—the Ladies’ Singles and the Gentlemen’s Doubles—were added to the Championships. Maud Watson came out of a field of thirteen women to take the first Ladies’ Singles Championship, while William and Earnest Renshaw took the Doubles title. At the turn of the century, the Championships began to display a more international flavor. In



A mixed doubles match in the early years of the All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club.

Roy Emerson, and John Newcombe—who won sixteen of the next nineteen titles starting in 1956.

The Open Era

In the 1960s, those in charge of Wimbledon faced increased pressure from the ruling International Tennis Federation (ITF) to allow professional players to compete in its championships. For years, Wimbledon would permit only ama-

1905 May Sutton, an American, became the first non-British player to win the Championships. Two years later, Norman Brookes of Australia became the first foreigner to win the coveted Gentlemen's Singles title.

To help meet the growing popularity of the Championships, in 1922 the club was moved to its present location on Church Road. The current venue was opened by King George V and funded partly through the reserves of the club. After the move, Wimbledon's beautiful grounds were able to accommodate over fourteen thousand people. Initial concerns regarding ticket sales for the Championships were quickly dismissed—in fact, ticket demands became so great during the tournament's first year that tickets had to be allotted using ballots, a system still in use today.

Early Tournament Stars

In the early 1920s France's Suzanne Lenglen and the famous "Four Musketeers" (Jean Borota, Jacques Brugnon, Henri Cochet, and Rene Lacoste) dominated Wimbledon. From 1927 through 1938, American Helen Willis continued the dominance started by Lenglen: She won eight championships, surpassing Lenglen's record six titles. British players reestablished themselves among the world's elite in the mid 1930s when Fred Perry and Dorothy Round won consecutive titles. Following the war, Americans dominated the tennis scene until the mid 1950s when they were supplanted by five Australian players—Lew Hoad, Neale Fraser, Rod Laver,

tears (that is, players who did not receive financial assistance from the ITF) to play in its tournament. However, with most of the world's top players now turning professional, the Lawn and Tennis Association decided to keep up with the times and permit professionals to compete with amateurs at Wimbledon. The inaugural winners in the 1968 Wimbledon Open Championships were Billie Jean King and Rod Laver. Since 1968 the Championships have continued uninterrupted.

Records Broken

Several records have been broken at the All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club over the past twenty-five years. In 1980, Sweden's Bjorn Borg won his fifth consecutive Wimbledon title, becoming the first male to do so in over a hundred years. His victory over John McEnroe, a five-set thriller that included a 34-point fourth-set tiebreaker, is arguably the most memorable match in tennis history. Other notable records include Boris Becker becoming the first unseeded and youngest male champion in the tournament's history; Martina Navratilova setting the all-time record of nine Singles titles in 1990; and Pete Sampras of the United States attaining his record seventh Gentlemen's Singles title in 2000.

Venue Today

While Wimbledon's present location has remained the same since 1922, many changes have been made to its grounds to accommodate the increasing number of

spectators who flock to London to watch the Championships each year. In 1997, a new Court 1, a media center, and two extra grass courts were built to help improve the quality of the tournament for fans, officials, and players. Including Centre Court and Court 1, the club now has nineteen grass courts in use for the Championships. Future plans for the club include erecting a retractable roof over Centre Court to help avoid the rain delays that have befallen these Championships over the years.

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Alternative Sports

Those activities known as “alternative sports” fall into various subheadings. Some are oriented toward play, self-challenge, risk-taking, or social affiliations. Others are associated with distinct nations or specific subcultures—groups of people whose identities and values contradict those of the mainstream society. Despite the various types of alternative sports, they are typically played by a small group of people, relative to the number of people who play and watch mainstream sports such as association and gridiron football, bas-

Tactics, fitness, stroke ability, adaptability, experience, and sportsmanship are all necessary for winning. ■ FRED PERRY

ketball, volleyball, baseball, and cricket worldwide. Alternative sports are played by athletes whose focus is on participation, not passive consumption. People interested in skateboarding, ultimate, power kiting, mountaineering, and capoeira are more likely to engage in the activity than to watch it. These five sports and physical activities differ in many ways from those team sports regularly seen on television and taught in schools.

Skateboarding

Skateboarders use their boards for transportation, kinetic expression, and rebellion. The board consists of a “deck,” usually made of wood and covered with high-friction grip tape; two “trucks,” for suspension and turning; and four wheels. The skateboard originated as a scooter in California in the 1930s, but by the 1950s the handlebars had been removed and the decks were shorter. Surfers took up the sport in hilly Californian coastal cities, which allowed them to recreate a sense of being on the sea.

HISTORY

In the 1960s skateboarding surfers took to riding the banks of empty backyard swimming pools, making tricks such as the kickturn (riding nearly vertically up a wall before lifting the front wheels and pivoting 180° to drop back down) possible. Skaters, as they became called, used all elements of the city and suburban landscape as their playground. Intentional “skate spaces” proliferated in the 1970s. Design and construction techniques were further refined and continually modified to keep up with improvements in skate techniques, which exploded in the 1980s. Renowned athletes such as Tony Hawk popularized aerial, ollie (jumping in the air while keeping the board on your feet) and flip variants of the 540° (1.5 full rotations); Danny Way began experimenting with 900° (2.5 full rotations) aerials in the 1990s. These extremely technical and dangerous moves were made possible with the help of bigger and better wooden-ramp skate parks often designed, owned, and managed by skaters themselves.

COMMUNICATIONS AMONG SKATEBOARDERS

Skateboarders' self-identities are tied to the number and difficulty of the moves they perform. Participants constantly try to invent even more spectacular (and dangerous) moves, working together at the skate park performing, practicing, and acting as mirrors for each other as well as relying on information in videos and magazines, the archives of skateboarding history. In the United States such magazines as *Skateboarder*, *Thrasher*, and *Big Brother* and in the United Kingdom *Skateboard!*, *R.A.D.*, and *Sidewalk Surfer* are the products of skateboarders who publish what the community has to say while recording the history-in-the-making of the subculture; the great proportion of still and high-speed sequence photographs reveal the performance emphasis of the skateboarding ethos.

ROLE OF WOMEN

The relative absence of women, or their sexualization, in skateboarding magazines and advertisements has been implicitly condoned by the skateboarding community, and heterosexist and misogynist attitudes have been promoted. This is slowly changing, however, partly due to the increasing popularity of skateboarding among girls. As these skateboarders age, they are redefining the values of this unique subculture.

One of the greatest paradoxes of skating is that although many recreational skaters idolize the professionals seen in television competitions and magazine advertisements, and some consume their products and emulate them, skateboarding has at its foundation an antimaterialistic, antiestablishment philosophy. As skateboarding gear (shoes, decks, hats, and apparel) becomes more popular, many skateboarders feel the need for a subcultural identity outside normative, mainstream lifestyles; these skaters resist the commodification of the sport by rejecting skateboarder-targeted products by companies such as Vans, Dcshoecousa, DirtBag Clothing, and Billabong. Skateboarding has been consistently repressed and legislated against, but participants continue to counter not through destruc-

tion but through boycotts, physical creativity, and appropriation of space. For many practitioners skateboarding is nothing less than a complete and alternative way of life.

Ultimate

Of the many stories surrounding the origins of the flying disc, the most popular legend is that of the Frisbie pie tin. In the mid-1940s, Yale students, as a game, tossed empty metal pie tins from a local bakery, embossed with the Frisbie Pie Company name. In the mid-1950s Warren Francioni and Fred Morrison had the idea of producing a plastic flying disc and, working in conjunction with the founders of the Wham-O company, produced the first plastic "Wham-O Pluto Platters." Two years later, after getting rights to the patent, "Frisbee" became a registered trademark. The discs have been used ever since to play a variety of games, the most formal of which is Ultimate.

DEVELOPMENT OF RULES

In the 1960s in Columbus, New Jersey, a high school's student council used the discs to create an after-school activity. The students called it "Frisbee Football," and today the game is known as "ultimate." In reaction to the mainstream sport paradigm of violent, ends oriented, gender segregated sports such as rugby, soccer, and gridiron football, ultimate developed with free-form ideals early on. Initially, the arbiters allowed as many as twenty to thirty players of all genders, shapes, and abilities, in any type of "uniform" in one game. They experimented with rules, concluding that the objective of the game is to get the disc across a rectangular pitch and into the other team's "end zone." If the disc is dropped or intercepted, the opposition takes possession. Running with the disc is not allowed. Instead, upon catching the disc players must stop for a maximum of ten seconds and throw it to a teammate. The student council decided to prohibit physical contact, picks, or screens between players, keeping the rules simple enough for inexperienced athletes to excel.



CODE OF CONDUCT

Before going off to college in 1970, the creators decided to print the rules and sent them to a number of other high schools in northern New Jersey, asking them to form Frisbee Football teams. The first interscholastic game was covered by the *Newark Evening News* in June 1969, and copies of the rules were subsequently requested by other schools eager to play this noncontact team sport. Today, it is estimated that ultimate is played by over ten thousand people in more than forty countries. Despite its high levels of organization in many communities and schools, rules are inclusive, and a code of conduct known as “the spirit of the game” forms its foundation. Games are refereed by the players themselves, even at World Championship level. If a player accused of committing a foul disagrees with the call, the play is redone. This places the responsibility for fair play on the participants themselves, who have proven that sport can be competitive without separating men and women, prioritizing individual skills or segregating respect among players, adherence to rules, or fun.

Power Kiting

Kites were first developed in China and were introduced to Europe in the thirteenth century by explorer Marco Polo. Initially, kites were used to provide entertainment, to celebrate religious events, to carry out scientific study, and as a platform for artistic expression. Today kites are used for aerial photography, advertising, hobby, and sport. Sport and stunt kites can be steered in any direction by means of two (dual) or four (quad) lines. They are mostly made with industrial materials such as carbon-fiber rods (spars) for the frame and a plastic coated rip-stop nylon for the sail, which is sometimes shaped like a parachute. They are easy to set up and handle on the ground and are stable in flight; traction kites propel participants on skis, on surfboards, or in buggies across land, water, sand, and snow.

KITE BUGGYING

Kite bugging is one of the most popular forms of power kiting. It is easy to learn, fun, and relatively safe

—the buggy pilot sits in a small, light, easily maneuverable vehicle that sits close to the ground; the pilot flies a kite that pulls the buggy just as a sail pulls a sailboat. The pilot steers the buggy with pegs attached to the front forks and is able to accelerate, decelerate, stop the buggy at will, and safely navigate around people. Similarly, the kite is easily steered around trees or other kites. It is possible to buggy in wind as weak as 3 kph with a very large kite or as strong as 50 kph with a very small kite. Hardpacked beaches, dry lake beds, pavement, and grass are all viable kite-bugging venues. Of course, kite buggies can be raced, and competitions take place regularly in Europe and the United States.

KITE SKIING

Kite skiing can be accomplished on snow, land, or water. For snow skiing, conventional downhill skis and ski boots are used to travel over snowy hills, frozen lakes, or both. Kite waterskiing uses a variety of water skis to travel on rivers, lakes, or oceans, but this sport requires special apparel and a great deal of skill and planning to avoid getting marooned by a kite crash. Kite land skiing uses grass or sand skis to navigate across lawns, beaches, or deserts.

Kites can also be used to propel small boats, modified catamarans, participants on inline skates, or body surfers. Regardless of the medium participants travel through or the vehicle they travel on, the power of the kite gives them a sense of exhilaration and freedom not found in traditional sports. Every year technology furthers the power that kites can yield, and enthusiasts are ever more organized, with World Cup tournaments starting in the 1990s. Kiting is one of the fastest-growing sports, with a wide range of styles of competition and leisure available.

Mountaineering

Over the past century a small but distinct mountain-climbing subculture has developed. The hazards involved in climbing mountains are a major part of the sport’s magnetism. Climbers may encounter fierce cold winds, animals, cliffs, or avalanches that can put their

lives in jeopardy. In fact, most climbing journals have regular obituary sections, demonstrating that death is accepted without blame or fault in this subculture.

Climbing for sport began with some seriousness with the first ascent of Mont Blanc in 1786. Throughout the nineteenth century, men and women with sufficient money and leisure time used mountain climbing to escape city life. They were fascinated by the hazards, uncertainty, and jeopardy involved in the sport and took pleasure in defining themselves as different from non-climbers and their sport as different from mainstream sports. Climbers have consistently rejected opportunities to establish an organizing body. The sport developed informally with an ethos of learning through experience and a rejection of social standards that prescribe bureaucracy.

The sport is paradoxical in that it has undergone a series of rapid transformations that have increased safety and climbing proficiency, such as guidebooks, training gyms, and improved equipment, but participants simultaneously focus on methods of maintaining or increasing risk. Guidebooks, which report the history, difficulty level, and special ecological conditions of the route, and indoor climbing gyms, which allow for year-round training and for less-affluent people to access rock climbing, both make judgment on the part of climbers redundant and competition (with external rewards) straightforward. Serious mountain climbers believe guidebooks and indoor gyms transform climbing from an interaction with nature to a commodified form of entertainment, to be consumed, objectified, controlled, and predicted. Climbers have generally accepted more advanced equipment, such as the Whillans harness created by Himalayan climber Don Whillans and friends, and the use of runners to limit fall potential because they increase control and safety and lead to better climbing experiences; however, use of bolts to create stairs in the rock, also a safety mechanism, is regarded with derision.

Climbers cherish peace and tranquility; they are possessive of the wilderness in general and are loath to popularize their activity lest it bring to the mountains

the very conditions they seek to escape. The predictability, controllability, and safety of mainstream society are key elements of the dominant social value system that conflict with mountaineers' core values of adventure and risk. Anomie, the freedom from all constraints, is an essential element of mountaineering. Climbing's lack of external rewards and potential subversion of social and cultural values places it on the margins of the sport world.

Capoeira

Capoeira (kap-o-air-ah) has simultaneously been promoted as a game of slave resistance, a national martial art, and an Afro-Brazilian dance, depending on the context. The game-fight-dance was born among young enslaved Africans in Brazil, but in the early 1900s Brazilians of all ages, genders, classes, and ethnicities began to play, and in the mid- to late 1900s Brazilian migrants spread capoeira around the world. It is now played in small communities on every continent.

The artistry and athletics of capoeira combine in a physical activity in which two players confront each other inside a "roda" (ho-da) or circle of other participants who are playing musical instruments, singing songs in Portuguese, and clapping their hands. The lyrics of the songs comment on the action, praising or jeering the two players, who move to the rhythms, which dictate the pace and tone of the game.

A GAME, A FIGHT, AND A DANCE

Capoeira is said to be a game because it is representative of the uninhibited, cooperative, and competitive activities seen among children. Capoeira is also a fight, but the martial aspects are often ritualized. Players can "show" a deadly move but stop at the last moment or move slowly enough for the opponent to escape. However, depending on the situation, games can change from friendly to violent, and serious injury can result. Capoeira also has its roots in African dance, the two most significant characteristics of which are the drums used to create rhythms of the music and the roda, with dancers in the center who are replaced after their exhibition.

Capoeira performances can be seen in music videos, at dance shows, in martial-arts tournaments, and on street corners as part of cultural exhibitions, group fundraisers, or players' idle lifestyles. Often performances are solos for a passive audience, in which players show their most spectacular moves in the style of a break-dancing show, as opposed to the traditional one-on-one fight. Yet players also get together without audiences and play with and for each other. In fact, one of the foremost contemporary teachers of capoeira in North America, Mestre Acordeon, hosted a twenty-four-hour roda in California in 2004. Players from around the world gathered to share their art and test their skills against one another.

Barefoot in white shirts and white pants, capoeira players spend much of their time upside down doing "aus" (cartwheels) and "macacos" (backwalkovers) when they aren't spinning, escaping, attacking, jumping, rolling, kicking, and dancing. African cultures tend to blur the limits between dance, fight, music, and religion, combining them in ways that might appear contradictory to Western eyes. At its most superficial level, capoeira can be used for fitness conditioning, cultural enrichment, recreation, and self-defense. For those embedded in the community, capoeira provides a family, a creed, a philosophy of life, and a complete lifestyle in its fusion of Afro-Brazilian music, dance, and street-fighting techniques.

The Future

These alternative-sport subcultures are in fact not separate or counter to hegemonic society. The participants choose to accept some aspects of the dominant social value system when it suits them and reject others when it does not fit with their beliefs. The structures, spaces, and communities surrounding alternative sport rely on mainstream sport for their definition. The proliferation of alternative sports can be accounted for by advancements in technology, individual creativity, international migration, and capitalist markets. People will constantly seek out novel ways to use their bodies, and once those

ways become mainstream, a new distraction will be discovered, invented, or appropriated.

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Amateur vs. Professional Debate

A characteristic of college sport in the United States has been its commercialization. In no other nation do colleges sell the broadcast rights to athletic events to television networks for millions of dollars and make millions more from the sale of corporate sponsorships, licensed apparel, luxury seating, parking, concessions, and other revenue streams. Although most people in the United States have come to accept commercialized college sport as a normal part of campus life, considerable debate continues regarding the status of college athletes.

Sports should always be fun. ■ CHARLES MANN

On one side of this debate people argue that regardless of the amount of money generated by college sport, college athletes are amateurs engaged in sport as an extracurricular activity during their free time. Thus, the primary rewards for athletic participation are, and ought to be, educational, social, and physical in nature. On the other side of this debate people argue that the unprecedented commercialization of college sport in recent years is transforming college athletes into professional entertainers for whom maintaining athletic eligibility often takes precedence over obtaining a meaningful education. Some people who take this position think that college athletes should be paid stipends in addition to their athletic scholarships and receive medical and other benefits not unlike those available to athletes in openly professional leagues.

How this debate is ultimately resolved is likely to have a profound effect on the future of college sport in the United States. Therefore, the major arguments on both sides of this debate deserve close scrutiny. Because controversies regarding amateurism and professionalism in college sport can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, and because the nature of these controversies has evolved through time, we should place this discussion in a historical context.

NCAA's Early Commitment to Amateurism

Since its inception in 1905 the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) has been a strong advocate of the concept of amateurism. At its first convention the NCAA took a firm stand against the practices that it thought violated amateur ideals. Included among those practices were “the offering of inducements to players to enter colleges because of their athletic abilities or supporting or maintaining players while students on account of their athletic abilities, either by athletic organizations, individual alumni, or otherwise directly or indirectly” (NCAA 1906, 33). Athletic scholarships, according to the NCAA, were a violation of amateurism. At this point in history the NCAA’s views on

amateurism bore a close resemblance to those of British colleges.

The definition of an amateur athlete first appeared in NCAA bylaws in 1916. According to article VI(b), “an amateur is one who participates in competitive physical sports only for the pleasure, and the physical, mental, moral, and social benefits directly derived there from” (NCAA 1916, 118). This definition was amended in 1922 to include a phrase saying that college sport is an “avocation.” The NCAA did not oppose financial aid for needy students. It opposed scholarships and other inducements awarded on the basis of athletic ability. Its concern was that paying the expenses of students because of their athletic ability might attract students for whom sport, not education, was the top priority. Such payments, the NCAA feared, would set athletes apart from other students as professionals.

Throughout the early twentieth century the NCAA continued to be philosophically opposed to athletic scholarships and other forms of professionalism. At that point in history, however, the NCAA had no enforcement power other than moral suasion. As a result, violations of amateurism were commonplace. According to a study carried out by the Carnegie Foundation in 1929, subsidization of athletes in violation of NCAA principles occurred in 81 of the 112 colleges studied, and other colleges likely were in violation but concealed such practices. During that period athletes were often paid for doing jobs that required little or no work. Alumni provided loans to athletes with no expectation of repayment. Some schools had slush funds totaling thousands of dollars from which they made under-the-table payments to talented athletes.

None of this was particularly surprising. During the early twentieth century sport at many colleges became far more than an extracurricular diversion for students. On the contrary, as spectator sport grew in popularity, winning teams not only attracted paying spectators and substantial media attention, but also provided a rallying point for alumni whose support was crucial to institutional growth. In many states winning athletic teams,

especially football, provided tax-paying citizens with their only point of attachment with their state university. Schools made large investments in massive stadiums and athletic infrastructure to remain competitive. Given the high stakes involved, colleges could no longer trust the fortunes of their athletic teams to students engaging in sport as an extracurricular pastime. As a result, the pressure to recruit and subsidize talented athletes increased dramatically, and the NCAA's commitment to traditional amateur principles was increasingly put to the test.

NCAA Adopts Athletic Scholarships

The NCAA's early opposition to athletic scholarships was consistent with its vision that athletes be regular students rather than a separate class of athletic specialists, recruited and subsidized to provide entertainment for the general public. During the mid-1950s, however, rampant commercialism and the widespread practice of paying the educational and living expenses of athletes in defiance of the NCAA's amateur code forced the NCAA to reverse its position on athletic scholarships. In 1957 the NCAA decided to allow schools to pay the room, board, tuition, fees, and laundry expenses of athletes with no financial need or remarkable academic ability. This decision is a watershed in the history of college sport in the United States.

According to Walter Byers, executive director of the NCAA at the time, this decision was made in part because the NCAA believed it might help to eliminate some of the under-the-table payments to athletes from alumni that had become so common. Regardless of the NCAA's motives, by adopting athletic scholarships, the NCAA undeniably was sanctioning a practice that it had previously defined as a form of professionalism. Those people who believe that the scholarship system represented a significant break with amateurism have described it as a nationwide money-laundering scheme whereby money formally given to athletes under the table can now be funneled through a school's financial aid office.

Those people who do not see the NCAA's 1957 decision as a violation of amateur principles would argue, however, that because athletic scholarships were limited to educational and living expenses, they were not much different from academic scholarships that are awarded to help students with special talents complete their college degrees. From the NCAA's perspective, whether an athlete receives an athletic scholarship or not has no bearing on his or her amateur status. What matters is whether the amount of the award exceeds what the NCAA allows. According to the NCAA, "a professional athlete is one who receives any kind of payment, directly or indirectly, for athletics participation except as permitted by the governing legislation of the Association" (NCAA 1996, 69). Before the late 1950s athletic scholarships were considered to be pay; now they are not.

Scholarships: Gifts or Contracts for Hire?

When they were adopted, the NCAA's rules on athletic scholarships allowed them to be awarded for four years, and these scholarships could not be taken away for injury or failure to live up to a coach's expectations. The only condition for renewal was satisfactory academic progress. In other words, these early scholarships were gifts awarded to talented athletes to help them pay for their education. Even athletes who decided to voluntarily withdraw from sport could retain their scholarship. At this point in the evolution of athletic grants-in-aid, athletes were under no contractual obligation to play sport. Under these conditions one would have difficulty in arguing that scholarships constituted "pay for play."

During the 1960s coaches and athletic directors became concerned that athletes were accepting athletic grants and then refusing to participate. In 1967 the NCAA passed a rule to address this problem. This rule, referred to as the "fraudulent misrepresentation rule," allows a school to immediately cancel the financial aid of an athlete who has signed a letter of intent to play sport but voluntarily withdraws. The 1967 rule also allows the cancellation of aid to athletes who refuse to follow



Amateur vs. Professional Debate

The Amateur Spirit

Football is unquestionably the representative American college game. It has been wholly developed by college men, and they have naturally furnished its highest exponents. It is so widespread that practically every college and preparatory school in the country sends out a regularly organized team, and every institution which harbors an eleven takes pride in the men who compose it. The manly qualities which are necessary to the building up of a successful player call forth the best class of college men, and the wholesome attributes which the game itself promotes are shown in the splendid examples of mental and physical manhood to be found among football men. This is true only if the game is played in the proper spirit; how great, then, should be the solicitude lest the game lose aught, of its standing? It is doubtless, true that, college men as a whole seek to keep the game in its present high position, yet often-times effort is sadly misdirected. It is a serious and pertinent ques-

tion, even with all that is being done, whether or not college men are really preserving to the utmost the true spirit of football, without which football must retrograde.

The greatest drawback to the wholesome conduct of the game is lack of the amateur spirit in players and managers. Good material and advantageous surroundings will not bring out the best results unless a true spirit of sport is the foundation. This spirit has been variously defined, and most teams pretend to accept its guidance, but too often it is mere pretense, and the quality of the playing and the character of the players deteriorates. The true spirit of football is absolute integrity and fairness in players and playing, and the dash and determination which can be built on that basis.

Source: Graves, H. S. (1900, January). Army and Navy football: The true spirit of play. *Outing*, 4, 453.

the directions of athletic staff members or who make only token appearances at practices. Because this rule makes athletic participation a contractual obligation and allows the cancellation of financial aid for insubordination, one can argue that it substantially increases the control that coaches have over their players.

The fraudulent misrepresentation rule allows coaches to withdraw financial aid from athletes who decide not to play or who do not make a serious effort to contribute to a team's success. However, the rule does not allow the withdrawal of aid from an athlete who is injured or who does not meet a coach's performance expectations. In 1973 the NCAA replaced four-year athletic scholarships with one-year renewable grants. Although these grants cannot be withdrawn during the one-year period of their award because of injury or poor athletic performance, renewal for a subsequent year can be conditioned on an athlete's performance or injury status. This rule, one can argue, creates a relationship between

an athlete and a coach that is somewhat akin to employment.

Are College Athletes Amateurs or Paid Professionals?

The position of the NCAA and those who share its view of college sport is that college athletes are in fact amateurs and that athletic scholarships are educational gifts rather than contracts for hire. From their perspective, those people who argue that college athletes should be paid beyond what the NCAA currently allows are not only violating amateur principles but also are sending the message to young athletes that college sport is about money, not education. The NCAA argues that it is committed to maintaining college athletes as an integral part of the student body and maintaining athletics as an integral part of the educational program. Paying athletes more than their educational expenses would set athletes apart from the rest of the student

*Being a champion is all well and good,
but you can't eat a crown.* ■ ALTHEA GIBSON

body as paid professionals. Open professionalism, they argue, would also destroy the competitive balance so crucial to sport.

The NCAA and its supporters are aware that the NCAA has reversed its position on athletic scholarships since 1906, but they view this reversal as a necessary accommodation to the democratic values of modern U.S. life. The traditional—or British—approach to amateurism allows few but members of the elite leisure class to participate in sport as amateurs. By allowing athletic scholarships the NCAA has provided an opportunity to play college sport to students who would not have had time to do so if they had to work to pay college tuition. One can also argue that merit awards help colleges to attract students with special talents in a wide variety of areas, only one of which is athletics. Whether the area is music, art, or athletics, colleges ought to be committed to excellence.

Although the changes in NCAA rules regarding athletic scholarships are generally not mentioned in public debates over whether college athletes are, or should be, amateurs or professionals, these changes are crucial to this debate. Those people who are critical of the NCAA and accuse it of hypocrisy often argue that the NCAA abandoned amateurism in 1957 by adopting athletic scholarships. Then, by passing the fraudulent misrepresentation rule in 1967 and replacing four-year scholarships with one-year renewable ones in 1973, the NCAA completed the process of transforming amateur athletes into professional employees who can be “fired” for not performing to a coach’s expectations.

In line with this argument, one could argue that the NCAA’s insistence on defining college athletes as amateurs has more to do with maintaining a salary cap on how much money athletes can make from college sport than with protecting time-honored amateur and educational principles. In other words, amateurism has become an exploitative ideology that has little relationship to objective reality but rather defends the economic interests of those who control the college sport industry. According to this argument, the NCAA abandoned amateurism and transformed athletes into underpaid pro-

fessionals. Those people who insist that college athletes deserve a larger share of the revenue they generate are merely trying to ensure that athletes are treated fairly.

The Drake Group takes a slightly different position on the amateur versus professional debate. The Drake Group is an organization composed of faculty members and others committed to defending academic integrity in college sport. The Drake Group is totally opposed to paying college athletes for competing in what ought to be an extracurricular activity. However, it places the responsibility for professionalizing college sport directly on the NCAA and its member institutions. If the NCAA were truly committed to amateurism, argues the Drake Group, it would replace one-year renewable scholarships with grants that are based on financial need. This is the model of college sport that has been adopted in the Ivy League and in the NCAA’s Division III. According to the Drake Group, athletes who receive athletically related financial aid are not amateurs and should have the same rights as other professional athletes. However, the Drake Group would prefer a return to what it views as true amateur sport.

The Future

As college sport becomes increasingly commercialized during the decades to come, demands by athletes for a greater share of the revenue they generate likely will increase, and athletes may well take their cases to the courts and to various legislative bodies. In 2003 the state of Nebraska passed legislation that would require college football players to be paid a stipend in addition to the scholarships they receive. Similar legislation is being considered in the state of California and elsewhere. The NCAA and the powerful academic institutions that it represents will undoubtedly oppose such legislation and take the position that amateur traditions must be preserved to protect academic integrity.

The argument that college sport is amateur and educational rather than an unrelated business of colleges has generally allowed the sport industry to hold off challenges that it has faced in court. For instance, injured players seeking workers’ compensation benefits to this

point have not been recognized by the courts as employees. The U.S. Internal Revenue Service has likewise been relatively unsuccessful in getting the courts to recognize revenue from college sport as taxable unrelated business income. Thus far the NCAA has functioned as an effective lobby to defend its claim that college athletes are amateurs and that college sport is not a business.

However, challenges to the claim that college sport is primarily educational and that athletes are merely amateurs are likely to increase during the years to come as college sport becomes increasingly commercialized. One significant court ruling that recognizes a college athlete as an employee with the same rights as other workers could radically alter the landscape of college sport. Until such a ruling is made, the amateur versus professional debate is likely to continue.

Allen L. Sack

See also College Athletes; Drake Group; Intercollegiate Athletics

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American Sports Exceptionalism

Contrary to the widely held opinion that *American Exceptionalism* connotes a self-aggrandizing view by Americans of themselves, the term hails from a particular body of literature that is deeply anchored in how key European intellectuals of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries characterized the main features of American politics and society in reference to those of their own. Thus, the very notion of “exceptionalism” bespeaks a profoundly Eurocentric epistemology because it was as an “exception” to the European norm that the United States fascinated these writers.

Origins of American Exceptionalism

The most prominent—and in my view still the most perceptive—European who compared the United States with Europe in every possible facet of public life was the French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville. But it was an essay by the German political economist Werner Sombart entitled, “Warum gibt es in den Vereinigten Staaten keinen Sozialismus?” (Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?) published in 1906 that really spawned

the huge body of literature in political science, sociology, and social history now found under the category, “American exceptionalism.” To be sure, Sombart’s formulation was seriously flawed since, of course, there was no socialism in the Europe of his day either. But Sombart’s overly convenient and conceptually reductionist use of the term socialism did not alter the fact that he correctly observed a phenomenon in America that rendered the United States exceptional to all European societies of Sombart’s time and would continue to do so to this very day. Rather than loosely using the term socialism in questioning America’s exceptionalism, Sombart should have asked, albeit in a less elegant but more accurate way: What social forces, political arrangements, and historical structures have contributed to an outcome in which the United States is the only advanced industrial democracy in the world without a large and politically potent party anchored in the male, skilled, and industrial working class of the late nineteenth century? Or put differently, Why didn’t the United States develop a politically potent mass movement of a social democratic and/or communist nature the way nearly all other industrial societies—including virtually all in Europe—most certainly did?

The answer to either question is quite simple: Because the United States constructed its own modernity that was orthogonal to Europe’s—featuring many similarities but with sufficient differences to render them “exceptional.”

The Other American Exceptionalism

Having been brought up completely biculturally in Europe and the United States, I have lived a constant comparison between the two every single day of my life. Furthermore, having been an avid sports fan on both continents, as well as a keen student of the many writings on the United States by European observers, I was well acquainted with Sombart’s work and the huge debate that it spawned on both sides of the Atlantic. It was in this context that I embarked to investigate what in an analogy to the Sombartian debate I called “the other American exceptionalism,” which addressed the fol-

*I’m a great believer in luck, and I find the harder I work,
the more I have of it.* ■ THOMAS JEFFERSON

lowing phenomenon: What were the social forces and historical reasons that rendered soccer a marginal also-ran in America’s sports culture while elevating baseball, American football, basketball, and even ice hockey to importance in it, with the virtual opposite being the case in all of Europe and much of the rest of the world? The short answer is—like the answer to Sombart’s question—equally simple: America constructed its own sports culture that features massive similarities with that of Europe by dint of a commonly held modernity, but that also exhibits sufficient differences to have constructed a sport culture in which millions follow and articulate a completely different discourse, namely, those of the Big Four of American sports and not of soccer, (which the rest of the world—tellingly—calls football). Please note that the concept of exceptionalism pertains solely to what millions of people *follow*, not what they *play*. Were it the latter, exceptionalism as a comparative axis would be meaningless because soccer has been played in America uninterruptedly since well before it was introduced to the European continent from its land of origin, England. Conversely, Europeans have played baseball, basketball, and even American football for nearly as long as these have existed as mainstays of American sports culture. Of course, only a few Europeans have done so and even those that did remained totally marginal to Europe’s sports culture that—as of the 1920s at the latest—was dominated by what they called football and Americans have come to know as soccer. With the exception of basketball’s rise after World War II and its meteoric ascent in the course of the Dream-Team era (the glory days of Larry Bird, Magic Johnson, and Michael Jordan), American sports continue to remain marginal in the sports cultures of European countries and much of the advanced industrial world’s. Fascinatingly, whereas global popular culture has become completely American, this has had only one major exception: that of sports.

It is not the activity that matters here but rather the pervasive preoccupation with an activity of others that attains a meaning well beyond the event itself. That is the discourse of modern sport culture everywhere. The



A soccer coach instructing his team. Source: istockphoto/Nick-Knacks.

form and *structure*—as Allen Guttman’s path-breaking work has demonstrated—is ubiquitous. Secularism, equality of opportunity to compete, specialization of roles, rationalization, bureaucratic organization, quantification, and the quest for records pertains as much to baseball as it does to cricket, to basketball as it does to soccer, to ice hockey as it does to field hockey. What differs however substantially is the *content* of these entities that we call modern sports. Thus, even though Americans and Europeans partake in the comparable culture of modern sports that share large similarities, the actual sports languages are different. Americans understand signifiers such as “Hail Mary,” the number “56” in baseball, a “double-double” in contrast to a “double play.” Europeans have no idea what these mean but they in turn share a language with the rest of the world with concepts such as “*jogo bonito*,” “*catenaccio*,” and “4-3-3” that baffle—and understandably bore—Americans.

This main “sports exceptionalism” has spawned many subordinate exceptionalisms that once again reflect America’s own modernity. Among the most significant are the central role that college sports have played in

American sport culture, a phenomenon without parallel anywhere else in the world. Then, a fascinating new exceptionalism is the growth of participation in soccer among American women, who indeed have quickly advanced to be among the world’s very best in a game that elsewhere—where soccer is the mainstay of sport culture—continues to remain an almost exclusively male bastion, just as football, baseball, basketball, and ice hockey still remain predominantly male domains in American sport culture. What renders these sport cultures so fascinating is their amazing resilience, their perseverance, their “stickiness,” which have continued to make them relevant and beloved to millions of people throughout a century that has created the most profound changes that humanity has witnessed in its existence. The world of the late nineteenth century that created the social forces in Europe that Sombart conveniently (but wrongly) called socialism and that at the very same time spawned a reality in the United States that was devoid of this phenomenon—in other words American exceptionalism—also created the world of contemporary sport cultures in which American

sports exceptionalism is still very much a reality. The continuing process of globalization and interdependence in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries altered both at their respective margins but not in their cores.

Andrei S. Markovits

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American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO)

The American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO) provides community-based soccer programs to young people. Nearly 680,000 boys and girls between the ages of four and nineteen play on more than fifty thousand AYSO teams, primarily in the United States. More than 80 percent of the participants are under the age of thirteen.

Five Philosophies

AYSO operates according to five philosophies: "everyone plays," "balanced teams," "open registration," "positive coaching," and "good sportsmanship." The goal of AYSO is to create a safe, enjoyable environment in which all children can learn the sport. Any child can play in AYSO. No team tryouts are held. Every team member is guaranteed the opportunity to play at least

half of every game. League administrators create new teams at the beginning of each season and attempt to distribute player talent equally among the teams. AYSO stresses sportsmanship and nonabusive coaching styles.

Organization

Founded in 1964 in southern California with nine boys' teams, AYSO has expanded to all parts of the United States. Girls began playing in AYSO in 1971. Now approximately 40 percent of all players are girls.

The AYSO organization begins at the regional level. Regions combine to form areas. Areas, in turn, constitute fourteen sections across the United States. Volunteer administrators manage affairs at each organizational level. In 1995 AYSO expanded its operations, creating a program in Moscow, Russia. More recently, AYSO added programs in Puerto Rico, American Samoa, and Trinidad and Tobago.

A paid staff of about fifty people, based in Hawthorne, California, carries out the national administrative duties of the organization. Adult volunteers perform virtually all of the other tasks. Approximately 250,000 parents and other adults serve as volunteer coaches, referees, field maintenance personnel, and local administrators. The training of volunteer coaches, referees, and administrators is a central function of AYSO.

Funding comes from player registration fees, local sponsors, and national sponsors. AYSO regions establish player fees that cover local administrative costs. A charge of \$11.75 is added to each registration fee and goes to the national office to cover the professional administrative expenses. Several national sponsorship and licensing options exist.

Innovative Programs

AYSO takes seriously its five philosophies. Since the 1990s AYSO has launched several initiatives designed to reinforce those philosophies and the organizational culture they represent. Among the most significant initiatives are the Very Important Players (VIP) Program, Safe Haven, and Kid Zone.

*In sports . . . you play from the time you're eight years old,
and then you're done forever.* ■ JOE MONTANA

The VIP Program expands AYSO services to reach children and some adults who have mental and physical disabilities. The program is a logical extension of AYSO's "everyone plays" philosophy. The VIP Program uses players from non-VIP teams to serve as "buddies" of players in VIP. About 160 VIP Programs exist in the United States.

Safe Haven developed in response to media reports about child abuse, including sexual abuse, in several youth sports settings. The purpose of Safe Haven is twofold. First, it attempts to identify and block from participation as AYSO volunteers those adults who have a history of sexual crimes and other specified criminal problems. Second, it trains and certifies adult volunteers. Such training and certification provide AYSO volunteers a measure of legal liability protection under the federal Volunteer Protection Act of 1997.

Kid Zone began in 1995 to counter what was perceived to be an increasing level of aggression and violence, particularly on the part of adults, in youth sports. Kid Zone is designed to promote nonviolent, positive behavior at AYSO games. It uses a kit that includes a video, signs, and badges to spread the message. In addition, AYSO parents must sign a pledge that states, in part, "I understand that the game is for the kids, and that I will encourage my child to have fun and keep sport in its proper perspective. I understand that athletes do their best when they are emotionally healthy, so I will be positive and supportive . . . I understand the importance of setting a good example of sportsmanship to my child . . . I will show respect for all involved in the game including coaches, players, opponents, opposing fans, and referees."

AYSO in the Context of U.S. Youth Soccer

In the context of U.S. youth soccer, AYSO represents the recreational end of the competitive spectrum. AYSO players and parents seeking a more competitive environment with professional coaches often gravitate toward private clubs after a few years in AYSO. Club teams typically are more expensive. They practice more

often and play more games. Clubs are not obligated to select every player who wishes to join or to give every team member playing time.

Many AYSO regions attempt to meet the needs of more skillful and ambitious players by creating all-star or traveling teams who compete in tournaments after the regular season. AYSO has launched pilot efforts to create permanent AYSO teams of elite players and assess whether such teams fit the organization's values. Some parents and administrators believe that an inherent contradiction exists between AYSO's desire to abide by its fundamental principles and the organization's wish to satisfy the urge of some players and their parents to establish more competitive teams.

Despite its reputation for offering a relatively low-keyed form of soccer, AYSO has provided an introduction to the sport for many top U.S. players. AYSO alumni have played professionally in Europe and the United States and have played on men's and women's U.S. World Cup teams. Others have become professional coaches in the United States.

Issues

After four decades AYSO faces many of the problems that confront any youth sports organization in the United States. AYSO is concerned with how to retain children after the age of thirteen or fourteen, as well as how to generate sponsorship revenue, attract and train volunteers, increase membership, and maintain affordable player fees. In addition to these perennial youth sports issues, AYSO is evaluating the desirability of creating adult programs and expanding overseas programs. Finally, AYSO continues to investigate how to retain skilled players who seek a more competitive environment but remain true to its five philosophies.

Wayne Wilson

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America's Cup

The America's Cup is the oldest sporting trophy awarded in regular competition. The America's Cup race—held every three or four years—is the pinnacle of the sport of sailing and a major proving ground for new talent but even more so for new technology in the sailing industry. The America's Cup race has influenced history and has been influenced by history since 22 August 1851.

History

The schooner *America* sailed from the United States to England to participate in an 85-kilometer race around the Isle of Wight, held in conjunction with an industrial world's fair in 1851 that came to be known as "Prince Albert's Great Exhibition." The *America* finished first. England's Queen Victoria is reported to have asked who finished second. Her aide replied, "Your Majesty, there is no second," referring to how far ahead the *America* was.

Some controversy arose about the course that the *America* sailed during that race because the "outsiders" from the United States sailed inside of a shoal that by tradition—but not by rule—was observed as a mark of the course. The race committee upheld *America's* win, but this race began a long history of competitors pushing the rules to the limit.

The trophy awarded for the race was brought back to the United States and on 24 October 1887 donated to the New York Yacht Club with a "deed of gift." In the deed George L. Schuyler, the sole survivor of the syndicate of people who owned *America* in 1851, stipulated that the trophy was to be held in trust for "friendly competition between foreign countries." The deed further stipulated that these countries would be represented by yacht clubs.

Thus began the 132-year winning streak of the United States, with thirteen America's Cup races being held off the harbor of New York (1870–1920). Eleven

races were held off Newport, Rhode Island (1930–1983). In 1983 skipper Dennis Conner lost the trophy to Australian John Bertrand aboard *Australia II* with Ben Lexan's radical "winged keel," and the trophy went "down under" for the first time.

The 1987 America's Cup race, held in Fremantle, Australia, featured onboard cameras and award-winning coverage produced by then-fledgling cable television sports channel ESPN. Dennis Conner redeemed himself by winning the trophy and returning it to the United States. A delay in determining the rules for the next competition, now known as the "Protocol," allowed a rogue challenge by Sir Michael Fay of New Zealand with a 40-meter winged boat designed by Bruce Farr. However, Conner won with a smaller but faster dual-hulled catamaran. The New Zealand team appealed the race results to a New York superior court, which ruled that Conner's catamaran had held an unfair advantage. The ruling was overturned on appeal, and the final victor was Dennis Conner's *Stars & Stripes*.

In 1992 Bill Koch shared the helm of *America*³ with Buddy Melges and defended the trophy against the Italian team. Koch said his team won with a combination of talent, teamwork, and technology. In 1995 the New Zealand team came into its own, defeating Dennis Conner five straight, and the trophy again went down under, but this time it was headed for Auckland, New Zealand. Sir Peter Blake (1948–2001) led the 1995 New Zealand team and its successful defense in 2000. Both times Russell Coutts was the helmsman. In 2003 Coutts and his core team left New Zealand to join the Swiss team, Alinghi, led by Ernesto Berterelli. Once again Coutts and team won, and Berterelli decided to hold the next race in Valencia, Spain, in 2007. That race will mark the first time the America's Cup race has been held in a non-Anglo Saxon country.

Rules

From 1851 until 1887 only general guidelines governed the type of boats that could enter the America's



America's Cup

Beginning of the America's Cup

The letter below was sent to the secretaries of various yacht clubs in July 1857.

Sir: I am directed to inform the members of your association, that the One Hundred Guinea Cup, won by the yacht *America* at Cowes, England, Aug. 22, 1851, at the Regatta of the Royal Yacht Squadron, as a prize offered to yachts of all nations, has been presented to the New-York Yacht Club, subject to the following conditions, viz.:

“Any organized Yacht Club of any foreign country shall be always entitled, through any one or more of its members, to claim the right of sailing a match for this Cup, with any yacht or other vessel, of not less than thirty or more than three hundred tons, measured by the Custom House rule of the country to which the vessel belongs.

The parties desiring to sail for the Cup may make any match with the Yacht Club in possession of the same that may be determined upon by mutual consent; but in the case of disagreement as to terms, the match shall be sailed over the usual course for the Annual Regatta of the Yacht Club in possession of the Cup, and subject to its rules and sailing regulations; the challenging of the Cup, and subject to its rules and sailing regulations; the challenging party being bound to give six months notice in writing, fixing the day they wish to start—this notice to embrace the

length, Custom House measurement, rig and name of the vessel.

It is to be distinctly understood that the Cup is to be the property of the Club, and not of the members thereof, or owners of the vessel winning the match, and that the condition of keeping it open to be sailed for by Yacht Clubs of all foreign countries, upon the terms above laid down, shall forever attach to it, thus making it perpetually a Challenge Cup for friendly competition between foreign countries.”

The New-York Yacht Club, having accepted the gift, with the conditions above expressed, consider this a fitting occasion to present the subject to the Yacht Clubs of all nations, and invoke from them a spirited contest for the Championship, and trust that it may be the source of continued friendly strife between the institutions of this description throughout the world, and therefore request that this communication may be laid before your members at their earliest meeting, and earnestly invite a friendly competition for the possession of the prize, tendering to any gentlemen who may favor us with a visit, and who may enter into the contest, a liberal, hearty welcome, and the strictest fair play.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
N. Bloodgood,
Secretary, New-York Yacht Club

Cup race. In 1893 the boats became very similar in that they were built to the maximum of 27-meter waterlines with overhangs of 6 to 7.6 meters at both ends—massive boats. In 1920 a universal rule was introduced with a formula creating the elegant “J-boats”—36-meter-long narrow boats with grand furnishings inside. In 1958 the 12-meter rule came into place with smaller (and less expensive) boats. During that time technology allowed for a transition to lighter materials, including aluminum. In 1987 the New Zealand team showed up with the *Plastic Fantastic*, built of fiberglass. That boat

put the sailing world on notice: New Zealand was ready to compete. Sailor Dennis Conner of the United States responded by asking, “Why would you build a boat out of plastic unless you were trying to cheat?” The U.S. boat, *Stars & Stripes*, won.

Women in the America's Cup Race

Although sailing is a sport in which men and women can compete together, the history of women in the America's Cup race is relatively brief. Until the barrier-breaking 1995 *America³* all-women's team sponsored



America's Cup

Winning America's Cup Yachts

Year	Winner	Country
1851	<i>America</i>	USA
1870	<i>Magic</i>	USA
1871	<i>Columbia/Sappho</i>	USA
1876	<i>Madeleine</i>	USA
1881	<i>Mischief</i>	USA
1885	<i>Puritan</i>	USA
1886	<i>Mayflower</i>	USA
1887	<i>Volunteer</i>	USA
1893	<i>Vigilant</i>	USA
1895	<i>Defender</i>	USA
1899	<i>Columbia</i>	USA
1901	<i>Columbia</i>	USA
1903	<i>Reliance</i>	USA
1920	<i>Resolute</i>	USA
1930	<i>Enterprise</i>	USA
1934	<i>Rainbow</i>	USA
1937	<i>Ranger</i>	USA
1958	<i>Columbia</i>	USA
1962	<i>Weatherly</i>	USA
1964	<i>Constellation</i>	USA
1967	<i>Intrepid</i>	USA
1970	<i>Intrepid</i>	USA
1974	<i>Courageous</i>	USA
1977	<i>Courageous</i>	USA
1980	<i>Freedom</i>	USA
1983	<i>Australia II</i>	Australia
1987	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	USA
1988	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	USA
1992	<i>America³</i>	USA
1995	<i>Black Magic</i>	New Zealand
2000	<i>Black Magic</i>	New Zealand
2003	<i>Alinghi</i>	Switzerland

by Bill Koch, skippered by Leslie Egnot, and captained by Dawn Riley, only seven women had competed in the America's Cup Defender or Challenger trials or the finals. Hope Iselin, Phyllis Sopwith, and Gertrude "Gertie" Vanderbilt all served as timekeepers aboard their husbands' J-boats. Sis Morris Hovey, Christy Steinman Crawford, and Dory Vogel sailed on 12-meter boats. Dawn Riley was the only woman on the winning 1992 International America's Cup Class (IACC) team. Riley went on to become the first woman to head an America's Cup syndicate, America True. Twenty-five percent of the syndicate's team were women.

Significance

The America's Cup race has introduced many products and personalities to the world, including Sir Thomas Lipton's Lipton tea, Barron von Bic's Bic pens, and Ted Turner's ESPN cable TV channel. Modern captains of industry, such as Oracle software's Larry Ellison, ex-Microsoft executive Paul Allen, and Patricio Berterelli of apparel designer Prada, have been involved. The cost of competing is \$45–100 million. The race is often controversial and contentious, but it has survived more than 153 years and may well survive as many more.

Dawn Riley

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Anemia

Anemia is the condition in which a person's body has fewer red blood cells than normal. It is one of the most common medical conditions affecting women athletes. Anemia, when untreated, can impair athletic performance and general well-being. It is easily diagnosed and treated and is usually preventable. Women athletes most often have iron deficiency anemia. However, two other types of exercise-related anemia—exercise-induced hemolysis and dilutional pseudoanemia—can afflict women athletes.

Diagnosis

Red blood cells carry oxygen from the lungs to the muscles. When the cells' carrying capacity is diminished, muscles fatigue more easily, and endurance is decreased. Athletes may feel tired, become easily fatigued, experience shortness of breath, muscle burning, and nausea, and become pale. Anemia is diagnosed by a simple blood test that measures hematocrit and hemoglobin, the components of red blood cells. Anemia is present when values for hemoglobin or hematocrit fall below the normal range. Normal ranges for adolescent and adult women are hemoglobin 12–16 g/dL (grams/deciliter) and hematocrit 36–46 percent. Values for hemoglobin are 0.5 g/dL lower in blacks. Values for hematocrit are 4 percent higher for each 1,999 meters increase in altitude. Significant overlap exists, on an individual basis, between normal and abnormal values; thus, the diagnosis of anemia must be made relative to a person's baseline normal range. For example, a hemoglobin value of 13 g/dL, although within the normal range, may represent anemia for a woman whose normal baseline hemoglobin level is 13.5 g/dL. Alternatively, a hemoglobin value of 11.5 g/dL, although below the normal range, may not represent anemia for a woman who has that normal baseline level.

Iron stores in the body are depleted before clinically recognized anemia occurs. Doctors therefore often look beyond hemoglobin and hematocrit when screening

for the early stages of iron deficiency anemia and when differentiating iron deficiency anemia from other forms of anemia.

Sports Anemia

Low hemoglobin and hematocrit values in active women may not represent true anemia but may instead represent “sports anemia,” also referred to as “dilutional pseudoanemia.” In sports anemia hemoglobin is changed as a result of an increase in blood plasma volume, which is caused by endurance exercise training, resulting in artificially low values of hematocrit and hemoglobin. Endurance training increases blood plasma volume proportional to the intensity and amount of endurance exercise. A 5 percent increase in blood plasma volume, for example, can result from a moderate jogging program, whereas the training of an elite distance runner can cause a 20 percent increase. Although this dilutional effect decreases hemoglobin concentration, red blood cell mass remains normal or is often increased; therefore, oxygen-carrying capacity in the blood is not decreased (hence the terms *pseudoanemia* or *false anemia*).

Doctors most often see sports anemia in elite endurance athletes, athletes who are increasing their training intensity, and previously sedentary people who are initiating an exercise program. Sports anemia can be distinguished from iron deficiency anemia because the microscopic appearance of the red blood cells and measures of iron stores (such as the protein ferritin) are normal, it does not respond to iron supplementation, and it not likely to result in severe anemia—that is, levels will not become extremely low.

Not all women athletes are equally at risk for anemia. Risk factors include (1) recent childbirth, (2) excessive menstrual flow, (3) disadvantaged socioeconomic background, (4) dietary restrictions such as vegetarian diet, weight-loss diets, or fad diets, (5) intense or prolonged endurance training, (6) personal or family history of anemia, chronic disease, or bleeding disorders, (7) use of anti-inflammatory medications, and (8) recent blood donation.

Iron Deficiency Anemia

In studies of adolescent women athletes the prevalence of iron deficiency anemia ranges up to 20 percent and is particularly high in cross-country runners. Another 20–60 percent of women athletes are iron deficient but not yet anemic (low ferritin, normal hemoglobin). In studies development of iron deficiency during training was found to occur in 20 percent of women runners in the United States and was found to be preventable by iron supplementation. Adolescent girls may be especially susceptible because they need more iron to meet the demands of growth and to counter the loss of blood caused by the onset of menses as well as erratic dietary practices.

Although athletes may lose iron through urine, sweat, gastrointestinal sources, or hemolysis (destruction of red blood cells), these losses are usually negligible and not significant enough to cause appreciable iron deficiency. Excessive use of nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory medication (aspirin, ibuprofen) may increase gastrointestinal losses because of gastrointestinal bleeding. The most common cause of iron deficiency in women athletes and nonathletes alike is inadequate dietary intake of iron to compensate for menstrual losses. In the United States the recommended daily allowance (RDA) for iron to meet basic daily needs for women is 15 milligrams a day. The average diet in the United States contains 5–7 milligrams of iron per 1,000 calories. Therefore, women need about 3,000 calories per day to get at least the RDA of 15 milligrams of iron. However, many women athletes consume less than 2,000 calories a day, particularly women athletes who participate in sports (such as gymnastics) that emphasize lean body physique. In addition, in an attempt to eat healthfully and reduce fat intake, many women athletes eat little red meat, which is the primary food source of iron. Vegetarian diets pose an increased risk of anemia because of the lower quantities of iron in non-meat foods and lower bioavailability (the degree and rate at which a substance is absorbed into a living system).

Exercise-Induced Hemolytic Anemia

Exercise-induced hemolytic anemia is caused by the hemolysis that can occur when exercise places physical stress on red blood cells. Hemolysis can occur in both high- and low-impact sports. In high-impact sports such as running, the physical trauma of repetitive, hard foot strikes leads to the destruction of red blood cells. For this reason the term *foot strike hemolysis* has been used to describe this condition. However, red blood cell destruction also occurs among competitive swimmers and other athletes who do not participate in running activities. Red blood cells may be damaged by lactic acid build-up (which occurs with intense or prolonged exercise), muscular contraction, or increased body temperature.

Exercise-induced hemolytic anemia is most commonly seen in middle-aged distance runners, particularly those runners who are overweight, wear poorly cushioned shoes, run on hard surfaces, and run with a heavy gait. Prevention and treatment center on encouraging runners to have lean body composition, wear well-cushioned shoes and insoles, run on soft surfaces, and run lightly on their feet. For most athletes exercise-induced hemolytic anemia is of little consequence because it seldom is severe enough to cause appreciable iron loss. However, small differences in red blood cell numbers may result in a competitive disadvantage for world-class athletes.

Effects on Performance

Anemia decreases physical performance and is linked to decreased maximum oxygen consumption, lower endurance, increased fatigue, decreased physical work capacity, and increased lactic acidosis (a byproduct of anaerobic metabolism). Experts are not certain that iron deficiency in the absence of anemia (nonanemic iron deficiency) decreases performance, although it probably represents a preanemic state.

Studies of the effects of iron supplementation on the performance of nonanemic iron deficient athletes have produced conflicting results. Some studies of women runners after iron supplementation have indicated im-



improvements in measures of endurance, such as treadmill times, run times, and lower blood lactate levels during submaximal exercise (exercise that is intense but does not take the participant to the point of exhaustion and inability to continue). In many cases iron supplementation also led to improvements in hemoglobin levels, suggesting that the beneficial effects were because of correction of a mild anemia. Such studies demonstrate the important point that distinguishing mild anemia from nonanemic iron deficiency is clinically difficult and that although a hemoglobin value may technically fall within the normal range, it may nevertheless represent mild anemia that will respond to iron supplementation. Other studies, however, have failed to show that iron supplementation benefits the performance of nonanemic iron deficient athletes. Such studies suggest that when hemoglobin levels are not improved, iron supplementation does not improve performance, despite an increase in levels of ferritin.

Prevention

Prevention of anemia should emphasize adequate dietary intake of iron over supplements because iron has greater bioavailability in food sources—that is, the body better absorbs iron that comes from food. Ways to increase dietary intake of iron include (1) recognizing that meat sources of iron are absorbed better than nonmeat sources of iron, (2) eating iron-rich foods such as lean red meat, dark meat of poultry, fish, cereals, pasta and bread enriched with iron, beans, dried fruits, tofu, and spinach, (3) enhancing iron absorption from foods by concurrently eating foods containing vitamin C, such as fruit juices, (4) cooking in iron skillets, (5) avoiding inhibitors of iron absorption such as tea, milk, wheat bran, and antacids, and (6) if unable to meet daily iron needs by diet, taking a supplement containing the RDA for iron (18 milligrams), such as a multivitamin with iron. Vegetarians have a number of nonmeat sources of dietary iron (dried fruit, eggs, kidney beans, cream of wheat, fortified cereal). However, if a person is unable to meet daily iron needs by diet alone, a daily multivit-

amin containing the RDA of iron is recommended. Iron supplementation is the mainstay of treatment of iron deficiency because people usually cannot increase dietary intake of iron enough to reverse iron deficiency.

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Animal Rights

For the last several decades people have been questioning long accepted beliefs about the relationship between humans and the environment. Tension and conflict between those who seek to exploit the environment and those who seek to preserve it is now an established dynamic in our social order. From opposition to logging to protests over endangering species, concerns over the interrelationships between people and nature permeate modern society. Nowhere do these concerns appear more contentious than in the realm of human-animal relationships. Whether at a greyhound track or a pigeon shoot, on a deer hunt or at a horse show, a maturing mass movement questions the morality of people who interact with animals for sport.

Indeed, the animal rights movement attempts to protect animals from human exploitation. The movement is an intellectual and cultural phenomenon that has landed on modern Western culture's front porch. It is like a newborn child abandoned on the doorstep, and its seemingly sudden, unanticipated appearance and loud cries have left casual observers startled and perplexed, wondering, "Where did it come from?" "Why is it here?" "To whom does it belong?" and "What can we do now?" It did not spring full blown from the brow of contemporary philosophers and intellectuals. Rather, the movement has a historical antecedent, and like its predecessor, the contemporary animal rights movement represents a profound reaction to societal change. Unlike their predecessors, however, contemporary animal rights advocates carry the symbolic cause of animals out of the laboratory, beyond the barnyard gate, and into the realm of sport.

The animal rights movement is marked by utilitarianism (a belief that the useful is the good and that the usefulness of consequences should determine right conduct) and moral rights philosophy, is located within the middle and upper class, and is currently notable for the diversity of its criticism. The underlying causes of the movement's emergence and rapid growth include a

unique convergence of four factors: rapid urbanization, scientific evidence linking animals and people, changes in the anthropomorphic (thought of as having human attributes) images of animals, and the ascendancy of egalitarianism (a belief in equality) as a universal political value. The animal rights movement poses many questions regarding relationships between animals and people. Indeed, animal rights activists ask, "If science tells us that we are related to other animals, that they are very similar to us, and that they have personalities and emotions like us, and if my experience supports these conclusions, then why shouldn't we extend protection to animals?" This question has already had a profound impact on sports involving animals, and the answer will continue to affect sporting enthusiasts and animal rights activists alike far into the future.

Origins

Historians and social scientists trace the origin of the contemporary animal rights movement to the nineteenth-century antivivisection movement, which opposed cutting into living animals, especially for scientific research. The antivivisection movement arose out of profound social reactions to increasing technological change and was concerned with the symbolic position of animals as liaisons between recently urbanized people and nature. Originally a puritanical reaction to both the Industrial Revolution and Victorian materialism, the antivivisection movement responded to perceptions of the increasing human exploitation of, and intrusion into, the natural world. Social scientists have discovered that, during periods of intense technological change and social displacement, people have often been receptive to criticism of forces in society that appear responsible for change. Hence, whether in the realm of agriculture or industry, technology came to be identified as a culprit, guilty of social disintegration and institutional impoverishment. When placed in this context, the antivivisection movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as the current animal rights movement reflects widespread and deeply felt anxiety regarding social change.

Animal liberationists do not separate out the human animal, so there is no rational basis for saying that a human being has special rights. A rat is a pig is a dog is a boy. They are all mammals. ■ INGRID NEWKIRK

The Victorian antivivisection movement used sensationalized publicity along with popularized exposes of animal mistreatment and apocalyptic literature to mobilize public sentiment against animal experimentation, animal baiting, and the use of animals in sport. The movement depended heavily on aristocratic noblesse oblige (the obligation of honorable and responsible behavior associated with high birth) as a reservoir of support and played heavily upon public sensibilities concerning morality and brutality. The antivivisectionists opposed the relativistic (relating to a view that ethical truths depend on the people holding them) ideology of science, which to the Victorian was symbolic of the irreversible pollution and corruption of existing social order. Indeed, the relativistic ideology of science, with its technological Frankensteins, seemed responsible for the disintegration of society.

The Victorian movement had little impact upon the use of animals. Eventually the movement disintegrated; however, the symbolic reaction against the utilization of animals did not disappear all together. The movement's radical agenda for the transformation of society eventually dissolved into the social background, leaving the reformist animal welfare movement as its legacy. The antivivisectionists, although extreme in their abolitionist zeal, had sensitized society to the plight of animals. Less committed, and indeed less radical, people were motivated in part by antivivisectionist publicity to join animal welfare groups. Such groups, which sought reform of societal attitudes toward animals, perpetuated the cause.

Through the turn of the century animal welfare groups carried the torch, seeking to abate animal suffering, and antivivisection sentiments reemerged briefly during the 1950s in the form of a social reaction to various scientific phenomena. Nonetheless, animal welfare groups continued to predominate. However, beginning in the 1960s, the cause of animal protection was transformed from reformist calls for animal protection into the radical calls for societal redemption.

Whereas the nineteenth-century movement focused upon the experimental dissection of living animals and

the mistreatment of companion animals, the contemporary animal rights movement has evolved to question virtually all forms of animal utilization and control. Like its Victorian predecessor, the animal rights movement has used publicity, exposés, and apocalyptic literature to frame the issues surrounding the status of animals in moralistic terms. However, unlike its progenitor, the radical animal rights movement extends rights-based claims for moral consideration and legal protection to animals.

Philosophies

The movement's claim of moral equivalency between human and nonhuman animals originates in two opposing philosophical schools: utilitarianism—a philosophy based on the maximization of pleasure and the reduction of pain—and moral rights. First, the utilitarian school posits that ethical decisions are dependent on their utility, stating that ethical decisions should maximize pleasure while minimizing pain. Its creed posits, “The greatest good, for the greatest number, for the longest time,” as its justification. Animal liberationists—those who argue for the liberation of animals from a utilitarian perspective—argue that because animals and people both feel pain and pleasure, the utilitarian creed should be expanded to include nonhuman animals. In other words, they argue that the interests of nonhuman animals should be equivalent to those of humans in determining ethical decisions. The contemporary extension of utility outward from humans to nonhumans can be traced to a school of Oxford University utilitarian philosophers originating in the 1960s and 1970s. Finding its most popularized expression in Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation* (1975), the utilitarian justifications for moral consideration of animals are considered seminal to the movement's current growth.

Whereas utilitarian justifications rely on the utility of moral extensionism, the rights argument emphasizes similarities in the physiology, and therefore the inherent value, between higher mammals. Rights-based philosophers consider utilitarian moral considerations of nonhuman animals to be flawed in two aspects. First,



Animal Rights

Baiting the Opossum

From the 1832 Book of Sports:

Local boys need no introduction to the fighting attributed of the Vulpine Opossum, our *bushy-tail*, whose remarkably strong claws have left many a mark on incautious Europeans, both man and dog.

Mr. Ferguson's young terrier bitch was about sixteen months old, liver and white, weight about 25½ lbs. Mr. Jenkin's opossum from New South Wales was supposed to be about three years old and weighed 27 lbs.

The bitch and opossum fought on the 6th January, 1829, and the day being very rough, the fight was obliged to take place in a barn instead of Hempton Green, Norfolk, as had been contemplated, to the vexation of numbers, who could not get admission at any price; so much stir did the affair make in the neighborhood.

A great deal of betting took place previous to the match, at guineas to pounds, Possey the favourite. Some of our Norfolk knowing and learned country swells, who were acquainted with the *nature of the beast*, (after seeing the excellent trim he was got into by his trainer *Jemmy Neal*) even went as high as three to two, and it was said that even two to one was offered on the New South Wales favourite.

ROUND 1ST. Possey looked very fit, shook his bushy tail, and darted at the bitch as quick as lightning, caught her by the shoulder, and tore a piece out of it; he then drew back, made another spring at the fore leg, but missed it. Meantime, the bitch was not idle—she made several attempts at a hold, but the gentleman's furry coat deceived the poor bitch, who brought away a mouthful of his outer garment every time she sprang at him; at length, she caught

him *where the Irishmen put their lundy*, and punished him severely, while he returned by making use of his claws, with which he scratched dreadfully. At length he got away, and was taken to his house; and after two minutes rest, began.

ROUND 2ND. Both darted at one another, their heads met, and both were knocked over. Returning, Possey seized the bitch by the throat, and almost knocked all the wind out of the bitch (four to one on Possey freely offered—no takers). The bitch fought shy till she got a little wind, then made for him, seized his *proboscis*, and pulled him about in good style, in spite of his claws which made dreadful havoc with the bitch; Possey got away and was taken to his house. This lasted nine minutes and a half.

ROUND 3RD. The bitch made first play, and began by taking Mr. Possey by the nose, where she held him, and pulled him about for two minutes and a half he keeping his claws in exercise all the while when she lost her hold, and sprang at his neck (which in the previous round she had cleared of the fur) which she lacerated in a shocking manner, when he got away and was led to his house. Possey became rather weak from the loss of blood, but was restored by something being applied to his nostrils.

ROUND 4TH, AND LAST. The bitch again made for the foreigner's neck, where she left the marks of her toothy work; she then seized him by the shoulder, got an excellent hold, and for the first time Possey uttered a dismal yell, and, on getting away, made for his house, from whence he could no more be brought to the scratch. The bitch was consequently declared the winner.

The fight lasted thirty-seven minutes.

utilitarianism is based on the assumption that types of pains and pleasures are qualitatively different, and second, utilitarianism allows the exploitation of nonhuman animals if it is deemed necessary for the greater good. In response to utilitarianism's situational protection of animals, Tom Regan, an animal rights philosopher and university professor, advocates a rights-based approach. He believes that rights are dichotomous (having two parts) and absolute, thus extending protection under all circumstances. He argues that because nonhuman animals have consciousness, expectations, and desires, they likewise have personal autonomy. He attempts to protect their expectations and desires by granting personal autonomy through the extension of moral claims. Differentiating between moral and legal rights, he states that legal rights are provided to enfranchised citizens and consist of valid claims that have correlative duties. In his extension of moral rights to nonhuman animals, however, Regan argues that social justice calls for the respectful treatment of all beings that have inherent value.

The Animal Rights Movement

Each of the schools of thought has produced potent political and social critics of animal exploitation. The animal rights movement consists of various organizations, which can be subdivided into roughly three categories. According to James Jasper and Dorothy Nelkin in their book *The Animal Rights Crusade* (1992), these groups are the welfarists, the pragmatists, and the fundamentalists. Welfarists believe that animals are objects of compassion, deserving protection, and that some boundaries exist between species. Their goals include avoiding animal cruelty, limiting animal populations, and adopting animals. Welfarist strategies include advocating reformist legislation and humane education, funding animal shelters and animal birth control programs, and cooperating with existing agencies. The pragmatists believe that animals deserve moral and legal consideration, with a balance between human and nonhuman interests, and that some hierarchy of ani-

mals exists. Their explicit goals include the elimination of all unnecessary suffering by reducing and replacing existing uses of animals, and their strategy includes protests and debates, with pragmatic cooperation, negotiation, and acceptance of short-term compromises. The fundamentalists argue that animals have absolute moral and legal rights to personal autonomy and self-determination, with equal rights across species, especially among higher vertebrates. They seek total and immediate abolition of all animal exploitation and use moralistic rhetoric and public condemnation in conjunction with civil disobedience and direct actions to protest the use of animals. Interestingly, Jasper and Nelkin's somewhat dated analysis remains the template for understand the various factions involved in the animal rights movement.

Each of these groups is composed of dedicated activists who believe firmly in the morality of their cause. Yet, who are the activists? Although the animal rights movement is not monolithic, its activists tend to fit a uniform demographic profile. Social science data indicate that activists tend to be highly educated, middle-aged, middle-class Caucasian females from urban areas with the inclination and the political will to effect change. Although most animal protection activists are portrayed as ignorant, socially marginal people who are overly emotional about animals, what emerges from the data is a composite of a movement that is broad based and politically sophisticated and activists who are neither ignorant nor marginal. Indeed, animal rights activists are motivated by moralistic concerns rather than scientific, economic, or leisure-use justifications for animal exploitation.

Hence, during the 1960s the philosophical groundwork had been laid for a radical reinterpretation of the way people treat animals. Whereas people had traditionally viewed animals as objects to be used, albeit within some form of highly personal, existential (relating to or affirming existence) moral constraint, the animal rights movement argued that animals have personal autonomy and moral agencies and therefore

should be protected from human exploitation through the provision of rights.

A few reasons exist for broader animal rights awareness. First, the rapid urbanization of U.S. culture since 1920 has facilitated a sentimental longing to return to an idealized rural life with its proximate relationships to nature and animals. Second, since the 1970s researchers who have studied primates and marine mammals have concluded that these animals have cognitive ability, complex social groups, and even forms of language. These conclusions, in turn, have further accentuated human empathy with animals. Third, evolutionary theory has indicated that humans and animals are biologically related and indeed that people are directly descended from other animals; in effect, scientists have argued that animals are much more similar to humans than previously thought and that people are biologically related to their fellow animals. These findings tantalized an urban population who experienced animals as highly anthropomorphized versions of themselves. Hence, the philosophical justifications of Singer and Regan for the moral consideration of animals were not widely rejected among the lay public. If indeed animals can think and feel and are intelligent, if indeed they are physically similar to people, if indeed they are evolutionary brothers and sisters of humans, and if indeed animals act almost “human,” then why should they not be treated as the moral equivalent of people?

With these factors established within the public psyche, calls for moral and legal protection for animals were a given. In other words, animal rights philosophers and activists argue that the ethical distinction between animals and people has been dissolved by science and changing attitudes about animals; therefore, animals deserve rights. They believe that the exclusion of nonhuman animals from egalitarian protections based upon species constitutes “speciesism,” a form of arbitrary discrimination no less repugnant than racism and sexism.

What has been the effect of this reinterpretation? In the case of the animal rights movement, activists are reacting to social unease. Confronting this unease, they

seek a return to a simpler, less confusing and less complex time and to a bygone era when people lived in closer harmony with nature. Thus, animals assume highly symbolic roles as representations of an idealized natural world; they manifest iconographic status as bucolic exemplars of the purity and innocence of the pre-scientific, pre-industrial world. In effect, the animal rights movement attempts to protect its symbols of uncorrupted nature (animals) from desecration, and its mechanism has been through collective action. After egalitarianism is uncoupled from the traditional boundaries of universal human suffrage by evidence of evolutionary linkages between humans and nonhumans, the extension of rights to animals is not merely logical but inevitable. After egalitarian protections in the form of rights are extended outward to domesticated animals, their extension inexorably includes wild animals as well. Thus, whether it comes as critiques of animal-based biomedical or cosmetic research, feral and exotic animal control, the use of animals for sport or leisure, or the industrialized agricultural production of animals, animal rights philosophy extends egalitarianism to all animals in all contexts.

Feminism and Animal Rights

A large number of animal rights activists are women. Experts have offered various theories to explain why this is so. One theory, known as the “sociobiological hypothesis,” holds that women are born as nurturers, are naturally emotive and intuitive, and thus are open to mothering instincts. Hence, women involved in the animal rights movement are supplementing their inherent mothering, nurturing, and protective instincts for human babies with the symbolic protection of animals. Studies have shown that most women activists are unmarried and childless. In this context, so the argument goes, women are responding to biological urges to behave in a nurturing fashion. This theory has an appeal that reflects fundamentalist and essentialist calls for a return to traditional family and social roles for women.

Another theory, known as the “philosophical-ideological hypothesis,” argues that women are more re-

Joe W., the biggest trotter in Europe in the early twentieth century. Horse racing has long been criticized by animal rights supporters.

ceptive to the cause of animal rights because of their oppressed position in society. Women are themselves victims of systematic discrimination and oppression brought about by a women-hating patriarchal society and therefore consciously identify with the oppression of animals. As a result, women can experience, vicariously, the oppression of animals, as well as their liberation through animal rights activism. In this theory animal rights activism becomes a political outlet, and although women may be powerless to help themselves, they can nevertheless help animals to escape their oppression.

Neither theory sufficiently explains the participation of women in the movement. Both theories overlook the participation of men in the movement, and neither theory explains why most women in the United States are not animal rights activists. The philosophical-ideological hypothesis holds a circular charm in that evidence against it is used as proof of its validity. That most women are not animal rights activists proves only that society is oppressive. Interestingly, the French anthropologist Jacqueline Milliet (1998) argues that pet ownership—and animal activism in general—among women serves as a last remaining bulwark between women and an insipid anomie induced by rapidly changing and ill-defined social expectations and roles. In effect, she argues that pet ownership acts as a locus of control where women can legitimately regain control over the lives of an “intimate other” that symbolizes themselves: they control their pet’s sexual reproduction (spaying and neutering), its eating habits, its sleeping habits, indeed most of their pet’s experiences. This control, vicarious as it is, is a buttress against, and remedy for, the loss of meaning and control that they face. This provocative hypothesis remains speculative, and begs the issue of animals’ moral status in society. Whether and why women (and men) advocate for the cause of



animals is independent of animals’ ability to feel pain and pleasure, their physiological similarities, their ethological resemblances, and the moral imperative of people to protect the weak.

Implications of the Movement

What are the implications for sports that involve riding, chasing, hunting, or just simply enjoying animals? The animal rights movement does not claim that animals have the right to vote; however, it does claim that animals have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of their own happiness. As philosopher Bernard Rollin has stated, “A deer has a right to its ‘deeriness,’ a wolf to its ‘wolfness,’ and a pig to its ‘pigness,’” independent of human-caused pain and suffering. The implications of this philosophy for sports cannot be overstated. Indeed, the impact of the animal rights movement upon sport is ubiquitous in nature and global in geography.

In England blood sports such as foxhunting have come under attack by the Hunt Saboteurs, an animal rights group whose protests and confrontational disruptions of fox hunts have been highly publicized. The Saboteurs, who believe that foxes have a right to their “foxness,” oppose hunters who exploit the animals for mere pleasure. In response, some hunts now chase human marathon runners rather than foxes, ending



Animal Rights

Mission Statement of Kids for Animal Rights and Education (KARE)

Every year, millions of innocent lives are taken for fun, millions more to satisfy human appetites, and even more for the sake of unnecessary testing. The victims of these countless murders have unmarked graves in the stomachs, closets, and kitchens of human beings who are too heartless or too ignorant to see that all creatures, human or non-human, are deserving of a painless, peaceful life on the planet on which we were all once able to live in harmony. Kids for Animal Rights and Education was created in order to reach out to the people of the world—adults and children alike—and to inform them about the horrible, painful lives of the millions of creatures we share this planet with. KARE is an organization of kids from across the world who are willing to dedicate their time and love to making a difference in these innocent creatures' lives, and changing the hearts of millions of people in order to ensure that someday, we will all once again be able to live in a world free of blood sports, needless slaughter, and endless pain and suffering.

Source: KARE website. (n.d.) Retrieved February 22, 2005, from www.kare.homestead.com/

when the hounds catch the runners, and a good time is had by all. Indeed, in the face of such sustained intensity, in November of 2004 the House of Commons voted to ban foxhunting, thus ending a tradition rife with symbolic and class meaning. In continental Europe the movement is found in all sporting contexts. In Spain animal rights activists protest bullfighting, albeit unsuccessfully. In Germany catch-and-release anglers have been attacked by animal rights activists, and activists have accosted the Viennese for wearing fur on the promenades of Vienna. In Australia the animal rights movement opposes kangaroo hunts, while in Africa animal

rights groups protest big-game trophy safaris and claim to have been responsible for the shift toward noninjurious “photo safaris.” In the Arctic animal rights groups protest subsistence trapping as well as trophy hunting, and they have affected both the fur industry and sporting enthusiasts. In the United States rodeos have been forced to justify their existence in the face of animal rights publicity. They have been picketed, and they now include contingency plans for disruptions caused by animal rights activists in their overall event planning. From greyhound racing to pig wrestling, from pigeon shoots to rattlesnake roundups, animal rights activists have periodically appeared at events to protest and disrupt, thus gaining publicity for their cause. Whether it be deer hunting to control overpopulation or to provide pleasure, whether it be falconry or competitive sheep herding, animal rights activists believe that the animals involved have the right to be left alone, regardless of human justifications.

Importantly, since the late 1990s an entire cable television channel—Animal Planet—has emerged to disseminate the science, mythology, and anthropomorphism of animals. From *The Pet Psychic* to *Growing up Bear* to *Animal Precinct*, Animal Planet’s message is that animals are something other than mere animals. People often argue that animal rights activists, although highly visible at sporting events, have had little success in ending them. Nonetheless, the very presence of the activists—and vehicles like Animal Planet—indicates that the movement is growing, and the reports of the movement’s impending demise have been greatly exaggerated.

Although the movement is fluid and decentralizing, perhaps the most striking example of the success of the animal rights movement came in California in 1990. California voters passed an initiative that banned mountain lion hunting despite the opposition of hunting, gun, and agricultural groups. This is a significant development to hunters for a variety of reasons. First, the California Department of Fish and Game (CDF&G) had conducted scientific studies that projected that mountain lions were sufficiently numerous to allow a



lotteried hunt. Although the lion had been both hunted and protected numerous times in state history, biologists for the CDF&G believed that the lions were multiplying and that a hunt was justified as a management tool. Animal rights activists, on the other hand, disputed the scientific justification, arguing instead that hunting the lions is morally wrong and evil. Second, the animal rights groups who passed the initiative contained a significant minority who wanted to ban hunting outright. The leadership of the animal rights groups agreed that an outright ban on hunting was premature and would have failed. Instead they identified a strategy of legislation that had a high likelihood of passing, banning the hunting of individual, charismatic megafauna. Third, the animal rights groups formed a coalition with environmentalists to redirect \$900 million during thirty years from within other segments of the California budget toward habitat acquisition. This accomplishment is significant because the animal rights coalition redirected money away from the CDF&G and other hunter-friendly agencies as punishment for opposing them.

Thus, animal rights activists were able to ban one facet of sports (hunting) that they found to be offensive. They were likewise able to convince the electorate that the lions need protection. They were also able to punish state agencies that opposed them. Furthermore, a California ballot initiative to rescind the original legislation protecting the lions, and thus effectively to subject them to renewed hunting, was resoundingly defeated in the spring of 1996. Most important, activists have replicated this political model time and again throughout the United States. As a result, other states such as Oregon and Colorado have passed bans on specific types of hunting as well as hunting of certain species. Indeed, while the 2004 election found a ballot initiative in Maine to ban bear hunting that was ultimately defeated by a narrow margin, sporting enthusiasts should pause before pronouncing the movement dead; if the movement's past political savvy and adaptability is any lesson, activists will retool and continue their legislative agenda.

The lesson learned from the California initiative, regardless of whether it is ever repealed, is that the animal rights movement can affect its philosophy over the objections of sporting enthusiasts. And the lessons of those legislative actions that fail are that activists, fueled by redemptive zeal and supported by an urban culture, are adept at turning political setbacks into eventual public victories.

What are the implications of animal rights for people who interact with animals in general? The contemporary U.S. animal rights movement has attempted to realize nothing less than the radical extension of egalitarianism. Animal rights are a peculiar hybrid of liberal egalitarian ideals with a reaction to modernity. Having framed animal use issues in moral terms, having usurped the nomenclature of rights in the cause of animal protection, the animal rights movement has left its opponents unprepared to contest its philosophical underpinnings. Sporting enthusiasts are generally unprepared to discuss political theory, and their tacit reliance upon utilitarian justifications for animal uses is increasingly remote from the concerns of the culture within which they must exist.

Animal rights advocates attack all delineations between human and nonhuman animals as arbitrary and in their place posit new arbitrary distinctions based upon sentience (the ability to feel), species, or inherent value. How would hunters interact in a world devoid of hunting? How would sportspeople find solace in a world where their interactions with animals were strictly defined by the recognition of those animals' right to be left alone? Animal rights pose just such a dilemma.

Wesley V. Jamison

See also Foxhunting; Horse Racing

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[These events] will, of course, lose their appeal when black men, red men and yellow men learn to run, jump and throw, and leave the white men behind them. ■ PIERRE DE COUBERTIN ON “ANTHROPOLOGY DAYS”

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Anthropology Days

Anthropology Days was an extraordinary event in modern Olympic history: It measured the performance of representatives of various non-Western peoples as they competed in mostly Western sports. Beneath the surface the event illuminated Western attitudes toward “others,” that is, non-Western peoples.

Anthropology Days took place in St. Louis, Missouri, on 12–13 August 1904, approximately two weeks before the track and field competitions of the Olympic Games, which also took place in St. Louis. Organizers of Anthropology Days labeled the participants as more or less “savage” and divided them into eight groups: Africans, Asians (Turks and Syrians), Filipinos, Ainu (from Japan), Patagonian Indians (from South America), Cocopas (Native Americans from Mexico), Pueblos (Native Americans from North America), and Americanized Indians. With varying degrees of interest these participants competed in track events (100-yard, 440-yard, and 1-mile races), long jump, high jump, shot put, javelin, weight throw, and baseball throw for length and accuracy. Some participants threw bolos, and the “civilized” or “Americanized” Native Americans also ran a 120-yard hurdle race. Anthropology Days also included contests with which the participants were thought to be familiar, such as competing in archery and climbing a 15-meter pole.

Double Duty

The goal of Anthropology Days was to scientifically determine the physical abilities of the participants’ respective cultural groups and to compare those abilities with the abilities of sport’s dominant cultural group: white men. Thus, observers carefully measured the performances of participants. However, the participants in Anthropology Days had not come to St. Louis to compete in sports. They had come to St. Louis to be displayed by their colonial masters at the World’s Fair. When placed on a starting line for a sports contest many of the participants did not understand what was expected of them. Still, observers to a surprisingly great degree took the participants’ performances to be valid indications of the physical abilities of their respective cultural groups. Needless to say, the performances of the “savages” did not impress spectators or evaluators of the event. Indeed, the performances were ridiculed in the official report. Nevertheless, the report called the event a “brilliant success” because it taught “a great lesson.” It laid bare the myth of “the natural all-round ability of the savage in athletic feats.” High school championships probably displayed a higher level of athleticism than did Anthropology Days, observers said. These evaluations fit well with increasingly racist attitudes during the first decades of the twentieth century, and the event has earned a dubious reputation in Olympic and general history.

Why would people stage such an event? One has to consider the organizational, scientific, political, and cultural contexts and the close connection between the 1904 Olympics and the 1904 World’s Fair. In 1904 the Olympics were part of the fair’s Department of Physical Culture. Another department of the fair was the Anthropology Department, which provided living exhibits—human beings—for display at the fair. Anthropology Days was organized as a joint venture of the two departments.

The state of anthropology as a scientific discipline was also a factor in the staging of Anthropology Days. In 1904 anthropologists were inclined to study non-Western people in a more thorough way than had early



Anthropology Days

Wheel-Rolling in Africa

The so-called indigenous sports that were part of the Anthropology Days barely sampled the diversity of indigenous sports around the world. The following is a description of the wheel-rolling game played by the Baganda of Uganda.

Wheel-Rolling. This game was played by opposing teams and was played in the streets, as was the preceding one. The players stood opposite each other, each holding in his hand a “tangler” made of two pieces of corncob on a long string. One of the players stood in the middle of the road, rolled the wheel down, and the player on the other side tried to stop it with his tangler. If the end man failed the others tried. A player who stopped it sang out:

It is all tangled! It is all tangled up!
Spare it for me! Spare it for me!

Then the team which rolled the wheel came to examine the tangling. The player who had stopped it, when the tangles had been counted, stood where the wheel fell and held it in his outstretched hand. The three or four opponents (depending on the number of times the tanglers were found to be wrapped about the wheel) aimed at it with their tanglers. Those throws which succeeded made their throwers free, but the others were taken as servants by the opposing team and made to sweep the courts, where the wheels and tanglers were prepared.

The game continued with the different teams taking charge of the wheel alternately. Those who were taken captive might be redeemed by their successful team-mates. If one team lost more than three times it was captured. The winning team vaunted its accom-

plishment in the court of the other before the game proceeded.

There were several rules to this game:

1. The team which rolled the wheel the first time came only to see how the wheel was tangled and nothing was done. This was called “buying a village.” This slogan has long been known to the Baganda. When a person goes to settle in a village he must first make a payment. This slogan has been adopted in many games.
2. The wheels must be tangled up only from the side where the player was supposed to stand and from nowhere else.
3. It was a forfeit if the wheel was tangled by two players of the same side. The other side did not send aimers.
4. A player might rush up and tangle the legs of one who had just tangled the wheel but had not yet moved from the court. This exempted him from having to aim at the wheel in his hand.
5. The team which rolled the wheel had the privilege of saying, “I tie my hand,” to have it considered sufficient if their aimers tangled the arm holding the wheel instead of the wheel itself. If the other side shouted, “Tangle my arm,” before they did, it meant that this would count as a miss and would mean a capture.
6. The side which tangled the wheel was not allowed to touch the wheel until the players of the other side had counted how many times the tangler encircled it. If they touched it the other side was exempt from the aiming.

Source: Kagwa, A. (1934). In E. B. Kalibala (Trans.), *The customs of the Baganda* (pp. 137–138). New York: Columbia University Press.

travelers and explorers. International politics had made such study easier. Western colonial powers often imported people and displayed them at world’s fairs, especially during the heyday of colonialism from the 1880s to about 1960.

The Measure of a Myth

Another factor in the staging of Anthropology Days was the belief in evolution and anthropometry (the study of human body measurements, especially on a comparative basis). People did not require a giant step

FILE NOT FOUND (FNF)

I play the game for the game's own sake. ■ SHERLOCK HOLMES

to go from measuring skull dimensions and mental reactions to measuring strength, speed, and other physical abilities. The key problem that Anthropology Days illustrated was such measurements' lack of cultural validity.

Anthropology Days confirmed the colonial image of subordinate peoples: Such peoples were also subordinate in sports. The event gave a thin scientific legitimation to the racism that can be seen in sports literature of the first half of the twentieth century. The idea that a "noble savage" might exist in sports—portrayed as a "natural athlete" living a sound and healthy life far from Western civilization's alienation and sedentary life—was rejected. No athletic "threat" from the "savages" existed. The otherness of "others"—in this case non-Western peoples—was confirmed, as was the Western self-image of being the most developed.

Matti Goksøy

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The Anti-Jock Movement

The anti-jock movement refers to a loosely organized backlash against hypermasculine cultures often associated with high contact sports like gridiron football and hockey. Values usually associated with these hypermasculine cultures include "being tough," playing with

pain, and extreme aggressiveness—values linked with notions of what it means to be a "real man" for many participants in and supporters of these cultures. Articles by researchers like Don Sabo and Joe Panepinto (1990) and Michael Messner and Don Sabo (1994) elaborate on this connection between participation in violent sports and the development of hyper-masculine "jock" identities and values.

What Is the Movement?

In an article entitled "The Anti-Jock Movement: Reconsidering Youth Resistance, Masculinity, and Sport Culture in the Age of the Internet" (2002) that appeared in the *Sociology of Sport Journal*, the anti-jock movement was described by the author of this entry as a series of websites put together by youth who critique negative aspects of these sport cultures. The anti-jock websites referred to included commentaries by young webpage writers and articles by journalists (that were linked from the webpages) that describe the excessive and unjust privileges that some athletes receive. Examples of these privileges included the "lack of punishment" for athletes who break school rules or laws and the overemphasis on athletic accomplishments in educational settings and elsewhere.

Also included on these sites were descriptions of incidents in which lower-status youth (often the authors of various webpages) have been bullied by members of "jock" high school cultures. Some anti-jock website authors used their concerns about "bullying by jocks" as departure points for discussions about the highly publicized school shootings carried out by two youth gunmen in 1999 in Littleton, Colorado, at Columbine High School. These shootings were viewed by many reporters as reactions by "outsider" youth who were seeking revenge against athletes and others who had bullied them. An article entitled "Dissecting Columbine's Cult of the Athlete" (1999) by Lorraine Adams and Dale Russakoff that appeared in the *Washington Post* is one of the more prominent essays about this conflict between marginalized/bullied youth and the dominant pro-football sport cultures. Some anti-jock webpage

writers acknowledged that the Columbine shootings were intolerable and a tragedy, but they also explained the importance of the bullying-related issues that were highlighted because of the incident.

Some websites also included more encompassing critiques of the negative aspects of a North American sport culture that is believed by anti-jocks (and many other critics) to be excessive in its focus on and adulation of professional athletes and teams. On one website references were made to key academic and journalistic works that identify problems with many taken-for-granted assumptions about the benefits of sport. Included in this list of works were the books *Lessons of the Locker Room: The Myth of School Sports* (1994) by Andrew Miracle and Roger Rees, *Jock: Sports and Male Identity* (1980) edited by Don Sabo and Ross Runfola, and *Friday Night Lights: A Town, a Team, and a Dream* (1991) by H. G. Bissinger.

Why Is the Movement Important?

According to the argument put forth in this author's *Sociology of Sport* article, which was referred to earlier, the online incarnation of the anti-jock movement is relevant for sociologists who attempt to understand and explain forms of youth rebellion and resistance. He suggests that these young people are engaging in a form of online collective action that has possible political consequences. For example, concerns expressed by anti-jocks in school newspaper articles or through petitions against the funding of sport (both resistance strategies recommended on anti-jock sites) could potentially lead schools to rethink their emphasis on sports and athletic accomplishment or influence public opinion about issues such as the public funding of sports stadiums.

This form of resistance is different than less organized forms of resistance often associated with alternative sports like skateboarding, snowboarding, and surfing. In these youth sport cultures, participants rebel against mainstream sport conventions through their unique clothing, their aesthetically driven performance styles, and their engagement of a more communal (i.e., less competitive) sport lifestyle. In this way more typical



Anti-Jock Movement

Drop the Cap and Barley Bridge 1957

Games at which little boys might become rough were sham fights, running, leaping, wrestling, stone-casting, flinging bucklers, sliding, skating on bones, and whatever in these simple tests of skill developed or challenged the competitive spirit. Games that both boys and girls played, sometimes with much hilarity, were Drop the Cap (like Drop the Handkerchief) and Barley Bridge (like London Bridge). The singing and excitement of Drop the Cap culminated in the chase as the child behind whom the cap was dropped pursued the one who had dropped it. Sometimes when the caught person was kissed as penalty for being caught, there was a sharp contest that might become quite rough. Barley Bridge ended in a tug-of-war that strained muscles in the effort of the two sides to outtug each other and often was extremely rough. Drop the Cap was quite a different game when played by men and women on the village green, for they could engage in much pretty dalliance, but with children it was almost always an exciting game that might end in tears or squabbles.

Source: Pearson, L. E. (1957). *Elizabethans at home*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

understandings of youth resistance as described by authors like Becky Beal in her *Sociology of Sport Journal* article, "Disqualifying the Official: An Exploration of Social Resistance through the Subculture of Skateboarding" (1995), were challenged by Wilson's interpretation of the anti-jock movement. That is to say, the anti-jock movement embodies the potential for political resistance and social change, while the subversion associated with skateboarding culture is largely symbolic and apolitical.

Interpreted more broadly, research and writing that is critical of hypermasculine sport cultures is pertinent to the term *anti-jock*, although researchers and authors

writing in this vein would not be considered part of the “movement” per se. Included in this group of researchers and writers are those who examine issues such as homophobia in sport, sexual assault and athlete violence, hazing rituals in sport, and sport norms around pain tolerance. Work by authors like Jim McKay, Michael Messner, and Don Sabo (e.g., their 2000 edited collection *Masculinities, Gender Relations and Sport*); Phil White and Kevin Young (e.g., their 1999 edited book *Sport and Gender in Canada*); Brian Pronger (e.g., his 1992 book *The Arena of Masculinity*); and Laura Robinson (e.g., her 1998 book *Crossing the Line: Violence and Sexual Assault in Canada’s National Sport*) is notable within the growing area of research on masculinity and sport.

In sum, these various reactions against and critiques of aspects of pro-sports culture are all associated with the term anti-jock, although the anti-jock movement is most directly associated with the series of youth-created websites. The extent to which the online anti-jock movement has actually led to any kind of political or public-opinion-related change remains unclear.

Brian Wilson

See also Youth Culture and Sports

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Arab Games

The Arab Games, created to promote unity among the Arab states, have a long history of strife, boycott, and violence. Established by the Arab League in 1951, the Arab Games were held for the first time in 1953 under the direction of Egypt’s Ahmed Touny in Alexandria, Egypt. Women were not allowed to participate until the sixth games in 1985, in Casablanca.

Irregular Schedule

The goal is to hold the games every four years, like other regional games, and that goal was met for the first four occasions. These games were held in Alexandria, Egypt (1953), Beirut, Lebanon (1957), Casablanca, Morocco (1961), and Cairo, Egypt (1965).

Tripoli, Libya, was awarded the 1969 games, but a change in government stopped these plans. Sudan offered Khartoum as host in 1971, but instead Syria was asked to host games in 1974. The Israel-Arab war in October of 1973 interrupted those plans. Syria finally hosted the games in 1976. The next games were planned for 1980, but the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict postponed plans to 1982, but the next games were not held until 1985 in Casablanca.

In January 1984, the Council of Arabian Ministers of Youth and Sports met in Algiers and attempted again to establish a quadrennial schedule. The council chose Iraq for the 1989 games, Jordan for 1993, and Tunisia for 1997. None of these games ever took place. The

*You have to do what others won't
to achieve what others don't.* ■ UNKNOWN

proposed 1989 games were awarded to Iraq while they were actively at war with Iran.

Games were scheduled to be held in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1996, but construction delays and a slow recovery from the Israeli war slowed plans, and the games were set back one year to 1997. Unfortunately, this caused a schedule conflict with the Mediterranean Games, whose council had recently voted to switch those games to the year after, as opposed to the year before, the Olympic Games. The Arab Games Federation responded by moving their next games, planned for 2001 in Amman, to 1999 to avoid the overlapping schedules. The 2003 games, planned for Algiers, were postponed to 2004 after an earthquake in 2003 delayed the plans.

Political Difficulties

Political strife has followed the Arab Games throughout their history. Internal sports federation issues kept Egypt away from the second games in Beirut. Egypt had overwhelmed the other nations at the first games.

The 1961 games in Casablanca, Morocco, opened without teams from Iraq, Algeria, or Tunisia. The Iraqis boycotted, protesting the participation of Kuwait, which Iraq at the time was claiming as a part of its territory. Algeria's absence was due to a FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association) ban of some of its football (soccer) players, who had broken their contracts with teams in France in 1958 to return to Algeria and join the Algerian National Liberation Front. FIFA threatened to ban anyone who played against the Algerians. The Algerian government kept all its athletes from the games. Tunisia was involved in a small military action involving the French, the Bizerte crisis, and said that this prevented them from sending a team to the games. Both Algeria and Tunisia sent flagbearers as signs of goodwill.

In 1985, Egypt did not participate in the games after being sanctioned by the Arab League. In 1992, when Iraq was banned from the games for its invasion of Kuwait, Iraqi athletes traveled to the Syrian border to protest. In 1997, Iraq's participation was still an issue. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain, the United Arab

Emirates, and Qatar threatened to boycott the games if Iraq took part. The Iraqis replied that even the United States had not prevented Iraqi participation in the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games, and that they had invitations to the games from the Arab League. The Iraqi National Olympic Committee sent ninety-five Iraqi athletes to the Lebanese border, where the Lebanese authorities refused to let them cross. In 1999, Iraq was invited by Jordan to the games in Amman. Kuwait responded with a boycott of its own, claiming it would not participate with a nation that was still holding Kuwaiti prisoners of war. The president of the Kuwaiti Olympic Committee, Sheikh Ahmad al-Fahd al-Sabah, resigned from the Arab Sports Federation over the Iraq issue, citing interference from the Arab League.

The 1999 games were eventful, with soccer riots both on and off the field involving players and fans from Palestine, Libya, and Iraq, with destruction and minor injuries. This was the second games in a row in which soccer events had been interrupted by violence. The lack of goodwill carried over to basketball, and the Arab Games Organizing Committee called an emergency meeting to address the issue. Seven athletes failed drug tests at the games.

The 1999 games were also known as the Al Hussein tournament, in memoriam to Jordan's late King Hussein, who had died earlier in the year. During the

Table 1.

Locations of the Arab Games

Year	Location	Dates
1953	Alexandria, Egypt	26 July–10 August
1957	Beirut, Lebanon	13–27 October
1961	Casablanca, Morocco	24 August–8 September
1965	Cairo, Egypt	2–14 September
1976	Damascus, Syria	6–21 October
1985	Casablanca, Morocco	2–16 August
1992	Damascus, Syria	4–18 September
1997	Beirut, Lebanon	13–27 July
1999	Amman, Jordan	12–31 August
2004	Algiers, Algeria	24 September–8 October

games, Saudi Arabia's Prince Faisal Fahd, an International Olympic Committee member and president of the Arab Sports Confederation, the governing body for the games, died of a heart attack. The Saudi Arabian delegation insisted that the games not be interrupted, though the prince was remembered in a moment of silence before each event began and flags were flown at half staff for three days. The closing ceremonies for the games were subdued, organizers canceling all festivities out of respect to Prince Fahd.

The 2004 Arab Games, held 24 September to 8 October in Algiers, Algeria, one month after the Athens

Olympic Games, were very orderly in comparison with past events, with no reported boycotts or violence.

The Future

The 2007 games are scheduled to be held in Libya. If held, these would be the first major international games held in the nation.

Daniel Bell

See also Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games

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Archery

Since ancient times, continuing through the legends of Robin Hood and William Tell, and on into the modern Olympics, people have taken up the bow and arrow for sport. Historians claim that all sports originated in the production process and that thus *Homo faber* (the tool-making human) preceded *Homo ludens* (the playful human). The bow and arrow was one tool that had a revolutionary impact on human culture. Pre-historic cave paintings in Spain and France depict bows and arrows as hunting equipment, and archaeologists have found stone arrowheads in excavations as evidence of the first human hunters. Moreover, researchers have found evidence of archery in almost every part of the world. Hence, we can assume that archery did not spread from one culture but rather that it originated independently in various areas. People also used bows and arrows as weapons in warfare. The teaching of archery for warfare led to competitions, which were prototypes of organized sports.



A sports stadium under construction in Qatar in May 2004. *Source: istockphoto/PaulCowan.*



However, an opposing theory of the origin of sports is the so-called cultic historical school, which locates the origin of all sports in cultic rituals. People often linked archery with magic and symbolism. Among the ancient Hittites, for example, archery was part of a magic rite to cure impotence or homosexuality. A treatise on this subject describes how a patient dressed in a black cloak and how a priest intoned chants. The patient then had to undress and walk through a sacred gateway, carrying in his hand a spindle that symbolized womanhood. After he had passed through the gateway, he replaced the spindle with a war bow, which symbolized manhood. A magical formula then confirmed that the patient was cured and that all female elements had been removed.

From anthropological and historical perspectives we often have difficulty in differentiating how, where, and when archery was practiced purely for sport. The associations with warfare, hunting, and cultic rituals are never far away, but throughout history they have often been invoked as a rationalization for practicing archery purely for sport. Although archery as a sport is a contest between archers and not a practice of hunting or warfare, one can't trace the history of archery without alluding to the use of the bow and arrow in hunting and warfare.

Archery among the Ancients

When the English archaeologist Howard Carter (1873–1939) discovered the tomb of the Egyptian king Tutankhamen in 1922, the tomb revealed, among other artifacts for hunting, bows, arrows, quivers, arm guards, and a bow case that belonged to Tutankhamen's hunting chariot. The bows were of three kinds—composite, made of wood, horn, linen, and bark; self-bows of a single stave (staff); and bows of two staves—and ranged in length from 69 to 124 centimeters. One 36-centimeter self-bow was probably used by the king during his childhood. Carter also found 278 arrows ranging from 25 to 91 centimeters in length and one arrow of 15 centimeters, probably used by the king during his childhood. Pictures show that the king hunted with bow and arrow

not only from a sitting or standing position, but also from a moving chariot, in which he stood with the reins tied to his waist while shooting with his freed arms. The king, of course, hunted not for economic necessity but rather for enjoyment. Moreover, these royal hunting scenes were symbolic representations of Tutankhamen's military and physical fitness.

The Egyptian pharaohs also demonstrated their archery marksmanship before an admiring public. A granite relief from Karnak shows Amenophis II shooting at a target from a moving chariot. The inscription on the relief reads: "His Majesty performed these feats before the eyes of the whole land." A text found at Luxor states that the pharaoh not only challenged his soldiers to a shooting match, but also offered prizes to the winners. A stela (a usually carved or inscribed stone slab or pillar used for commemorative purposes) from Giza notes the sporting achievements of Amenophis II as he aimed at four targets of copper that had been set up at distances of twenty ells (an ell was the length of an arm and thus the perfect length for an arrow shaft).

However, sports Egyptologist Wolfgang Decker has argued that we should interpret such shooting records as mythological statements rather than as actual facts.

We also find the motif of the king hunting with bow and arrow in a two-wheeled chariot in ancient Mesopotamia, where ninth- and seventh-century BCE reliefs depict King Assurnasirpal performing his hunting skills before spectators.

The ancient Greek Homer's epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, also describe archery contests. A series of funeral games was organized to honor the Greek hero Patroclus, whom Hector had killed during the siege of Troy. For the archery contest Achilles had a ship's mast set up in the sandy soil, with a pigeon tied to it by a ribbon. Two entrants drew lots from a helmet, and Teucus won first shot. His arrow hit the ribbon, and the pigeon flew away. The second entrant, Meriones, took the bow from Teucus and aimed at the pigeon as it circled in the clouds. His arrow struck the pigeon, pierced its body, and came to earth with its tip buried in the ground at Meriones's feet. He won ten

double axes, and Teucus won ten ordinary axes. This scene from the *Iliad* presages popinjay shooting, which was an event of the Olympic Games in 1900 and 1920.

A story from the *Odyssey* tells of the archery skills of Odysseus. When he returned home after an absence of twenty years, he found his wife, Penelope, besieged by a hundred suitors, who were eating and drinking at his expense. His bow had been idle for twenty years. Penelope had declared that she would choose as her husband the man who was able to string the bow and shoot an arrow at a target through the eyes of twelve ax heads set up in a row, just as Odysseus used to do. One by one the suitors tried the feat but could not even string the great bow. Then the bow was handed to Odysseus, who was disguised as a beggar. He strung the bow and shot an arrow through the eyes of all the axes to the target. Then he revealed himself, took aim at Penelope's suitors, and struck them down one by one.

Roman soldiers were skilled with the bow and arrow, but they were more skilled with the sword. Roman legionnaires, until the fifth century CE, shot their bows by drawing the bow string to the chest, instead of to the face, which gives the arrow more accuracy. However, faithful to their slogan, "Castris uti, non palaestra" (barracks are important, not the sports field), historical evidence does not show that the Romans practiced archery for pleasure. Ironically, about 300 CE Saint Sebastian was martyred by being pierced with arrows because of his Christian faith. He was a Roman officer of the Imperial Guard. He became the patron saint of many medieval archery guilds in Europe.

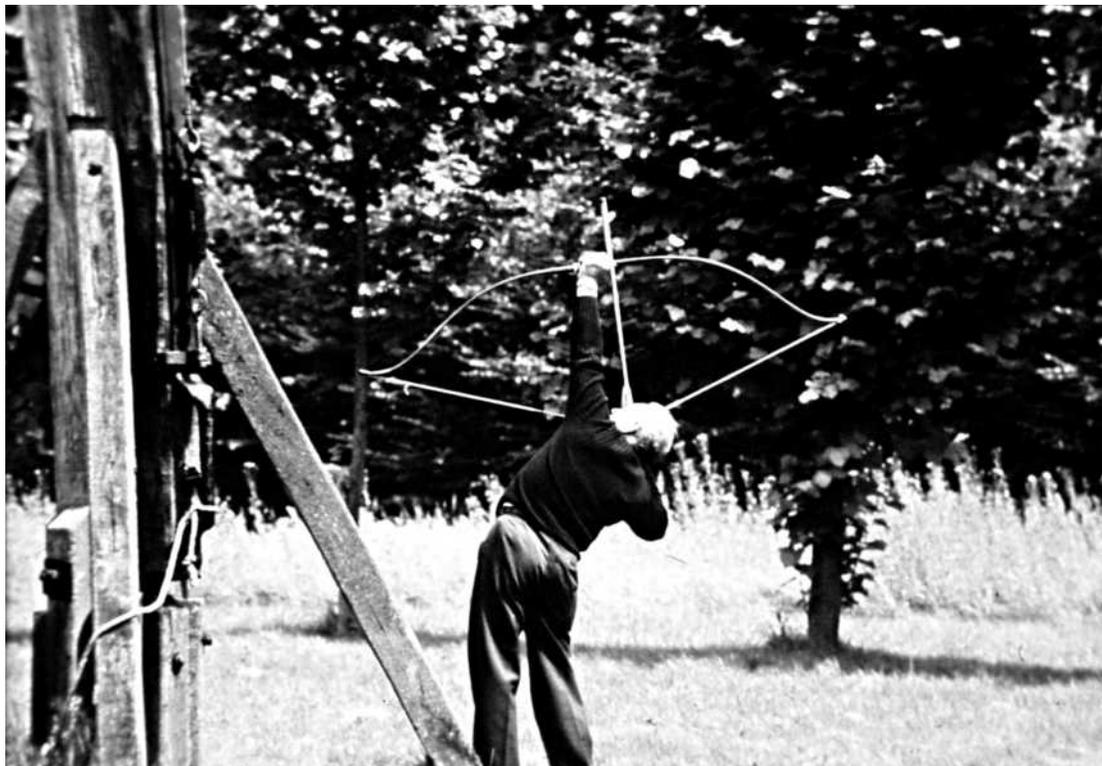
Arrows Shot Around the World

Archery was among the first sports for which people kept records. A Turkish inscription from the thirteenth century praises Sultan Mahmud Khan for a shot of 1,215 arrow lengths. A seventeenth-century miniature portrays archers on Istanbul's Place of Arrows, where shots of great length were recorded. Latham and Paterson (1970), Faris and Elmer (1945), and Klopsteg (1934 and 1947) have documented archery among the Saracens, Arabs, and Turks.

Just as the Hun king Attila had terrorized the eastern borders of Europe with his horsemen-archers during the fifth century, the Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan rode westward with his cavalry in the thirteenth century. The Mongols used powerful composite bows, and their archery tradition survives today in Mongolia, where champion archers are esteemed.

The traditional Japanese art of archery, *kyudo*, is a branch of Zen Buddhism in which the bow and arrow are used to achieve a spiritual goal via physical and mental discipline. The samurai warriors were not only expert swordsmen but also expert archers. They shot from a galloping horse, a practice still known today as *yabusame*. They also shot on foot with a 2-meter laminated bamboo bow (*yumi*). Allen Guttmann (2004) has pointed out that "rationalization" of archery occurred in Japan as early as the tenth century through the transition from mimetic targets to abstract targets with concentric rings. A gallery in an ancient temple in Kyoto served as a shooting range in the so-called Oyakazu contest, which took place between 1606 and 1842. In this contest for twenty-four hours archers shot a maximum number of arrows through an aperture of 4.5 meters without touching the walls of the gallery. Interest in this contest declined drastically after 1686, when an archer scored 8,132 successes with 13,053 arrows and people thought his record impossible to break. This incident shows that the seventeenth-century Japanese understood the concept of the quantified sports record.

Archery is still used in Africa for hunting by isolated groups such as the Khoikhoi in the Kalahari Desert and the Pygmy in the rain forests, who use small bows and poisoned arrowheads. Arrow shooting for distance was practiced in the former kingdoms of Rwanda and Urundi, where participants determined the score by stepping the distance covered. Distances of up to 200 meters were mentioned. The young Intore warriors of Rwanda started their training by shooting at a vertical stick from 30 meters. Later they shot at a shell placed in the V-shaped branch of a tree from a distance of 30 to 40 meters. Archery contests for nonutilitarian pur-



Popinjay shooting in Flanders, Belgium, in 1981. *Source: Sport Museum Flanders.*

poses have not been recorded, except for children's play activities. Archery appears frequently as a children's game all over Africa.

Native Americans have long been associated with the bow and arrow. Types of bows and arrows varied widely among tribes. The Inuits of northern Alaska moved archery indoors during winter and used miniature bows and arrows to shoot at small wooden bird targets hung from the roof of the communal center. After the Spanish conquistadors introduced horses during the sixteenth century, Native American archers quickly adapted themselves to shooting from horseback. The artist George Catlin (1796–1872), who visited the Plains Native Americans during the mid-nineteenth century, painted a vivid scene of shooting for distance. Contests included shooting for accuracy at an arrow standing upright in the ground, at arrows arranged upright in a ring, at an arrow locked in a tree, at a suspended woven grass bundle, or at a roll of green cornhusks. Archers tried to have their first arrow remain in flight for as long as possible because the winner was the archer who could shoot the most arrows into the air before his first arrow hit the ground.

Archery is also widespread in South America, where competitions are usually contests of dexterity in which archers aim at a target (such as a doll, a ball, or fruits). Shooting for the longest distance is also common, especially in southern areas. A variation (for example, among the Yanomami of the Brazil-Venezuela border) is shooting blunt arrows at opponents who try to fend off the arrows.

Longbow Legacy of the English

The traditional English longbow holds a special position in the evolution of archery. The secret of the longbow lay in the properties of the yew tree (*Taxus baccata*), which was cut in such a way that a layer of sapwood was left along the flattened back of the bow. The heartwood of yew withstands compression, whereas the sapwood of the yew is elastic; both woods return to their original straightness after the bow is loosed. People already had applied this combination in prehistoric times, as shown by Neolithic bows discovered in a peat bog in Somerset, England. Later the Saxons used bows only for hunting, not for warfare, because they considered only man-to-man combat with hand-held



A crossbow competition in Gubbio, Umbria, Italy, in May 1987.

Source: Giuseppe Stuto, *Sport Museum Flanders*.

weapons to be appropriate. This attitude would change, however, after the Norman invasion of England in 1066, when William the Conqueror used massed archery.

A better longbow, probably perfected by the Welsh, would make England a first-class military power. Folktales celebrated the lore of bow and arrow and featured such legendary archers as Robin Hood. Of particular importance in the spread of the English longbow was the victory in 1346 at the Battle of Crecy in France, where English archers routed the Genoese crossbowmen of the French army. The showers of arrows wounded the horses of the onrushing French knights, who were defeated. King Edward III's victorious army, which had been outnumbered by the enemy, consisted of thirteen thousand men, half of whom were archers. Even more notable was the English victory in the Battle of Agincourt in 1415, when King Henry V faced a French army five times as large as his five thousand archers and nine hundred men-at-arms. The yeoman archer became respected and feared and was imitated on the continent, where archers adopted the swift longbow side by side with the more precise but slower-to-load crossbow.

A government passed the first law concerning archery in the twelfth century; that law absolved an archer from charges of murder or manslaughter if he accidentally killed a man while practicing. From the thirteenth cen-

tury to the sixteenth century all servants, laborers, yeomen, and other menfolk were required to have their own bows and to practice on Sundays and holy days. Target archery thus gradually lost its exclusive military nature and also became a social pastime.

Several acts to encourage archery were passed during the reign of King Henry VIII (1491–1547). One act or-

dered all physically fit men under the age of sixty, except for judges and clergymen, to practice shooting the longbow. During the Field of the Cloth of Gold Tournament in 1520, Henry VIII demonstrated his skill with the bow at the request of his great rival, King Francis I (1494–1547) of France. He also established and granted privileges to the Guild of St. George, an elite corps whose concern was “the science and feate of shootinge” with crossbow, longbow, and handgun.

Such firearms as the handgun made the bow obsolete, despite all the official encouragement and the publication of a treatise on archery, entitled *Toxophilus, the Schole of Shootinge*, in 1545. The author, Roger Ascham (1515–1568), an archer himself, pleaded for the retention of archery. Such a plea was, in itself, a sign of the decline of archery: “So shotinge is an exercyse of healte, a pastyme of honest pleasure, and suche one also that stoppeth or auoydeth all noysome games gathered and increased by ill rull . . .” (Schroter 1983, 51).

Archery on the Continent

Many Frankish (relating to a Germanic tribal confederacy) knights had joined the First Crusade (1096–1099), motivated not only by religious zeal but also by adventure. During these expeditions to the Holy Land the knights became acquainted with a new weapon, the crossbow, a bow made by fastening a bow at right angles to a stock or tiller. The crossbow was so deadly that

it was forbidden to Christians by the second Lateran Council of 1139—another antiwar decree that has never been observed.

Elite troops had been established within the urban militias by the end of the thirteenth century; these were the guilds of the crossbowmen. The oldest records refer to the Saint George guilds of crossbowmen from the county of Flanders and the duchy of Brabant, such as those of Saint Omer, Ghent, Brussels, Ypres, Bruges, and Louvain, which were founded about 1300. During the Battle of the Golden Spurs in 1302, Flemish town militias killed six thousand members of French chivalry, who had stormed into battle as if to the joust. During the battle a French sally had been beaten off from Courtrai Castle by a company of crossbowmen from Ypres.

Inspired by the skill of the English longbowmen and their successes against the French in 1346 and 1415, on the continent several Saint Sebastian guilds of handbowmen arose, obtaining their charters and privileges during the fourteenth century. However, during the fifteenth century the invention of firearms diminished the military role of the crossbow and longbow guilds. Moreover, as a result of revolts by cities against centralized authority, many of the privileges of the cities were trimmed and their city walls and arms destroyed. The main pursuit of the archery guilds tended more and more toward representing the prestige of leading citizens. The guilds were unsurpassed in the organization of huge shooting festivities and banquets with plenty of food and drink. Although the guilds thus lost the character of training schools for the military, they maintained their traditional social status and political power.

Flanders, the Netherlands, and the Rhineland—in contrast to France and England—needed no legislative regulations to promote archery. On the contrary, rulers had difficulty in dealing with the many claims from villages, all requesting guild status for their archers. Peasants shot at butts (mounds of earth against which a shooting mark was placed) or at the popinjay (a wooden bird set on a high mast as a target).

Popinjay shooting remains popular in the northern (Flemish) part of France, in Belgium (mostly in Flanders

A sportsman is a man who, every now and then, simply has to get out and kill something. ■ STEPHEN LEACOCK

but also in Wallonia), and in the Catholic southern provinces of the Netherlands. We can probably attribute this popularity to the fact that these regions were less affected by the drastic cultural changes of the Reformation and early industrialization.

A few cities in Italy keep alive their medieval crossbow traditions. During the yearly Palio della Balestra in Gubbio or San Marino, two rival societies of crossbowmen compete in medieval attire, accompanied by their drum corps and flag wavers.

Numerous *Schutzen* (rifle clubs) in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland originated as archery guilds. They have maintained a martial character, bringing together marksmen equipped with sophisticated firearms in local rifle associations.

Toxophilites and Revival

The Toxophilite Society of London, established in 1781 for the practice of archery as a sport, triggered the revival of archery at the end of the eighteenth century and influenced most of the later societies. At that time the form of archery varied from society to society, but rules for scoring, the number of arrows to be shot, and the distances to be shot would slowly evolve as people attempted to standardize the sport. Archers used targets with concentric rings in England as early as 1673. This practice can be seen as the beginning of “rationalization” of archery, one of the seven characteristics of modern sports, according to Guttmann.

Thomas Waring, who had inspired Sir Ashton Lever to form the Toxophilites, played a major role in this rationalization. Archery, which until then had been associated with the lower classes, was now rapidly adopted by the wealthy “leisure class.” Archery tournaments were held on the grounds of fine country houses and drew large crowds. In 1787 the Royal British Bowmen was the first society to admit women as shooting members. Archery thus became an arena of fashion, elegance, and coquetry. *The Sporting Magazine* of November 1792 expressed the wish to “see the time when it can be said ‘it is a reproach to be unskilful with the bow.’” The British prince regent’s patronage of archery also contributed to

its revival, which extended to Scotland. When King George IV visited Scotland in 1822, the Royal Company of Archers, founded in 1676 in Edinburgh, was given the honor of acting as royal bodyguard. Two members of this elite group fought a duel with bows and arrows in 1791. Although each man shot three arrows at the other “at point blank” range, neither man was injured.

In 1844 the first Grand National Meeting was held at York, England. Contestants shot a “York round,” which consisted of shooting seventy-two arrows at 91 meters, forty-eight at 73 meters, and twenty-four at 55 meters. The championship of Great Britain is still based on these rules, decided upon by the Archers of the United Kingdom, assembled in 1844 on the Knavesmire race course near York. The circles on the targets were scored as follows: gold, nine; red, seven; blue, five; black, three; and white, one. Heath has attributed this innovation to the prince of Wales. In 1845 women competed for the first time in the second Grand National Meeting, although some women had already been members of various societies. Such meetings were still restricted to the Victorian upper classes, and the best newspapers reported the sport in their society columns. Victoria herself, before her accession to the throne, had not only been a patron of the Queen’s Royal St. Leonard’s Archers, but also had shot with them.

The archery tradition of England spread to the United States, where the first club was established in 1828 on the banks of the Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania. The United Bowmen of Philadelphia was a semi-secret society whose members adopted cryptic names. Members ordered a complete set of archery tackle from Thomas Waring Jr. in London, which they then copied.

The Civil War (1861–1865) was partly responsible for the renewed interest in archery in the United States. After the war men who had fought in the Confederate army were no longer allowed to use firearms. Two war veterans, the brothers William (1846–1918) and Maurice (1844–1901) Thompson, spent the time from 1866 to 1868 in the wilderness of Georgia’s swamps

and Florida’s Everglades, living for the most part on the game they killed with bow and arrow. Maurice Thompson’s book *The Witchery of Archery*, published in 1878, described their love of the sport. The book was widely read, and interest in archery spread. U.S. archery tackle had improved and was at least as good as that of the English. The National Archery Association was established and held its first championship meeting in Chicago in 1879. William Thompson won and repeated this victory in the next five tournaments. However, archery declined almost as quickly as it had spread. People in the United States sought their thrills in other fashionable outdoor sports such as tennis, baseball, rowing, and golf.

Archery also spread to the British colonies. In Australia, for example, archery was one of the few socially acceptable competitive sports for women and with tennis was organized in mixed clubs.

Precarious Olympic History

Archery originally was included in the Olympic Games only at the request of the national archery association of the host country. International rules did not exist; the rules of the host country were used. Archery first appeared during the 1900 games in Paris. Archery consisted of horizontal target shooting (*tir au berceau*), with the crossbow and with the handbow, and vertical popinjay shooting (*tir à la perche*) with the handbow. The crossbow contests were held at 35, 28, and 20 meters. The horizontal handbow contests, held at 50 and 33 meters, had two events: shooting at the large target (*au cordon doré*) and at the small target (*au chapelet*). Popinjay shooting was practiced at a 28-meter-tall mast. All medals were shared among French and Belgian entrants. Hubert Van Innis (1866–1961) from Belgium won two gold medals in the 33-meter target events and one silver medal in the 50-meter target *au cordon doré*.

During the 1904 Olympics women participated for the first time in archery. All competitors—men and women—were from the United States. The men shot the double York round (55, 46, and 37 meters) and the

**Ituri forest people from the Congo
with bows and bracers, c. 1990.**

Source: Pierre Cognie, Sport Museum Flanders.

double American round individually (55, 45, and 36 meters) and in teams (55 meters). The U.S. archery pioneer William Thompson won two bronze individual medals and one team gold medal as a member of the winning Potomac Archers from Washington, D.C. Among the women Mrs. M. C. Howell won three gold medals: in the double national round (55 and 45 meters), in the double Columbia round individually (45, 36, and 27 meters), and in teams (55, 45, and 44 meters) as member of the Cincinnati Archery Club. During the Olympics' so-called Anthropological Days, U.S. archers competed against a number of "savages" from different parts of the globe. Whereas the white U.S. contestants placed practically all their arrows at the 1.2-meter square target board at 36 meters, the "savages" hardly hit the target at all. This carnivalistic contest with racist undertones upset Olympics organizer Pierre de Coubertin of France, who had not been present and who called it a vulgar experiment not to be repeated.

For the 1908 Olympics in London, the Grand National Archery Society and the Royal Toxophilite Society joined to organize three days of shooting in the new stadium at Shepherd's Bush, England. They drew up clear rules of competition, including a regard for courtesy. For example, one rule stated: "Gentlemen will not be allowed to smoke at the ladies' targets." The competing teams consisted of twenty-five women and fifteen men from Britain, eleven men from France, and one man from the United States. British archers won gold and silver in the York round, but Henry B. Richardson, the U.S. champion, won the bronze medal. The only women competitors were British. French archers won all medals in the continental style (50 meters).

Archery next appeared in the Olympics in 1920 in Antwerp, Belgium. Archery was Belgium's national sport, but it was rather idiosyncratic. Hence, the Royal Toxophilite Society of England decided not to enter the competition because the rules restricted archery to popinjay shooting and to target shooting at "uncommon" distances. Only archers from Belgium, France, and the Netherlands took part. No women's events



were held. Popinjay shooting was practiced at a 31-meter-tall mast both in teams (six archers plus two reserves) and individually. Target archery contests were organized at 28 meters with a target of 60 centimeters, at 33 meters with a target of 72 centimeters, and at 50 meters with a target of 120 centimeters. Archers from Belgium won practically all the gold medals. After having already won three medals in Paris twenty years before, Hubert Van Innis of Belgium won three more gold and two more silver medals, making him the greatest archery *olympionike* ("Olympic champion" in Greek) in history. Archery then disappeared from the Olympics for more than fifty years, probably because of the lack of an international governing body. In 1931 the Federation Internationale de Tir a l'Arc (FITA) was founded at Lwow, Poland, with representatives from Poland, Belgium, France, and Sweden. This founding began a new era in international archery. FITA rules and regulations were internationally adopted. One year later the United Kingdom joined FITA. Under the leadership of



A typical archery lineup at a modern competition.

Oscar Kessels of Belgium (1957–1961) and Mrs. Inger K. Frith of Great Britain (1962–1977), archery was voted back into the Olympic Games in 1968.

FITA rules were recognized throughout the world. In the single FITA round, competitors shoot six sets of six arrows from distances of 90, 70, 50, and 30 meters. Women's rounds have distances of 70, 60, 50, and 30 meters. In Olympic competitions athletes shoot a double round, which comprises seventy-two arrows at the same distances. During the 1972 Olympics in Munich, Germany, two U.S. athletes—John Williams and Wilber Doreen—won gold medals in the men's double FITA and the women's double, respectively. Both established Olympic and world records.

The 1976 Olympics in Montreal, Canada, featured men and women archers from twenty-five countries. At the boycotted games of 1980 in Moscow and 1984 in Los Angeles, archery was represented but without splendor. At the 1988 games in Seoul, South Korea, the

South Koreans dominated the team and the women's competitions. South Korean women dominated the individual and team competitions at the 1992 games in Barcelona, Spain, the 1996 games in Atlanta, Georgia, the 2000 games in Sydney, Australia, and the 2004 games in Athens, Greece. Among the men Simon Fairweather of Australia won gold in Sydney, and Marco Galiazzo of Italy won gold in Athens in the individual events; the Korean men won the team events in both Olympics.

Variations on a Theme

Archery lends itself to a variety of forms. For example, shooting from a wheelchair has become a standard sport practiced by many paraplegic persons, introduced in 1948 by Frank L. Bilson (1902–1980) at Stoke Mandeville in England. An alternative to formal target archery is field shooting, based on conditions that might be encountered in hunting. Oddly enough, this

*Desire is the most important factor in the success
of any athlete.* ■ WILLIE SHOEMAKER

more “natural” type of archery has also become standardized and is practiced either as the field round or as the hunters round. In both forms archers shoot fifty-six arrows from fourteen shooting positions, but in the first form at specified ranges and in the second form at unknown ranges.

Flight shooting, or shooting for maximum distance, is a reminder of the form that was developed by the Turks and was an honored pastime of the sultans. It has modern versions both in the United States and in Great Britain. Distances of more than 1,100 meters have been recorded.

In clout shooting archers shoot arrows with a high trajectory to fall into a target zone, marked by circles on the ground. A few traditionalist societies in England and Scotland still practice this form.

International crossbow shooting is regulated by the Union Internationale de Tir à l'Arbalète (UIA, www.arbalette.org). The UIA was founded in 1956 and has its headquarters in Switzerland, the land of the legendary William Tell. The first Crossbow World Championship was held in 1979 after eleven European championships had been held. Several variations exist both in terms of traditional crossbow types (for example, the bullet crossbow, still used in Belgium) and in terms of the targets (for example, popinjay shooting with the crossbow). Archers practice popinjay shooting not only at a tall mast, from which they must shoot down feathered “birds,” but also horizontally in lanes, especially in Belgium.

Roland Renson

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Argentina

Argentina is the second largest country in South America, lying east of Chile in the “Southern Cone.” Its other boundaries are with Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, and the Atlantic Ocean. The capital and largest city, Buenos Aires, is located in the northeast on an Atlantic estuary called Río de la Plata. Other major cities include Rosario and Córdoba (each with more than one million people). The national population in 2002 was 37,944,000.

History

By the early seventeenth century, a variety of sports existed in colonial Argentina. *El Pato* was played in extensive open spaces and involved one horseman carrying the stuffed carcass of a duck and other riders who tried to grab the duck away and retain it. The modern version of the game employs an inflated ball outfitted with grabbing handles. Another traditional game from the same period is *las bochas*, a type of bowling game that today has its own national federation. Unlike some other Latin American countries where bullfighting survived to the present, Argentina prohibits it. Horse racing is a traditional Argentinean sport; over thirty tracks exist today.

British visitors and immigrants were largely responsible for the introduction of modern sports in Argentina. Much of the sport development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries took place in private clubs, such as the Buenos Aires Lawn Tennis Club. The first club, the Buenos Aires Football Club,

which later became the Buenos Aires Cricket & Rugby Club, was established in 1864. A second club, Rosario Athletic, was established in 1867.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Argentina is best known for its professional soccer league (which includes teams such as Independiente, River Plate, Estudiantes, Racing Club, and Boca Juniors) and the international successes of its national team. Soccer was introduced in Argentina in the second half of the nineteenth century by British residents, who formed the first league in 1891 and whose clubs dominated play until 1912. Early soccer success came with runner-up finishes in the Olympics of 1928 and the first World Cup in 1930. Argentina was the host nation and winner of the World Cup in 1978 (during the military dictatorship), winner in 1986 in Mexico City, and runner-up again in 1990. Argentina was the favorite in the 2002 World Cup but did not survive the first round. Through 2004 Argentinean soccer clubs had won the most (twenty) of the forty-four editions of the Copa Libertadores de América. Diego Maradona is perhaps the most famous player in recent Argentinean soccer.

Rugby teams composed of Britons played their first match in Argentina in 1873. In 1899 the River Plate Rugby Championship was founded (becoming the Unión Argentina de Rugby in 1951), and the first rugby club consisting of native Argentineans was formed in 1904. A visiting British team played in Argentina in 1910, the first of many international matches with visitors. The first Provincial Championship was held in 1945, and in 1951 the governing body organized a South American championship.

From 1965 onward, the national representative team, using the names Los Pumas, Jaguars, and Sudamérica, played and won many international matches (including the World Cup) at home and in South Africa, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. The junior team, Los Punitas, won the FIRA (Rugby Federation) championships in 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, and 1997 (held in Buenos Aires). Argentina finished second in the



Gaicho country outside Buenos Aires.

Source: istockphoto/plrphoto.

sional basketball player is Emanuel “Manu” Ginobili, star of the NBA’s San Antonio Spurs.

Along with the many Argentinean Pan American and Olympic Games medalists in boxing, there was the powerful Argentinean professional heavyweight Luis Angel Firpo, who was known internationally in the 1920s. In a famous match with world champion Jack Dempsey in 1923, Firpo knocked Dempsey completely out of the ring. However,

Dempsey was pushed back into the ring by fans and won the match. That same year Firpo defeated the American former world champion, Jess Willard.

World University Championships in 1988 and third in 1992. In 1995 Los Pumas won the first Pan American championship and were runners-up in the first Copa Latina, losing to France. When Argentina hosted the third Rugby World Cup sevens in Mar del Plata in 2001, Los Pumas ended in third place after losing to New Zealand in the semifinals. In 2002 Los Pumas won the South American Championship, undefeated.

Polo is one of the sports most closely associated with Argentina. Argentina has had outstanding performances in polo, including gold medals in the first Pan American Games and the 1924 and 1936 Olympics. The Argentinean Polo Association oversees the sport, and there are a large number of local clubs.

Juan Manuel Fangio began racing cars as a teenager in 1929. He competed in many long distance road races in South America, and, sponsored by the government, he began racing in the European circuit after World War II. Beginning in 1951, he won five major titles, including two World Championships and the German Grand Prix. He retired from racing in 1958.

Distinguished Argentineans in professional tennis have included Guillermo Vilas, Gabriela Sabatini, and Paola Suárez (U.S. Open women’s doubles champion in 2003 and 2004). The best-known Argentinean profes-

SOUTH AMERICAN GAMES

In 1922 Argentina participated in athletic games in Rio de Janeiro, which were part of Brazil’s celebration of independence. The movement for the establishment of a South American Sport Organization began in Argentina’s Olympic Committee in 1976, but it lacked government support and eventually Bolivia assumed responsibility for holding the first Congress and the first Games. However, Argentina has participated in all editions of the series of South American Games that began in 1978 (first called Southern Cross Games), and, beginning with the third Games in Chile in 1986, Argentina has been the leader in the number of gold and total medals won. Rosario, Argentina, hosted the second Games in 1982.

Between 1978 and 2002, Argentina won South American Games gold medals in track and field, archery, boxing, bowling, canoeing, cycling, equestrian, fencing, gymnastics, judo, karate, racquetball, roller skating, rowing, shooting, soccer, swimming, taekwondo, team handball, tennis, triathlon, volleyball,



Argentina

Key Events in Argentina Sport History

- 1864** The Buenos Aires Football club is founded.
- 1867** Rosario Athletic club is founded.
- 1891** The first soccer league is formed.
- 1904** The first rugby club consisting of native Argentinians is formed.
- 1923** Boxer Luis Angel Firpo knocks world champion Jack Dempsey out of the ring but loses the fight.
- 1923** The Argentina Olympic Committee is formed.
- 1924** Argentina participates in Olympics for the first time and wins the gold medal in polo.
- 1928** Argentina participates in the Winter Olympics for the first time.
- 1930** Argentina wins its first World Cup in soccer.
- 1936** Argentina wins the gold medal in polo at the Olympics. Swimmer Jeannette Campbell is the first Argentinian woman to compete in the Olympics.
- 1945** The first Provincial Championship in rugby is held.
- 1951** Juan Manuel Fangio wins the first of five major international auto racing titles.
- 1951** Argentina hosts the first Pan American Games in Buenos Aires.
- 1978** Argentina hosts and wins the World Cup.
- 1978** Argentina participates in the first South American Games.
- 1979** Argentina wins the Youth World Cup.
- 1990** Argentina hosts the only Pan American Winter Games.
- 1995** Argentina hosts the Pan American Maccabiah Games.
- 2004** Argentina wins eight medals, four of them gold, at the Olympics.

weight lifting, wrestling, and yachting, as well as other medals in baseball, basketball, golf, minisoccer, mountain biking, softball, synchronized swimming, and table tennis. In six South American Games from 1978 through 2002 (data is not available for 1982), Argentina won 526 gold, 389 silver, and 353 bronze medals.

PAN AMERICAN GAMES

Preliminary planning for future Pan American Games began in meetings held during the 1932 and 1936 Olympics. Argentinean athletes took part in an Inter-American competition in Dallas, Texas, in 1937, and Argentina took a leading role in promoting a Western

Hemisphere sport festival whose first host would be Buenos Aires. After delays due to World War II, Argentina held the first Pan American Games in 1951 (in Buenos Aires) and was host again in 1995 (in Mar del Plata), and has participated in all editions of this sport festival. In the initial games, the host nation won the most gold (64) and total (146) medals, including seven track and field events, all boxing categories, all-but-one cycling event, two equestrian events, several fencing and gymnastics events (men only in both), polo, all rowing events, eleven shooting events, soccer, four men's and women's swimming events, four tennis events, water polo, four wrestling categories, and one yachting event.

Argentina Olympics Results
2004 Summer Olympics: 2 Gold, 4 Bronze

In future games, Argentinean athletes participated in many Pan American sports, winning gold medals in men's and women's track and field (women's pole vault in 1999), men's basketball (1995), boxing, men's cycling, fencing (men), men's and women's field hockey, men's artistic gymnastics, rhythmic gymnastics, men's judo, men's karate, men's kayak, men's roller skating (including hockey on skates), women's roller skating (five of six gold in 1979 and six of seven in 1991), men's and women's rowing, men's and women's shooting, soccer (1955, 1959, 1971, 1995, and 2003), men's and women's swimming and tennis, men's and women's taekwondo, men's triathlon, men's volleyball (1995), water polo, weight lifting, wrestling, women's sambo wrestling (1983), and men's and women's yachting. Argentina was in fourth place overall for gold (232) and for total medals (796) won in Pan American Games from 1951 to 1999.

After its introduction as a men-only sport, Argentina won four consecutive Pan American Games titles in field hockey (1967–1979), winning again in 1991 and 1995, and taking silver in 1983, 1987, and 1999, and bronze in 2003. Argentina began winning Pan American Games women's field hockey with its introduction in 1987 and it won again in 1991, 1995, and 1999, and took silver in 2003. Argentina was South American Games men's field hockey champion in 2003. Men's teams participated in Olympic Games in 1972, 1976, 1988, 1992, 2000, and 2004, and women's teams participated in 1988, 2000 (silver), and 2004 (bronze).

Argentina has participated extensively in the Pan American Paralympics since the first Games were held in Mexico in 1999. Argentina hosted the only Pan American Winter Games, which were held in 1990 in the Mountain Sport Center at Las Leñas (in Mendoza Province), and the Pan American Maccabiah Games in 1995.

OLYMPIC GAMES

Argentina's first Olympic participation came with ninety-three men in Paris in 1924, who won polo, second place in triple jump (men only) and two boxing cat-

egories, and third place in two boxing categories. Other athletes competed in track and field, cycling, fencing, rowing, shooting, swimming, tennis, weight lifting, and yachting. Argentinean men won gold (in boxing, swimming, and marathon) and other medals (in boxing, fencing, and soccer) in all-male delegations in 1928 and 1932. The nation's first female Olympian was swimmer Jeannette Campbell, who won a silver medal in 1936. From 1936 through 2004, Argentinean athletes participated in and won medals in many Olympic sports, including gold medals in men's basketball (2004), boxing, marathon (Delfo Cabrera), polo, men's rowing, men's soccer (2004), and the men's exhibition sports of pelota and hockey on skates (1992). The nation did not send a delegation to the 1980 Olympics in Moscow.

Argentina's first participation in the Winter Olympic Games was in 1928 in St. Moritz, Switzerland (two bobsled teams). Since then, the nation has entered all Winter Games except for 1932, 1936, and 1956, competing in Alpine skiing all years, bobsled in 1928, 1948, 1952, and 1964, luge in 1964 and 1968, and Nordic skiing and biathlon in 1984 and 1988. Argentinean participation increased significantly in 1992, with competition in Alpine, Nordic, and freestyle skiing, biathlon, luge, and figure and speed skating.

From 1924 to 1952, Argentina was the Latin American country with most success in the Olympic Games, winning thirteen gold (seven of them in boxing) and thirty-six total medals. An Argentinean was a member of the first International Olympic Committee (IOC) and others have followed in this role. The nation currently has one member on the IOC, Antonio Rodríguez, who was elected in 1990.

Women and Sport

Argentinean women participated in Pan American Games from the beginning, and over time they increased their numbers and the number of sports they played. However, the nation was late adding women to its Olympic delegations—the first was Jeannette Campbell, who won a silver medal in swimming in 1936.



Trekking in North Patagonia, Batea Mahuida. *Source: istockphoto.com/laurag.*

Gabriela Sabatini, a professional and Olympic tennis player, is one of the most famous Argentinean women in sport. Currently, Paola Suárez is prominent in doubles tennis, having won the U.S. Open in 2003 and 2004. Roller skater Nora Alicia Vega won five world titles, eight Pan American Games medals, ten South American Championships, and fifty national tournaments. Argentinean women's field hockey teams won Pan American Games gold four times through 1999 and an Olympic bronze medal in 2004. Argentina's eighteen Olympic flag bearers between 1924 and 2004 have included five women (Isabel Avellán, swimmer, 1956; Cristina Hardekopf, diver and only female athlete, 1960; Jeannette Campbell, swimmer, 1964; Gabriela Sabatini, tennis, 1988; and Carolina Mariani, judo, 1996).

Argentina has a Commission for Women and Sport. A few young women are taking up the previously male-dominated sports of car racing, soccer, boxing, weight lifting, and polo.

Youth Sports

Young people are involved extensively in sport and there are age-group leagues and junior international competitions in sports such as soccer and rugby.

Organizations

The Argentinean National Olympic Committee, which was established 1923, maintains a comprehensive and useful website (<http://www.coarg.org.ar/>). Argentinean sport is organized into fifty-nine national associations, federations, and confederations under the Olympic committee. These organizations correspond to the mainstream international summer Olympic sports as well as to others, such as subaquatic activities, chess, billiards, bobsled and skeleton, *bochas*, bowling, boxing, bridge, netball, *colombófila* (pigeon racing), orienteering, military sport, sport law, water skiing, *faustball* (similar to volleyball but the ball may bounce between each of three hits per side), sport medicine, sport motorcycling, special Olympics, parachuting, *pelota vasca*,

skiing and mountain climbing, and squash. The Secretaría de Deporte y Recreación is the principal government agency responsible for overseeing sport activities.

Sports in Society

Argentinean soccer is so popular that it inspires neighborhood, club, provincial, and national spirit, and, unfortunately, often produces violence among fans, especially since the restoration of democratic government in 1983. Soccer has had many connections with Argentinean politics at all levels. The directors of local clubs are elected by their memberships, and party politics commonly play a role in these elections. The president of the Argentinean Football Association (AFA) is usually linked to politics, and the federal government has a history of getting involved in soccer affairs.

National president Juan Perón (1946–1955) used sport to build national spirit and gain support for his government. His government strengthened sport, and the AFA in turn backed Perón in his presidential campaigns. Perón's popular wife, Eva, promoted participation in sport (including the Evita Youth Championships) as a means of improving young people's health. Some of the closest connections between soccer and politics occurred during the military dictatorship between 1976 and 1983. The generals wanted good publicity for the 1978 World Cup Finals in Argentina. In an effort to please their own people and impress the visitors, the government spent great amounts of money on infrastructure related to holding the Cup matches, and the (usually violent) neighborhood fan groups were convinced that they should show good manners. Argentina's World Cup victory in 1978 (as well as their Youth World Cup win in 1979) brought glory to the government and helped cover up the brutal repression it was carrying out during this period.

The Future

Argentina's long tradition in sport shows no sign of weakening in the future. The nation continues to maintain interest in centuries-old activities inherited from the colonial period and to participate in a wide spec-

trum of modern sports; it also seeks opportunities for hosting major international events. For over a half-century women have been increasing their participation in Argentinean sport. The nation experienced diminished Olympic success during the period from 1956 to 2000 (a total of seven silver and seven bronze medals in this period; no medals at all in 1976, 1984, and 2000), but the 2004 Games produced four gold and eight total medals, which perhaps indicates a positive future trend for Argentina in the Olympic Games. The nation's international prominence in soccer should continue, and it will probably increase its presence in rugby, men's basketball and volleyball, and other sports.

Richard V. McGehee

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Try and fail is the manner of losers; try and learn is the way of the strong. ■ ANONYMOUS

Arm Wrestling

Arm wrestling, a variation of the basic sport of wrestling, is a contest of willpower and strength between two contestants who face each other across a table or other flat surface. Each contestant places one elbow on the flat surface, holding his or her forearm upright at a V-shaped angle, and grips the opponent's hand with knuckles facing out. When the match begins, each contestant presses in an arc toward the flat surface, attempting to force the opponent's forearm, wrist, and hand to the surface beneath.

Wrist wrestling is a form of arm wrestling. Although people occasionally use the terms interchangeably, *wrist wrestling* refers to a technique in which opponents grip each other's unused arm across the flat surface. In contrast, *arm wrestling* refers to a technique in which opponents grip a peg or other object with their free hand or keep their free hand loose. Wrist wrestling is a less common sport.

Origins

Although no extensive documentation of arm wrestling in early history exists, scholars generally believe that people in ancient societies engaged in arm wrestling as a specialized form of wrestling. Scholars usually trace today's arm wrestling to indigenous people in North America, where it was adopted by later Anglo settlers. One traditional term for the sport, *Indian wrestling*, refers to these origins.

Arm-wrestling tournaments have long been conducted at fairs, taverns, and other social settings. Since the 1960s arm wrestling has become an international organized sport, with many tournaments and dedicated participants and fans. This modern arm-wrestling movement was originally most active in California, Connecticut, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. It spread to other regions of North America and other nations. Arm wrestling is popular in many regions of North America but also in India, where it is called "*punjah*," and na-

tional championships attract thousands of spectators. Arm wrestling has also become increasingly popular in Brazil, England, Russia, and other states of the former Soviet Union.

Contemporary arm wrestling reflects its varied history. Some aspects are colorful and emphasize belligerence and machismo. Other aspects are serious and emphasize technique and discipline. Young boys often arm wrestle each other to test their strength. Arm wrestling has also traditionally been associated with bars, workplaces, and situations in which physical strength is considered an important attribute.

People usually compete in arm wrestling on a friendly basis, but they may also compete for serious purposes. For example, people have used arm wrestling to express animosity, settle disputes physically, or compare strength without engaging in actual combat. Like most other sports, arm wrestling has also been a basis for gambling: Two wrestlers bet each other on a match, or spectators bet on the outcome.

The 1987 movie *Over the Top*, starring Sylvester Stallone as a competitive arm wrestler, gave the sport wider publicity, although some enthusiasts believe the movie reinforces unwanted stereotypes. The major goals of many contemporary proponents of arm wrestling are to change the sport's rough-and-tumble image and to increase appreciation of it as a serious sport. In 1988 organized arm wrestling gained major corporate backing when Heublein, a liquor company, began to sponsor the Yukon Jack World Arm-Wrestling Championships.

More than 100,000 men and women compete in organized arm wrestling. The sport has produced many top athletes, including John Brezek, Moe Baker, David Patten, Cleve Dean, and Dot Jones. Arm wrestlers have diverse personalities and wrestling styles. Some are flamboyant, with extravagant tattoos and costumes and outrageous nicknames. They growl, pound the table, or engage in other antics before a match. This behavior reflects a sense of showmanship but is also intended to intimidate opponents. Other arm wrestlers have more subdued personalities.

Although the number of organized tournaments with cash prizes has increased since the 1980s, arm wrestling remains primarily an amateur sport, and most arm wrestlers hold other jobs. Many tournaments do not award cash prizes, and even top wrestlers usually win only enough to cover expenses. Traveling arm wrestlers have earned an income by challenging people to matches for money.

Women Get a Grip

Although most people see arm wrestling as a masculine contest of strength, women became increasingly active in arm sports during the 1970s as competitors, promoters, and officials. Many of the women who originally participated in arm sports had the encouragement of male relatives who arm wrestled. Prominent early women competitors included Karyn Jubinville (who entered the sport in 1971 at age twelve), Kari Tremblay, Cindy Baker, and Dot Jones. In 1985 Jeanette Davis won the first annual Female Armwrestler of the Year Award from the American Armwrestling Association. Grace Ann Swift earned four world titles between 1987 and 1994. Chris Baliko was the world champion four times between 1993 and 1997. Karen Brisson Curavoo gained recognition when she proved that the sport is also suited to older athletes. She began wrestling at age fifteen in 1978 and won three world titles during the late 1970s and early 1980s. She retired to raise a family but then, during the 1990s, returned to competition.

Practice

An arm-wrestling match is called a “pull.” When a pull begins, each contestant presses his or her arm and hand in a downward arc toward the flat surface. In right-hand matches contestants press in a counterclockwise direction; in left-hand matches contestants press in a clockwise direction. Contestants press in the same direction, but because they are facing each other their arms and hands press in opposite directions. A pull ends in a pin when one opponent forces and keeps the other’s forearm, wrist, and hand down. Pulls are not



The New York City Arm Wrestler of the Year and Super Heavyweight Champion Dan Sorrese (left) from Deer Park, New York wins the Empire State’s Strongest Arm MVP award over Light Heavyweight Champion Ed Safarian from Bayside, New York. The fierce 1½-minute battle of arms took place at the Empire State Building’s Observatory in Manhattan. *Source: Gene Camp.*

timed, so their duration depends on the time required for a pin to occur. Often a pull lasts less than a minute, although it may last several minutes. *Flashing* is a term used to describe a contest in which one opponent pins the other especially quickly.

Arm wrestlers use strategies to hold themselves and use their muscles and energy. In wrist wrestling the physical position of contestants tends to focus on the overall use of the upper body. In standard arm wrestling contestants have more mobility and emphasize techniques that use shoulders, arms, and hands. Basic movements include the shoulder roll, in which a contestant exerts pressure from the shoulder and triceps; the hook and drag, which emphasizes the use of wrist and triceps to press the opponent’s arm down; and the top roll, which focuses on bending the opponent’s wrist. These movements have many variations.

Although strong, well-developed upper arms and shoulders give a wrestler an obvious advantage, well-developed tendons and ligaments in the forearm and hand are also important, and many successful competitors are small and wiry or of average size. In addition to

physical strength, technical strategies and psychological attributes are vital to success. Arm wrestlers develop techniques to focus their mental energy and to gain a psychological advantage over opponents. A contestant must be determined and sometimes endure intense physical pain during a pull.

Sanctioned events have rules that govern how a match is conducted and judged. These rules prohibit movements or positions that give a contestant an unfair advantage or that might harm the opponent. Matches are refereed, and illegal movements, such as letting go of the peg or removing one foot from the floor, result in a foul. Rules may vary among sponsors, although many rules are consistent throughout the sport. For example, in tournaments contestants are often required to keep their shoulders squared and to grip each other's hands at the thumb with the first knuckle visible. Tournaments are generally organized by weight classes and gender so contestants will be well matched physically. Typical weight classes include those for contestants less than 75 kilograms, between 75 and 90 kilograms, and more than 90 kilograms. Official matches often take place on special tables equipped with gripping pegs, elbow pads, and a pinning mat.

Governing Bodies

Arm wrestling's largest sanctioning body is the World Armsport Federation (www.waf.homestead.com), based in Scranton, Pennsylvania. The federation coordinates regional and national affiliated organizations in more than seventy nations, including the American Armwrestling Association (www.armsport.com) and United States Armsports (www.armwrestling.com). Affiliates of the World Armsport Federation hold local and national competitions, with winners representing their countries at an annual world championship. The Yukon Jack tournaments are a separate, corporate-sponsored, World Armsport Federation-sanctioned series for prize money, with remaining proceeds donated to charity. Smaller independent arm-wrestling associations also sponsor tournaments. Some private entrepreneurs organize tournaments as business ventures. During the

1980s and 1990s enthusiasts also initiated a drive to have arm wrestling included in the Olympics.

John Townes

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Art

The incidence of sports images in art is directly related to the cultural importance of sports. When sports are considered central to the everyday lives of ordinary men and women, which was true in ancient Greece and is true, once again, in the modern world, sports figure prominently in art.

Ancient Images

Among the earliest images of sports are carved reliefs depicting royal hunters such as the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (seventh century BCE), who appears on horseback, spearing an attacking lion. In addition to hunting, Amenophis III and other ancient Egyptian rulers practiced a form of archery designed to demonstrate their physical fitness. This, too, was documented in stone reliefs. The prowess of the pharaoh's soldiers can be inferred from the gamut of wrestling holds and throws portrayed on Egyptian tomb walls. A bronze-age Minoan fresco, discovered by Sir Arthur Evans in the Palace of Minos in Crete, shows young men (colored red) and young women (colored white) boldly gripping the horns and vaulting over the body of a charging bull. The significance of this ritual was probably religious rather than political. An apparently secular image of two juvenile boxers survived on the island of Thera.

Images of athletes proliferated in the art of ancient Greece—as bronze and marbles statues, on black-

In this drawing by George Catlin in 1852, Native Americans of the prairie are shown competing in archery. Source: *Sport Museum Flanders.*

figured and red-figured vases, and as terra-cotta statuettes. *The Discus Thrower* (by Myron), the *Charioteer* (by Lysippos), and the *Spear Carrier* (by Polykleitos) are probably as famous as the anonymous *Venus de Milo*. Olympic victors were commemorated by statues erected near the stadium. Thousands of athletes appeared on the vases that were filled with olive oil and presented to the victors of the Panathenaic Games. Vases also carried images of Atalanta, the mythic runner who lost her race when she bent to retrieve a triad of golden apples. (Atalanta also inspired Renaissance artists such as Peter Paul Rubens and Guido Reni and modern artists like Paul Manship.) We know that Greek girls actually ran races from literary sources and from a pair of statues (an archaic bronze figure and a Hellenistic marble statue that has survived in several Roman copies). These girls were probably engaged in sports with religious significance, perhaps the games celebrated at Olympia in honor of the goddess Hera.

The aura of the sacred disappeared in the athletic art of Roman times. Mosaics depicting gladiators at their bloody sport decorated public and private sites throughout the Roman world. Chariots clatter silently across many marble reliefs. The most famous sport-centered work from this time is a bronze statue of a battered boxer. As for women's sports, the fourth-century (CE) Bikini Mosaic from the Piazza Armerina in Sicily presents ten athletic girls whose "sportswear" prompted the mosaic's name.

Modern Sports Images

Medieval peasants played folk-football and wrestled, but artistic attention was deflected by class bias. *A Wrestling Match* (c. 1650), by the greatly undervalued Flemish artist Michael Sweerts, is among the rare paintings devoted to vernacular sports. (Most genre painters seem to have been enchanted by drinkers and dancers rather than by wrestlers.) From the middle of the fif-



teenth century, when an anonymous Italian painted *The Tournament in the Piazza Santa Croce*, to the late sixteenth century, when Jost Amman produced *The Tournament of Emperor Maximilian at Vienna* (1565), wealthy patrons commissioned the combats and colorful pageantry of the knightly tournament. Woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach suggest that there was also a market for inexpensive images of knightly combat. When tournaments declined in favor, elegant fencers began to appear in drawings such as Willem Swanenburg's *The Fencing Hall* (1608), which carefully placed the human figures in geometrically defined space.

In Renaissance art, aristocratic women occasionally appeared as hunters. Francesco Primaticcio portrayed



A late-sixteenth-century depiction of a Persian polo match by an unknown artist.

reproduced images of the archery contests that were a favorite amusement of Japanese noblemen. In the nineteenth century, inexpensive woodblock prints depicting hugely muscled (and hugely popular) sumo wrestlers were ubiquitous. Throughout Asia, polo was immensely popular. In Tang dynasty China (618–907 CE) craftsmen produced countless terra-cotta statuettes of male and female players. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Persian and Indian painters often adorned manuscripts with precise miniature depictions of the game. Even more common in Islamic art were hunting scenes.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, horse races were a major theme of English sporting art (just as they were, a century later, in the art of Edgar Degas and his fellow Impressionists). Among the masterpieces of the genre were *Race Horses Exercising on the Downs* and *Gimcrack on Newmarket Heath*, both by George Stubbs. Hunting offered a splendid opportunity for artists to paint men, women, and horses. John Wootton's *The Death of the Stag* (1737) and *Lady Henrietta Harley Hunting with Harriers* (c. 1740) were typical of the genre. Wootton's French counterparts produced some magnificent achievements: for example, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin's after-the-hunt still-life renditions of pheasants and hares and Jean-Baptiste Oudry's *Louis XV Hunting Stag in the Forest of St. Germain* (1730).

English artists found cricket, played on picturesque village greens, irresistible. Among the finest depictions was an anonymous painting entitled simply *The Game of Cricket* (c. 1790). As early as 1763, cricket entered the realm of American colonial art in Benjamin West's group portrait, *The Cricketers*, in which five young gentlemen from Virginia and South Carolina proudly pose with their sports equipment. John Singleton Copley, who followed West from America to England, added to the genre with his portrait of young Richard Heber (1782). Women also played the game, but they were more likely to be seen with bow and arrow. In an aquatint entitled *A Meeting of the Society of Royal British Archers* (1794), limned by Robert Smirke, the ladies

Diane de Poitiers, mistress of Henri II of France, in the guise of her namesake, the huntress-goddess Diana. (Diana has remained popular with artists. She appears in works by Jean Goujon, Titian, Peter Paul Rubens, Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, who placed her statue on top of Madison Square Gardens).

In northern Europe, Hendrick Avercamp, Esaias van de Velde, Lucas Van Valckenborch, and Rembrandt van Rijn all produced lively scenes of skaters gliding gracefully across, or sprawling awkwardly upon, frozen ponds and canals. These wintry scenes seem magically to reappear centuries later in the paintings of William Glackens, Pierre Bonnard, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Wassily Kandinsky.

Sports appear much less often in Asian than in European art, but they were by no means absent. As early as the thirteenth century, Japanese scrolls and screens

shoot while the gentlemen stand ready to assist and admire. One beautiful image of women's archery was William Powell Frith's *The Fair Toxophilites* (1872), a portrait of his daughters as a trio of archers.

Realism to Abstraction

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, sports attracted an array of talented American painters, including Thomas Eakins, Winslow Homer, and George Bellows:

- A rowing scene, *Max Schmitt in a Single Scull* (1871), represents Eakins at his artistic zenith. His fascination with anatomy inspired him to paint a number of boxers and wrestlers.
- Winslow Homer did a splendid series of oils devoted to male and female croquet enthusiasts. (Homer's Impressionist contemporary, Edouard Manet, was foremost among the Europeans interested in the game.)
- In oils and in lithographs, George Bellows portrayed tennis players, ice-skaters, polo players, and a great many boxers—some as famous as Jack Dempsey, others identified simply as “members of the club.”

Baseball has captivated the imagination of American novelists and poets, but visual artists—with the exception of Eakins and William Morris Hunt—have seldom been interested in the “national game.” There has been a curious neglect—everywhere in the world—of the world's most popular sport: association football. Billions of photographs document the history of soccer, but relatively few painters of stature have thought it worth their time to interpret the game. Umberto Boccioni's *Dynamism of a Soccer Player* and Nicolas de Stael's *Soccer Players* are among the rare canvases attempting to catch the complicated movements of a soccer match. (Both are abstract works.) Rugby players can boast that their sport inspired several of the world's most renowned painters:

- Henri Rousseau exhibited his charmingly primitive *The Football Players* in 1908.

- Robert Delaunay's *The Cardiff Rugby Team* (1912–1913) was emphatically modern, not only in its choice of sporting subject but also in its background: the Eiffel Tower, a Ferris wheel, an airplane.
- André Lhote's *Rugby* (1912) was even more abstract.
- The Expressionist Max Beckmann, in *Rugby Player* (1929), returned to a somewhat more representational (and comic) style.

American football has attracted very few major painters, but Frederic Remington, renowned for his paintings of cowboys, did a version of the Yale-Princeton football game of 27 November 1890. In the 1950s, Elaine de Kooning attempted to reproduce the action of a number of ball games, including American football.

In the fin de siècle period, tennis players appeared in the work of artists as different in their styles as the British academic John Lavery, the German Impressionist Max Liebermann, and the Belgian Symbolist Ferdinand Khnopff. In time, tennis appeared also in paintings by the French art déco specialist Marcel Gro-maire, the Italian Surrealist Carlo Carrà, and the American pop-art painter Mike Francis. The mood of these pictures varies from the pastoralism of Lavery's *The Tennis Party* (1885) to the eroticism of Francis's *Advantage, Mrs. Cunningham* (1976), in which a male spectator's sunglasses reflect the naked buttocks of a female player.

Everywhere in the modern world, golf rivals tennis as the favorite participant sport of the affluent, but the bucolic pleasures of golf have seldom excited the artistic imagination. When Paul Cadmus painted *Aspects of Suburban Life: Golf* (1936), he indulged in Hogarthian satire. It may be that landscape artists are temperamentally opposed to sports events. There are, however, a few exceptions, including *The Dune Hazard* (1922), by the American Impressionist Childe Hassam.

Artists have never been as keen on Alpine skiing as on town-pond skating. (Too hard to sketch with frozen fingers?) We do have Tamara de Lempicka's *St. Moritz* (1929), in which the artist's self-portrait dwarfs the

rather insignificant ski slopes, and Joan Miró's *The Skiing Course* (1966), which is so abstract that it was probably conceived and executed in his atelier.

Human Bodies

Just as artists fascinated by women's bodies have produced innumerable nudes (the adjective "female" is usually considered unnecessary), artists interested in the shape and motion of men's bodies have studied boxers and wrestlers. Among the painters and sculptors who have portrayed boxers, Eakins, Bellows, Mahonri Young, and Andy Warhol are among the most prominent. (Andy Warhol included Muhammad Ali in a 1978 series of ten pop-art acrylic portraits of athletes.) In addition to Eakins and Bellows, the list of modern artists who have painted wrestling scenes includes George Luks and the German Impressionist Max Slevogt. A surprisingly large number of renowned painters and sculptors took female wrestlers as their subject. Eugène Delacroix and Degas were both attracted by the erotic appeal of muscular female bodies. They—and their lesser contemporary Emmanuel Croisé—depicted Spartan girls as wrestlers. The great twentieth-century sculptor Aristide Maillol, best known for his larger-than-life bronze nudes, was true to form when he cast *Wrestling*

Women (1900). French artists were, however, hardly unanimous in their admiration for combative females. In 1868, the caricaturist Amadée-Charles-Henri Cham was clearly repelled by the sight of a pair of tubby women grappling before a crowd of leering men.

Focus on female wrestlers did not mean that conventionally feminine sports have been neglected. *Beach Scene, New London* (1919), a brightly Impressionistic canvas by Glackens, reminds the viewer that swimmers have, for centuries, attracted artists fascinated by the human body. The gentle game of shuttlecock caught the eye of Maurice Denis in 1900, as it had an even greater French artist, Chardin, in 1741. Chardin's indoor scene portrays a little girl holding her racquet and her shuttlecock. Denis preferred a game in progress; he set it in a peaceful forest glade and emphasized his arcadian motif with pastel shades of green and yellow.

Mechanized Motion

Several twentieth-century artists have expressed their fascination with "technological" sports. In the years just before World War I, Boccioni, Lyonel Feininger, Natalia Gontscharova, and Jean Metzinger all produced abstractions designed to give an impression of the cyclist's energy and speed. A generation later, Edward Hopper chose to paint—in haunting realism—an image of an exhausted cyclist between the laps of a six-day race. Automobiles at full throttle raced through the work of Italian Futurists such as Giacomo Balla and Luigi Russolo, careened across Gerardo Dottori's *Velocity Triptych*, and show no signs of



Shobu Aikido Dojo, showing the Kamiza altar and drawings, is an example of the importance of aesthetic elements in Asian martial arts.

Horse racing is animated roulette. ■ ROGER KAHN

stopping in contemporary pictures such as Jean Tinguely's collage, *Panorama Formula I-Circus*. Inevitably, the Futurists produced images of airplanes. Mario Sironi's *Yellow Airplane with View of the City* appeared in 1915, a year before the abstractionist Delaunay painted his *Hommage to Blériot* (the first pilot to fly the English Channel).

Obsession with mechanized motion did not mean that Delaunay and other early modernist artists lost interest in runners. Delaunay's *The Runners* appeared in 1926, six years after Paul Klee's composite abstraction, *Runner Hooker Boxer*. What Delaunay hoped to express by the faces of his five runners—a set of five reddish disks—is impossible to say. Willi Baumeister and Pablo Picasso were among the relatively few artists to portray female runners. Baumeister's boyishly slender runner, painted in 1927, is nude except for a blue headband. She seems to dance rather than to run. In contrast, the runners depicted in *The Race* (1922) have the massive bodies of Picasso's classical period. Their tunics and exposed left breasts are probably an allusion to the garb of ancient Spartan runners.

California is the symbolic, if not the actual, birthplace of skateboarding, rollerblading, and other postmodern sports, so it is hardly surprising that they appear in the work of California's artists. In Richard Cronk's *Venus on the Half Shell* and Peter Blake's *The Encounter or Bonjour Mr. Hockney*, both painted in 1981, young women glide by on roller skates. Both pictures were clever visual allusions—Blake's to Gustave Courbet's famous *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet* (1854) and Cronk's to Sandro Botticelli's even more famous *Birth of Venus*. Both works remind the viewer that the images we use to document the history of sports are also an important facet of the history of art.

Allen Guttmann

See also Aesthetics; Beauty

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Ascot

The Ascot races are far more than mere horse races. For the British they have grown into a national institution. On the one hand, they are popular and democratic, attracting crowds from across London and the South, and showcasing horses from throughout the country. On the other, they still retain their associations with the British monarchy, enjoy long-standing traditions of elegance, extravagance, and glamour, and are attended by fashionable high society. Often known as “Royal Ascot,” these races are still one of the supreme social functions of the British season. Queen Elizabeth II has attended regularly and often runs her better horses there. Even though the races are held during the week, which limits working-class attendance, as does their distance from London, they have always attracted large crowds, although well below those found at Epsom for the Derby.

History

The course is about ten kilometers from Windsor Castle, the main residence of Britain's royal family, and just over a kilometer from the gates of Windsor Great Park. Racing there had its beginnings in a series of match contests between hunting horses run for the private amusement of Queen Anne (the last of the Stuart monarchs) and her courtiers on Ascot Heath, a large clearing in Windsor Forest, in 1711. Although she weighed over 126 kilograms (278 pounds), she continued to follow racing and hunting until her death, and even provided a Queen's Plate as a prize. Following her death, the course had little patronage, though members of her former hunt, the Royal Buckhounds, who



Women in their best dresses and hats during a break in the racing at Ascot in the late nineteenth century.

hunted deer in the area, occasionally used it for hunters' races.

In the 1740s the patronage of William Duke of Cumberland once more created a high-status five- or four-day June meeting. Its first really valuable race, the Ascot Gold Cup, was instituted in 1807. It was watched by George III, Queen Charlotte, and Princesses Mary and Amelia, dressed in Spanish mantles and gypsy hats; the king's estranged son, the Prince of Wales, pointedly watched from his own pavilion opposite the judge's box.

The course's development was significantly influenced by royal patronage. This patronage is reflected in the titles of its famous races, which indicate the continuity of British racing life. Such races include the St.

James Palace Stakes (which began in 1834), the King Edward VII Stakes (1834), the Queen Anne Stakes (1840), the Royal Hunt Cup (1843), the Coronation Stakes (1840), and the Prince of Wales Stakes (1862). Queen Victoria attended Ascot regularly in the first half of the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century Edward VII had made it probably the most fashionable event in the social calendar.

Beginning with the reign of George IV in the early nineteenth century, the royal procession to and along the course has been a key tradition. The public pageantry, pomp, and circumstance of this royal arrival have always been a major attraction for the crowd, helping to strengthen the hold of the monarchy on British society. In the 1920s, for example, there was a coach procession from Windsor that featured not just the royal family but postilions in quaint costumes with grey wigs and jockey caps, outriders in scarlet and gold uniforms and tops hats, and equerries in somber black. As the royal standard was raised above the Royal Box, voices would call out, "The King, the King!"

The ultimate privilege for the wealthy was admission to Ascot's royal enclosure, first created in front of the Royal Stand in the 1840s; acceptance was often a mark of arrival into elite society. Applications had to be made to the royal representative at St. James Palace and were carefully scrutinized. Court rules governing the nonadmission of divorced persons always applied. Correct clothing and appearance were expected, to signal the high status of visitors. Between the two World Wars, for example, men wore tailored dark suits, stiff-collared shirts, and high top hats, while women wore extravagant hats and elegant frocks. The royal family itself always watched the race from the Royal Box, and the ultimate accolade was to be invited to join them. The cream of British aristocracy would arrange house parties at country houses in the neighborhood of the races, and every crack military regiment quartered in England had a luncheon tent on the course.

Management of the races was usually carried out by the Master of the Buckhounds, who was invariably a member of the ultra-elite Jockey Club, the ruling body

Wimbledon is getting a bit too like Royal Ascot. It's not what happens or who wins so much, as what clothes do I have on. ■ DAVID LLOYD

of British racing. Names of modern races such as the Ribblesdale Stakes, the Cork and Orrery Stakes, and the Hardwick Stakes all commemorate aristocrats who held the office in the past. The racing cups were often made by leading British silversmiths and usually incorporated the Royal Arms. Between the wars these were often chosen as the result of design competitions and exhibited in Goldsmith's Hall in London.

Contemporary Ascot

Even today, the racing is of a high standard. Royal Ascot still takes place in June, and the vast majority of Britain's leading June races are held there. Indeed, Ascot has been described as "the finest festival of racing in Europe." Its races, because of their high status, have always been attractive to sponsors, and prize money here has always been greater than at most other racecourses. In 1878, for example, according to London's *Graphic* newspaper, the total value of the stakes was "no less than £28,890—sums beyond any which have ever been run for at any race meeting in the world."

By the 1990s Ascot had expanded from a single meeting to five fixtures and a total of thirteen days of racing a year. In 1973 the one-and-a-half-mile King George and Queen Elizabeth Stakes, run in July, became the first £100,000 race in Britain. Originally founded in 1951 as part of the Festival of Britain to help stimulate Britain's postwar revival, it has attracted winners of many leading international races for three-year-olds and upward. The course has always enjoyed better facilities than most other British courses, with constant building and upgrading.

Its prestige meant that the meeting attracted leading horses, and all the leading British flat-race jockeys regularly appeared there. Between 1957 and 1982 former champion jockey Lester Piggott won the Ascot Gold Cup no fewer than eleven times. Frankie Dettori, the British champion jockey in 2004, went through the card there on 28 September 1996, the first time this "magnificent seven" had been achieved in Britain.

Mike Huggins

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Ashes, The

Symbol of global rivalry, and a colonial relationship fraught with ambiguous feelings, the Ashes tour is a major sporting event: the biennial cricket competition between Australia and England. The Ashes themselves truly are ashes—the cremated remains of a cricket bail or stump, placed in a small brown urn and preserved and cherished in the museum at Lord's Cricket Ground in London.

History

The Ashes is cricket's oldest international contest and has its origins in the third Australian tour to England. The visitors horrified the host nation (and thrilled their country's people) by beating England in its own green and pleasant land on 29 August 1882.

The Australians had won four out of seven matches before the Test Match at the Oval cricket ground in south London. This in itself was considered humiliating by the English, who commentators say were determined to teach the Aussies a lesson, presumably about proper filial behavior. (England was known as the "mother country.")

The defeat at the Oval was made even worse because the Australians came from behind to devastate a confident English team at the last moment. The following mocking obituary was published the next day in the *Sporting Times*:

In Affectionate Remembrance of English Cricket,
 Which died at the Oval on 29th August, 1882,

Deeply lamented by a large circle of sorrowing Friends and acquaintances.

R.I.P.

N.B. The body will be cremated and the ashes taken to Australia.

When the English team next toured Australia, its captain, Ivo Bligh, stayed in a home in Sydney, where one of the young ladies of the family suggested she make a velvet bag in which he could store the imaginary ashes of English cricket. (This suggests that jokes about the situation could be made, at least in private.) This brown velvet bag, embroidered with the year 1883 in gold thread, still exists, but it was quickly deemed inappropriate for the storage of the Ashes. Supposedly the ladies of the household then burned a bail, one of the small wooden bars that rest on top of the three vertical stumps that stand behind a batsman. When the bails fall, the wicket is lost (a “wicket” is an “out”).

Florence Morphy of Melbourne, Australia, is credited with having provided the brown urn in which the Ashes now rest. Bligh himself married Florence Morphy and settled in Australia, and after his death she presented the urn to the Marylebone Cricket Club. They have been on permanent display ever since, and a substitute is the Ashes trophy, which moves between Eng-



land and Australia, depending on the results of the latest tour.

The original Ashes returned to Australia only once, for the country’s bicentenary celebrations, flown by RAF aircraft and moved under police escort to and from Lord’s.

The Ashes Tour

The England-Australia series was rechristened the Ashes tour and is played every two years, alternating between England and Australia. Because it is played in two hemispheres, some of the series are listed by two years, played in the Australian summer season.

THE “BODYLINE” ASSAULT

Americans associate cricket with the English and a privileged, leisured way of life. But cricket has been for well over a century an intensely global competition, a venue where the complex emotions of colonial relationships are played out. In the 1932–1933 series, a new edge was added to the legendary rivalry, when England’s captain, Douglas Jardine, decided to implement a tactic that was not forbidden in the rules but which was aggressive and dangerous.

For the Australians, winning at cricket was about beating the English at their own game. For the English, the country’s and the Empire’s honor was at stake. But this was a new era, in which the British government was negotiating for a Commonwealth constitution with the Dominion governments (including Australia) that would assure loyalty to the Crown yet recognize Dominion autonomy. In this politically charged time, the British government wanted to avoid anything that would cause Australians to feel ill-will toward Britain.

One player said, when he heard that Jardine had been named captain, that England would “win the Ashes—but we may lose a Dominion.” Jardine has been credited with the strategy known as the “bodyline,” but

Illustration of British cricketers shows a wicket of the type burned for the Ashes.



it was only possible because he happened to have four star fast bowlers. The star of the Australian team was batsman Donald Bradman, known as the “Don,” who took England’s traditional spin bowling in stride but showed some uncertainty when faced with ace fast bowlers like Harold Larwood.

Jardine took advantage of this and ordered his bowlers to the attack, placing their balls in such a way that it would bounce right in front of the batsman and jump towards their heads. The bodyline itself was a line-up of fielders placed closely round the batsman, instead of spread over the pitch. The batsman was forced to respond defensively, and the ball would go straight into the hands of one of the close quarter fielders.

Like baseball, a catch is an out, and that batsman never comes back to bat. A technique that could knock out a player like the Don, who might get 200 or 300 runs, was of considerable value. But, as the crowds roared, it was not sportsmanlike. It was not cricket.

A diplomatic crisis ensued, with telegrams crossing the globe. An Australian player was quoted as saying that Jardine’s tactics were unsportsmanlike, an insult so breathtakingly offensive that the British government demanded it be withdrawn. The crowds were wild, especially when several players were struck in the head and one Australian batsman sustained a fractured skull.

The 1984 Australian miniseries *Bodyline: It’s Not Just Cricket* dramatized the legend. Jardine was portrayed as a sportsman not just obsessed with winning but as a sadistic Englishman who had to prove his superiority over the colonials. It was highly popular in both England and Australia.

CONTEMPORARY TOURS

In recent decades, fans have talked about England’s cricket performance in a way akin to Americans talking about the Chicago Cubs or the Boston Red Sox (though there was no known curse on England). The 2004–2005 Ashes tour, however, revived English hopes of regaining the Ashes.

As it happened, Larwood, the star bowler of the bodyline series, settled in Australia and became some-

thing of a hero. And in an ironic twist of modern commercialism and globalization, the Oval, where English cricket supposedly died in 1882, is now called the Foster’s Oval, under the sponsorship of the Australian beer.

Karen Christensen

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Asian Games

The original 1950 charter of the Asian Games begins, “The Asian Games shall be held every four years, exceptional circumstances apart, and assemble amateurs of Asian nations in fair and equal competition under conditions that are to be as perfect as possible. No discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of color, religion or politics.” Women were restricted to competition in athletics, fencing, gymnastics, swimming, canoeing, yachting, and art exhibitions. The charter allowed for Asian Winter Games to be held during the same year, but the first Asian Winter Games were not held until 1986, and thereafter in 1990, 1996, 1999, and 2003.

The games resumed competition between Asian nations that was interrupted during the 1930s. China, Japan, and the Philippines had hosted ten competitions of the Far East Championships from 1913 until 1934. Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru proposed the idea to other Asian nations in 1947. The Indian Olympic Committee, led by G. D. Sohndi, continued

the discussions with Asian neighbors at the 1948 Olympic Games and the first competitions were planned for 1950. Delays slowed the preparations and the first “Asiad” or Asian Games were held in New Delhi, India, in 1951. Since 1954 the Asian Games have been held regularly every four years on the even years between the Summer Olympic Games.

The 1951 Asian Games, New Delhi, India

New Delhi’s National Stadium welcomed athletes from eleven nations in March of 1951 to the first Asian Games. A five-mile torch relay from New Delhi’s Red Fort to National Stadium opened the games. The cauldron in the stadium was lit by India’s Dalip Singh, a participant in the 1924 Olympic Games. China and Vietnam did not participate as India did not recognize their governments, and they were not invited to the games. Pakistan, newly independent from India, and still disputing the Kashmir regions with India, boycotted the games.

The 1954 Asian Games, Manila, Philippines

China declined to participate in the games of 1954, in Manila, Philippines, when the Taiwanese were invited to participate. The debate of athletic sovereignty between the “two Chinas” began in 1952 and continues to this day.

The 1958 Asian Games, Tokyo, Japan

In Tokyo, Japan built for the 1958 Asian Games what was said to be one of the most modern and beautiful stadiums of its time in the world. They also succeeded in impressing the International Olympic Committee to award them the 1964 Olympic Games. Gun laws in Japan were so severe that even starting pistols were restricted. The Japanese Diet (parliament) had to give special permission for the officials to use starting guns. Japanese commercial and government television stations broadcast the games. The torch for the games was

lit in Manila’s Rizal Stadium, host of the previous games, and carried by plane to southern Japan where it was relayed on foot to Tokyo. Japan’s 1928 Olympic triple jump champion Mikio Oda lit the games cauldron. China again refused to compete when Taiwan was invited. North Korea wanted to field a separate team from South Korea but were not yet members of the Asian Games Federation and were expected to compete as part of a unified Korean team. The Japanese spent over \$40 million on their new stadium, and lost money on the games, but were able to restore some of the international goodwill that had been lost in the region during the preceding decade of war. Mainland China, however, at the conclusion of the games broke off sporting relations with Japan over the issue of the participation of Taiwan.

The 1962 Asian Games, Jakarta, Indonesia

The games of 1962 were awarded to Jakarta, Indonesia, by a narrow 22–20 vote of the Asian Games Federation and with pessimism that Indonesia’s complete lack of facilities and experience in organizing events of this kind would doom the games. The political tensions between mainland China and Taiwan resurfaced as a theme of these games in 1962, as did the issue of Israel’s participation. Indonesia, having no diplomatic relations with either Taiwan or Israel, refused visas to both countries, excluding them from entering the country for the games. China, one month before the games were to begin, placed a great amount of diplomatic pressure on Indonesia to influence the decision concerning Taiwan. The Taiwanese protested and attempted to gain the support of other countries in a boycott if Taiwan was not invited to the games. During the week prior the games, with all of the nations except Taiwan and Israel in Jakarta, and the Indonesian government unwilling to budge, India’s G. D. Sohndi, one of the original founders of the Asian Games, attempted to remove the official sanction from the games and have them called the Jakarta Games and not the Asian Games.



The main stadium of Thammasart University, Rangsit, Thailand, the locale for the Asian Games. Source: [istockphoto.com/palmbook](https://www.istockphoto.com/palmbook).

On 26 August, two days after the opening ceremony, a statement was issued to the press that the games would not be recognized as the Asian Games but would be called the Jakarta Games. The international federations for basketball and weightlifting immediately removed their sanction for those sports and the tournaments were canceled. Two days later the Asian Games Federation met again and reversed the decision, insisting the games had full sanction and setting up a committee to look into the issues with Taiwan and Israel.

In February of 1963, Sohndi, as part of the executive committee of the International Olympic Committee, moved to have sanctions placed against Indonesia and have them suspended from the Olympic movement. This led Indonesia to attempt to establish the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0) in protest, which were to be an ongoing alternative to the Olympic Games. The GANEF0 games were held once, in Jakarta

in 1963, and a smaller Asian GANEF0 was held in 1966 in Cambodia, before the protest movement lost momentum. Israel and Taiwan were both invited back to the 1966 Asian Games held in Bangkok, Thailand, but the games were not considered to be well organized. One spectator died in a stampede of fans attempting to get in to the opening ceremony.

The 1970 Asian Games, Bangkok, Thailand

South Korea had been selected to host the 1970 games but ongoing domestic problems forced the Koreans to decline. Bangkok graciously offered to host the games for the second time in a row.

The 1974 Asian Games, Tehran, Iran

In 1974 in Tehran, Iran, the Asian Games were especially controversial when the political issues of Taiwan

Table 1.*Locations of the Summer Asian Games*

Year	Location
1951	New Delhi, India
1954	Manila, Philippines
1958	Tokyo, Japan
1962	Jakarta, Indonesia
1966	Bangkok, Thailand
1970	Bangkok, Thailand
1974	Tehran, Iran
1978	Bangkok, Thailand
1982	New Delhi, India
1986	Seoul, South Korea
1990	Beijing, China
1994	Hiroshima, Japan
1998	Bangkok, Thailand
2002	Busan, South Korea

and Israel again became hot topics. The Asian Football Federation finally voted to eliminate Israel from all future football competitions at the games. Other nations boycotted Israel's participation in other sports, the Arab nations, North Korea, Pakistan, and China refusing to participate with Israel in tennis, fencing, basketball, and football. On the matter of Taiwan's participation, the international governing bodies of swimming (FINA, Federation Internationale de Natation) and athletics (IAAF, International Association of Athletics Federations) ruled opposite of one another on the issue. The IAAF said Taiwan could compete, while FINA voted against their inclusion, voting to include China instead, and in the end Taiwan did not participate.

The 1974 games saw accusations of professionalism against six boxers from Thailand and two drug suspensions handed out against weightlifters from North Korea and Japan.

The 1978 Asian Games, Bangkok, Thailand

Bangkok, Thailand, once again stepped in to rescue the games in 1978 after Islamabad, Pakistan, pulled out as

host. Israel was expelled entirely from the Asian Games Federation and Bangladesh, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Qatar were accepted as new members of the federation.

The 1982 Asian Games, New Delhi, India

In 1982 in New Delhi, police arrested more than seven hundred people three days before the games opened, fearful that Akali Sikh activists might try to disrupt the games. Ten thousand extra police were on hand for security during the games, which took place without incident. For the first time Japan was not atop the medals table; China had outscored the Japanese with sixty-one gold medals to Japan's fifty-seven gold medals.

The games organizing body was renamed in December of 1982 from the Asian Games Federation to the Olympic Council of Asia (OCA).

The 1986 Asian Games, Seoul, South Korea

Security was increased for the 1986 Asian Games in Seoul, South Korea. North Korea refused to participate in the games and gave indications that they might attempt to disrupt the events. Five days before the games opening, a large bomb exploded inside Seoul's Kimpo Airport, killing five and injuring thirty-six. The South Korean government closed down five schools and universities during the games in an attempt to stop student demonstrations.

The 1990 Asian Games, Beijing, China

One month after Iraq invaded Kuwait in August of 1990, the Asian Games opened in Beijing, China. Iraq was expelled from the games and was not allowed to participate. During the Iraqi invasion on 2 August 1990 Sheikh Fahad al Sabah, president of the Olympic Council of Asia and a member of the International Olympic Committee from Kuwait, was murdered. International businesses shied away from sponsoring the games because of the June 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown.

Being in politics is like being a football coach. You have to be smart enough to understand the game and dumb enough to think it's important. ■ EUGENE MCCARTHY

China dominated the medals table like no nation had before, winning 183 gold medals. The rest of the nations combined shared 127 gold medals.

The 1994 Asian Games, Hiroshima, Japan

The 1994 games in Hiroshima, Japan, were controversial again for the Chinese, with eleven Chinese athletes suspended for performance-enhancing drugs. South Korea had proposed that a unified North and South Korean team compete at these games, but North Korea rejected the offer for reasons connected to international inspections of its nuclear facilities.

The 1998 Asian Games, Bangkok, Thailand

Bangkok, Thailand, held the Asian Games in 1998, the fourth time since 1966 that the games were held in Thailand's capital. Worries about Bangkok's slow preparations began in 1995 and continued to 1997, with the OCA almost taking the games away from Bangkok. Bangkok eventually succeeded in pulling off a magnificent Asian Games. Monetary awards by various nations to their athletes were a visible part of the games. Singapore offered \$154,000 for a gold medal, China \$480. Despite the slogan "Friendship Beyond Frontiers," the games were not without the usual political disturbances. Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan withdrew before the games began, Afghanistan citing economic difficulties and protesting the amounts the Thai organizers were charging to stay in the village. The Saudi Arabians withdrew in part because the Muslim holy month of Ramadan began during the last week of the games. Iraq was not present for the third games in a row, still banned for its aggression against Kuwait in 1990.

The Chinese embassy protested when Taiwanese flags were found flying in various locations around Bangkok. Because of the political disputes between China and Taiwan it was agreed before the games that only the flag of the National Olympic Committee of Taiwan could be flown. North Korea insisted that it march before South Korea during the opening ceremonies but the Thai hosts

said that the Thai alphabet would be used and the South Korean delegation would march in fourth or fifth while North Korea would be approximately the thirty-fifth team to walk into the stadium. The teams were also separated in the village as much as possible. The North Koreans were challenged to prove the ages of their female gymnasts, which some nations thought were under the required age of sixteen years. After inspecting their passports the OCA allowed them to compete.

China, South Korea, Taiwan, and the host Thailand all protested decisions of the judges in the tae kwon do competition with sit-ins and near riots in the stands. Police were called in to restore order several times. Pakistani and Indian billiards players hotly debated proper behavior during their match play and the Chinese reported that a few of their table tennis players had been approached and offered bribes to throw their matches; all of them refused.

When India's Jyotirmoy Sikhdar won India's very first gold medal of the games, the hosts mistakenly began to play the Chinese national anthem, the anthem heard most often at the games. After Indians in the crowd began to boo, the hosts realized their mistake and apologized. The Indian anthem was then played, and later in the day played again as a further apology. Drug suspensions caused other medals to come under dispute. Fakruddin Taher of the United Arab Emirates was disqualified for illegal drug use after winning the silver medal in the 60-kilogram class in karate. The OCA ruled that the two bronze medal winners (there is no bronze medal bout and two medals are awarded) would both be given silver medals and the fifth and sixth place winners moved up and both awarded bronze medals. Only four athletes failed drug tests at the games.

At the games, the Asian nations discussed the possibility of boycotting the 2002 World Cup in football, because FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association) had decided to reduce the number of qualifying positions for the Asian region from a possible four to two. If Korea and Japan were to go along with a proposed boycott this would put them in the most

curious position of boycotting a tournament they would be hosting and organizing.

The 2002 Asian Games, Busan, South Korea

One legacy of the 2002 Asian Games in Busan, South Korea, was that for the first time a team from North Korea had participated in a games in South Korea. North Korea's national anthem and flag are normally banned by law in South Korea. These restrictions were set aside, in part, for the duration of the games. The flag could be waved, but only in official ceremonies, and by North Korean delegates in the stadium, not by spectators. South Korea even manufactured some North Korean flags for the first time. The anthem was played on official occasions, though South Korean military bands still refused to play the anthem. On the matter of China and Taiwan, Korean organizers, under pressure from China, arranged for Taiwan to march under a banner reading Chinese Taipei, using a phonetic Korean script, and not the usual Korean alphabetical order. This put them thirty-fifth in the parade, rather than second, and behind China. China also asked that the number of delegations be referred to as forty-four countries and territories, not forty-four countries, as China does not regard Taiwan, Hong Kong, or Macau as countries.

Badminton, boxing, bodybuilding, and tae kwon do were all hit with protests over officiating. Boxing judges were banned over questionable decisions. A large memorial wall, of athlete's hands and signatures, cast in bronze, was to be created after the games, symbolizing the friendship of the games.

The Future

The 2006 Asian Games are scheduled to be held in Doha, Qatar, in December of 2006. Organizers have said that there will be no restrictions or dress codes for women at the games. Guangdong, China, was named as host of the 2010 Asian Games at OCA meetings in June 2004.

Daniel Bell

See also South East Asian Games

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Astrodome

The Astrodome, or Harris County Domed Stadium, opened in Houston, Texas, in 1965 after more than five years' planning and three years' construction. When it opened, the stadium offered the first all-enclosed, multipurpose sports venue and was nicknamed the "Eighth Wonder of the World." The Astrodome was the home of the Houston Astros major league baseball team until 2000 and the Houston Oilers National Football League team until 1997. The stadium ushered in a new era in stadium design that saw the construction of many multipurpose domed stadiums.

History

The Harris County Board of Park Commissioners in Houston issued contracts to architects for the preliminary planning for a new stadium in 1958. The Astrodome, though, was the brainchild of former Houston mayor Judge Roy Hofheinz (1912–1982), who, from humble origins, had made a fortune and became a legendary figure in Houston politics and civic life as a state legislator, judge, and entrepreneur. Having consulted with Buckminster Fuller on the idea, Hofheinz brought a model of the domed stadium to the National League owners' meeting in Chicago in October 1960 and was awarded a National League franchise. In June 1961 Harris County officials turned to the architectural firms of Wilson, Morris, Crain & Anderson and

Lloyd & Morgan to design the stadium as the Associated Stadium Architects.

UNCONVENTIONAL DESIGN

Designers considered a number of dome styles, including Fuller's geodesic dome and an air-pressure-supported dome with a cloth or film covering. In the end, however, a lamella roof design was adopted with more than four thousand clear Lucite panels in a steel frame. When it was completed, it was the largest clear-span dome in the world. After two years' study, agronomists at Texas A&M University developed a Tifway Bermuda grass that would grow under the dome, but the roof design presented problems. During day games the glare off the roof panels was wreaking havoc on the fielders, who scrambled to find fly balls that were falling ten feet out of their reach. Hofheinz had the Lucite panels coated in an acrylic film, reducing the natural light by twenty-five to forty percent and thereby killing the grass. After finishing the season on a field of dead grass, Hofheinz installed an artificial turf, dubbed Astroturf, for the 1966 season.

CREATURE COMFORTS

While players had to adjust to climate-controlled baseball on an artificial field, the Astrodome offered fans comforts that no stadium had ever offered before. With a cooling capacity of 6,600 tons and seventy-two million BTUs, for example, the stadium air conditioner kept the venue at seventy-four degrees. When it opened, the stadium offered 46,000 seats for baseball and more than 50,000 seats for football. All seats were padded, and most were upholstered. For those who wanted the best, the Astrodome offered fifty-three skyboxes along the upper perimeter of the stadium. Each skybox included a bar, telephone, radio, closed-circuit television, Dow-Jones stock service, and toilet. With names like "Spanish Provano," "Roman Holiday," "Pagoda Den," "Egyptian Autumn," and "The Aztec," each box had a distinct theme. The "Las Vegas," for example, was furnished with coffee tables shaped like large dice.

What drew the attention of the majority of patrons, no doubt, was the massive \$2 million dollar electronic



The Harris County Domed Stadium (Astrodome) in Houston, Texas, c. 1970.

Source: Brian S. Butler.

scoreboard in centerfield. More than four stories tall and stretching across 474 feet, it dwarfed every other scoreboard in the major leagues and truly revolutionized the fan experience. Aside from the perfunctory line score, lineup, and other stats, the scoreboard included a one-hundred-line television for animated or still pictures. For many fans the scoreboard was as much a spectacle and attraction as the dome itself.

SPACE-AGE THEME

The very nature of the Astrodome as an entertainment complex allowed for the incorporation of some notable images of the early space age. Hofheinz envisioned fans being transported to the stadium doors from the 30,000-space parking lot by way of "rocket trains." Once inside, they were ushered to their seats by "Spacettes" in gold-lamé miniskirts and blue boots. "Blast-off Girls" served customers in the "Countdown Cafeteria," while down on the field "Earthmen," attired in orange space suits and white helmets, worked as groundskeepers. Prior to the Astros' first official game against the Phillies, twenty-three of the twenty-six Gemini astronauts lined the field during pregame ceremonies, throwing out first pitches. Press reports and other accounts, moreover, noted the stadium resembled a spaceship.

NOTABLE EVENTS

By 1974 the Astrodome was America's third-most-popular manmade tourist attraction, drawing 7.5 million visitors a year, trailing only the Golden Gate Bridge and Mt. Rushmore. More than baseball and football, though, the venue was the site of a number of notable

athletic and entertainment events. Aside from the 1968 and 1986 major-league baseball All-Star games, the Astrodome hosted the 1971 NCAA national basketball tournament, and the 1971 NBA-ABA All-Star game. In 1968 the Astrodome hosted the UCLA–University of Houston basketball game, which drew the largest crowd ever to see a basketball game to that time. Perhaps the most remarkable event in the dome’s brief history was the 1973 “Battle of the Sexes” tennis match that saw Billie Jean King defeat Bobby Riggs before a national television audience. The dome also held auto races, boxing matches, rodeos, religious crusades, circuses, a record-breaking motorcycle jump by Evel Knievel, a tightrope walk by Karl “The Great” Wallenda, the production of Robert Altman’s film *Brewster McCloud*, as well as concerts and shows by the likes of Bob Hope, Frank Sinatra, and Elvis Presley.

Venue Today

Today the aging stadium stands empty, and its future is in doubt. While Harris County rents the venue for the occasional high school football game or company softball game, maintenance on the aging stadium costs the county about \$1 million annually. Among the proposals to save the stadium is one by the Astrodome Redevelopment Corporation to put a theme park in the venue. The Astrodome revolutionized the sport world and reshaped the fan experience. It remains a symbol of Houston and a remarkable achievement in stadium design.

Brian S. Butler

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Athletes as Celebrities

As a cultural phenomenon, sports resonates throughout societies, nations, and the world. As participants and workers in sports and sporting enterprises, athletes, particularly athletes who are celebrities, play a major role in this process.

Scholars have argued that *celebrity* is a very difficult concept to define, and its definition is slippery (Andrews & Jackson 2001; Turner, Bonner & Marshall 2000, 9). The word *celebrity* has Latin roots in “celebrem” and “celere,” indicating a situation where the individual possesses both particularity and fame (Rojek 2001, 9), that is, a special ability and a fleeting renown. It is possible to “treat celebrity as the attribution of glamorous or notorious status to an individual within the public sphere” while recognizing that celebrities are cultural fabrications involving many actors and agents helping create personalities with enduring appeal for fans (Rojek 2001, 10–11). *Celebrity* is the result of a well-designed process developed in the mid-twentieth century that involves an industry that both gains from the manufacturing of celebrities and brings profits to the companies that use celebrities.

Celebrity is linked to a public that has volatile opinions. The process of “celebritydom” dynamically draws the attention of the media and constructs celebrities to represent other people’s fantasies of lifestyle, luxury, consumption, and display (Whannel 2002, chapter 15). Determining when “celebrities” first emerged is difficult, but in 1959, an International Celebrity Register containing 2,200 names was published in the United States (Ponce de Leon 2002, 11).

Pre-1960s

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the print media helped create an industry of leisure out of “spectacles.” Spectacles such as those involving extraordinary sporting events satisfied the newly created commodified needs of those with disposable time and income for leisure. Sports, along with visual artistic activities such

I'm not a headline guy. I know that as long as I was following Ruth to the plate I could have stood on my head and no one would have known the difference. ■ LOU GEHRIG

as theater and opera, were thus transformed into profit-making functions with vast paying audiences. Ponce de Leon (2002, 7) points out that stars emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century when famous-personality journalism matured around 1900. The making of stars was contingent on the creation of media empires, mass-readership magazines, wire services, and feature syndicates. Show business and sports-renowned people emerged when newspapers and magazines began to cover these events in detail and to show the personalities who played in them. The renown of certain athletes increased when many major newspapers created a discrete sports pages and sections in the 1880s. Sports writers fashioned a way of thinking about sport that cut across social classes to reach wider audiences and sell more papers. As the sports columns were syndicated, they reached an even wider audience outside the big metropolitan centers, broadening the knowledge of sports stars who were a key element in these pages. Then, the use of photography in newspapers further aided in the creation of sport stars by individualizing athletes (Whannel 2002, 31). This coverage of sports stars helped to sell tickets to sports spectacles and to sell newspapers and magazines, which continues. The conventions of journalism established then remain the paradigm of celebrity creation today.

By the 1910s and 1920s, a new capitalism of mass production and mass consumption emerged, sometimes referred to as Fordist capitalism. Hollywood became important at this point. Dyer (1979) marks the year 1912 as the year of the first conscious attempt at manufacturing a movie star, the beginning of the deliberate marketing of stardom. The sports industry followed a similar path. By the 1920s, in addition to the print media, radio contributed to the promotion of sports and sport stars. The commercialization of sports climaxed in massive spectacles in the United States. Among these, baseball and boxing offered opportunities for entrepreneurs and media moguls to profit. These events depended on male stars. In baseball, Babe Ruth drew multitudes in the early 1900s, and in boxing Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney attracted 120,000 people

to a Philadelphia stadium to watch the World Heavyweight Title fight in 1926. Driven by the search of profits, sport entrepreneurs and newspapers attempted to build images of celebrity athletes as both naturally talented and hardworking but also “sportsmanlike.”

Sport stars and sports then grew in importance, to such an extent that they became symbols of nation, democracy, race, and politics. The 1936 Berlin Olympics proclaimed Jesse Owens, an African-American athlete, as a sport star, an icon of the American democratic supremacy over Nazi ideology of “Aryan” superiority. It is ironic and telling that, at the same time, the United States was steeped in racial segregation.

Post-1960s

Although sports celebrities in the first half of the 1900s reaped some benefits from stardom, they were secondary actors in sports spectacles. Television started to bring the spectacle of sports to broader mass audiences. In 1950, there were only five million television sets in the world, mostly in Great Britain, the United States, and the USSR. In 1956, the Melbourne Olympics were the first ever televised, and in 1962, the World Football Cup in Chile was televised for the first time. Thus began the era of what some scholars have now called the “televisionization of sport” and “sportification of television” (Miller et al. 2001, 93). In the 1950s and 1960s, however, the superstar status of athletes and their personal fortunes were still relatively limited; their personal lives were kept more apart from their sports identities, and their influence was limited to the particular sports they practiced. This started to change in the 1960s. The boxer Muhammad Ali best illustrates this period of transition. Ali was well known, in part, because of the marketing of his boxing abilities and in part because of the politically and ideologically controversial positions he took. Hence, he has also been described as a “trickster” who embodied both the “bad” in personal terms and the “good” as a sports person (Lemert 2003, p. 35).

In the 1970s and 1980s, there were economic, political, and technological changes. The current period, which is called post-Fordist capitalism, consists of the



Athletes as Celebrities

Lady Butterfield 1882

Near London these wakes, like Hampstead or Deptford wakes, were well kept up; and there was my Lady Butterfield in Epping Forest, of whose entertainment and calf-roasting we have already had a description through Ward's instrumentality. Here is one of her advertisements: "My Lady Butterfield gives a Challenge to all England, to Ride a Horse, Leap a Horse, Run on Foot or Hallow with any Woman in England Ten years younger, but not a Day older, because she would not under value herself. Gentlemen and Ladies, whilst in the Spring 'tis worth your while to come to hear the Nightingal Sing in Wanstead within a Mile of the Green Man, in Essex, at my Lady Butterfields at Nightingal Hall. This is to give notice to all Gentlemen and Ladies, and all the best of my

Friends, that on the last Wednesday of April is my feast, where is very good Entertainment for that Day, and for all the Year after from my Lady Butterfield."

Or another:—

TO ALL GENTLEMEN AND LADIES.

If Rare Good young Beans and Pease can Tempt
Ye,

Pray pass not by my Hall with Bellies Empty;

For Kind Good Usage every one can tell,

My Lady Butterfield does al excell;

At Wanstead Town, a Mile of the Green Man,

Come if you dare and stay away if you can.

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dominance of transnational corporations, just-in-time production and the microchip, real-time communications and global media empires, globalized consumerism, and branding, all of which have transformed sports, athletes, and celebrity athletes. Cultural globalization has been one of the results of post-Fordism.

With cultural globalization, particularly of the media, there has been an extreme commercialization of sport and the creation of a global sport industry that is marketed across cultures (Westerbeek & Smith 2003). Some scholars have called this a "global media-sports-culture complex" (Miller et al. 2001, 68–71). In contrast with the pre-1960s, celebrity athletes now have a team of specialists who help make them into cultural products and become companies in themselves, with agents, managers, and other employees who deal with their multiple businesses and investments. What this means is that these athletes are "commodified" for a global corporate sports complex that operates in a media culture where the spectacle is dominant (Kellner 2003, chapter 1).

We have chosen two of these celebrities, Michael Jordan and David Beckham, to illustrate the new roles,

because they have been the epicenter of the transformation of sports celebrity status in the post-Fordist era.

MICHAEL JORDAN

As a basketball player, Michael Jordan was nicknamed "Air Jordan," and off the court he soared by forging a new role for celebrity athletes in a globalizing world. As Klein (2002, p. 50) notes, "Any discussion of a branded celebrity leads to the same place: Michael Jordan . . . who has incorporated himself into the JORDAN brand." His presence has been almost universal. For example, Chinese children ranked him at par with founders of the Chinese Communist party as figures of the twentieth century. Jordan has been given a deity stature as people kneel before his statue in Chicago (LaFeber 1999, 27). A few other National Basketball Association (NBA) basketball players had similar characteristics, and other sports were more popular than basketball, but what made Jordan significant has been the convergence of several developments. First, in post-Fordist capitalism, sports has become one of the most important forms of entertainment and is centered around celebrities, much as in Hollywood. Second, before the 1980s, sports spec-

The day you take complete responsibility for yourself, the day you stop making any excuses, that's the day you start to the top. ■ O.J. SIMPSON

tacles generated profits primarily by capturing audiences to attend the actual event. This evolved to a situation where worldwide audiences, via satellite, could watch the spectacles in real time. Third, many large transnational corporations began to sell their products globally. In addition to Coca-Cola and a handful of already existing companies that aimed at global markets, many other companies began to draw a sizable part of profits from selling their products to consumers throughout the world.

Jordan's celebritydom was crucial in this process. He was directly associated with the large entrepreneurs who owned these companies such as Phil Knight (the former CEO of Nike), and Rupert Murdoch and Ted Turner (media moguls), and with corporate names such as McDonald's and NBC. Before the 1980s, basketball was not as popular as baseball and football in the United States. A concerted marketing effort around a few celebrity figures allowed the NBA to become a successful league and business. For example, one popular marketing strategy was one of a "race contest" between African-Americans, epitomized by Magic Johnson of the Los Angeles Lakers, and whites, symbolized by Larry Bird of the Boston Celtics. When Jordan was hired to play for the Chicago Bulls in the mid-1980s, the business of basketball was already beginning to flourish. At the same time, the post-Fordist system of production and sales was globalizing into a network of production facilities throughout the world and this included Nike, then primarily a maker of sneakers massively sold during the jogging boom of the early 1980s. At the end of this boom, Nike embarked on a project that used particularly talented athletes as its central feature. These talented athletes also include established superstar golfer Tiger Woods and emerging basketball player LeBron James to name a few, but Jordan was the company's main early promoter and superstar.

Klein (2002) offers a glimpse of the process that ensued and gave sports celebrities parity with movie and pop stars. Nike first re-packaged sports stars to make them celebrities in Hollywood fashion. Then, in a com-

plicated process involving ideas of body, work, resistance against rules, and branding, Nike became one of the largest transnational corporations in the world, with a name brand and logo recognition similar to that of Coca-Cola or McDonald's. In this process, Nike boosted Michael Jordan to the same level of renown as stars in show business entertainment.

Jordan thus brought sports into the high levels of entertainment as technicians used close-ups and quick cuts to make him appear suspended in the air. Jordan's special quality was established both on and off the court. He was portrayed as the ideal sports performer who met the standards of a show business celebrity through radio, television, newspapers, and "specialized" sports magazines. His commercial presence was enhanced by commercials that were in turn sold by his guise and persona. He became Nike's main asset. Jordan became a special type of athlete, and he diversified into commercials endorsing Hanes underwear, McDonald's restaurants, Gatorade, and Wheaties cereal. McDonald and Andrews (2001) called Jordan "hyperreal."

As David Stern, the owner of the Chicago Bulls, put it, when Jordan commenced working for the Bulls, "the globalization of sports hadn't yet occurred" (LaFeber 1999, 153). When Jordan retired, basketball was a global phenomenon. He had become a semi-god, and Nike was a global phenomenon that dominated the sports product market. In turn, millions of spectators worldwide watched NBA basketball. Basketball, and sports in general, had become an integral part of an entertainment world that depended on images and commodities and that was made possible by the new global media sports complex. This complex includes magazines, newspapers, tabloids, television networks, cable and digital television, and film studios—all of which provide a global framework for entertainment and spectacles. Jordan not only sold products through his charisma and business acumen but had himself become a product, or a commodity, that sold other commodities. There has been a consumption of Michael Jordan's image as a celebrity as he became an American

I have come to accept that if I have a new haircut it is front page news. But having a picture of my foot on the front page of a national newspaper is a bit exceptional. ■ DAVID BECKHAM

commodity sign (McDonald & Andrews 2001, 21, 33). The Jordan-Nike nexus reminds us that the media is one of the most important places where cultural icons are created as part of the sports/entertainment colossus (Kellner 2003, 89).

DAVID BECKHAM

As an iconic figure of the celebrity world, David Beckham was recently considered as becoming a Jordan (Cashmore 2002, 141). Beckham has fine skills as a footballer (soccer player), but he is much more than that. He is an icon that exists outside time and space in the imagination of people as “le beau ideal” (Cashmore 2002, 4). In some parts of the world, he has reached demi-god status—chocolate and gold leaf statues of him have been erected and worshipped (Beckham & Watt 2003, Statue, 31). A sculpture of Beckham was put in a spot of the Pariwas Temple in Bangkok that is normally reserved for minor deities. Like Michael Jordan, Beckham is a rich and famous global phenomenon who is, above all, a commodity. He is an image and a

person who has been packaged to be a product to be consumed globally. He also sells other brands and logos. Thus, also like Jordan, he is also a giant corporate enterprise in and of himself but also directly linked to the global media-sports-culture complex.

Beckham’s celebrity status is partly because of Australian-born Murdoch, who has been instrumental in making sports a major part of show business through celebrity status. Murdoch’s early ownership of British newspapers, such as the *Sun*, *Times*, and *Sunday Times*, used “full computerization and color printing . . . towards a collage style in which headlines and photo displays came to dominate” (Cashmore 2002, 67; Whannel 2001, 35). This permitted visual highlight stories of individuals that repackaged them into personalities and celebrities. Moreover, in the 1980s, the global visibility of sports became the fulcrum of spectacles such that the selling of “sponsorships” became the major source of revenue in the 1982 football World Cup and the 1984 Olympics. Television was central to this process, and Murdoch emerged as one of the major forces in television. Cashmore (2002, 64–66) argues that Murdoch created football anew, making it into an overblown spectacle and that since then, football is not just a sport anymore. Giant media companies have integrated vertically, buying sports clubs of different kinds; in many places, football clubs have become large capitalist enterprises. These include the Manchester United (Beckham’s former team) and the Real Madrid (Beckham’s team at the time of writing), both of which depend on their celebrity footballers to make profits. Football, like basketball, attracts huge audiences throughout many parts of the world that can be sold many commodities. Companies that manufacture these products pay for television spots and sign these footballers, such as Beckham, to endorse their products. Through these ads, Beckham has become one of the most watched, admired, and recognized figures of the planet: He is the main character of Barclay’s Bank propaganda machine, of Brylcreem hair products, of Sondico shin pads, of Adidas’ roster of sport celebrities, and of Pepsi Cola. Since his deal with Adidas, Beckham



Athletes as Celebrities

Joe DiMaggio and Mrs. Robinson

In 1969, Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel topped the charts with “Mrs. Robinson.” Though the song’s reference to Joe DiMaggio (“Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio? A nation turns its lonely eyes to you . . .”) was a metaphor for heroes of days gone by, DiMaggio took it personally. “What I don’t understand is why you ask where I’ve gone,” he once complained to Simon. “I just did a Mr. Coffee commercial!”

Source: *The Patterns on the Tenement Halls: A Tribute to the Late Joe DiMaggio* (1999). Retrieved February 24, 2005, from <http://www.geocities.com/epanodist/gallery/dimaggio.html#article>

has been represented by a publicist who specializes in show business public relations. Beckham's public image has been attentively created to show him as a family man and a common mortal too, one who is even "tempted" by extramarital affairs. Thus, he is marketed with the image of an extraordinary man, but one who could perhaps be imitated. All his career moves have enhanced his business interests, including his branding, his magazine, and his cookbooks. His 2003 transfer to the Real Madrid team adds another mammoth brand in the form of a football team. His marriage to Victoria Adams, a Spice Girl (a British band) and a brand in her own right, was an astute career move that has strengthened his image and his logo. Thus, as Cashmore (2002, 13) argues, Beckham can be depicted as the epitome of the late twentieth century to early twenty-first century post-Fordist capitalism.

Unlike most ordinary citizens, many sport celebrities are affluent transnational persons living and working in many countries and for multinational corporations. Jordan and Beckham are American and British citizens, respectively, but they are also transnational citizens. Jordan and Beckham have played for their national teams, and both the United States and Britain are intensely nationalistic societies; the media has represented both men as the norm of world citizenship. Thus, the creation of celebrity athletes has become part of the globalization process. Jordan and Beckham are associated and symbolized with the consumption of global brand mass products that are easily recognizable by their logos.

The Future

Inasmuch as an individual celebrity athlete is a cultural fabrication and invention, he or she will inevitably have a cultural death. This is currently happening to Michael Jordan and will eventually happen to David Beckham. The point remains, however, that celebritydom and celebrityhood will likely continue unabated, and new celebrity athletes will emerge. This process of the celebritydom of a few select athletes is intricately tied to the global media and corporate sports in post-Fordist

capitalism. Their celebritydom is a part of the resonance of sports in the social, cultural, and economic relationships of humanity.

Ricardo Trumper and Lloyd L. Wong

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Athletes as Heroes

The terms *hero* and *celebrity* increasingly are being used interchangeably, but they are fundamentally different. According to Daniel Boorstin: “The celebrity is a person who is known for his well-knownness. . . . The hero was distinguished by his achievement; the celebrity by his image or trademark. The hero created himself; the celebrity is created by the media. The hero is a big man; the celebrity is a big name” (1992, 57, 61). Thus, there are some clear distinctions between the two concepts, and the challenge is to ascertain how and why they have become conflated. First, we must examine the meaning, significance, and types of heroes and why sport remains such an important site for their identification and development. In turn, we need to understand how changes in wider society have tended to shift attention, status, and rewards from heroes to celebrities.

What Is a Hero?

Heroes and heroines have existed throughout human history. From ancient Greece and Rome through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to the twenty-first century, societies and cultures have created, defined, and otherwise recognized what is known as a hero (Klapp 1949). In Browne’s (1990) view, heroes highlight the potential and possibility of humans by expanding and/or conquering the physical, psychological, social, spiritual, and altruistic limits of human beings.

There are many cultural arenas through which individuals have emerged as heroes, and sport has always been one of them. There are likely many reasons for this, but in particular sport as a cultural practice and institution offers the opportunity for the demonstration of physical superiority in a system with clear rankings and rewards; the display of courage, commitment, and sacrifice; and the chance to represent a particular group, community, or nation. In a contemporary commercial context, the last point is quite important given that “only sports has the nation, and sometimes the world,

A hero is no braver than an ordinary man, but he is brave five minutes longer. ■ RALPH WALDO EMERSON

watching the same thing at the same time, and if you have a message, that’s a potent messenger” (Singer 1998).

Even a cursory look at the diversity of sport heroes, both historical and contemporary, indicates that they emerge from a wide range of personal achievements, social backgrounds, and cultural contexts. In effect there are different ways by which heroes emerge. Although the typology that follows is not exhaustive it may aid in understanding the process of how different individuals became heroes. Although the categories are not mutually exclusive, one becomes a hero in one of four ways (Ingham, Howell, and Swetman 1993). First, a person can perform an extraordinary superhuman feat. In ac-



Athletes as Heroes

Grave Inscription for Crescens

Crescens, a heroic charioteer who died at age 22, is remembered in this grave inscription:

With the four-horse chariot he won his first victory when L. Vipstanius and Messalla were the consuls [c. 115–116 CE] on the day of the races in honor of the birthday of the divine Nerva in the twenty-fourth race with the following horses: Circius, Acceptor, Delicatus, Cotynus. From the consulship of Messalla to the races for the birthday of the divine Claudius in the consulship of Glabrio [c. 124–125 CE] he started 686 times and won 47 times. In single races, he was victorious 19 times, in double races 23 times, in triple races 5 times. Once he overtook the entire field from behind. 8 times he won with a lead. 38 times he won by means of a final spurt. He won 130 second places and 111 third places. In prize money, he took in 1,558,346 sesterces.

tual fact heroes are often people who perform ordinary things but at a much higher level and with much greater consistency than the average. A few people who fit this category might include Sir Donald Bradman, Babe Didrikson, Jessie Owens, Paavo Nurmi, Pele, Nadia Comaneci, Michael Jordan, Wayne Gretzky, Carl Lewis, Tiger Woods, and Lance Armstrong.

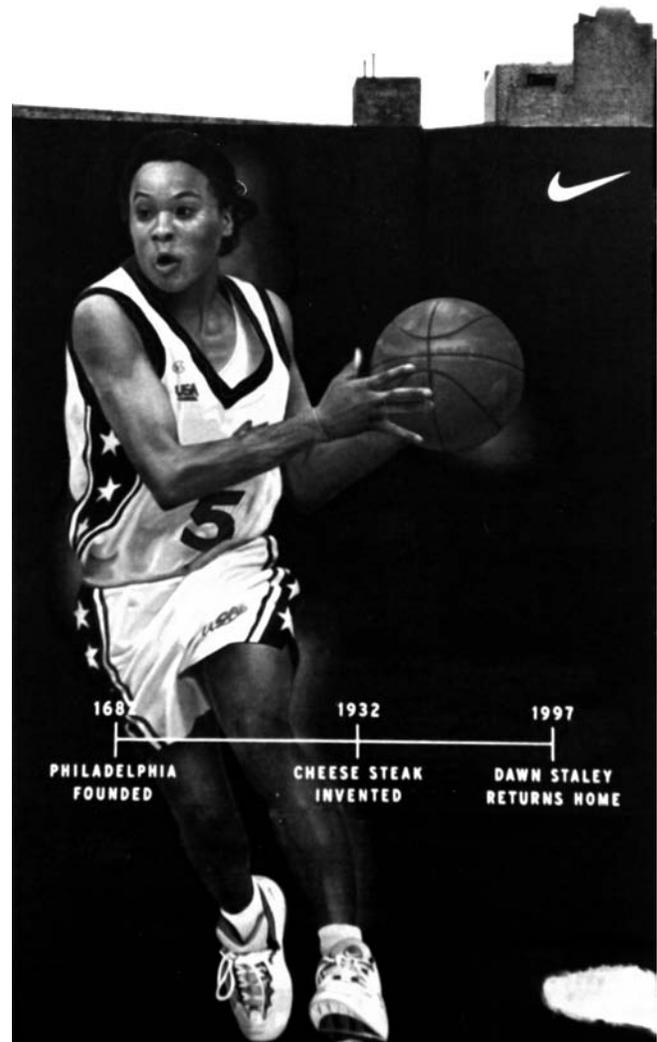
Second, one can become a hero by being the first to achieve at a particular and unexpected level. Such a category would include people like Sir Roger Bannister who, in 1954, was the first person to break the four-minute mile; or Sir Edmund Hillary who, along with Tenzing Norgay, was the first to climb Mount Everest, the highest point on earth, in 1953.

Third, one can become a hero through risk taking, personal sacrifice, and/or saving a life. There may be no better example of this type of hero than Canadian Terry Fox. Diagnosed with cancer and with part of his right leg amputated, Fox set out to run across Canada in what he called “The Marathon of Hope.” Sadly, his run ended after 3,339 miles because the cancer had spread to his lungs. Terry Fox died at age twenty-two on June 28, 1981. Still his life and mission are celebrated annually. Each September 13 marks the Terry Fox Run and to date his foundation has raised over \$360 million.

Finally, a person can become a hero by virtue of a particular performance within a specific sociohistorical context: being the right person at the right time (see Ingham, Howell, and Swetman 1993). One example of this type is John Roosevelt (Jackie) Robinson, who, facing enormous racial discrimination and other social barriers, in 1947 became the first “black” athlete to play modern major league baseball.

Hero or Celebrity?

The world still has heroes, but something has changed in terms of the type of people that society celebrates and rewards. Increasingly, status appears to be something that is *manufactured* versus *achieved*, and heroes are being marginalized by celebrities, stars, and idols (cf. Andrews and Jackson 2001, Dyer 1979, Gamson 1994, Rojek, 2001). While there are no simple answers



A large painting of basketball player and coach Dawn Staley on a building in her hometown of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

to explain this transformation, consideration must be given to the emergence of the society of the individual, a greater scrutiny of private lives embodied in an exploitive tabloid culture, and a world driven by consumption, advertising, and marketing. As a consequence “everyone is involved in either producing or consuming celebrities” (Rein, Kotler, and Stoller 1997, x). Arguably, the most powerful vehicle in this shift are the media whom Leo Braudy (1997, 550) calls the “arbiters of celebrity.” The media are global, immediate, and increasingly interconnected, resulting in a virtual saturation of celebrity culture linked to sport, music, fashion, movies, and reality television.



Athletes as Heroes

Ulysses

In the extract below from his poem Ulysses (1842), Alfred Tennyson writes of a heroic drive and strength that applies to athletes, as well as mythic heroes.

We are not now that strength which in
old days
Moved earth and heaven, that which we
are, we are—
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong
in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to
yield.—

Ultimately, we are left with a challenge to gain a better understanding of the social and political function of contemporary heroes and celebrities. In part this will require an examination of who has the power to define heroes and celebrities, under what conditions, and in whose interests.

Steven J. Jackson

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Athletic Talent Migration

The migration of elite athletes within nations, between nations, and across continents has been of growing interest to many people during the past twenty years. Since the early 1990s discussion of the transcontinental migration of athletic talent in the context of globalization has especially increased. Although sports geographers may have been the first to monitor the geographical variations in migratory flows of athletes and the “brawn drain,” sociologists and social historians, among others, have taken up the challenge of considering the implications of athletic talent migration for sports and society. The collection co-edited by Bale and Maguire systematically organized writing on the migration of athletic talent. The papers in the collection exhibited a range of conceptual tools and theoretical frameworks within which to study the migration of foreign-born athletes in sports such as track and field, baseball, cricket, ice hockey, rugby, and football (soccer). Subsequently, a growing number of studies have focused on such sports as football, rugby, and ice hockey.

Research Themes

Research has focused on three themes. First, research has focused on the impacts of athletic talent migration on both host countries and donor countries, on the role of intermediaries such as sports agents, and on the effect on sports fans and the athletes themselves. Second, research has considered the responses to athletic talent migration by the nationally based governing bodies of sports and sports associations. Third, researchers

People think baseball players make \$3 million and \$4 million a year. They don't realize that most of us only make \$500,000. ■ PETE INCAVIGLIA

have been interested in the implications of athletic talent migration for conceptions of identity in regions and nations.

Impacts of the Migration of Sports Laborers

The social historians Lanfranchi and Taylor note that from “the very start of the game, men have moved across national borders and from city to city, to play football” (Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001, 1). Arguably Scottish professionals were the earliest “international” migrants as they were lured south to England by the professional contracts offered after 1885 (the Scottish Football Association did not permit professionalism until 1893). From their detailed historical survey Lanfranchi and Taylor discerned three main types of football migrant: itinerant, mercenary, and settler. Each has been stimulated to move by three main factors: economic crises and national financial weakness, the existence of semiprofessional or unpaid amateur opportunities only, and the attraction of European leagues that can offer unrivaled lucrative contracts. Other research has created typologies (classifications based on types) of six or even seven types of sports migrants but arguably without shedding a great deal more clarity on the phenomenon.

The sociologist Manuel Castells suggests that the impact of athletic talent migration in what he refers to as contemporary “network society” is particularly important:

On the light side an illustration of this double dynamic of local identity and European networking, which I consider to be extremely important, is the structuring of professional sports, such as football and basketball, in the past decade. As everybody knows, the local team is an essential rallying point for people's identity. While national competitions continue to be played, maximum attention is given to European competitions (of which there are three for football, for instance), so that the reward for teams in the national competition is to become “European,” a goal that many teams can reach, in contrast with

only a few three decades ago. At the same time, the opening of labour markets for European players, and the mass migration to Europe of players from other countries, means that a significant proportion of players in the local team are foreigners. The result is that people mobilise around the identity of their city, as represented by a group of largely foreign professional players competing in various European leagues. It is through these kind of basic life mechanisms that the real Europe is coming into existence—by sharing experience on the basis of meaningful, palpable identity. (Castells 1998, 329)

Although conditions in European football have changed in recent years—two, not three, competitions now exist—Castells's argument draws attention to the socio-cultural impact of cosmopolitan teams representing particular cities. For example, during the 1999–2000 season Chelsea Football Club in the English Premiership fielded a team that consisted entirely of foreign players.

Note that these developments have been hastened by changes in the regulatory frameworks within which professional and elite-level sports are conducted and hence within which elite athletes can ply their trades. In 1995 the Belgian football player Jean-Marc Bosman won a court case that confirmed that a player is free to work anywhere in Europe when his contract with a club expires. The European Union wants to abolish transfer fees as part of its effort to remove all obstacles to the freedom of movement in European member countries. The problem for many European football clubs is that they had come to depend on transfer fees as compensation for the scouting, training, and development of junior players. The concern is that now leading players will gain more bargaining power and that local loyalties will diminish even further in importance for players. Homegrown talent will no longer be the key to success, with implications for coaching, training, and national sides. People have expressed similar concerns about the growth in the number of Japanese baseball players in the U.S. major leagues since Nomo Hideo joined the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Research Shortcomings

Much of the literature on athletic talent migration has focused on the cultural rather than the economic significance of labor mobility. An overwhelming interest in identities has developed in such a way as to occlude attention to the economic and organizational dynamics of labor mobility. A further shortcoming in the literature is methodological—the data used in analyses have often been derived, somewhat uncritically, from the print or other mass media. Additionally, to date researchers have done less sustained academic analysis of the mobility of non-Western sports stars, including those from Asia and Africa.

With only a few exceptions academic interest in athletic talent migration among professional baseball leagues in the Pacific rim countries has been quite limited. Specific interest in Japanese player migration into Major League Baseball (MLB) has largely been the preserve of journalists. In the case of Africa, researchers Bale, Bale and Sang, and Darby have made useful contributions to our understanding of the migration of football players and other athletes. In Australasia, Hall has discussed the impact of the sports “brawn drain” on football in Australia, and Obel has considered the response of the NZ Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) to player migration.

Football and Japan

Lanfranchi and Taylor acknowledge that the expansion of football in eastern and southeastern Asia has extended the football labor market in recent years. They write that “Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, and even China have all started to admit foreign players and have reciprocated by sending their best talent abroad” (Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001, 12). They state that Japan offers a particularly interesting case study in light of the government’s opposition to foreign labor. They note that “Non-nationals had played as amateurs in Japanese football for some years but it was the acceptance of full-time professionals, and the creation of the J. League in 1993, which encouraged the

influx of migrant footballers” (Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001, 12–13). Missing from their study, however, is more detailed consideration of the mobility of Japanese players themselves, especially because during the 1990s “Serie A, the Premier Liga and the [English] Premiership [became] the football equivalent of Silicon valley” (Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001, 5).

Recently Takahashi and Horne have analyzed the history of the migration of Japanese football players. Using Internet searches, and especially Japanese-language databases and players’ webpages, autobiographies, and biographies, Takahashi and Horne found that during the past twenty years shifts have taken place in the geographical spread of Japanese football talent, corresponding to new opportunities, both in Japan and internationally, for football labor. South America has given way to diverse regions, including Europe. Both socio-cultural and structural-institutional factors can be used to explain these developments with respect to Japanese football players.

Takahashi and Horne identified three time periods: before the launch of the first professional football league in Japan (the J. League) in 1993, from then until the first appearance of the Japanese national team at the Football World Cup Finals in 1998, and since 1998. Takahashi and Horne suggest that seven factors have transformed the mobility of Japanese professional football players during the past three decades:

1. Technological improvements in transportation and communication
2. Growth of the numbers of actors and institutions facilitating mobility (agents and national and supra-national football and nonfootball organizations)
3. Expansion of the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) to 204 members in 2004
4. Expansion of television coverage of football (as increasingly it becomes valuable “entertainment content”)
5. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of state capitalism that led to the opening up of borders



Athletic Talent Migration

Foreign Talent and the National Basketball Association

The first non-U.S. born player drafted by an NBA team was Yasutaka Okayama of Japan by Golden State in 1981. Most foreign-born players did not have an impact until the late 1990s and by 2005 there were nearly 80 players not born in the United States playing in the NBA. This constituted nearly 20 percent of the players and some such as Dirk Nowitzki (Germany), Tony Parker (France), and Manu Ginobili (Argentina) are among the best players in the league. More important, this large number of inter-

national players has brought an international style of play to the NBA. More and more the emphasis is on teamwork, passing, and the three-point shot with less emphasis on one-on-one moves by a few superstars. There is more finesse and less reliance on sheer strength. Whether this new style replaces the old one more fully is yet to be seen.

David Levinson

6. In the European Union the Bosman Judgment, which laid the basis for greater internationalization of European league football
7. The “footballization” of eastern Asia (the growth in national professional football leagues—the J. League [Japan], the S. League [Singapore], the C. League [People’s Republic of China], and before that the K. League [South Korea]—in eastern Asian societies)

Takahashi and Horne conclude that prior to 1993 and the launch of the J. League a weak football infrastructure existed in Japan. This infrastructure did not lead to widespread player migration, however, because of the influence of the amateur tradition in Japanese sports and the incorporation of football into the corporate sports system. More important, football was not the nation’s culturally central team sport. Since 1993 Japanese football players have increasingly begun to follow Japanese sponsors (capital) to European and South American league clubs, and likewise Japanese capital has begun to follow players (through the emergent sports tourism business, for example). Increasingly football clubs in mature football cultures have recognized the economic benefits that Japanese (and, in some cases, Chinese) players can bring to them. However, most Japanese and other football players from eastern Asia are hired on loan rather than with

full registration contracts. European football clubs operate risk-averse strategies. Rather than finding evidence of a global labor market in football, therefore, Takahashi and Horne found that employer strategies in national football labor markets, although internationalized, continue to determine who gets recruited by which clubs and why.

The Future

Most researchers agree that athletic talent migration involves processes that continue to develop. Athletic talent migration is a dynamic process involving countries, clubs, and athletes in a complex chain of negotiations over rights and responsibilities. People will continue to debate whether athletic talent migration is an example of heightened globalization, regionalization, or internationalization. National sports associations, unions, and governing bodies will continue to act in ways that secure the best athletes for their teams. Sometimes such action means securing the services of athletes and managers who are prepared to switch national allegiances at short notice. The International Olympic Committee rule on eligibility is straightforward: Anyone who has a passport can represent a country as long as he or she fulfills the residential qualification of the sport’s governing body. In 2004, for example, Malachi Davis, a 400-meter runner born and educated in the United States, gained his British passport just months before he qualified for

the British Olympic team. At other times selection will be based on national preferences about playing style and temperament.

People also will continue to debate the impact of athletic talent migration on the sense of national identity of fans and athletes. The researchers Wong and Trumper suggest that such migration can undermine and strengthen nationalism. Leading players seem able to move according to the attractions of money and their desire to compete with the best. We can see the ensuing “brawn drain” of the best athletes from the poorer countries to the West as a form of exploitation through dependent development. However, the mediated representations of these players abroad can also have a culturally affirmative impact on national identities. As the researcher Christian Bromberger (1994, 189) noted:

The study of international migrations of sportsmen [sic] leads us to the heart of one of the major contradictions of our time: the tension between, on the one hand, local loyalties, spatial affiliation, cultural affinities, traditions and history, a world of ascriptions and, on the other hand, personal contracts, market laws, universal rationalism, space without boundaries, a world of achievement.

John Horne

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Athletic Training

Athletic training is the process that athletes undergo to prepare to compete in a sport. Such training includes work on the sport itself and its components, as well as exercises that increase the strength, flexibility, and endurance that athletes need to achieve their potential. Athletic training also prevents injury.

Everyone has limits on the time they can devote to exercise, and cross-training simply gives you the best return on your investment—balanced fitness with minimum injury risk and maximum fun. ■ PAULA NEWBY-FRASER

The certified athletic trainer is a health-care professional who provides health and injury care to physically active people such as athletes. Working in cooperation with physicians and other health-care professionals, the certified athletic trainer is an integral part of the health-care team, providing skills in the recognition, immediate care, treatment, rehabilitation, and prevention of musculoskeletal injuries. A four-year degree program is offered at more than one hundred institutions throughout the United States. All certified athletic trainers have a bachelor's degree; 70 percent have a postgraduate degree. With a combination of classroom education and clinical experience athletic trainers are prepared to apply a variety of health-care skills and knowledge in a variety of settings.

Origins

In 1990 the American Medical Association recognized the profession of athletic trainer as an allied health profession. The history of athletic trainers, however, can be traced to the early 1900s, when athletic trainers provided health and injury care to athletes participating in

organized athletics such as the Olympic Games. When football became a national sport in the United States, people realized that someone needed to care for players' inevitable injuries. The profession of athletic trainer grew from that need.

The National Athletic Trainers' Association (NATA), the professional association for certified athletic trainers, was founded in 1950. It is a worldwide association with more than thirty thousand members, primarily from the United States, Canada, and Japan. The mission of NATA and certified athletic trainers is to provide health and injury care to active people of all ages through the prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation of activity-related injury and illness. The National Athletic Trainers' Association Board of Certification, incorporated in 1989, provides a certification program for entry-level athletic trainers and continuing education standards for certified athletic trainers.

Studies of athletic training show that the methods that trainers use are effective in treating musculoskeletal injuries and that trainers return athletes quickly to their preinjury status. These methods also are used outside athletics. Studies have also shown that athletic training methods improve work-related disorders and that rehabilitation provided by certified athletic trainers improves the functional status of patients after reconstructive surgery of major joints.

Exactly what athletic trainers do—known as their “scope of practice”—is defined by specific competencies. These competencies, referred to as “athletic training competencies for health care for the physically active,” define



Working out with weights.

Source: istockphoto/sandoctr.

In order to excel, you must be completely dedicated to your chosen sport. You must also be prepared to work hard and be willing to accept destructive criticism. Without 100 percent dedication, you won't be able to do this. ■ WILLIE MAYS

the areas of expertise of entry-level athletic trainers and are based on these educational areas: risk management, assessment-evaluation, acute care, general medical and disabilities, therapeutic exercise, therapeutic modalities, health-care administration, professional development and responsibilities, psychosocial intervention and referral, pathology of injury and illness, pharmacological aspects of injury and illness, nutritional aspects of injury and illness, and illness.

During earlier decades athletic trainers practiced primarily in scholastic, amateur, and professional athletic settings. However, during the last twenty years the number of certified athletic trainers working in sports medicine clinics, hospitals, and industrial settings has increased. Indeed some 40 percent of certified athletic trainers work outside of school athletic settings.

Athletic Training and Injury

One cannot overemphasize the role of physical training in the prevention of injury. The injury patterns and rates of male and female athletes are similar. Generally speaking, the injuries suffered in men's sports are suffered in comparable women's sports, and the management of these injuries by certified athletic trainers is also similar.

Athletic Training and Women

During the early years of women's participation in organized sports, people placed little emphasis on conditioning and strength training, both of which are important factors in mechanically correct performance and injury prevention. Sports, by their nature, invite injury. Women athletes are exposed to the same injury risks as are men athletes and therefore need the same injury prevention and management considerations.

However, many myths and misconceptions surrounded women's participation in sports. Apprehension and skepticism prevailed, based on fears of risk to women's musculoskeletal systems and reproductive capabilities. These fears were based on perceived differences in physiological and anatomical strength between the genders. After research dispelled such myths and

misconceptions, conditioning and strength programs gradually were implemented for women athletes.

However, implementation did not guarantee access. Previously men athletes had been the sole occupants of facilities such as conditioning areas and weight rooms. The availability of facilities became a deterrent to the newfound interest of women and to their conditioning goals. Through Title IX (the U.S. law passed in 1972 to prohibit sex discrimination in federally funded education programs and activities), this deterrent was gradually overcome, and training facilities were either added or made co-educational so that both men and women could use them.

Resolution of questions such as "Where can women train?" and "Is training appropriate for women?" did not settle all issues. Social issues arose, and many young women were prevented from reaching their performance potential because of the negative stereotype of the athletic woman's physique. However, through time these issues also were resolved. Today conditioning and strength are accepted as necessary prerequisites for sports participation by both genders.

Women as Athletic Trainers

Once dominated by men, the profession of athletic trainer now includes women. The increase in participation by girls and women in sports and other physical activity, encouraged by Title IX, created a need for health and injury care for these athletes. Initially serving only women athletes, women athletic trainers now provide health and injury care to athletes of both genders.

NATA has demonstrated its commitment to the needs of women. Since the early 1970s women certified athletic trainers have played an important role in the development of NATA and the profession of athletic trainer. More than 50 percent of the membership of NATA is female. Women are represented on all major NATA committees, chair several of those committees, and are members of NATA's board of directors. NATA also has awarded grants to women scientists who serve as principal investigators of issues of importance to ac-



tive women, such as anterior cruciate ligament injuries of the knee and eating disorders.

Marjorie J. Albohm

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Australia

Avast island continent sparsely populated with almost 20 million inhabitants, Australia has long had a reputation as a sports-loving nation, a notion that has contributed strongly to its sense of identity. Indeed, the physical geography of the country—an equable climate, relatively flat terrain, and proximity of most urban centers to the coastline—along with international sporting success and rates of spectator attendance often disproportionate to its small population base, has given currency to the description of Australia as a “paradise of sport.”

History

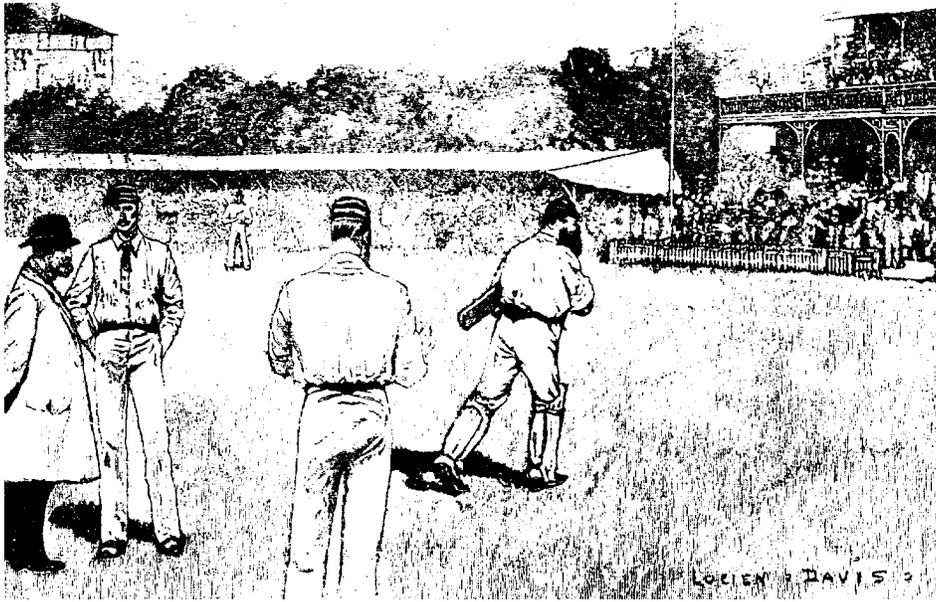
Inhabited by Aborigines for at least 40,000 years, indigenous physical activities such as hunting, throwing, swimming, and dancing, unlike the games that Anglo-Celtic settlers imported during the late eighteenth century, were not separate from other ceremonies, rituals, or pursuits. Instead, they were an integral part of daily life, played for enjoyment and governed by few rules. It was only later that Aborigines became highly skilled participants in many of the popular European sports such as athletics, boxing, and the various forms of football (known as football “codes”), although racial discrimination often inhibited their success at the highest level.

From the beginning of white settlement—as a penal colony—in 1788, sports that could be played in con-

junction with the complementary activities of gambling and drinking soon gained prominence. These activities included bare-knuckle boxing, wrestling, and cock-fighting. Horse racing was well patronized, as were other recreational activities that required little or no equipment in the initially harsh and restrictive environment of a penal colony. The public hotel played an important role in the development of this sporting culture and also served to strengthen the links between masculinity and sport in a population where men outnumbered women by a ratio of three to one. In fact a wide range of sports such as cricket, foot-racing, billiards, bowling, quoits, skittles, and trotting all took place within close proximity of “pubs” during the first half of the nineteenth century. In essence the sporting values and preferences of European settlers molded the cultural practices of sport in Australia, fueling a cult of athleticism throughout the antipodes.

Sporting clubs were quick to form in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and local contests soon developed into regional competitions. With the advent of the Federation of six Australian states in 1901, national organizations in a range of sports gradually developed despite the tyranny of distance. Most sporting bodies were club-based, and by 1910 there were national governing bodies for sports such as Australian Rules football, cricket, cycling, golf, lawn bowls, and rifle shooting.

Throughout the first forty years of the twentieth century, local governments were an important contributor to the success of this club-based sport system. They traditionally provided playground facilities, which comprised slides, swings, hoops, and bars. These facilities were usually located in public parks and gave children the opportunity not just to play, but also to develop their confidence and motor skills. In addition local governments constructed sports grounds and pavilions. Australia's community sporting infrastructure was therefore dependent on local councils, particularly when large open space was required for the activity. In this respect the football codes, cricket, swimming, tennis, and



Australian cricketers at Lord's Cricket Ground in May, 1884.

particularly netball benefited substantially from local government support.

Prior to the election of the Whitlam Labor government in 1972, federal government sport policy was limited to the selective assistance of Olympic Games teams, as well as physical fitness and surf lifesaving initiatives. However, the election of the Whitlam government was a watershed for Australian sport, a view supported by Prime Minister Whitlam's statement that "there was no greater social problem facing Australia than the good use of leisure." Contrary to the conservative Menzies government of the immediate postwar period, which regarded sport as an essentially private and individual pursuit, the Whitlam government acknowledged that sport could be used to improve the social conditions of outer-urban and regional Australia. Despite this rhetoric, since the 1970s the federal government, with the support of the states, has continued to take a leading role in developing a system to support elite-level sport, rather than grassroots participation. In particular, following Australia's poor performance at the Montreal Olympic Games in 1976, the federal government made a quantum leap with the establishment of the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS) in 1981. Modeled on the successful East German and Chinese sport academies, the AIS was a high-technology training center located in Canberra, the nation's capital. Originally targeting eight sports and situated in a central location, the AIS has since expanded and decentralized with specialized pro-

grams at centers located across Australia and internationally. The AIS was complemented by the formation of the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) in 1985. This organization was set up as an independent statutory authority to provide leadership and direction at the national level. In order to further streamline the decision-making and administrative functions of both bodies, the ASC and AIS were merged in 1989. The ASC is the peak sporting body in Australia, and since 2000 it has overseen an annual budget of approximately \$130 million. This money is primarily used to fund the AIS and Australia's national sporting organizations, such as Australian Swimming, Cycling Australia, and Hockey Australia.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Australians are renowned for watching a lot of sport on television. The two most popular television sports are Australia Rules football and Rugby League, which also happen to be the strongest national sport leagues. Each sport is broadcast on both free and pay television networks over their entire seasons, which can last between twenty and twenty-five weeks. The grand finals for each league usually attract a nationwide audience of more than 2 million people. Cricket is the other dominant television sport, and over the summer period, it can regularly attract nationwide audiences of between 1.5 and 2 million fans, especially when a series against archrival England takes place.

Over the last thirty years there has been sustained growth in professional and spectator sport. The Melbourne Cup horse-racing carnival now attracts more than 500,000 visitors, while the Australian Open Tennis Championship has increased its annual aggregate tournament attendance to nearly 500,000. The Australian Football League (AFL), Australia's most popular

As harrowing occupations go, there can't be much to choose between the Australian cricket captaincy and social work on Skid Row. ■ DOUG IBBOTON

spectator sport, generated a total attendance of 6.5 million for its winter competition in 2003, while the National Rugby League (NRL) drew a cumulative attendance of nearly 3 million. Melbourne, the capital of Victoria, has a particular passion for professional sport and was recently judged to be the sporting capital of the world on the basis of its ability to attract a remarkable minimum average weekly spectator audience of more than 300,000, easily ahead of cities such as London. Overall, just over 7 million, or 47 percent, of adult Australians attend sporting events on a regular basis.

Australia has several world famous sporting venues. Regarded as one of the best sport stadiums in the world, the Melbourne Cricket Ground is located in a sporting precinct and is a major venue for the Australian Football League and Australian cricket team. Its record crowd stands at just over 120,000, but improvements to the ground and the introduction of corporate facilities have reduced the ground's capacity to approximately 95,000. Australia's other great stadium is a relatively new addition, built for the Sydney Olympic Games. Stadium Australia has a capacity of approximately 80,000 and is located in Sydney's western suburbs, which is also home to many other Olympic venues.

Australia is just one of only two countries that have taken part in every summer Olympic Games since 1896, a record enhanced by the fact that the International Olympic Committee awarded the right to host the Games to Melbourne (1956) and then Sydney (2000). Australian athletes performed exceptionally well at both events, and the nation's overall Olympic record is an enviable one. Dawn Fraser, Murray Rose, Marjorie Jackson, Ron Clarke, and Betty Cuthbert became household names around the world following their feats in 1956, while a new generation of athletes, including Ian Thorpe, Kieren Perkins, Susie O'Neill, and Cathy Freeman, ensured Olympic success continued at the end of the twentieth century. Australia has also dominated the Commonwealth Games since their inception in 1938, hosting the event on a number of occasions.

Nationwide surveys conducted at the turn of the twenty-first century found that 92 percent of respondents felt proud of Australia's international sport achievements, and seven of the ten most inspirational moments in Australian history were sport-related. These results indicated that as well as having a strong culture of sport participation and sport spectatorship, Australians also use sport to establish a sense of collective identity and self-respect. In an increasingly globalized world, sport has become a primary vehicle for expressing national legitimacy, pride, and independence. For a country that is geographically isolated from the rest of the world, sporting success at mega-events is a highly visible and potent way of achieving global media exposure and international awareness.

Women and Sport

Females have always had to struggle for resources and recognition in Australian sport, a fact partially recognized by the promulgation of the Sex Discrimination Act in 1984. Yet despite a lack of parity in terms of facilities, funding, and media exposure, Australian sportswomen have played an important role in the development of the national sporting ethos. For example, women staged the first national golf championship in 1894, and Australian Rules football boasts the highest percentage of female spectators of any form of football in the world. However, it is in the Olympic arena where women have outshone their male counterparts. In fact, between 1948 and 2000 women made up only 28 percent of Australian Olympic squads, and yet they have won 39 percent of all gold medals, despite being able to compete in fewer events. Their dominance in this area is reflected in the exponential increase given to women in media coverage whenever Olympic Games are staged.

Youth Sports

School sport associations have been established in some states for over one hundred years, and interstate school sporting competitions can be traced back to the 1920s. The Australian School Sports Council (ASC), formed in

*Australia Olympics Results**2002 Winter Olympics: 2 Gold**2004 Summer Olympics: 17 Gold, 16 Silver, 16 Bronze*

1981, now acts as the parent body for all school sport, and in 1992 a report by the Senate Standing Committee on Environment, Recreation, and the Arts confirmed the place of sport in the school curriculum, making positive recommendations concerning the funding of physical education and sport in schools. Government involvement in the delivery of sport has also been underpinned by the launch of the ASC's "Aussie Sports" program in 1986. The program was developed partly in response to concerns about the overly competitive nature of school sport, and modified games (minimizing height, weight, and gender differences) were offered to school children so that motor skills could be practiced in a nonthreatening sports environment. Many other sporting organizations also offer modified games, such as Auskick and Netta Netball, partly as a promotional exercise and partly to smooth the transition to senior, club-based sporting activities.

Organizations

In terms of sports organizations, the Australian Sports Commission (<http://www.ausport.gov.au>) is the top regulatory body for sport in Australia and is responsible for implementing federal government policy, managing the Australian Institute of Sport, and distributing funding to national sport organizations. The Australian Football League (www.afl.com.au) is the most popular national sport league in Australia. It began in 1897 as the Victorian Football League, and in the 1980s and 1990s, it added teams from most Australian states. The Australian Sports Drug Agency (<http://www.asda.org.au/>) is the peak body in Australia, set up to deter the use of banned doping practices in sport through education, testing, advocacy, and coordination of Australia's antidoping program, while Sport Industry Australia (www.sportforall.com.au), established originally as the Confederation of Australian Sport in 1976, represents the interests of Australia's national sport organizations and their members. Cricket Australia (aus.cricinfo.com/db/NATIONAL/AUS) is the governing body for Australia's national sport, which manages the Australian cricket team, the world leader

throughout the early part of the twentieth century and the 1990s.

Sports in Society

Australian sport has often been referred to as an industry, and there are good grounds for this claim. There are 14,000 playing fields and indoor sport centers, supported by 1.5 million volunteer administrators and officials, while the sport industry provides paid employment for 275,000 people. Households spend more than \$7 billion a year on sport-related services and goods, while corporate sponsorship accounts for \$300 million. When \$430 million of sport exports are added to the national sport "accounts," the total contribution of the sport industry to gross domestic product (GDP) is approximately 1 percent. It is also a complex industry, since it comprises an array of government-owned facilities, not-for-profit clubs and associations, and privately owned businesses. It specifically includes sporting competitions that range from small rural amateur competitions to fully professional national sport leagues, commercial operators, consultants, and sport-product manufacturers and retailers.

The hyper-commercialization of Australian sport has been accompanied by an apparently insatiable need for sporting heroes. However, not all Australia's contemporary sporting champions fit the archetypal mold. Cathy Freeman does because she is unassuming, dedicated, courageous, and a great spokesperson for the Aboriginal community. Lleyton Hewitt did not fit the mold for a long time because he was seen to be too competitive and opinionated and not as modest as Australians like heroes to be. The player who best fitted the archetype was Pat Rafter. He was not only an outstanding tennis player, but also good looking, self-deprecating, every mother's ideal son, and also seen as one of the boys. Sporting heroes are an important part of Australia's sporting landscape and are used to not only promote their sport, but also to endorse all sorts of consumer products. A quarter of all people who have won the Australian of the Year award over the last thirty years were sportsmen and sportswomen, while the last

three Australian cricket team captains have all become Australians of the Year. The two most widely acknowledged sporting icons from Australia's past are the recently deceased Sir Donald Bradman, far and away the nation's greatest cricketer, and Phar Lap, the New Zealand-born horse that was nigh unbeatable during the 1930s and died tragically after racing in the United States.

Australians also like their sporting heroes to be extraordinary in the sense that they should both win against the world's best and symbolize sport's working-class traditions and tribal relations. Australian sporting rowdies are revered for their indifference to authority, loud humor, and heavy drinking. There is however, a downside to this hypermasculine and "blokey" sporting ethos. In addition to its tendency to marginalize the participation of women, it can produce chronic displays of poor sportsmanship and crass behavior. While sporting larrikins are quintessentially Australian, they also reveal an ugly and anti-intellectual side of the Australian sporting culture, where boisterous good humor degenerates into personal abuse, racist taunts, and physical violence.

The Future

Despite Australia's sporting achievements and the willingness with which Australians consume both broadcast and live sporting events, Australia is the second most obese nation on the globe, second only to the United States. In many respects the increasing success of Australia's athletes has been paralleled by a difficulty in getting more people to participate in enough physical activity to provide mental and physical health benefits. Although it is often noted that in excess of 60 percent of Australians participate in physical activity, this figure can be misleading, for according to research done by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, only 10.5 percent participate in sport two or more times per week. At the same time people are moving subtly away from organized and competitive sport to more informal, time-compressed leisure activities. Of the 9 million people who participate in physical activity annually, approxi-



Australia

Vigoro

Similar to cricket, vigoro is an Australian women's sport invented around 1900. It became an organized sport in 1919 after the Vigoro Association was established. The sport is still based in Australia, played in leagues in New South Wales, Tasmania, and Queensland. The major difference between cricket and vigoro is that vigoro teams have twelve players with the extra player being a second bowler. There are no overs, and bowlers can use any type of throw as long as the ball is thrown overhand. It is faster-paced than cricket, and a game can be completed in two and a half hours.

Key organizations are the New South Wales Vigoro Association (www.vigoro.com.au) and the Townsville Ladies Vigoro Association (www.angelfire.com/va2/vigoro).

mately 3.7 million walk for exercise, 1.6 million swim, and another 1.6 million participate in aerobics or related fitness activities. Both the levels of physical activity and the shift to unstructured sport activities will present a challenge for the Australian sport system in years to come.

Since the early 1970s, Australia has grown to become one of the world's sporting powers. It has done so with a relatively small population and a geographic location that isolates it from most of the rest of the world. It used to be said that Australia rode on the sheep's back, a phrase that indicated that Australia was dependent on its agricultural and livestock industries for its economic success and broader reputation in the world. It is now fair to say that Australia rides on the back of its athletes. These athletes and their performances at a range of international events, most notably the Olympic Games, have ensured that Australia has a particularly strong global sporting profile.

Robert Hess and Matthew Nicholson

See also Bondi Beach

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Australian Rules Football

Australian rules football, originally known as “Victorian rules football” because it was established in Melbourne in the state of Victoria, is a form of football that is popular particularly in southern and western Australia. Its first rules, dating from 1859, make it one of the world’s oldest forms of football. A handwritten copy of these rules was discovered only in 1980.

Rules, Playing Surfaces, and Equipment

Australian rules football is played on a ground roughly oval in shape—although the size and shape can vary—between two teams of eighteen players. Four vertical goal posts—large central posts flanked on each side by smaller posts—are used. No horizontal bars are used. A goal (six points) is scored when the ball is kicked between the two central posts without being touched. If

the ball is touched, hits the central posts, is rushed through by the defending side, or travels between the smaller posts, a behind (one point) is scored. No offside exists, and the sport is primarily a kicking, catching, running, and hand-passing game—players can run a maximum of 10 meters before they either pass or bounce the ball. A game is played over four quarters of approximately thirty minutes each and with intervals lasts almost three hours. A game begins when an umpire bounces the ball in the center circle, and players attempt to tap the ball to their side’s advantage.

Australian rules football is a high-scoring and fast-moving sport with some similarities to basketball—play moves rapidly from one end to another, and scores frequently fluctuate. It is an expansive and crowd-pleasing sport with less measurement and standardization than other sports, making it closer to folk football. Margaret Lindley has noted that Australian footballers “run, dodge, leap, spin and slide; execute a variety of kicks which place their bodies in arabesques and attempt marks which see them in every conceivable airborne position.”

Creation Myths

Some people believe that the sport was derived from an Aboriginal game played with stuffed opossum skins. Others have claimed an Irish origin, although Gaelic football was codified at a much later date. A more plausible and orthodox explanation is that seven men who were educated at British public schools created the 1859 rules in the absence of any agreed model of football. A letter from colonial sportsman Thomas Wills to a local newspaper, suggesting the need for a winter sport, some schoolboy games, and the formation of the Melbourne Football Club in 1858 added to a growing interest in football.

Although Victorian rules football combined the rules of various English public schools, it soon developed a distinctly Australian ethos (distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or guiding beliefs) that valued improvisation and spontaneity. Initially played in the parklands of Melbourne the sport expressed the brash



Australian Rules Football

South Africa Embraces Australian Rules Football

The following transcript from a February 2005 radio broadcast makes clear that Australian Rules Football has found a new home in South Africa:

ELIZABETH JACKSON: The South African Government has declared Australian Rules Football the sport for “the new South Africa,” and the league is ratcheting up its marketing to target a whole new market. Africa Correspondent Zoe Daniel reports.

ZOE DANIEL: In the townships outside rural Potchefstroom in South Africa’s North West province soccer is the sport of choice. It’s in line with the traditional demarcation of sport in a country where historical racial divisions are still strong. But the AFL thinks it may be the bridge between black and white.

STEVE HARRISON: Aussie Rules so far, has proven to be a very good way of bringing people together. We had a game, it was the Gauteng Province playing against the convicts and it was a half and half mix of black and white players, and that was absolutely fantastic, and they lined up, they sung the national anthem, playing Australian football and it was half black, half white and that’s what we’re going for.

ZOE DANIEL: Steve Harrison, Footy South Africa Coordinator.

Australian Rules was played here during the Boer war, but until recently, it had died out of the South African sporting scene. That was until the Government declared it the sport for the new South Africa because of its ability to embrace different races and cultures. Now the AFL is cranking up its push to get more people playing.

BRIAN CLARKE: They’re using the north western province as sort of a trial run for the remaining eight provinces, identifying the sport as the new sport for the new South Africa in the sense that, traditionally they’ve had rugby as a sort of white domain, the blacks playing soccer, and this is a great way to combine the two in a new game. It’s going to take some time to gel together, but it’s really pleasing to see that they share one thing in common, they want to learn about this new game.

Source: South Africa embraces Australian rules football. (2005, February 5). Retrieved March 15, 2005, from <http://www.abc.net.au/am/content/2005/s1296562.htm>

self-confidence of the colonial culture of gold-rich Victoria. The founders of the Australian sport wanted to create a “game of our own.”

History

The simplicity of the original rules allowed fluidity in the evolution of the sport. H. C. A. Harrison, a notable player and administrator, was prominent in revisions of the rules in 1866 and 1874. In 1877 eight Victorian teams joined to form the Victorian Football Association (VFA) to regulate the sport and to promote intercolonial contests. A similar association was formed in South Australia in 1877, and suburban football competitions also emerged in Hobart, Launceston, and Perth. Intercolonial rivalry and long distances were two reasons why the northeastern states of New South

Wales and Queensland eventually opted for the British sport of rugby.

With the onset of professionalism during the 1890s eight clubs split from the VFA in 1897 to form the Victorian Football League (VFL), which remained the dominant body in the sport for almost a century. In 1906 a national body, the Australian National Football Council (later the National Football League), was formed to control interstate player exchanges and to develop interstate competition. The first national carnival was held in August 1908 at the Melbourne Cricket Ground with teams from all the Australian states and New Zealand competing.

When a national competition emerged during the 1980s, it was under the aegis of Victorian rules football. The South Melbourne Swans relocated to Sydney (and



became the Sydney Swans) in 1982, the Brisbane Bears and the West Coast Eagles joined in 1987, followed by the Adelaide Crows (1991), the Fremantle Dockers (1995), and the Port Adelaide Power (1996). The VFL changed its name to the “Australian Football League” (AFL) at the end of 1989.

Key People

With the high mark a spectacular feature of Australian rules football, fans have admired full forwards such as Roy Cazaly, who played from 1910 to 1927. Cazaly gave rise to the phrase “Up there, Cazaly,” which was reputedly the battle cry of Australian soldiers in World War II as they stormed trenches. The song “Up There, Cazaly” later became an anthem of the AFL. Some notable players, such as Norm Smith, Ron Barassi, and Leigh Matthews, have been equally prominent as coaches.

Although Australian rules football was a demonstration sport at the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, and although clubs were formed in New Zealand and South Africa, it remains almost exclusively an Australian sport. Similarities between Australian rules football and Gaelic football led to the development of a hybrid sport—international rules football—and occasional international contests between Australian and Irish teams from 1967. Since the 1980s a number of Irish footballers have been recruited to play for Australian clubs.

From its inception Australian rules football has been accessible to the community. The passionate attachment of Melburnians to their clubs is the subject of David Williamson’s play and film, *The Club*, based on the Collingwood Football Club, with approximately forty thousand members. The community support for the battling Footscray (now Western) Bulldogs is the subject of another film, *The Year of the Dogs*. Women have comprised 30 to 50 percent of Australian rules football spectators since the late nineteenth century, a markedly higher proportion of spectators than those of other types of football. Women played football only sporadically during the twentieth century before formation of the Victorian Women’s Football League in

1981. With seven thousand players by 2004, women’s football is one of the fastest-growing sports in the Victorian school system.

An Aboriginal presence in Australian rules football became more notable during the 1960s, and by the 1980s clubs recruited Aboriginal players in larger numbers. Some became stars. A dramatic gesture against racism by Nicky Winmar at the end of a game in 1993, when he raised his jersey and pointed to the color of his skin, encouraged the AFL to develop a player code to reduce racial incidents.

The Future

Although the future of Australian rules football is secure in Australia because of its popularity, Matthew Nicholson noted that the AFL is “awkwardly perched between its Victorian suburban traditions and its national aspirations.” The national competition of sixteen teams includes nine Melbourne suburban teams, one regional Victorian team, and six teams from four other states.

Richard Cashman

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*Austria Olympics Results**2002 Winter Olympics: 2 Gold, 4 Silver, 11 Bronze**2004 Summer Olympics: 2 Gold, 4 Silver, 1 Bronze*

Austria

Austria is a small country in central Europe and has a population of about 8 million. Its capital, Vienna, has about 1.5 million inhabitants.

Austria has a rich and famous athletic tradition, not only in competitive sports but also in physical education. Today, many Austrians engage in leisure sports (hiking, biking, skiing, swimming). In the field of elite sports, Austria has top athletes, especially in winter Alpine sports. There have also been some outstanding achievements in summer sports by individual athletes.

History

The beginnings of physical activities in Austria can be traced back to the early Iron Age through artifacts (700–300 BCE) that document riding, dance, wagon races, and wrestling. In the late Middle Ages and the eighteenth century, the first schools were created in which dance, riding, fencing, and ball games played an important role in tournament preparation. Nonprofessionals or specific professional groups practiced movement games for important occasions (Easter runs, for example). Required schooling was introduced during the reign of Maria Theresa in 1774. Physical education and calisthenics were increasingly included in normal school activity. The typical enthusiasm for sports emanating from England developed first in the universities and persisted despite strong political and cultural pressure after the 1860s. The evidence lies in the establishment of numerous clubs: Austrian Alpine Club 1863, Rowing Club 1867, Vienna Ice Skating Club 1887, First Vienna Amateur Swim Club 1892, Austrian Ski Club 1894, First Vienna Football Club 1896, and the like. Mountain climbing and Alpine skiing developed as widespread popular sports independently of the English example. Between the world wars Austria became famous for the natural gymnastics promoted by Gaulhofer and Streicher. But Austria's soccer teams also enjoyed renown and international success, as did Aus-

trians competing in ice skating, Alpine skiing, and as part of the Austrian team at the 1936 Olympic Games.

During World War I, sport was employed as a specific political instrument. After 1945 three large umbrella organizations were reestablished: the Workers Association for Sport and Body Culture (ASKÖ), the Sport Union of Austria (Union), and the General Sport Association (ASVÖ). Since the 1960s Austrian soccer at the international level has suffered substantially, although it is still an important leisure sport for men. In various other sports, a few individual athletes have reached world-class status in track and field, shooting, judo, sailing, table tennis, and recently swimming.

Several umbrella organizations for leisure and competitive sports are financed using profits from soccer and other lottery games. Current government support is provided for elite sports to promote youth and women's sport development, "Top Sport Austria," sport coordinators in the federal sport organizations, sport infrastructure and federal sports facilities, and large sporting events. At the same time funding by private sponsors is both important and increasingly difficult given the penchant of these the sponsors to back only the very best athletes or teams.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Alpine sports are Austria's major elite sports. Level of participation and skill in these sports at national and international competitions is very high. The most famous regularly held events in Austria are the downhill skiing races in Kitzbühel: a victory there is comparable with a gold medal in Olympic games, and Austrian winners gain star status in their country. There is no comparable event in summer sports, although there are some significant tennis and track and field events. Several major winter sport events hosted in Austria over the last seventy-five years include two Olympic Games, a number of world championships, and a Paralympics and Special Olympics.

In summer sports the rate of participation is lower and the performance level generally is moderate, with a



A popular ski area in Austria.

Source: istockphoto/darklord_71.

few exceptional achievements. Marathon and long distance running as well as cycling, in-line skating, and mountain biking are sports that appear to be enjoying increasing popularity among weekend athletes as measured by the increasing number and variety of events and participation levels.

Women and Sport

The origins of women's participation in sports go back to about 1830, when girls were taught gymnastics for the first time. Early on, most women engaged in gymnastics, but from the 1880s women participated increasingly in sports like biking, swimming, skiing, ice hockey and ski jumping, football (soccer), tennis, and horseback riding. The Second World War reduced women's activities in sports dramatically and it took some time before Austrian women began to participate in sports again. At present women are at least as successful as men in the sports arena, but programs to develop leadership positions in and encourage media coverage of women's sports are still necessary. Austria has the chair of the European Women and Sport from 2004 to 2006 and will host the Congress 2006 in Vienna.

Youth Sports

Primary sports for children ten to nineteen years old include biking, swimming, downhill skiing, ice skating, ice

hockey, in-line skating, skateboarding, and football (soccer) (levels of participation: boys 31.4 percent; girls: 2.6 percent). School competitions are offered in various games, orienteering, and Alpine and Nordic sports and are well attended. The programs for competitive youth sport are organized by the special federations (e.g., football [soccer] training centers run by the football federation). Non-competitive youth sport is or-

ganized by the umbrella federations, which also initiate national and international activities.

Organizations

In Austria sport is organized by government as well as by nongovernmental institutions. The Federal Chancellery (www.sport.austria.gv.at) is responsible for the allocation of grants to sports organizations, clubs, and municipalities; the promotion and organization of sports matters of national importance; and the awarding of medals and trophies. Due to the high value of sports in the Austrian society, a state secretary for sports exists. At the regional level each of the nine federal states deals with sports matters independently. They are responsible for general promotion of sport. Further, cooperation among the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (for school sports and physical education), and the federal government rounds out the government support structure.

The central national body for voluntary sports activities is the Austrian Sports Federation (BSO: www.bso.or.at), whose main aim is to represent organized sport, to improve systematic cooperation between the members, and to promote collective interests in amateur sports. Under its umbrella the BSO unites fifty-three special federations, the three umbrella organizations for sport (ASKÖ: www.askoe.or.at, ASVÖ: www.asvoe.at, Union: www.sportunion.at) with about 3.9 mil-



A popular ski area in Austria.

Source: istockphoto/darklord_71.

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ganized by the umbrella federations, which also initiate national and international activities.

Organizations

In Austria sport is organized by government as well as by nongovernmental institutions. The Federal Chancellery (www.sport.austria.gv.at) is responsible for the allocation of grants to sports organizations, clubs, and municipalities; the promotion and organization of sports matters of national importance; and the awarding of medals and trophies. Due to the high value of sports in the Austrian society, a state secretary for sports exists. At the regional level each of the nine federal states deals with sports matters independently. They are responsible for general promotion of sport. Further, cooperation among the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (for school sports and physical education), and the federal government rounds out the government support structure.

The central national body for voluntary sports activities is the Austrian Sports Federation (BSO: www.bso.or.at), whose main aim is to represent organized sport, to improve systematic cooperation between the members, and to promote collective interests in amateur sports. Under its umbrella the BSO unites fifty-three special federations, the three umbrella organizations for sport (ASKÖ: www.askoe.or.at, ASVÖ: www.asvoe.at, Union: www.sportunion.at) with about 3.9 mil-

Even if you are on the right track, you'll get run over if you just sit there. ■ WILL ROGERS

lion memberships, the organization for disabled sports (OeBSV: www.oebstv.or.at), and the Austrian Olympic Committee (OeOC: www.oeoc.at). Austria's interests also are widely represented in a variety of international sports associations.

Sports in Society

Media and active sport plays an important role in the society, and Austrians are very proud of the performances of top athletes in international competitions. Very famous Austrian sports "heroes" are Hermann Mayer and Annemarie Moser-Pröll (Alpine skiing), Thomas Muster (tennis), Stephanie Graf (track), Hans Krankl and Herbert Prohaska (soccer), Nikki Lauda (auto racing), and Werner Schlager (table tennis).

Future

Sport-related issues and topics of current interest in Austria include the innovation and modernization in sport clubs, projects for recruiting more elite athletes (especially in summer sports), sport for all, violence in sport, gender mainstreaming, and preparation of international events like the winter Universiade 2005 and the European Soccer Championship in 2008. On the occasion of the European Year of Education through Sports 2004 about eighty-eight projects were promoted, which attest to the relevance of and interest in sports in the Austrian society.

Rosa Diketmüller

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Auto Racing

Automobile racing began in France in 1894 when the magazine *Le Petit Journal* organized a point-to-point race to test performance. The first speed race came a year later when drivers raced from Paris to Bordeaux. Races were regularly run each year until 1903 when a series of fatalities caused the French government to ban open road racing. The first race in the United States was staged in Chicago in November 1895. Auto racing has since evolved into a wide variety of forms, including drag racing, Formula 1, Indy 500, stock car, off-road, vintage, hill climbing, and karting. All forms share the same goal of racing to the finish line in the fastest time. In all forms today there is also much concern over safety, and technological changes have sometimes been mandated that actually reduce speed.

To a significant extent each of the auto sports attracts its own legion of fans, and they are competitive as to which is the premier sport. For example, fans of Formula 1 see it as the highest form of racing and deride the relative lack of technological sophistication in stock car racing. But, stock car fans in the United States have little interest in European Formula 1 and little appreciation for the sophisticated design of the vehicles. There is some crossover among drivers in Formula 1 and Indy Racing.

Automobile racing is the major part of the larger sport of motor sports, which also includes truck, motorcycle, and powerboat racing. Revenues in the industry come mainly from admissions to races, sponsorship by corporations whose advertising is displayed on the cars and driver's clothing, and television and radio broadcast rights fees. A related industry is the recreational motor sports industry, which includes snowmobiling, ATV, and personal watercraft. Automobile racing is a leading spectator sport, and some events such as the Le Mans rally, Daytona 500 stock car race, and Indianapolis 500 are counted in the list of top sports events each year. Several leading drivers—Don Garlits, Richard Petty, Dale Earnhart, Jim Clark, Emerson Fittipaldi,

This painting titled *Those Horrible Motors* indicates the attitude of horseback riders toward automobiles early in the twentieth century.



Michael Schumacher to name a few—have become national and international celebrities. While auto racing is a global sport, some locales have been especially important in its growth and development. For example, most of the British motor sports industry can be found within a 50-mile radius of Oxford in an area known as “Motor Sport Valley.” In the United States, the Southeast has been the base of stock car racing—now best known to Americans by the acronym NASCAR (National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing)—with North Carolina especially serving as the home to many race teams, tracks, events, and associated industries.

Bringing Diversity to the Sport

Auto racing is mainly a male sport. Over its history there have been very few female drivers. Male drivers have usually resisted women’s participation, and sponsors have been reluctant to take on female drivers. The most successful was Shirley Muldowney, the first woman licensed to drive top fuel dragsters. She won three NHRA top fuel world championships. Another leading drag racer was Agnes E. M. B. “Aggi” Hendricks of Canada, who won the International Hot Rod Association (IHRA) title of “Showman of the Year” three times and one Jet Car National championship. The first to drive at the Indianapolis 500 was Janet Guthrie in 1977, and she has been followed by Lynn St. James and Sarah Fisher, although none have come close to winning. Among women who raced in NASCAR events (although usually below the top level series) are Shawna Robinson, Angie Wilson, Patty Moise, and Tammy Jo Kirk. Women, do, however, make up a sizeable percentage of the fan base. Studies indicate that 40 percent of spectators at NASCAR events are women. Auto racing is also short on minority (non-white) drivers. Here the issue is the lack of lifelong involvement in the sport

(many racing teams are multigenerational family businesses) and lack of sponsorship, which makes it impossible to field a competitive car and hire a skilled and experienced crew. Efforts are underway in NASCAR to appeal to African-Americans and Latinos.

Drag Racing

Organized drag racing developed from street racing in southern California in the 1930s when young men raced souped-up cars against each other. Today drag racing involves all types of vehicles from street cars to motorcycles to highly engineered drag racers. The most highly engineered cars produce up to 1,500 horsepower. Several competition classes exist based on the type of fuel used (ordinary pump gas, methanol, nitromethane [top fuel]) or the type of car (an unmodified car off the assembly line or a modified car).

The pure dragster is a long chassis built of metal tubing with two small tires resembling bicycle tires in the front and two massive, treadless tires in the rear, all of which support an engine weighing 455–591 kilograms mounted behind the driver and between the rear wheels. A “funny car” is basically a dragster with a fiberglass body—made to resemble a flashy passenger car—that lowers over the cockpit, driver, and engine.

The drag racing track is a two-lane paved strip one-quarter-mile long with a shutdown area at the end. At the start of a race two competitors line up side by side on the starting line. The cars leave from a standing start, attempting to beat each other, or sometimes the clock, to the finish line. The first car to break the timing light beam on the finish line wins.

Formula 1 Racing

Formula 1 (F1, Grand Prix) cars are single-seat, open wheel vehicles that are built according to specifications developed by the Federation Internationale de l'Automobile (FIA) and used only for racing. All F1 races are held on specially constructed racecourses except the Grand Prix of Monaco, which is still held on public roads prepared for the race. Cars are associated with the manufacturers of their chassis and engines such as BRM, Honda, Ferrari, Mercedes, Maserati, Alfa Romeo, Porsche, Vanwall, and Matra. Most F1 cars are hybrids with a chassis constructed by one manufacturer fitted with an engine from another. F1 cars are technological and aerodynamic marvels with enormous amounts of expertise and money invested to make the vehicles hold the track and go as fast as possible. FIA regulations for F1 stipulate engine style and design.

For Europeans, Formula 1 is the pinnacle of auto racing and only the very best drivers compete in F1 races. It is a dangerous sport and several dozen drivers have been killed in races and practices since 1950. New rules, safer car and track designs, and better protective gear for drivers have made it somewhat safer since the 1970s. Formula 1 has experienced a period of spectator decline in the early twenty-first century due in part to continuing safety concerns but also the dominance of races by driver Michael Schumacher and Ferrari.

Indy Car Racing

Indy car racing is the major form of single-seat open-wheel racing in North America. To the general public it is usually associated with the Indianapolis 500 race held each Memorial Day weekend. In the past many racers moved up from stock car racing to Indy racing, but for the last few years it has been just as common for drivers to come from the Formula 1 circuit in Europe and South America and win Indy races. A major difference between Indy racing and Formula 1 is the effort by Indy officials to limit technological innovations in ways that maximize driver skill.

Indy racing began in the early twentieth century as road racing but by 1910 had begun to migrate to enclosed board and then dirt tracks. The Great Depression



Auto Racing

Horseless Carriage Races

Before the terms "automobile" and "car" came into use, the first motor vehicles were known as "horseless carriages." The 1896 extract below announces a race of these carriages on a track usually reserved for horses.

The Rhode Island State Fair Association announced that \$5,000 will be given in prizes in a series of horseless carriage races to be held during its annual exposition week at Narragansett Park, Providence, R.I., in September. Racing of this kind has been attempted before, but never on so large a scale. The series of races will be held on a regulation trotting track, and the results promise to be interesting. One of the exhibition buildings will be set apart for a horseless carriage exposition. Certainly no "infant industry" was ever so coddled and fostered by the offer of large rewards; up to the present time the results in this country have not been worth the cost.

Source: A new horseless carriage race. (1896, May 23). *Scientific American*, p. 327.

and World War II brought a decline in racing but the sport rebounded in the 1950s with most major events now on enclosed, paved tracks with large grandstands. The sport has suffered from turf battles between competing sanctioning bodies including the one between CART (Championship Auto Racing Teams) and the Indy Racing League in the 1990s.

Stock Car Racing

A stock car is an automobile as it comes from the factory. The term "stock" was used early in racing history to distinguish those cars from others designed for racing. It has little meaning today as stock cars at the highest level of the sport bear little resemblance to cars coming off the dealer floor. They are modified for racing at high speeds on circular or oval tracks.

Stock car races are the most-attended professional spectator sports events in the United States. More than



A grid full of Minis in the Pit Lane at the Silverstone Pre Race. *Source: istockphoto/achundee.*

100,000 spectators attend major Nextel Cup (formerly Winston Cup) races held at major tracks such as the Daytona 500, the Michigan 400 and the California 500. The sport began and remains centered in the southeast United States but in the 1990s grew and expanded and now has a strong fan base across the United States. In 2005 a Busch series race was held in Mexico in a further attempt to expand the geographical boundaries of the sport.

There are two types of stock car racing. The highest level of competition is the Nextel Cup series and several lower series such as the Busch series, which attract the best racing teams and drivers, most wealthiest sponsors, media coverage, and fame. These series are circuits of races across the United States with drivers competing to win each race and the annual championship. The industry has a complex structure with NASCAR as the sanctioning organization, overall sponsorship by Nextel (formerly by the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company), and individual races sponsored by other companies. In Canada stock car racing is sanctioned by CASCAR (Canadian Association for Stock Car Racing).

The second form of stock car racing takes place in weekly competitions at short tracks in rural communities across the United States. The drivers (generally men) are local, and race part-time and semiprofessionally. The tracks are usually less than a mile around, and most are banked dirt ovals with grandstands on one or more sides and an interior pit area.

The popularity of stock car racing in the United States is the result of two developments. First, the successful effort by the industry itself in the 1970s and 1980s to make the sport safer and to change its reputation as a sport that appealed only to people who wanted to see wrecks and mayhem. Second, the role of ESPN, the cable television sports channel. Automobile racing was a natural for ESPN's largely male audience. Broadcast networks soon followed, and television contract money increased prize money and incentives for advertisers to sponsor cars and races.

Truck Racing

Truck racing is a motor sport in which utility and recreational vehicles race against each other. It includes many types of vehicles, including pickup trucks and sport-utility vehicles. These vehicles traditionally competed in off-road rallies and other events on unpaved roads and trails or over open countryside. Many vehicles in off-road races use four-wheel drive. Among these are the Baja series of desert races, the Pikes Peak Hillclimb in Colorado, and the Camel Trophy Mundo Maya, a grueling twenty-day race through Central America.

Trucks became a regular feature of closed-track stock car racing in 1994 when NASCAR established a Super Truck division. Super Trucks are modified pickups that adhere to guidelines for engines and body construction similar to those for NASCAR stock cars. Super Truck is organized much like NASCAR's stock car series and events. Trucks are also used in drag racing, with a National Hot Rod Association category for modified trucks.

Vintage Auto Racing

Vintage auto racing enthusiasts collect, restore and maintain historic high-performance cars and then drive

A 1929 Ford Roadster Street Rod.

Source: istockphoto/4allthingsweb.

them in races. Automobiles used in vintage auto racing include retired Formula 1 cars, classic sports cars, and other top-quality street and touring vehicles. The goal is to restore and maintain the vehicles exactly as they were built. Original parts are encouraged in repairs. If they are no longer available, substitution parts must be similar. Vintage auto races range from local, informal gatherings to large races that attract drivers and spectators from around the world. Major vintage races are held at historic and prominent racetracks such as Watkins Glen in New York, Lime Rock in Connecticut, and Sebring in Florida.

Karting

In karting (also known as “go-karting”) people drive small four-wheeled vehicles powered by internal combustion engines. The frame of karts is often uncovered, and karts seat only one person. Most karts have small two- or four-stroke engines that resemble lawnmower engines. Karts and karting events are divided into several classes based on the age of the drivers or the specifications of the karts. Karts have sensitive steering; therefore, concentration and fast reflexes are important. In addition to using the steering wheel, the driver shifts his or her weight to assist in turning. The sense of speed often seems more intense to a driver in a kart than in a larger vehicle. Karting is the way many professional drivers begin to learn their sport.

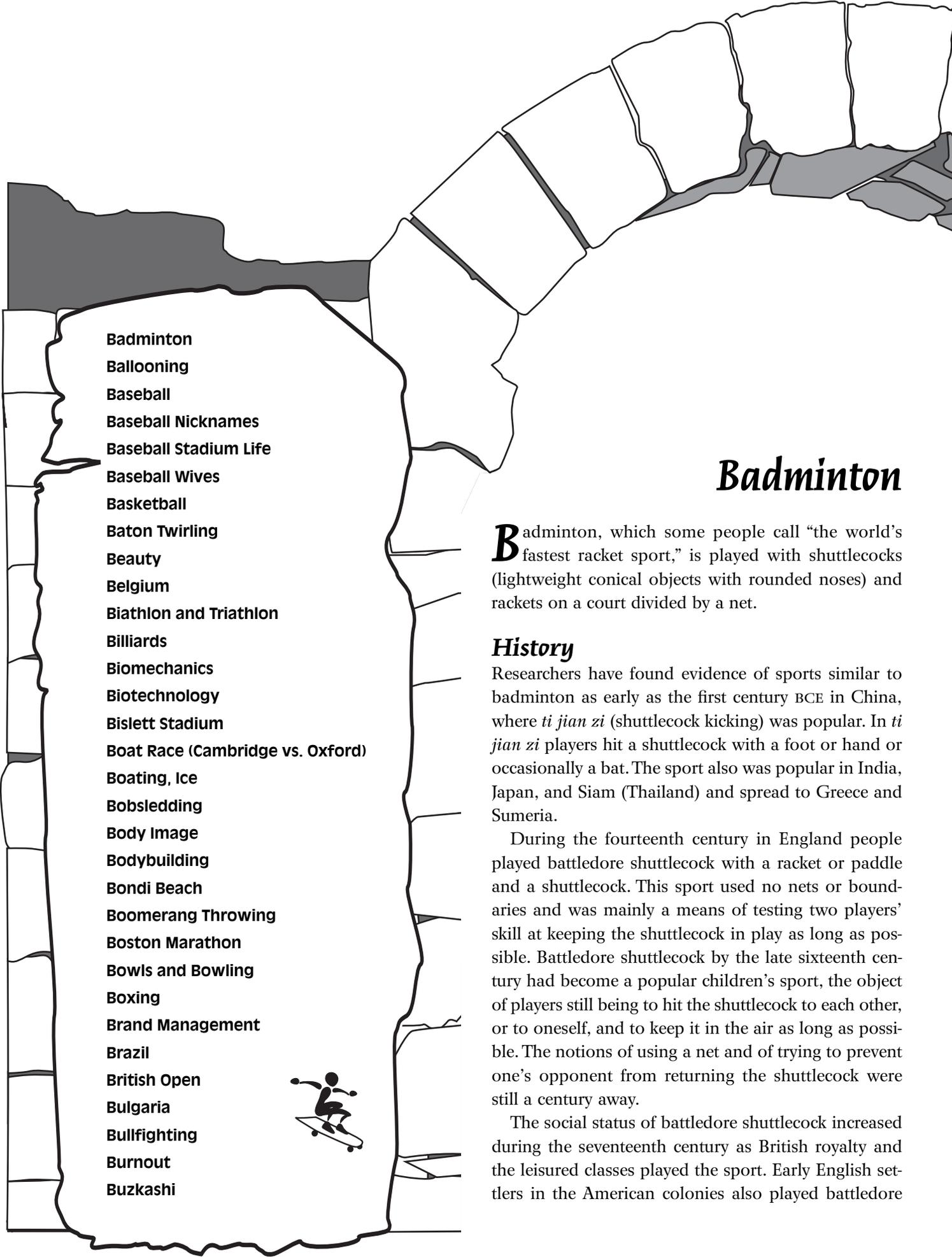
*David Levinson, Garry Chick,
Scott A. G. M. Crawford, Richard Pillsbury,
John Townes, and Suzanne Wise*

See also Indianapolis 500; Karting; Le Mans; Nextel (Winston) Cup



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Badminton
Ballooning
Baseball
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Wives
Basketball
Baton Twirling
Beauty
Belgium
Biathlon and Triathlon
Billiards
Biomechanics
Biotechnology
Bislett Stadium
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Boating, Ice
Bobsledding
Body Image
Bodybuilding
Bondi Beach
Boomerang Throwing
Boston Marathon
Bowls and Bowling
Boxing
Brand Management
Brazil
British Open
Bulgaria
Bullfighting
Burnout
Buzkashi



Badminton

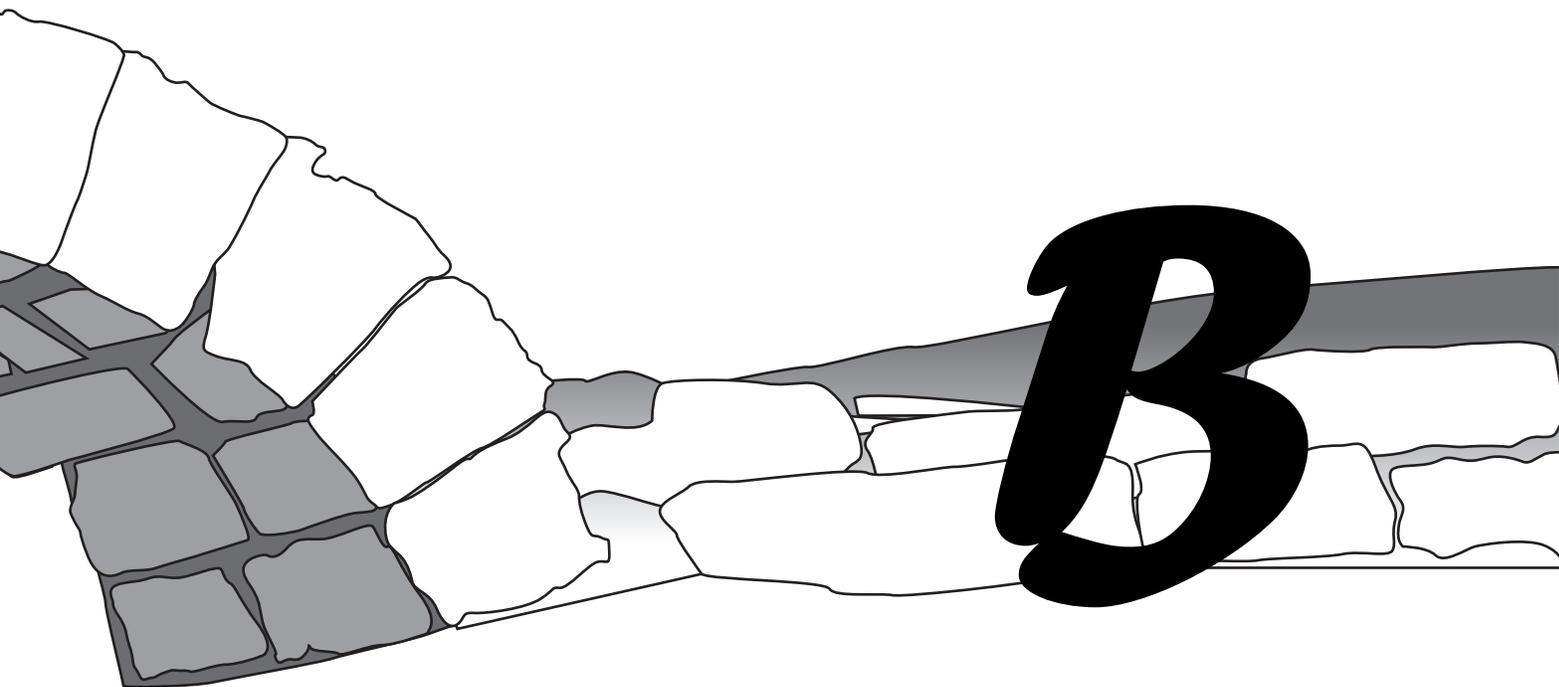
Badminton, which some people call “the world’s fastest racket sport,” is played with shuttlecocks (lightweight conical objects with rounded noses) and rackets on a court divided by a net.

History

Researchers have found evidence of sports similar to badminton as early as the first century BCE in China, where *ti jian zi* (shuttlecock kicking) was popular. In *ti jian zi* players hit a shuttlecock with a foot or hand or occasionally a bat. The sport also was popular in India, Japan, and Siam (Thailand) and spread to Greece and Sumeria.

During the fourteenth century in England people played battledore shuttlecock with a racket or paddle and a shuttlecock. This sport used no nets or boundaries and was mainly a means of testing two players’ skill at keeping the shuttlecock in play as long as possible. Battledore shuttlecock by the late sixteenth century had become a popular children’s sport, the object of players still being to hit the shuttlecock to each other, or to oneself, and to keep it in the air as long as possible. The notions of using a net and of trying to prevent one’s opponent from returning the shuttlecock were still a century away.

The social status of battledore shuttlecock increased during the seventeenth century as British royalty and the leisured classes played the sport. Early English settlers in the American colonies also played battledore



shuttlecock. During the 1800s the seventh duke of Beaufort and his family were keen players at his estate in Gloucester, called “Badminton House.” There the “new game” of badminton battledore, using a net and boundaries, evolved; thus, the term *badminton*. By 1867 English officers and their families in India were playing a formal version of badminton and had developed the first set of rules.

Evolution

Badminton evolved into a competitive indoor sport during the last three decades of the 1800s, and clubs were formed throughout the British Isles to promote competition. The first tournaments were held in England during the 1890s, and the first All-England Badminton Championships were held in 1899. Until the 1920s the major badminton titles were played for by the English, Scots, and Irish. Rules varied from place to place until about 1905, when the Badminton Association of England adopted uniform rules that are similar to the official rules of the International Badminton Federation (IBF), which players observe today.

During the 1920s badminton spread from England to northern Europe (it was especially popular in Scandinavia) and North America. It also spread from India throughout the rest of Asia.

The International Badminton Federation, which governs international competition, was formed in 1934 with nine member countries. More than 125 countries now belong to the IBF. After World War II several international competitions for teams and individual players were established, and by 1979 badminton had

become professional. A year-around international grand prix circuit attracts the top players to a touring career similar to that of other professional athletes.

The acceptance of badminton into the Olympic Games in 1985—and its debut at the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona, Spain—solidified badminton’s position as an international sport.

Rules of Play

Two features distinguish badminton from other racket sports, all of which use a ball: (1) the use of a shuttlecock and (2) the fact that the shuttlecock must not touch the ground. These features make badminton a fast sport that requires strong conditioning and quick reflexes. Indeed, top athletes can deliver smashes of more than 320 kilometers per hour.

Although badminton may be played indoors or outdoors, all officially sanctioned competitions around the world are played indoors. Competitive badminton is played in five events: men’s singles, men’s doubles, women’s singles, women’s doubles, and mixed doubles.

Keeping Score

A badminton game consists of fifteen points, except for women’s singles, in which a game is eleven points. The best of three games constitutes a match. Only the serving side can score points. A game does not need to be won by two points. If the score becomes tied near the end of a game, the game may be lengthened by a procedure called “setting.” For example, when the score becomes tied at thirteen in a fifteen-point game, the side that reached thirteen first has the option of setting

the game to five (a total of eighteen points), so that the side that scores five points first wins. The score may be set in the same manner at a fourteen-point tie for three points (a total of seventeen points). In women's singles the eleven-point game may total twelve points by setting at nine-all for three points or at ten-all for two points. Only the side that reached the tied score first has the option of setting the score; if the side elects not to set, the conventional number of points completes the game.

Changing Sides

The two sides change ends at the beginning of the second game and at the beginning of the third if a third game is necessary. In a fifteen-point game sides change ends in the third game when the leading side reaches eight points; in an eleven-point third game, sides change ends when either side reaches six. The side that wins a game serves first in the next game.

Strategies

In singles play the goal is to move the opponent primarily up and back on the court, using deception and forcing errors by the opponent. In doubles play a team's goal is to repeatedly hit the shuttlecock down to its opponents and force the opponents to hit defensive shots up in return. The offensive doubles formation is one player playing at the net and the other player smashing from the backcourt. The defensive doubles formation is both players playing back, each defending his or her side of the court.

In singles play a typical rally consists of a serve and repeated high, deep shots hit to the baseline (clears), interspersed with dropshots. If a short clear or other type of "set-up" is forced, a smash wins the point. More often than not, an error (in which the shuttlecock is hit out of bounds or into the net), rather than a positive winning play, ends a rally. A player who is patient and commits few or no outright errors often wins by simply waiting for the opponent to err.

Doubles play has fewer clears and more low serves, drives, and net play. Again, a smash often ends the point. As in singles, having patience and avoiding unforced errors are important in winning.

Basic Shots

Strokes and striking techniques vary greatly from relatively slow shots to quick and deceptive shots. Basic shots consist of underhand strokes (serve, underhand clear, underhand dropshot), overhead strokes (clear, dropshot, smash), a sidearm stroke (drive), and the hair-pin drop at the net.

Unlike a player serving in tennis, a player serving in badminton has only one attempt to put the shuttlecock into play. In doubles both players on a side have a turn at serving before the serve passes to the other side. A serve that hits the top of the net and goes into the correct service court is legal and in play.

In addition, the serve in badminton is a defensive shot: It must be underhand. The racket shaft must point downward at the point of contact, so that the entire racket head is below the server's hand and fingers.

Faults

Faults are violations of the rules in serving, receiving, or playing. If the receiving side faults, the serving side scores a point. If the serving side faults, no point is scored, and the serve passes to the next appropriate server.

Equipment

All major badminton competitions use the traditional feathered shuttlecock. It must weigh between 4.74 and 5.5 grams and have fourteen to sixteen feathers fixed in a cork base covered with a layer of leather or similar material. Shuttlecocks are humidified to prevent drying and becoming brittle. They are produced at different "speed" levels and weights to suit all playing environments. One shuttlecock usually lasts for only two games.

The badminton net is 1.524 meters high at the center of the court and 1.55 meters high at each end post. The badminton court measures 5.2 meters by 13.4 meters for singles play and 6.1 meters by 13.4 meters for doubles play. Badminton rackets were made of wood until the 1950s. Today's rackets are made of blends of boron, aluminum, carbon, and steel. They are light (around 98 grams) and can be strung tightly with natural gut or synthetic string. Dimensions cannot exceed

An early Chinese shuttlecock.

69 centimeters by 23 centimeters, and the head length cannot exceed 33 centimeters.

Competition at the Top

Major international competitions include the Olympic Games, the Thomas Cup and the Uber Cup, the World Badminton Championships, and the Sudirman Cup.

OLYMPICS

Although badminton was a demonstration sport at the Olympics in Munich, Germany, in 1972 and an exhibition sport at the Olympics in Seoul, South Korea, in 1988, its Olympic debut as a full-medal sport did not come until 1992 in Barcelona, Spain. Four events were played: men's singles, men's doubles, women's singles, and women's doubles. At the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia mixed doubles were added.

THOMAS CUP AND UBER CUP

The Thomas Cup is the men's world team championship, similar to the Davis Cup in tennis. The competition began in 1949 and was held every three years until 1984, after which it has been held every even year. The Uber Cup is the women's world team championship, held with the Thomas Cup. The event began in 1957.

In the competitions for the Thomas and Uber Cups, each tie between two countries consists of five matches—three singles and two doubles. Regional playoffs are held in several locations around the world, and the winners of these playoffs, along with the defending champion nations, gather in one location for the final rounds.

WORLD BADMINTON CHAMPIONSHIPS

The World Badminton Championships were begun in 1977 to provide individual championships to complement the previously described team competitions. The World Badminton Championships are held every odd-numbered year. Prior to 1977 the prestigious All-



England Badminton Championships were considered the unofficial individual world championships. The All-England Badminton Championships were founded in 1899 and are still staged annually. Since 1992 World Junior Badminton Championships have also been staged.

SUDIRMAN CUP

The Sudirman Cup, begun in 1989, is the world mixed team championship.

Held in conjunction with the World Badminton Championships in odd-numbered years, the Sudirman Cup provides competition between teams consisting of men and women. In this competition each tie between two countries consists of five matches—one men's singles, one women's singles, one men's doubles, one women's doubles, and one mixed doubles.

Today China is at the top in international badminton competition. Chinese players won four medals at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia; South Korea and Malaysia won four and two, respectively. At the 2004 Olympics in Athens, Greece, China won the most medals: three gold, one silver, and one bronze. Gold medalists in badminton were: men's singles, Taufik Hidayat of Indonesia; men's doubles, Tae Kwon Ha and Dong Moon Kim of North Korea; women's singles, Ning Zhang of China; women's doubles, Wei Yang and Jiewen Zhang of China; and mixed doubles, Jun Zhang and Ling Gao of China.

The International Badminton Federation's top world rankings in late 2004 were: men's singles, Dan Lin of China; women's singles, Ning Zhang of China; men's doubles, Jens Eriksen and Martin Lundgaard Hansen of Denmark; women's doubles, Wei Yang and Jiewen Zhang of China; and mixed doubles, Nathan Robertson and Gail Emms of England.

Popularity

In most countries of Southeast Asia and northern Europe badminton is a major sport and virtually the national sport in Indonesia and several other countries.

I hate all sports as rabidly as a person who likes sports hates common sense. ■ H. L. MENCKEN

England, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Germany lead Europe in their interest. The five nations with the most registered players, according to the IBF, are Denmark (180,977); Germany (142,253); Japan (115,682); China (110,550); and the Netherlands (94,815).

The International Badminton Federation lists the number of players registered with national badminton associations around the world at 1.4 million. The IBF estimates, however, that ten times that many people play badminton.

Kathleen M. Spence

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Ballooning

The sport of ballooning is a study in contrasts. The balloon simply drifts with the wind, but its pilot must understand the complex meteorological conditions that cause that wind. A balloon in flight floats literally lighter than air; but a typical four-person balloon rig can weigh as much as 363 kilograms. The speed of the wind determines the distance of a flight, but too much wind means that the pilot will probably elect not to fly at all.

To celebrate these contrasts, balloonists arise before dawn to prepare their craft. They may launch those craft from their own backyards or travel thousands of miles to participate in ballooning competition with others. They may cruise the treetops looking for leaves or soar aloft thousands of feet to find wind directions with which to steer to a competitive goal or suitable landing site.

Most balloonists enter the sport for the sheer beauty of flight, although some compete in championship events, fly paying passengers, or fly balloons as sky-high billboards.

Origins

Ballooning marked the beginning of human flight. The Montgolfier brothers of France are credited with inventing and developing lighter-than-air craft. Sons of a paper manufacturer near Annonay, Joseph (1740–1810) and Jacques Etienne (1745–1799) began building model balloons of paper laminated with taffeta. They believed that the lifting power came from smoke, based on their observations of cloth and paper floating up the chimney of their fireplace. Thus, they powered their early balloons with smoke from burning wet straw under a paper envelope. On 19 September 1783, the Montgolfiers launched a balloon carrying a sheep, a chicken, and a duck.

That same year J. A. C. Charles (1746–1823), working with Ainé and Cadet Robert, built an envelope of silk coated with varnish. They filled it with hydrogen, made by pouring sulfuric acid over iron filings.

On 21 November 1783, the first balloon to carry a person, built by the Montgolfiers, launched from Bois de Boulogne park in Paris. Pilatre de Rozier (1756–1785) and copilot Marquis d'Arlandes (1742–1809) became the first humans to fly. Their aircraft would later become known as a “hot air balloon.” Ten days later, on 1 December, Charles and Ainé Robert launched in a hydrogen-filled balloon from the Tuileries Gardens in Paris. Gas ballooning soon grew in popularity in Europe and the United States, with Jean Pierre François Blanchard (1153–1809) making the first balloon ascent in North America in 1793.

However, not until 1960 did hot air ballooning again capture the public imagination. On 10 October, Paul Edward Yost (b. 1919), an aeronautical engineer under contract to the U.S. Navy, launched a tiny aerostat (a lighter-than-air aircraft) from Bruning, Nebraska. Lift came from a small propane burner. Shortly thereafter Yost began building hot air balloons for sport flying. His contribution resulted in the explosive growth that ballooning has enjoyed since.

Practice

Hot air balloons and gas balloons operate on the same principle: Gas of a density lesser than the ambient air will lift until it attains equilibrium, with lift diminished by the weight of the container holding the gas. The lifting gas in a balloon may be air heated to make the air less dense than the ambient air, hydrogen, helium, cooking gas, or, in recent years, ammonia gas.

In a hot air balloon the pilot uses a propane burner to heat the air inside the envelope, making it less dense and providing lift. In a gas balloon the pilot releases ballast, usually water or sand, to allow the gas to lift the balloon rig. To descend, the hot air pilot allows the air in the envelope to cool or vents hot air out the top. The pilot of a gas balloon vents gas to descend.

Some balloon manufacturers in recent years have experimented with a hybrid balloon called a “Rozier,” named for Pilatre de Rozier. This balloon is a gas balloon sphere surrounded on the bottom half by a hot air balloon cone. The pilot uses a propane burner to heat the air inside the cone, which then warms helium, expanding it and increasing lift. Rozier balloons have proven useful for long-distance flights such as transoceanic and transglobal attempts.

Hot air ballooning is by far the most popular form of balloon flight. Hot air rigs cost less to purchase than gas balloons and are less complex. The propane used to fuel

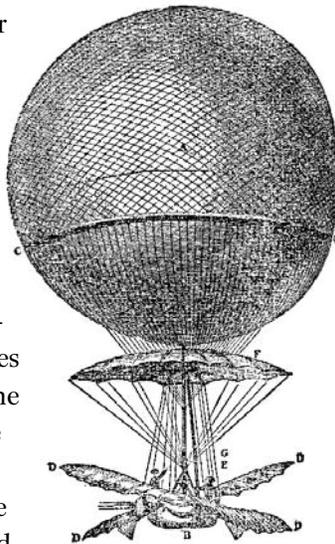
the burner costs a fraction of the price of gas needed to fill a gas balloon. In Europe most gas balloons use hydrogen, whereas in the United States most gas balloons use helium. A helium fill can cost more than \$3,500. Propane for a typical one-hour hot air balloon flight costs between \$10 and \$30. A gas balloon flight, however, lasts many hours or even days, whereas a hot air balloon flight usually lasts about an hour.

In flight a balloon joins an air mass and goes wherever that air mass goes. Thus, balloons are called “aerostats,” that is, they are static within the air. A pilot can vary the direction of flight somewhat by adjusting the altitude of the aircraft—air currents at different levels can differ by as much as 90 degrees of the compass, depending on prevailing weather conditions.

Flying with the wind, a balloon can rarely fly back to its launch site. For that reason a chase crew on the ground must follow the flight. After the balloon lands, the pilot and crew pack the equipment onto a trailer or truck for the trip back to the launch site. A hot air balloon flight may cover 40 kilometers or more, depending on wind speed at the altitudes chosen by the pilot. A gas balloon flight may cover much greater distances.

Hot air balloon rigs have three basic components. The envelope is the fabric “balloon” part that holds the hot air used for lift. The envelope is sewn together from panels of nylon or polyester cloth, which usually are coated with urethane or silicone to minimize porosity. The basket is the “cabin” that hangs from the envelope by aircraft cables connected to envelope cables. Most baskets are woven from wicker or rattan. The burner and fuel system are the “engine.” The burner is attached to a frame over the pilot’s head and is connected by fuel hoses to the fuel tanks stored in each corner of the basket.

Balloon pilots are trained in much the same manner as pilots of other aircraft: Instructors provide ground



Blanchard's Balloon.

and flight training that covers equipment operation, weather, aviation regulations of the pilot's home country, emergencies, and launch, flight, and landing procedures. A student must complete a predetermined number of flight hours and perform an ascension to a given altitude (1,067 meters for a private pilot in the United States) and solo flight. Then the student takes a written exam, an oral exam, and a flight test from a government-designated examiner.

Ideal ballooning weather consists of high pressure, light winds at the surface, and moderate winds at higher elevations. Although balloons can fly in rain, packing away a wet envelope causes mildew and premature degradation of the envelope fabric and coating.

Balloons normally fly within three hours of sunrise or sunset. At dawn and dusk the air near the ground is most stable and the winds most predictable. As the sun heats the Earth's surface, thermals and higher winds often develop and are not conducive to ballooning. Balloons rarely fly during the middle of the day. A pilot has no brakes to slow the balloon's forward motion; thus, light winds make the most comfortable landings.

Terrain

A balloonist must learn to take advantage of various aspects of terrain that affect a flight in addition to weather systems. Winds flow differently in the wide, flat expanses of plains than they do in wooded, mountainous areas. Yet, both terrains can be good areas for ballooning.

The Federation Aeronautique Internationale (FAI), headquartered in Paris, oversees the worldwide sport aviation community. The FAI governs all world aviation records and all international aviation competitions, including world championships. The FAI has separate committees for each air sport, including one for ballooning.

Each FAI member country governs its own air sports through its National Aero Club (NAC). Separate air sport federations exist within each NAC. Thus, each country with a ballooning community has its own ballooning federation. The two most active are the British Balloon and Airship Club (BBAC) and the Balloon Fed-

eration of America (BFA). The BFA is the largest group of balloonists in the world.

Balloonists compete to win local, regional, national, and world championship flying events or to set world records. The FAI organizes ballooning records into categories (gas, hot air, or Rozier) and sizes of balloons. Within these categories are records for altitude, distance, and duration.

Ruth P. Ludwig

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Baseball

Baseball most likely evolved from the British bat-and-ball games of cricket and rounders or perhaps from the more ancient English game of stool ball. Organized play of "base ball" began in the United States in 1845; in 1856 it was dubbed that country's "national pastime" (Ward and Burns 1994, 6), and by 1869, the amateur-only sport progressed into one including an openly professional component. Traveling teams spread the sport to locales around the world, with Latin American countries—including Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Puerto Rico—as well as Japan, Taiwan, and Australia being the most receptive.

History

Traditionally, it was believed that Abner Doubleday, who later became a Civil War Union major general, transformed casual bat-and-ball games into the modern-day sport of baseball; this legend suggests that he cre-

You teach me baseball and I'll teach you relativity . . . No we must not. You will learn about relativity faster than I learn baseball. ■ ALBERT EINSTEIN

ated its rules in Cooperstown, New York, in 1839, but no supporting historical evidence exists. Origins of the Doubleday myth trace back to Albert Spalding, an early scion of the sport and successful sporting goods entrepreneur, who publicized the story in 1907 to make baseball appear purely American (Spalding 1991).

As further proof that Doubleday did not “invent” baseball, a Pittsfield, Massachusetts, ordinance, dated 1791, referred to “base ball,” prohibiting its play within 80 yards of the town meetinghouse. Moreover, it is highly probable that Alexander Cartwright Jr. created the first written rules in 1845, compiling them for the New York Knickerbockers, a team that played gentlemanly matches in Hoboken, New Jersey. These rules resemble modern-day play and established the foul line, distinguishing baseball from other bat-and-ball sports; there are, however, noteworthy differences when comparing Cartwright’s rules with those of the modern-day game. Balls caught after one bounce constituted an “out” and, originally, the winning team was the first to score twenty-one runs. The pitcher threw underhanded, with the batter permitted to request a high or low pitch, and no strike zone existed. Furthermore, “New York ball” contrasted significantly with the rougher Massachusetts style of play; in those games, players were out after being “soaked”—or hit—by the ball.

ORGANIZING THE SPORT

By 1858 the National Association of Base Ball Players was codifying rules and charging a fifty-cent game admission; James Creighton served as the first star player. Enthusiasm for the sport was growing when the Civil War began; instead of slowing its progress, the war actually spread the game when it was played at battle encampments and prison grounds, extending baseball to southern states and other regions of the country.

In 1869, four years after the war’s end, the Cincinnati Red Stockings shed all pretense of amateur sport and openly began paying players. As the sport turned professional, though, there came the taint of gambling and purposefully lost games, and the National Association

of Base Ball Players could not control these undesirable elements. A new organization, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, formed in 1871, but it struggled with similar issues. To simultaneously solve this dilemma and further his own career goals, coal magnate William A. Hulbert lured the best players—against association policy—to form a new team; in a more drastic move, he also formed his own league in 1876: the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs (NL).

Although it may sound similar to previous organizations, it was radically different. In this league players were, for the first time, employees of team owners. Because of the “reserve clause” included in contracts, players lost their ability to choose where to play; this clause was formulated to prevent the frequent “revolving”—or team jumping—of players in search of a better deal, but it also drastically shifted the balance of power from the players to team owners. Ball clubs, for their part, were also now committed to playing all scheduled games, rather than choosing the most lucrative.

Attempts to challenge the National League’s monopoly on professional baseball ensued, most notably by the American Association, a league that played in uneasy tandem with the NL for ten seasons (1882–1891); less successful attempts included the Union Association (1884) and the Players League (1890), both of which focused on the needs and wants of the players, partly as an attempt to lure quality players to their organizations and partly because of genuine intentions to improve their circumstances.

It wasn’t until 1901, when Byron Bancroft Johnson renamed the Western League the American League (AL) and decided to pursue major league status, that changes were effected. Johnson saw the problems caused by alcohol and gambling in the NL and, spotting an opportunity for a rival major league that could be extremely profitable, he vowed to create and run a clean association. He directly challenged the NL by putting teams in some of the same cities, and for three years the NL struggled with accepting the equal status that the AL desired;

My motto was always to keep swinging. Whether I was in a slump or feeling badly or having trouble off the field, the only thing to do was keep swinging ■ HANK AARON

in 1903 a truce was called, solidifying the two-league system that exists today.

The last significant attempt at creating a third league occurred in 1914–1915 when the Federal League, which was created in 1913 but did not announce its major league aspirations until 1914, directly challenged the monopolistic nature of major league baseball in court. They ultimately failed, in large part because the judge, Kenesaw Mountain Landis, procrastinated in giving his ruling. Landis was a passionate fan, and he feared that ruling against the current structure would destroy the sport; and yet, as a judge who traditionally ruled against reigning monopolies, he could not in good conscience rule for the major league system. Therefore, he stalled and allowed the Federal League's increasingly difficult financial situation to cause the league's collapse.

While the National League and the American League were developing, other teams were also participating in amateur games and minor leagues, and the term *minor league* had a different connotation then. Now, minor league teams are farm teams for the major leagues, but in this era they were often high-quality teams playing in smaller towns; and they were, without exception, independent of the major league system. Moreover, mill-town teams and other teams in the southern states were highly competitive, and black teams were developing their own leagues. Teams were also forming in Latin America.

RACIAL ISSUES EMERGE

As early as 1911 baseball pundits were pointing out that premium players were being banned from the major league system because of the darkness of their skin. After a series of games between major league and Cuban ballplayers that year in which the Cubans often outplayed their opponents, Johnson, the AL president, banned future matchups. This ban led some reporters to point out that top-notch players were being “elbowed off the diamond” because of racial prejudice (Cottrell 2002, 8).

Blacks nevertheless played ball; the National Colored League appeared briefly in the mid-1840s, and black players participated in racially integrated teams or on all-black clubs. During the Civil War era, a significant number of black teams formed in northern states, but in 1867 the National Association of Base Ball Players banned any team containing “one or more colored persons,” presumably to avoid racial tensions (Cottrell 2002, 60).

In 1878 John “Bud” Fowler pitched for the International League, breaking the minor league color barrier. Many white teammates would not accept his presence, and he spent the next ten seasons playing second base for various minor league teams. In 1883 Fowler was playing in the Northwestern League; then the Toledo team in this league signed catcher Moses Fleetwood “Fleet” Walker, a black man who had played integrated baseball for Oberlin College. The following year, Walker's team merged with the American Association, a major league system, thereby making Walker—who was soon joined by his brother, Welday—the first black player on a major league ball club.

During the 1880s thirteen black players—including Fowler, the Walker brothers, Bob Higgins, Andy Jackson, William Renfro, Richard Johnson, George Stovey, Sol White, Frank Grant, and Jack Frye—participated on minor leagues teams populated by white players, with 1887 being their peak year. Moreover, there were successful all-black professional teams, most notably the Cuban Giants. Those players were, however, neither giants nor Cuban; the United States was currently on good terms with Cuba, so players felt that white spectators would be drawn to a team dubbed Cuban; the name “Giants” cued fans that players were black.

Although all-black teams were finding some successes, integrated play was not harmonious, with fans hollering death threats at black players. Moreover, some ballplayers intentionally made errors when a black teammate pitched, while others would refuse to pose for racially integrated team photos. The worst blow to integrated play occurred on July 14, 1887, when NL star



Baseball the national sport on par with the American flag and apple pie.

Source: istockphoto/LizV.

Williams, Josh Gibson, John “Buck” O’Neil, Oscar Charleston, “Bullet” Joe Rogan, and James “Cool Papa” Bell—played with skill and power equal to their major league counterparts. They never became as well known as Jackie Robinson, the player who broke the color line by joining the Brooklyn Dodgers—and who won the Rookie of the Year

Cap Anson demanded that George Stovey be banned from exhibition play, for racial reasons. The following day, the International League agreed to “approve no more contracts with colored men” (Dixon and Hannigan 1992, 51). Although Grant and Higgins continued to play through 1888, and Fleet Walker through 1889, by the mid-1890s, the only integrated play occurred during unofficial contests in the off-season (Jackie Robinson being the first player to break the color barrier of the National League in 1947).

From the 1840s until 1919, entrepreneurs struggled to form all-black leagues. They often lacked sufficient financial backing, so players’ wages were uncertain. The better-situated leagues did follow predetermined schedules, but teams also “barnstormed”—or traveled across a region—in search of quality local teams to challenge; game receipts were divided according to prearranged plans. In 1920 a more successful and stable league—the Negro National League—was created by outstanding pitcher, Andrew “Rube” Foster.

Foster’s league continued until 1930, and a second version ran from 1933 until 1948, the year after major league baseball finally became integrated. There was also a Negro American League from 1937 until some time in the 1950s; because of integration occurring in the major leagues, this league also folded.

During those years of “blackball,” Foster and many other nonwhite players—including “Smokey” Joe

Award—in 1947, or Larry Doby, who broke the American League color barrier later the same year by joining Bill Veeck’s Cleveland Indians team and who participated in All-Star games from 1949 to 1954. There was also Leroy “Satchel” Paige who, after pitching in the Negro leagues for twenty-two years, finished his illustrious career in the major league system, joining the Cleveland Indians in 1948 and pitching well into his fifties. Another well-known player who started in the Negro leagues but finished his career in the major leagues was catcher Roy Campanella, who also played for Branch Rickey’s Dodgers.

Development of the Sport

In the 1860s–1870s, when professional leagues were first organizing, rules were becoming more standardized; significant credit goes to journalist Henry Chadwick, who later developed the modern box score, and who created two important statistics: batting average and earned-run average. He also edited numerous baseball guides and served on rules committees.

When individuals began to invest their funds into teams in the 1870s, teams became more financially stable; prior to that time, teams used gate receipts to cover expenses and, if applicable, to pay their players. This was the beginning of many decades whereby players had little control over their careers, and team owners made nearly all decisions. During this decade players



Baseball

Henry Chadwick on New Pitching Rules

Henry Chadwick (1824–1908) holds a legendary place in early baseball for his dedication to setting out rules for the game as chairman of the National League Rules Committee. In an article for Outing, a sports magazine of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, he explains new rules for baseball pitching.

The changes made in the rules governing the delivery of the ball to the bat are decidedly of a radical nature in many respects. In the first place, the pitcher is now allowed to send in but five unfair balls to the bat before he is subjected to the penalty of giving the batsman a base on called balls. Last year he could deliver six such unfair balls. Moreover, the penalty for such unfair balls has been increased by adding the charge of a base hit against the pitcher for every base given on balls. Secondly, the penalty of giving a batsman a base is inflected every time the pitcher hits the batsman with a pitched ball, provided that the batsman has made all due effort to avoid being hit by the ball. Thirdly, whenever the pitcher makes a balk—as defined in the new code the batsman, as well as base runners occupying bases, is also given a base as a penalty for

the unfair delivery. . . This largely increased responsibility attached to the position, however, is offset by an important advantage which the new code grants to the pitcher, and this advantage lies in the throwing out of the code the clause in the rules which required the pitcher to send in balls to the bat “high” or “low,” as the batsman might choose to designate, thereby relieving the pitcher from the difficulty of delivering the class of balls known as “waist” balls, viz., balls just above or below the waist. Not only was it quite a task of the pitcher to measure high or low balls in his delivery, but it was one of the most difficult parts of the umpire’s duties to judge such balls accurately, and the apparent mistakes of judgment made in this respect were fruitful of disputes by players as to the soundness of the decisions rendered. Under the new code, therefore, the pitcher is now only required to send in balls between the designated height of the batsman’s knee and shoulder, all such balls being regarded as fair balls, provided that, at the same time, they pass over the home base. . .

focused more heavily on defensive strategies, backing up one another during plays; equipment such as the catcher’s mask and fielding gloves were also introduced. Schedules were still unpredictable and rules often changed. Stars of the era included Adrian “Cap” Anson, Albert Spalding, Charles Comiskey, and Michael “King” Kelly.

During the 1880s teams were first required to announce batting orders before the game started; this negated the strategy employed by some, which was to keep the opposing team wondering when a power hitter would appear at the plate. Meanwhile, owners continued to gain control over their teams and began to build their own stadiums. The first night game was played in Massachusetts on 2 September 1880, under dim electric lights.

Mitts and chest protectors were introduced for catch-

ers, along with a rubber home plate; previous home plates had been stone, iron, or wood, causing injuries. The sport was still rough, with players and owners arguing fiercely; to add to the difficulties, players often arrived obviously drunk, and brawls would often ensue.

The following decade saw quality play by William “Dummy” Hoy, “Wee” Willie Keeler, and Denton True “Cy” Young, but there was also much violence on the field, especially by John McGraw’s Baltimore Orioles. Players spiked one another and shoved, spat on, and punched umpires.

Catchers began signaling pitchers more frequently, letting them know which type of pitch to throw, and this led the Philadelphia team to create the first system to intercept an opponent’s signals. Two percent of minor league teams were no longer independent; they were now associated with a major league team.

*Slump? I ain't in no slump.
I just ain't hittin'. ■ YOGI BERRA*

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

At the turn of the century, attendance skyrocketed, in part because unruly behavior on the field was better controlled, in part because of publicity given the sport by newspaper syndicates, and in part because the stable two-league system allowed for an exciting postseason competition, the World Series. Significantly fewer runs were scored because foul balls were now strikes; this change, according to baseball historian Harold Seymour, “fortified pitchers further” (Seymour 1989, 123). Star pitchers included George “Rube” Waddell, Christy Mathewson, Walter Johnson, and Mordecai “Three Finger” Brown; they faced challenges from talented hitters such as Nap Lajoie and Honus Wagner.

1910-1929

During the 1910s, baseball was seriously disrupted when many players left to fight in World War I or to work in shipbuilding plants. Earlier in the decade, though, young players such as George Herman “Babe” Ruth, “Shoeless Joe” Jackson, Eddie Collins, “Smokey” Joe Wood, Tris Speaker, Ty Cobb, and Pete Alexander piqued the interest of fans. Owners were hiring coaches, who were starting to use relief pitchers and pinch runners.

The 1920s brought renewed interest to postwar baseball, with over nine million people attending games in 1920 alone. The spitball pitch had been banned and a better quality of baseball introduced, ending the “dead ball era” and ushering in the “lively ball.” Babe Ruth and Rogers Hornsby dominated the offense, with Ruth hitting a record sixty home runs in 1927, for a total of 467 from 1920 to 1929; Hornsby batted .424 in 1924, still the highest batting average, post-1900. Quality pitchers included Grover Cleveland Alexander, Red Faber, and Dazzy Vance. By this point, 50 percent of minor leagues were part of the major league system.

1930s and 1940s

During the 1930s night baseball games were scheduled, and Sunday games became more acceptable; ironically, attendance was down, due to the Great Depression. Of-

fensive stars included Lou Gehrig, Babe Ruth, and Joe DiMaggio, while Lefty Grove and Dizzy Dean excelled as pitchers. During this era pitchers were increasingly specializing as starters or relievers.

World War II affected major league baseball: Many players fought overseas, and as the quality of the ball itself declined due to a shortage of raw material. Major league teams culled new talent, offering high school students lucrative signing bonuses, and the farm system became firmly entrenched, with 80 percent of the minor league teams now part of the major league system. Stars included Bob Feller, Stan Musial—and Ted Williams, baseball’s most recent (and last) .400 hitter.

1950s and 1960s

During the 1950s attendance dropped. Rather than attend games in aging stadiums often located in declining urban neighborhoods, with poor public transportation systems and inadequate parking, fans watched an expanded schedule of games on television. Team franchises were switching locations, and fans in abandoned cities often resented the changes and did not support baseball; team owners began building new stadiums to replace obsolete ones and gain fans in their new locations, but team loyalty could not be rushed. Batting helmets became mandatory in the NL (1955) and in the AL (1956); games were longer, and fans were restless. New stars of the era included Mickey Mantle, Willie Mays, and Hank Aaron, the last of whom holds the record for the most career home runs (755).

Players were rediscovering speed as an offensive strategy, and in 1962 Maury Wills stole 104 bases. Roger Maris broke Babe Ruth’s home run record in 1961 with 61. It seemed likely that offensive performance would dominate the game, as it had in the 1920s. In 1963, though, the strike zone was increased, causing home runs to decrease by 10 percent and overall runs by 12 percent, and so the anticipated offensive explosion did not occur. What did happen was expansion. Each league increased from eight teams to twelve, which made domination by any one team more difficult. Outstanding pitchers included Warren Spahn, Sandy Koufax,

Bob Gibson, and Tom Seaver; Frank Robinson, Roberto Clemente, and Carl Yastrzemski also offered fans stellar performances to applaud.

1970s–1990s

A player's strike occurred in 1972, and a landmark court decision in 1975 revolutionized owner-player disputes. For nearly one hundred years, players had been bound to owners, by means of the reserve clause contained in their contracts. In 1975, though, a baseball arbitrator ruled in favor of two players, Andy Messersmith and Dave McNally, who challenged that interpretation—and the advent of “free agency” occurred. This gave players significantly more control over their careers.

In 1973 the American League approved the designated hitter rule, which permitted another player to bat in place of the pitcher, who was almost invariably the worst hitter in the lineup. This freed pitchers to focus on their pitching and allowed managers to add another powerful hitter to their batting order. The AL expanded to fourteen teams in 1977. Stars of the era included Nolan Ryan, Rod Carew, Reggie Jackson, Joe Morgan, Pete Rose, and Johnny Bench.

The free-agency ruling of the 1970s segued into a decade of contract arbitration; players could now earn salaries in the millions. Strikes occurred again in 1981 and 1985. By the 1990s players were moving from team to team in greater numbers, and contractual disputes increased. To encourage fan interest, baseball administrators approved interleague play. The National League expanded to fourteen teams in 1993, but a strike during the 1994–1995 seasons canceled a World Series for the first time in ninety-two years, and caused some of the most loyal fans to question the direction that professional baseball was heading.

LEAGUES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Current East Division AL teams include the Baltimore Orioles, Boston Red Sox, New York Yankees, Tampa Bay Devil Rays, and Toronto Blue Jays. In the Central Division, there are the Chicago White Sox, Cleveland Indians, Detroit Tigers, Kansas City Royals and

Minnesota Twins; the Anaheim Angels, Oakland Athletics, Seattle Mariners, and Texas Rangers make up the West Division.

East Division NL teams include the Atlanta Braves, Florida Marlins, Montreal Expos, New York Mets, and Philadelphia Phillies; in the Central Division, there are the Chicago Cubs, Cincinnati Reds, Houston Astros, Milwaukee Brewers, Pittsburgh Pirates, and St. Louis Cardinals. West Division teams are the Arizona Diamondbacks, Colorado Rockies, Los Angeles Dodgers, San Diego Padres, and San Francisco Giants.

Overall major league attendance totals approximately 70 million annually; this includes repeat attendees, of course, but it does not include attendance at minor league games or any other amateur or professional baseball leagues around the world. Early in the game's evolution, the majority of baseball's fans were men; today, people of both genders and all ages enjoy the sport, and team management promotes family friendly events and atmospheres.

SCANDAL IN THE NATIONAL PASTIME

Although baseball teams and players have been much revered by fans, the game has had its share of scandals. Most scandals have centered on gambling and/or game throwing in exchange for pay, with an early example occurring in 1865 when the New York Mutuals were accused of accepting money to deliberately lose games; something similar occurred with the Louisville Grays in 1877. Dead-ball era first baseman Hal Chase was especially noted for being involved in illicit schemes, and one of the greatest disgraces of baseball history—the Black Sox Scandal—emerged in 1920.

Eight White Sox players were accused of having collaborated with notorious gamblers to “fix” the 1919 World Series against the Cincinnati Reds and deliberately lose the Series in exchange for payoffs. This scandal served as the impetus to replace baseball's three-person ruling body, the National Commission, with a baseball commissioner. Owners chose Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the judge who had stalled on the Federal League rulings five years before. Landis's first significant



Fans watching the Red Sox play at Fenway Park, Boston.

act as commissioner was to ban permanently the accused players from professional baseball, although they had not been found guilty in the courtroom.

No scandal of magnitude occurred again until the banishment of Pete Rose in 1989. Rose, the career leader in hits, singles, at-bats, and games played, had retired from playing and was managing the Cincinnati Reds. He was reportedly deeply in debt and accused of betting on his own team—an act that became illegal after the Black Sox Scandal of 1920. Rose has requested reinstatement to professional baseball, not to participate in the sport again, but to gain Hall of Fame eligibility. All requests, to date, have been denied.

In 2004, a federal investigation uncovered evidence that a lab had been supplying certain well-known professional baseball players with banned performance-enhancing drugs; some players admitted to using these substances. This series of events has caused great debate in the baseball world and the media at large. These

drugs enhance muscle mass at a faster rate and allow fatigued muscles to recover more quickly, thus permitting the athlete to engage in a much more rigorous training regime. These substances are banned for two reasons: one, it is illegal to distribute and/or use them; and two, the side effects, especially after long-time use, may be significant. Moreover, these drugs are deliberately designed to avoid detection, opening players who use them to charges of cheating and deception. How the commissioner of baseball will ultimately address this issue and what the legal consequences may be to players who have been using these drugs are still open to question.

Nature of the Sport

Two teams alternate between playing offense (batting) and defense (fielding) for nine innings, with the home team batting last. If a batter reaches first base on a hit, that is a single; second base is a double; and third base a triple. Runners generally advance on the base paths



Baseball

Baseball in Finland

Although baseball is typically thought of as an American sport, a version was being played by the Saami (Lapp) people of northern Finland in the nineteenth century. The following are descriptions of the game provided by anthropologists.

... In the Inari winter village, in February 1820, the youths attending confirmation school handled the ball and bat with great skill in spite of the snow and cold. They marked two parallel lines in the snow about 15 or 20 fathoms apart. Two equal groups took up positions behind each line, while one boy remained halfway between the lines. One boy of each group was positioned on his line and had to serve the ball, while the others tried, by turns, to strike it towards the opposite line. At the same time one player of the same group had to run to the opposite line. The boy standing halfway between tried to catch the ball and hit the runner before he had reached the goal. If he succeeded, the “burned” runner took his place. The ball players had all been fishing by the Arctic Ocean and had probably learned the game on the coast, where it was common.

The Kolt-Lapps have the most highly developed ball-game, which they practice almost every day during certain periods (not, however, during Lent), in their winter villages as well as in summer in Koltaköngäs. The “one-hit”-game (*oy'tes-t sas'k'em-pál'l a*), which corresponds to the Finnish “cantor’s ball,” is less common. Usually each player has three hits (*kol'me s-t sas'k'em-pál'l a*). This game needs at least four participants. Before starting they cast lots: Some-

one spits on the bat and one group chooses the “wet” side, the other the dry one. Then the bat is thrown in the air and the group whose side falls upwards will begin the game as batters, the other group as “guardians.” The children cast lots in the following way: Two of them throw the bat to each other three times. From the point where one of their hands was the third time, they will remove their grip alternately upwards; the one whose hand grips the top will become batter, the other guardian. The other children proceed by turns in the same way, until each one has his place. In the beginning only the children play but later on they are joined by grown-ups, men and women. The game is very similar to the Finnish “king” or “castle-game.” Each player may hit three times and he is served by one of the opposite group. He may run immediately after a hit, or later. If one of the guardians catches the ball in the air or “burns” the runner with the ball, his group will get a turn to hit. In the course of the game there is a change: During the first round one ball has to be caught, during the second two, and during the third round three balls. The ball-games prove that at least the most highly developed types were adopted from neighbor peoples. The original names for the ball and the bat, as well as the verb *tuos'tuh* [meaning] “catch the ball” ([in] Finnish *tastia*), which appear in certain dialects indicate, however, that the Lapps already at an early period practiced their own primitive ball-games.

Source: Itkonen, T. I. (1948). *The Lapps in Finland up to 1945* (pp. 855–858). Porvoo, Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.

when teammates hit the ball, but they can also “steal”—or advance to the next base—when the pitcher is preparing to pitch. If the pitcher tosses four “balls”—nonstrikes—to a batter, that qualifies as a “walk,” and the runner automatically goes to first base; if a pitch hits the batter, he goes to first base. A run is scored whenever an offensive player successively and safely lands on first, second, and third base—and then home plate. If

a ball is hit directly over the outfield fence in fair territory, that is a home run; if it bounces and then goes over the fence, a ground-rule double. If someone reaches base after a defensive mistake, that is a fielding error. The team that scores the most runs, wins; a tie is resolved by playing extra innings until one team secures the lead. Baseball is the only game in which the defense controls the ball.

*I don't feel right unless I have a sport to play
or at least a way to work up a sweat.* ■ HANK AARON

Defensive positions are the pitcher; catcher; first, second, and third basemen; shortstop; and right, left, and center fielders. Their goal is to cause the offensive players to become “out” via three strikes—a “strikeout,” or by a tag, cleanly played ground ball, caught fly ball, or force out at the base. Once three outs are obtained, the two teams switch sides.

In amateur play, for youth or adults, rules may be modified. In some leagues, for example, steals are not permitted. In softball leagues, a game increasing in popularity, the ball is pitched underhanded. In leagues for the youngest players, pitching is sometimes eliminated entirely, and batters are permitted to hit the ball from a stand—or tee—for training purposes.

FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT

Baseball facilities have ranged from park space with no permanent seating to those with bleachers and dugouts. As the game developed and increased in stature, full-fledged stadiums were built—first wooden, then steel—complete with rest rooms, restaurants, and gift shops. Throughout most of baseball’s history, the game was played on grass or dirt; in 1965 artificial turf was introduced and used throughout many stadiums. Domed stadiums, which allow games to be played in inclement weather, have also surfaced in modern-day play. Basic equipment—bat, ball, gloves, and batting helmets—has remained constant for decades, although technological improvements have altered the appearance and quality of all items.

Opening Up the Game

Originally, the sport was a gentleman’s game, but rougher elements entered the equation when salaries were first paid. The *New York Times* called baseball players of that era “worthless, dissipated gladiators; not much above the professional pugilist in morality and respectability” (Ward and Burns 1994, 51). Many immigrants—most notably the Irish—dominated early teams; when the American League formed, Germans settling in the Midwest flooded the league. College baseball programs became more competitive around 1905;

when those graduates entered the major league system, well-educated men played beside the illiterate. In the 1930s, baseball “offered mill hands, plowboys, high school kids a better way of life. They rose on sandlots to big city diamonds,” according to the resident “mastermind” of the St. Louis Cardinals, Branch Rickey (James 2001, 146).

BREAKING THE COLOR BARRIER

By the 1950s the color barrier was broken, and 8 percent of major league players were black. Polish-American participation was at an all-time high, and Latin/Hispanic players were joining the major leagues in greater numbers. Latin/Hispanic players continue to play an expanding role, and college-educated players are in greater demand.

WOMEN AND THE GAME

Although nowhere near as extensively as men, women have played baseball almost since its inception. A collegiate female baseball team briefly existed as early as 1866 at Vassar College, but women’s teams did not survive for long. Novelty acts such as the “Blondes and Brunettes” lasted only a short time, while late nineteenth-century professional ball clubs with both men and women on their rosters—known as “Bloomer Girl” teams—challenged all-male teams, an activity often deemed improper. When, in 1904, five female students joined a men’s baseball game in progress at the University of Pennsylvania, campus administrators contacted the police to prevent any such games in the future.

In 1931 pitcher Jackie Mitchell was signed to a minor league contract, the first female to play professional ball since Lizzie Arlington’s brief foray in 1898. In 1934 Babe Didrikson—a star athlete who also excelled in track, basketball, and golf—pitched two scoreless innings for a Cleveland Indians minor league team.

The notion of women playing baseball became more acceptable in the World War II era, when “Rosie the Riveter” was leaving domesticity behind to support the war effort, doing factory work. In 1943 the owner of the Chicago Cubs, Philip Wrigley, proposed a professional

*In the great department store of life,
baseball is the toy department.* ■ UNKNOWN

women's league, intended to fill the void in case World War II caused a major league hiatus. Even though the hiatus didn't occur, the result was the All-American Girls Baseball League, which lasted until 1954. In 1974 young females began participating in Little League.

Female pioneers include pitcher Maud Nelson—who played, scouted, and managed in baseball from 1897 to 1935, and was called the “the greatest: the reliable starter and the keeper of the flame” (Gregorich 1993, 10)—and Alta Weiss, the “Girl Wonder,” who took the mound in Cleveland's major league stadium in 1907 to successfully pitch against a roster of semiprofessional male players. Many women currently umpire games; one of the earliest female umpires was Amanda Clement, who started professionally in about 1904.

Baseball Goes Global

Although baseball first gained strength in the United States, the game quickly spread to other locales, most notably Japan and countries in Latin America.

JAPAN

The sport of baseball was introduced in Japan as early as 1873; taught by teachers and professors, early Japanese baseball was seen primarily as a method to strengthen oneself, both physically and mentally, much like the philosophy undergirding martial arts. Because baseball was used as a teaching tool, amateur ball—in high schools and colleges—predominated. In 1915 Japanese educators formed the National High School Baseball Tournament; even today, Japan is at the forefront of amateur baseball.

In the early 1930s, Matsutaro Shoriki sponsored a tour during which major league players from the United States—including Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig—played against Japanese college all-stars. Inspired by the interest in this matchup, Shoriki formed the Great Japan Tokyo Baseball Club in 1934; this led to the formation of the Japan Pro-Baseball League in 1936. Seven teams were in the original league, with the Kyojin team most prominent. They won six titles from 1936 to 1944, along with two half-season titles; star players included

pitchers Eiji Sawamura, Victor Starfin and Hideo Fujimoto.

Teams were sponsored by newspapers that wanted to increase circulation or by train lines wishing to increase the number of people using their mode of transportation. During World War II, though, baseball was chaotic; teams were formed, merged and disbanded, and English names of teams were forbidden. In 1946, though, baseball resumed in a more orderly fashion with eight established teams; and English names began to be used again by all teams.

English nicknames of teams returned after the war; in 1950 seven teams were added, forming today's Nippon Professional Baseball League, consisting of the Central League and the Pacific League. The winner of each league—each of which currently has six teams—meets in the Japan Series to determine the year's overall champion.

In 1965, to counteract the imbalance of player talent on teams—with the Central League Giants being the most powerful—the player draft was introduced. Nevertheless, the Kyojin Giants remained a powerhouse; media has paid significant attention to its players, and even when Japan's baseball commissioner ruled against a contract the owners had signed, the Giants won the dispute after threatening to withdraw from the league. Interest was also strong in the Giants because of Sadahara Oh, who hit 868 home runs from 1958 to 1980.

The Pacific League, which has received less media attention, has tried to garner some of the spotlight by using a designated hitter, hiring flamboyant mascots, and designing neon uniforms. They also hosted an intraleague playoff from 1973 to 1982, whereby the first half leader challenged the leader of the second half of the season. The Pacific League's most popular team, the Lions, won eleven pennants and eight Japan Series titles from 1982 to 1994.

Baseball continues to be popular in Japan and is currently one of the country's favorite forms of athletics. In recent years some of the better players—including Hideo Nomo, Kazuhiro Sasaki, Ichiro Suzuki, and Hideki Matsui—have been choosing to enter the major

A night baseball game at the Pan American Games. Baseball is a major sport in Latin America.

league system in the United States. Nevertheless, Japan's quality performances in the Olympics and other international championships demonstrate that a significant number of quality players are still participating in Japan's leagues.

LATIN AMERICA

Known as "el beisbol," baseball is also an integral part of Latin American athletics; Cuba, in particular, gained early predominance as a baseball powerhouse, winning twenty-four world championships and two Olympic gold medals. Moreover, off-season matchups between Cuban players and major league players from the United States created exciting games to watch.

Sailors from the United States introduced baseball to Cubans in the 1860s. After that Cubans spread the game to other countries, most notably Mexico (1890), Puerto Rico (1890), Dominican Republic (1891) and Venezuela (1895). In 1900 a United States team of color barnstormed against Cuban teams; by 1904 there were Cuban teams in the Negro Leagues in the United States.

In 1908, during an off-season barnstorming challenge, Cuban Jose Mendez threw a one-hitter against the Cincinnati Reds; in 1909 Eusebio Pedroso tossed an eleven-inning no-hitter against the Detroit Tigers, who were without their strongest players, Ty Cobb and Sam Crawford. In 1910 Cobb and Crawford did play against Cuban ballplayers; although Cobb batted .369, three of his opponents had a better batting average that series, and Cobb—a renowned base stealer—stole no bases; he vowed not to play against nonwhite players again. When the New York Giants challenged the Cubans in 1911, each team won a few games, but then Mendez and Pedroso outpitched the great Christy Mathewson. This challenge to United States superiority led the American League president, Ban Johnson, to ban fu-



ture barnstorming matches between the United States and Cuba. Lighter skinned Cubans, such as Adolfo Luque, found their way into the major leagues; once the color ban was lifted in the United States in 1947, greater number of Cuban players began participating in major league ball.

Currently, in Cuba there are fourteen teams divided into two zones; each zone is further subdivided into two groups. At the end of a ninety-game season, there is a championship playoff. Players can only play for the team located in the area in which they live.

There is also a Caribbean World Series, with four countries or commonwealths—Puerto Rico, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico—currently participating in this event. The series, which was founded in 1949, is usually played in February; in the past Panama and Cuba have also participated.

Competition at the Top

In the United States pennant-winning teams from the American League and the National League compete in the World Series, a best-of-seven postseason series that determines the championship. The highest honor that a retired player or manager can receive is induction to the National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, located in Cooperstown, New York. In Japan, the Japan Series is comparable to the World Series in the United States.

Baseball first appeared as a full-medal Olympic sport in 1992, but it served as a demonstration sport as early

A well-run restaurant is like a winning baseball team. It makes the most of every crew member's talent and takes advantage of every split-second opportunity to speed up service. ■ DAVID OGILVY

as 1912. That year, a Swedish team challenged competitors from the United States track and field team in Stockholm. The U.S. team won, 13–3, but needed to borrow teammates from Sweden to fill its roster. A second game was played with American decathlon star Jim Thorpe playing right field. The Americans won, 6–3.

In 1936 the United States intended to play an exhibition game against Japan in Berlin, Germany. When Japan withdrew, the United States sent two teams. In 1952 *pesapallo*—a Finnish version of baseball—was played in Helsinki; in 1956 United States servicemen played against the Australians in Melbourne. It is believed that 114,000 spectators observed, possibly the largest baseball audience ever. The United States won, 11–5. In 1964 the Americans challenged the Japanese team in Tokyo; the United States won, 6–2.

OLYMPIC BASEBALL

In 1981 the sport of baseball was officially granted the status of a demonstration sport and several teams—the United States, Japan, South Korea, the Dominican Republic, Canada, Taiwan, Italy, and Nicaragua—competed in Los Angeles in 1984; because of a difficult political situation in the Soviet Union, Cuba boycotted the games. Japan won the event, beating the United States in the final game, 6–3.

In 1988 baseball was played in the Olympics in Seoul, South Korea; Cuba again boycotted the games. Teams included the United States, Japan, South Korea, Puerto Rico, Canada, Taiwan, the Netherlands, and Australia. The two finalists were again the United States and Japan; this time, the American team won, 5–3.

In 1992, in Barcelona, Spain, baseball was first played as a full medal sport. Cuba did compete in these Olympics and won the gold medal. Taiwan earned silver; and Japan, bronze. The United States ended up in fourth place.

Softball was added as an Olympic sport in 1996, when games were played in Atlanta, Georgia. In baseball Cuba again earned Olympic gold; Japan won the silver, and the United States notched bronze. In Sydney,

Australia in 2000, professional players were permitted to participate, but no major league players were on the United States team that won the gold. Cuba earned silver; South Korea, bronze.

In 2004, in Athens, Greece, Cuba regained its predominance in the Olympics; Australia won the silver medal and Japan earned the bronze, while the United States didn't make the final eight teams.

Governing Body

The primary governing body for baseball in the United States is Major League Baseball (MLB; www.mlb.com).

Kelly Boyer Sagert

See also Astrodome; Baseball Stadium Life; Baseball Wives; Fenway Park; Franchise Relocation; World Series; Wrigley Field; Yankee Stadium

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Baseball Nicknames

Nicknames are more common in childhood than later in life—except in sports. In no other sport are nicknames more pervasive than baseball. Who hasn't heard of "Slammin' Sammy" or the "Rocket" or the "Big Unit"?

A nickname often tells us something about a player. Nicknames such as "Penguin," "Pee Wee," "Stretch," "Red," "Whitey," "Bones," "Moose," "Baby Bull," and "Pudge" all reveal attributes of appearance or physique. Having hardly anything between his chin and his chest, Walt Williams was called "No Neck," and Ken Harrelson's prominent nose caused him to be called "Hawk." "Wee" Willie Keeler was just five-foot-four. Occasionally a nickname relates to personality, such as "Goofy," "Space Man," "Bulldog," "Daffy," and "Blue." Some nicknames are based on unusual mannerisms, such as the "Human Rain Delay" for former Cleveland first baseman Mike Hargrove because of his time-consuming batting rituals or the "Hat" for Harry Walker, who took his cap off between every pitch when batting.

Some nicknames, such as "Charlie Hustle," "Mr. October," "Hammerin' Hank," "Wizard," and "Sudden Sam," often stem from performance. Less often they stem from a player's weakness, such as the nickname "Wild Thing" for Phillies pitcher Mitch Williams, who sometimes couldn't find the strike zone; he walked the bases loaded and caused his team to lose the 1992 World Series.

Geographical origin is the source of other nicknames,

such as the "Georgia Peach," "Mex," and "Oil Can." "Wahoo" Sam Crawford, Wilmer "Vinegar Bend" Mizell, and "Hondo" Clint Hartung were all nicknamed after their hometowns. During the late 1960s and early 1970s a few players had their nicknames, instead of their surnames, stitched on the back of their jerseys. "Hawk" Harrelson was the first to do so, followed by Jim "Mudcat" Grant, Ralph "Roadrunner" Garr, and others. The trend declined around the time Atlanta Braves owner Ted Turner asked his newly acquired free-agent pitcher Andy Messersmith to have "channel" stitched above his jersey number 17, looking for some free advertising for his cable network with that same channel number.

Elaborate, multiword nicknames coined by sportswriters and broadcasters are known to fans but never used by the players themselves. Can you imagine the Boston Red Sox players calling teammate Ted Williams the "Splendid Splinter," or the Giants calling Willie Mays the "Say Hey Kid," or the Pirates calling Honus Wagner the "Flying Dutchman"?

Authentic or not, nicknames have been good for baseball. Fans feel closer to individuals when they can use a nickname, and such memorable monikers as the "Sultan of Swat" (Babe Ruth), the "Iron Horse" (Lou Gehrig), or the "Yankee Clipper" (Joe DiMaggio) probably increase a star player's potential of becoming a household name.

Time is required for a player to acquire a genuine nickname. When players are starting out in pro ball, most are called by simple diminutives of their surnames, such as "Ash" for Ashford, "Topper" for Topham, "Doo-bie" for DuBoise. Although these are not very original, they do imply an intimacy lacking with given names. A few rookies retain the nicknames they had while playing amateur baseball when those names are known to one or more of their new teammates.

What's in a Name?

"Acquiring a nickname is part of arriving," said Chicago Cubs infielder Mark Grudzielanek. "If you are worth

Words can be like baseball bats when used maliciously. ■ SIDNEY MADWED

giving a name to, it means your teammates think you're okay and that you're going to be around for a while." Players who are not well liked usually do not have nicknames, or such nicknames are seldom used. When former Mets pitcher Rick Reed was called up to the big leagues after having been a replacement player—a scab—during the 1995 strike, he was snubbed by his teammates. Two seasons later he knew that he had redeemed himself when his teammates began to use his nickname "Reeder."

However, nicknames may not always be positive. As Jack Fitzpatrick, a former minor leaguer and now psycho-historian, notes during a phone interview, "Nicknames can sometimes also be used to express derision or even hostility toward a player. Penguin may be cute, but it can be derisive too if teammates are making fun of the deformity that produces an odd appearance or strange way of walking and running."

Sociologist James Skipper found that baseball nicknames have been declining since the 1920s. Skipper measured the frequency of nicknames among major league players over the decades, using the *Baseball Encyclopedia* as his database (The encyclopedia includes all players who have appeared in the major leagues since 1871 along with their statistics and any nicknames known to the public.) From 1871 to 1979, when Skipper did his analysis, 25 percent of the 11,351 players listed had nicknames unrelated to their surnames. The actual figure is likely to be higher because nicknames used by teammates but not known to the public were not recorded. More telling, Skipper found that nicknames declined most sharply after 1950 (the 1950s had a 50 percent drop). He attributed this drop to the more impersonal manner in which major league players were perceived by the public and a diminished belief in folk heroes generally.

Skipper also believed that the first franchise relocations in more than fifty years (i.e., Boston Braves moving to Milwaukee in 1953, St. Louis Browns to Baltimore in 1954, the Philadelphia Athletics to Kansas City in 1955, and the Giants and Dodgers to the West Coast in 1958), which were all done for strictly mone-

tary reasons, shattered the fans' illusion that teams have an enduring loyalty to their cities. It also contributed to the fans' growing realization, said Skipper, that baseball is foremost a business. Nicknames continued to decline during the 1960s but took their sharpest nosedive during the 1970s, the decade of the first players' strike, the beginning of arbitration, free agency, and multimillion-dollar salaries. In short, fans have become less inclined to use nicknames as their image of ballplayers has changed from larger-than-life heroes to money-hungry entrepreneurs—a change that implies being impersonal and putting self before team. The more detached style of today's sportswriters has probably meant fewer names being coined in the press box or in the sport pages.

The Future

Team nicknames also are less popular today. During the 1920s St. Louis fans often called their Cardinals the "Gashouse Gang," the 1940s Dodgers were affectionately known as "Bums," the 1950 pennant-winning Phillies were the "Whiz Kids," the 1970s Reds were the "Big Red Machine," and the Oakland As of the same period were the "Mustache Gang," to name a few. Today we have only the "Bronx Bombers," which is a carryover from the 1920s.

We cannot say whether real nicknames are gone forever. Some aspects of the game have moved in cycles, and in recent years we have seen the return of belts and button-down uniforms and old-style ballparks with character. Perhaps we will see the return of nicknames, too.

George Gmelch

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Baseball Stadium Life

Baseball stadiums or “ballparks” are magical places for players and fans alike. They have an aesthetic all their own—the sweep of the grandstands, the rainbow of color in the different seating sections, and the emerald green field crisply outlined in chalk. Baseball fans have a closer attachment to their ballparks than fans in any other sport. Fans speak with reverence about Fenway Park, Yankee Stadium, and Wrigley Field, and with admiration of a different sort for new ballparks such as Safeco Field and Camden Yards. Phillip Lowry called his book on ballparks *Green Cathedrals* because the more he studied ballparks, the more he thought they resembled mosques, synagogues, churches, and similar places of worship. Many Americans, Lowry states, have a “spiritual reverence for ballparks, because they hold treasured memories and serve as a sanctuary for the spirit” (Lowry 1992, 52). In no other sport do fans plan vacations around visiting ballparks. Certainly, we never hear of football fans making pilgrimages to all the NFL stadiums or basketball fans bragging about all the NBA arenas they’ve been to (Wright and House 1989).

The First Ballparks

The earliest ballparks were built in the 1850s; they were multipurpose, often used for cricket as well as baseball. They were open, without fences. Efforts to enclose them, known as “the enclosure movement,” were done so that owners could more easily charge admission and bring order by preventing fans, who sometimes encroached on the field, from simply sitting wherever they pleased. The earliest parks accommodated just a few thousand fans on wooden benches, close to the action.

Squeezed into long city blocks, most parks were rectangular in shape, often resulting in a short right field that favored left-handed hitters. Constructed of wood, the parks were often in need of repair, and sometimes burned to the ground. Cincinnati’s Redland Park collapsed in 1892, killing a spectator.

The first concrete and steel park, Shibe Park in Philadelphia, wasn’t built until 1909, and the first triple-decked ballpark, Yankee Stadium, didn’t appear until 1923 (it seated 57,545). It was thirty years later before the first major league park had lights—County Stadium in Milwaukee in 1953. In the 1960s baseball began leaving the inner city, and the old ballparks were replaced with new, concrete multisport ovals, some of which had artificial turf. Their design and uniform dimensions made them impersonal and soulless, with no suggestion of history, tradition, or sense of place. So similar to one another, they were called “cookie cutter” stadiums, and they blighted baseball’s landscape for over two decades. During the 1990s most of them were pulled down and replaced with new ballparks with a retro feel. Oriole Park at Camden Yards began the trend and so far has spawned the construction of ten other postmodern ballparks with frills and loads of character. Domed or indoor stadiums are also out of fashion, as is the artificial turf that has proved hard on players, shortening their careers. At its peak, ten teams played on artificial turf; in 2004 only three are left. Some of the newest stadiums (e.g., in Seattle, Houston, Milwaukee, Arizona) have retractable roofs, eliminating rainouts, allowing real grass to grow, and giving fans the comfort of a controlled climate.

Ballpark Spectators

The crowds at nineteenth-century ballparks were small compared with those of today. During the 1871–1875 National Association seasons, for example, teams averaged less than 3,000 spectators per game. The Boston Red Stockings drew only 1,750 per game in 1875 when they finished first.

Attendance fluctuated, depending on the health of the economy and pennant races, in the early years of the twentieth century. But ballpark attendance boomed after the end of the World War I and on through the 1920s as prosperity returned to the country and the home run became common with the arrival of larger-than-life Babe Ruth, and a “livelier” baseball. Attendance then declined during the Great Depression and



During the seventh inning stretch, a crew rakes out the infield.

didn't recover until after World War II. At bottom, in 1934 the National League averaged just 5,200 fans per game, while in the first year after the war attendance averaged 15,000 per game. Crowds grew larger in the 1950s, slipped in the 1960s when the major leagues expanded, and grew again after 1975. Some experts say the exciting 1975 World Series between the Boston Red Sox and the Cincinnati Reds reignited interest. Crowds increased steadily from 1975 until 1991 when labor strife between the club owners and the players union alienated many fans. When a strike ended the 1994 season in August, many unhappy fans turned to minor league baseball, sparking a renaissance and record attendance all across the country. After the 1994 strike, which also led to canceling the World Series, attendance declined by 29 percent. Major league baseball won back some but not all of its disaffected fans after

a thrilling home run race in 1998 between the Cardinals Mark McGwire and the Cubs Sammy Sosa.

The Field

One way to understand stadium life is to think in terms of a "front stage" (the field where the game is played and the stands where the spectators watch from) and a "backstage" (where the preparations and business takes place, such as clubhouse, equipment rooms, press box, and front office).

On the field are the players, along with a supporting cast of coaches, managers, trainers, batboys, ball girls, mascots, groundskeepers, and the umpires, the arbiters of the game. For all of them, the playing field is their work place—the stage on which they perform their jobs. Their roles are easily identified by dress—the white baseball uniform of the home team players and

It ain't over till it's over. ■ YOGI BERRA

coaches, the nonwhite (usually with some element of gray) uniform of the visitors, the black or dark blue blazers and pants worn by the umpires, and the usually khaki, forest green, or brown trousers and white shirts of the groundskeepers.

For spectators, the field is the focal point of the ballpark. Their gaze is usually fixed on the field even as they talk, drink, and eat. The field's expanse of emerald green turf and the dirt insets of the batter's box, pitcher's mound, and infield, all outlined in white chalk, is the aesthetic center of the ballpark. Whoever walks on the field, even during pregame activities, is noticed. Even batboys and ball girls may become fan favorites.

The field is protected, separated from the grandstands and spectators by a wall or railing. It is secured by ushers and security guards who defend the "boundary," maintaining order and preventing trespass onto the field. For the groundskeepers, the field is the showcase of their skills, a visible indicator of how well they do their work. The condition of the field—turf and dirt—is of vital importance to the players, as it can influence their performance. Infield dirt that is too sandy or damp will slow a base runner, an uneven surface in the infield can cause a bad hop, grass that is only slightly longer than usual will slow down ground balls and potential base hits going through the infield.

In baseball, unlike basketball, football, and hockey, there are several hours of activity on the field before the game begins, and much of it is enjoyable for fans to watch. By 4:00 P.M. (for a 7:00 P.M. game), players are in the outfield loosening up—running and then stretching, which is led by the team's trainer. Next, they play catch—slow toss from close range, gradually lengthening the distance. But batting practice, better known as "BP," is the centerpiece of pregame activities. Players hit in groups of four. Waiting their turn, other players banter and tease. Fans enjoy the scene—the pitch, swing, crack of the wooden bat, and the flight of the ball to the outfield. Those that land in the seats trigger a scramble among fans for a souvenir. In the outfield, pitchers run and others "shag" fly balls.

Hidden from view is the clubhouse, the area where

the teams and the umpires, who are in separate quarters, dress, eat, relax, and mentally prepare for the game. Clubhouses in the major leagues are spacious and well appointed, with carpeting, sofas, televisions, and oversized lockers. Food is plentiful, spread on large tables. Near or attached to the locker room is the training room and video room where players view their own performances and that of the pitcher they are about to face. Finally, there are batting cages with pitching machines. The clubhouse is a sanctuary, a place where the players are sheltered from autograph requests and the other demands an adoring public makes on them.

The Stands

Activity in the stands starts long before the sun comes up. Cleaners armed with backpack leaf blowers move through each row, blowing trash from the night before into the aisles and then bagging it to be taken away. Every seat is wiped down, the concourse is scoured with pressure hoses, and the toilets are scrubbed and sanitized.

Once cleaned, the cavernous stands sit silent, except for an occasional worker eating lunch or jogging on the concourse. The stands slowly come alive again after the gates open up two hours before game time. The players are already on the field taking batting practice as the first fans trickle in. Despite the rock 'n' roll music blaring from the sound system, the crack of the bat from the batting cage can be heard everywhere in the stadium. "Pregame" is a time when fans are allowed to move close to the field and get a good view of the players. Some seek autographs from the players, "Hey, Nomar . . . over here, over here." Part of the job of being a big leaguer is dealing with an admiring public, such as the fans who want a close look and an autograph to take away—a memento or proof of their brief encounter with "fame."

As the stands fill up, the bold, uniform bands of brightly colored seats disappear beneath the throng of spectators in multicolored dress. The stands are the workplace of ushers, security personnel, food vendors, and mascots. Known as "game-day staff," they only

*A hot dog at the ballpark is better than
steak at the Ritz.* ■ HUMPHREY BOGART

work when the team is playing at home. Ushers and security maintain order among the spectators, whether it be helping people find their seats or keeping drunks off the field. City police are also present to deter would-be lawbreakers and to make arrests when necessary (most stadiums even have a holding pen where serious offenders can be detained). Vendors, with their rhythmic refrains, like “Ice-cold beer here,” and their quick pace provide ambience and the convenience of a hot dog, beer, peanuts, Cracker Jack, cotton candy, or ice cream without leaving your seat. Mascots, who mock everyone from umpires to fans, entertain.

Stand workers, like field personnel, are uniformed to make their roles clear to the public. Ushers and security personnel are attired in blazers and matching slacks, while vendors usually wear vests and caps and a large button announcing their product and its price. Most mascots wear oversized animal costumes with exaggerated features—gigantic heads, bulging midsections, big feet. To broaden ballpark appeal to younger fans, most teams have had mascots since the 1970s–1980s. Some of the best known are the (former) San Diego Chicken, the Cardinals’ Fred Bird, the Pirate Parrot, the Mariner Moose, and especially the Phillie Phanatic. (Early in the twentieth century, it was not uncommon for teams to use dwarves, hunchbacks, or mentally challenged adults as mascots.) Mascots are the only ballpark personnel to work both in the stands and on the field.

The stands in major league stadiums sit on multiple decks of concrete and are divided into bleachers, grandstands, loge, and box seats, with the price of the seats in each section determined by its proximity to the field and view of the action. While most fans sit in the open air, an affluent few, often corporate executives and their clients and friends, sit in air-conditioned skyboxes, furnished with couches, wet bars, and television. Beneath and behind the stands are the wide concourses where one can find souvenir shops, fast-food outlets, and toilets. Television sets hang from the concourse walls and in the concession areas to insure that no one misses any of the action while buying a team cap, T-shirt, pennant, miniature bat, or a hot dog and drink.

The stands in minor league ballparks, of course, are smaller; rarely do they have an upper deck. In place of seats that wrap entirely around the field, as in major league parks, along the foul lines they have picnic areas for groups and play areas for children. With virtually every seat close to the action, minor league parks have an intimacy not often found in the big leagues.

But the stands, whether in the majors or minors, are always more than a collection of seats. There is activity in the stands that contributes to a fan’s experience and enjoyment of being at a ballpark—the eccentricities of individual vendors hawking their products; video replays, jingles, and games played on the scoreboard (Diamondvision or Jumbotron); and in the minor leagues, between-inning competitions involving children. Fans sometimes create their own diversions such as the *wave*—in which thousands of spectators join together in rising to their feet in sequence to produce a human ripple across the stadium. Also, fans may bat beach balls around the stands, directing them from one section of seats to another. Throughout the game, fans follow developments elsewhere in the major leagues on the scoreboard, noting how division rivals are faring.

Fans enjoy being part of the crowd, looking at the people around them, overhearing conversations in front and behind, and watching the antics of a boisterous fan razzing the opposing team or a disliked player. They watch foul balls hit into the stands, following their trajectory, waiting to see what happens—who catches it, the occasional scramble for a muffed or loose ball, the reaction of the person who gets possession of the ball, especially the elation of kids who snag one.

The changing light is also part of the ballpark experience: the typical three-hour “night” game begins when the sun is still up, progresses through sundown and the gathering dusk in which the visibility temporarily worsens, and then into real darkness when the powerful stadium lights take full effect.

Sound is an important element of the ballpark experience. Some of the sounds are programmed, such as the announcements over the public-address system, the organ music between innings, and the special effects



A view from outside Boston's historic Fenway Park reveals an architectural design intended to entice onlookers. The narrow passageway visible in the center of the image leads the eye past the food and clothing vendors and up to the large scoreboard.

The term *press box* is a holdover from the days before radio and television when newspapers were the only medium covering professional baseball. Today, television and radio broadcasters, public-

address announcers, scoreboard operators, and others work there as well as print journalists. As radio, and later television, began to cover baseball, the press box expanded in size and then became internally divided into separate areas or rooms. Those who perform live and require a quiet environment, notably radio and TV broadcasters and the PA announcer, work in booths. The booth with the best location from which to observe the game—directly in line with the batter and pitcher—is usually given to television broadcasters.

sounds, such as glass shattering after a foul ball is hit into the parking lot. In one of the venerable rituals of the game, all spectators stand to stretch in the seventh inning and often sing a chorus or two of “Take Me Out to the Ball Game,” the most popular song ever associated with a particular sport. In the post–September 11 era, “God Bless America” has been added to the seventh-inning break. Other sound comes from the crowd itself, the din of a thousand conversations periodically interrupted by cheers for good plays by the home team and groans of disappointment for setbacks. Ballparks have gotten noisier as fans have taken up inflatable “Thunder Sticks” to root for their home team. Probably the favorite sound of all still is the crack of the wooden bat striking the baseball. There are Americans who can’t bear to sit through an inning of televised baseball but relish spending hours in the bleachers or grandstands.

The Press Box

Anyone who has been to an older minor league ballpark has noticed the elongated, shoe-box-shaped wooden structure above the stadium roof or suspended from it. This is the press box. In the multitiered major league stadiums, the press box is usually located in the loge level between the first and second deck. But in all ballparks, the press box is always behind and above home plate to give the press the best possible view.

The number of people in the press box can vary from a dozen in the low minors to upwards of seventy in the major leagues. In the small, single newspaper towns of the Class A leagues, there is often only one writer and one radio broadcaster there to cover the game. In the major leagues, there can be several dozen beat writers alone covering the game for different city and suburban papers, writers from the wire services and national papers like *USA Today*, as well as correspondents and freelancers for a variety of other publications, such as *Baseball America*, the *Sporting News*, and *Baseball Digest*. The front row seats, with the best view of the field, are reserved for the regulars. Their nameplates—the New York Times, the Daily News, and so on—are fixed to the countertop. At one end of the front row are the home team’s media relations staff. Open seating in the back rows is taken up by writers from the suburban

Ability is the art of getting credit for all the home runs somebody else hits. ■ CASEY STENGEL

papers and other irregulars. Major league baseball is televised, so in addition to the radio and print people, there is also a TV crew, with a play-by-play announcer and a color commentator doing the game live, often with pregame and postgame shows.

There is always a table full of handouts of statistics on the home and visiting teams and players available in the press box. These “media notes,” which often run to five pages of small type, are compiled by the home team’s media relations staff for distribution to writers and broadcasters. They contain every imaginable statistic and trend, plus odd bits of information and reports from the club’s minor league teams. The press box is governed by the home team’s director of media relations. The director and media relations staff determine who shall be issued a pass or “credential,” for access to the press box, field, and clubhouse.

The media people who work in the press box can be divided into those who cover the game live (TV and radio broadcasters) and those who don’t (the print journalists): instantaneous electronic media versus print journalism. For writers the press box is a pretty relaxed work environment. They need only to observe and make occasional notes when something significant happens in the game, and should they be gone for a few minutes in the bathroom or getting a hot dog when a key play is made, they can watch the replay on the television monitors that are suspended from the ceiling in major league press boxes. The work of writing an account of the game for the next day’s newspaper readers is mostly done after the game is over. Broadcasters, on the other hand, report the play as it happens. There is no room for mistakes; mangled syntax, mispronunciations, or stupid observations cannot be retrieved, unlike those of the writer who can always delete an awkward passage from the computer screen. Broadcasters must concentrate, not unlike the players on the field; in fact some broadcasters talk about getting mentally prepared for the game and “putting on their game face.”

In the press box, one can often distinguish the writers from the broadcasters by their dress. In television,

appearances are important; the field cameras sometimes scan the broadcast booth and broadcasters often do on-air pregame and postgame interviews. Therefore, broadcasters are usually well dressed and well groomed. Radio announcers are somewhat less concerned with appearance, but they still are generally neater than most writers. Writers, more inclined to see themselves as having intellectual qualities, tend to be less conservative, and less careful about dress and appearance.

Front Office

The term *front office* first appeared around the turn of the century when it was used by the New York City underworld to refer to police headquarters. Today, it is a synonym for the main office of any company; however, many people also use it when talking specifically about the business operations of professional sports teams. In baseball the front office is almost always housed in the ballpark itself, although in the low minors the lack of space may result in the front office spilling over into an outside trailer or two.

As one ascends from the low minors to the big leagues, the number of front-office employees rises markedly. Major league teams in big media markets (e.g., New York, Los Angeles) have staffs of over one hundred full-time, year-round employees, while their affiliates in the small towns of the low minors may have fewer than a half dozen.

In the minor leagues, members of the front office staff routinely have contact with the team’s fans. Some team owners and general managers even greet arriving fans at the gate. The location of minor league front offices reflect this greater accessibility to the public, as most are at ground level and open onto the park’s main concourse. Major league offices, in contrast, are high above the field, on the mezzanine level, near the press area and skyboxes, their entrances guarded by security so that only those with credentials may pass. Major league front-office staff rarely venture into the stands to mingle with fans.

In sum, ballparks are complex and varied places—sites of work, entertainment, and even tourism.

George Gmelch and Patricia San Antonio

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Baseball Wives

Not surprisingly, most of what is written about baseball is about the men who play the game, with little attention given to life at home or to their wives and families. The baseball fan's image of players' wives—based on televised glimpses of them in the stands—is that they are pretty, wear stylish clothes, and lead a life of privilege. The reality is far different, as the demands of their husbands' occupation have a large impact on their lives.

A Transient Life

Mobility is the feature of pro ball that exerts the greatest influence on the wives and families of ballplayers. In the minor leagues the men play in a different town al-

most every season. If they make it to the major leagues, trades and free agency make them almost as transient there. Because ballplayers rarely play in their hometowns, their wives and children must move every year, not once but several times. In March many wives follow their husbands to Florida or Arizona for spring training; six weeks later, when spring camp breaks, they relocate to the city where their husband's team plays; finally when the season ends in September, they return to their hometown. If their husbands play "winter ball," they may move yet again, usually to the Caribbean or Latin America. Every trade, promotion, or demotion during the season means an additional move. One baseball wife who moved twenty-three times during her husband's ten-year career said, "We could probably stop in any state in the country and know someone from baseball" (Gmelch and San Antonio 2001, 338).

When a husband is traded or moved within the organization, he gets a plane ticket and a ride to the airport; his wife is left with the burden of moving—disconnecting the utilities, closing the bank account, removing the kids from school or camp, and then reestablishing the household in a new locality. It is she who packs the household possessions, loads the U-Haul, and transports the kids to the new town. Some wives enjoy being nomads, especially in the early years before they have children. As one wife put it, "You do get to see a lot of the world. . . . There are only a few states we haven't been in or lived in, and a lot of people can't even say that at the age of fifty or sixty" (Gmelch and San Antonio 2001, 339). But the appeal wears off pretty quickly for most wives, and the frequent changes of place cause many baseball families to postpone buying homes.

Baseball Wife or Baseball Widow?

Because every team plays half of its games on the road, husbands are away a good deal during the season. Inevitably, baseball wives spend a great deal of time alone; from April through September, they are without husbands about half the time. Some women jokingly refer



to themselves not as baseball wives but as baseball widows. Young wives, who may be only a few years out of high school, are not just lonely, they feel vulnerable and insecure being on their own. Fran Kalafatis watched her husband and teammates pull away on the team bus for a road trip as a hurricane approached, leaving her and the children in the parking lot to deal with the approaching storm. As the bus pulled away, the players yelled out warnings and instructions to their wives.

Even when the team is at home, husbands are not around the house much. Ballplayers may spend late mornings at home, but they typically leave for the ballpark by early afternoon, and by the time the game has ended and they have showered and changed, it is after eleven o'clock before they leave. Even then, many players like to go out to eat and unwind before going home. In short, a player's schedule does not mesh well with the needs of a family. Children are in school when he is home in the mornings, and they are asleep by the time he arrives home at night. The children's school summer vacations fall in the middle of the season, when their father is most occupied. Nor do the men have weekends free like most other workers. What little time off ballplayers do have (about two days per month) never falls on a weekend. Even when they are home, the physical grind of the baseball schedule can leave husbands with little energy for family life.

The husband's absence means the baseball wife cares for the children by herself—supervising homework, preparing meals, setting standards, enforcing discipline—acting as both a father and mother for much of the baseball year. With husbands away so much, and the operation of the household and its decisions left to her, it is not surprising that the baseball life requires a wife to be independent. Some of the things women learn to do for themselves are often reserved for men in more conventional households, such as repairing the car, fixing the plumbing, or disciplining the children. Former major leaguer and now baseball analyst Tom House (1989) thinks that baseball wives grow up faster than their husbands do because they have to stay at home to

“anchor” the relationship and deal with the real world, while their husbands are off living in a fantasy world.

The Roles of a Baseball Wife

The baseball wife's primary role is to support her husband and his career. The men depend on their wives as baseball careers are demanding, high pressured, and unfortunately, often short—an average of just four years if they make it to the major leagues. Competition from other players, trades, injuries, and prolonged slumps can end a career at any time. Given the uncertainty, husbands and wives want to do everything to maximize his chances of success. To this end husbands want to be able to focus on baseball, which means wives are expected to shield husbands from distractions. Sharon Hargrove (1989) and Cyndy Garvey (1989) describe in their memoirs how they screened calls, fielded requests for tickets, and dealt with the demands of unreasonable fans. Wives arrange household and children's schedules to suit their husbands. “I am both the mother and the father until September,” explained Megan Donovan (Gmelch and San Antonio 2001, 343). Wives are expected not to trouble their husbands with domestic problems, except for crises, while the men were at the ballpark. The ballpark is sacrosanct. Beverly Crute (1981) quotes one baseball wife: “You just don't call at the ballpark unless they're [the children] on their deathbed or something. I mean, there are girls that have babies while their husbands are at the ballpark, and they don't call them.” A wife may even support her husband by participating in his superstitions, such as by preparing certain foods, wearing particular clothes to the ballpark, and following other ritualized behaviors her husband deems important to playing well. The enormous financial rewards for those who make it to the major leagues, and the brevity of the average career, justify in the minds of most wives the sacrifices required. Also, the baseball life is not completely burdensome. Many wives say they feel fortunate to be able to go to the games and watch their husbands at work and that ballgames are usually enjoyable affairs. By providing



free tickets, child care, family lounges, and special sections in the stands for wives and children, the teams encourage family attendance.

How Important Is Appearance?

Baseball wives and girlfriends are expected to look attractive. In the words of a San Francisco Giants official: “When you see them all sitting together, it’s like a fashion show. They don’t come out to the ballpark like other folks, just to have a good time. They are here to watch their husbands play, but they also know they are being looked at and that they have to put their best foot forward. Their appearance is very important to them and to their husbands” (Gmelch and San Antonio 2001, 346). Such comments reveal another aspect of the role of the baseball wife—she is viewed in large measure as a player’s property, part of the assets he brings to the game. A wife’s looks and behavior, some wives claim, can even affect her husband’s baseball career. “You’re part of the package, and if you don’t look the part, well, some are going to notice,” said Sherry Fox (Gmelch 2001, 346).

His Status and Her Identity

Baseball wives enjoy a measure of status by virtue of being married to professional ballplayers. When they are with their husbands in public, they also receive attention. TV cameras focus on them at games, they are asked to participate in community and charity events, and they may meet celebrities outside baseball. But their identities are always tied to their husband’s. Marilyn Monroe aside, the baseball wife’s identity is hidden under that of her husband. He is seen as the breadwinner, and if he is in the major leagues, he probably earns more in a year than she will in a lifetime. He is in the limelight; he is in demand. To the public, baseball wives are not known by their names, rather they are always Mrs. Curt Schilling, Mrs. Roger Clemens, and so on. We came across an ironic illustration of the subservient status of wives on the dust jacket of Sharon Hargrove’s (1989) memoir *Safe at Home*. Despite having written

the book, in which she discusses the identities of baseball wives as being ancillary to their husbands’, the biographical blurb about the author on the dust jacket reads: “Sharon Hargrove is the wife of Mike Hargrove, formerly a big league baseball player and presently a minor league manager . . .” Nothing else is said about the author, other than her having four children.

Transience is partially to blame for the wives’ dependent identity in that it makes it next to impossible for women to pursue their own careers. Even those who have the credentials or degrees have difficulty finding work as they are only in town for the six-month baseball season. Wives postpone starting careers of their own until their husbands leave baseball.

Another dimension of the wife’s dependency is that her status among the other baseball wives is influenced by her husband’s status. In the major leagues there is usually a loose pecking order among the wives in which their individual standing is swayed by their husband’s salary, performance, and standing on the team. The wives of star players bask in the glow of their husbands’ fame, while wives of lesser players, no matter how talented the women themselves may be, enjoy less prestige. Children may confound the pecking order a bit in that wives caring for young children are often drawn to other wives with young kids, overriding other considerations. Team hierarchy also influences relationships in that the spouses of players and the spouses of coaches don’t mingle much, even when they are of similar age. They may sit together at the ballpark, but rarely do they fraternize on the outside, just as in the business world the wives of management do not socialize with the wives of workers. The anomaly in baseball is that the workers and their wives are usually much wealthier than the managers and their wives.

Uncertainties of the Baseball Life

Baseball wives contend with more uncertainty than do many American women. In addition to having to move without notice, an injury to her husband can suddenly end his career and their livelihood at any time. The

vagaries of baseball performance in which bad times or slumps inevitably follow good times make the baseball life an emotional roller coaster—highs when husband and team are playing well and lows when he and they are not. One day you are the toast of the town, the next day you're invisible. And all of it is beyond the wife's control.

Wives may also worry about their husbands' faithfulness, especially while they are on the road. Wives are aware that there is temptation in every town: groupies, those often scantily clad, overly made-up young women who pursue ballplayers. While many players don't indulge, groupies are successful often enough to make some wives uneasy about what their husbands do while away from home. Bobbie Bouton and Nancy Marshall devoted an entire section to the groupie problem in their joint memoir, *Home Games* (1983). Wives often cope by excusing their husbands' behavior—"boys will be boys" or "what he does on the road is his business, what he does at home is my concern." Overall, the wives have little choice but to accept the insecurity, though some say they try to keep their husbands happy at home in the belief that a contented husband is less tempted to fool around.

Clearly, there are both significant rewards and costs to being the wife of a professional baseball player. Baseball wives are fortunate to have the prestige and financial security if their husband reaches the major leagues, but they must also deal with isolation, heavy responsibility in daily life and parenting, and the postponement of their own career plans. It is no wonder that some people refer to the baseball wife as "the fifth base," an anchor point outside of the field, but inextricably bound to the game itself.

Patricia San Antonio and George Gmelch

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Basketball

The sport of "basket ball" was first played in December 1891 in a Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) gymnasium located in Springfield, Massachusetts; eighteen players were involved in the initial game. Basketball has since evolved into a sport played worldwide, with an estimated 300 million people participating, either at an amateur or professional level, in over 170 countries.

History

Unlike other sports—such as football or baseball—that developed from already-established games, basketball was deliberately created at a specific point in time to address a particular situation. In the autumn of 1891, Dr. Luther H. Gulick asked his employee, James Naismith, to provide quality physical education for eighteen adult males who were attending the School for Christian Workers in Springfield, Massachusetts (re-named International YMCA Training School and then Springfield College). This was to further the YMCA's goal of "muscular Christianity," whereby a sound mind was housed in a healthy body. Although the games of football and baseball would work well for much of the year, options were more limited for winter recreation in

You can't win unless you learn how to lose. ■ KAREEM ABDUL-JABBAR

New England, and gymnastic activities did not interest these men.

Naismith tried indoor versions of rugby, soccer, and lacrosse, but the modifications weren't successful. In his frustration he described the students as "incorrigible." Naismith also realized, though, that these men would benefit from a simple and interesting game that would be easy to play in wintertime's artificial light. He had been given two weeks to solve this dilemma. During that time he analyzed popular sports and determined that most used a ball; furthermore, sports featuring a larger ball didn't need equipment such as a bat or racket. He decided that passing would be a key element of his game. Remembering his Canadian childhood, he incorporated a component from "duck on the rock," which involved tossing a stone in the air in an arc.

As he was developing his game strategy, he asked the school's janitor for two boxes, intending to nail one up at each end of the gymnasium. The janitor did not have boxes, but he did provide peach baskets to Naismith, who attached them to the bottom of a balcony located in the gymnasium. The ledge was located 10 feet from the ground.

Naismith then tacked thirteen simple rules on the wall. Players would use a soccer ball, and the goal of the offense was to pass the ball (the person possessing the ball could not run) to teammates until it was successfully thrown into the appropriate peach basket. Meanwhile, the goal of the defense was to prevent that from happening and to regain possession of the ball for its team. Whenever a basket was made, one point was awarded. If the ball went out of bounds, either the last person touching the ball—or the umpire, in case of disputed possession—would throw it back and the person who touched the ball first was now in possession. Fouls would be called for rough play, striking at the ball with a fist, running with the ball, or holding it against the body. Players with two fouls could be temporarily banned from the game, and if a team garnered three consecutive fouls, then their opponents were awarded one point. Games consisted of two fifteen-minute halves,

with a five-minute break in between, and the team with the highest score won.

Years later, Naismith recalled that several points—or goals—were scored that first game, but others remember a game with a score of only 1–0. In either case the game was an immediate success and basketball spread rapidly from the YMCA in Springfield to other YMCAs, and then to other venues around the country. Naismith did not receive—nor did he seek—any compensation for creating this sport. Naismith, who would later become a Presbyterian minister and who wanted basketball to improve the mental, physical, and spiritual well-being of those who played the sport, was pleased by the rapid expansion of the game that he'd invented. That was reward enough.

There have been intermittent claims that Naismith was not the person who invented the game of basketball. Proponents of this alternate theory suggest that a friend of Naismith, Dr. George Gabler, actually created the sport in the Holyoke (Massachusetts) YMCA in either 1885 or 1890. Gabler presumably then showed Naismith the game, and Naismith taught the game at the YMCA in Springfield. Gabler, however, never challenged claims that Naismith invented the sport, and it seems unlikely that this alternate scenario occurred. Nevertheless, details appeared in the *Holyoke Daily Transcript* in the 1940s.

Throughout the early days, rules fluctuated. Naismith, who was respected for his innovation, influenced the evolution of these rules for several years; for example, he stipulated that an equal number of men, anywhere from three to forty, could play on the court for each team, with nine per side being the optimum. In 1893 the YMCA rules offered more specific guidelines, stating that venues that were less than 1,800 square feet were suitable for teams of five men each; if the gym was up to 3,000 square feet, teams could have seven players. Larger facilities could handle teams of nine. In 1897 five players per team became standard.

Games were played in gymnasiums, social halls, and National Guard armories. By 1895 better gymnasiums

had 18-inch iron-hooped basketball rims with closed nets hanging from them, while less elaborate setups included wire cylinders or other suitable—and available—materials. After a point was scored, referees either climbed a ladder to retrieve the ball or used a pole to knock it out. The Narragansett Machine Company created a net with a drawstring; when pulled, the net lifted up and the ball was forced out. By 1912 open-bottomed nets were used, increasing the pace of the game.

Early basketballs were imperfect spheres, larger in diameter (between 30 and 32 inches) than modern-day (29.5-inch) counterparts, with a rubber core and a sewn leather covering. Backboards were first used in 1895 to discourage spectators from deflecting balls tossed by the opposing team. At first the backboards were wire mesh; as they dented, though, home teams gained a significant advantage because they knew how to “play” the dents. Therefore, wooden backboards became standard.

Naismith had considered and then discarded the notion of a free throw as a penalty for rough play; there is, however, no question that rough play existed. In a record of an 1890s game, the reporter spoke of several simultaneous wrestling matches on the court, finger-nail scratches, and the fact that, if someone did get possession of the ball, it might take several minutes to dislodge him from the mob that charged him.

In these early games, there was a sideline jump ball after every basket made, as well as one at the beginning of each half. The referee handled these jump balls and ruled when a ball was out of bounds. He also kept time and scores. The umpire called the “violations” or fouls. For a short time the court was divided into three sections, with forwards, centers, and guards required to remain in designated areas. Innovative players began to roll or bounce the ball to get it away from opponents. They also tapped the ball over their heads. Shots were generally underhanded throws or two-handed presses from the chest. Although the YMCA banned two-handed dribbles as early as 1898, professional leagues permitted them into the 1930s. The first professional game most likely occurred five years after the sport’s inception. Although one promoter insisted that select

players had received a small amount of money in 1893 in Herkimer, New York, most basketball experts believe that an 1896 game in Trenton, New Jersey, was the first professional competition.

The Trenton team had traveled throughout New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, playing and beating teams, and then self-proclaiming themselves as national champions. On 7 November 1896, the team challenged the Brooklyn YMCA in their Masonic Temple. Home-team players were paid for this game. Seven hundred fans attended, paying a quarter for a seat or garnering standing room only space for fifteen cents. The Masonic Temple had newly built risers, with portable baskets on each end of their social hall. There was also a wire mesh cage that separated playing space from the spectators, a practice that was initially derided but soon incorporated in other venues. (Although this mesh helped prevent fans from becoming injured, players used the netting to trap their opponents who were in possession of the ball.) The Trenton-Brooklyn game was scoreless for the first seven minutes, and the final score was Trenton 16, Brooklyn 1.

The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) held its first national basketball championship tournament in New York in 1887. The National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) was formed in 1906, and by 1910 nearly two hundred colleges fielded teams. The sport was becoming increasingly popular in high schools, as well.

Professional Leagues

The first professional league, the National Basketball League (NBL), was founded in 1898; ironically for a league self-described as “national,” all teams were located in either Philadelphia or New Jersey. Court sizes were standardized at 65 feet by 35 feet, with a wire cage at least 10 feet high required. Illumination, either electric or gas, was mandatory, and backboards were 4 feet by 4 feet. The basket’s rim jutted out 12 inches. This particular league lasted for six seasons and was challenged, briefly, by the Interstate League (1899–1900) and the American League (1901–1903). From this period until

This diagram from a 1930s instructional manual shows how to “Fool ’em with Your Offense.”

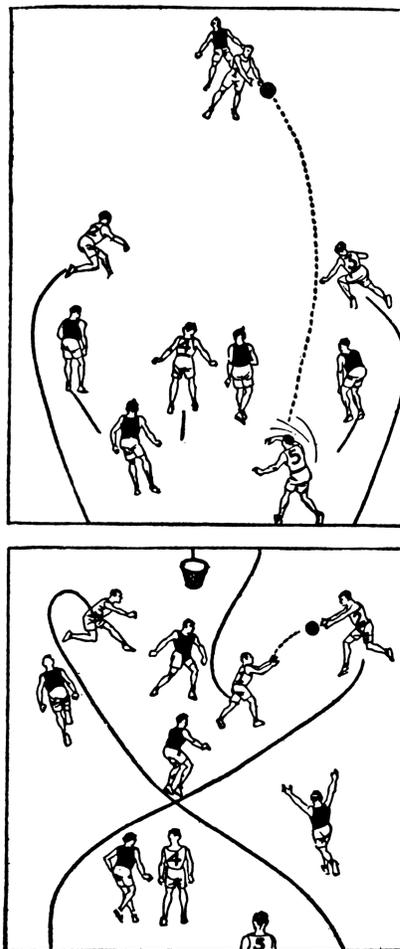
World War I, there was always at least one professional league in existence in the eastern states, and sometimes more than one. Semiprofessional teams flourished. The Eastern League, which existed from 1909–1923, with a break during World War I, was a relatively stable organization.

Teams switched locations frequently, game commitments were not always fulfilled, and players jumped teams. In 1909, for example, some players were playing on five different teams. Although an attempt to form a National Commission—a body that would oversee leagues—occurred in 1920, this particular commission never came to fruition.

Barnstorming, even across state lines, was common. This meant that instead of playing for an organized league, teams would travel in search of competition. One of the most successful examples was the Original Celtics, a team formed for teenagers living in a settlement house in Manhattan, New York. The 1920s were their glory years, and they earned such a national reputation that team members were even featured in newspapers, a rare feat for basketball players at that time.

BREAKING THE RACIAL BARRIERS

Basketball teams were almost entirely segregated by color, and the Renaissance Big Five—an all-black team formed in 1922 in Harlem, New York—served as the premiere African-American team in this era, barnstorming throughout the 1920s and reaching its full potential in the 1930s. They played against teams comprised of white players, as well, providing opportunities for quality, racially integrated play. In 1926 another all-black team formed, playing their first game on 7 January 1927 in Hinckley, Illinois. Because they were constantly on the road, traveling in among other vehicles a Model T Ford owned by their promoter, Abe Saperstein, the team eventually became known as the Harlem Globetrotters. By 1934 the Globetrotters had played 1,000 games. In 1939 they competed in their first professional tournament. That same year, players began “clowning around” during a game, making the crowd laugh; Saperstein approved of this side enter-



tainment as long as the team had already established a safe lead.

Although this team continued to have a highly talented roster, the Harlem Globetrotters became as well known for their ability to entertain the crowd with skillfully orchestrated slapstick routines. In 1937, while the Globetrotters were dazzling audiences, the National Basketball League (NBL) was formed. That year, the center tip-off after each basket was officially eliminated, significantly increasing the pace of the games. Although the NBL was more organized than earlier leagues, as could be expected, World War II disrupted this league’s play appreciably.

In 1946 owners of sports arenas—particularly Walter Brown of Boston—chartered a new organization, the Basketball Association of America (BAA), with teams located in Boston, Toronto, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago and St. Louis. On 6 June 1946, the BAA chose attorney Maurice Podoloff, the president of



Basketball

Intramural Basketball at Smith College, 1893

Northampton, March 26 (Special).—On Wednesday evening an exciting game of “basket Ball” was played by the sophomore and freshmen teams. The running track of the gymnasium was crowded with spectators, and gay with the colors of the two classes. One side was occupied by sophomores and seniors, the other by juniors and freshmen, and a lively rivalry between the two parties was maintained throughout the contest. The game consists in the two sides trying to get the ball into their respective baskets, which are suspended at opposite sides of the gymnasium, and each

tries to prevent the other from accomplishing that. Every time the ball is put in it counts one point. All the playing must be done by throwing, as no running while the ball is in the hands is permissible. In spite of the fact that the sophomore captain was disabled at the beginning of the game, the score was 5 to 4, in favor of the sophomores after a close contest of fifteen minute halves. The winning side gained a gold and white banner, which will be handed over to the next victorious team. . . .

Source: Smith College. (1893, March 27). *New York Herald Tribune*, p. 4.

the American Hockey League, as commissioner. On 3 August 1949, Podoloff negotiated a merger between the BAA and NBL and the result was the National Basketball Association (NBA).

Podoloff served as commissioner until 1963. By the time that he retired, the NBA had seventeen teams in three different divisions; collectively they played 557 games a season. Podoloff had also negotiated the sport’s first television contract, and today’s most valuable player award is named after him.

Meanwhile, basketball was slowly being desegregated. In 1950 the New York Knicks purchased Nathaniel “Sweetwater” Clifton from the Harlem Globetrotters, the Boston Celtics signed Chuck Cooper, and the Washington Capitols signed Earl Lloyd. These three men were the first black players in the NBA. Desegregation, however, did not signal the end of the Harlem Globetrotters. That same year, Abe Saperstein organized an international basketball tour, visiting Portugal, Switzerland, England, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Morocco, and Algeria. In 1954 Meadowlark Lemon became one of the Globetrotters star attractions and remained a member of the team for twenty-four years. In 1958 the team signed Wilt “The Stilt” Chamberlain for one season. Chamberlain then signed with the NBA, playing for fourteen years and setting many records (including scoring 100 points against the New York Knicks on 2 March 1962).

New Rules, New Era

Although the Globetrotters continued to provide excitement for fans, the game of basketball during the 1950s was stagnating. Play was rough, and one team could maintain possession of the ball as long as the players were able. If offensive players handled the ball well, there could be long periods with no scoring, and the opposing team’s only viable action was to force a foul. The offensive team would then toss a free throw. This scenario would be played out over and over again in the course of a game. The year 1954, then, proved to be a benchmark for basketball: The twenty-four second rule was instituted, which meant that if a team did not shoot the basketball in that time span, ball possession went to the opponent. This greatly increased the pace of the games, and the average number of points scored skyrocketed from 79.5 per game to 93.1. That same season, the NBA limited the number of team fouls permitted each quarter: For the seventh—and all subsequent—personal fouls, the opposing team would be given an extra free throw, greatly reducing the strategic value of deliberate fouls. These changes favored players who were quick and athletic and who used innovative methods to obtain possession of the ball.

From 1967 until 1976, the NBA was challenged by the American Basketball Association (ABA). The ABA was known for its “outlaw” style of play, and players such as Julius “Dr. J” Erving added a new level of ex-

Basketball is like war in that offensive weapons are developed first, and it always takes a while for the defense to catch up. ■ RED AUERBACH

citement to the sport. In June of 1976, the financially troubled league dissolved as the four strongest ABA teams—the New York Nets, Denver Nuggets, Indiana Pacers, and San Antonio Spurs—merged with the NBA.

Exceptional NBA play occurred during the 1980s, most notably with the Boston Celtics—a team with Larry Bird, Kevin McHale, and Robert Parrish—and the Los Angeles Lakers, with Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Ervin “Magic” Johnson, and James Worthy on their roster. Arguably two of the best teams ever, they are joined in basketball annals by the Chicago Bulls of the 1990s, a team led by Michael Jordan and coached by Phil Jackson. All-time leading NBA scorers include Abdul-Jabbar, Karl Malone, Jordan, Chamberlain and Moses Malone. Coaches with the most wins include Lenny Wilkins, Pat Riley, Don Nelson, Bill Fitch, and Red Auerbach.

The Current Game

The current NBA consists of two conferences, each containing three divisions. The Eastern Conference has the Atlantic Division, the Central Division, and the Southeast Division. The Atlantic Division includes the Boston Celtics, New Jersey Nets, New York Knicks, Philadelphia 76ers, and Toronto Raptors. The Central Division consists of the Chicago Bulls, Cleveland Cavaliers, Detroit Pistons, Indiana Pacers, and Milwaukee Bucks. The Southeast Division has the Atlanta Hawks, Charlotte Bobcats, Miami Heat, Orlando Magic, and Washington Wizards.

The Western Conference is divided into the Southwest, Northwest, and Pacific Divisions. The Southwest Division includes the Dallas Mavericks, Houston Rockets, Memphis Grizzlies, New Orleans Hornets, and San Antonio Spurs. The Northwest Division consists of the Denver Nuggets, Minnesota Timberwolves, Portland Trail Blazers, Seattle SuperSonics, and Utah Jazz. The Pacific Division includes the Golden State Warriors, Los Angeles Clippers, Los Angeles Lakers, Phoenix Suns, and Sacramento Kings.

The United States has, without question, served as the leader in the sport of the basketball, but other countries, especially since the 1930s, have formed strong

teams of their own. The World Basketball Championships, sponsored by the Federation Internationale de Basketball Amateur (FIBA) and initially played by amateur players, have existed since 1950. In its initial tournament, Argentina beat the United States for the title. The United States won in 1954, but came in second to Brazil in 1959 and 1963. Other winners include the Soviet Union (1967, 1974, 1982) and Yugoslavia (1970, 1978, 1990). In the 1994 tournament professional players were allowed to participate for the first time, and the United States, with its roster of NBA stars, won that year. Russia took the gold medal in 1998; Yugoslavia in 2002.

In women’s basketball the United States won the World Basketball Championship in 1953 and 1957. The team boycotted the 1959 event that was held in Moscow, and the Soviet Union team won easily. The Soviet team won again in 1964, 1967, 1971, and 1975. In 1979 it was the Soviet team that boycotted the event, and the United States won its first medal since 1957. In 1983 it was a Soviet win; in 1986 and 1990, the United States took the gold. In 1994, for the first time since the inception of the women’s tournament, a team other than the United States or the Soviet Union won the gold: Brazil took first place honors, while China garnered the silver. The United States reclaimed first place in 1998 and then repeated the feat in 2002.

Nature of the Sport

Although outdoor versions of the sport exist—such as three-on-three tournaments and forms of “street” ball—basketball is generally played indoors. NBA games are played on courts that are 94 feet by 50 feet (29 meters by 15 meters). Points are scored whenever a ball is successfully thrown through the appropriate basket, which is suspended 10 feet above the floor with a backboard behind the rim. The team that scores the most points, either by field goals or free throw shots, wins the game. A field goal is a basket that is scored during competitive action of the game; a free throw is tossed from the foul line, which is 15 feet from the backboard and is awarded because of a violation. When a free throw is taken, no

I know that I'm never as good or bad as any single performance. I've never believed my critics or my worshippers, and I've always been able to leave the game at the arena. ■ CHARLES BARKLEY

defensive action can occur until the shooter releases the ball from his hands. If a game is tied at the end of regulation play, “overtime” is played to break the tie.

Teams play with two forwards, two guards, and one center. The forecourt, for a particular team, is where their basket is located. The backcourt is where the team’s opponent’s basket is found. The center, generally the tallest person on the team, participates in a center court jump ball, whereby the referee tosses the ball in the air to start the game. Each center attempts to tap the ball to teammates, who then try to gain possession and score a basket. A field goal may be worth two or three points, depending on which side of the three-point line the ball is on when it left the hands of the shooter. In professional games the three-point line is located 23 feet, 9 inches from the basket. In college games it is located 19 feet, 9 inches from the basket; in international play, 20 feet, 6 inches.

The ball can be moved toward a basket by passing or dribbling. After a basket is scored, the opposing team passes the ball back into play from an out-of-bounds position; the offense continues to attempt to score, while the defense attempts to thwart that action. Professional games consist of four twelve-minute quarters; college games, two twenty-minute halves. The game clock stops when fouls are committed. Fouls are called for inappropriate blocking or stealing, which involves making contact with the player rather than with the ball. In this instance the opposing team gets the opportunity to shoot free throws, and each successful free throw is worth one point. If a player receives six personal fouls, that player is eliminated from play for the rest of the game. The offense loses possession for traveling, which is running with the ball without steady dribbling; double (two-handed, or stop-and-start) dribbling; and other illegal moves. Rule modifications exist for amateur play and for women’s basketball.

The Women’s Game

Early on, some believed that the competitive nature of basketball made it an inappropriate activity for females. Nevertheless, women began playing basketball shortly

after their male counterparts. Senda Berenson pioneered the women’s version of the sport at Smith’s College in 1892, modifying the rules so as to reduce the need for endurance. In 1895 Clara Gregory Baer introduced the game to students at Sophie Newcomb College in New Orleans, also publishing “Basquette,” the first set of basketball rules written specifically for women. Furthermore, bloomers first replaced long skirts on the basketball court at this educational institution in 1896.

The International Women’s Sports Federation formed in 1924. In 1926 the AAU sponsored the first national women’s basketball championship, using men’s rules. Nevertheless, women’s rules continued to fluctuate over the upcoming decades, mirroring what was occurring in men’s basketball.

In 1972 the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women held its first basketball championship; two years later, these games had television and radio coverage. In 1978 the eight-team Women’s Professional Basketball League (WBL) debuted, lasting three seasons. In 1992 the Women’s World Basketball Association (WWBA) was founded with six teams, but the league quickly folded. The Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA) began play in June 1997. The first players signed were Sheryl Swoopes, Rebecca Lobo, and Lisa Leslie. Initially, there were eight teams. Rules differ little from men’s play, although the shot clock is thirty seconds, rather than twenty-four, and the game consists of two twenty-minute halves. The ball is 28.5 inches in circumference, an inch smaller than the ball currently used in the NBA.

Competition at the Top

Men and women across the United States compete in collegiate (NCAA) basketball, and championship tournaments have existed since 1939. Initially, the teams in the United States were divided into eight NCAA districts, and games were arranged accordingly. Through a series of playoffs, teams competed for titles. Even today, the basic structure remains the same, although the criteria for creating divisions have evolved. The semifinal



A basketball game at the Pan American Games.

sity of Tennessee's Lady Vols with six championships and the University of Connecticut's Huskies with five NCAA tournament wins.

Olympic Play

Basketball served as an Olympic demonstration sport in 1904, and was first played as a full medal sport in Berlin in 1936. The National Association of Basketball Coaches

and final games—that narrow teams down to the “Final Four”—are a television extravaganza. This time on the college basketball calendar has come to be known as “March Madness.” The greatest men’s NCAA teams, according to ESPN, have included the 1968 UCLA Bruins, led by Lew Alcindor (later Kareem Abdul-Jabbar) and coached by John Wooden who led UCLA to ten titles. Other teams lauded were the 1996 Kentucky Wildcats; the 1976 Indiana Hoosiers, coached by the controversial Bob Knight; the 1972 UCLA Bruins, with future NBA star Bill Walton on the team; and the 1992 Duke Blue Devils.

According to *Total Basketball*, the top five collegiate basketball programs in the United States, historically speaking, are the Kentucky Wildcats, North Carolina Tar Heels, Kansas Jayhawks, UCLA Bruins, and the Indiana Hoosiers. The top five coaches are John Wooden, Dean Smith, Adolph Rupp, Clair Bee, and Hank Iba. Top players include Lew Alcindor (Kareem Abdul-Jabbar), Oscar Robertson, Jerry Lucas, Larry Bird, and Bill Walton.

For women the National Women’s Invitational Tournament (NWIT) served as the championship sponsor from 1969 through 1996. There was no tournament in 1997. In 1998 the Women’s National Invitation Tournament (WNIT) began and continues to be played today.

Women’s NCAA play began in 1982. Between 1982 and 2004, the clear standout teams have been Univer-

(NABC) sponsored Naismith’s trip to Germany so that he could witness his invention become an Olympic sport. He also tossed the opening jump ball. The United States was the powerhouse team from 1936 through 1968, winning all Olympic gold. The streak ended when the United States lost a controversial game against the Soviet Union in 1972 wherein the clock was reset twice with only three seconds left. The United States team voted to reject the silver medal, believing that they had, in fact, won another gold. In 1980 the United States boycotted the Olympics, held in Moscow, because of the Soviet foray into Afghanistan.

In 1984 the Soviet Union returned the favor and boycotted the Olympics that were held in Los Angeles. The United States team subsequently won Olympic gold. In 1988 the Soviet Union won gold, Yugoslavia earned silver, and the United States won the bronze.

In 1992 professional players competed in Olympic basketball for the first time. The United States team, which consisted mostly of NBA stars, won the gold that year, as well as in 1996 and 2000. In 2004, however, the United States finished third, behind Argentina (gold) and Italy (silver.) Throughout Olympic basketball history, the Soviet Union has won a significant number of medals, including the gold in 1972 and 1988; four silver medals, in 1952, 1956, 1960 and 1964; and three bronze medals, in 1968, 1976, and 1980. Yugoslavia won the gold in 1980, along with the silver medal in 1968, 1976, 1988, and 1996. They also won

the bronze in 1984. Lithuania is an up-and-coming contender, having won bronze medals in 1992, 1996, and 2000.

Women's basketball was added to Olympic competitions in Montreal in 1976. The Soviet Union won the gold that year, and in 1980 as well. The United States women's team has won the gold medal from 1984 until 2004, except in 1992, when the multinational Unified Team won the gold. That year, China won the silver medal; the United States, the bronze.

In the NBA a series of playoff games determines who will play in the championship series. Division winners from the Eastern and Western Conferences play one another until only two teams—one from each conference—remain. These teams then play a seven-game series to establish the overall NBA championship title for that season. During the 1940s and 1950s, the Minnesota Lakers, Philadelphia Warriors, and Boston Celtics won multiple titles. The Celtics dominated the 1960s, while no one particular team stood out during the 1970s. During the 1980s, Los Angeles Lakers and Boston Celtics rivalry was a highlight; the Detroit Pistons also won two titles. The Houston Rockets and Chicago Bulls were the powerhouse teams of the 1990s, and during the past few years, the Los Angeles Lakers have regained their prominence.

Although, in some ways, the game of basketball has evolved beyond the scope of what James Naismith could have imagined, in many others it retains the original essence. A memorial to its founder was proposed as early as 1936, shortly after the Berlin Olympics ended. The idea was revived in 1941, but then put on hiatus because of World War II. In 1948 a hall of fame was proposed to house exhibits and artifacts and to honor players of merit. Fund-raising began for such a structure, but then this project ran into snags that spanned two decades. In 1959, nine years before a hall of fame existed, the first roster of players was honored, and the Naismith Memorial Hall of Fame was finally completed and dedicated on the campus of Springfield College in Massachusetts on 17 February 1968. In 1985 this building was closed, and a new state-of-the-

art facility was opened in the business district of Springfield.

Governing Bodies

Basketball's governing organizations include Eurobasket, for European basketball (www.eurobasket.com); the National Basketball Association (NBA) (www.nba.com); and the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) (www.wnba.com).

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Baton Twirling

Baton twirling is the sport of manipulating metal rods to create choreographed routines incorporating diverse patterns of movement. Routines typically include jumps, lunges, twists, and other body movements in combination with baton movements such as tosses, flips, spins, and slides. Baton twirlers perform alone, in pairs, and in larger groups. Although this recreational and competitive sport includes events for men, most participants are women.

Baton twirling developed as a sport in the United States, with its most rapid growth occurring during the

The rewards are going to come, but my happiness is just loving the sport and having fun performing. ■ JACKIE JOYNER KERSEE

1950s and 1960s. However, although baton twirling is considered “American,” it was influenced by both Asian and European practices.

History

People have practiced the formalized waving of sticks, torches, and swords in various countries and cultures for centuries. In Europe twirling originated with military drum directors who were called “drum majors.” They used elongated drumsticks known as “batons” (a French word meaning “stick”) to make their directions more visible for guiding soldiers’ marching maneuvers and for changing music to which the soldiers marched. From the 1600s records indicate a commanding “master drummer” leading marching soldiers for England’s King Edward VI (reigned 1547–1553) and accounts of “drummer majors.” The “twirling drum majors” who led the British Army’s Janissary Band were influenced by Turkish marching troops and Roman jugglers.

In the Pacific Rim Samoan sword and knife twirlers spun their weapons in mock duels and military and religious ceremonies. In the Hawaiian Islands people twirled flaming torches as they danced to drumbeats. Chinese performing artists incorporated stick twirling into elaborate dances. European travelers who witnessed these practices may have adapted them to their own cultures.

Men dominated early baton twirling, being physically able to handle the heavy drum-major batons. The transformation of the baton from an instrument of band direction to an instrument of performance and competition may be related to the practice of flag signaling, by swinging the flag, in Switzerland to communicate from one mountaintop to the next. Flag swinging evolved into parade performances, incorporating such twirling maneuvers as high pitches, circles, and flashes to accompany marching. Eventually festivals sponsored events in which flag swingers performed competitively. German and Swiss immigrants brought the tradition to Pennsylvania, most likely influencing modern baton twirling.

In the United States, Major Reuben Webster Millsaps, founder of Millsaps College in Mississippi after

the Civil War, probably coined the baton-twirling term *majorette*. Millsaps used the term for his women athletes. By the early 1930s women baton twirlers adopted the term as their presence added grace and color to civic, military, and school marching units. Because the majorette role was based on traditionally feminine attributes, men, with their battle-oriented image, did not commonly practice baton twirling. Baton twirling was one of the few sports viewed as acceptable for women. This acceptance contributed to baton twirling’s popularity. Twirling remained dominated by women even as more sports opened to women. Participation increased through the 1950s as twirlers commonly performed with college bands, marched in parades, and participated in community recreation programs.

Baton twirling more recently has expanded internationally. The Starline Baton Company sponsored the International Twirling Teachers Institute (ITTI) throughout the United States and Europe during the 1950s and 1960s. This effort to promote baton twirling led in 1977 to creation of the World Baton Twirling Federation (WBTF). Baton twirling gained international recognition as a sport at the World Games in the Netherlands, where it was included as a “promotional sport.” Twirling was an exhibition sport at the World Games held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1999. Twirling also was included in the 1999 Junior Olympic Games, sponsored by the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU).

Play and Rules

Original baton twirling included such basic movements as horizontal and vertical patterns spiced with finger twirls, rolls, tosses, slides, and swings. As twirling evolved the movements became more complex, with twists, spins, lunges, and leaps combined with strenuous twirling. As twirling became more popular, in 1956 Don Sartell of Janesville, Wisconsin, founded the first baton twirling organization, the National Baton Twirling Association (NBTA). The United States Twirling Association (USTA) was established in 1958 as a democratic, not-for-profit enterprise. Founders of the USTA included Nick Michalares, Fred Miller, John Kirkendale,



Bobbie Mae, and George Walbridge. USTA—a member of the AAU and the National Council of Youth Sports (NCYS)—fosters development of twirling throughout the world and represents the United States in the WBTF, whose mission is to standardize and develop the sport internationally.

Since its founding the NBTA has sponsored the Miss Majorette of America twirling competition. Contestants are judged on twirling, strutting (marching with intricate baton maneuvers), modeling, and interviews. The competition has age divisions that allow participation through college levels. NBTA also stages local, state, and national competitions, allowing participation through age twenty-one. Events include men's and women's solo, two-baton, super-x strut, flag, hoop, show baton, duet, trio twirling, twirling team, dance team, and corps. America's Youth on Parade, which is NBTA's national competition, is staged annually in July at Notre Dame University in Indiana. Qualifying competitions for the NBTA-sponsored world championships, which began in the Netherlands in 1990, are staged every three years at America's Youth on Parade. The championships were held in France and Italy, respectively, in 1993 and 1996. Most participants came from North America or Europe.

At national and regional conventions the USTA presents clinics on baton twirling, dance, sports psychology, sports medicine, and related topics for athletes, coaches, judges, and parents. The USTA National Baton Twirling Championships and Festival of the Future (a national open competition for developing athletes) are held each year at different locations. Events are similar to those of the NBTA. A qualifying competition for the annual WBTF-sponsored world championships is held at the nationals.

The WBTF designed regulations for baton twirling routines. Beginning at the 1980 world championships in Seattle, Washington, these regulations revolutionized twirling. The regulations—including performance of compulsory movement sequences, mandatory exclusive use of one baton, and selection of optional music for free-style performance—created dramatic shifts in

twirling competition. Athletes and coaches began to incorporate into their routines artistic, innovative movements in addition to dynamic, intricate twirling maneuvers. The regulations also influenced team and duet competitions (added in 1981 and 1993, respectively). The WBTF hosts the world championships each summer in alternating member countries. Member countries include the United States, Australia, Norway, Scotland, Spain, Belgium, Canada, England, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. As more countries have participated, the competitive domination of the United States has lessened. From 1980 through 1988 the United States captured the World Cup award for overall performance. However, since then Japan has won the award each year except 1990 and 1991, when Canada won.

The Future

Several social changes have lessened women's interest in baton twirling. In the United States, Title IX legislation of 1972, which mandated equal opportunity for women in sports, opened new doors for women, drawing women away from twirling into other sports. At the same time twirling was excluded from increasingly popular indoor drill competitions, which decreased band-related opportunities for twirlers. Also, as more women worked full-time, they had less interest in earning the modest income to be earned by teaching twirling. Another factor that inhibited teachers and athletes alike was the increased liability insurance required for practice facilities. However, perhaps the biggest reason why fewer women were interested in twirling was inaccurate media portrayal of twirling as an exhibitionist circus act.

Nevertheless, baton twirling survives. Recreation programs, amateur competitions, and schools continue to provide opportunities. Opportunities for professional involvement exist in judging, coaching, and administering. New developments include the potential for a baton twirler to win the Presidential Sports Award. Twirling is an officially recognized, government-subsidized sport in Canada and several other countries.

In Japan some schools include twirling in their curriculum. The inclusion of twirling in the Junior Olympics is a step toward establishing the legitimacy of the sport. As it evolves internationally, twirling may eventually be included in the Olympic Games. Educational and scholarship opportunities may also evolve as baton twirling becomes more prominent.

Valerie J. Ludwick Willman

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Beauty

The human body is the basis of one's physical existence, the interface of the individual with society, the means to present oneself and interact with one's environment. But the body is also a site of social control and a product of social construction; thus norms, rules, ideals, and rituals connected with the body, its ethos and its techniques, and the regulation and control of body functions depend on the social structures and conditions, cultural patterns, and ideological orientations of a given society, its order, and its gender order. In every society, ideas and theories about the forms, functions, and competencies of male and female bodies are closely intertwined with gendered bodily practices as well as with norms and ideals of male and female beauty. The body, the body ideals, and the body culture contribute to the development and maintenance of dichotomous and hierarchical gender relations. The gender order en-

graves its traces into the bodies of women and men: The human body becomes gendered and gender becomes embodied. The body has also served and continues to serve to legitimize male dominance and female subordination, which is, at least in Western societies, closely connected with myths of male strength and female beauty.

Bodies and Beauty: Developments and Trends

Despite the focus on male strength, men's body ideals and the enactment of male beauty changed according to social conditions and culture-specific tastes:

- In medieval tournaments, physical skills and prowess of the knights were enacted.
- In the seventeenth century, the "homme gallant" of court society displayed grace, elegance, and refinement.
- Since the nineteenth century, men's bodies disappeared behind uniform suits, and physical strength increasingly lost its importance, at least among the middle and upper classes. Men were evaluated according to their social status, their professions, and their income rather than according to their beauty.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, different forms of body culture, among them strength training and nudism, developed in the Western world, and beauty contests for men were organized that demonstrated more or less muscular bodies. However, the physical culture movement was a subculture that did not gain attention and acceptance among the mainstream society. In most cultures and periods, the male body ideals derived from the tasks and functions of men, whereas the ideal female body underwent radical and cyclical changes. In many cultures and periods, female attractiveness was connected with fertility; broad hips and a full bust were considered beautiful. However, there are numerous exceptions. In Western societies, women's bodies and beauty ideals changed continuously, which was enforced but also supported by the changing fashion.



A French woman on a bicycle plays a hoop and pole game, c. 1900.

- During the Gothic period, long limbs, a slender body, and a protruding belly were considered attractive.
- In the seventeenth century, the court fashion, especially in France, focused on a large bosom, which was supported by the corset and made visible through the large décolleté.
- The “Empire clothes” worn at the high society of the Napoleonic area demanded again slimmess.
- In the nineteenth century, the corset enforced the hourglass shape of the female body.
- In the 1920s, the New Woman had long legs, small hips, and small breasts and loved sport.

After World War II, the range of beauty ideals reached from Marilyn Monroe to Twiggy and to Barbie. These female idols had one feature in common, however: They had no visible muscles.

Revival of the Body Since the 1970s

The “revival” of the body in the 1970s signaled a crisis of the modern industrial society. Increasing society-wide demands for identity, authenticity, and social distinction led to a reevaluation and even a fetishization of the body. Fitness and health, thinness, youthfulness,

and sexual attractiveness became the credo of modern society and the leading values of everyday culture. The new body ideal demanded tautness, demonstrative good health, and youth, showing no traces of work, illness, age, giving birth, or living life in general.

A basic assumption of this cult of body, beauty, and health is the conviction that bodies can be manipulated without any restriction. The body is no longer destiny; form and function of the body are products of individual work in which money, time, and strength have to be invested to create a work of art independent from time and material. Health and beauty are goods that have, therefore, reached an incredibly high value in the modern economy and generated entire industry sectors that serve the demands of an increasingly aging society.

Female Body and Beauty Trap

Today, the female body is restricted by social norms and social control to a much higher degree than is the male body. Whereas society tends to evaluate the male body primarily according to its functions, society regards the body of women primarily as a medium for social and sexual attractiveness. Girls and women are evaluated to a high degree according to their appearance. Because girls and women are defined and judged by their appearance, an aesthetic styling of the body is incredibly important. This is shown by the time and the large amount of money that is spent for clothes, diets, cosmetics, and plastic surgery. Beauty ideals are continuously reproduced and modified by the mass media and especially by advertisements. Striving to satisfy the dreams and desires of their target groups, advertisements create and enact fantasy women, the beauty queens with traditional signals of femininity such as long blond hair, a slender body, and a flat stomach. The fantasy woman shows fanny and breasts, does not have too many muscles, and is shaved, smooth, and tanned. Her outfit signals femininity, her image, posture, and clothes (or missing clothes) make her a sexual object. The fantasy woman who promotes nearly all products from cars to cosmetics is offered to the male gaze: “Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women



Beauty

“The Pursuit of Beauty” (1932)

I saw an aged, aged man
One morning near the Row,
Who sat, dejected and forlorn,
Till it was time to go.

It made me quite depressed and bad
To see a man so wholly sad—
I went and told him so.

I asked him why he sat and stared
At all the passers-by,
And why on ladies young and fair
He turned his watery eye.

He looked at me without a word,
And then—it really was absurd—
The man began to cry.

But when his rugged sobs were stayed—
It made my heart rejoice—
He said that of the young and fair
He sought to make a choice.

He was an artist, it appeared—
I might have guessed it by his beard,
Or by his gurgling voice.

His aim in life was to procure
A model fit to paint
As “Beauty on a Pedestal,”
Or “Figure of a Saint,”

But every woman seemed to be
As crooked as a willow tree—
His metaphors were quaint.

“And have you not observed,” he asked
“That all the girls you meet
Have either ‘Hockey elbows’ or
Ungainly ‘Cycling feet’?
Their backs are bent, their faces red,
From ‘Cricket stoop,’ or ‘Football head.’”
He spoke to me with heat.

“But have you never found,” I said,
“Some girl without a fault?
Are all the women in the world
Misshapen, lame or halt?”

He gazed at me with eyes aglow,
And, though the tears had ceased to flow,
His beard was fringed with salt.

“There was a day, I mind it well,
A lady passed me by
In whose physique my searching glance
no blemish could descry.
I followed her at headlong pace,
But when I saw her, face to face,
She had the ‘Billiard eye’!”

Source: *Mr. Punch's Book of Sports* (1910). London: Educational Book Company.

watch themselves being looked at” (Berger 1977, 47). Thus, women turn themselves into objects, whereas men are imagined as spectators and owners of the pictures. The fantasy woman appeals also to women who assume the role of the model and can thus imagine that they are attractive and desirable.

In recent decades, female beauty has been inextricably connected with slimness; to be thin is the foremost ingredient of good looks, and the slimness norms have become nearly unreachable. Female models weigh more than 20 percent less than women with “normal” weights.

For example, the “ideal” size of clothes in Germany is 36 or 38, but most women wear clothes in size 40 or larger. Results of studies show that women who do not reach the slimness norms have decisive disadvantages, such as in the labor market. Not surprisingly, the initiatives to lose weight reaching from diets to exercises are endemic. Today, slim women can proudly present tough and muscular bodies, but they should not surpass the always newly defined borderlines between the sexes.

The slimness and beauty ideals are out of reach for “normal” women, especially because the ideals are



Beauty

Body Outlaws

In her book Body Outlaws, Ophira Edut, a columnist for Teen People, gathered essays by women (and a few men) that take aim at traditional notions of beauty. The extract below is from Erin J. Aubry's essay "The Butt: Its Politics, Its Profanity, Its Power":

I have a big butt. Not wide hips, not a preening, weightlifting-enhanced butt thrust up like a chin, not an occasionally saucy rear that throws coquettish glances at strangers when it's in a good mood and withdraws like a turtle when it's not. Every day, my butt wears me—tolerably well, I'd like to think—and has ever since I came full up on puberty about 20 years ago and had to wrestle it back into the Levi's 501s it had barely put up with anyway.

Source: Dizon, K. (2004, February 19). Breaking the laws of beauty. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer Reporter*. Retrieved March 1, 2005 from: <http://seattlepi.nwsourc.com/lifestyle/161108-bodyoutlaws19.html>

constantly changing. The discrepancy between ideal and reality frequently leads to the feeling that body and appearance have deficits that demand continuous activities and a strict regime and management of the body. Therefore, the arrangement and the presentation of the body, from makeup to body styling and exercises, are important parts of the everyday life of women. Women seem to use stricter methods for the disciplining of the body and to apply higher standards to the female body than men do. For example, in a survey women tended to judge thinner women more beautiful than men did (Pfannenschwanz 1992).

As a consequence of this beauty trap, women develop different and more ambivalent relationships to their bodies than men do. Adult women report more often than men to be not satisfied with their health and their appearance, but even at an early age, when there are no differences in abilities and performances, girls tend to evaluate their sporting achievements and their competencies and their appearance more negatively

than boys do theirs. Adolescent girls suffer especially from the dictatorship of beauty and slimness. High demands on appearance and pressures of peer groups have many negative consequences for the self-concept and self-esteem of girls.

This ambivalent and problematic relationship to the body can contribute to the development of eating disorders (anorexia or bulimia) and misuse of drugs, especially of psychophysiological drugs. Many girls have been or are currently on diets; many even plan beauty operations. For numerous girls, looks are more important than intellectual or sporting performances.

Beauty, Body, Physical Activity

The described "ecology of the female body" and the body and beauty management are connected with specific needs and expectations for physical education and sport. Surveys that asked for motives of sports engagement in various countries showed similarities, but also some decisive differences between women and men:

- In a German study, for example, four times as many women than men wanted to be active in sports to "do something for the figure."
- Men more often than women reported that they play sports because they wanted to improve their condition.

Girls and women tend to choose physical activities that fit their bodies and their beauty ideals, which do not surpass their imaginary performance standards, and which do not provoke conflicts with their identity. Being attractive requires a well-formed body and a feminine movement culture, which means, at least in Western countries, gracious, soft, harmonious, and rhythmical movements. Therefore, women focus on those sporting activities that allow an aesthetical presentation and a styling of the body according to ruling ideals that are connected with well-being. Despite the growing integration of women in formerly male sports from soccer to boxing, most women are active in different forms of gymnastics and fitness or in common activities such as hiking, cycling, or swimming.

A Veracruz, Mexico, carnival beauty queen.

Source: istockphoto/palmera.

Studies have shown conclusively that these physical activities can have various benefits, for instance, a positive body concept and increased well-being. But physical activities can also be connected with negative consequences because it is often impossible, or at least very difficult, to reach the promised ideal body. Many women become frustrated and quit, as evidenced by the high rate of fluctuation in fitness studios. In addition, the typical feminine sports convey one-sided body and movement experiences. They produce a specific way of dealing with the body, and some promote a strong focus on appearance that is closely connected with the female role and its restrictions and exclusions.

Current developments signal a change of the trend, however, at least in the United States, where women and female athletes are becoming increasingly assertive. In their book, *Built to Win*, third-wave feminists Leslie Heywood and Shari Dworkin described the fascination with strong and androgynous athletes such as Mia Hamm whose fame is based on high performances, often in formerly male sports, and who present proudly their muscular bodies. To be a woman and a powerful athlete is no longer a contradiction; on the contrary, strong women seem to be the new idols, at least among young women.

At the same time, we can observe another tendency, the increasing sexualization of female athletes. For a decade, the Kournikova-syndrome has been spreading. Anna Kournikova's fame and popularity is based largely on her appearance and her image. She is the fantasy woman of numerous men and a role model for girls and women. Even though Kournikova could not win a single tournament of the Women's Tennis Association, by the time she reached age eighteen in 1999, she had endorsement deals worth millions, and in 2000, she was dubbed the most photographed woman on the planet. Numerous other female athletes used their appearance and their erotic attractiveness as marketing tools. Like the stars and starlets in the entertainment field, they presented themselves nude or scarcely clothed in sexy poses in the mass media. Very successful athletes—such as Brandi Chastain, a member of the U.S. world cham-



pion soccer team, or Anni Friesinger, the German ice skater, gold medalist, and several times world champion—tried to get additional public attention with sex and beauty. Increasingly, the slogan holds true: Appearance is at least as important as performance.

The ways boys and men deal with their bodies, their images, and how they “do gender” also leads to problems and conflicts. The demand that young males excel at sports can be as oppressive and as destructive to self-esteem as the demand that young women conform to the ruling ideal of female attractiveness. The ritualized image of hard masculinity that is typical for some subcultures as well as the high standard of risk-taking are symptomatic of the difficulties men have with their masculinity.

Men are increasingly affected by body and beauty ideals. Broad shoulders, six packs (well-defined abdominal muscles), small hips, and bulging muscles are the new challenges for men, whereby the ideal difference between hips and shoulders has increased enormously in recent decades. The number of young men who try to reach these ideals by taking drugs is increasing.

Whereas numerous girls, even those dying from undernourishment, are convinced that they are not thin

Models are like baseball players. We make a lot of money quickly, but all of a sudden we're 30 years old, we don't have a college education, we're qualified for nothing, and we're used to a very nice lifestyle. The best thing is to marry a movie star. ■ CINDY CRAWFORD

enough, the distorted relation of young men to their bodies gives them the impression that they are not big enough. Men can also be infected by the slimness virus, especially if their sport demands light bodies. Thus, several ski jumpers developed anorexia with the connected problems for bodily and psychological health. Another current trend is the marketing of body, beauty, and erotic attractiveness of male athletes. Today, athletes like David Beckham or David Coulthard are like the members of boy music groups—the objects of girls' and women's desires. But athletes can also present ambiguous images; they play with gender or they bend gender.

Beauty ideals lead to a continuation of gender arrangements and the gender hierarchy. The cult of beauty seems to be the one of the last means to prevent the emancipation of women. The mass media play a central role in the production and reproduction of beauty ideals. The sports news also propagates the idea of the strong sex and the beautiful sex. On the one hand, women are marginalized in sport reports. On the other hand, as many studies in different countries have shown, female athletes are often defined by their looks and are sometimes even presented primarily as sexual objects.

In the 1990s—from football to boxing, from ski jumping to ice hockey—women participated in sports not fitting the traditional myths of femininity. As women entered the new century, many anticipated that ideals of beauty would change and that perhaps even the pressure to be beautiful would vanish.

Gertrud Pfister

See also Aesthetics; Art

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Belgium

Belgium, with a population of about 10 million, is situated at the cultural crossroads of Europe. The frontier between Germanic and Latin languages divides the country into Flanders, the Flemish-speaking North (58 percent of the population), and Wallonia, the French-speaking South. There is also a small German-speaking enclave. At the core lies Brussels, the bilingual capital, which is also the seat of the European Community and NATO headquarters. Having served both as buffer state and battlefield between France and Germany, Belgium also borders the Netherlands to the north and Luxembourg to the south. Moreover, Great Britain is only fifty sea-miles away from its northern shore.

Under the reign of the Spanish Habsburgs, the Low Countries (the region now comprised of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) had already split up in 1585 into the southern Catholic part of the Low

Countries (later to become Belgium) and the northern Protestant part (later to become the Netherlands). Belgium broke away as an independent state in 1830. The Low Countries had thus been reunited again only shortly from 1815 to 1830, after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo (located south of Brussels).

A Great Ludodiversity of Folk Games

Belgium's sports history reflects the nation's social and cultural development. The country has a long tradition and a rich variety of folk games (the term *ludodiversity* is often used in connection with the preservation of these folk games). The Saint Georges crossbow guilds, the Saint Sebastian archery guilds, the Saint Barbara arquebuse guilds, and the Saint Michael swordsmen guilds were products of medieval civic pride especially in Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Leuven (Louvain) and Brussels. Many of these guilds still exist and thus belong to the oldest sporting relics in Europe. The crossbowmen and archers whose guilds date back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries still have their popinjay shooting contests. This type of archery where one shoots at "jays" fixed on top of a tall pole, was for the last time practiced as an Olympic sport at the 1920 Antwerp Olympics. The fencers of the Saint Michael guild of Ghent still practice in the same premises, where their guild was founded in 1613. *Kaatsen* (in Flemish) or *Balle Pelote* (in French) is a five-a-side handball game also with medieval roots. The same holds true for bowling games such as *closh* (province of Limburg), *curl bowls* (provinces of East and West Flanders), nine pins (Brabant, Antwerp, Limburg, and in the Germanophone East Canton). Cock fighting, though illegal in Belgium, is still practiced near the French border (where it is still legal) and in a few pockets in Brabant, Limburg, and Liège. Throwing games come in many variants: throwing small discs to a target (a line, a hole in a table as in "toad in a hole" etc.), throwing darts or *javelots* at a board, throwing clubs at a tripod etc. Traditionally women have played only a minor role in these games, which were linked with the local pubs, typical male preserves. In 1973 the Flemish Folk Games File re-

search project was launched at the Catholic University of Leuven. In order to preserve the rich but endangered ludodiversity of Flanders, the Flemish Folk Games Central was founded in 1980 and the Traditional Sports Federation (VLAS) in 1988. A recent survey comparing the situation of traditional games in Flanders over the 1982–2002 period has shown that during these twenty years the mean age of the practitioners has continued to increase, their already low social status has dropped even further and their location was now more rural than before. The only good news was that the participation of women in traditional games had slightly increased (from 11 percent to 22 percent).

Struggle Between German and Swedish Gymnastics

Gymnastics was first promoted in the new Kingdom of Belgium (1830) by the French "gymnasiarch" Hippolyte Triat in his private gymnasium in Brussels, and by Joseph Isenbaert in Antwerp and August De Krijger in Ghent. Isenbaert founded the first gymnastics society in 1839 in Antwerp. German *Turnen* (gymnastics) was introduced in 1857 when Johann Jacob Happel was imported from Germany to teach in Antwerp. Another German teacher, Carl Euler, did the same in Brussels from 1870 onwards. Although the Belgian Turner Federation (based on the German system) was founded in 1865, the country would eventually become a stronghold of the Swedish gymnastics system of Per Henrik Ling. The strong political polarization of the country lies at the origin of the creation of a separate Catholic Turner Federation in 1865 and a Socialist Turner Federation in 1904. Colonel Charles Lefébure first officially introduced Swedish gymnastics at the Military Normal School for Fencing and Gymnastics in Brussels in 1904. He also managed (with the help of Cyrille Van Overbergh) to create the very first university Higher Institute of Physical Education in Europe—and in the world—at the State University of Ghent in 1908. The Institute was linked to the Faculty of Medicine and fully based on the Swedish method. It offered candidate, licentiate and doctoral degrees. Female participation in

gymnastics was hampered during the Belle Epoque period by bourgeois conservatism on the one hand and Catholic prudery on the other. The State University of Ghent appointed Irène Van der Bracht as the first female university professor in Belgium's history in 1925. The rationale was that female physical education students should be taught by a female instructor. Female gymnastics was organized in similar fashion to the Girl Guides, operating in parallel with but independently from the Boy Scouts. This gender "apartheid" was taken very seriously. In 1932, for instance, the Flemish nationalist Turner leader Maurits Verdonck (1879–1968) was banned from the Catholic Gymnastics Federation, because he trained and coached both male and female members in his Ganda Turnverein in Ghent. This "heresy" led to the creation of a separate Catholic Ladies Gymnastics Federation. German *Turnen* flourished in the many turnverein both in Flanders and Wallonia. Swedish gymnastics, on the contrary, would invade and monopolize physical education in Belgian schools until 1968. From then onwards the Swedish pedagogical spell was broken and replaced by a pluralist physical education concept of sports, games and other physical activities. Belgium was, however, not the very last country in Europe to give up Swedish gymnastics for its school physical education. That record went to Portugal (in 1973), which had been lured into Swedish gymnastics via Leal d'Olivera, a Portuguese army officer who had obtained his PhD in physical education in Ghent in 1929.

Infiltration from Albion: Modern Sports

Thoroughbred horse racing and rowing are generally considered as the precursors of the sports "anglomania," which affected Belgium as one of the first countries on the European continent. The very first thoroughbred horse races on the continent were held in the thermal city of Spa in the Belgian Ardennes in 1773. They took place before the eyes of the aristocratic *fine fleur*, who had gathered there for their yearly thermal cure and other more amorous *liaisons dangereuses*. The Society

for Fostering the Amelioration of Horse Races and the Development of Horse Races in Belgium was founded in 1833, three years after the creation of an independent Belgium. It is important not to confuse *horse races* with *horse racing* in the title of this very exquisite association. The second wave of English sports import consisted of the creation of Nautic Clubs both in Ostend and Ghent in 1946. Antwerp followed with the Société des Régates De Schelde in 1851, founded by Englishman Georges Collins. The very few, but wealthy aficionados of rowing and sailing had their first *moment de gloire* when amateur oarsmen from Ghent won the famous Henley Regatta in 1906. What the local organizers probably did not know was that the Ghent crew was composed of oarsmen from two rival clubs: Royal Club Nautique de Gand on the one "oar" and Royal Sport Nautique de Gand on the other. Maybe the fact that they were both Royal and both from Ghent fooled the English organizers. This "mixed" crew repeated its rowing exploit in 1907 and 1909.

Cycling has always fascinated the Belgians. In the year 1869 cycling races were organized for the first time in Brussels, Charleroi, Ghent, and the Veurne-Adinkerke race was won by Justin Vander Meeren. The very first *velodrome* was opened in 1886 in Antwerp and many others would follow. The great breakthrough of Belgian road cycling came with the victory of Cyrille Van Hauwaert in Bordeaux–Paris in 1907 and Odiel Defraeye's victory in the Tour de France in 1912.

It is generally accepted that football took off in Belgium in 1863 when an Irish pupil from Killarney first kicked his ball on the playground of the Catholic boarding school of Melle near Ghent. "The great old" Antwerp Football club was founded in 1880 by British residents in the harbour city. Originally they played cricket and rugby football. The second club, Football Club Liégeois, made its appearance only twelve years later in 1892. In 1895 the Belgian Union of Societies of Athletic Sports (UBSSA) was created, which reunited sportsmen of diverging disciplines. This temporary "Union" would split in 1912 into separate football and track and field associations.



Belgium

The Play Forms of Our Forefathers and the Sport of Our Children

This sad call to readers appeared in the very first issue of the first volume of the Flemish weekly Ons Land (Our Country) of 1919. This newspaper report illustrates the problematic relationship between traditional games and modern sport at the crucial turning point in the history of physical culture in Europe, namely the end of World War I. These traditional games were described as at risk of being ousted by the introduction of modern sports. The next issues of the magazine included six reader responses describing a number of traditional games, especially local bowl games. There was no trace, however, of the prize that was promised.

The Olympic Games, which stem from a modern invention, occupy the place of honor in our popular recreations. They are controlled by an official international regulation.

Although we fully approve of this, we want to point at the disdain which is shown—unjustified—towards the games of strength and agility, which have contributed so much to the physical development of our forefathers and which were for them such a pleasant delight.

Here we have to safeguard a respectable tradition, as these games are deeply rooted in the inner life of our peasantry and cannot be extracted from it without grief.

Our soccer players should not forget the game of handball or the longbow or any other games, too many to enumerate, because they all require the exercise of the eye and the hand and because they all develop dexterity, precision, nervous strengthening and body flexibility.

We call upon all our readers to inform us as completely as possible on the local forms of play and amusements which are still in use in their region, and especially those which are typical for a specific province or which are linked with the natural characteristics of the area.

We will offer a prize to the fifty correspondents who will provide the best information by sending in photographic pictures and short descriptions. These results will then be published in “Ons Land” in order to contribute in this way to the revival of traditional folk games.

The Belgian Olympic Committee was only founded in 1906. Belgian athletes had, however, already participated in the 1900 Paris Games where Léon de Lunden had for instance won the gold medal in live pigeon shooting, the famous archer Hubert van Innis won two gold and one silver medal, and the four oarsmen of Royal Club Nautique de Gand (Ghent) also won their race on the Seine river. The fact that the VII Olympic Games were given to the city of Antwerp in 1920 can be seen as a recognition of and recompensation for “Brave little Belgium,” which had withstood the German invasion of 1914–1918 with great magnanimity. The Antwerp Olympics were certainly not the best organized nor most spectacular Games, but they symbolized the revival of the Olympic Movement and they put the Games back on track. The Olympic flag with five rings

was for the first time shown at Olympic Games and Olympic water polo player and fencer Victor Boin took the Olympic oath for the first time. He would later become president of the Belgian Olympic Committee from 1955 to 1965.

One of the first important victories of the Flemish movement after the Great War was the *flemishization* of the State University of Ghent. This led to the creation of a Francophone Higher Institute of Physical Education at the State University of Liège in 1931. The Catholic University of Leuven, founded in 1425, opened its own Physical Education Institute in 1942 with separate Flemish and Francophone sections. The Free University of Brussels followed this example in 1946.

Pierre de Coubertin’s successor as IOC President, the Belgian count Henri de Baillet-Latour died in 1942

*Belgium Olympics Results**2004 Summer Olympics: 1 Gold, 2 Bronze*

during the German occupation of the country. The German occupants together with their collaborators decided to create a General Commissariat for Physical Education and Sports, which would take over control of sport and physical education from the existing National Committee of Physical Education and Belgian Olympic Committee. This new General Commissariat established separate sport structures for Flanders and Wallonia, but this bifurcation of Belgian sport was strongly contested by the unitary sport federations and culminated in a protest letter published in the weekly magazine of the Royal Belgian Football Association. The German military command was afraid of such rebellious acts that might disturb their imposed “*pax Germanica*” and worked out a *modus vivendi* between the collaborating General Commissariat on the one hand and the independent National Committee. The end of the war instigated a patriotic and unitarist revival in Belgium, which also led to a reinforcement of the unitary sport structures and an abdication of the regionalist tendencies.

The incipient democratization of sport that had slowly started in the interwar period continued and resulted in higher sport participation among the population. Cycling, especially road races, and football which had not been stopped during the war, drew large crowds of enthusiasts who wanted to support their local heroes. Very popular were the track cyclist Jef “Poeske” Scherens and the road cyclists Rik Van Steenbergen and Rik Van Looy. And then came Eddy Merckx, who dominated international cycling in the 1960s and 1970s and became Belgium’s best-known sportsman worldwide. The country also produced a lineage of medal-winning track athletes in the Olympic Games during the decades after World War II: Gaston Reiff (gold; 5000m, 1948), Roger Moens (silver, 800m, 1960), Gaston Roelants (gold, 3000m steeple 1964), Emiel Puttemans (silver, 10,000m, 1972), Karel Lismont (silver, marathon, 1972), and Ivo Van Damme (silver, 800m and 1500m, 1976).

The unitary organization of Belgian sport split in 1969 as a logical consequence of the introduction of

the cultural autonomy of the Flemish and the Francophone communities in Belgium. Two separate sport administrations were created, the Francophone sport department (ADEPS) and the Flemish (BLOSO). Now “sport for all” became a priority and, especially in Flanders under the dynamic leadership of Armand Lams, all kind of initiatives were taken to lower the threshold for sport participation. This has since then resulted in a continuously increasing degree of sport participation and, synchronically, the construction of a new sport infrastructure. Physical education programmes also radically changed in 1968–1969 when the monopoly of the Swedish gymnastics system was finally replaced by the introduction of sports and games. This new approach aims to initiate and socialize pupils in sport participation, which they would hopefully continue after leaving school. Some critics claim though that this *sportization* of physical education has gone too far and that more emphasis should be laid again on general physical fitness and motor skills.

Two sports in which Belgians have dominated the world and European championships have a lot to do with mud: motor cross and cycling cross. The motor crosser René Baeten excelled in the 1950s, Joël Robert and Roger De Coster in the 1960s, Harry Everts, André Malherbe and Gaston Rahier in the 1970s, Eric Geboers in the 1980s, and Stefan Everts (Harry Everts’ son) and Joël Smets in the 1990s. Eric De Vlaeminck won seven world championships in cycling cross between 1966 and 1973, Roland Liboton won four in the 1980s and from the 1990s onwards the international success was divided among Danny De Bie, Bart Wellens and Sven Nijs. Belgian judo has gained world-class status through Olympic medallists such as Robert Van de Walle and Harry Vanbarneveld and their female colleagues Ingrid Berghmans, Ulla Werbrouck, Gella Vandecaveye, Heidi Rakels, Marie-Isabelle Lomba and Ilse Heylen.

In 2005 female sprinter Kim Gevaert excelled in the 60m, 100m and 200m at the European indoor athletic championships in Madrid, but probably the most astonishing international sport breakthrough was real-

ized by two female tennis players: the Walloon Justine Henin (who won gold at the Athens 2004 Olympic Games) and the Flemish Kim Clijsters, who succeeded each other as No. 1 in the World Tennis Association ranking in 2003.

The highlights of Belgian football have been the 1920 Olympic gold, reaching the World Cup semifinals in Mexico 1986, and, on the club level, Sporting Club Anderlecht having won the European Cup in 1976 and 1978 and the UEFA Cup in 1983.

Two International Olympic Committee Presidents

After Count Henri de Baillet-Latour had been IOC president from 1925 to 1942, another Belgian was elected in this office in 2001: the Flemish orthopedic surgeon Jacques Rogge. This alumnus of the University of Ghent competed in the yachting competitions at the Games of Mexico 1968, Munich 1972 and Montreal 1976. He was president of the Belgian Olympic and Interfederal Committee from 1989 to 1992 and became IOC member in 1991. The profile and career of these two men can be seen as a “pocket” history of Belgium. The first was a diplomat and member of the Francophone aristocracy of Brussels; his father had been governor of the province of Antwerp. Baillet-Latour was a keen horseman (polo, hunting and steeple chasing) and President of the Jockey Club of Belgium. The second is a polyglot medical doctor from the province of East Flanders, who sailed and played rugby and still practiced surgery until the day he was elected IOC President. Trained to make vital decisions about the quality and quantity of the life of his patients, he now faces the political, economic, and medical problems of the world’s top sport trust. Let us hope that he can also cure them.

Roland Renson

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Biathlon and Triathlon

Biathlon and triathlon are multisport endurance races. Biathlon combines cross-country skiing and target shooting; triathlon combines swimming, bicycling, and running.

Biathlon

In biathlon a competitor skis a loop with a .22-caliber rifle harnessed on his or her back, pausing to shoot at ranges along the loop. At each shooting range the competitor must switch from the exertion of skiing to the concentration of target shooting. Thus, biathlon requires athletes to master the physical and mental demands of two conflicting disciplines. Athletes need physical strength and stamina to ski a course that can be as long as 20 kilometers for the individual event, yet athletes need great self-control to quiet the body and concentrate the mind to fire with accuracy at the shooting range.

ORIGINS

The origins of biathlon may be revealed in rock carvings in Norway that date from 2000 BCE and show two hunters on skis stalking animals. Biathlon, like many other activities we now regard as sport, may have evolved from activities our ancestors performed to survive—in this case, travel across deep snow and hunt for food.

*If you train hard, you'll not only be hard,
you'll be hard to beat.* ■ HERSCHEL WALKER

Modern biathlon has military origins in Scandinavia, where the climate and terrain required troops to be trained and equipped for combat in winter conditions. The earliest recorded biathlon event occurred in 1767 between “ski-runner companies” who guarded the border between Sweden and Norway. The first international biathlon competition was held as a demonstration event at the 1924 Winter Olympics in Chamonix, France, and was continued at the Winter Olympics of 1928, 1936, and 1948. Biathlon was dropped from the Olympic program after 1948 in response to antimilitary sentiment that followed World War II. Biathlon again became an Olympic event for men in 1960. Women’s biathlon events were added at the 1992 winter Olympics in Albertville, France.

The Union Internationale de Pentathlon Moderne et Biathlon (UIPMB) was founded in 1948 to promote the development of modern pentathlon and biathlon as Olympic events. (In modern pentathlon contestants compete in a 300-meter freestyle swim, a 4,000-meter cross-country run, a 5,000-meter equestrian steeplechase, fencing, and target shooting at 25 meters.) The UIPMB instituted annual World Championships for biathlon in 1957, and biathlon was added as an individual event for male athletes at the Winter Olympics in Squaw Valley, California, in 1960. In 1966 the biathlon relay was introduced at the World Biathlon Championships and added to the Olympic program in 1968. The first Women’s World Championships were held in Chamonix, France, in 1984.

EVENTS

Biathlon has three race events—individual, sprint, and relay. Each event has different distances, rules, and penalties. Competitors ski a set number of loops of the course depending on the event, making four stops to shoot. The five metal targets at each stop are 50 meters away. The targets can be reset mechanically after each shooting bout and can be set for prone or standing positions. A hit is registered immediately by a white plate that flips up to cover the black target. For prone shooting the hit must strike a circle 45 millimeters in di-

ameter in the center of the target. A standing shot can hit anywhere in the 115-millimeter diameter circle. Competitors who miss shots must ski penalty loops, which add to the overall time and lower a competitor’s score.

Range time is the time required for a competitor to enter the firing range, unsling the rifle, shoot five rounds, resling the rifle, and exit the range. Cross-country skiing requires intense physical effort; while competitors are on the course, their heart rates increase to 170–190 beats per minute. Thus, when they approach each shooting range, competitors must reduce skiing speed to slow their breathing in preparation for shooting. World-class range times average 30–40 seconds for the prone position and 25–30 seconds for the standing position.

The individual competition demands more endurance during skiing and greater body control at the range than do the shorter distances of the other events. In the individual competition men ski a total of 20 kilometers, and women ski 15 kilometers. The athletes start at one-minute intervals and ski five loops ranging from 2.5 kilometers to 5 kilometers, shooting five shots at each of four stages for a total of twenty shots. A one-minute penalty is levied for every missed shot and is added to the competitor’s ski time at the end of the race for a total of twenty possible penalty minutes if all shots were missed. The winner is the competitor who had the lowest combined ski time and penalty minutes.

In sprint competition men ski a total of 10 kilometers, and women ski 7.5 kilometers, starting at one-minute intervals. Athletes ski one loop, shoot five rounds in the prone position, ski a 150-meter penalty loop for each missed shot, and then ski another loop. They then shoot five rounds in the standing position, ski a 150-meter penalty for each shot missed, and ski a final loop to the finish. Thus, they ski a total of three loops ranging from 1.75 kilometers to 3.75 kilometers and shoot two shooting stages for a total of ten shots. All penalties are skied during the race; thus, penalty time (about thirty seconds for each penalty) is already included in the time when athletes cross the finish line.

Man competing in the cycling leg of a Seattle-area triathlon.

Source: istockphoto/robh.

In the relay competition all teams start simultaneously in a mass start and ski the same course. Both men's and women's courses are 4×7.5 kilometers, that is, each member of a four-person team skis a 7.5-kilometer leg of the race. Each leg is skied in the same way as the sprint race except that racers can use "extra rounds" at the range. Each competitor has eight bullets with which to hit five targets at both the prone stage and standing stage. When racers ski into the range they place three extra rounds from their magazines into a small cup before they begin shooting. They then attempt to hit all five targets with five shots. If they miss any, they then load rounds from the cup and shoot until they have hit all five targets or used up all three extra rounds, whichever comes first. If, after shooting all eight rounds, the competitors still have not hit all five targets, they must ski a penalty loop for each missed target.

On completion of his or her leg of the relay, in a tag zone each skier touches the next teammate, who then starts out on the course. The winning team is the one whose last competitor crosses the finish line first.

At the 2002 Winter Olympics at Salt Lake City, Utah, Ole Einar Bjordalen of Norway won the 10-kilometer men's sprint, the 12.5-kilometer men's pursuit event, and the 20-kilometer men's event; Norway won the 4×7.5-kilometer men's event; Kati Wilhelm of Germany won the 7.5-kilometer women's sprint; Olga Pyleva of Russia won the 10-kilometer women's pursuit; Andrea Henkel of Germany won the 15-kilometer women's event; and Germany won the 4×7.5-kilometer team event.

Triathlon

The best-known triathlon is the Hawaii Ironman Triathlon (HIT), which consists of a 3.9-kilometer swim, a 180-kilometer bicycle race, and a 42-kilometer



marathon run. As is true in the majority of triathlons, a competitor completes the events sequentially with only brief stops or slowdowns (known as "transitions") to change equipment and clothes. These transitions count against the competitor's total race time. Thus, because minutes or only seconds can separate competitors, many triathletes train for the transitions as well as for the three sports of the triathlon.

Most competitions among triathletes occur at shorter distances than those in other ironman contests. Still, all triathlons are endurance events taking nearly an hour to complete for the best athletes in even the shortest races. Several distances exist. For example, as the name implies, a half-ironman (or long course) triathlon usually



involves a swim of about 2 kilometers, a bicycle race of 88 to 95 kilometers, and a run of 15 to 21 kilometers. About three-quarters of triathlons in recent years have occurred at the popular international distance. These triathlons involve a 1.5-kilometer swim, a 40-kilometer bike race, and a 10-kilometer run. Finally, the misnamed sprint-distance triathlon ranges about 400 meters for the swim, 15–32 kilometers for the bicycle race, and 3.2 kilometers for the run.

Considering that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has been inclined to remove sports from the games and only reluctantly to add new sports, the quick rise of triathlon in the Olympics is remarkable. The sport moved from a first formal event in the mid-1970s to a full-fledged Olympic event in just more than twenty-five years.

At the 2004 Olympics in Athens, Kate Allen of Austria won the women's triathlon; Hamish Carter of New Zealand won the men's triathlon. New Zealand won first overall, followed by Austria, Australia, Switzerland, and the United States.

ORIGINS

Triathlon emerged in California during the early 1970s. However, as International Triathlon Union President Les McDonald noted, triathlon is no longer the sport practiced by carefree California kids of the 1970s and 1980s. Early multisport athletes were, indeed, carefree young men who sought to combine some common elements of their lifestyle into a single race event. Those men might be amused at the current high-tech sport that focuses on every aspect of triathlon with a single concern—to increase the speed at which triathletes can complete an event. They also might be agog at their sport's compiling a 134-page rulebook.

PRACTICE

The initial multisport event was only a variant of a common beach occurrence. One boy in the water says to another, "I'll race you to the refreshment stand." The two boys quickly are off, first swimming to the shore

and then running to the food vendor, perhaps eventually racing home on their bikes. Slight formalization of that common occurrence produced an early multisport—and quintessentially amateur—event. Now triathlon is moving along the path toward incorporation into the dominant sport culture. Triathlon appeared in the 2000 Olympics, only eleven years after the formation of an international governing body. A professional tour allows both men and women to compete in triathlons at various distances throughout the world. Corporations sponsor popular triathlons and triathletes. One can see testimony to the intimate involvement of triathlon and commerce at Nike-town in Chicago: A store in the chain of the international sporting goods giant closes in the evening at 8:07:45—Mark Allen's record time for the HIT. Allen was triathlon world champion six times.

Perspectives

Residual components of earlier sports culture are visible in triathlon in several aspects. One residual component is visible among the many triathletes who never join their national governing boards but instead pay a one-day licensing fee to participate in events sanctioned by the bureaucracy. Another residual derives from triathlon as a somewhat expensive and time-consuming pursuit. As such, it is mostly an activity of the middle class (and probably the upper middle class at that).

Triathlon, generalist by nature, is also nurturant to athletes such as the elderly and the physically challenged. Thus, for example, older competitors (in their seventies) have been among the featured triathletes. In 1989 Dick Hoyt completed the grueling HIT with his son Rick (who had cerebral palsy) in tow (literally, during the swim). Rick rode in a specially constructed "basket" on the bike race and a racing wheelchair on the run.

Despite the relative youth of triathlon, the emergence of mountain bike and ultraendurance (e.g., double-ironman) triathlons may reflect a nostalgic search for authenticity in the sport. Many triathletes believe that the *raison d'être* of triathlon is the personal struggle to overcome the myriad sources of self-doubt. It empha-

sizes fortitude and dedication that place the greatest premium on individual effort. The increasing technological orientation, bureaucratization, and commercialization of triathlon detract from that emphasis.

GOVERNING BODY

In terms of bureaucracy, the International Triathlon Union (ITU, www.triathlon.org) has a membership that includes nearly 120 national governing boards for triathlon, representing 2 million or more affiliated triathletes worldwide. In some cases national governing boards further differentiate into regional bureaucracies.

Michaela Czech and Bonnie Dyer-Bennet

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Billiards

Billiards is descended from a fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century northern European lawn game played with balls. By the middle of the fifteenth century the game was moved indoors to a raised table, sometimes covered in green cloth to simulate grass, with a low sideboard to keep the balls from falling off. Like the outdoor game, the indoor game had one or more “ports” (hoops) and “kings” (upright pegs) as targets. The player shoved balls across the table with a wooden stick (mace) that had a flat face on an enlarged end. When executing a shot, the player held the handle end of the mace approximately at shoulder height with the enlarged end resting on the table.

Two types of tables became standard by the late eighteenth century. A pocket billiards table is rectangular and has six pockets, one in each corner and one on either long side. Scoring is accomplished by pocketing balls. A carom billiards table has no pockets. Players score points by propelling one of the balls (the cue ball) into other balls in some rule-governed fashion.

Equipment

Early billiard tables were constructed of wood. Some were square, whereas others were rectangular, and sizes were not standard. Modern tables range from 1.8 to 3.6 meters long and are twice as long as wide. A problem with wooden tables is that the playing surface is prone to warping. In 1826 John Thurston of England constructed a billiards table with a slate surface. Slate is inexpensive, readily available, and very resistant to warping. Today's quality tables have tops (beds) of slate 2.54 to 5 centimeters thick.

Players found that shots could be played by bouncing balls off the sideboards. Because the sideboards were often called “banks,” these shots are referred to as “bank shots.” Such shots were made easier when padded rails replaced the wooden sideboards. The earliest billiard balls were made of wood. Later the best



A woman lining up a shot.

balls were made of ivory. However, ivory was extremely expensive, prone to cracking and warping, and its use led to the slaughter of thousands of elephants during the early nineteenth century. In 1878 a U.S. chemist, John Wesley Hyatt, discovered that a compound of nitrocellulose, camphor, and alcohol could be molded into balls that are not affected by temperature and humidity. In 1870 Hyatt and his brother patented the process for making his compound, which they named “celluloid,” the world’s first commercial plastic.

The cue stick, a slender wooden rod, had largely replaced the mace by the end of the eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century leather tips were applied to the cue sticks so that an off-center strike on a ball did not result in a “miscue,” wherein the ball skids off to the side rather than in the intended direction. Players also found that putting chalk on the tip of the cue lessened the chance of a miscue. With these innovations, players

could purposely strike the cue ball slightly off center, thus imparting combinations of sidespin, topspin, or underspin, permitting more precise control of both the cue ball and the object balls.

Games

Modern billiards games come in four basic types. Carom billiards is played on a pocketless table with one red ball, one white ball, and one yellow (or white with two red or black spots on opposite sides) ball. Players score points by propelling their cue ball (either the white ball or the yellow or spotted ball) into the other two balls. By the late 1940s carom billiards faded in popularity in the United States in favor of pocket billiards games.

Snooker is played with twenty-two balls: the white cue ball, fifteen red balls worth one point each, and six numbered balls of different colors worth two through

seven points. A player first attempts to pocket one of the red balls and then a numbered ball, which is then replaced on the table. If successful, the player shoots another red ball and so on. English billiards is played with a red ball, a white ball, and a white spotted ball and combines aspects of carom billiards with those of pocket billiards. The tables for these games are normally larger (up to 3.6 meters long) than other tables, and the balls, in turn, are smaller. Both games are much more common in Europe than in the United States.

Common varieties of pocket billiards include straight pool, 8-ball, and 9-ball. Straight pool is played with one white cue ball and fifteen numbered balls. Players attempt to pocket some agreed-upon number of balls (150 for tournament play). The first player reaching that number is the winner. Players must indicate where they intend to pocket a ball before shooting. Improperly pocketed balls are replaced on the table, and the player loses a turn. In 9-ball the balls are racked at one end of the table in a diamond shape with the 9 ball in the center of the diamond. The object balls must be pocketed in numerical rotation, with the player who pockets the 9 ball winning the game. The game of 8-ball is the most popular billiards game in the world and is played with a cue ball and fifteen object balls, numbered 1 through 15. One player must pocket balls of the group numbered 1 through 7, whereas the other player must pocket 9 through 15. The player who first pockets all of the balls in his or her group and then the 8 ball wins the game.

Status of the Game

The term *pool* is often used interchangeably with *billiards*, but during the nineteenth century, a “pool” was a group bet made on horse races in off-track betting parlors known as “poolrooms.” Billiards tables were often installed in poolrooms so that patrons could play between races. The term *pool* now refers to any of the several versions of pocket billiards.

World championships in billiards began in 1870. Now both men and women vie for national and world championships in several varieties of billiards. In the past people often stigmatized billiards as a pursuit of

lowlifes, but now, with televised tournaments and tables in many homes, billiards is more popular than ever.

Garry Chick

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Biomechanics

Muscles govern range and speed of movement in all complex animals. To power movement, muscles must exert forces to support, forces to accelerate or decelerate, and forces to overcome inertia and the resistance of air or water through which movement occurs. The action of forces is studied in mechanics whereas the action of forces in living things is examined in biomechanics.

Biomechanics is a relatively new subdiscipline of kinesiology, although some people use the terms *biomechanics* and *kinesiology* interchangeably. *Kinesiology* means “the study of motion,” which has a broad focus. In contrast, according to the American Society of Biomechanics, *biomechanics* means “the application of the principles of mechanics to the study of biological systems.” Biomechanics views the human body as a machine—a mechanical system subject to the restrictions of the laws of physics. The body is divided into a collection of body segments connected to one another and pivoting at the joints, moved by muscular and/or externally applied forces.



Biomechanics

The Biomechanics of a Cricketer

In the extract below, from Badminton—a sports publication of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—the form and movement of the English cricketer David Harris is extolled.

It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey in writing an accurate idea of the grand effect of Harris's bowling; they only who have played against him can fully appreciate it. His attitude, when preparing for his run previously to delivering the ball, would have made a beautiful study for the sculptor. Phidias would certainly have taken him for a model. First of all, he stood erect like a soldier at drill; then, with a graceful curve of the arm, he raised the ball to his

forehead, and drawing back his right foot, started off with his left. The calm look and general air of the man were uncommonly striking, and from this series of preparations he never deviated. I am sure that from this simple account of his manner, all my countrymen who were acquainted with his play will recall him to their minds. His mode of delivering the ball was very singular. He would bring it from under the arm by a twist, and nearly as high as his arm-pit, and with this action push it, as it were, from him. How it was that the balls acquired the velocity they did by this mode of delivery, I never could comprehend.

The subdiscipline of biomechanics has grown rapidly and steadily during the past fifteen to twenty years because of, in large part, improvements in instrumentation in general and in high-speed computers in specific. Pennsylvania State University and Indiana University were perhaps the first two universities to design a laboratory for biomechanics during the 1960s. Today, however, biomechanics is a part of every curriculum, and almost all departments of kinesiology have biomechanics laboratories.

Although biomechanics is a relatively new subdiscipline, the first “biomechanic” was probably the Italian painter, sculptor, architect, and engineer Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). Leonardo's works demonstrated his knowledge of the musculoskeletal system as he described the mechanics of movement. During the nineteenth century the photographer Edward Muybridge used a system of multiple cameras to document the movement of racehorses. During the 1990s high-speed cinematography became a cornerstone of data collection and analysis of many athletic activities.

Biomechanics incorporates many other fields (physics, engineering, biology, computer science, zoology, and physical and occupational therapy), and human biomechanics can be divided into many areas of study. For example, some biomechanics experts are interested

in the elderly and mobility impairments. Others are interested in the development patterns of children. Clinical biomechanics experts might study the gait of people with cerebral palsy or the daily living activities of people with disabilities, whereas occupational biomechanics experts focus on work-related injuries and the prevention of those injuries and are particularly interested in safety factors in the workplace.

Biomechanics in Sport

In sport biomechanics is especially concerned with how the human body applies forces to itself and to other bodies with which it comes into contact and, in turn, how the body is affected by external forces. A sound knowledge of biomechanics equips the physical educator, the coach, and the athlete to choose appropriate training techniques and to detect and understand faults that may arise in their use. Joseph Hamill, a professor at the University of Massachusetts, listed the major categories of interest for the sport-biomechanics expert as improvement of health and physical fitness, injury prevention, equipment design, and improvement of athletic performance.

During recent years the number of girls and women participating in competitive sport, fitness activities, and recreational activities has grown rapidly. Women's de-

A golfer on the course.

Source: istockphoto/Skashkin.

mand for more information about new performance techniques and exercise regimens, accompanied by a willingness to spend money on scientifically designed running shoes, tennis rackets, exercise equipment, or health-promoting foods and diets, has brought even more support to sports research. Once considered the weaker sex, women are playing with speed, precision, explosiveness, and power.

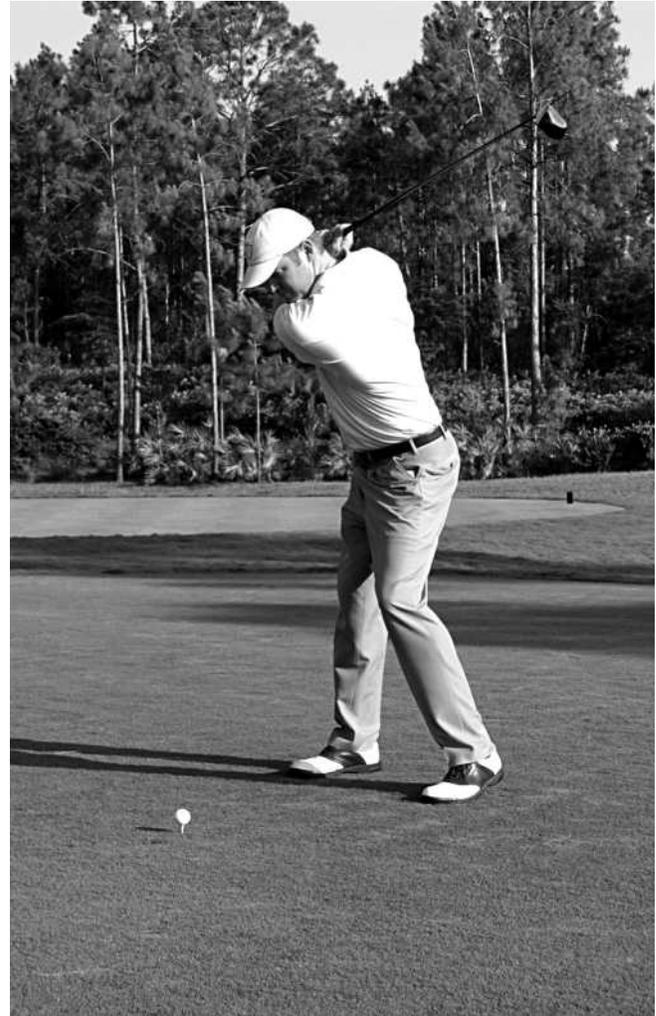
Perhaps because of women's increased involvement in sports, people are beginning to rely less on the male body as a medical norm or athletic-performance yardstick. Biomechanical and physiological factors relative to women should be a primary concern for people who teach, coach, and participate in exercise and sports. However, although much has been said about the woman athlete, little research has addressed her performance. With the increasing number of women participating in sports and other physical activities, the need for such research is paramount. Concepts of biomechanics particularly relevant to women include the following.

CENTER OF GRAVITY

Perhaps the most important concept in biomechanics is equilibrium and stability. People often use the terms *equilibrium* and *stability* synonymously. However, *equilibrium* is that point around which the body freely rotates in any direction with all the opposing forces equal, whereas *stability* is the resistance to the disruption of equilibrium. *Balance* is the ability to control movements. Many factors affect stability and balance. For example, when the line of gravity is within the base of support, the body is more stable. Because of a slightly wider pelvic girdle and narrower shoulders, women have a lower center of gravity than men and are, therefore, more stable. In balance-related activities women have an advantage because of their lower center of gravity.

OVERUSE INJURIES

Overuse injuries result from repetitive stress and/or microtrauma (injury at the microscopic level) and can result from both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Intrinsic



factors are those biomechanical aspects specific to each athlete and include bone structure, muscle imbalance and/or weakness, and lack of flexibility. Extrinsic factors are usually specific to a sport, including faulty equipment, incorrect shoes, changes in running surfaces, and improper training. Overuse injuries usually begin as mild or moderate nagging soft-tissue injuries and advance to more severe problems if the person does not receive proper care. Common overuse injuries particular to women who exercise and participate in athletics are Achilles tendonitis, chondromalacia (abnormal softening of cartilage), iliotibial band syndrome, stress fractures, carpal tunnel syndrome, and plantar fasciitis. Stress fractures are the most common type of injury for women in sports and occur most frequently with an increase in training. In addition, stress fractures are associated with girls or women who have irregular or no menstrual cycles because of heavy exercise routines.



Biomechanics

“Muscle Memory” by Grantland Rice

(“... Golf is mainly a matter of muscle memory, where through play of practice the response from each muscle is instinctive a matter of habit.”—
From an expert.)

Regardless of its shape or size,
Or any other variation,
I made each muscle memorize
The part best suited for its station.
I taught each one to slice and hook,
To do the stuff that I intended,
From phrases in a copybook
By leading experts recommended.

The ball is teed—the road is clear.
With young hope glowing like an ember,
I whisper in each muscle’s ear
“Here goes a hook—do you remember?”
And when I slice one from the lot,
As helpless as a ship that’s sinking,
Some muscle murmurs: “I forgot,
I’m sorry—but I wasn’t thinking.”

In wrath I’ve cursed them to a turn,
Loud epithets I’ve kept on raining,
And yet they never seem to learn
In spite of all my careful training.
Just yesterday, through aches and pains,
One snarled at me amid the tussle:
“See here—if I had any brains,
You sap, I wouldn’t be a muscle.”

Source: Rice, G. (1924). *Badminton*, p. 147–148.

PREGNANCY

Every pregnancy is unique, but all pregnant women undergo significant and multiple physiological and biomechanical changes that affect the body. Some of these changes start as early as conception, but most occur during the third trimester. In particular, musculoskeletal changes occur as a result of the hormone relaxin. Relaxin causes a progressive relaxation of the joints, which

include the ligaments that hold the sacroiliac joint and the symphysis pubis. Women often experience lower back pain as a result of an increase in lordosis (spinal curvature) and upper spine extension. These changes occur to accommodate the enlarged abdomen as the fetus grows. To compensate for this exaggerated lumbar curve, the center of gravity shifts. The woman must, in essence, lean backward to maintain a sense of stability. During the third trimester most women need to modify some of their movement patterns. An outward rotation (toeing out) of the feet and almost a shuffle gait usually occur.

KNEES

The knees are the largest and most vulnerable joints in the body. The combined functions of bearing weight and providing locomotion place considerable stress and strain on the knees. According to several studies, women athletes experience twice the knee injuries of men. This fact seems particularly true in such sports as basketball, soccer, and volleyball, all of which require constant pivoting. As with overuse injuries, the predisposition to a knee injury may fall under either intrinsic or extrinsic factors. Intrinsic factors include ligament size and intercondylar notch width (the distance between the lateral and medial condyle of the femur), joint laxity, and the quadricep angle (Q-angle), which is the angle made by the tendons of the quadriceps femoris and the ligamentum patella with the center of the patella, which is the thick, flat triangular movable bone that forms the anterior point of the knee. Extrinsic factors include motor skill, level of conditioning, muscular strength and coordination, and individual mechanics. Common knee injuries among women are patella femoral pain syndrome, chondromalacia, patella tendonitis, meniscal or cartilage injuries, and ligament injuries. In particular, a disproportionate number of anterior cruciate ligament (ACL) injuries occur in women’s athletics. The anterior cruciate ligaments provide stability to the knee, particularly for forward-backward movement. The greater incidence of ACL injuries stems from interrelated factors, including hamstring-quadriceps strength imbalances,

wider Q-angle, and joint laxity. These factors do not necessarily cause the problem together—hamstring-quadriceps strength imbalances may add to joint instability.

Athletic Equipment Design and Apparel

For many years women and girls participating in sports and fitness activities have had to use equipment designed for men. Recently, however, some companies have responded to the enormous number of women who are now physically active. Shoe companies and sporting goods and athletic-wear companies are making functional design adaptations to meet the needs of women. In addition, more businesses owned and operated by women are making design changes in athletic equipment for women. Compared to the average man, the average woman is shorter and has longer legs, shorter arms, and a shorter torso. Women also have smaller hands and feet, narrower shoulders, and wider hips. Women have a higher percentage of body fat and less lean muscle mass.

Biomechanical differences also apply to athletic shoes for women. Whereas most men's athletic shoes are designed on a standard athletic last (mold), many women's shoes are designed on a special last. Lasts come in two shapes: A straight-lasted shoe is filled in under the medial arch, whereas a curved-lasted shoe is flared medially at the ball of the foot. Also, women's shoes usually have narrower heels. Although a number of sport-specific athletic-shoe designs exist, all incorporate biomechanical factors such as heel counters, midsoles, and lateral forefoot support.

In summary, biomechanical factors are critical in analyzing and improving the way women execute particular movements. Some factors may also cause an increased predisposition to specific injuries. Therefore, people should understand the principles of biomechanics as they relate to care and prevention of injuries and to the enhancement of motor performance of people.

Rosalie DiBrezzo and Inza Fort

See also Human Movement Studies; Kinesiology; Sport Science

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Biotechnology

In 1953 the English biophysicist Francis Crick and the U.S. geneticist James Watson presented the structure of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA). Half a century later the HUGO (Human Genome Organization) project completed the mapping of the human genome (one haploid set of chromosomes with the genes they contain). Expectations of biotechnology have grown enormously ever since. These expectations concern not only the mapping and sequencing of many organisms, but also the modification of genes to cure diseases or to enhance human features. During the next few decades sports will be confronted with a variety of more or less realistic promises, varying from preventive screening to the genetic selection of talent and the enhancement of athletic performance with gene doping.

Basic Biology

The human body is made up of sixty trillion (6×10^{13}) cells of 320 types (muscle cells or blood cells, for example). The nucleus of each cell contains twenty-three pairs of chromosomes. These chromosomes carry most of our genetic material. This material, DNA, is made up of a chain of nucleotide (compounds that consist of a

ribose or deoxyribose sugar joined to a purine or pyrimidine base and to a phosphate group and that are the basic structural units of nucleic acids) bases: adenine (A), guanine (G), thymine (T), and cytosine (C). These bases are grouped into two pairs: Adenine binds to thymine, and guanine binds to cytosine.

In 1953 Watson and Crick discovered the double helix, the structure of DNA. DNA carries our genes and almost all hereditary information. DNA passes information to proteins via ribonucleic acid (RNA). RNA and proteins play a crucial role in reproducing DNA and in life processes in general (instead of thymine, RNA has uracil, and RNA is not structured as a double helix but rather is single stranded). DNA is passed on from one generation to the next generation.

The human body is made up of 3 billion base pairs and probably thirty thousand genes. A gene is a distinct unit of DNA, a particular string of A, T, G, and C. Each particular string of bases may stand for a piece of information that is used to produce amino acids and proteins (proteins are chains of twenty types of amino acids).

Molecular biologists are gaining insights into these genetic building blocks of life. Meanwhile, genetic engineering (genetic transfer technology) of DNA is developing rapidly, and the applications of gene therapy seem promising. Gene technology also has resulted in controversial applications. After scientists began cloning animals (such as the sheep Dolly), many people were concerned about what would follow. People expressed even greater concern when gene doping entered the news. Big, muscled, genetically modified mice—named after the former bodybuilding champion Arnold Schwarzenegger—created many worries about the future of elite sports.

Sports

Genes are crucial for sports talent. Research on performances of identical (monozygotic—derived from a single egg) twin athletes has provided some clues to the heritability and the dominant role of genes that are related to sports performance. Empirical evidence that shows the genetic component for human performance

has grown quickly during the last few decades. Genes determine to a large extent anthropometrical (relating to the study of human body measurements, especially on a comparative basis) features such as height and the length of arms and legs. Features such as muscle size, muscle fiber composition, heart size, lung size and volume, resting heart rate, muscular strength, flexibility of joints, and aerobic endurance are all in some respect trainable, but the influence of genes dominates.

Several large research programs are searching for the location of crucial genes that are related to elite sports performance. Researchers are scrutinizing several genes that might have a critical influence on specific sports talents. Genes that regulate muscle tissue and blood flow, for example, are associated with elite endurance athletes. More complex than establishing the relative contribution of genes, as opposed to nongenetic factors, is the search for specific genes, their location, and their specific influence on athletic performance.

Some researchers think that the human gene map is still in its infancy and that little has been accomplished thus far. However, several research programs reinforce the suggestion that in the long run sports-relevant features can be localized in our genes. After researchers localize these genes, the next step of modification—using knowledge for enhancement—might be imminent.

Developments in molecular biology hold several promises that might have spectacular influences on modern sports. Three of these promises are preventing risks related to sports, genetically screening to maximize selection processes in elite sports, and genetically modifying athletes (gene doping).

Preventing Risks

Knowledge about our genetic makeup and its relation with health risks raises possibilities for prevention. The emergence of “sports genetic passports” could have consequences for the ideology of “sports for all.” Insights into genetic makeup can contribute to a restriction of choices. A genetic predisposition for sickle cell anemia can be life threatening, for example, in combination with certain types of sports.

There are one hundred and ninety nine ways to beat, but only one way to win; get there first. ■ WILLIE SHOEMAKER

Evidence indicates the risks of brain damage when engaging in contact sports such as boxing or even soccer. Information about genetic makeup can radically change the discussion about compulsory testing and preventive measurements in boxing. Besides factors such as the length of a person's boxing career, the number of knockouts, and the number of punches to the head, genetic predisposition clearly seems to play an important role in the prevalence of Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's disease, and dementia pugilistica. Professional boxers who are homozygotic (having the two genes at corresponding loci on homologous chromosomes identical for one or more loci) for the Apo-E4 gene have a great risk of suffering Parkinson's or Alzheimer's at a young age: One out of six boxers will suffer Parkinson's or Alzheimer's by the fiftieth birthday. Although no curative therapy is available, people must make decisions about preventive options such as medical examination, waiting times for the next match, or restriction of a boxing career (temporary or definitively). People also face the question of what preventive options are available for young children who practice contact sports, either on a recreational basis or with the intention of becoming an elite athlete.

With preventive screening and advice people can gain clear health benefits. Negative advice ("it is better not to box") is not uncontroversial. However, it does seem less complex than the situation in which genetic testing is translated into positive advice, such as when a favorable genetic blueprint with respect to athletic features leads a person to a forced predestination to become an elite athlete.

Maximizing Athletic Potential

Genetic screening might be applied to children whose genetic makeup would allow them to perform a certain sport. This screening might be the next step in "talent scouting." The application of gene technology as a selective tool would be one tool among others, but it would advance the moment of selection and the efficiency of scouting.

Coaches have already expressed their interest in these

possibilities of gene technology. Hartmut Buschbacher, a native of East Germany, has been coach of the U.S. national women's rowing team for nine years. Of genetic screening he said, "As a coach, I'm interested in performance, and if this information would give me a better opportunity to select the athletes for my team, I would like to use that. That way you're not going to waste so much time and energy on athletes who may not be as successful" (Farrey 2002).

However, such an increased level of knowledge might decrease sports participation in general, especially among people who have a less favorable genetic profile for high performance. Early insight into "objective" standards of talent can have a discouraging effect on children who don't have enough talent for elite sports. Genetic screening might also contribute to a widening gap between sports as an educational and cultural phenomenon and sports as a merely selective and performance-driven practice in which the matching of the "right child to the right sport" becomes a central objective.

On the other hand, parents and children who are willing to spend their time and money to achieve sports success have a right to insights. In any case, the interests of children need to be carefully weighed against those of ambitious parents, coaches, and countries. Knowledge about genetic makeup may even enhance autonomy and contribute to the prevention of harm. A parent's decision to exploit the athletic talent of a child is potentially a more restricting decision (given the relative uncertainty about the talent) than a decision that is based on a genetic profile. This practice of early selection does, however, raise moral and pedagogical (relating to a teacher or education) questions about the threat of autonomy of selected children. A child's knowledge that he or she has genetic variants associated with a higher probability of success in sports may be a source of problems. People may have to balance the right to know with the right not to know.

On the other hand, one can imagine that the nonselected will be spared grief because they will not fail to match their high ambitions. In any case (with or without genetic screening) people must cope with alternative

scenarios when the talent cannot live up to the expectations. That means, if necessary, a flexible readjustment of the athletic blueprint. That also means considering the social, ethical, pedagogical, and commercial limits of “athletic predestination.”

Enhancing Performance

One can think of several biotechnological applications to enhance athletic performance. Genetic information might be used, for example, to fine-tune training and nutrition in relation to an athlete’s genetic makeup. One of the prospects that appeals most to the imagination is that of gene doping. Gene doping is the non-therapeutic use of genes, genetic elements, and/or cells that have the capacity to enhance athletic performance.

The insertion of artificial genes is already possible, although the problem of controlling the activity of the artificial genes so they don’t produce too little or too much of the required substance remains. The artificial gene can be inserted into a patient in three ways. The simplest way is to inject the DNA directly into the muscles. Some of the muscle fibers will then take up the DNA. Alternatively, one could introduce the DNA into cells in the laboratory and then inject these cells back into the body. Finally, one could use viruses to introduce foreign DNA into human cells. Sports performance could be increased by increasing red blood cells by inserting an EPO (erythropoietin, a synthetic hormone that stimulates production of oxygen-carrying red blood cells) gene and by building muscle mass by inactivating the myostatin gene (successfully applied to mice). After a synthetic gene was injected into the muscles of so-called Schwarzenegger mice (to produce more insulin-like growth factor 1), their muscle force increased 60 percent after a month. The injection of EPO genes into monkeys made the level of red blood cells rise from forty to seventy (fifty is a “health limit” within elite sports).

These experiments seem to be preparation for the first genetically modified athlete. Indeed, some people expect the first genetically modified athlete to enter the sports arena in the near future. Some researchers think that as soon as gene therapy becomes a well-established

People are so busy lengthening their lives with exercise they don’t have time to live them. ■ JONATHAN MILLER

technique, gene doping of elite athletes will become routine. Other researchers temper such high expectations and do not think that in the near future the genetically modified athlete will become reality. Many genes are involved in athletic performance, especially in sports that do not merely measure force or speed. Complex interactions exist among genes, and complex interactions exist among genes and the environment. No one crucial gene for sports talent can be identified, inserted, or modified at will.

Notwithstanding these diverging interpretations of future scenarios, no doubt biotechnological developments will raise and stimulate a broad spectrum of ethical and social-political questions.

Sports, Biotechnology, and Ethics

People have applied general principles, such as autonomy, privacy, justice, equity, and human dignity, to reach an international consensus and to harmonize national regulations on biotechnology. However, we can question whether conventional human rights meet all the dilemmas that will arise from biotechnology. Ideas that come into play include the Kantian (referring to the German philosopher Immanuel Kant) maxim of not treating a person as a means to an end, a right to a unique genotype (all or part of the genetic constitution of a person or group), harm done to an unborn person, discrimination, the right to privacy, and an equal availability to new technology. People who oppose the use of molecular biology to enhance human beings think this new technology will endanger the “intrinsic value of diversity” or is a reprehensible way of “playing God.”

The discussions about the ethics of genetic enhancement in sports are more specific. The purpose of the World Anti-Doping Program, as written in the code of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), is to protect athletes’ fundamental right to participate in doping-free sports and thus to promote health, fairness, and equality for athletes worldwide. While repeating its militant statement, “For once, we want to be ahead, not behind,” WADA has tried to keep up with the latest developments in gene technology. International regula-



tion and harmonization of the antidoping policy remain the primary aim. The representation of “pure and honest sport” is also related to the possibilities of public identification and to the protection of commercial interests.

Although a long history of the use and detection of performance-enhancing substances exists in sports, the use of biotechnology seems to raise new and complex issues. A major issue is the moral and practical implications of control and detection. Although WADA initiated genetic research to stay ahead of the athlete, anti-doping authorities face serious problems in their search for a useful test to detect gene-doped athletes. The protein produced by the artificial gene will be identical to the endogenous (caused by factors inside the organism or system) protein because the human body itself produces it. If pure DNA cells are used, this DNA will be present only at the site of injection. That means that a muscle biopsy of the injected site would be required. However, what if athletes do not consent to a biopsy from the muscle in order to control for the “naturalness” of the DNA? What is considered an autonomous decision in a clinical context is considered fraud in the context of elite sports. The implications of control for “pure genes” ask for a careful consideration of the principle of informed consent in elite sports. Controlling practices also raise questions about the privacy of the screened athlete. WADA aims at an insight into the medical passports of all athletes to be able to screen the relevant medical parameters for a longer period of time. The question is, “Who will ‘own’ and protect the genetic information of the athletes?” Besides moral and practical questions about detection, people also are concerned about how these developments will influence sports and athletes themselves.

Another complex issue is the distinction between therapy and nontherapy. We can only with difficulty draw a clear line between a therapeutic and an enhancing use of genetics. Why do people condemn the healthy athlete who wants to become better but not the ill patient who wants to become better? Does a difference really exist between therapy to replace defective

genes with healthy genes and therapy to enhance healthy genes? Although this difference is often difficult to see, it remains one of the most important fundamentals of the international policy on sports and doping.

The discussion of sports and genetics clearly is about more than just protecting the health of the athlete or protecting the idea of a fair competition. What happens when talent is not something that is “just given” but rather is a feature we can modify or choose for? High-performance sports might have to adopt a new ethics that is adapted to changing times and technologies. For the time being good genes do not suffice for success in sports. Dedication remains an important factor that composes one of the relevant inequalities we want to measure for in sports. Sports are about measuring performances with the aim of comparing differences in talent and dedication. To be competitive within modern elite sports requires talent and dedication in extreme quantities. This requirement will not change with biotechnology. Biotechnology cannot replace training effort. Biotechnology can, however, change our perception of a fair and human way of practicing sports.

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See also Technology

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Bislett Stadium

Bislett Stadium is located in Oslo, Norway. The stadium, known simply as “Bislett,” for decades hosted speed skating in the winter and track and field and football (soccer) in the summer. In its heyday Bislett was known for its world records, its spectators, and its ambience.

Development

In 1898 the Oslo city council purchased an area belonging to a local brickworks to be developed as a sports ground and playground. The development was gradual, however. The initiative of one man, Martinus Lordahl, was decisive when the Bislett sports ground was opened in 1908. It was then a skating rink in the winter and a rather lacking athletic ground in the summer. In 1917 the city council took over responsibility for Bislett and invested enough to enable Bislett Stadium to be built and to open in 1922 with covered stands, indoor training facilities for boxing and

wrestling, cafe, and changing rooms. Both the track and the infield were cindered. This opening meant that Oslo, at last had a modern stadium for the eastern, working-class parts of the city. During the latter part of the 1930s the stadium was modernized, cinders on the infield were replaced with grass, and stands to accommodate thirty-two thousand spectators were erected. The track kept its cinders until 1971, when a synthetic surface was installed. The track surface was renewed again in 1984–1985 during a long-overdue modernization that also improved stands and changing rooms. However, people proclaimed these improvements “too little, too late.” The stadium had, for example, never more than six running lanes and needed dispensations from the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) to arrange international track meets during its last years.

Social and Political Meanings

Bislett, however, was where Norwegian sports history and international sports history were made. After 1922 the stadium became Oslo’s biggest communal sports ground, with a broad scale of uses and users. Bislett’s political meaning between the two world wars, when Norwegian and European workers’ sport was powerful, is also apparent. Its location made it the home venue of workers’ sports competitions. Because it was a municipal stadium, access was open, and Bislett’s reputation as a popular sports arena grew. In football this reputation was evident after 1945 as the top teams from the eastern districts with no grounds of their own gladly used Bislett as their own ground. The Norwegian national football team played one game there—in 1913. The only track and field championship staged there was the European track and field championship of 1946. Only one year after the end of World War II this event had political implications because the Soviet Union participated, six years before the Soviet Union entered the Olympic Games.

World Record Arena

Bislett’s reputation also grew from its status as a world record arena. The first record was set in 1924 when the

Think big, believe big, act big, and the results will be big. ■ ANONYMOUS

future IAAF president, Adrian Paulen, ran the 500-meter race. More records followed by athletes such as Jack Torrance, Forrest Towns, Ron Clarke, Roger Moens, Grete Waitz, Anders Garderud, John Walker, Henry Rono, Sebastian Coe, Steve Ovett, Ingrid Kristiansen, Steve Cram, Said Aouita, Jan Zelezny, and Haile Gebreselassie. Sixty-two world records in track and field were set at Bislett between 1924 and 2000, the majority of them in track's middle and long distances. Because the track was not particularly fast, other factors—such as the mild temperature, pure air, and usually windless conditions of Scandinavian summer evenings; the intimacy and ambience of the stadium; and the tightly packed crowd's enthusiasm and knowledge—were more decisive. The crowd's ability to carry athletes to their supreme levels of performance was shown in 1965 in perhaps the most overwhelming demonstration of running ability the world had seen: Australian Ron Clarke's world record-breaking run in the 10,000-meter race. On the cinders of Bislett he recorded a time of 27 minutes 39.4 seconds, smashing the record with 34.6 seconds.

Speed Skating and Ambience

"Only the greatest speed skating heroes are met with such enthusiasm," someone said after Ron Clarke's historic run in 1965, illustrating the place that speed skating held in Norwegian sports and culture. As a speed-skating arena Bislett attracted large crowds who nearly always created the "Bislett ambience" including the "Bislett roar." Bislett represented the utmost in the premodern sport of speed skating: an outdoor venue with natural ice. Being located in the lowlands near sea level, it could never compete with the high-altitude venues for ice conditions, times, and records. It nevertheless attracted tens of thousands of people who came to stand in the cold for hours to watch pairs of skaters glide loop after loop. Bislett was the setting for ten European and thirteen world championships, the 1986 European championship being the last. The Olympic speed and figure-skating competitions of 1952 also took place at Bislett. People such as Oscar Mathiesen,

Clas Thunberg, Hjalmar Andersen, Knut Johannessen, Ard Schenk, and Eric Heiden were celebrated there. Fourteen world records in speed skating were set at Bislett during the period 1963–1982. The Bislett ambience made the stadium popular among both spectators and competitors. Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish, Dutch, U.S., and Soviet skaters were all celebrated at Bislett.

The Future

The transition of speed skating to indoor arenas with artificial ice became unavoidable after the 1980s and especially after the 1990s. This transition meant that Bislett had seen its day, especially because it had not been designed for artificial ice. The stadium's use as a multisports facility made such a design difficult. Increasing demands for the quality of grass for football, ice for skating, and running lanes for track and field made a combined solution for all seasons impossible.

Bislett continued to host athletic events as world stars returned year after year to the rather primitive, old-fashioned stadium. However, after 2003 no more international events were staged at Bislett. After having been granted dispensations for lacking facilities for years, the stadium was finally declared too old. The debate over who was to blame for this dejected development was heated and involved some of Norway's most distinguished voices. However, being labelled "conservative nostalgics," they were on the losing side of the debate. The Oslo city council in 2004 decided to tear down Bislett Stadium, and to erect a new stadium at the same place, ending eighty years of sports history.

Matti Goksøyr

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Blood Doping

See Performance Enhancement

Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)

A rowing competition is held annually in late March or early April between the boat clubs of Oxford and Cambridge, two of England's oldest and most prestigious universities. First held in 1829, and held annually since 1856 (except for war years), the race is considered a symbol of British sport and is one of the world's oldest surviving sporting events. The 2004 race was both the 150th race and the 175th anniversary of the first race. Part of the worldwide appeal of the event is that one needs to know nothing about the sport to follow the race.

Origins

The idea for the boat race came from Oxford student Charles Wordsworth (nephew of the famous poet) and his Cambridge friend Charles Merivale, who staged an interuniversity cricket match in 1827. They extended the interuniversity sport idea to a rowing competition, when Cambridge formally challenged Oxford to the first race on 10 June 1829, at Henley-on-Thames. This also started the tradition whereby the previous year's loser must formally challenge the other university each year. Cambridge leads the series 78-71-1 through 2004. The Henley Boat Races are a tradition that started in 1975; they are held about a week before the men's race and include races between the main and reserve all-women's teams and women's and men's lightweight team races.

Race and Course

The 4.25-mile course, used every year since 1849, follows the River Thames between Putney and Mortlake.

This course is three times longer than a regular modern rowing course. Traditionally, the races are won and lost in the "battle of the bends" on the three main bends in the course. The race takes less than twenty minutes to complete, with the current course record at 16:19, set by Cambridge in 1998, in a year when both teams broke the previous course record. Approximately 250,000 spectators line the course to watch the race live each year, while 8.9 million watched the race on the BBC in 2004, and about 400 million were in the international television audience.

The start of the race is usually about ninety minutes before high tide, when water is running at its fastest. The hoopla surrounding the race has turned into a week-long celebration, known as "Tideway Week," which coincides with the beginning of England's "social season." The boats have sunk on more than one occasion, which used to mean an automatic forfeit but now causes a restart of the race. Weather can often be a factor in the event, with high winds or heavy rain affecting the race. A coin toss determines who chooses the side of the river to row on, which can make a big difference, depending on the weather.

Teams

To compete, a rower must be a currently enrolled student at either Oxford or Cambridge. Competitors in the early years of the race were often "muscular gentlemen of the cloth." Family members of previous team members often end up in the boats. The race is not limited to men—women occasionally make the teams. In 1981, Susan Brown, a member of the British Olympic team, was the first woman to steer in the men's boat race, leading the winning Oxford team. The naming of some "students" in the past to teams was a bit more suspect, as international rowing stars were recruited to take one-year courses at the university and qualify for the team.

History

Cambridge dominated the race overall during the early to mid-twentieth century; they won a record thirteen in a row (1924–1936), took seventeen out of eighteen

from 1914–1936, and won all but twelve from 1914–1973. Oxford’s longest winning streak was ten in a row from 1976–1985 and sixteen of seventeen from 1976–1992, followed by another streak by Cambridge of seven years from 1993–1999. The winning margin is often small (indeed, 1877 was a dead heat), and the history of the race is marked with accusations on both sides of errant oars, ramming of boats, shady recruiting of team members, and bad sportsmanship.

The race was first broadcast as a running commentary by BBC radio in 1927 and was first televised on the BBC in 1938. John Snagge, the BBC commentator for the race from 1931–1980, considered the “voice of the boat race,” is famous for his 1949 pronouncement, “I can’t see who’s ahead, but it’s either Oxford or Cambridge.” Sponsorship of the race began in 1976. One of the more famous stories out of the race was the “Oxford Mutiny” of 1987, when the Americans chosen for the

team refused to row in the race after one of their countrymen was dropped in favor of the English president of the club. The Oxford coach, Dan Topolski, cobbled together a new young team of reserves that still won the race by four lengths. Many previous races can be viewed or listened to online at the official boat race website, <http://www.theboatrace.org>.

The Future

Technology has finally come to the traditional boat race, with large viewing screens on the banks of the Thames, in-boat cameras, and microphones on the coxes, bringing fans closer to the experience. The boat race will be leaving the BBC, its long-standing broadcast partner, in 2005 and moving to new broadcast partner ITV. Although the race itself is sponsored, the boats and individual competitors are not yet, but that is inevitable in the future. With all the sponsorship



Rowers on the Thames. Source: istockphoto.com/RuudVNR.



Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)

Team Building through Boat Racing

This 1915 account of a boat race on the Thames River stresses the value of teamwork on the water:

As an instance of that physical perseverance which wins, two pictures come up before me as I write. They are connected with a contest between Cambridge and Oxford on the Thames River. The first scene shows the start; the rowers are in their places, —every one alert and strong,—while cheering thousands encourage their respective teams. The second picture is the finish of the race. The winning crew,—that of Cambridge,—comes in with only two of the rowers able to pull their oars, while the others evidence by their hanging heads and bowed bodies their completely fagged condition. The honor goes to Cambridge; and it all depended on the two men who were able to hold their own. Some day in the race of life their exploit will be duplicated, and the training of the days of school life will be responsible for their again proving themselves superior to their fellows.

The spirit which enabled those two to win out for their team, as well as the spirit which carried the

other to the point of complete exhaustion, is highly beneficial factor to society. A distinctive element of the team-game is the sacrifice of the individual's personal interest for the benefit of the clan. One day, during the progress of a football game, a young quarter-back said to his coach, "Take me out; I've forgotten the signals." The personal privilege of being in the game was nothing to him compared with the success of his team.

Similar self-sacrifice is the constant need of social life. The team athletic contest has been the means of making the individual player realize that he is not an isolated factor in life's problem, but that he stands related to the other factors. In Public School 30, New York City, the champion broad-jumper was ineligible to compete on account of low grades in his studies. The boy-editor of the school-paper remarked, "It's a pity he can't jump as well with his lessons."

Source: Character through recreation in the field of athletics. (1915). *Badminton*, p. 160–161.

money coming into the race, teams are better funded and use professional coaches who were not available to them in the past, making the races much more competitive during the last several years.

Christina L. Hennessey

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Boating, Ice

Ice boating (also called "ice yachting") is a fast-paced winter sport that uses a boat propelled by wind. An ice boat resembles a sailboat, with a hull, mast, and sails, but also has runners on its flat-bottomed hull to allow it to glide along the ice. An iceboat can cruise at 50 to 100 kilometers per hour and in strong winds can accelerate to 225 kilometers per hour or more. Ice

boaters sail on frozen rivers, lakes, or bays, primarily in northern regions of Europe and North America where weather conditions freeze the water but keep the ice clear of snow.

Origins

People in early northern cultures used a variety of objects to glide over snow and ice. Historians often cite eighteenth-century Netherlands, where people sailed wind-powered boats on winter ice, as the birthplace of modern ice boating. Other European countries also practiced ice boating. In the United States during the nineteenth century the communities of Long Branch and Red Bank in New Jersey and the region around the Hudson River in New York State were early centers for the sport. It subsequently became popular in the upper midwestern United States and in Canada and other chilly regions.

Early ice boats were basic, having crude skatelike runners and simple sails and rigging. Some ice boats were just conventional sailboats with runners attached to them. However, during the mid-nineteenth century people began to build larger and more complex ice boats. In the United States people often called these boats “Hudson River ice yachts,” and, not surprisingly, they were usually owned by wealthy people. One prominent early ice boater, for example, was John E. Roosevelt (member of a prominent New York family and an ancestor of President Franklin D. Roosevelt), whose boat, the *Icicle*, had more than 93 square meters of sail. Such large ice boats were among the fastest vehicles in the world at the time.

Ice boating gained wider popularity during the twentieth century with the trend toward small boats that were inexpensive and portable. This trend began in 1931 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, when the ice boater Starke Meyer designed a boat that was steered by a pivoted runner in the bow (front) instead of the stern (rear), which had previously been more common. The Joys family, whose members were professional sailmakers in Milwaukee, devised a similar ice boat. This design allowed people to build small ice boats known

as “Skeeters” that are both fast and stable. Other ice boat builders created variations on this design. Among the most popular modern ice boat designs is the DN, which was created at the *Detroit News* in 1937.

During the years ice boaters have formed organizations to sponsor races and other activities. The Poughkeepsie, New York, Ice Yacht Club, founded in 1869, was the first formal ice boating organization in the United States. Some organizations are geographically oriented, and some, such as the International DN Ice Yacht Racing Association, are oriented to specific types of boats. Important competitions have included the Hearst Cup, the Ford Cup, and the Ice Yacht Pennant.

Practice

Ice boaters, like other sailors, steer their craft and pull in or let out their sails to take best advantage of the direction and speed of the wind. An ice boat also has a tiller in the bow or stern that is turned to steer the boat (similar to turning the rudder on a sailboat). Ice boats also heel (tip to one side) when sailing fast.

Ice boating requires unique skills and conditions. Ice boats are not slowed by the resistance that slows sailboats as they move through the water. A fast-moving ice boat also generates a separate wind, which increases its speed to three or four times that of the natural wind. Ice boats have unique steering characteristics, and the skipper must be careful to avoid spinning out of control on slippery ice. Safety is a crucial consideration, and sailors wear helmets and other protective gear.

Today’s ice boats come in many sizes and designs. Some ice sailors build their own boats to standard specifications. The hulls of ice boats are usually narrow, with parallel runners attached to perpendicular cross-planks extending out to the sides. Ice boaters sit either in a small cockpit in the hull or on a seat attached to its surface. Most small ice boats are built to accommodate one person, but some types, such as the Yankee, carry two or more persons.

People classify ice boats by the size of their sail area. Sail area sizes are divided into classes, which range from boats with a sail area of 23 square meters or more

to boats with a sail area of less than 7 square meters. These boats are usually designated from Class A (large) to Class E (small). People also classify ice boats by their design. The DN design, for example, usually has a 3.7-meter-long hull, 2.4-meter runners, and 5.5 square meters of sail. The larger Skeeter design has a hull about 6 meters long or longer and 7 square meters of sail.

Ice sailors compete in local and regional races and in national and international championships. (As in sailing, races are called “regattas.”) Some races are open to all boats with similar sail sizes. One-design competitions are open only to boats of a specific design. In the United States the National Iceboat Authority establishes basic racing guidelines.

The direction of the wind determines the courses for ice boat racing. Courses are marked by buoys set some distance apart, commonly a mile. Racers line up at an angle to the buoys and start simultaneously. They circle the buoys and must tack on a course that takes them into the wind at different angles, finishing at a predetermined location. Judging is based on a combination of speed and the ability of the sailor to control the boat and follow the course as closely as possible.

John Townes

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Bobsledding

The history of bobsledding as an organized and identifiable sport stretches back for over a hundred years. Emerging from the Alpine areas of Europe, the sport now has a regular worldwide platform as an event of the Winter Olympics. Bobsledding, despite its being very expensive, requiring specific climatic conditions, and having facilities that are available in only a small number of countries, has an increasingly global appeal.

At present over thirty nations are affiliated with the Federation Internationale de Bobsleigh et de Tobogganing (FIBT). The spectacle of two or four racers traveling down a 1,600-meter (1,744-yard) course at speeds approaching 130 kilometers (78 miles) per hour, thereby suffering a centrifugal force of up to 4 g’s as they approach a bend, makes bobsledding one of the most fascinating winter sports for participant and spectator alike. Bobsledding is growing and increasing in popularity, especially, and in many ways surprisingly, in countries where snow is seldom, if ever, seen.

Origins of Bobsledding

The sled and the luge were common sights in the mountainous regions of Europe and North America throughout the nineteenth century. Developing from local forms of transportation, the sled and the luge had increasingly been used as part of the pursuit of leisure by visitors to mountain areas seeking new thrills and new ways of traveling down mountainsides at great speed.

At the forefront of this search for new thrills were the British, and in 1875 a group of tourists were responsible for the invention of the “Skeleton.” The Skeleton took the basic form of a sled with the addition of a sliding seat that would enable the rider to travel down a slope while lying on his or her stomach. The sled could be controlled by shifting the rider’s weight on the seat. The Skeleton took the old sled and luge to new speeds, while opening minds to the possibility of new and future forms of downhill travel that would be used primarily for sport.

The first identifiable bobsled was designed in 1886 by Wilson Smith, an Englishman. This idea was advanced by Christian Mathias, a St. Moritz, Switzerland, blacksmith. The bobsled was taking on definite form.

In the early days those brave enough to board these early contraptions had to restrict their runs to the high frozen banks of roads in the Alpine regions. Foremost among these were the Swiss areas surrounding Davos, St. Moritz, Les-Avants-sur-Montreux, Leysin, Murren, and Engelberg. As the bobsled became a more frequent sight, and specific roads were used on a more regular

Success without honor is an unseasoned dish; it will satisfy your hunger, but it won't taste good. ■ JOE PATERNO

basis, organized clubs grew up in the various localities. The first of these was founded in 1896 at St. Moritz, the spiritual home of the bobsled, by Lord Francis Helmsey of Britain.

The use of roads as bobsled runs was far from ideal, and the clubs began to think in terms of purpose-built runs. The first was built by the St. Moritz club in 1903. This first run was 1,600 meters (1,750 yards) long and linked le Parc Badrutt with Celerina. A second run, the Schatzalp, was built in Davos in 1907 and included fifty-one bends. The first national championships were held in Germany at Oberhof, also in 1907, with the winning team receiving a trophy donated by Crown Prince William of Prussia. From these beginnings bobsled clubs grew up in Germany, Romania, and France, as well as Switzerland.

During the early 1920s, there were international moves to organize a winter sports week recognized by the International Olympic Committee as the Winter Olympics. These first Winter Olympics were held at Chamonix in France in 1924 and played host to the first four-man bobsled event. The staging of the games was of vital importance to bobsled as a sport; the International Olympic Committee was the catalyst for the formation of the FIBT, which in turn introduced standardized rules and regulations for bobsledding. The meeting in Chamonix on 31 January 1924, attended by six delegates from six countries, is central to the history of bobsled as it heralded the birth of a modern, regulated, and centrally organized sport.

Growth of Bobsledding

To understand the origins of bobsledding as an organized sport, it is centrally important to understanding the cultural context from which it grew. Essentially, as pointed out earlier, bobsledding emerged from the activities of thrill-seeking Alpine tourists who were searching for a new form of amusement in the snow. This group of people primarily was made up of those wealthy enough to spend part of the winter in places such as St. Moritz. This shows up in the background of those key figures who established bobsled clubs, brought about

the standardization of rules, and established the FIBT. The fact that Count Renaud de la Fregeolierie, Lord Francis Helmsey, and Crown Prince William of Prussia are key figures in the evolution of the sport demonstrates its origins as the pastime of the aristocratic and the wealthy. Equally, the distribution of the seven founding nations of the FIBT—Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, Switzerland, and the United States—says much about its cultural context. These are nations with the social groups who have traditionally wintered in Alpine regions, or they are nations with a tradition of Alpine sports and access to snow, thereby able to host bobsled events. Until World War II, the adoption of bobsled by other nations followed a similar pattern. The nations joining the FIBT were either those with traveling wealthy elites—or those with snow. By 1945 only Argentina, Spain, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Holland, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia had been added to the list of members, and the active participation of some of these nations was at best limited.

Bobsledding as a competitive sport has been dominated by the Winter Olympics. For most spectators who enjoy the sport, the Winter Olympics are the only time it enters their consciousness. Although the FIBT has held World Bobsled Championships every year since 1930, these do not reach the same global audience as do the Olympics. In many ways this reliance on the Winter Olympics has stunted the growth of bobsledding by comparison with other winter sports such as skiing or ice skating, both of which have regular media coverage of their annual national and international championships. The more fundamental problems that have held back wider growth of bobsledding have continued to be the high cost of participation and the limited availability of runs. By 1988 the FIBT recognized nineteen official runs, only three of which, Calgary (Canada), Lake Placid (New York), and Sapporo (Japan) were outside the European Alpine area.

The limited number of bobsled runs, which obviously restricts the chances of training for those competitors who do not have a national run, adds further



to the cost of the sport. At present even a second-hand bobsled will cost up to \$25,000. For these reasons the development and spread of the sport has been slowed. In the post–World War II period, the coverage of bobsled events has improved as the media coverage of the Winter Olympics has grown, and it is a highly popular event when it is screened, with its combination of speed, ice, and danger. Despite this popularity, it is not a sport that the viewer or spectator can then go out and try. Therefore, the nations that have joined the FIBT and who have competed in the Winter Olympics over the last are years are, in the main, those nations with access to snow who have come late to the event, or those with a political agenda. Nations such as Andorra, Bulgaria, Sweden, Taipei, Venezuela, and the former Yugoslavia have joined the ranks of bobsled nations as a result of their wider cultural and sporting links with Alpine sports events. The participation of the former German Democratic Republic (since 1973), the former Soviet Union (since 1980), and China (since 1984) has its roots in the sporting agendas of these Communist nations. The competitors from these nations were usually members of the armed forces, and their successes were seen as the glorification of sponsoring Communist regimes. A quirkier spread of bobsled has taken place in the last ten years among nations supporting the Olympic movement but with no background in winter sports, including Australia, Mexico, and Jamaica in recent winter games. These nations have been reliant on private funding, foreign coaches, and huge amounts of travel, as they do not have domestic training facilities.

The sport of bobsledding is still dominated by those nations with a wider cultural background in winter sports. Although the sport has spread and its basic principles are understood worldwide, the bulk of competing nations are still drawn from Western and Central Europe and North America, essentially those nations responsible for the early development of the sport. The picture is much the same with respect to Olympic medals. Of the seven leading medal-winning nations to date, four, Switzerland, the United States, Italy, and

Britain, can date their membership in the FIBT to within three years of its foundation. Of the other three, the former German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the former Soviet Union, political considerations were more important than cultural context.

BOBSLEDDING CHANGES ITS RULES

Bobsledding, from an organizational perspective, has been equally dominated by its traditional member nations. Since the foundation of the FIBT in 1923, all the rule changes and sled design alterations have been centrally controlled and agreed on.

The meeting in 1923 to formulate commonly agreed standards formed the basis on which bobsled would operate as a competitive sport. In the first instance, the standard international rules were based on those used by the St. Moritz club and were aimed solely at a four-man bobsled. The four-man bobsled was abandoned in 1928 in favor of one with a five-man team. This experiment only lasted for two years, and the four-man bobsled has existed ever since. The two-man bobsled competition was introduced in 1932, and with the four-man bobsled, it forms the basis of all bobsled competitions. Over the years the rules changed to include new technological developments and to encourage greater safety. These changes included the adoption of amateur status in 1927; the introduction of maximum weight limits for bobsled teams in 1939, 1952, 1966, and 1978; the introduction of a uniform and standard bobsled for all competitors in 1984; and inclusion of women in world competition in the 1990s.

As the FIBT was an all-powerful body that completely controlled the rules of bobsledding since the sport's earliest days, there has been a near total absence of different rules or strategies springing from local cultural or national conditions. All nations that have ever attempted to develop bobsledding as a sport in their own locality have always done so under the aegis of the FIBT. Even those nations (e.g., the United States, Romania, and Italy) that did not have the natural climatic conditions to develop a run, and thus had to

turn to artificial runs, did so only after consultation with the FIBT. Likewise, in 1979, when the French Federation was seeking to encourage the growth of bobsledding by going back to the nineteenth-century idea of racing on the road, thereby avoiding the heavy cost of building a run, it did so with the full knowledge and approval of the FIBT.

The first bobsled competition at the Winter Olympics was staged in 1924, as a four-man competition. In 1932 a two-man competition was added. The format of the competition has remained the same. Each bobsled team makes four runs down the course. The course, a chute of packed ice, twists and turns down an incline. The team with the lowest aggregate time is the winner. All internationally recognized runs are between 1,200 and 1,600 meters (1,313 and 1,750 yards) long and the journey to the finish line will be down a gradient of between 8 and 15 percent. The first section of the run lasts for 50 meters and allows team members to push the bob from the start to build up momentum before jumping in. Once the crew is in the bob, the frontman takes control and attempts to keep the bob on the straightest course. The other members sit as low as possible in the bob to offer the least wind resistance, thereby increasing the speed of the bob.

Since the 1950s the weight limits for both competition have been standardized. The four-man bob must not weigh in excess of 630 kilograms (1,389 pounds), and the two-man bob no more than 375 kilograms (827 pounds). By making the weights standard, the rules removed the unfair advantage that heavy teams were having over their lighter competitors. The bob itself is a sectionalized steel structure that is positioned on four blades. The front of the bob is covered with a streamlined plastic cowling, and the whole machine is steered by cables attached to the blades. In 1988 the winning bobsled team at the Winter Olympics covered the four runs over the 1,600-meter course in an aggregate time of 3 minutes, 47.51 seconds. Since the introduction of the bobsled to the Olympics, teams from Germany have won the most medals (27), followed by Switzerland (23) and the United States (16).

Women's Participation

In today's women's races, bobsled teams consist of two people: a brake and a pilot. Although women competed in bobsledding's earliest days, prior to the 1924 inauguration of the sport at the Olympic Games at Chamonix, the FIBT banned women from competing in bobsled. No longer just an enjoyable winter sport for both genders, bobsled now was viewed as an elite sport for men that was too dangerous for women. After Chamonix, women were slowly but surely excluded from all European bobsled events, although they continued, for a time, to compete in the less socially exclusive atmosphere of North America. However, in 1938, after Katherine Dewey had driven her way to victory in the U.S. national championships, women were banned from subsequent bobsled championships by the U.S. Amateur Athletic Union (AAU). In AAU's view, Dewey's win was improper: bobsled was "a man's sport."

For nearly sixty years, women were excluded from organized bobsled racing, denied recognition by FIBT and the organizers of the Olympic Games. They only began competing again on an organized basis in bobsled events during the 1990s. In 1995 women's bobsled was finally recognized by the FIBT, which, with the support of different national bodies, is now campaigning for women's bobsled to be included in the Winter Olympics. It was a demonstration sport at the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, Utah and will become a full Olympic event in the 2006 games at Torino, Italy.

At present an average of twenty women's crews from twelve different nations take part in the FIBT six-race world cup series. The races are held at venues across North America and Europe. The season is a ten-race series at five venues: Calgary, Canada; Salt Lake City, Utah; Igls, Austria; La Plange, France; and Winterberg, Germany.

Bobsledding is expensive. Without the lure of Olympic competition, it has been difficult for many aspiring women's teams to gain the necessary sponsorship to get a bobsled up and running. The combination

of the high cost of bobsledding and the discrimination that has kept women out of the Olympics has resulted in a sport with low numbers of women competitors that can survive only through the intervention of state bodies. In Britain, the women's bobsled team is run under the auspices of the Royal Air Force and has charitable status. The women on the team are all serving as members of the air force, without whose help and organization the team would probably not survive.

In many ways the history of women's bobsled has turned full circle. It began as a winter pastime of the social elite. Within such an elite women were allowed to take part, indeed, they were encouraged. Once bobsled was caught up in the machinery of modern sporting organization, women were, as was so often the case with all sports, excluded. The last few years have seen the reintroduction of organized women's bobsled, but the prohibitive costs make it once more socially exclusive or charity-dependent. Although it is an immensely popular television spectacle during the Winter Olympics, bobsled is most unlikely to become a mass participation sport. Within such a rarefied and elite context, women will have to continue the fight for an equal right to compete. It is hoped that the first Winter Olympiads of the twenty-first century will make it possible for women bobsledders to compete equally with men, as they did late in the nineteenth century.

Outlook

Bobsledding is an excellent example of a sport that grew from rudimentary forms of travel and leisure, the sled and the luge. Its growth was initially inspired by specific climatic conditions and patronized by a wealthy elite searching for new forms of entertainment. Once the sport had taken a definable form, its organization, regulation, and growth were centrally controlled by a single international body that has never been challenged by other cultural practices or traditions. Bobsledding, due to its expense and its climatic requirements has, despite some growth, remained dominated by the countries of the original areas where the sport was taken up and by athletes from a similar class as its inventors. One chal-

lenge to this had come in the Cold War era as political concerns led some former Soviet bloc nations to take to the sport by entering athletes drawn from their armed services. Additionally, there has been some participation by non-Alpine nations. The spectator base for bobsledding is still primarily drawn from those who have an interest in Alpine sports, but because of the thrill of the sport, the high speeds, the potential for accidents, and the romance of snow and ice, bobsledding, especially during the Winter Olympics, always attracts a large television audience.

Mike Cronin

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Body Image

Body image is the perception that an individual has of what he or she looks like. An individual's body image is a response to his or her own physical features and personal experiences and to the social values that form standards of appearance against which one evaluates the body. Sport and exercise affect body image in a number of ways:

- The sports person's body is often viewed as the standard of appearance to which the greater population should aspire. This may result in the belief that marked muscularity in men, or thinness in women, is a reasonable expectation for nonathletic individuals.
- Sports and physical activity may be credited with helping to achieve the perfect body and thus are an

I like thinking big. If you're going to be thinking anything, you might as well think big. ■ DONALD TRUMP

important component of people's beliefs about self-discipline and its affect on the body. Carried to excess, however, this can result in unhealthy approaches to exercise that are related to oppressive standards of normative appearance.

- By engaging in sports and wearing sporting gear, individuals are commonly required to reveal parts of their bodies that are otherwise hidden. This means that the sportsperson's body is on display, subjected to the gaze of others, which potentially provides social control over that person's behavior.

Body Image and Social Control

Standards of appearance and critical self-scrutiny are pivotal elements of social control in Western society because of the importance of sight in making sense of the world. Vision gives us the power to assess far more than simple physique; Western culture credits vision with being able to uncover truths about the moral fiber or the true nature of those things we see. This creates the notion that appearance reflects inner truths and is strongly grounded in both religious and popular texts. The Greek New Testament, for example, uses the words *beauty* and *goodness* interchangeably. Similarly, Baldassar Castiglione, the author of a sixteenth-century courtesy book, wrote,

Whereupon doth very seldom an ill soule dwell in a beautifull bodie. And therefore is the outwarde beautie a true signe of the inwarde goodnesse, and in bodies this comeliness is imprinted more and lesse (as it were) for a marke of the soule, whereby she is outwardly known. (1561/1948, 309)

This historical link between appearance and inner values is also apparent in educational treatises that advise parents to choose a governess on the basis of her looks: "If a teacher's face reflects in her traits the character of a pure and virtuous heart, the child in her turn will reflect this as well, and a simple glance at the teacher will suffice to fulfill her and produce the happiest of impressions," wrote the Abbé Balme-Frézol in 1859. The emphasis on visual truths was present in

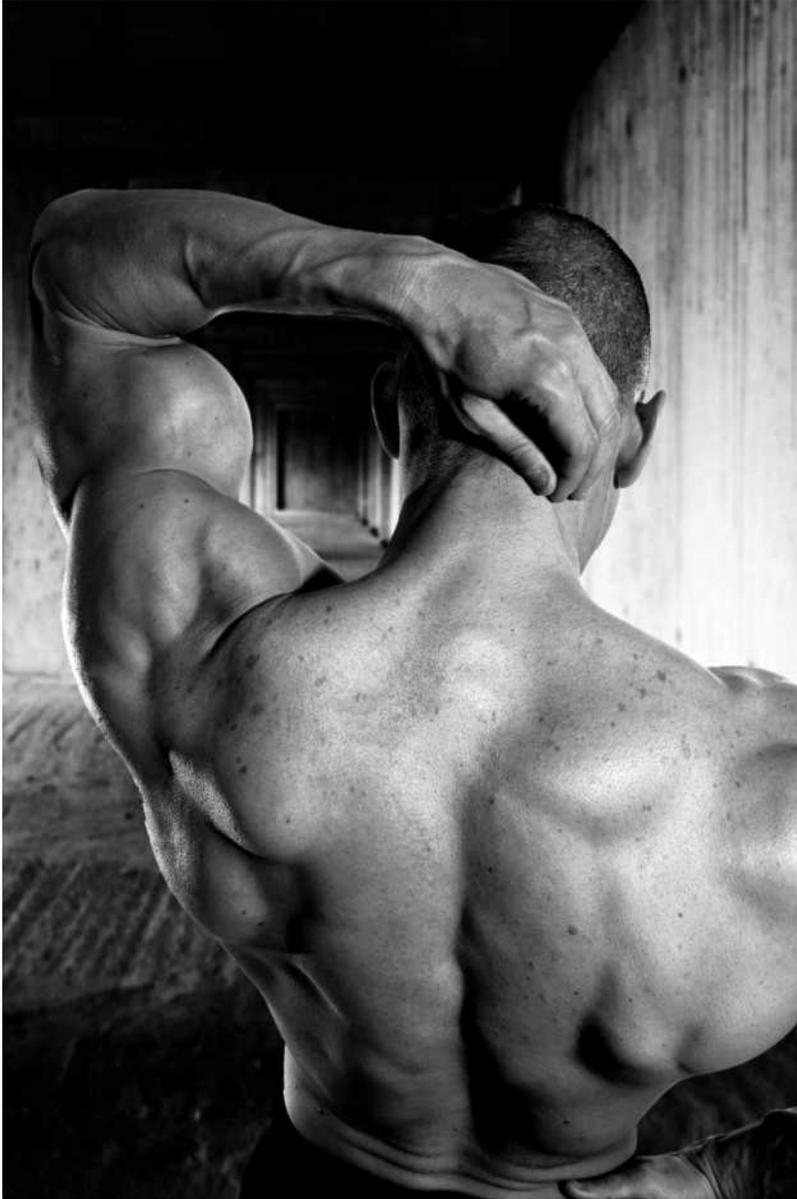
physiognomic work, which linked character traits to body features; in anthropometry, which attempted to find racial, criminal, and psychiatric trends in the size and proportion of bodies; in portraiture, where mottos and captions associated moral values with physical representations; and remains present, particularly in health discourses, where aesthetics (body size, hair and skin color and tone, and a certain degree of muscularity) are often indicators of well-being, fitness, and happiness.

Appearance becomes an important mechanism of social control because of the presumed link between the outward show of the body and the inner nature of an individual. The idea that we can be seen and that people can make assumptions about who we are by looking at us is the foundation for the importance that people give to their body images.

In describing the panopticon, Michel Foucault theorized that the concept of being seen, or the possibility of being seen, is an important controlling factor in social behavior. The panopticon was an architectural design for prisons, in which prisoners would be housed in a circular edifice with cells on the outside that created shadows on the internal tower where the guard was stationed. Because of the shadows cast by their own cells, prisoners could not determine whether a guard was actually in the tower. As a result, the prisoners would moderate their behavior as if they were being guarded, without a guard necessarily being present. Applied to appearance, the panopticon principle captures the idea that people internalize standards of physical presentation and looks and discipline themselves to attain these standards. Contemporary standards of body size, shape, feature, and dress are formulated through technologically and socially mediated representations of elusive perfection, which can be difficult, if not impossible to attain. Thus, appearance can serve as an oppressive and constraining form of social control.

Body of the Sportsperson

Today, the ideal body is often projected to be that of the sportsperson. Muscle development, sun-exposed skin, and leanness are valued as evidence of disciplined and



The muscled back of a bodybuilder.

Source: istockphoto/blende64.

organizational feature of Western society, and traditionally gendered sporting bodies are held in the highest esteem. Traditional gender values cast men as strong and muscular and women as slight and malleable. Both of these images, however, may be cultivated in, and maintained by, a range of sporting practices.

Sport has been, and continues to be, considered a proving ground for teaching male social values. Ball games, as we know them today, were introduced in Great Britain in nineteenth-century boys' public schools, which rationalized sport as a means for instilling muscular Christianity and for teaching young men from the new industrial middle class how to be gentlemen. Sport was also projected as an antidote to the perceived feminization of sedentary urban lifestyles—thus, a sporting body confirmed masculinity. Exercise rejuvenates virility, wrote early twentieth-century physical and exercise culturists. Hence, the male sporting body chosen as a normative standard is one that demonstrates muscularity and strength.

In contrast, sport served a different role in female gender identity for classifying sport and integrating physical activity in the educational setting. Woman's role as

nurturer and domestic partner resulted in sport emphasizing grace and malleability. Today, this is evidenced in a standard of femininity that suggests a prepubescent form. The endurance athlete model of runner or aerobics instructor embodies social values about how women should appear: slight yet disciplined. This image of slenderness also includes, as Carol Spitzack describes, appropriate skin coloring, muscle conditioning, facial structure, and an absence of facial lines or "defective" features.

healthy virtue. The body resembling that of the sportsperson is thus endowed with values of virtuous self-care and discipline, conveying important messages about the potential for self-improvement and inner control. This is not unproblematic, however. Although physical activity is appropriately touted as an important component of health, sporting activity seeks more than just health; it seeks athletic performance. Thus, the amount of physical activity required to enhance health does not normally affect the body's appearance in the same manner as does the intensity of sport training.

Not all sporting bodies are considered the standard to which people should aspire. Gender remains a strong

The traditionally gendered sporting bodies result in a particular form of tension. Sportspeople are successful, and their bodies held as the normative standard

because they do not challenge the traditional order. The body of the strong and muscular sportswoman is not coveted in the same manner as is that of her endurance-sport counterpart. The male body with highly developed muscles and bulk is selectively highlighted as the masculine standard rather than the frame of the small male dancer, gymnast, or jockey. Cultural fears about strong and independent women and graceful and sensitive men can translate into both healthy and unhealthy activities that focus on creating an appearance aligned with traditional gender expectations. This may result in women engaging in dieting and endurance aerobic activities to cultivate a slender feminine body and in men focusing on weights and power-development exercises.

Both men and women may flock to sport as a means for cultivating the perfect body, but this can also result in a state of angst relative to the elusive goal. Sports practices mandate unveiling the body, by wearing sports clothes, and the assimilation of sporting practices. Weight and aerobics training often takes place in front of full-length wall mirrors, with sleeveless jerseys, skin tight Lycra, and short pants. Skin-fold calipers, scales, and measuring tapes are used in the gym environment to assess progress toward fitness goals, and the sports-person subjects himself or herself to the public gaze in sporting events and to self-scrutiny in training. The result of this focus on the external can result in destructive behaviors, especially when there is a misfit between how a person perceives his or her body and the normative standards of appearance.

This can be seen in the training methods and eating patterns known as the female triad—young women engage in restrictive and controlled eating patterns while engaging in excessive endurance training. The result of this behavior is seriously reduced bone density, which significantly affects the women's future health. Risk factors for this inordinate focus on the control and management of body weight by these young women include many of the frequent practices associated with sport, including weigh-ins, punishment by coaches for weight gain, the presumed association of performance and leanness, and social isolation.

Sportswomen are not alone in suffering from body image pressures in the sporting environment. The popularity displaying the muscular male body creates a hypermasculine aesthetic that affects general male attitudes toward appearance and self-culture. Hypermasculinity is the exaggeration of those traits thought to be associated with masculine identity, such as determination, energy, and independence. The pursuit of the hypermasculine body is often associated with insecurity about sex-role identity. An increase in dissatisfaction with the shape or size of the body has resulted in practices including body obsession, eating disorders, and steroid use. Contemporary consumer capitalism is also driving the new preoccupation with male appearance. In late twentieth century, men's fitness and beauty culture has blossomed with fashion magazines and representations of the eroticized male body. Images of the male body are skillfully used for consumer appeal and are featured in a range of advertisements, from underwear to sound systems, cologne to beer, that highlight the muscular male body as a strong and challenging individual. Male insecurity about appearance is a new goldmine for the diet, exercise, cosmetic surgery, and drug industries, which previously targeted an exclusively female clientele.

Body image need not relate only to oppression and constraint, however. The idea that the body can betray the inner self, revealing deeply grounded deficiencies, sits in uneasy disharmony with the idea that the self can control the body and make it conform to an appearance that fairly represents the self, but other meanings can be associated with the body. As third-wave feminists point out, understanding is empowering. The image of, and search for, the perfect body is not innately oppressive; rather, the power relations embodied within these images have the potential to subjugate people. Exercise culture and its discourses do not have only one unique, fixed, and essential meaning. Exercise practices can focus on choice and enjoyment rather than on fine-tuning inner virtue with appearance and, thus, can simultaneously contain the potential to be fulfilling, fun, and liberating. Exercise can also offer important health

and psychological benefits, some of which may indeed be incidentally associated with changes in appearance. Ultimately, exercise, like many other contemporary practices has, through its potential to transform, the ability to both liberate and to constrain.

Annemarie Jutel

See also Beauty; Feminist Perspective

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Bodybuilding

Bodybuilding is exercising with weights to reshape the physique including the addition of muscle mass along with separating and defining the various muscle groups. Male and female bodybuilders display their physiques on the competitive stage in a series of mandatory poses and through a routine of poses choreographed to music; they are judged on their symmetry, muscle density, and definition. Whether practiced by men or women, bodybuilding is both a competitive performance sport and a lifestyle. Women began entering the male-defined spaces of gyms in the 1970s as a result of the health and fitness movement of the era that subsequently snowballed into a huge industry in the 1980s. By 1990, *Time Magazine* proclaimed: “Work that Body! Fewer curves, more muscles: a sweat-soaked revolution redefines the shape of beauty. . . Across the country, women are working out, . . . even pumping iron” (Donnelly 1990, 68).

Female bodybuilders differ from women who resistance train by the subcultural context of their experience

that includes competition as a significant self-identifying feature. Robert Duff and Lawrence Hong conducted a study of 205 women bodybuilders registered with the International Federation of Bodybuilders (one of several bodybuilding organizations), and found that 74 percent were active competitors, while many of the others were either anticipating their first competition or were temporarily sidelined due to injury.

Bodybuilding competitions for men and women may look fairly similar in format, but the process, the competition, and the milieu, represent different cultural domains in Euro-American society. Men’s bodybuilding is a sport that reproduces and amplifies Western beliefs about the differences between men and women. Muscles signify masculinity in Western culture, and they testify to the belief that these differences are primarily based on biology.

A different cultural agenda is represented by women’s bodybuilding. The female bodybuilder is in a position to do just the opposite, to challenge bioreductivist views that place biology at the center of male–female differences. The female competitor’s body is a statement of rebellion against this view, a way of contributing to the wider redefinition of womanhood and femininity underway in Euro-American society. Women who are bodybuilders challenge the Western view of women as the weaker sex; instead they live and embody a femininity that includes strength and muscularity.

History

The first bodybuilding competition for men was staged in 1901 and established a history with unbroken continuity. Although women’s bodybuilding followed closely in 1903; it was discontinued in 1905 and did not reappear in its modern form until 1975. The physique exhibitions of the music halls and theaters of the “strongman era” of the 1800s are, however, part of the ancestry of modern competitive bodybuilding for both women and men.

The mid to late 1800s were a period in which strongmen and muscular display provided the roots for the physical culture movement that branched out into vari-

ous sports. This variety notwithstanding, the movement maintained some continuity through the late 1930s, when men's physique contests started to become their own distinctive form of athletic contest. As discussed below, it was not until forty-five years later that modern women's competitions were initiated.

MEN'S HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF MEN'S COMPETITIONS

The mid-nineteenth century health-reform movement with its emphasis on exercise was the springboard for the physical-culture movement. This was initially expressed in American and European popular culture as the strongman and physique showman era, buttressed by a developing industry associated with resistance and weight training, including equipment, programs, and the expertise of professionals. The growth of the fitness industry was linked with broader trends of an emerging middle class, increasing urbanism, and attendant concerns regarding the effects of increasing sedentarism. The strength and health elements of physical culture also appealed to the flood of immigrants to America in the early 1900s. Many occupied blue-collar positions that demanded sheer physical wherewithal as well. Into this milieu stepped Eugene Sandow, who first displayed his well-sculpted physique to Americans at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair after training with his mentor, former strongman Professor Attila Brussels. Sandow was able to capitalize and give impetus to a new Euro-American cult of masculinity that emphasized exercise, weight training, and an embodied health and physicality. Having gained British acclaim, his career skyrocketed in America and he became the masculine ideal for American men. His good looks, muscular physique, and great strength were coupled with an entrepreneurial genius that flourished in America and upon his subsequent return to England. He not only operated an active mail-order business and physical culture studios, but he invented and sold exercise equipment, published and founded the first bodybuilding magazine *Physical Culture* (1898), and promoted exercise for women. In 1901, he promoted the first bodybuilding competition,



Bodybuilding

Don't Give Up

In his book Brother Iron, Sister Steel, Dave Draper—a former Mr. America, Mr. Universe and Mr. World—offers the following caution to other bodybuilders:

The uncomfortable truth is too many of those who venture to the fields of iron and steel give up, quit, abandon the glorious task too soon to realize the sub-surface bounty of exercise, good eating and training. The qualities they lacked to keep them going were amongst the qualities they were about to discover.

Source: Draper, D. (2001). *Brother iron, sister steel*. Aptos, CA: On Target Publications.

called the Great Competition in the Royal Albert Hall in London. His criterion for judging was remarkably modern, emphasizing balanced muscularity over total muscular size (Bolin 1996, Chapman 1994; Todd 1991).

In America, Bernarr Macfadden, a contemporary of Sandow who was, in fact, greatly inspired by him, was also extremely successful in translating physical culture into a successful business. He published magazines on physical culture, including *Physical Development* (1898), and like Sandow, his business flourished through an array of enterprises including health studios, physical culture clubs, personal appearances, lectures, books, the sales of home exercise equipment, and the promotion of strength and physique exhibitions and contests. He also was an advocate for women's physical fitness. Macfadden may be credited with sponsoring the first major American bodybuilding contest in 1903 that was undoubtedly modeled on Sandow's 1901 Great Competition. His contest gained notoriety in that it also included the world's first women's bodybuilding contests from 1903–1905.

Macfadden's contest was based on a system of qualification through regional contests as a prelude to a national competition selecting the most perfect man in the United States. It became an annual event that continued through the 1920s and 1930s. Following Sandow, his

contests emphasized that the winner's physiques were selected on the basis of a balanced, proportional and symmetrical muscular development. It was Macfadden's 1921 physique contest that gave America a glimpse of its first American bodybuilding media personality, Charles Atlas, aka Angelo Siciliano, who was hailed as the "Most Perfectly Developed Man in America" (Klein 1993).

Through the efforts of Macfadden and those who followed him, by the 1930s physique contests had gained in popularity so that the Amateur Athletic Union began integrating bodybuilding as a part of its weightlifting competitions. The first Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) national contest titled "America's Best Built Man" was held in 1939 and subsequently became known as the "Mr. America." Despite the popularity of associating physique competitions with demonstration of athletic expertise and strength, this was a period in which the idea of the physique competitor as a distinctive form became emergent.

As more national contests followed, men's bodybuilding grew economically and in the consciousness of the American imagination, attracting a unique athlete whose interests were in celebration of the muscular physique. The development of physique competition was given impetus through the Californian Muscle Beach phenomenon. From the 1930s through the 1950s Muscle Beach thrived in its original location in Santa Monica but in the 1950s it relocated to Venice Beach. Muscle Beach included some of the most famous names in bodybuilding and fitness history, including Jack La Lanne, Joe Gold, John Grimek and Pudy and Les Stockton among many others.

The history of bodybuilding from the 1940s through the 1960s is intimately tied to the incremental hegemony of the International Federation of Bodybuilders (IFBB) controlled by Joe and Ben Weider over the AAU's incipient domination of the sport of bodybuilding, spearheaded by Bob Hoffman. The 1960s has come to be regarded as the Golden Age of bodybuilding. This is attributed in part to the flourishing of Venice Beach bodybuilding culture as well as the creation of

the first professional bodybuilding title in 1965: the IFBB Mr. Olympia. The last twenty years have witnessed the continued professionalization of the sport, the full incorporation of women's bodybuilding and the development of "natural bodybuilding" as a distinctive venue. Bodybuilding however, still remains a somewhat specialized sport with a following of beloved female and male "muscleheads" and gym rats.

WOMEN'S BODYBUILDING HISTORY

Health reform in the mid-nineteenth century combined with early feminism to promote the novel idea that exercise was healthful for women and that women's muscles could be beautiful. This was contrary to the dominant white middle-class notion of femininity as fragile and ethereal, the embodiment of which was enhanced by the custom of tightly laced corsets that continued through the turn of the century. Health reform and feminism made some inroads, but women remained hesitant to exercise for fear of losing their "natural" curves (created by tight lacing) and developing muscular bodies. Then, in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, beauty standards evolved to include the athletic aesthetic of the "Gibson Girl."

It was in this milieu in the first part of the twentieth century that Eugene Sandow began to bring women into his physical culture enterprises. Sandow challenged prevailing views of the passive and frail woman, and he was extremely critical of corsets. He promoted an idea of a femininity that included strength and exercise for all women to bring them good health and cure illness. Similarly Bernarr MacFadden saw an opportunity to include women in his enterprises. In 1889 MacFadden began to publish *Physical Culture*, a periodical, in the United States and his second issue contained his first articles on women's health and exercise.

Macfadden was a strong advocate for the benefits of exercise for women. He founded the first women's magazine, *Women's Physical Development*, in 1900, and changed the name in 1903 to *Beauty and Health: Women's Physical Development*. In addition, Macfadden may have been the first to sponsor a women's physique



Cheryl Sumner is a national-level competitor with aspirations to turn professional.

Source: Cheryl Sumner.

competition, a precedent to modern women's bodybuilding competitions: From 1903 to 1905 he held local and regional physique competitions that finished with a grand competition, where the "best and most perfectly formed woman" won a prize.

Macfadden, however, fell prey to his own success. His cultivation of women's physique competitions inadvertently stopped the sport until the 1970s. In 1905, shortly before his Madison Square Garden Mammoth Physical Culture Exhibition that included the finale of the women's competition, Macfadden's office was raided by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Comstock accused Macfadden of pandering pornography. Included among the alleged pornographic materials that Comstock acquired in his raid were posters of the finalists of the women's physique competition who were dressed in white form-fitting leotard-like exercise wear.

Publicity about Macfadden's subsequent arrest and the decision that he was indeed dealing in pornography was an advertisement that attracted even more specta-

tors. The Mammoth Physical Culture Exhibition had an audience of 20,000 and turned away 5,000 more. That was, however, the end of his enterprise.

Music halls and circuses of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were also venues for displays of women's physiques. This was the era in which very large and muscular strongwomen displayed their strength. One muscular diva was Sandwina, who performed with the Barnum and Bailey Circus in 1910. Standing six feet one inch, and weighing 209 pounds, she could jerk 280 pounds over her head and was able to carry her husband over her head using one arm. Another strongwoman, Vulcana (Katie Roberts) continued to perform through the 1940s, but no real audience for strongwomen developed until the final two decades of the nineteenth century and first two of the twentieth century.

According to Jan Todd, the 1920s and 1930s brought in wider societal acceptance of a new fit and slender physical ideal for women in contrast to the sheer size and mass of the "Amazon-like" strongwomen such as Sandwina, Minerva, Madame Montagna and others who weighed in at over two hundred pounds. It is Santa Monica's Abbye ("Pudgy") Eville Stockton who may be given credit as a central figure in popularizing a new embodiment of femininity as strong and fit dovetailing with America's war effort. She was a regular in the developing Muscle Beach mecca of physical culture displaying her strength and athleticism through weightlifting and acrobatics. Her athletic figure coupled with her striking looks made her a national figure. She may be seen as America's first fitness model. She promoted products and graced the covers of forty-two magazines. In 1944 she began writing a regular column for women on the benefits of weightlifting for Bob Hoffman's *Strength and Health* magazine that appeared for just under a decade. Indeed Bob Hoffman was one of the first promoters of women's weightlifting in the 1930s. John D. Fair maintains that he did more "than any other promoter to advance the concept of weight training for women" throughout his career as physical culture



business maven and Olympic coach. However as a sport, women's bodybuilding is distinct from weight lifting and power lifting.

Two major influences in the development of women's bodybuilding were the 1950s reintroduction of resistance training for women athletes and the feminist movement of the 1960s. Throughout the 1940s weight training by women athletes was at the individual level; however the 1950s ushered in an era in which national and Olympic athletic teams began using weight training in their respective sports. Resistance training for women in general gained a large following in the 1970s, as the fitness industry exploded. Health clubs and spas enticed women by offering aerobics classes, selling fashionable athletic attire, and providing color-coordinated locker rooms with amenities such as blow dryers and curling irons.

Hardcore bodybuilding gyms distinguished themselves symbolically from these health clubs and spas in the 1970s and 1980s through cultural features associated with the masculine such as a "no frills" atmosphere. In its infancy in the 1970s to early 1980s, women's bodybuilding began to find a home in the hardcore gyms where men trained, and became part of the history of bodybuilding as it moved from these gyms into the scientific and contemporary pavilions of nutrition and training of today. As Tom Platz, Mr. Universe 1978, reminisces, "Prior to 1983, the gym was a man's sanctuary. . . [t]here was also just a handful of girls who trained in those days." In the new millennium, few of these "hard core" bastions of bodybuilding survive, having been replaced by contemporary chains such as Gold's Gym.

Development of Women's Bodybuilding Competitions

Since its inception in the 1970s, the sport of women's bodybuilding has been transformed from one in which the competitors wore high heels and rarely performed muscular poses such as the iconic front double biceps with closed fists, which were discouraged. These bodybuilding contests were accused of being nothing more

than beauty pageants. The seeds of early women's bodybuilding lie in the occasional beauty body contest held during men's bodybuilding events. For example, a Ms. Body Beautiful competition was held during the 1973 World Bodybuilding Guild Mr. America Championships, and the Miss America was held during the Mr. Olympia at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. It was not until the 1980s that women's bodybuilding contests were legitimized as competitions in their own right, not just as auxiliaries for male competitions. The first Miss (now Ms.) Olympia, regarded as the zenith of women's bodybuilding titles, was held in 1980 and set the standard for women's international and professional titles that continues today.

Through the 1980s, 1990s and the new millennium bodybuilding continues to grow as a sport and as big business. The women competitors have, over time, achieved degrees of muscularity, symmetry, and definition once believed impossible for women to achieve. Nevertheless, since its beginnings, women bodybuilders have been involved in a debate over the issue of muscularity and femininity.

Bodybuilding Organizations

Women's competitive bodybuilding is entrenched in men's bodybuilding organizationally. No separate women's organizations exist today, although in the early 1980s, Doris Barrilleaux founded and was president of the American Federation of Women Bodybuilders. Barrilleaux may be credited as the parent of women's bodybuilding. At the age of forty-seven Barrilleaux began competing in what purported to be women's physique contests, but were in reality beauty pageants. Her disaffection with these contests and her vision of women's bodybuilding, which featured muscular development, led her to establish the Superior Physique Association and to publish the *SPA News*, a newsletter for women bodybuilders in 1979. As early as 1983, Barrilleaux lobbied the International Federation of Bodybuilders to test the women competitors for illicit performance-enhancing drugs. Currently, the NPC and

The mind is the limit. As long as the mind can envision the fact that you can do something, you can do it as long as you really believe 100 percent. ■ ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER

the IFBB have women's representatives as do some of the self-identified natural bodybuilding organizations such as the Organization of Competitive Bodybuilders.

Prominent organizations are the International Federation of Bodybuilders (IFBB, www.ifbb.com) and the National Physique Committee (NPC, www.getbig.com), founded by Ben and Joe Weider. The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU, www.aausports.org) was involved early on in bodybuilding, holding its first Mr. America Contest in 1939. Bob Hoffman played a major role in the development of American bodybuilding through his influence on the AAU. For nearly two decades, the AAU and the IFBB competed for control of muscledom. By the 1990s, the IFBB was able to claim hegemony over the sport although other organizations continue to hold competitions such as the National Amateur Bodybuilders Association (NABBA, www.nabba.com), an international organization with fifty active nations, making it the second largest organization for bodybuilders worldwide. The AAU dropped the physique competitions from their venue at the end of 1999, although some AAU competitions have been revived.

The 1990s also brought the establishment of organizations targeted to drug-free athletes, as well as the promotion of drug-free shows by existing organizations, such as the NPC (amateur), and IFBB (international and professional), from the local to the international level. Since the 1980s, a burgeoning of natural/drug-tested organizations has occurred in part because the public has become more aware of anabolic steroid use among athletes in general. There are over twenty extant natural drug-tested organizations such as the World Natural Bodybuilding Federation (WNBF, www.wnbf.net), which sponsors professional-level bodybuilding shows with affiliates at the amateur level including the International Natural Bodybuilding and Fitness Federation and the North American Natural Bodybuilding Federation, NABBA International and its affiliates, the United States Bodybuilding Federation, and Natural Bodybuilding Incorporated, among others. The drug-tested organizations and competitions are international

in scope. The WNBF includes a number of country affiliates including South Africa, Great Britain, Japan, Switzerland, and Germany. In 2002, the IFBB has formulated its anti-doping program for the Amateur Division following International Olympic Committee and World Anti-Doping Agency banned substances and methods protocols (IFBB 2002). The NPC also offers specified competitions that require drug tests.

This anti-doping program is part of a broader IFBB strategy to eventually gain Olympic status for bodybuilding. According to the IFBB president Ben Weider, "the overall goal of the IFBB is to gain Olympic participation." In 1986 and 1987 doping controls were implemented at the World Amateur Bodybuilding Championships for men and women respectively and subsequently at all IFBB amateur events. Currently, the General Association of International Sports Federations (GAISF) recognizes the IFBB as the only International Sport Governing Body (ISGB) for the sport of bodybuilding.

Muscularity/Femininity Debate

The debate over masculinity and femininity continues in women's bodybuilding. The basic question is: how muscular can a woman be and still be feminine? From the beginning of women's bodybuilding in the late 1970s the women athletes were confronted with this dilemma. They wanted to be taken seriously as athletes and despite their muscularity, they wanted to maintain their femininity. In 1979, after winning the first major women's bodybuilding competition, Lisa Lyon stated, "women can be strong, muscular and at the same time feminine." And female bodybuilders today still echo this concern. Kim Chizevsky, the 1998 Ms. Olympia, declared that "People need to start changing their views about women bodybuilders. We're strong muscular women, but we're beautiful feminine women too."

Although the debate over femininity and muscularity was inflamed by anabolic steroid use among women competitors, this debate actually existed prior to the reported use of steroids among competitors. This debate



Bodybuilding

Anne Bolin, Bodybuilder

I have been competing in bodybuilding since 1988 when I started at the tender age of 39. When I saw the movie in 1987 by Gains and Butler, *Pumping Iron II: the Women*, I knew I wanted to study bodybuilding because I have an academic interest in gender transgression; and at that time, what could be more subversive, than women with muscles. Bev Francis particularly captured my imagination through her magnificent musculature (way ahead of her time), athletic determination and her spirit for adventure. I had never lifted weights much less ever entered a gym in my whole life. I started lifting weights because I am an anthropologist, and our primary method is participant-observation also known as ethnography. Shortly after watching *Pumping Iron II*, I began the process of immersion in the subculture of bodybuilding in order to research it. You might say I have “gone native,” that is, I became who I studied. I think this just adds to my anthropological understanding of the phenomenon of bodybuilding. I love training and competing and I have no intention of retiring from competition any time soon.

My titles include:

- First Place Lightweight. The 1989 Colorado State Championships
- Overall Champion and First Place Short Class in the Women’s Grand Masters Division (50 and over). North Carolina State Bodybuilding Championships, 1999, AAU
- First Place Senior Grand Masters (50 and Over) and Best Senior Grand Masters Poser. The American Natural Bodybuilding Association North Carolina Supernatural 2000, ANBA
- First Place Senior Masters Over 50. The SI-Flex 2001 Masters Universe Bodybuilding Championships, NPA
- Second Place Quincy Roberts NPC North Carolina Junior and Masters State Bodybuilding Championships Women’s Masters 45 and older

I am a mature competitor. What I love about the performance sport of bodybuilding is its democracy, anyone at any age with the determination and love of training can compete in a bodybuilding show. If you have the desire to compete, age need not be a barrier.

Anne Bolin

surfaced in the infancy of women’s bodybuilding when Gloria Miller Fudge first kicked off her high heels. It arose again when Cammie Lusko, in the 1980 Miss Olympia, presented a “hardcore muscular routine,” using poses associated with men’s bodybuilding in displaying her muscularity; she drove the audience wild, but didn’t even place in the competition.

That women bodybuilders at elite levels have been becoming more muscular has been attributed by some to the increasing sophistication of anabolic steroid use and other doping technologies. In the early days, however, women did not commonly use steroids, yet the debate over muscles and femininity was well underway as a discourse.

Between 1980 and 1989, the sport of bodybuilding as epitomized in the Ms. Olympia contest deferred to

society’s view of femininity. The judges selected athletic, slim, and graceful women, reflected in the embodiments of Rachel McLish and Cory Everson, as opposed to the more muscular physiques of competitors such as Bev Francis. The debate over the direction the sport would take was resolved with the retirement of Cory Everson in 1989. Cory Everson, six-time Ms. Olympia champion, was not known for having a great deal of muscle mass but was said to embody the perfect combination of symmetry, muscularity, and femininity.

In 1990 Lenda Murray won the Ms. Olympia over Bev Francis, known as a woman whose muscle mass had been way ahead of its time. Francis, who had the year before trimmed her physique down to be competitive with Everson, lost to the heavily muscled Murray because she was not muscular enough. The following

year Francis muscled up again but came in second to Murray in the 1991 Olympia because this time the judges felt she was too muscular. Francis subsequently retired, and the 1992 Olympia became the stage on which the debate was resolved in favor of muscularity. Lenda Murray won yet again and remained undefeated until the even more muscular but also ultra-ripped (lean) and hard, Kim Chizevsky claimed the title in 1996 and continued to hold through 1998; retiring in that year from bodybuilding to go into fitness competitions. This trend for increasing muscle mass is illustrated in the increasing body weights of the competitors: In 1983 the average weight of the Ms. Olympia contenders was 121 pounds while in 1997 it was 155 pounds.

Although steroids and other doping techniques may play a role in enhanced muscularity, other factors have accelerated progress in both men and women bodybuilders. The competitors have been training over a longer period of time; their muscles have matured, and the sport has enjoyed an explosion in scientific research on training techniques, nutrition, and supplements.

Also caught in the muscularity/femininity debate are judging standards, known in the bodybuilding community to be unstable; even as the emphasis on muscularity seemed to be predominant, the female bodybuilder was often required to maintain a seemingly ineffable quality of femininity that was never defined or clearly articulated in the judging criteria.

During the period of Kim Chizevsky's reign, professional women bodybuilders have shown they were willing to take their physiques up a notch, getting bigger and harder in the course of two years in the Ms. Olympia. However in 2000, after the near cancellation of the Ms. Olympia in 1999 and reduction in prize money at 1998 Ms. Olympia, the IFBB offered new rules in January 2000 for judging that would include the women's face and makeup. In addition, women would be judged on "symmetry, presentation, separations and muscularity, but not to the extreme." Bill Dobbins, bodybuilding journalist, social critic, and advocate of women's bodybuilding, argues that women body-

builders are victims of their own success; that is, they are just too good at building muscle. Chizevsky set what could be perceived by the IFBB as a dangerous precedent achieving a size and harness that had never been equaled on a bodybuilding stage.

To buttress the new direction for women's bodybuilding, the IFBB reorganized the Ms. Olympia to include both a lightweight and a heavy weight title in 2000 and in 2001 introduced an overall title pitting the light and heavy weight winners against one another. From 2000 to present, the impact of the new judging standards has been represented in the physiques of the winners. In the 2001 Ms. Olympia, Juliette Bergmann came out of retirement after her last competition in 1989 to win the overall title with an aesthetic and softer look than her competition. And in 2002 Lenda Murray returned to the Ms. Olympia stage after a five-year hiatus to capture the crown and win her seventh Ms. Olympia against Juliette Bergmann, with a repeat performance in 2003. Murray is known for having the complete package of symmetry and proportion as well as the "cover girl" beauty that guarantees the endorsement success of so many women athletes in the contemporary world of commodification.

As a sport, women's bodybuilding rebels against traditional notions of femininity and in doing so, contributes to a broader, ongoing redefinition of femininity and womanhood in society today. Bodybuilding as a sport symbolically sustains traditional images of masculinity as associated with strength and power embodied in the ideal of the male bodybuilder. Images of this body type signify youth, health, sexual virility, and power. Arnold Schwarzenegger illustrated this in his dialogue in the movie *Pumping Iron*, where he directly links pumping up the muscles to male sexual arousal and orgasm. Competitive women's bodybuilding blurs gender differences. This occurs not only through the muscularity of the competitive women bodybuilder, but also in the subculture of bodybuilding itself where gender is enacted in the gym. In these less public spheres, serious athletes are serious athletes regardless of gender.

Bodybuilding Rules and Play

Women and men are judged by the same criteria, although femininity is an issue in the judging process for women. In assessing competitors' physiques, judges rely on three primary criteria. These include the depth and development of muscularity; symmetry, or the proportions of the body parts/muscle groups in relation to one another (for example, shoulder width and muscularity in relationship to waist and thighs); and definition generally characterized as the degree of visibility of muscle striations and separation, leanness, and general hardness of the body. Related to this is the visibility of veins and the thinness or transparency of the skin, called vascularity.

Bodybuilders strive to achieve muscular size and density as well as make their body more symmetrical through development of various muscle groups. To do so, they follow a rigorous training plan and a strategy for continual improvement. Preparation for contests includes disciplined dieting, training, attention to nutrition, posing practice, and the preparation of a choreographed posing routine.

In the subculture of bodybuilding, muscular development and definition are not regarded as qualities that belong exclusively to men or women. The difference between the two genders is one of degree, not kind. Thus, bodybuilders do not consider muscles a physical symbol of masculinity, but rather a generic quality available to humans. Seriousness and training hard are the badges of those who are members of the subculture.

At the local, state, and national levels, competitions consist of two segments. In the morning or pre-judging portion, the majority of the judging decisions are made. The judges rank the competitors in each class usually from first to third and sometimes fifth place for trophies. In the evening show, usually the first five bodybuilders in each class are judged again and these scores are added into prejudging scores. Following this, the winners of each class compete against each for the overall title. The overall winners are selected in night shows (bodybuilding contests are also referred to as shows be-

cause of their performance aspect) as the winner of each class competes for the overall title. The trophies are given in the evening show. National and international competitions, both professional and amateur, may have different agendas. For example, professionals in the International Federation of Bodybuilders are typically judged in three rounds based on symmetry, muscularity, and posing ability, as displayed in the choreographed posing routine and a "posedown" round. Posing ability is not usually a factor in the amateur contests, although it is significant in couples-posing competitions. Best posing-routine trophies are given out at some contests. Breaking a judging tradition, the 2004 Mr. Olympia has established a new approach to judging. A callout venue has been added wherein the top six competitors will be allowed to challenge one another on a bodypart/pose basis to establish the final ranking and winner of the Mr. Olympia (Perine 2004, 82–95).

Competitors are usually placed in weight categories, although some organizations include height categories. Master's categories for women and men are also included at various shows. The age requirements vary among organizations; some begin the master's category at age thirty and others at thirty-five years of age. The general trend has been for the competitions to offer more age categories for masters men than for women, with some competitions only offering master's categories for men. Recently organizations and promoters have begun to offer more age categories for women at the local and regional level. Several organizations, among them the NPC and various national organizations, have national master's competitions. At the international level, the International Federation of Bodybuilders' Mr. Olympia contest includes the men's masters Olympia, although the Ms. Olympia does not yet have a women's masters Olympia.

Since 1995, with the inaugural Ms. Fitness Olympia and the increasing popularity of Ms. Fitness competitions (a competition that combines elements of beauty pageants with those of an aerobics competition), various bodybuilding writers have pronounced the death knell of women's bodybuilding. More recently figure

*How am I to know what I can achieve
if I quit? ■ JASON BISHOP*

competitions have also been added to the bodybuilding venue. Figure competitions are similar to fitness competitions without the required fitness routine wherein competitors demonstrated flexibility and strength with the most successful women having gymnastic ability. Figure competitions, introduced at the national level in 2001 and the professional level in 2003 with the inaugural Figure Olympia are arguably the fastest growing segment with the most number of competitors among the three women's physique sports (Bolin 2004).

Despite the competition for attention and resources (e.g. sponsors) by fitness and figure competitors whose physiques represent more traditional ideals of feminine embodiment, women's bodybuilding continues to survive, although its growth is more gradual than that of the figure competitions with some evidence suggesting the numbers have peaked but stabilized. Data from the USA Bodybuilding competition are indicative. The USA Bodybuilding contest is a very competitive national amateur-level arena. In 1999, there were thirteen women competitors. However, this increased to fifty-three in 2000, escalating to sixty-six (an increase over the prior three years) in 2002 and dropping back down to fifty-two in 2003. The Ms. Olympia indicates a similar trend with peaks and valleys that stabilize at a threshold level over the twenty-four competitions since 1980. The Ms. Olympia went from a high of thirty-two women in 1993 to a low of twelve in 1996, 1999, and 2000. Numbers of competitors oscillated at a threshold level of fourteen to eighteen in half the competitions, but these numbers must be viewed in the context of the number of pro cards available within a given year and the special invitations offered by the IFBB to certain women.

Perspectives

Competitive bodybuilding is a sport that spans all age groups, from teen to masters. For either gender, bodybuilding requires no special skills except determination, although at the elite levels, those who are genetically predisposed with a symmetrical body shape, full muscle bellies, small joints, and muscle that grows readily,

will have an advantage. Those not so endowed can compensate and successfully compete through discipline, the acquisition of bodybuilding lore, scientific training techniques, and good nutrition. There is a diversity of organizations at the local, regional, national, international and professional levels. Bodybuilding may be regarded as a very democratic sport, spanning all age groups and ethnicities. It can be a rewarding hobby or an exciting professional career.

Anne Bolin

See also Venice Beach

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Bondi Beach

As well known internationally as the beaches of Waikiki, Acapulco, and Miami, Bondi Beach in Sydney, Australia, embodies a sense of place and a way of life synonymous with a hedonistic culture of sun, sand, and surf. Befitting the beach's iconic cultural status, the Australian Heritage Council lists Bondi Beach, Bondi Pavilion, Bondi Pool, and the adjacent Campbell Parade streetscape on its Register of the National Estate. The primary appeal of Bondi Beach lies in its natural amenities as an open stretch of golden sand approximately 1 kilometer long and 50–100 meters wide, guarded in the north and south by rugged sandstone cliffs and lapped in the east by the Pacific Ocean.

The original Aboriginal inhabitants of the region occupied the Bondi basin during summer, living in *gunyas* (temporary shelters made from bark sheets) that they built near the northern headland. They caught fish using spears and clubs and swam in the natural rock pools beneath the two headlands. Whether they were Darug or Eora people is the subject of debate, as is the meaning of the word *Bondi*, which is variously given as “the sound of falling water” or “a heavy Aboriginal club.”

The governor of New South Wales, Lachlan Macquarie, granted William Roberts, a road builder, 80 hectares at Bondi in 1810. By the mid-nineteenth century Bondi, then also known as “Boondye” or “Boondi,” as the closest ocean beach to Sydney Town, was popular among European settlers as a picnic and fishing

site. Edward Hall, a newspaper publisher, bought the Bondi Estate in 1851 and four years later opened the beach and adjacent foreshore to the public. In 1856 Francis O'Brien, a land developer and farm manager, bought the estate and began the process of subdivision. Finally, Waverley Municipal Council took over as trustee of 10 hectares of public recreation land known as “Bondi Park” in the mid-1880s.

Bondi had become a popular place for bathers during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with the natural rock pool at the southern end of the beach a favorite attraction. Government legislation at the time restricted bathing to either enclosed baths or to waters open to public view at dusk and dawn. At issue was exposure of the human body, a practice deemed offensive and subversive by moralists. To cater to the burgeoning bathing community Waverley Municipal Council built the first baths around the rock pool at the southern end of Bondi Beach in 1884. Early the next decade a group of young men who swam regularly at the baths formed the Bondi Amateur Swimming Club.

A surfbathing movement coalesced in Sydney during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The movement challenged the laws that forbade bathing in daylight hours, and in 1903 it forced the government to rescind restrictions. During the next two decades a distinctly Australian beach culture emerged, and Bondi Beach was at the forefront.

Waverley Municipal Council and the New South Wales state government initiated a foreshore improvement program that included dressing sheds and fencing before the legalization of daylight bathing. After 1903 the Public Works Department accelerated its building program, constructing changing rooms and a kiosk (1906), the Castle Pavilion (1911), and a sea wall (1911–1920). In 1923 the council and state government embarked on a grand development scheme. The cornerstones were reconstruction of Bondi Pool and construction of the monumental Bondi Pavilion. Offering changing rooms for swimmers, food outlets, Turkish baths, a courtyard, and ballroom, the pavilion was officially opened in 1929. Bondi Beach, Bondi



People playing beach volleyball on Bondi Beach, Sydney, Australia. *Source: istockphoto.com/davidf.*

Pavilion, and Bondi Pool (home of the Bondi Icebergs Swimming Club, whose members swim all year around) were the best-known emblems of Australia's beach and leisure culture. On warm summer Saturdays, Sundays, and public holidays during the 1930s upward of fifty thousand people frolicked in the surf, played and relaxed on the sand, or promenaded behind the beach.

Safety First

Safety in the surf was a major issue for surfbathers and municipal and state governments. At beaches across Sydney local surfbathing clubs assumed responsibility for providing safety services. These clubs helped surfbathers legitimize their pastime. Well into the last quarter of the twentieth century conservative moralists still railed against sun and surfbathers, whom they accused of abandoning public decency in pursuit of their pleasures. As well as offering safety services, lifesaving clubs disciplined their members and the bathing public.

The lifesaving movement debates which club was the first established. Bondi, Bronte, and Manly have all claimed the status of being Australia's first surf lifesaving club. Bronte cites its foundation year as 1903; until recently a sign above the main entrance to the Bondi clubhouse gave its foundation year as 1906. The best primary historical evidence discovered by historian Sean Brawley awards the title to Bondi. Brawley dates the official formation of the club as 21 February 1907.

By the 1930s the surf lifesaver was the paragon of Australian national manhood. Surf lifesavers at Bondi made significant contributions to that status. In one legendary exploit in 1938, Bondi surf lifesavers performed a mass rescue of three hundred swimmers. Around 3 P.M. on 6 February, a set of large waves generated a powerful backwash. The backwash swept several hundred swimmers, many of whom panicked, off a sand bar. Three teams of lifesavers were preparing for a race at the time, and a relieving patrol was about to come on duty. Among those rescued were thirty-five



Bondi Beach

Bondi Beach Tram

Memories of the Bondi Tram are recorded on the Bondi Beach website:

One hundred years ago the tram line was extended from the Bondi Aquarium terminus at Fletcher Street to a balloon loop at the southern end of Bondi Beach. Early morning tram journeys were particularly popular with bathers, as it was then forbidden to swim at Bondi Beach between the hours of 8am and 8pm.

[...]

The first of the popular O class trams entered service on the Bondi and Waverley lines in March 1908 and they were in general use by 1911. Nicknamed "toast-rack" trams, they successfully carried passengers until 1957 and are remembered with nostalgic affections.

- The conductor on the running boards crying "fez pliz,"
- The segregated smoking sections, usually occupied by men.
- The canvas blind which was pulled down to keep out the rain.
- Strap-hangers jostling for seats as passengers departed.
- The paper boys who jumped on and off calling "pa-yur."

The Bondi tram loop was demolished as part of Waverley Council's Bondi Improvement Scheme in the 1920s and the trams re-routed along Campbell Parade to a new terminus at North Bondi, the site still used today by buses.

Source: The Bondi Beach Home Page (2003). Retrieved February 24, 2005, from <http://www.voyeurmagic.com.au/thenow.htm#tram>

swimmers who were brought back to the beach unconscious; five people drowned.

Notwithstanding the broad social appeal of its beach, Bondi the suburb has been traditionally working class with a high proportion of transient residents. Most of

the contemporary housing was constructed in the interwar period and consists of dreary squat apartments. Suburban Bondi spiraled into a state of decline during the 1950s. Promenading rituals vanished when Returned Services League and other clubs granted free admission and the offer of dancing, cheap meals, and gaming machines. Television and movie theaters further hastened the demise of these public rituals. Similarly, the wider availability of cars opened up new picnic and bathing areas and drew the population away from what were now inner-city beaches.

Urban Renewal

During the mid-1970s Waverley Municipal Council initiated an urban renewal program. The program included converting the pavilion into a community center. Among the facilities offered by the new center were a theater, art gallery, rehearsal, meeting, and function rooms, music workshops, art workshops, pottery studios, and a recording studio. Today staff members at the Bondi Community Centre organize a variety of classes, workshops, exhibitions, and concerts. One of the biggest events staged by the center is the annual Festival of the Winds.

During the 1990s Australians discovered the beach as the place to live. Bondi, and especially the southern headland with its views of the beach and protection from prevailing winds, attracted an unprecedented influx of wealth. However, the moneyed set did not simply expel the economically weaker from Bondi. The beach attracts tens of thousands of foreign backpackers each year, and to meet their demands for cheap accommodation many residents have turned their houses into illegal (substandard) hostels.

The social composition of visitors to Bondi Beach has changed during the last quarter of a century. Local surf lifesavers and police report an upsurge in gangs of antisocial young men from Sydney's poorer western suburbs. They come to provoke trouble; they start sand fights and play soccer and tackle football to force sunbathers to surrender beach space. Lifesavers, once figures of high authority on the beach, now tell of being spat at, assaulted, and abused. However, social tension

has a long tradition at Bondi: As far back as 1877 Francis O'Brien threatened to close the beach to "rowdy larrikins."

Yet, regardless of their intentions or interests, visitors and residents alike remain as captivated by Bondi's sun, sand, and surf as they have always been.

Douglas Booth

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Boomerang Throwing

Boomerang throwing is a recreational and competitive sport in which participants try to achieve specified effects in their throws: accuracy, speed, distance, tricks, extended time aloft, and the like. Although usually linked with Australian culture, modern-day competitive boomerang throwing owes much to grassroots efforts in the United States during the latter part of the twentieth century.

History

Long believed to be of Australian origin, boomerangs from other parts of the world may predate those depicted in 15,000-year-old cave paintings of Australian Aborigines. In 1987, a 20,300-year-old throw stick (a throw stick generally travels in a relatively straight line, unlike a boomerang, which returns) carved from a mammoth's tusk was discovered in Poland. Boomerangs and

throw sticks were found in King Tutankhamen's tomb (1350 BCE) in Egypt, where they were perhaps used as early as 2000 BCE.

Boomerangs were used as a hunting decoy for birds. Ducks might see a boomerang and believe it to be an eagle. They would huddle under the "eagle," making them an easy target for a hunter with a net. Throw sticks were used for hunting ground game.

Aboriginal tribes in Australia held competitions with both returning boomerangs and nonreturning throw sticks, focusing on accuracy and distance as goals. A 1968 *Scientific American* article on boomerangs stimulated interest in them in the United States. Yearly workshops by the Smithsonian Institute on making and throwing boomerangs fueled this interest, and in 1981, the United States Boomerang Association (USBA) was formed. That same year, a U.S. boomerang team challenged and beat an Australian team in the first international competition; its success sparked today's multinational tournaments.

The United States and Australia have defined the sport of competitive boomerang throwing in their respective rule handbooks. However, most nations follow the European standard for competition, at least for scoring and ranking, and countries such as Germany, France, and Japan are now fielding successful boomerang teams.

The atmosphere at boomerang tournaments is informal and filled with camaraderie. Friends and family members often make up the audience; they observe from folding chairs and frequently share a picnic lunch with participants.

What Is Boomerang Throwing?

In a boomerang competition, standard events include the following:

- **Accuracy.** The competitor throws the boomerang in hopes of landing it in the accuracy target, which is a circle 10 meters (11 yards) in diameter outlined on a grass field. Within this circle are five concentric circles laid out in the same fashion as an archery target. A

A hand holding a boomerang.

Source: [istockphoto.com/calving](https://www.istockphoto.com/calving).

boomerang landing in the bull's-eye is worth 10 points. Subsequent larger circles award points on a declining scale of 8, 6, 4, and 2, respectively.

- *Australian Round.* This event expands on Accuracy by also factoring in points for distance and catching.
- *Fast Catch.* The thrower makes five throws and catches with the same boomerang as rapidly as possible.
- *Endurance.* The goal is to catch as many boomerangs as possible in five minutes.
- *Maximum Time Aloft.* The competitor tries to keep the boomerang in the air for the longest time possible.
- *Trick Catch.* The event requires making difficult catches—one-handed, under the leg, and with the feet—in the attempt to accumulate points.
- *Doubling.* Two boomerangs are thrown by one person and then caught on return in quick succession.

One might also see juggling or long-distance throwing at a competition.

In this sport, participants are separated by skill levels and then compete accordingly. Once placed in a particular category, there are no handicaps granted, and men, women, and youth compete on an even playing field.

Boomerang tournaments take place outdoors, in parks and other venues with the appropriate amount of wide-open space; the only equipment needed is a set of boomerangs. Competitors make or purchase differently crafted boomerangs for different events and wind conditions, and they tape coins and other objects onto their boomerangs to weight them for varying conditions of wind.

Participants range from the very small number of people who make their living from boomerang throw-



ing, mostly through demonstrating the sport to schools and other audiences, to those who work full-time jobs in other vocations and then compete on the weekends.

Competition at the Top

Presently twenty-five countries have national boomerang organizations, each of which schedule their own tournaments, and there is an official international competition held every two years. In most—if not all—instances, boomerang associations hold both individual and team events.

Effort is a measure of a man. ■ WILLIAM JAMES

Cultural attitudes toward the boomerang vary. The Australians, generally speaking, favor preserving the original materials and shape of the boomerang and maintaining the nature of the tournaments as they stand, while the French seek world-record performances and hold competitions intended to achieve new records; they prefer more technologically advanced boomerang designs to traditional shapes and colors. The Germans hold artisanship and successful performance in high regard. German and Swedish engineers create boomerangs with intricate inlaid patterns and use high-tech materials in their crafting, and in the United States, the favored boomerang is the one that will win a tournament rather than one that is aesthetically pleasing or designed to break world records.

Boomerang throwing has never been an Olympic sport, although the sport was demonstrated at the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, Australia. Likewise, few boomerang champions would be recognized except by those who participate in or follow the sport. One notable exception might be Chet Snouffer of Delaware, Ohio, who competed on the United States team in the first international competition, held in Australia. Snouffer has since won twelve national championships and three world titles.

Governing Body

There is no international governing organization; however, clubs and associations exist around the world. Key organizations include the following: Boomerang Association of Australia (www.boomerang.org.au); Boomerang World (www.flight-toys.com/boomerangs.htm); France Boomerang Association (franceboomerang.free.fr/); German Boomerang Club (www.bumerangclub.de); United States Boomerang Association (www.usba.org).

The Future

Referred to as the “ancient sport of the future” by the United States Boomerang Association, it seems likely that the United States, France, Germany, and Japan will remain powerhouses in the sport, and that additional

countries will join them in domestic and international competitions. Throwers and crafters will continue to refine the technology of their boomerangs, tailoring them to specific events such as long distance, fast catch, and MTA, and records will, most likely, continue to be broken. It is doubtful that the niche sport of boomerang throwing will ever become popular with a large number of people or that quality boomerangs will become mass-produced items, but it does seem plausible that a slow and quiet growth of the sport will occur.

Kelly Boyer Sagert

Additional information was provided by Ted Bailey.

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Boston Marathon

The Boston Athletic Association's Boston Marathon, inaugurated just one year after the modern marathon was introduced at the 1896 Olympics, arguably remains the most prestigious running event in North America, and one of the most celebrated in the world. Held the third Monday in April on Patriot's Day, the regional holiday commemorating Paul Revere's ride, the race takes a winding course from the small town of Hopkinton eastward to Boston, passing through seven other communities along the way. Over its century-plus history, participation has grown from the first group of fifteen (of whom ten were certified finishers) to the current field maximum of 20,000 spots filled by qualifying times and lottery, as crowds en route have swelled to number an estimated 1.5 million spectators each year. It is one of the most lucrative races as well, with the



total purse for 2004 amounting to \$525,000, including \$80,000 each for top men's and women's finishers.

Legendary Marathoners

The litany of legendary characters begat or confirmed in Boston would have to start with the spunky Clarence H. DeMar, a printer who trained by running to and from work and whose 1937 autobiography *Marathon* provides reminders of what genuine amateurism was like. DeMar first ran the race in 1910, won it an astonishing seven times between 1911 and 1930, and ran it for the last time in 1954 at age sixty-six. Bill Rogers won Boston four times in the 1970s—and is remembered especially for stopping five times during his 1975 victory, once to tie a shoelace as well as four times for water. It is a mark of Boston's distinction that nonwinners also belong to the lore: one is two-time Olympic champion Abebe Bikila, who ran but did not win Boston in 1963, between his Olympic golds; another is Frank Shorter, gold and silver Olympic medalist of the 1970s, who did not run Boston until 1978 when he was past his prime, having stayed away before because he deemed the prize money too minimal.

By the mid-1940s, the Boston race was undergoing transformation from a parochial New England affair to a marquee event reflecting the globalization of competitive distance running. A string of top finishes by Finns, Japanese and Koreans—including a sweep of the top three spots by Koreans in 1950—marked an end to U.S. domination; between 1946 and 1967 an American won the race just once. The 1960s saw a surge in home participation, however, reflecting the U.S. running boom of the period; the number of runners surpassed 1,000 for the first time in 1969. To control entries qualifying times were steadily lowered and, after some adjustments, now start at 3:10 for men and 3:40 for women, with additional time allowed for ascending age groups.

Boston's was the first major marathon to include a wheelchair division when it recognized Bob Hall as an official finisher in 1975, with a time just under three hours; the first acknowledged wheelchair completer,

however, was Eugene Roberts of Baltimore, who took seven hours to finish in 1970. Money prizes were first awarded in 1986, when Boston-based insurance company John Hancock assumed financial sponsorship.

Women Participate

The 1960s also saw women break into the ranks—at first surreptitiously, since not until 1972 was entry officially opened to them. For the first time in 2004, elite women runners got their own start, twenty-nine minutes ahead of the rest of the field, a move aimed at heightening attention to the women's race. Roberta "Bobbi" Gibb had been the pioneer, hiding in the bushes at the 1966 start and jumping in to become the first woman to successfully complete the race. In 1967 Kathrine Switzer entered as "K. Switzer," and a race official attempting to intercept her mid-race made embarrassing news all over the world. Joan Benoit Samuelson, who shredded a world record at Boston in 1983, went on to take the gold medal in the first women's Olympic marathon the next year. In 1994–1996, German Uta Pippig won three times in a row—the third time with severe menstrual cramps and diarrhea; other three-time women winners are Rosa Mota of Portugal, Fatuma Roba of Ethiopia, and Catherine Ndereba of Kenya. Ibrahim Hussein's win in 1998 already had ushered in the preeminence of Kenyan runners on the men's side; South Korean Li Bong-ju's 2001 win has been the only break in a Kenyan men's streak from 1991 to 2004.

How Long Is a Marathon?

The original Boston course fell about 2 miles short of marathon length; the original start in the town of Ashland was moved 2 miles west to Hopkinton when Boston became the qualifying race for the 1924 Paris Olympics—at which DeMar took bronze. After closer remeasurement in 1927, the course was lengthened a bit more to conform to the exact official marathon length of 26 miles and 385 yards. To this day different portions of the race maintain their own character as runners pass from relatively rural areas through small



towns and suburbs before arriving at the city for which the race is named. At about the halfway point, Wellesley College students recreate a ritual “sound tunnel” of screaming and shouting. A few miles farther, runners begin one of the most famous stretches of punishment in contemporary marathon racing, a chain of hills offering a steep rise and then abrupt fall in elevation, culminating in the so-called Heartbreak Hill in Newton, a nickname affixed by a longtime *Boston Globe* sports editor. The marathon’s overall downhill trajectory makes the course fast, so Boston times that make records now receive an asterisk.

Boston’s Legacy

In sum, many elements make the Boston Marathon special, from its status as the first annual U.S. race of its kind, subsequently replicated by rival New York and other cities to its association with Revolutionary War history, highlighted at the first running by an entourage of infantry soldiers, and from its important place in the careers of many outstanding runners to its many adaptations to larger trends in competitive national and global sports—sometimes ahead of the curve, sometimes behind.

Judy Polumbaum

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Bowls and Bowling

Bowls and bowling include a group of activities that involve rolling or throwing balls at targets with the intent of hitting or knocking them over. The term “bowls” generally refers to variants of the game played in Europe and the United Kingdom, and “bowling” is the Americanized version of the sport played in the United States. Long dominated by men, bowls and bowling have fairly recently accepted the full participation of women.

Bowls and bowling claim their origins in antiquity. Rolling or throwing small balls at various targets is said to be portrayed in carvings from ancient Mediterranean civilizations, but there are very long gaps in the evidence. Bocce claims to have been played in Italy since the days of classical Rome, with distinctive regional variations. Bocce (literally, “bowls”) and petanque/boules, played in Italy and France, respectively, are traditional peasant games that were long played exclusively by men.

Peasant Recreations: Bocce and Petanque/Boule

In the Mediterranean countries of Italy and France, these broadly similar games emerged primarily as agents for male bonding. Men took over the sandy or gravel spaces of village squares for play, which was often associated with drinking during the warmer months from April to October. The games have common elements: the small and relatively heavy balls are tossed from a fixed line toward a target. Both have been codified only relatively recently, as they have been adapted to wider usage and urban play.

Bowls, as with many medieval and Renaissance European folk customs, is quite difficult to reconstruct in terms of whether both men and women took part. Only as the game began to be played with formal rules in the late nineteenth century has the role of women been given an occasionally controversial prominence. Many clubs remained all-male in membership.



Bowls and Bowling

Bowling in Lapland

In the beginning of the 19th century the Utsjoki-Lapps practiced a kind of bowling. They used one rather small pin which was placed upright on a board, and they chose a “caretaker” by casting lots. Each player had a stick which he bowled on the pin, and every time the pin fell the caretaker put it upright again. When all the players had thrown their sticks, these were picked up as fast as possible, as the caretaker had a long switch in his hand with which he hastened to strike the players. If the last bowler hit the pin, the caretaker was not allowed to pursue the players before he had placed the pin upright again; therefore the last bowler was usually the strongest and the most skillful. If the caretaker managed to strike a player before the latter had found his stick, he was freed from his task and replaced by the stricken bowler.

Source: Itkonen, T. I. (1948). *The Lapps in Finland up to 1945* (pp. 861). Porvoo, Helsinki: Werner Sderstrm Osakeyhti.

Significant differences remain between women’s playing as part of family recreation in these sports deeply rooted in European masculine peasant cultures and their part in those games that have been developed in the wider contexts of the white-dominated sections of the former British Empire and North America. That women are confined to amateur status is also an issue; this is perhaps a remnant of the social and religious purity they have long been supposed to represent.

Since the 1980s, however, urbanization has started to break down bocce’s traditional maleness. This has been even more the case in the United States, the country to which it has been most successfully exported along with other aspects of Italian migrant culture. Here it has developed increasingly as a means of family bonding in suburbia; women tend to play within extended domestic teams rather than in separate organizations, but the situation remains very fluid.

Petanque/boule is broadly similar in history, although its spread outside the former French colonial

empire owes more to tourists taking the game home to Britain than to ethnic migration. It has been codified since about 1910, having emerged from older games played in southern France.

Bowls, rolling a heavy wooden ball biased with a metal weight toward a small jack, has been played in Britain since at least the Middle Ages, and little-changed versions are still played by exclusively male clubs in a few places, including Lewes and Southampton. A limited amount of evidence shows occasional female participation in more domestic versions during the Tudor and Stuart periods—the great diarist Samuel Pepys played with his wife in the 1660s. But it was with the reemergence and popularization of the masculine game at the end of the nineteenth century that women appeared both as serious, and segregated, contenders.

Bocce and Petanque: Rules and Play

Bocce uses an “alley” or “rink” 18.3 meters long and 2.4 meters wide. As it has become more popular in cities, more indoor facilities have been constructed, which often house several such pitches. Each player tosses a bowl to get as close as possible to a smaller target bowl, the pallino, which has already been thrown to lie at least 1.4 meters beyond a central regulator peg. The player usually walks up to do this within a separate area. Competitors may play either as singles with two shots each or in teams of up to six people with four shots each. Bocce is organized into various regional and national federations but, until recently, had no organized international competition because it was played largely in Italy.

The name *petanque* means, literally, “feet tied together.” This refers to the standing position from which the metal boule (“bowl”) is thrown at the small wooden target, the *cochonnet*, which has been tossed some 6 to 10 meters into a space roughly 12 meters by 1.3 meters. Scoring depends on the player’s skill in getting a bowl closer to the target than the opponent’s bowl. In the 1980s indoor urban arenas extended the playing season to year-round. Codification led in 1945 to the organization of a national body, the Federation

Boys playing boules outside a pub in England.

Francaise de Petanque et Jeu Provençal and eventually to world championships as visitors from neighboring countries, as well as those in the former French empire, took up the game.

One major factor in opening play up to women came with the formation of a British Petanque Association in 1974 (now with 320 clubs and 4,000 members), at a time when they were being admitted more readily, in southern England at least, to pubs. While some women play independently in league games, their partners are drawn largely from their families and both sexes, reflecting the domestication of a previously singularly masculine preserve. This domestication is even more pronounced when it is remembered that most games are recreational and played on family space in gardens or vacation sites.

Bowls: Rules and Play

There are two main versions of the modern game, both played seasonally out of doors, with broad similarities. The “lawn” version is played on level grass greens. These are squares of between 31 and 41 meters that are usually divided into rinks of up to 5.5 meters wide, to allow several matches to be played side by side. The green is surrounded by a shallow ditch and a bank at least 23 centimeters high.

The second version, called the “crown” version, may be played on either a square or a rectangular area, but it must be a minimum of 25 meters wide. It usually rises to a central crown up to 35 centimeters high. Both games use “woods,” now usually made of artificial materials, which are “biased,” weighted to one side, so that a direct line is virtually impossible. These are bowled at a smaller “jack” up to 6.4 centimeters in diameter. Players, grouped in various combinations, usually play with up to four bowls each, the winner being the player whose wood comes closest to the jack.



Participation in Bowls

Bowls was frequently and inaccurately portrayed as a semisedentary game for the middle-aged. At the beginning of the twentieth century, male clubs were recognized, in a semipublic and partly humorous way, as a refuge from both overdomestication and feminine domination. The first national organization, the English Bowling Association (EBA), was founded for men in 1903, dominated initially by the aging and irascible cricket hero, Dr. W. G. Grace. It was followed in 1926 by the rival English Bowling Federation (EBF) and by the British Crown Green Association, first begun in 1903 but reorganized in 1932. For flat green players national championships are provided by the EBA in southern England and by the EBF in the Midlands. Crown Green players have had a national championship since 1878, reorganized in 1907 as the Waterloo Cup, held in the northern seaside resort of Blackpool.

Eventually a case was advanced that play would benefit women in two ways. It would improve the health of women who were excluded from more active pursuits by age and convention, and it would also extend the women’s role from the more traditional one of making teas for visiting teams. The “ladies” became “women” players. Playing was also promoted as an additional means of inculcating graceful movement. Such pressures led the London authorities to make limited separate playing facilities in public parks available for women in 1906.

It was probably the biggest accomplishment of my life. ■ JEROME BETTIS, after bowling a perfect 300.

Most developments since then have seen an uneasy coexistence with men's clubs on both private and public spaces. Women have progressed more rapidly in the "lawn" game, with its flat greens, in the predominantly southern and middle-class areas, than in the "crown" game, with its uneven greens and semiprofessionalism, in more northern and working-class towns. The latter has often been associated with gambling, supposedly a male activity. The first specifically female club was probably founded in 1910 in Kingston Canbury, near London. The great boom came in the decade after the end of World War I, when bowls became a somewhat unlikely tool in the growth of women's independence.

Although British women moved steadily toward greater playing organization, this was one area where the island's power did not automatically cause it to lead in imperial developments. The slightly freer culture of white groups in some of the colonies had already led South Africa and Australia to form women's bowls associations and England's leading women lawn bowls players followed suit, opting for the purposeful-sounding English Women's Bowling Association, or EWBA (a rival Ladies' Association was very short-lived).

The EWBA was founded in 1931 (twenty-eight years after the men's), with the support of many male players, and grew rapidly thereafter, pulling many existing county associations together and prompting the formation of new ones. Eventually it grew to have almost 2,000 affiliated clubs. It was matched, on a smaller scale, by the emergence in 1957 of the English Women's Bowling Federation, for the crown green game. The two bodies' regional influence has closely matched the distribution and the social cachet of their parallel sports. Their most significant role has been in organizing ladders of championships up to international level. Perhaps the peak of recognition for the lawn game came with its inclusion in the Commonwealth Games in 1982. The full age range is now well represented, and the playing of matches has had to adapt to the sharply changing women's employment patterns of Britain since

the 1960s. Weekday play still favors those who are retired.

Although there are honorific prizes in the women-only lawn tournaments—culminating in the annual championships held for years in the Sussex seaside resort of Worthing—any hint of professionalism has been firmly resisted in women's lawn bowls. By comparison, the crown variant has developed a women's version of the male semi- and fully professional sponsored tournaments firmly located in the north of England. Early competition prizes in the 1930s consisted largely of useful domestic goods.

After World War II, financial incentives began to appear, although at a level much below the male equivalents. With sponsorship, the top champions could win thousands of pounds by the 1980s, although they were still a long way from the more obviously glamorous women's sports, even when their matches were televised. The key change came with the organization in 1977 of a women's annual Waterloo Championship, named after the long-established male one. Several thousand women now take part in this circuit, but few are fully professional.

Indoor Variants

Women players have also found a new outlet in the late-twentieth-century development of a previously eccentric minority version of the sport, indoor bowls, usually played on special carpets up to 46 meters long in shared multipurpose halls. Over 250 clubs in England have emerged to follow this winter game, often with membership drawn largely from the seasonally restricted outdoor game. It has its own hierarchy of tournaments, largely under the auspices of the National Indoor Bowls Council, formed in 1964, but a great deal of the play is between older husbands and wives, another extension of domestic bonding.

International Play

As with a number of other quintessentially British sports, women's bowls has spread among Anglophiles



Bowls and Bowling

“The Hat and Blazer Brigade”: British Bowling Dress

Few issues have aroused more controversy and offered more targets for ridicule than the dress code adopted since the 1920s by women playing bowls. Whereas women participating in bocce/pentanque or bowling have opted largely for the practical informality of trousers and similar leisurewear, bowls players have a very limited and regulated choice. The emphasis is on a uniform which seems to be a mixture derived from the lawn tennis wear of the early 1920s and male cricketing dress. It is best suited for the fine weather of the summer months. Jewelry, such as earrings and brooches, has long been forbidden; wedding rings and watches are acceptable. A white, cream or gray skirt with a hem well below the knees and a white/cream blouse are compulsory, as are formal stockings, usually brown; the bare legs made fashionable by Princess Diana in other circumstances are respectably covered on the lawns. Flat-heeled brown, white, or gray leather shoes, soft-soled to protect the green, are mandatory; there is no market for the ambitious and fashion-changing trainer manufacturers here. Cream or navy blue blazers may be worn, and soft white or cream rainwear made of artificial fabrics has slowly crept in. By far the most dis-

tinctive, and much-ridiculed, item is the hat. Although a few now play bare-headed, the norm is still a white soft-brimmed hat which is a mixture of the male Panama and solid women’s styles of the early 1920s. A colored band may indicated the player’s team allegiance, but that is the only adornment. The eye shades or colored baseball hats beloved by women golfers have no place in women’s bowls. Not surprisingly, there has been a number of attempts to throw off the staid and conservative image the uniform suggests, which some critics have likened to the older uniforms of the Salvation Army. These moves have largely failed. Divided skirts (culottes) were eventually allowed after much debate, but Australian attempts in the early 1990s to introduce brightly striped colored garb, bringing the game “out of the Dark Ages,” were soon squashed at a local level. The uniform remains, only slightly modified. As such, it is usually worn with great pride by players of all ages, a central sign of another “unchanging” tradition which the British have exported so successfully. Its survival is seen as another sign of just how serious (“fanatic,” according to some observers) women are about the game and about its perceived purity and order.

in the United States as well as throughout the former British Empire. As with cricket, its following in the United States is limited and strongest among the eastern seaboard states, where women play as part of the approximately 7,000 players affiliated with the American Lawn Bowls Association, formed in 1915. But it is deeply rooted in the dominant white suburban cultures of South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. In Australia, in particular, it is often an arena for sharp clashes between women themselves over issues such as dress and apparent cultural dependency on Britain’s former power. It is also a major target of semiaffectionate male criticism because of Australia’s uneasy history of macho male cultural dominance. The formidable dedication of

many female bowlers is often portrayed as more of a threat to male power than the more traditional restrictions expected from domesticity.

Bowling in North America

The various games that bowl at skittles or pins grew largely as an Americanization of European men’s play linked with taverns and pubs, more often played indoors than outside. As such, they had a distinctly working-class following tied to a culture formed around recreational alcohol consumption. In this setting, views on the role of women in these games have been ambivalent. It was with the popularization in the United States of tenpin bowling (and its Canadian variations)



Candlepin bowling. *Source: istockphoto/gmnicholas.*

that women emerged more significantly, although some historians have pointed out that the greatest female following is blue-collar in its origins. When bowling became a respectable family activity in the 1950s, women usually entered it as wives or daughters playing alongside their menfolk in friendly games—it had become another wholesome prop to suburban lifestyles, an image it has largely retained. That move had accompanied its mechanization and the shift to larger, specialist premises that attracted larger groups. As a way of meeting high investment costs, promoters set out to popularize bowling among women.

Women have gradually emerged as independent players, and it is no accident that a number of the standard rule manuals are written by women. When local leagues emerged to play, women were quick to organize. The overall rules were standardized by the essentially male American Bowling Congress, founded in 1895, and the Women's International Bowling Congress, a women's organization that emerged in 1916, well before the game assumed its mantle of suburban respectability—although it is said that their presence led to a rapid

cleanup of the alleys. The 1950s brought an increasing professionalism with commercial sponsorship. A Professional Women's Bowling Association (later changed to "Tour") was formed in 1959, a year after its male equivalent, the Professional Bowlers' Association, which had 2,000 members.

At this level of the sport, women's participation is relatively small and sparsely funded by male standards, although play is vibrant and important as one aspect of career development in sport and as a source of models for playing performance. The four major events on the women's tour are the Bowling Proprietor's Association of America U.S. Open, the Women's International Bowling Congress Queens, Sam's Town Invitational, and the WPBA National Championship. The leading women bowlers earn only about 60 percent of that earned by the leading men. For example, in 1997 the earnings of the top ten men ranged from \$75,000 to \$166,000, while for women the figure fell between \$44,000 and \$117,000. Altogether 7 million men and women play in organized U.S. leagues. The various alley games have largely involved women at local ama-

teur and domestic recreational levels, particularly when exported overseas to such places as Britain.

The Future

For both sexes, bowling offers various advantages that make its continued growth likely, on both professional and recreational levels. Many communities have bowling alleys, and casual play requires no serious investment of time or money. Provided prize money keeps pace with interest, more women may take up professional bowling. In the 1990s the sport became a symbol of the supposed decline of family recreational activities as well as reflecting a less sociable work culture, but there has recently been a resurgence. Whether the North American form of bowling will spread further abroad remains an open question.

John Lowerson

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Boxing

Boxing means fighting with one's fists. Up until the twentieth century, the sport based on boxing was prizefighting in which two men fought bare knuckled for money. The modern sport of boxing is a sport rather than a form of entertainment or simply physical vio-

lence because it follows a set of predetermined rules that shape the nature of the fight and set forth criteria for determining the winner. The most important rule is the classification of fighters according to weight that helps ensure that fights will be fair. Professional boxing is now a global, multibillion-dollar industry centered in the United States. Amateur boxing, which both exists on its own and to prepare boxers for a professional career is also a worldwide sport, although its centers are in Russia, Cuba, and Eastern Europe.

Boxing has long been criticized for various ills including the level of violence, corruption, and racism. Nonetheless, it has remained extremely popular with its appeal crossing social class, gender, and ethnic lines. Perhaps its appeal is in the primordial nature of boxing. It is, in some sense, the basic sport. Two men, almost naked, use their strength, speed, agility, stamina, and courage to fight it out until one is too beaten to continue or gives up.

Although the attention of the public is on the boxers in the ring, there are other significant players in the boxing industry. Most important are the trainer, manager, and promoter. The trainer is responsible for getting the fighter physically and mentally ready for the bout, mapping out strategy and offering advice and encouragement from the corner during the bout. The manager is the fighter's representative and as such negotiates contracts with promoters, seeks endorsement and other deals, and acts as the fighter's press agent. The manager has a legal responsibility to act in the fighter's best interest. The promoter is the fight producer. He or she arranges the fight, secures the venue, raises the money to pay the fighters and other expenses, and arranges for media coverage. The promoter's interest is making money off the fight.

Despite the physical danger, boxing and training for boxing is unsurpassed at developing and maintaining physical fitness. In recent years some women have appreciated this and taken to the sport. Boxing feints, the movement of the feet, the skill in a rally, are all elements that can be appreciated by the aesthete, inside or



Boxing

The Beginning of Boxing in the United States

These descriptions from a document known as American Fistiana (1860) recount the early history of boxing in the United States from 1821 to 1840.

The first public ring fight which ever took place in this country was between JACOB HYER AND TOM BEASLEY.—This fight took place as early as the year 1816, and proceeded from a personal quarrel between the men, much of the same character as that which produced the present match between Tom Hyer, the son of the first above named party, and Yankee Sullivan. The fight between Hyer and Beasley, both whom were very large and powerful first class

men, lasted through several severe rounds, but was at length decided in favor of the latter by an accident, and Hyer retired from the ring with a broken arm.

JIM. SANFORD AND NED HAMMOND.—The next that we find on record is the prize fight between Jim Sanford, the American Phenomenon, and Ned Hammond, an Englishman. This occurred in 1821, near Belville, New Jersey, but after a period of severe fighting, in which Sanford, though the lightest man, had much the best of it, it was interrupted by the sudden appearance of the Sheriff with his posse comitatus, and was never resumed.

outside the ring. Many boxing fans believe that the sport should be about hitting, stopping blows, and avoiding being hit. Today, however, the focus is more often on power and knockouts.

History

The roots of modern boxing are found in ancient Greece and Rome. Prizefighting emerged in Great Britain in the seventeenth century. The first written rules were published by Jack Broughton (1704–1789) in London in 1743 although most people learned the rules from personal involvement. In 1841 the editors of *Bells Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* began publishing a boxing yearbook called *Fistiana*, which soon modified Broughton's Rules. Under the revised rules prizefighting could take the form of upright wrestling until either or both men went down. What we now would call a round might last a few seconds or forty minutes. The rest between rounds was thirty seconds. The fight continued until one contestant gave in or his second gave in for him. Fighters invariably bled, and spectators commonly laid bets on "first blood." In the late eighteenth century the notion of science or "scientific boxing" entered the sport. It emphasized foot and hand speed and stopping or avoiding punches and made smaller men competitive with heavier and stronger men. It quickly became popular outside Britain. Its best-

known practitioner was the British champion Daniel Mendoza (1764–1836).

Boxing became popular in Paris in the early twentieth century and replaced savate, which allowed blows with the feet. British and African-American boxers fought in France including the world heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson (1878–1946). The first major French fighter was Georges Carpentier (1894–1975). He switched from savate in 1908 and boxed up to heavyweight division. In 1921 he lost to Jack Dempsey (1895–1983) before 90,000 fans in Jersey City, New Jersey.

Boxing, as opposed to prizefighting, used rules written by a Cambridge University athlete, John Graham Chambers (1843–1883) and published by Sir John Sholto Douglas (1844–1900), who was the eighth Marquis of Queensberry in 1867. These rules came to be known as the Queensberry Rules and distinguished between boxing competitions and contests. Competitions were for amateurs as well as professionals. These bouts were limited to three rounds in about ten minutes and were usually decided on points. Contests, on the other hand, were tests of endurance that continued until one man could no longer fight; they were confined strictly to professionals. Only in the latter code was it specified that new gloves of fair size and best quality be used, so Queensberry Rules assumed the superiority of

I coulda been a contender. ■ MARLON BRANDO AS
TERRY MALLOY IN *ON THE WATERFRONT* (1954)

contests over competitions. Amateurs sparred, professionals fought, and both boxed sportingly according to Queensberry. In both forms timed rounds were timed with a one-minute rest between rounds; gloves were to be used, and wrestling was prohibited.

Between the two world wars, boxing expanded—professional boxing became very profitable and both amateur and professional boxing became popular in Europe and the United States. At the same time, boxing started to become integrated. Joe Louis (1914–1981), an African-American, won the world heavyweight title in Chicago in 1937. But, black men were not permitted to win British professional championships until 1948.

Professional Boxing

Domination of early professional boxing moved back and forth across the Atlantic between Britain and the United States. By the early twentieth century, the United States had become the center of professional boxing with its ranks of fighters filled by poor immigrant men including Irish, Jews, and Italians, and African-Americans. Among the leading fighters as the century moved on were John Sullivan, Jack Dempsey, Benny Leonard, Willie Pep, Sugar Ray Robinson, Joe Louis, and Rocky Marciano. By the 1960s the upper weight divisions were dominated by African-American men, most notably Sonny Liston, Joe Frazier, Muhammad Ali, George Forman, and Mike Tyson. Poverty was and is what brings many athletes into professional boxing. From the mid-twentieth century, boxers from less-developed countries began to replace white men, whose generally improved living conditions allowed them to choose less painful work and pastimes. From Mexico to South Korea, poorer countries have produced more and more boxers, especially at the lighter weights. And, in the United States, Latino boxers have entered the sport in significant numbers.

Central to the rise of boxing in the twentieth century has been the promoter—the person responsible for signing the fighters and officials, paying them, renting a suitable venue, attracting spectators, controlling betting, and generally maintaining order. The leading promoter

in the history of boxing was George L. “Tex” Rickard (1871–1929), who with the help of leading sportswriters turned New York City’s Madison Square Garden into the “mecca” of professional boxing in the 1920s. Radio and then television increased the popularity of boxing even more and in the twenty-first century boxing is a staple of premium and pay-per-view television.

Amateur Boxing

The first championships for amateurs were contested in western London. The Queensberry Rules were written for this occasion, but boxing was only part of a two-day open-air program of general athletics, bicycling, and wrestling for gentlemen from newly formed London sports clubs and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A shortage of quality boxers led six of the boxers and the editor of a weekly newspaper, the *Referee*, to form the Amateur Boxing Association (ABA), which allowed workingmen to enter its annual championships each spring. The real amateur sport then developed, not among the comfortably off, but in boys’ clubs near factories, docks, and railway arches.

In the United States the integration of wealthy clubs with the hoi polloi came much later. The Golden Gloves tournament was started by the *Chicago Tribune* in 1926 and became annual a few years later. Boxing first appeared at the Olympics in 1904, was dropped for the 1912 Games, but returned in 1920 and has been on the program since. International amateur boxing was organized in 1920 with the formation in Paris of the Federation Internationale de Boxe Amateur. The 1932 results say much about the internationalization of amateur boxing with titles won by boxers from Hungary, Canada, and Argentina (two), South Africa (two), and the United States (two). The European titles (awarded to the European who placed best at the Olympics) went to men from Hungary, Sweden, France, Italy (two), and Germany (three).

When amateur boxing resumed after the war, the world was split into two hostile camps: capitalist and communist. Amateur boxing flourished in Communist nations, which rejected professional sport and supported

I'll be floating like a butterfly and stinging like a bee. ■ MUHAMMAD ALI

their amateurs with state funds. Amateur boxing in capitalist countries largely lacked government support, but compensated with television fees and sponsorship from industry and business. In both systems excellence at sport was linked to national prestige. In market economies, professional boxing siphoned off gifted amateurs. Communist nations like Poland, the Soviet Union, and Cuba had an advantage in keeping fighters in the amateur ranks for their entire careers, as in the examples of the Cuban heavyweights Teofilo Stevenson and Felix Savon.

Africa, Asia, and the Middle East became involved in boxing through the amateur version of the sport. The International Amateur Boxing Association was formed in London in 1946. Its congresses, held every four years, indicate the widening interest in boxing: the first congress outside Europe was held in Tanzania in 1974, followed by Madrid, Spain; Colorado Springs, Colorado; and Bangkok, Thailand. Between the International Amateur Boxing Association World Amateur Boxing Championships and the Olympics, boxing produced winners worldwide. Tournaments organized by the Arab Boxing Union involve associations from Iraq to Algeria; and the Oceanic Federation, which includes Australia, has successfully staged its championships in Tahiti.

The sport was, however, disgraced at the 1988 Olympics, held in Seoul, South Korea, by chauvinistic judging and some crowd misbehavior. This led directly to changes in the scoring at all major international tournaments. Five ringside judges, equipped with computers for the first time, had to register points as they saw them scored, but only those points signified by a majority within a second of each other were counted toward the final result. The new system has rapidly gained devotees since it was used at the Barcelona Olympics in 1992, and the increased impartiality, with its low, measured scores is adjudged a triumph in the management of amateur boxing.

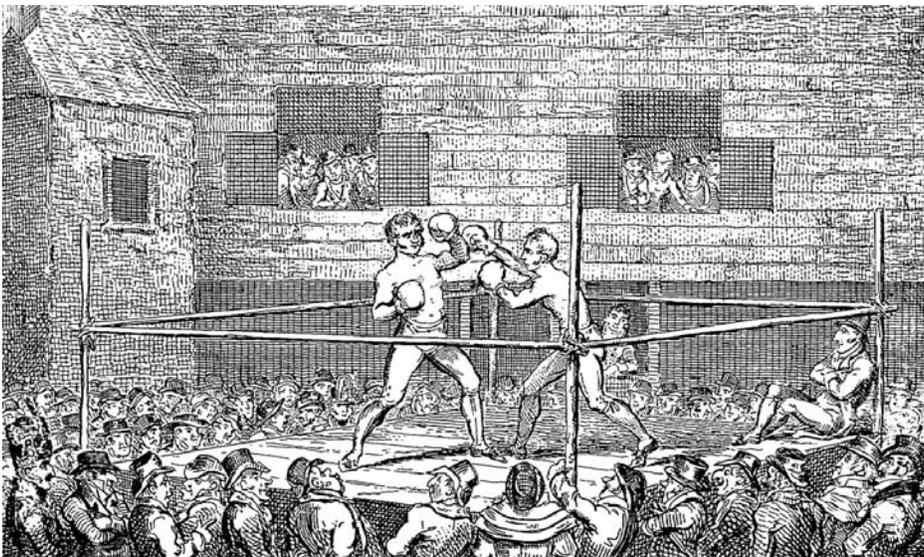
Women's Boxing

Women's boxing at the organized, professional level is a recent development. It began on 16 March 1996 when Christy Martin and Deidre Gogarty stole the show on the otherwise boring Mike Tyson–Frank Bruno heavyweight championship card in Las Vegas. The Martin–Gogarty fight however, proved to the 1.1 million people watching on pay-per-view television that women could actually fight with skill, bleed, “get rocked,” and come back for more. Martin became the first woman boxer to appear on the cover of *Sports Illustrated*.

Women's boxing differs from men's in several ways.

Breast protectors are mandatory for women, but groin protectors are optional. The woman must not be pregnant. Rounds in women's fights are two rather than three minutes long; and women officials must be in charge of pre-fight weigh-ins, although the paucity of such officials means that male officials sometimes must be used.

A boxing match at Five Courts, London, in the early nineteenth century.



A boxer ready for action.

Source: istockphoto/lisegagne.



Little is known about women's boxing in the past. Most information comes from newspaper or magazine accounts of bouts in Britain, France, United States, and Australia that were usually more a form of entertainment than sport. These bouts seem to have been a working class entertainment frowned upon although ignored by the middle and upper classes. For example, in 1807 the *Times* of London described a fight between Mary Mahoney and Betty Dyson, commenting that at the end of forty minutes, both "Amazons" were "hideously disfigured by hard blows." Part of the appeal and perhaps much of the appeal for spectators was that the women were sometimes bare to the waist or wore revealing clothing. During the 1890s women's boxing was a popular form of entertainment in saloons and the vaudeville circuit in the United States despite calls in the 1880s to ban women's boxing.

Women's boxing enjoyed a brief period of popularity in Germany of the 1920s and 1930s. In the United States women's boxing continued as a variety act. Still, there was more opposition than support and in 1933 Pope Pius XI condemned women who attended a boxing match as not helping to preserve "the dignity and grace peculiar to women."

For fifteen years in the 1940s and 1950s, the best-known female boxer Barbara Buttrick, from Yorkshire, England who stood but 4 feet 11 inches, weighed in at about 100 pounds. Buttrick later founded the Women's International Boxing Association (WIBF).

A major impediment to the development of women's boxing in the United States was the state boxing commissions, controlled by white men, who refused to license women. In the 1970s women brought legal challenges and women were licensed in Nevada, California and then New York. Women also won the right to enter the all-male Golden Gloves tournament. Women fighters during this period were a mix of a few with talent and many with little or none.

The 1980s saw a decline in serious women's boxing with far more spectator interest in entertainment provided by partially nude "boxers" and tough women in brawls. At the same, legal challenges to restrictions con-

tinued and court rulings and Michigan and then Massachusetts created more opportunities for female fighters. In 1992 the Amateur International Boxing Association (AIBA) officially recognized women's boxing. Boxing training also became a form of exercise and fitness training for women with "boxercise" classes becoming popular in the 1990s.

Since 1996, however, not all has gone smoothly for professional women's boxing. The biggest problem has been a lack of quality boxers that often produces matches that are embarrassing mismatches and which create a serious injury risk for the weaker boxer. This situation is not likely to change until there is a functioning amateur circuit for women boxers so they can learn to box and gain experience before turning professional.

Boxing and Society

Boxing has always been criticized and at times banned. The criticisms are many, some more serious than others. The great boxing writer, A. J. Liebling, is often cited as undoubtedly correct when he called boxing "the red light district of the sports world."

PHYSICAL DANGERS

One major criticism is of the physical dangers—short and long term—to the boxers. At least fifty boxers have died from injuries suffered during a bout since the



Boxing

“The Knock-Out” by Grantland Rice

“A clean knock-out blow to the chin is painless. One may have visions or even hear birds singing before recovering consciousness.”—Scientific report.

Hit me, dear heart, upon the chin;
 Massage me in the good old way;
 Hit me as if you meant to win
 The crown that Dempsey holds today.
 For lately I have felt the stab
 Of dull routine in endless range;
 Yea, I have found existence drab
 And I am yearning for a change.

I'd like to hear the brown thrush pipe
 His melody, well known thrush pipe
 His melody, well known of old;
 Out where the blooms of May are ripe
 In sprays of scarlet, blue and gold;
 I'd like to watch the rivers run,
 Rock-fretted, as they whirl and pass
 Between tall cliffs that hide the sun,
 Where vagrant shadows streak the grass.

And somewhere out beyond the walls,
 With all their driving, hurried bands,
 I'd like to hear the rainbirds call
 Through gray days on the meadowlands;
 Or, by the marshes and the bog,
 Where swallows wheel in restless flight,
 I'd like to hear the fluting frogs
 In earnest chorus greet the night.

Soak me, dear heart, upon the jaw,
 Unfettered with the block and feint;
 Nor let the province of the law
 Hold you to any light restraint;
 For lately I have felt the lure
 Of stream and mountain, bird and bough;
 My soul is craving for a cure,
 But travel's too expensive now.

Source: Rice, G. (1924). *Badminton*, p. 132–133.

1950s and many others have been seriously injured. And the long-term neurological effects of taking repeated blows to the head over the years are well-documented by medicine. Champions such as Joe Louis, Sugar Ray Robinson, and Muhammad Ali all suffered from serious neurological impairment later in life. The greatest risk is sustained by overmatched fighters who take a brutal beating over the course of a bout. A well-known example is heavyweight Chuck Wepner, known as the “Bayonne Bleeder,” who fought many of the leading heavyweights of the latter twentieth century and sustained considerable brain damage as a result.

Amateur fights have produced far fewer deaths, presumably because their bouts are shorter. And damage tends to be worse in the heavier divisions because the fighters hit with more force. Since the 1980s, head guards have been required in amateur fights, although they are unpopular with both boxers and spectators. It is not clear if the guards reduce brain injuries, but they do reduce the risk of facial cuts and detached retinas. Also significant is that fighters have no union and no health benefits and no pension.

CORRUPTION IN THE SPORT

Another major issue is corruption. One major appeal of boxing for fans is betting on their fighter. In the past the fixing of matches was a serious issue, although since the crackdown on organized crime's control of boxing in the 1950s it is now less common. The issue now is the fixing of rankings by the competing boxing associations. Professional boxing matches are sanctioned and boxers ranked by three competing organizations—The World Boxing Association, the World Boxing Council, and the International Boxing Federation. Observers charge that these organizations corrupt the sport by ranking fighters and arranging fights on the basis of how much profit the federations can make. Fighters are forced to pay sanctioning fees and boxers who don't pay are lowered in the ranking. Promoters play the role of both promoter and manager and look out for their financial interests first. All this produces a system where the best fighters may never have the chance to reach the top honestly, through victories in the ring.



Critics charge that corruption flourishes in the sport in the United States because there is no national control of boxing. Rather, boxing is governed by independent state boxing commissions which, except for Nevada and Pennsylvania, critics describe as ranging from incompetent to corrupt. Many state boxing officials are political appointees with limited knowledge of the management of the sport. Critics charge that it is their lack of oversight that leads to mismatches and the risk of serious injury and allows the exploitation of poor black and Latino fighters. There is currently an effort led by Sen. John McCain (R. Arizona) in the U.S. Congress to create central government control over boxing.

RACISM

The third major criticism is racism. It is well-documented that in the nineteenth and first few decades of the twentieth century black men were either banned or discriminated against in professional boxing. Only toward the middle of the century when the number of white fighters coming out of immigrant communities declined were black fighters allowed in large numbers. However, racism did not end. Some commentators believe that racism entered into the decision of state boxing commissions to strip Muhammad Ali of his title when he declared himself a conscientious objector in 1968. And, since the 1960s when blacks and Latinos began their dominance in the ring, there has been a search for the “Great White Hope”—the white boxer (like the fictional Rocky) who would win the heavyweight title. Several who have failed are Chuck Wepner, Frans Botha, and Gerry Cooney. Although professional boxing is now dominated by African-American and Latino fighters, many still feel that these fighters are not given their due. For example, the city of Philadelphia erected a statue to Rocky, the fictional white fighter, since the film takes place in the city. However, no such honor was given to the real-life world champion Joe Frazier who has spent most of his life in Philadelphia. Critics charge that racism today comes in the form of the exploitation of some of these fighters by managers, promoters, and sanctioning bodies.

*Tough times don't last.
Tough people do.* ■ ANONYMOUS

Boxing in Popular Culture

Because of its broad appeal, boxing has spawned a large literature of novels, magazines, films, and several fights described as the “fight of the century.” Many experts agree that if there was a fight of the twentieth century it was Joe Frazier’s fifteen-round decision over Muhammad Ali at Madison Square Garden in 1971. Among the greatest boxing films are *Golden Boy* (1939), *The Harder They Fall* (1956), *Somebody Up There Likes Me* (1956), *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (1962), *Rocky* (1976), *Raging Bull* (1980), *The Hurricane* (2000), *Girlfight* (2000), and *Million Dollar Baby* (2004). And among literary figures drawn to boxing are Albert Camus, Ernest Hemingway, Jack London, Norman Mailer, and Joyce Carol Oates.

The Future

Despite these issues and the large number of prominent critics of boxing in general or professional boxing today, boxing continues to flourish. It remains a popular amateur and Olympic sport around the world. Professional boxing also remains extremely popular with bouts shown regularly on television. Efforts to control corruption have usually failed, and current efforts seem to have little chance of long-term success. Boxing brings out a basic instinct in many and remains a path out of poverty for some.

*David Levinson, Stan Shipley, and
Edward R. Beauchamp*

See also Madison Square Garden; Mixed Martial Arts

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Brand Management

Sports organizations, such as professional teams, college athletic departments, health clubs and even athletes, increasingly view themselves as brands to be managed. In addition, corporations spend billions of dollars every year to sponsor sporting events in an attempt to further their brands. To understand brand management, we must start with a definition of *brand*. According to David Aaker, “a brand is a distinguishing name and/or symbol (such as a logo, trademark, or package design) intended to identify the goods or services of either one seller or a group of sellers, and to differentiate those goods or services from those of competitors” (Aaker 1991, 7). As the branding concept relates to sports, the most noticeable application is to team names and related nicknames. For example, the New York Yankees of Major League Baseball and Man-

chester United of the English Premier soccer league are strong professional sports brands. Coca-Cola and Nike are companies that regularly associate their brand names with sports entities to sell more products.

Brand management starts with the brand name but entails much more. Successful brand management creates brand equity or “a set of assets and liabilities linked to a brand, its name and symbol, that add to or subtract from the value provided by a product or service to a firm and/or that firm’s customers” (Aaker 1991, 15). In the examples of the New York Yankees and Manchester United, both teams have long histories of success in competition. This success can be viewed as a strong asset linked to their respective brands. Nike paid Manchester United \$473 million in a ten-year sponsorship agreement. A significant benefit of this agreement for Nike is that Nike products will be worn by the team when it plays. The agreement could also link the Manchester United brand name (and all of its assets such as success and tradition) to the Nike brand name.

Brand Equity

Brand equity is created through the development of brand awareness and a brand image. Brand awareness is the ability of a consumer to recall the brand name of a product when the industry in which that product competes is mentioned. If a consumer is unaware of the brand, then the brand cannot have equity in the consumer’s mind. Brand awareness is easy to achieve for some sports entities. For example, most U.S. fans would name the Dallas Cowboys, Miami Dolphins, or New England Patriots when asked to name professional U.S. football teams. For other sports entities, achieving brand awareness is not as easy. New events and programs, such as the Dew Action Sports Tour (the first tour for action-sports athletes), must create awareness to be successful. Similarly, some corporations use sponsorships to create brand awareness. Nextel’s sponsorship of the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) points championship is an attempt to build greater awareness of Nextel in the technology industries in which it competes.

The brand image of an organization must be devel-

When basketball is spoken, no translation is needed. It has become an independent international language. ■ DAVID STERN

oped in order for the organization to have brand equity. *Brand image* is defined as “perceptions about a brand as reflected by the brand associations held in consumer memory” (Keller 1998, 93). Brand associations are the links in someone’s memory to the brand name. Put another way, brand associations represent anything that exists in someone’s memory with respect to a particular brand. For example, when asked about the Wimbledon tennis tournament, a tennis fan might mention words or phrases such as *tradition*, *grass playing surface*, *all-white uniforms*, and *great tennis*. These words or phrases are brand associations. Keller argues that in order to create brand equity, brand associations must be strong, unique, and favorable. One of the strong, unique, and favorable associations with the Wimbledon tennis tournament is the grass playing surface. One of the strong, unique, and favorable brand associations associated with Major League Baseball’s Boston Red Sox is the stadium the team plays in—Fenway Park.

Benefits of Brand Equity

Brand equity provides a number of benefits for a sports entity, including strong loyalty to the brand. For example, the Chicago Cubs team of Major League Baseball, despite not winning a world championship in nearly one hundred years, regularly draws capacity crowds to its stadium, Wrigley Field. Why? The Cubs draw fans because the team has strong brand equity. Thus, having a strong brand enables a sports organization to retain fans even though the organization does not perform well. Brand equity provides other benefits, such as the ability to create and/or expand licensing (creation of products with the team name, logos, and colors) opportunities. Manchester United sells millions of dollars in merchandise worldwide because the team has such a strong brand. A sports organization that has brand equity is also more likely to not lose fans when it raises prices because fan loyalty to the brand is so high.

Unique Aspects of Branding

Because the outcome of sports competition is difficult to control and because the outcome affects a fan’s enjoyment of the competition, branding of a sports product

is more challenging. As a result, many teams focus on providing the best possible experience for their fans in order to create brand associations. Unlike most consumer goods and services, sports have the ability to engender strong emotional reactions in their consumers. In some cases this ability can be advantageous in creating brand associations. For example, when a team such as the Chicago Bulls of the National Basketball Association has a history of success (that translates into a strong, unique, and favorable association tied to the past) but is not successful currently, the team can promote its future by reminding its fans of the joy they experienced when the team was successful. These reminders trigger associations of what they felt as they followed a championship team. Because sports are often consumed in a social setting, fans also can have the strong, unique, and favorable brand association of sharing good times with friends or family. For this reason many sports marketers facilitate social interaction through the development of website chat rooms and bars and restaurants at stadiums and arenas.

Professional Sports

Brand management in professional sports typically occurs at three levels: the league or governing body, the team, and the athlete. David Stern, commissioner of the National Basketball Association (NBA), is a master of branding at the league level. Stern assumed the helm of the NBA in 1984 and developed widespread popularity for the league by creating strong, unique, and favorable brand associations relating to star players such as Michael Jordan, Larry Bird, and Magic Johnson. He also created strong associations tied to the NBA as an entertaining product. Using advertising taglines and positioning statements such as “I Love this Game,” Stern oversaw the promotion of NBA action as exciting, fun, and entertaining.

At the team level teams create strong, unique, and favorable brand associations in a variety of ways. In addition to promoting star players, a team can make its head coach a source of brand equity. For example, Phil Jackson, former coach of the Chicago Bulls and Los Angeles Lakers of the NBA; and Bill Parcells, former coach

Sports and music have become the universal languages. ■ PHILIP H. KNIGHT

of the New York Jets and Giants and New England Patriots and current coach of the Dallas Cowboys of the National Football League, are sources of strong, unique, and favorable brand associations with a sports team. Logos and team names can also be sources of brand associations. For example, the National Football League's team in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has a name—"Steelers"—that is representative of the city's historically rooted major industry, the production of steel. The name provides an identity (hard working, blue collar) for the team that resonates with the community. Another source of brand awareness is the stadium in which a team plays. For example, given their historical significance, Old Trafford, where Manchester United plays its home soccer matches, and Santiago Bernabeu, where Spanish professional club Real Madrid plays, create strong, unique, and favorable brand associations.

The athlete can also be a brand. Did a more recognizable figure than Michael Jordan exist worldwide during his playing days? Similarly, athletes with global appeal, such as U.S. golfer Tiger Woods, British soccer player David Beckham, and race car driver Michael Schumacher of Germany, are brands unto themselves, as evidenced by the large sums of money that corporations pay them to endorse their products. Since about 1990 female professional athletes have increasingly become sports brands as well. In the United States soccer player Mia Hamm and tennis players (and sisters) Venus and Serena Williams have developed strong associations for themselves and the companies that endorse them.

College Sports

Brand management in major U.S. college athletic programs is similar to brand management in professional sports setting in some ways. For example, players, coaches, and stadiums can contribute to the creation of brand equity. However, some differences exist in the overall influence of each of these factors on the sports brand. Whereas star collegiate athletes are at college for only four to five years, star professional athletes may play their entire career of ten or more years with the

same team. As a result, the head coach, who could be at one college for twenty or more years, may be a more influential source of strong, unique, and favorable brand associations than are athletes. For example, Joe Paterno has been head football coach at Pennsylvania State University since 1966 and has donated millions of dollars to the educational side of the university. Because of such donations and the success of his teams, he is a strong source of positive brand associations.

Other factors can create strong, unique, and favorable brand associations in the college setting. For example, the athletic reputation of a college is tied to the overall reputation of the college. For example, beyond its athletic prowess, the University of Michigan athletic program is tied to a university with a history of academic prestige. Additionally, the experience of watching (either in person or on television) a college sports event is different than watching a professional sports event. Most notably, marching bands play before, during, and after the event, adding to the experience and perhaps adding to the associations with a college's athletic program.

Corporations' Use of Teams and Athletes

The most common means by which corporations build their brands is sponsorship agreements with leagues, teams, events, and athletes. Corporations that sponsor events seek a variety of benefits, two of which are building brand awareness and enhancing or reinforcing brand image. Under Armor, a company that makes performance-based sports apparel products, created awareness for its products when famous athletes were seen wearing Under Armor apparel under uniforms and in practice settings. Presence on the playing field or in the arena is often a key strategy that makers of sports-related products use to create awareness. For example, Gatorade wants to be on the sidelines at athletic contests so that attendees and viewers see athletes drinking Gatorade. Similarly, Spalding pays the National Basketball Association for the right to produce the "official basketball of the NBA." From such exposures sports-related products gain not only awareness, but also cred-



Brand Management

Amateurism as the Brand

In Great Britain well into the twentieth century, making sure that all competitors were amateurs was a key element of the “sport” brand. The following rules, established by the Amateur Athletic Association (A.A.A.) in 1887, defines an amateur.

1. All competitions must be limited to amateurs.

“An amateur is one who has never competed for a money prize or staked bet, or with or against a professional for any prize, or who has never taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of athletic exercises as a means of obtaining a livelihood.”

2. No person must be allowed to compete while under a sentence of suspension passed by either the A.A.A., National Cyclists Union, Swimming Association of Great Britain, Scottish A.A.A.

3. No “value” prize (i.e. a cheque on a tradesman) must be offered.
4. No prize must be offered in a handicap of greater value than 10l.10s.
5. Every prize of the value of 5l or upwards must be engraved with the name and date of the meeting.
6. In no case must a prize and money be offered as alternatives.
7. All prizes shall be publicly presented on the grounds on the day of the sports.
8. All open betting must be put down.
9. All clubs holding and advertising their sports ‘under the laws of the Amateur Athletic Association must have printed on their entry forms “the definition of an Amateur” as adopted by the Amateur Athletic Association.

Source: *Badminton*. (1887). p. 222–223.

ibility because people can reason that if the product is used by athletes or coaches in competition, the product is one of the best.

Corporations also sponsor athletes, teams, and events to generate strong, unique, and favorable brand associations. For example, Nike became well known for sponsoring athletes who wore its products. Some people argued that Nike focused on identifying athletes who fit the image that Nike attempts to project: “Nike-endorsed athletes continued to embody the athletic ideals of determination, individuality, self-sacrifice, and winning through their continued successes on and off the playing field” (Keller 1998, E-9). Nike’s sponsorship of Michael Jordan starting in 1984 is a perfect example of how Nike enhanced the image of its basketball shoes. Building on the shoes’ “air” technology (air pockets in the soles), Nike partnered with Jordan, who was known for his ability to jump and remain airborne while shooting a basketball. One advertisement for Air Jordan shoes was described as a “testimonial comprised of nothing more than Jordan’s ability to fly like a bird and the implication that the padded [air] technologies

bound to his feet had something to do with his agility and grace” (Katz 1995, 7).

Air Jordan shoes are an example of how a corporation enhances or reinforces brand associations through its involvement with athletes, teams, or leagues. Some researchers argue that a potential sponsor should consider the image of a sports entity. The image of an athlete, team, or event can help a sponsor reshape its image as well. For example, in an attempt to become the leading sponsor in soccer, a sport traditionally dominated by rival Adidas, Nike entered into two enormous sponsorship agreements with teams considered among the best in the world—the Brazilian national team and Manchester United. Mountain Dew is another example of a company that has borrowed brand associations from a sports organization. Mountain Dew has sponsored many action sports (snowboarding, BMX motorcycling, skateboarding, etc.) since such games began to become popular through cable TV network ESPN’s X-Games. Through its sponsorship of these alternative sports, Mountain Dew has repositioned its brand as edgy, rebellious, and irreverent.

The Future

Leagues, events, teams, and athletes increasingly attempt to develop brand associations that portray them as being charitable or concerned about the community. Such “cause-related” sports-marketing efforts strive to create yet another strong, unique, and favorable brand association. Judging by the popularity of these efforts, they will become more important to brand management in the future.

Jay Gladden

See also Franchise Relocation; Sponsorship

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Brazil

Foreigners—first the colonizing Portuguese and then British, French, Italian, and German immigrants and black slaves—played an important role in the development of sports in Brazil. The Europeans, for example, brought the practices of establishing sports clubs, setting up competitions, and teaching physical activities.

However, in spite of these European influences, sports did not develop in Brazil as they did in Europe. Brazilian culture, sports included, was formed as an eclectic amalgam from many sources.

Horse Racing: The First Sport

Although sports associations had existed in Brazil since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first club dedicated to sports was established in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1849. The Racing Club was dedicated to horse racing. People, generally Englishmen, had begun racing horses in Brazil in 1810, but only after establishment of the Racing Club did the sport become organized. The organization, form of competitions, and rules were based on those of clubs in England and France. Even the technical terms used were British. Until the middle of the twentieth century no Portuguese terms were used for sports in Brazil.

When horse racing began in Brazil, people began to include sports as part of the modernization of Brazilian society, which had begun in 1808 when the Portuguese royal family transferred the imperial court from Portugal to Brazil because of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. This modernization was accelerated in 1822 when Brazil won its independence from Portugal.

A Brazilian Indian with archery gear.
The woodcut is by Jacopus Sluperius,
Antwerp, c. 1570. *Source: Sport Museum Flanders.*

Members of the upper classes, mainly people involved in the production and export of agricultural products, were instrumental in the introduction of horse racing, but they had many difficulties to overcome. Only after 1860 did horse racing become better organized and slowly find its way to Rio de Janeiro.

By 1870 horse racing was quite popular. By 1890 Rio de Janeiro had five horse racing clubs, each with its own turf. Horse racing was organized in cities such as Salvador, Recife, and Sao Paulo. Horse racing became not only a major entertainment option, but also an influence on customs.

Rowing

In the middle of the nineteenth century the national economy diversified, and industry began to develop. A new sector of the upper classes began to organize with urban characteristics. With slavery abolished in 1888 and the republic proclaimed in 1889, the urban sector of the upper classes became more powerful. Under the influence of positivism, the aim of the upper classes was to modernize Brazil at any cost. Tensions arose in the upper classes when people began to question the ethos (distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or guiding beliefs) of the agricultural upper class. In this context of tensions many people began to criticize horse racing, saying that it was old-fashioned, tied to monarchy and rural ways of thinking. Even though such criticisms did not eliminate horse racing in Rio de Janeiro, by the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, the popularity of horse racing clubs was reduced because the city had new sports and new amusements.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century people became concerned about the sanitation of their cities and took action to make cities more inhabitable. In this context seashore bathing became more popular—not for amusement but rather for health. Such bathing was regulated by the owners of scientific knowledge: physicians. Seashore bathing created a new sociability on the beaches and helped bring ocean sports



to cities. The first boat races were held, creating a sense of competition against opponents, against oneself, and against the sea.

Although boat racing attracted large crowds from the beginning, time passed before it was well organized. People also had to accept a new body aesthetic. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, influenced by Europe, Brazilians slowly began to value the strong physical body aesthetic. During the 1860s people began to accept the exposition of the human body, a healthy life standard, urban culture, and leisure time. In this context boat racing developed. By the end of the nineteenth century Brazil had fifteen boat racing clubs that held competitions. Boat racing became popular, taking the place of horse racing, although horse racing influenced the development of other sports, which used horse racing's structure of clubs, competition, and language.

A New Sports Standard

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century many gymnasiums had been built in cities. Such gymnasiums had



Brazil

Key Events in Brazil Sports History

- 1790s** Capoeira is popular in Afro-Brazilian communities.
- 1849** The Racing Club dedicated to horse racing is founded in Rio de Janeiro.
- 1894** Soccer is brought to Brazil from England.
- 1900** Boat racing is popular.
- 1914** The Brazilian Olympic Committee is established.
- 1920** Brazil competes in the Olympics for the first time and Guilherme Paraense wins Brazil's first gold medal, in shooting.
- 1930s** Sports are placed under government administration.
- 1939** Swimmer Maria Lenk is Brazil's first internationally famous athlete.
- 1950** Maracana Stadium is built in Rio de Janeiro.
- 1958** Brazil wins the Football World Championship for the first time.
- 1970s** Capoeira becomes an international sport.
- 1980s** Volleyball becomes a highly popular sport.
- 2003** The Ministry of Sports is established.

boat racing departments and competed in races. Gymnastics and swimming developed in colleges.

After boat racing began sports took on a new meaning and brought a new style of living to Brazilians. The boat racing clubs supported the concept of physical education; boat racing was acknowledged as one of the most complete forms of physical activity. Other sports (bicycle racing, fencing, shooting, swimming) also were being developed and guided by the concept of physical education.

Boat racing helped establish the values of Brazilian sports: the challenge, the connection with physical ac-

Brazil Olympics Results

2004 Summer Olympics: 4 Gold, 3 Silver, 3 Bronze

tivities important for health, and a new body aesthetic of beauty and muscles. People active in sports were seen to be of good moral behavior.

The sport of rowing exemplified the modern values that Brazilians were embracing: open air, illumination, and nature (races were held outdoors), cleanliness (races were held in ocean water), wealth (the urban upper classes joined and lent their approval), health (rowers were strong and brawny), harmony (rowers worked as a team), organization (clubs were efficient), beauty (beautiful bodies competed in beautiful seashore landscapes), humanity (men, not horses, were the athletes), and challenge (rowers faced the dangers of the sea).

Football

The arrival of a new sport—football (soccer)—threatened the popularity of rowing. Charles Miller, a Scotsman working for the Sao Paulo Railway, had returned to England to attend college and in 1894 returned to Brazil with footballs, shoes, team shirts, and the game rules. He began to develop football in Brazil, where it was almost unknown. The sport quickly became popular in Sao Paulo.

The popularity of football, with its opportunity of direct participation, grew quickly. During the first decade of the twentieth century football fever swept Brazil as football clubs were founded and as rowing clubs and clubs of other sports began to create their own football teams. Championships were organized, and matches attracted more and more fans.

During the following decades football would be the subject of literature (Jose Lins do Rego, Vinicius de Moraes, Joao do Rio, Paulo Mendes Campos, and Carlos Drumond de Andrade), theater (Oduvaldo Viana Filho, and Nelson Rodrigues), plastic arts (Gerschmann and Portinari), music (Noel Rosa, Geraldo Pereira, and Chico Buarque), and movies (Nelson Pereira dos Santos and Joaquim Manuel Macedo).

The dynamics of football contributed to its popularity: Football can be played in many spaces, does not require expensive equipment, has simple rules, and allows



A lifeguard on duty in Brazil. Salva-Vidas means lifeguard in Portuguese.

Source: *istockphoto/lucato*.

physical contact and the participation of many persons. Football can be played not only on club grounds, but also on fields, yards, and improvised tracts of land: any place where the goals can be set. It can be played with a ball made of many materials: socks, paper, plastic, leather, and so forth.

1920–1970

During the 1920s sports in Brazil became more organized and diversified, with more clubs and competitions. After the 1930s government organizations became responsible for the rules governing sports. However, a ministry of sports was not established until 2003.

The Brazilian Olympic Committee was set up in 1914 but became effective only in 1935. Brazil first participated in the Olympic Games in 1920 (Antwerp, Belgium), when Guilherme Paraense won Brazil's first gold medal (in shooting). In 1939 Brazil produced its first athlete with international fame: The swimmer Maria Lenk broke the world record in the 400- and 200-meter breast stroke.

During the period 1950–1970 Brazil won interna-

tional recognition in two types of sports: (1) In track and field Adhemar Ferreira da Silva won gold medals in the triple jump at the Olympic Games in Helsinki, Finland (1952), and Melbourne, Australia (1956), and Joao Carlos da Silva broke the world record for that event; (2) in football Brazil won second place in the Football World Championship competition in 1950 and won the world championship in 1958 (Sweden), 1962 (Chile), and 1970 (Mexico).

Because of the quality of its players, Brazil became known as “the football country,” and football became its most important sport. Brazil has five times been the world football champion. In addition to the years 1958, 1962, and 1970, Brazil won in 1994 (United States) and 2002 (Seoul/Tokyo) and was co-champion in 1998 with France.

1980–2004

During the 1980s Brazil's sports became more popular. Volleyball in particular became more popular, second only to football, as teams performed well in international contests in gymnasiums and on beaches. Sports

I've come to accept that the life of a frontrunner is a hard one, that he will suffer more injuries than most men and that many of these injuries will not be accidental. ■ PELE

also became more professional as a growing number of athletes and teams began to gain notice in international competitions and as Brazil hosted important international competitions.

Brazilian athletes performed well in swimming (Gustavo Borges), yachting (Roberto Scheidt and Torben Grael), tennis (Gustavo Kuerten), judo (Aurelio Miguel), track and field (Joaquim Cruz and Ronaldo Costa), and artistic gymnastics (Daiane dos Santos). Their successes contributed to the popularization of sports in Brazil.

In addition, some Brazilian national sports, such as body attack and *futsal*, were becoming known in other countries.

The Future

Sports in Brazil lack the organization that sports have in other countries, but the Brazilian Olympic Committee now has better financial resources to make investments because of national legislation that provides incentives to sports. Rio de Janeiro has been chosen to host the Pan American Games of 2007 and is preparing to become a candidate to host the Olympic Games in 2012.

Victor Andrade de Melo

See also Capoeira; Maracana Stadium

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British Open

The 2004 Open Championship of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club (R&A) marked the 133rd time the contest was held since its inception on Prestwick's twelve-hole course on 17 October 1860. The first "Open" contestants were actually eight caddies—the first "professional golfers"—responding to an invitation sent to six area clubs to send their best, respectable caddies, to prepare the course for the Grand Tournament (first held in 1854) pairing gentleman golfers from the twelve established clubs. These caddie/professionals spent their days playing with and assisting the "gentleman" (amateur) golfers, often making balls or golf clubs at their home courses, and preparing the courses for the gentlemen's matches. The Amateur Championship consisted of a week of match play, and the first Open was actually a one-day Challenge event for the professionals at the end of the Amateur week. The first Challenge winner was Willie Park of Musselburgh, who beat "Old" Tom Morris by two strokes with a score of 174 over three rounds played on the same day. The winner received only the title—The Champion Golfer of the Year—and the Challenge Belt, but no money, whereas the runner up received the sum of 3 pounds. To increase the participation for the next year, the event was opened to amateurs and professionals alike. Ten professionals and eight amateurs entered the 1861 Open. The highest placed amateur was Colonel J. O. Fairlie in eighth place, twenty-one strokes behind the champion, Tom Morris Senior, who outscored Park to claim the victory, and later won an additional three (1862, 1864, and 1867) times. In 1864, a monetary prize was first awarded to the champion (6 pounds). Morris's win in 1867, at the age of 46 years 99 days,

remains the record for oldest winner of the event. His son, “Young” Tom Morris, won the event four consecutive outings, with his 1868 victory setting the record for the youngest victor to date—17 years 5 months 8 days.

The tournament continued the format of three rounds of thirty-six holes of golf on one day, at one of the three host club courses (Prestwick, St. Andrews, or Musselburgh) until 1892, when Muirfield was introduced as a new venue. This signaled the change of the Open format, as the clubs established more entry regulations, higher fees (10 shillings), played the event as four rounds over two days, and opened it internationally to include two English Clubs (St. George’s at Sandwich and Royal Liverpool at Hoylake). The Open Championship was governed by delegates of the five affiliated clubs, each contributing 15 pounds annually. The prize money totaled 100 pounds. This format remained until World War I, when play was suspended. After the war, the championship reemerged under the governance of the R&A, which assumed the responsibility every year since 1920. Today, there are qualifying events on five continents, and the contest is played over four days with as many as 160 players teeing off in the first round. The prize purse exceeds 1.5 million pounds, and the winner takes home more than 200,000 pounds, yet the greatest prize remains the title and the Claret Jug.

Prizes

From 1860 until 1870, the winner was awarded a Moroccan leather belt bejeweled by a silver buckle engraved with a golf scene. The Open champion could only gain permanent possession of the Challenge belt by winning three years in succession. In 1870, Tom Morris Junior was the first to complete the requisite three consecutive victories, which left the Open without a trophy to present. To ease the burden of hosting the event, Prestwick invited R&A and the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers to co-host the championship beginning in 1871. However, a lack of urgency and coordination by the three clubs resulted in no contest being held that year. In May 1872, the clubs

reached agreement, and the event was held at the R&A (St. Andrews) in 1873, and at the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers (Musselburgh) in 1874. In 1872, the winner, Tom Morris Junior, was awarded a metal, and Mackay Cunningham & Company of Edinburgh was commissioned to cast the future trophy—the famous Claret Jug, which was presented to the winner, along with a medal, until 1927. Following Bobby Jones’s win at St. Andrews, the Championship Committee of the R&A decided that “in future the original Open Championship Cup be retained in possession of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club and . . . a duplicate be obtained for presentation to the winners.” Today, the trophy is presented to each new champion, but many winners privately commission copies of the ancient jug for their personal collections.

Venues

The Challenge Trophy event was held at Prestwick from 1860 until 1870, played for the first time on the Old Course at St. Andrews in 1873, and played only in Scotland, at Prestwick, St. Andrews, or Musselburgh until 1894. In 1894, Royal St. George’s became the first English (non-Scottish) club to host the Open (at Sandwich in Kent). In 1897, the Royal Liverpool Golf Club (Hoylake, in Cheshire) was the second English venue to be added. Since then, the championships have been held at fourteen different venues in the British Isles, with the home course of the R&A, St. Andrews, hosting the most, twenty-six events.

Champions

The British Open continues to perpetuate periods of dominance, just as Tom Morris Senior and Junior dominated the early days (1860–1872). Notably, from 1894 to 1914, the trio of Harry Vardon, J. H. Taylor, and James Braid became known as the Great Triumvirate, winning the championship sixteen times, with Braid and Taylor posting five victories each, and Vardon remaining the only man to win the title six times.

The first overseas champion was Frenchman Arnaud Massey in 1907.

Golf. Trying to knock a tiny ball into an even smaller hole with implements ill suited to the purpose. ■ WINSTON CHURCHILL.

In 1921, just after World War I, the championship became truly a worldwide challenge following the victory of Jock Hutchison, an American citizen and immigrant from St. Andrews. Although Hutchison was the first American citizen to win, every Open champion from 1924 until 1933 was an American. Most notable was the young lawyer and amateur from Atlanta, Bobby Jones. Playing against professionals such as Walter Hagen (the first American-born champion, 1922, and four-time winner) and Gene Sarazen (who set the low aggregate record score of 283 in 1932), Jones won the Open three times—his final in 1930, the year he won the grand slam, then immediately retired from the game at only 30 years of age. Jones joins Harold Hilton and John Ball as the only amateur champions through 2004. Henry Cotton's 1934 victory included a record-setting second-day low score of 65, a tie with Sarazen's overall 283, and an end to the string of American wins—Cotton won three Opens in his career and brought pride back to Britain. British pride and dominance prevailed until World War II; however, in postwar years South African Bobby Locke and Australian Peter Thomson regularly led the field, capturing the title four times each in a ten-year period, starting in 1949. Thomson added a fifth championship win in 1965. Only two other players, Max Faulkner for England and Ben Hogan for America, won during the Locke and Thomson era. Among modern-era champions are Arnold Palmer, Gary Player, Jack Nicklaus, Seve Ballesteros, Nick Faldo, Nick Price, Greg Norman, Lee Trevino, Johnny Miller, and finally Tom Watson (who joined Braid, Taylor and Thomson as a five-time champion); most of them have won multiple times.

Significance

The British Open is considered one of the four major or grand slam championships for male golfers around the world (the PGA, the U.S. Open, and the Master's Championships are the others).

Debra A. Ballinger

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Bulgaria

Bulgarians take pride in the antiquity and diversity of their sports, which include football (soccer), rugby, gymnastics, weightlifting, bowling, ice-skating, and swimming. Sports have uplifted Bulgaria during centuries of foreign domination. Bulgaria occupies 110,910 square kilometers on the west coast of the Black Sea. In addition to its eastern border along the sea, Bulgaria extends north to Romania, south to Greece and Turkey, and west to Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, is home to 1,088,700 of the country's 7.5 million inhabitants.

Religious Festivals to Olympic Championships

Polish philosopher Jerzy Kosiewicz traces the origin of Bulgarian sports to Thrace, a region of Bulgaria inhabited since 7000 BCE.

- In the thirteenth century BCE, Thracian king Orpheus organized religious festivals that included contests of strength and speed. These contests inspired the Greeks to found the Olympic Games in 776 BCE, contends Kosiewicz.
- In the first century BCE, the Romans used Thracians in gladiatorial combat, a mix of sport and savagery.



Bulgaria

Key Events in Bulgaria Sports History

13th century BCE	Religious festivals in Thrace include sports competitions.
1880s	The first ice rink is opened.
1896	Bulgaria competes in the first modern Olympics.
1920	The first swimming competition is held.
1922	A rhythmic gymnastics team for women is formed.
1944	The Committee of Physical Culture and Sports and the National Sports Academy are established.
1959	The first rugby club is formed.
1959	Bulgaria wins for the first time the European Junior Football Championship.
1962	Bulgaria competes in its first soccer World Cup.
2000	The Bulgarian Bowling Federation is established.
2000	The Bulgarian weightlifting team is banned from the Olympics for the use of performance-enhancing drugs.

- In the second century CE, the amphitheater in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, hosted gladiators and charioteers.

In the 1880s, Alexander of Battenberg, ruler of the Third Bulgarian Kingdom, fashioned the first ice rink. In 1944, the Soviet Union created the Committee of Physical Culture and Sports to fund sports in Bulgaria. That year, the Committee founded the National Sports Academy in Sofia to train athletes. The Academy and other Bulgarian schools control access to sports, holding entrance exams for children as young as age five. Instructors supervise training and diet to a degree uncommon in American schools.

Participant and Spectator Sports

In 1920, the Bulgarian People's Marine Agreement hosted the first swimming competition in Varna. In 1931, the Dianabad, an Olympic pool in Sofia, convened the first swim meet of the Balkan Games. Bulgarian swimmers have entered the following contents:

- Balkan Championships in 1946
- European Championships in 1958
- Olympic Games in 1968

- Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur World Championships in 1973

Bulgarian swimmers hold 136 men's and 95 women's titles in the Balkan Championships.

Bulgaria has fielded a football team for international competition since 1924 and for seven World Cups since 1962, posting 4 wins, 6 ties, 14 losses, and a fourth place finish, the best to date, in 1994. In 1956, the Bulgarian Olympic team won a bronze medal and in 1968 a silver. In May 2003, the Fédération Internationale de Football ranked Bulgaria thirty-fourth in the world.

In 1959, the National Sports Academy founded its first rugby club. The sport is transnational—Murphy's Misfits, an amateur team in Sofia, recruits players from Bulgaria, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, the United States, Romania, Canada, Zimbabwe, and New Zealand. The International Rugby Board ranked Bulgaria eighty-eighth in the world in 2004. Bulgaria qualified 30 September 2004 for Round 2 of the Rugby World Cup by beating Finland 50 to 3.

In 2000, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, successor to the Committee of Physical Culture and Sports,

Bulgaria Olympics Results*2002 Winter Olympics: 1 Silver, 2 Bronze**2004 Summer Olympics: 2 Gold, 1 Silver, 9 Bronze*

established the Bulgarian Bowling Federation, which hosts more than 50 tournaments in Bulgaria, the most prestigious being the National Individual and Team Bowling Championships. Bulgaria competes in the European Cup, the Bowling World Cup, and the World Tenpin Bowling Championships.

Since resumption of the Olympic Games in 1896, Bulgaria has won 195 medals in the Summer Games and 5 in the Winter Games, ranking eighteenth of 146 countries and twenty-fourth of 43, respectively.

Women and Sport

In 1922, Bulgarian women joined the first rhythmic gymnastics team in Plovdiv and in 1944 took the first course in rhythmic gymnastics at the National Sports Academy. In 1964, the Bulgarian Rhythmic Gymnastics Federation organized the first national women's team. Since that year, Bulgarian women have won 157 gold, 180 silver, and 78 bronze world championship and Olympic medals. In 2004, the Federation numbered 40 clubs and more than 5,000 women ages four to twenty.

In 2004, the National Sports Academy fielded women's teams in football, skiing, track and field, swimming, handball, fencing, volleyball, basketball, rugby, tennis, judo, boxing, weightlifting, gymnastics, archery, and windsurfing.

Youth Sports

Girls begin training for rhythmic gymnastics at age four with school entrance exams at five. Girls younger than age ten compete in the children's division, between ages ten and twelve in the junior division, between thirteen and fourteen in the senior division, and older than fourteen in the adult division. Most girls end their career by eighteen.

In 1959, 1969, and 1974, Bulgaria won the European Junior Football Championships. Since 1976, Bulgaria has competed at the World Junior Figure Skating Championships and, since 1997, at the Junior Figure Skating Grand Prix Series of the International Skating

Union. The Arpezos Swimming Complex in Kardjali, Bulgaria, hosts youth meets. The Bulgarian Bowling Federation also has a children's league.

Sports in Society

Sports in Bulgaria have provided cohesion during periods of foreign domination. The importance of sports to national identity presses athletes to succeed, instilling a win-at-all-costs mentality.

This mentality tarnished Bulgaria in 1988 when the International Olympic Committee rescinded gold medals from two Bulgarian weightlifters for using furosemide, a diuretic that masks the presence of anabolic steroids in blood and urine. In 2000, the Committee stripped three weightlifters of medals for the same offence and banned Bulgaria's weightlifting teams from the rest of the Games. The infraction prompted the International Weightlifting Federation to suspend Bulgaria from international competition for twelve months.

The Future

Sports, a constant for 3,300 years, promises to shape Bulgaria's future. Fresh from its victory in Round 1 of the Rugby World Cup, Bulgaria is poised to improve its ranking, an ascent that should attract new players to rugby. Bowling may likewise recruit new participants, thanks to an influx of U.S. and European sponsors. Foreign investment may strengthen the role of private enterprise in Bulgarian sports, making them less dependent on government.

Governing Bodies

The Bulgarian Football Union (www.bfunion.bg) is an affiliate of the Federation Internationale de Football, the Bulgarian Rugby Federation is an affiliate of the International Rugby Board, and the Bulgarian Skating Federation (www.bs.fsof.bg) is an affiliate of the International Skating Union. The Bulgarian Rhythmic Gymnastics Federation (www.olympic.bg/rgym) and the Bulgarian Bowling Federation (www.bulgarian



bowlingf.com) have guided the development of their sports since 1964 and 2000 respectively.

Christopher Cumo

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Bullfighting

Bullfighting is a spectacle in which men ceremonially fight with—and in Hispanic tradition—kill bulls in an arena for public entertainment. Bullfighting is practiced primarily in Spain and to a lesser extent in Mexico, Central America, South America, southern France, and Portugal.

The sport depends on five elements:

1. A large and constant supply of “noble” or “brave” bulls (i.e., bulls specially bred to charge aggressively in a straight line)
2. A large and constant supply of young poor men
3. Large numbers of hero-worshipping people addicted to thrilling displays of raw physical courage
4. A smaller number of aficionados obsessed with technical and historical details
5. Generations of writers and intellectuals who consider bullfighting a fine art rather than a sport

In any given year approximately ten thousand bullfights are held worldwide, usually in the context of a local religious fiesta that may also include running bulls or cows through the town streets, as in the famous festival of Pamplona, Spain.

Although bullfighting possesses many ritualistic aspects, we should not call it a “ritual.” In a true ritual, such as the Catholic Mass, the officiate and communicants are engaged in deliberately symbolic activity; their every word and every action have an agreed-on spiritual referent; everything is rigidly predetermined, nothing is left to chance. None of these qualities can be found in a bullfight. Bullfighting has no deliberately symbolic activity, only simple signals such as handkerchief waving and clarion calls. The bullfighter’s actions do not “stand for” anything beyond themselves, and the spectators are always entitled to disagree about the actions. A great deal is left to chance because one cannot predict the behavior of bulls, crowds, or matadors. A fair chance always exists that the performance will turn sour and anticlimactic or tragic and ugly.

The rules of a typical bullfight call for a four- or five-year-old bull to be “picced” in his withers with a long lance, further weakened by banderillas (decorated darts) and risky or flashy cape passes, then killed with a sword thrust by a man wearing decorative rather than protective clothing. Because the horses of picadors (mounted riders who pierce the bull with lances during the first stage of the fight) now wear thick padding, the element of cruelty to animals is incidental rather than central to the actual mechanics of the bullfight, more apparent than real. Bullfighting has been an ecological preserve for the Iberian *toro bravo* (brave bull), a species as rare and unique as the American buffalo, cherished and pampered by ranchers. The archaic concept of manhood that animates the spectacle requires a worthy opponent at all times. That is why Hispanic fans always shout out their disapproval if they perceive that a bull is being mishandled and mistreated. Nevertheless, the psychology of both bullfight performers and spectators is thoroughly sado-masochistic, as could hardly be otherwise in a show that features public killing and needless risk of human life. For the thoughtful student of world sports, bullfighting raises questions of a moral or ethical nature much more serious than the ones raised by animal rights activists.

Origins

A predatory species of mammal known as *Homo sapiens* and a herbivorous mammal species known as *bos taurus* had gone forth and multiplied with particular success in the Iberian peninsula (Spain and Portugal). Mythology tells us that when Hercules had to steal bulls, he went to what is now the province of Cadiz in southern Spain. Apart from being used as food, the bull was in all likelihood a totemic figure and/or sacrificial victim for the races that populated Iberia during the Bronze Age (c. 2500 BCE). Local cults were later blended with beliefs and practices common to the entire Mediterranean area—chief among them the cult of Taumorphic Bacchus, or Dionysus, firmly entrenched in the Hispania of Roman days. However, the Visigothic barbarians who occupied Hispania when Rome fell had no interest in animal baiting, and the grand amphitheaters were abandoned and never used again.

In the hinterlands, however, the bull continued to play the role of magical agent of sexual fertility, especially in wedding customs that called for the bride and groom to stick darts into a bull tied to a rope. The object was not to fight the beast—certainly not to kill him—but rather to evoke his fecundating power by “arousing” him, then ritually staining their garments with his blood. This nuptial custom evolved into the rural *capea* (bull-baiting fiesta), which in turn led to grandiose urban spectacles organized to celebrate military victories or royal weddings. The common people were permitted to crowd into gaily decorated plazas (one in Madrid had room for sixty thousand spectators) and watch their lords, mounted on gallant steeds, lancing bulls.

Until the eighteenth century vast herds of aggressive Iberian bulls roamed freely and bred themselves with no interference from the human species. When knightly bullfighting was in flower, the elite sent their peons into the wilds to round up as many bulls as they could. However, not every wild bull had the right amount of *bravura* (focused aggressiveness) to make the aristocrat look good with his lance; thus, large numbers of bulls were supplied in the hope that enough of them would act out their roles convincingly.

Hostility on the Hoof

As bullfighting on foot became more popular during the 1700s, the demand for bulls increased accordingly, specifically for bulls that could be counted on to charge and not to flee. So the landed blue bloods did the same thing with the bulls that they had done with themselves in earlier epochs: They developed techniques for testing *bravura*, then perpetuated the blood of the bravest through consanguineous (descended from the same ancestor) mating. Whether or not we think that aristocrats were a superior species, the animals they bred unquestionably were and are amazingly consistent in their power, size, and aggressiveness. Hundreds of cattle ranches supply the roughly twenty-five thousand bulls killed every year by Spanish matadors. The many brands of brave bulls that constitute the indispensable raw material for today’s corridas (programs of bullfights for one day, usually six) descend from only five *castas* or bloodlines, all developed during the eighteenth century. The prestige of a particular brand of bulls was traditionally based on the number of horses, toreros (matadors or members of the attending team), or innocent bystanders they had killed or maimed. On several occasions bulls being shipped to a bullfight by train escaped from their railroad crates to wreak havoc.

Practice

In a rural fiesta no one is in a hurry to see the bull dead; when the time comes to kill him, any method will do, from a shotgun to a mass assault with knives. In the urban corrida, however, showing efficiency and know-how is crucial; the bull is to be dispatched cleanly (at least in theory) and in three timed *suertes* (acts)—picador, banderillas, and matador. Daily experience in the slaughterhouse gave certain ambitious plebeians the necessary knowledge and skill, and the boldest discovered they could earn more money by doing their jobs in public in the manner of a duel: man against monster. The guild system then dominant in the workaday world served as the model for turning bullfighting into a true profession with rules, regulations, hierarchy, apprenticeship, and seniority.



Bullfighting

Excerpt from Ernest Hemingway's *Death in The Afternoon* (1932)

Although underappreciated by early critics, Hemingway's account of bullfighting in Spain is now considered one of the most important works on the topic. Hemingway came to see bullfighting as a tragedy, not a sport.

The three phases of the bull's condition in the fight are called in Spanish, levantado, parado, and aplomado. He is called levantado, or lofty, when he first comes out, carries his head high, charges without fixing any object closely and, in general, tries, confident in his power, to sweep the ring clear of his enemies.

[...]

When the bull is prado he is slowed and at bay. At this time he no longer charges freely and wildly in the general direction of any movement or disturbance; he is disillusioned about his power to destroy or drive

out of the ring anything that seems to challenge him and, his initial ardor calmed, he recognizes his enemy, or sees the lure that his enemy presents him instead of his body, and charges that with full aim and intention to kill and destroy.

[...]

When he is aplomado he has been made heavy, he is like lead; he has usually lost his wind, and while his strength is still intact, his speed is gone. He no longer carries his head high; he will charge if provoked; but whoever cites him must be closer and closer. For in this state the bull does not want to charge unless he is sure of his objective, since he has obviously been beaten, to himself as well as the spectator, in everything he has attempted up to that time; but he is still supremely dangerous.

Source: Hemingway, E. (1932). *Death in the Afternoon* (pp. 145-147). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The first professional bullfighters were men completely immersed in the ethos (distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or guiding beliefs) of the eighteenth-century urban slum. They detested the effeminate aristocratic fashions imported from France and proudly affirmed "pure" native concepts of male honor, along with bold and insolent styles of dressing, walking, talking, and killing. Among the rank and file of the down and outs, the readiness to kill or die with a maximum of nonchalance was the only route to prestige. Bullfighting on foot appealed chiefly to violent men who had nothing to lose and something to prove. Ironically, the sport has always enjoyed enthusiastic support among the same poor masses who would never have chosen bullfighting as a way to escape poverty—masses who, in other words, were either resigned to their lowly fate or hopeful that through hard work and daily sacrifice they could somehow find a better life but who were willing, all the same, to deify those few who were neither resigned nor inclined to hard work. Bullfighters were rebels in a rigidly stratified society, viola-

tors of the general law of submission to circumstances. However, the violation of one value system implies adherence to another.

The code that matadors lived by was called "*verguenza torera*" or "*pundonor*" (point of honor). Both terms possess a certain connotation of "touchiness" that descends quite directly from the oldest, most benighted tradition of Spanish honor obsessions. Simply put, the colloquial term *verguenza torera* means a bullfighter's willingness to place his reputation ahead of his own life. This is not a mythical or romantic notion but rather a genuine code of conduct. Flashy flirtation with death has both financial and psychological rewards: By all accounts the heady delusion of omnipotence and heroism that matadors experience is quite addictive. A retired bullfighter is like a reformed alcoholic, always on the verge of a relapse into his favorite vice. Sometimes death is the only sure cure. Those bullfighters who best embody the imprudent honor code receive positive reinforcement from the crowds—rewarded, as it were, for their appetite for punishment. Toreros who stray



A matador in Quito, Ecuador. *Source: istockphoto/sweef.*

from the code are negatively reinforced in the form of jeers, taunts, thrown objects, and malicious reviews. Readers of *Death in the Afternoon* may recall the U.S. writer Ernest Hemingway's witty, catty, and often vicious disparagement of the bullfighters of his day.

Throughout the nineteenth century the popular concept of bullfighting was that of a martial art. Matadors were considered to be warriors; their "suits of light" were a kind of super-uniform, and their performances were so many episodes of a grandiose national saga. Unlike other European nations during this period, Spain saw its colonial possessions shrinking instead of expanding. For many Spaniards the *corrida* may have been a gratifying fantasy of national potency to make up for the less-than-glorious reality.

The military origins of bullfight music have been firmly established by scholars. Every change of *suerte* in a bullfight was, and is, signaled by a bugle call; the melodies are much the same as those used in infantry and cavalry barracks. The *pasodoble*, the stirring music played even today by bullring bands, descends directly from the military march. More than five hundred of them were composed, and the band was always on hand

to set the right tone of militancy. After the loss of Spain's colonies to the United States in 1898, numerous bullfights were organized in which people wore the national colors, and bullfighters made inflammatory speeches. During the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) both sides sponsored *corridas*; bullfighters would parade with clenched fists or fascist salutes, whichever was appropriate. During the darkest days of their country's isolation under General Francisco Franco, Spaniards flocked to bullrings to reaffirm their identity with something that they knew was their own and that they took to represent their finest qualities. However barbarous its origins, however sordid some of its practices, the *fiesta de toros* (festival of the bulls) had truly become Spain's *Fiesta Nacional*.

Process of Elimination

For every successful matador paraded around the bullring on the shoulders of ecstatic fans, an invisible army of forgotten young men tried and failed. Like certain marine species that give birth to thousands of young so that a few will reach maturity, the overwhelming majority of would-be matadors has been eliminated by

environmental factors, each harsher than the last. The bull's horns are the most basic, physical agent of this process of natural selection. For many Spanish youth the beginning was the end. Since the mid-1700s at least 170 young aspirants were killed by goring, along with 142 banderilleros (persons who thrust in the banderillas), 70 picadors, 59 full matadors, and 4 comic bullfighters. These statistics do not include toreros killed during ranch tests or private parties, nor do they include *capeas* (amateur bullfights), which have arguably been festal Spain's major device for maiming young bodies and crushing hopes. Doctors specializing in *taurotraumatologia* (horn-wound surgery) are accustomed to working on the pierced thighs, ruptured rectums, and eviscerated scrota of bullfighters. When an apprentice torero recovers from his first goring and reappears in the ring, his manager anxiously watches for any sign that his valor or his determination has been compromised. The all-powerful element of luck will still preside over his career. To be successful, a man must meet a noble and cooperative bull at the right moment; he must also have *padrinos* (godfathers), a good manager, opportunities, a crowd-pleasing personality, grace, flair, and a whole series of other qualities that is difficult to isolate but nevertheless means the difference between glory and mediocrity.

In view of this brutal selection process, one might well ask why any young man in his right mind would want to be a bullfighter. Poverty is the answer most often given to this question. Many portions of the Spanish populace have been condemned to misery, illiteracy, and lack of opportunity. Harsh as they have been, however, these social conditions are not sufficient in themselves to explain matador motivation. They obviously do not tell us why bullfighters who were already immensely wealthy—such as Espartero or Belmonte or Paquirri—remained in the plazas, or why so many men who had actually found good jobs wanted only to fight bulls. Additional motivational factors include self-destructive tendencies and unusually powerful oedipal conflicts. With an activity that has been one of the only means of advancement in a rigidly stratified society,

whose wellspring is passion and whose lifeblood is the ritual combat between two animal species, where a lucky and skillful few succeed where so many hundreds fail, where so many frustrated men hound their sons into bullrings to avenge their own defeats, where critics dip their pens in poison and crowds go from adulation to mockery in a second, we cannot help but find sado-masochistic behavior patterns. In general, matadors are men obsessed with insurmountable violent masculine role models and rivals; their ambition is directly correlated with the obstacles placed in their path. Violence becomes identified with fullness of being; winning or losing, brutalizing or arranging to be brutalized, the bullfighter keeps his buried fantasies of omnipotence alive. Hemingway idolized masochistic matadors with adolescent enthusiasm, but in many ways they are like compulsive gamblers who throw caution to the winds and unconsciously play to lose all. Unlike gamblers, bullfighters go for broke in front of huge crowds of people egging them on; so, in the last analysis, the taurine (relating to bulls) honor code is a matter of mass cultural psychology. Countless bullfighters have confessed to fearing the crowd's reactions more than the bulls themselves. Mass desire is as potentially sado-masochistic as individual desire: It will polarize around any expert manipulator of violence, seemingly autosufficient and untouchable in his charisma. The dramatic death of a matador in the line of duty (caused most often by his socially sanctioned suicidal honor) and his subsequent deification in popular lore simply carry the whole idolatrous process to its logical conclusion.

Women in Bullfighting

The bullfight has been transformed by the entry of women performers to its professional leagues as matadors. The presence of women in the ring remains an issue with some aficionados, but more and more are coming to accept women as the equals of their male counterparts.

The most respected woman performer of the early twentieth century was Juanita Cruz (b. 1917), of whom ex-bullfighter Domingo Ortega declared "she was the

pure bullfight represented in the body of a woman.” Juanita Cruz’s debut public performance was in 1932, and her career was at its peak when in 1934 the dictatorship of General Franco banned women from performing on foot in public. His ban cut short the ambition of a whole generation of women bullfighters. Unable to continue her career in Spain, Cruz went to Latin America, where she graduated to professional status.

Juanita Cruz was not the only woman performer to have her career in Spain halted by Franco’s ban, although some, like Cruz, managed to continue elsewhere. Under his rule women were allowed to participate in *rejoneo* (horseback bullfighting). During this period the *rejoneadora* Conchita Cintron, born in Chile in 1922, developed an outstanding career in Latin America and later in Spain as a horseback performer. However, in Spain women did not legally perform in public on foot until 1974, when a campaign led by the woman bullfighter Angela Hernandez (b. 1946) ended the ban.

Since the reentry of women, such as Angela Hernandez and Maribel Atienza (b. 1959), into bullfighting during the 1970s, the number of women taking part has gradually increased in what is now a media-dominated and structured and regulated amateur and professional bullfighting league. The women performers of the 1970s and 1980s participated at the amateur *novillero* (novice bullfighter) stage but were never referred to by the masculine title of *novillero* or *torero*; they were instead referred to as *novilleras*. Like their predecessors they faced fierce criticism, and their careers were usually short-lived. Only in the 1990s did women foot performers become fully established as bullfighters.

The career of Cristina Sanchez has come to symbolize a new status for women in bullfighting. Sanchez, born near Madrid in 1971, graduated as the top student from the Madrid bullfighting school in 1989. She continued on to become one of the most successful young *novilleros* of her time. Sanchez maintained her place at the top of the *novillero* leagues until 1996, when she became the first woman to take the alternative, graduating

to professional *torero* status in Nimes, France, one of the bullrings included in the Spanish circuit. Unlike her predecessors, Sanchez insists on being called a “*torero*” rather than the feminized “*torera*.” Although she rejects the label of “feminist,” she argues that as performers, men and women should be treated as equals. Her success during the early 1990s was followed by several other hopeful young women performers, such as the *novilleros* Yolanda Caravajal (b. 1968), Laura Valencia (b. 1971), and Mari Paz Vega (b. 1974), who was granted professional *torero* status in 1997.

Microcosm of Spain

From a historical point of view, bullfighting has been nothing less than a microcosm of Spain, a nation built not on individuals but on quasi-familial factions, where a “strong man” ultimately derived his strength from the debility of his supporters, and the weak got nowhere without patriarchs, godfathers, political bosses, and other men who bestowed rewards and punishments in accordance with their mood swings. Until recently the Spanish political system served to keep most Spaniards out of politics altogether, instilling in them a fatalistic attitude regarding the whims of authority. The office of president of a bullfight still represents this legacy of arbitrary despotism. Fraud and influence peddling were once endemic on the “planet of the bulls.” Horns were shaved, half-ton sandbags were dropped on bulls’ shoulders, critics were bribed. (One of the cruel ironies of bullfighting is that the most honest and reputable critics are also the ones most determined to preserve the authentic risk of human life upon which the whole enterprise is founded.)

Beyond tricks and corruption, we can see that bullfighting’s personalistic patronage system mirrors that of the larger society. The provincial *fiesta de toros* was a cautionary tale about what could happen to people without connections or friends; small-town mayors anxious to please their supporters had no qualms about acquiring the largest, most fearsome bulls for penniless apprentice *toreros* to struggle with and occasionally succumb to. Sooner or later a would-be bullfighter must

There are only three sports—mountain climbing, bullfighting, and motor racing—all the rest being games. ■ ERNEST HEMINGWAY

find protectors-exploiters, the more the better, or he will get nowhere. El Cordobes wandered for years without such connections, and when he finally found them they were desperate gambling types much like himself who were willing to take a chance on a brash newcomer. The other side of this coin of unfair exclusion is unfair inclusion, young men from the right families, prodigies favored from the beginning by cattle breeders, impresarios, and critics. Traditionally the whole point of a matador's career was to go from being a dependent, a client, a receiver of favors in a more-or-less corrupt system of personalistic patronage to being a dispenser of favors and patronage—the boss of his *cuadrilla* (team), a landowner, a big man in his community, a pillar of the status quo, idolized by impoverished and oppressed people. A whole web of complicities makes bullfighting possible—including local religious belief systems. The *fiesta de toros* is always held in honor of a patron saint, a kind of supernatural protector in touch with an arbitrary central authority who can be cajoled into doing favors for his “clients.”

Like old-fashioned Spanish political oratory, bullfighting can be seen as a series of dramatic public gestures. Every bullfighter is a potential demagogue, a man who stirs up the emotions of a crowd to become a leader and to achieve his own ends. A bullfighter gains power and wealth only when he learns how to sway the masses, to mesmerize them, to harness their passion for his private profit. The matador rides to the top of society on the backs of mass enthusiasm. However, no bullfighter could sway the masses if they were not disposed to be swayed. As soon as we become spectators of the spectators, we find their mobile and emotional disposition to be intimately related to popular concepts of power, authority, justice, and masculinity. Without heed to experts or critics, bullfight spectators evaluate artistic merit or bravery on their own and express their views instantly and unself-consciously. The downside of this refreshing spontaneity, however, is that popular value judgments tend to be arbitrary, impulsive, and unreflexive. The impulsive evaluations of bullfight crowds rattle and unnerve bullfighters, sometimes leading them

to commit acts that result in serious injury or death. At the Almaria Fair in 1981, for example, the normally cautious Curro Romero was gored in an attempt to appease a hastily judgmental crowd. Afterward the public was sorry, of course, as sorry as it had been in 1920 after hounding Joselito into fatal temerity at Talavera and in 1947 when it drove Manolete to impale himself on the horns of Islero. *Blood and Sand*, the famous bullfighting novel by Blasco Ibanez, ends with this description of the public: “The beast roared: the real one, the only one.”

Cheers and Jeers

At the very least the public judges the taurine performance in an arbitrary, capricious, and personalistic manner. Because the decisions of the bullring president form part of the entire affair, they, too, fall under the scrutiny—and often the vociferous condemnation—of the spectators. Like old Spain itself, the bullfight is a *mise-en-scene* (stage setting) of an authoritarian power in an uneasy relationship with a blasphemous and rebellious underclass. For many Spanish writers the crowd's impulsive style of reacting to duly constituted authority was the worst evil of bullfighting, one that reconfirmed Spaniards in their submission to the despotic whims of the powerful. As the embodiment of arbitrary might, the president possesses total immunity, and his decisions cannot be appealed. The public's only recourse is to whistle, hoot, or insult. Thus, in much the same manner as the old African monarchies described by anthropologists, the *corrida* permits a ritualistic contestation of power that is momentarily gratifying but essentially without consequence. In his own way, of course, the matador polarizes the crowd's criteria of dominance and submission: Whatever power he has must be seen in terms of popular concepts of power (who deserves to have it and who doesn't) worked out long ago during Spain's traumatic history of civil conflicts. We can picture the bullfight—and its appeal to spectators—as a dramatization of *machismo* as long as we remember that *machismo* is primarily a psychological mechanism of compensation that provides a fantasy image of

superiority in the absence of real sociopolitical power. Perhaps a bullfighter's manly hyperbole serves to mediate between personal and national inferiority complexes. In any event the evidence would seem to support people who argue that bullfighting is the legacy of obscurantism (opposition to the spread of knowledge), that it is emblematic of the manipulability of the people, their gullibility, their irrational hero worship, their civic immaturity. One would surely exaggerate to see bullfighting as the "cause" of Spain's former political backwardness, but it was certainly no cure.

Bullfighting is a spectacle of killing and gratuitous risk of life. Only with difficulty can people watch such violent spectacle without being aroused in some way. Even reactions of horror confirm that such spectacle is inherently erotic. Properly defined, disgust is just negative arousal, caused by the fear of degradation that accompanies the desire to give way to the instincts and violate all taboos. Most Spaniards and many foreigners enjoy the violent spectacle without guilt or other moral qualms. The group norms that hold sway at a bullfight enable each spectator to feel his or her physiological arousal as entirely appropriate. Intense stimulation actually increases commitment to the group's rationalization of it. This socio-psychological mechanism has permitted Spaniards to experience titillation at bullfights and associate it, at a conscious level, with patriotism, manly ideals, integrity, honor, art, and so on. What happens to this group consensus when a goring occurs and the transgressive nature of bullfighting is fully manifested? Community norms are already in place to provide cognitions appropriate to the intense arousal that spectators experience. These norms forge a new group consensus whose conscious elements are grief, forbearance, pity, resignation, and ultimately, reaffirmation of all the heroic qualities that led the matador to risk his life in the first place. The normative emotionality that forms around the fallen matador persists for many years after the tragedy and, in its sociocultural implications, goes far beyond the blood and sand.

Timothy Mitchell

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Burnout

Athletes withdraw from sport for many different reasons: one potential reason is burnout. Burnout occurs when the rewards from sport participation (e.g., confidence, improving skills, teammate relationships) are no longer greater than the sacrifices of participation (e.g., pain, stress, excessive pressure). As a psychological condition, burnout in the sport arena is associated with fatigue, a decreased sense of personal accomplishment, and a lack of caring about one's sport or personal performance. Although burnout can occur in athletes, coaches, athletic trainers, and officials, this entry will focus on athletes.

Precursors of Burnout

Two burnout models have been proposed. The first explains burnout as a response to chronic stress. In this model, athletes withdraw from sport when they do not think they can meet the demands of sport. The second model asserts that burnout occurs when athletes do

Why did I lose? No reason, though you might like to know that I got tired, my ears started popping, the rubber came off my shoes, I got cramp, and I lost one of my contact lenses. Other than that I was in great shape. ■ BOB LUTZ

not develop identities outside the realm of sport and when they perceive a lack of personal control. In both models, environmental and individual factors interact to produce burnout.

Specialization in one sport at an early age and year-round training, both environmental factors, may lead to burnout, especially in young athletes. Many believe that specialization in one sport must occur in order for athletes to reach their maximum potential and achievement. Within this environment, athletes may experience chronic stress due to excessive practice, time demands, and overuse injuries. Additionally, specialization limits athletes in their ability to create social relationships outside their sport, often resulting in a self-identity focused only on one's sport involvement. Athletes may also experience tremendous pressure to practice and win from significant others in their lives. Pressure and high expectations from parents and coaches may result in stress, anxiety, and fear and is a potential predictor of burnout.

Perfectionism, often resulting in self-pressure or inappropriate expectations for success, is an individual factor that may lead athletes to experience burnout. Athletes who strive for perfection are at risk for burnout because they set unrealistic standards for themselves and devote large quantities of time to trying to achieve their high standards. Athletes who focus on the needs of others and lack assertiveness are susceptible to burnout: these athletes are often sensitive to criticism and ignore their own needs. Finally, athletes who experience high levels of anxiety are also at risk for burnout.

Signs and Symptoms

Because there are many different signs and symptoms of burnout, it is often difficult to detect in athletes. Physical signs of burnout include sleep disturbances, physical exhaustion, increased muscle soreness, decreased body weight, low energy, and overuse injuries (e.g., shin splints, stress fractures, "tennis" elbow). These physical signs of burnout are often the result of excessive training demands. Psychological signs of burnout

include concentration problems, lack of caring, mood changes, negative affect or depression, emotional isolation, and increased anxiety.

Prevention

Because of the psychological and physical consequences of burnout, it is important to take prevention measures. Athletes themselves need to maintain an optimistic outlook and focus on what they can control about their sport and their performance. This optimistic outlook can be created by setting short-term goals and learning self-regulation skills. By setting realistic yet challenging short-term goals, athletes receive feedback about their progress and maintain their motivation to continue striving for their goals. Self-regulation skills, including relaxation techniques, imagery, and positive self-talk, are important in dealing with the stress and pressures of sport participation. Proper communication is necessary among the social network (e.g., coaches, parents, teammates) of athletes. Within their social network, athletes should be able to express their feelings and frustrations about practice demands and competitions. Athletes also must take breaks during the season to ensure that they preserve their psychological and physical health.

The Role of Others

Parents and coaches can also work to prevent burnout in athletes. Both parents and coaches should allow athletes to be involved in decision-making opportunities—this helps athletes feel that they have control of their sporting experience. Parental and coach support should be given for all the athlete's hard work and effort, not just for winning. Parents should help children prepare for competitions without putting excessive pressure or stress on them. It is also important that parents leave the coaching of their child to the coach. Additionally, parents should encourage their child to participate in a range of activities that they enjoy, instead of specializing in one sport at an early age. Coaches should maintain positive coaching standards and should avoid excessive use of punishment. Coaches should also have

personal involvement with the athlete and work to understand his or her feelings and perspective.

The Future

Burnout is an important issue to consider in sport because it results in psychological and physical symptoms and may eventually lead to athletes withdrawing from sport. At present, the pervasiveness of burnout in the athletic population and the percentage of athletes who withdraw from sport due to burnout are unknown. As the rewards of sport—money, fame, medals—increase, it is likely that more athletes will specialize in one sport at earlier ages. Specialization often results in overtraining and an inability to form relationships outside of sport, thus increasing the likelihood of burnout to occur. Athletes, coaches, and parents should all take strategies to prevent burnout in athletes.

Jennifer J. Waldron

See also Psychology

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Buzkashi

Buzkashi (goat dragging) is an equestrian game played primarily by Turkic peoples of northern Afghanistan and by people in the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union north of the Oxus River and in China's Xinjiang Province. During the 1980s and early 1990s Afghan refugees played *buzkashi* near Chitral and Peshawar in Pakistan; however, it bears no cultural relationship to Pakistani polo. In both of its main forms—a traditional game (*tudabarai*) and a modern sport (*qarajai*)—the central action is similar: Riders on horses gather above the carcass of a goat or calf, lean from their saddles, grapple with each other to grab the carcass from the ground, and then attempt to keep sole control of the carcass while riding away at full speed.

Although regarded primarily as fun, both forms of *buzkashi* also are political in that patron-sponsors try to demonstrate and thus enhance their ability to control events.

Origins

As with most folk games, we cannot precisely trace the origins of *buzkashi*, but no doubt it sprang from ancestors of the Turkic peoples who are its core players today: Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Turkmen, and Kazakhs. These equestrian nomads spread westward from China and Mongolia between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. *Buzkashi* probably developed, much like U.S. rodeo, as a recreational form of everyday herding or raiding activity. No evidence supports the sensational notion, circulated for tourism purposes during the 1960s and 1970s, that *buzkashi* was originally played with live human prisoners instead of dead livestock.

Other ethnic groups in northern Afghanistan in recent generations have embraced the culture of *buzkashi*: Tajiks, Hazaras, and even Pushtun migrants from south of the Hindu Kush. Another key development came in 1953 when the federal government, based in Kabul, hosted its first *buzkashi* tournament on the birthday of King Mohammed Zahir. Successive national regimes hosted similar *buzkashi* tournaments from the mid-

If you run into a wall, don't turn around and give up. Figure out how to climb it, go through it, or work around it. ■ MICHAEL JORDAN

1950s to the early 1980s. With the collapse of the federal government during the Afghan-Soviet War (1979–1989), the tournaments ceased. During the 1990s, amid the ongoing political chaos, *buzkashi* largely reverted to its original status as a local pastime north of the Hindu Kush. By the winter of 2003–2004, post-Taliban Kabul featured weekly matches, hosted by the politically ambitious defense minister. But no prewar scale national tournaments had been resumed, in part because the new central government was as yet unable to command team attendance.

Practice

Buzkashi depends on sponsorship of both the horses and riders and of the ceremonial event in which it is played. In the rural context of northern Afghanistan, khans exercise both types of sponsorship. Khans are men of political, social, and economic importance who constitute the informal, ever-shifting power elite of local life. They breed, raise, and own the horses, whose bloodlines are proudly chronicled and whose success in *buzkashi* enhances the status of their owners. Khans likewise employ special riders (*chapandazan*) for their special horses. Most important of all is their sponsorship of *toois*—the celebratory events at which *buzkashi* is played. *Toois* are staged during the winter, both because winter is the agricultural slack season and because horses and riders can play then without becoming overheated.

Khans stage *toois* to celebrate ritual events such as a son's marriage or circumcision. Although the event is generally a private family affair, it is also the occasion for much wider gatherings whose focus is a day or several days of *buzkashi*. The event also is a status-oriented initiative during which the political, social, and economic resources of the sponsor (*tooi-wala*) are tested in public. If these resources are sufficient and the *tooi* is deemed a success, its sponsor's reputation will rise. If not, the sponsor's reputation may be ruined. Preparations for the event include amassing funds for prize money and food and recruiting nearby hosts for the hundreds of guests. The sponsor hopes that the guests will bring cash gifts to help defray the costs of the *tooi*.

After a ceremonial lunch on the first day, everyone rides to the *buzkashi* field: sponsor, closest associates, invited khans, their sizable entourages (including prize horses, *chapandazan*, and associates who have come in friendship but who can be mobilized in case of serious conflict), and the local populace. The field usually is a barren plain, undemarcated and unbounded, on the edge of the village. The carcass of a goat or calf lies in the middle. (Although the word *buzkashi* refers to a goat, calf carcasses are often used instead because, it is said, they last longer.) Without ceremony but in accordance with Muslim law (*halla*), the animal has been bled to death, dehooved, and decapitated to protect the hands of contestants. A carcass that has been disemboweled makes for faster play, but purists favor a heavier, ungutted animal so that only power, rather than quickness, will prevail.

Most *buzkashis* commence without fanfare and gain in intensity as more participants arrive. Any number of riders may participate, and a game may involve hundreds of riders. A session consists of several dozen play cycles. Each cycle begins as riders form an equestrian scrum over the carcass. As their horses lurch, rear, and try to hold position, riders lean down from the saddle and grab at the carcass. More horses and riders maneuver their way toward the center of a mass of wild movement that is ever growing, ever more fiercely contested. One rider, lunging half-blind in the melee, manages to grab the carcass briefly, but, as a saying goes, "Every calf has four legs," and other riders quickly wrench it away from him. The carcass is trampled, tugged, dragged, lifted, and lost again as one rider after another seeks to gain sole control. Riders do not play in teams, although friendly riders (or the riders of friendly khans) may sometimes help each other. Everyone has the right to try, but *chapandazan* in their distinctive fur-trimmed headgear monopolize play. Meanwhile the *jorchi* (town crier) shouts the amount of prize money offered. The longer a play cycle is contested, the greater that amount grows and the fiercer the competition becomes.

One rider and horse finally emerge from the mass (*tudabarai*), take control of the carcass free and clear,

and drop it in triumph. Play stops briefly as the town crier begins a stylized chant to praise the rider, the horse, and—most of all—the horse owner:

Oh, the horse of Hajji Ali,
On him rode Ahmad Gul.
He leapt like a deer.
He glared like a leopard.
How he took it away.
How he showed what he is.
How the name of Hajji Ali rose.
How we all hear his name.
How his pride is complete.

Prizes for the winning rider once were carpets, rifles, and even horses. Today almost all prizes are cash. Amounts depend on the generosity of the *tooi* sponsor and sometimes exceed \$100. Post-Taliban *buzkashi* (2003–2004) featured cell phones as prizes. The horse owner's sole prize is prestige or "name," that intangible but most important currency of traditional Afghan life.

Soon after the chant has finished the next play cycle begins. Cycle follows cycle without any sense of cumulative score. However, the last cycle of each day, typically played with a carcass now in shreds, has special value, and the winning rider proudly departs with the tattered carcass dangling across his saddle. The visiting khans and their entourages then retire for dinner and sleep at nearby host houses, where guests review every event of the day in conversation: which horse did well, whether the prize money was sufficient, and—most of all—what happened if a serious dispute arose. Disputes and the issue of who can control them are the darker, less readily admitted core of interest in *buzkashi*.

Disputes

In traditional *buzkashi* three factors contribute to disputes: (1) The game itself is full of physically brutal contact. (2) The question of a rider being sufficiently "free and clear" for a score is notoriously subjective. (3) The khans, whose horses and riders compete, often are rivals in local politics. Indeed, during *buzkashi* such rivalries, otherwise hidden by the diplomatic niceties of

day-to-day existence, are revealed in all their disruptive potential.

A dispute can be easily triggered. Had a rider claiming victory really gotten the carcass "free and clear" before dropping it? Was one rider guilty of whipping another rider in the face or grabbing another's bridle? Did the *chapandaz* of Mujib Khan hide a rope in his sleeve to improve his grasp of the carcass? Suddenly the violent pushing and shoving, hitherto "for fun," become "for real." Each khan's entourage closes ranks around him. Riders abandon the play cycle, and the air is full of angry shouting as everyone attempts to gain control of an increasingly uncontrollable situation.

Although outright fighting is rare, an aggrieved group may leave the *buzkashi* and return home rather than stay and suffer what it perceives as injustice. Such a defection lessens the reputation of a *tooi* and thus of its *tooi-wala*. More commonly the jostling and shouting subside gradually as one of the khans emerges as peacemaker and makes himself heard. Much prestige thereby attaches to him because he has, after all, shown an ability to control volatile events, to exert his will over a dynamic that had changed from playful to political. Now his "name will rise" in repeated tellings and retellings of this *buzkashi*. Such a gain in reputation can be important as potential followers weigh the benefits of attaching themselves to a patron or of taking sides in a dispute over water, land, livestock, or women.

Afghanistan's federal government, beginning in the mid-1950s, likewise began to enlist *buzkashi* in an effort at political impression management. The Afghan National Olympic Committee was charged with staging a national *buzkashi* tournament in Kabul each year on the birthday of King Zahir. Provincial contingents were organized in the North (as yet unlinked by all-weather roads to the rest of the country), and the game was transformed into a codified sport with authorized referees, uniformed teams, a demarcated playing field, a cumulative scoring system, and severe penalties (including arrest) for any form of dispute during play. Only players (typically ten or twelve per team) and referees (usually military officers) were allowed on the

playing field. Horse-owner khans, their *tooi*-sponsorship role now taken over by the government, had to sit on the sidelines. Also, instead of having the vague “free-and-clear” objective, riders had to carry the carcass around a flag and drop it in a clearly marked circle (*daiwra*). The king took the role of national *tooi-wala*, hosting the tournament banquet and presenting the medals to winners. The tournament allowed urban Kabul residents to rub elbows with rustic horsemen from the distant North. The northerners returned home with tales of a broader Afghanistan and strong impressions of the federal government’s capacity for control.

By the time King Zahir fell from power in 1973, the Kabul *buzkashi* tournament had become a fixture in the national calendar. Subsequent nonroyalist regimes kept the October date but shifted the event first (under President Mohammed Daoud, 1973–1977) to United Nations Day and then (under Communist rule) to the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. Always staged in the name of mere fun, Kabul *buzkashi* tournaments continued to serve as a symbol of both Afghan national unity and the government’s capacity for dispute-free control. The collapse of federal government control during the early 1980s was reflected in the year-by-year disintegration of Kabul *buzkashi*. During Daoud’s era the tournament had lasted twelve days and had featured ten provincial teams in a precisely orchestrated round-robin. After 1980 fewer teams participated each year. By 1983 the Soviet puppet government had abandoned all pretense of staging *buzkashi*.

During the Afghan-Soviet War (1979–1989) refugees based in Peshawar and Chitral in Pakistan’s northwestern frontier province played *buzkashi*. Many of the riders and khans who had dominated the game in prewar Afghanistan now formed the core of competitions played on Fridays during the winter. Now, however,

the main *tooi-wala* role shifted to men whose new renown rested on their leadership of local refugee relief efforts. As usual, all was done in the name of fun, but soon the new breed of sponsor-entrepreneurs was competing for resource-rich spectators from the fast-growing expatriate community: United Nations personnel, diplomats, and directors of nongovernmental aid organizations. These *tooi-walas* in exile, thus ingratiated with their “guests,” promoted themselves as conduits for international aid to the refugee community.

By the mid-1990s the federal government in post-Soviet Afghanistan was still too weak to resume the national tournament. The main locus of *buzkashi* reverted to the northern provinces. Some traditional khans still sponsored *toois*, but militia commanders and local warlords were replacing them as sponsors.

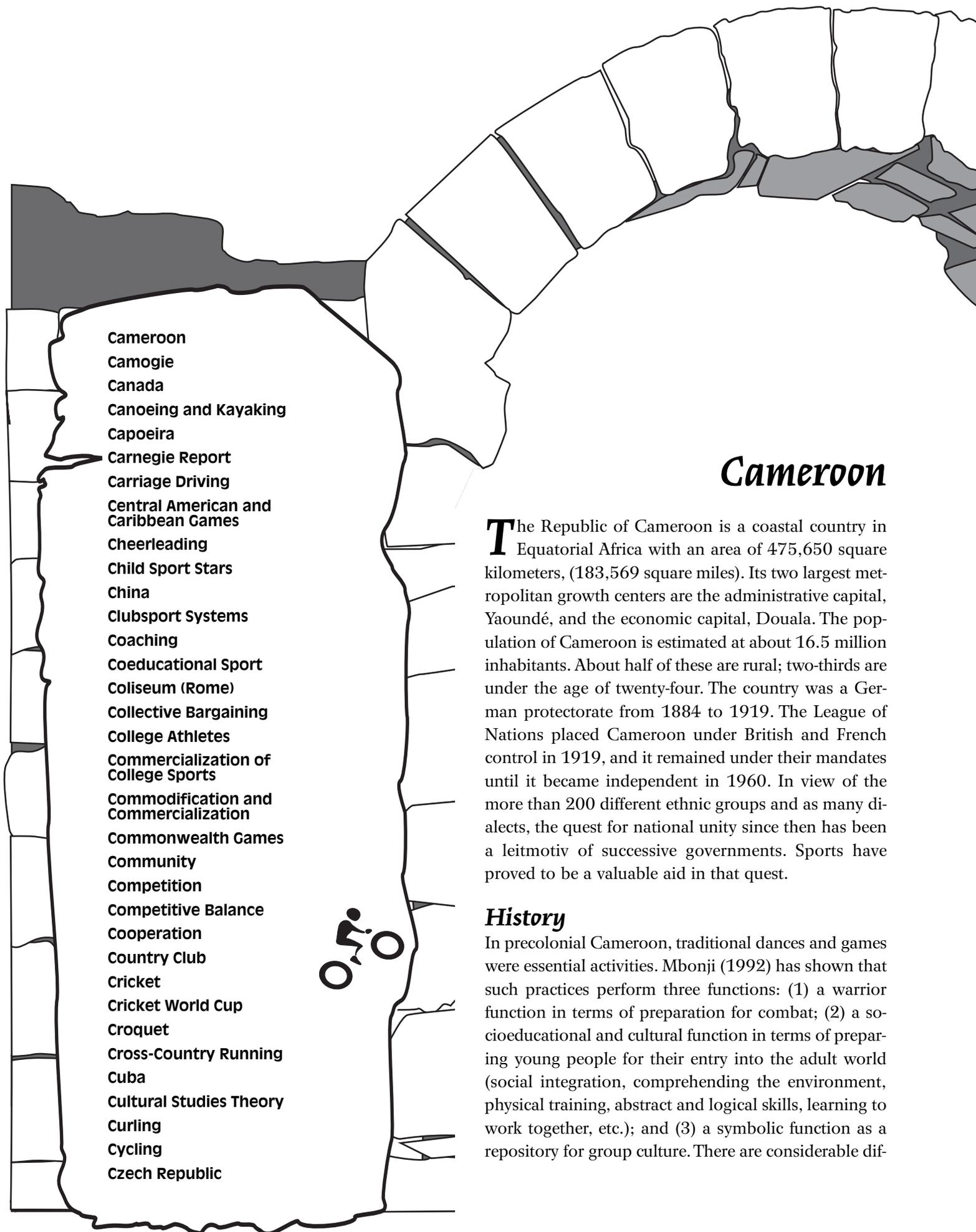
This pattern continued in post-Taliban times. By 2004 a new National Buzkashi Federation was dominated by a militarily powerful clique from Panjsher province, where the game had scant prewar legacy. Leading this regional group was the Defense Minister who, despite that title, maintained his own militia and often blocked the growth of central government authority. He had imported many of the top horses and riders from other provinces, claimed Panisher as *buzkashi*’s new homeland, and used the game—like so many before him—to enhance his personal prestige.

G. Whitney Azoy

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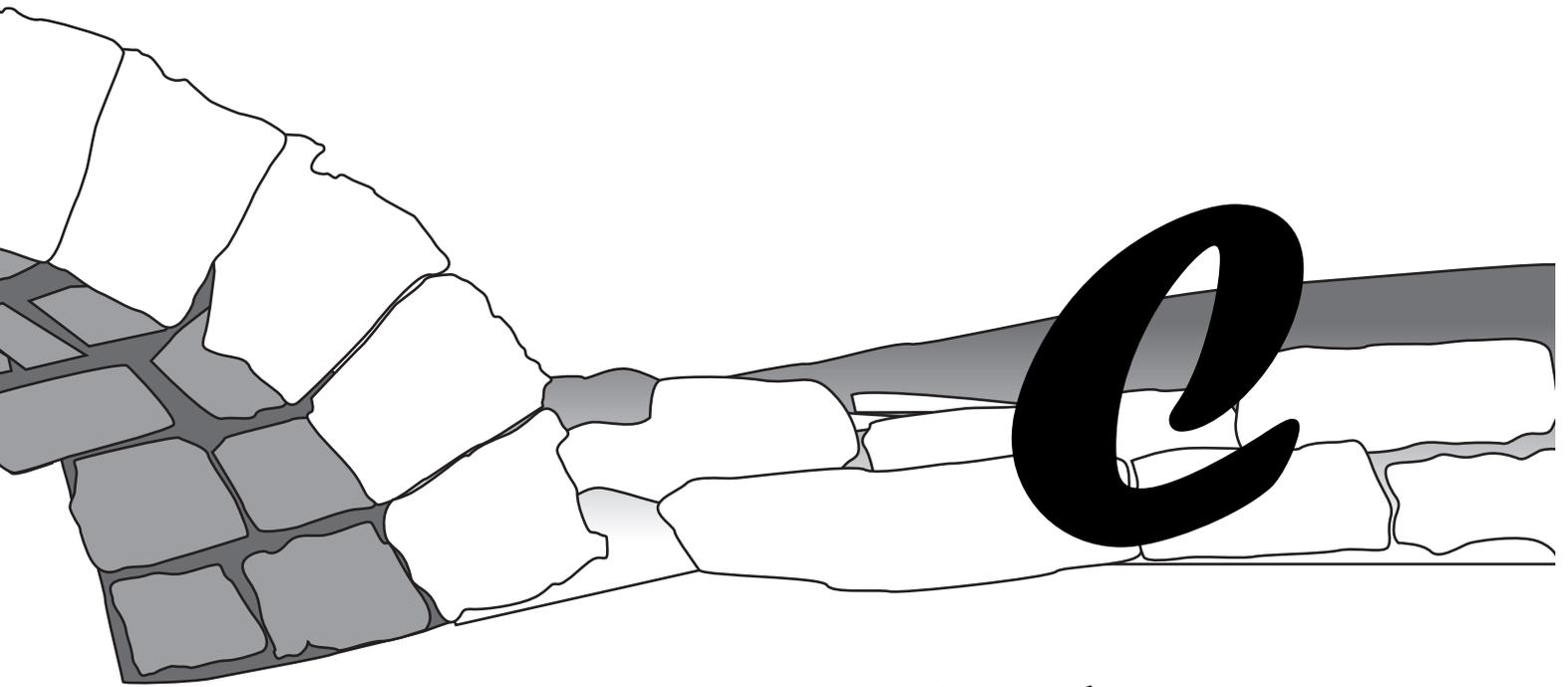
Cameroon
Camogie
Canada
Canoeing and Kayaking
Capoeira
Carnegie Report
Carriage Driving
Central American and Caribbean Games
Cheerleading
Child Sport Stars
China
Clubsport Systems
Coaching
Coeducational Sport
Coliseum (Rome)
Collective Bargaining
College Athletes
Commercialization of College Sports
Commodification and Commercialization
Commonwealth Games
Community
Competition
Competitive Balance
Cooperation
Country Club
Cricket
Cricket World Cup
Croquet
Cross-Country Running
Cuba
Cultural Studies Theory
Curling
Cycling
Czech Republic

Cameroon

The Republic of Cameroon is a coastal country in Equatorial Africa with an area of 475,650 square kilometers, (183,569 square miles). Its two largest metropolitan growth centers are the administrative capital, Yaoundé, and the economic capital, Douala. The population of Cameroon is estimated at about 16.5 million inhabitants. About half of these are rural; two-thirds are under the age of twenty-four. The country was a German protectorate from 1884 to 1919. The League of Nations placed Cameroon under British and French control in 1919, and it remained under their mandates until it became independent in 1960. In view of the more than 200 different ethnic groups and as many dialects, the quest for national unity since then has been a leitmotiv of successive governments. Sports have proved to be a valuable aid in that quest.

History

In precolonial Cameroon, traditional dances and games were essential activities. Mbonji (1992) has shown that such practices perform three functions: (1) a warrior function in terms of preparation for combat; (2) a socioeducational and cultural function in terms of preparing young people for their entry into the adult world (social integration, comprehending the environment, physical training, abstract and logical skills, learning to work together, etc.); and (3) a symbolic function as a repository for group culture. There are considerable dif-



ferences from one ethnic group to the next, although some dances and games have spanned the entire twentieth century and are present in most of the populations. Games of skill that involve throwing assegais (javelins) at moving targets are common, as are wrestling games. Some ethnic groups even organize their social life around these activities, for example, the Tuburi in the far north of Cameroon.

New cultural models emerged with the colonial period, but until the interwar period (in the 1920s and 1930s between the two World Wars) was over, sports were just something that colonists did. One exception was soccer, which was being played by organized indigenous teams as early as the turn of the twentieth century. In the 80 percent of the country under French mandate, physical education in school was the preferred method of diffusing a sports culture. A few activities, such as gymnastics or track and field, were promoted as being more educational.

The development of associations and the training of sport managers, such as coaches, technicians, and Physical Education teachers, accelerated, especially after the Brazzaville Conference in 1944 and during the 1950s, and then even more after independence in 1960. Sports were considerably helped out—although often selectively—by company sponsorship (Coca-Cola, the Cameroonian Breweries, Elf, etc.). The state also provided subsidies to the extent of 0.5 percent to 1 percent of its operating budget. The commitment was not sufficient to allow setting up an ambitious national sports program or building infrastructures, however.

Participant and Spectator Sports

After Cameroonian independence in 1960, soccer powered its way in about twenty years to become by far the most popular sport—played, watched, or covered by the media—in the country. A player like Roger Milla, the best player during the 1980s and 1990s, is a genuine national hero. The Douala and Yaoundé teams have monopolized victories in the national championships. The only other sports to achieve some degree of popularity are handball, volleyball, basketball, track and field, basketball, weight lifting, and combat sports. Tennis and bicycling are less popular.

Although Cameroon has participated in all the Olympic Games since 1964, it only started to do really well in international competitions in the 1980s, particularly in soccer. Cameroon's "Indomitable Lions" team has played in the finals of five World Cup championships, even reaching the quarterfinals once in 1990. The team also has won four African Cup of Nations championships (in 1984, 1988, 2000, and 2002), and became an Olympic champion in 2000. Cameroonian soccer clubs have also had frequent success in Club World Cup championships (victories in 1965, 1971, 1978, 1979, and 1980).

Aside from the African Athletics Confederation's first Central African championships in 1973, Cameroon has not organized any major sports events. The main international event is the annual Mount Cameroon race, created by Guinness, also in 1973. The Supreme Council of Sport in Africa (SCSA), created in 1966, has its headquarters in Yaoundé.



Cameroon

Key Events in Cameroon Sports History

- 1900** Soccer is being played by indigenous Cameroonian teams.
- 1963** Cameroon becomes a member of the International Olympic Committee.
- 1964** Cameroon participates in the Olympics for the first time.
- 1970** The Youth and Sport Ministry is established to administer sports.
- 1973** The annual Mount Cameroon race begins.
- 1984** Cameroon wins its first African Cup of Nations soccer title.
- 1990s** Talent drain begins of Cameroonian athletes moving to Europe to train and compete.
- 2000** The Cameroon "Indomitable Lions" soccer teams wins the Olympic gold medal.

Cameroon was first a state and then a nation. As a result successive governments have always sought to achieve national unity. They have consistently supported the national soccer team, promoting its success and enhancing its public exposure as much as possible. As Mbengalak (1995) states, soccer is becoming a veritable state sport, one that plays a major role in the country's domestic and foreign politics. In the 1980s, a point was made of showing an explicit relationship between the success of Cameroonian soccer and the ambitions of the country's only party, the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement.

In Cameroon a sports event often becomes a pretext for dancing and music, which are essential aspects of society; it is also readily an occasion for traditional fetishistic practices.

Women and Sport

Women's sports, which began in Cameroon during the 1950s, are repeatedly confronted with obstacles that are

Cameroon Olympics Results 2004 Summer Olympics: 1 Gold

representative of the considerable economic and scholastic inequalities still existing between the sexes. Moreover, when colonial sports practices were first adapted for Cameroonians, they were adapted exclusively by men. From a cultural point of view, the traditions surrounding a woman's place in the home (polygamy is official) and the influence of Islam in northern Cameroon are not particularly favorable to her entering sports. Sports are also strongly associated with the state that, until women's political awakening in the 1990s, always made it difficult for them to access sports. And, while there has been unquestionable progress in terms of the number of women participating in sports since then, sport does still remain the fief of men—whether in media coverage, sponsorship, the events, or actual participation.

Organizations

Structurally speaking, the administration of Cameroonian sports is largely based on the French colonial model. Since 1970, it has depended on a relatively powerful Youth and Sports Ministry, aided by ten provincial delegations. Fourteen federations manage the country's main sports, which are soccer, boxing, tennis, volleyball, track and field, swimming, handball, judo, basketball, bicycling, table tennis, wrestling, water sports, and weightlifting. The federations are empowered by the Youth and Sports Ministry, which is responsible for the three separate sectors of sports, physical education, and youth. The higher executive body for sports, the National Sports Committee, liaises between the ministry and the federations. The government depends on the National Olympic Committee, however, to accurately reflect its sports policy. The National Institute of Youth and Sports created in 1961 is in charge of training managers and helps out with preparing the national teams.

At the local level, sports clubs are subject to the 12 June 1967 Freedom of Association Act (modified in 1990). A sports charter specifying the operating rules for the clubs places them under state control.

Cameroon has been an IOC member since October

1963, and it belongs to most of the international sports federations. It is a member of the Union of African Sports Confederations (UCSA), the technical agency for the SCSA, which reports to the Organization for African Unity (OAU).

Sport in Society

Sports may appear to be a preferred instrument of the strategy to detribalize Cameroonian society, but it actually continues to reflect the ethnic divisions in the country. The Bamilekes predominate in soccer, for example, while the Betis are more present in track and field. In some sports the national team is made up of members mostly from a single ethnic group, although strictly anthropological arguments cannot account for such success. This situation provokes interethnic tensions, even more so that the push for democracy in the 1990s and a multiparty system that rather paradoxically have produced a withdrawal into ethnic identity.

Several times, Cameroonian participation in international sports events has brought to light political interference in the selection or rejection of certain players. Major financial problems are recurrent, tarnishing the image of the Cameroonian soccer delegation.

The Future

The best athletes often have trouble making a living from their sport in Cameroon. In sports like tennis, volleyball, track and field, and soccer, many athletes move to France or elsewhere in Europe. Cameroon's economic problems are still compromising any significant progress in sports participation there.

Thierry Terret

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Camogie

Camogie is a game of Irish origin and remains predominantly a game of Ireland. It is quite clearly a women's derivative of hurling, the national sport of Ireland, a fast and forcefully played ball-and-stick game played by two teams of fifteen players each. As a distinct sport, hurling has origins that stretch back nearly two thousand years. It became widely played across Ireland in its modern form after the leaders of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) drew up the rules in 1884. Camogie is played elsewhere across the globe by members of the Irish Diaspora, those Irish men and women who live outside their native land.

Camogie and Irish Nationalism

Camogie is a sport born of Irish women's nationalist sentiments. The GAA had strong links with the nationalist movements that formed the backbone of the Irish revolution against British rule that began in the late 1890s. The revolution would culminate in the War of Independence fought between the British and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the division of Ireland between the independent South and the British North.

Women played a key role in the revolutionary period as soldiers, organizers, fund-raisers, and ideologues. Because the GAA played such a key role in revolutionary activity, it was natural that nationalist-minded women would turn their attention to the Gaelic sports. These sports, Gaelic football and hurling, were viewed as representative of good Irish values, such as morality and strength, and had ancient Irish origins. They were

also a complete counterbalance to what the Irish saw as the “corrupt” sports of the British imperialists, such as soccer (association football) and cricket, both closely associated with the British Army.

That camogie was, indeed, a political statement as well as a game became clear in 1917. The strong links between the GAA and the activities of political nationalists were demonstrated that year at the funeral of Thomas Ashe. Arrested by the British for inciting the civil population, Ashe had gone on a hunger strike in prison in an attempt to secure political status for nationalist prisoners. He died as a result of force-feeding, and his funeral became a showpiece for the aspirations of nationalist politics. Because Ashe had been a leading member of the GAA, a large number of GAA members attended his funeral. At the core of this group were scores of women in full mourning dress carrying their camogie sticks (*camog*). At the outbreak of the modern troubles in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s, nationalist women regularly paraded in Belfast carrying their *camog* as a marker of their affiliation to the nationalist cause.

History of the Game

Hurling was a game that was deemed too violent and masculine for women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and thus women developed their own game. The first camogie club was formed in 1898 in Navan, County Meath, specifically to play one match as part of the centenary celebrations of the 1798 Rising against the British presence in Ireland. The first modern games of what can be identified as formally organized camogie were apparently played in 1902 by members of the Gaelic League, a radical Irish language and cultural organization. In these early days, the game was heavily based on the rules and spirit of hurling. In 1904 the first formal rules of camogie were drawn up. The term *camogie* was dreamed up by the Cork language scholar Tadhg O Donnchadha. As with many other Irish terms that originated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, “camogie” was a word for a

game whose invented traditions were representative of Irish characteristics, but that had no actual roots in Irish folklore or history, and thus had no traditional name. The first game under the new rules was organized in Craobh a’ Chéitinnigh, the Keating branch of the Gaelic League, and was played on 17 July 1904 in Navan, near Dublin, between two Dublin-based clubs; Craobh a’ Chéitinnigh defeated Cúchulaoínns 1–0.

Cumann Camógaíochta, the Camogie Association of Ireland (CAA), was founded on 25 February 1905 by the women who played the sport, and Máire Ní Chinéide was elected the first president. By 1913 the first-ever college club was formed by Professor Una Ní Fhaircheallaigh, a lecturer in Modern Irish and eventually chair of Modern Irish Poetry, at University College Dublin. Ní Fhaircheallaigh’s role in the sport was so important that she remained president of the university’s club from 1914 until 1951, and was president of the Camogie Association of Ireland in 1941–1942. She was also instrumental in convincing William Gibson, the second Lord Ashbourne, to donate the Ashbourne Cup as the prize for the winners of the annual intervarsity camogie championship in 1915. This trophy is played for to this day. By the start of World War I, camogie was being played in seventeen of Ireland’s thirty-two counties. By then it had also spread to London and New York, and each city had some six teams. It was in New York City that the American Camogie Association (ACA) was founded in 1930. Although a distinct body responsible for the administration of camogie, the CAA works with the recognition of the GAA. The women’s association is organized in the same way as the GAA, and its tournaments are run on a similar basis.

The local parish is the base for all Gaelic games. It is here that teams are organized on the local level and the games enjoy the widest participation. The parish teams play in league tournaments, and over the course of the season (March to September), the best players are selected to play at the county level. The thirty-two counties play knockout matches in four separate groupings, based on the four provinces of Ireland (Ulster, Con-

Two women playing camogie.

naught, Leinster, and Munster). The county winners of the four provincial titles play off in semifinals for the privilege of playing in the All-Ireland final. The first official inter-county games were played on 12 July 1912 between Dublin and Louth at Croke Park, the Dubliners winning 2–1. In 1932 an All-Ireland championship was formally started and was won by Dublin. The game had spread to such an extent by the 1930s that every one of the thirty-two counties of Ireland had representative teams. The respectability of the game in the eyes of the male custodians of the GAA

and its attraction to supporters was such that by 1934 the All-Ireland final was allowed to be played at the GAA's headquarters in Croke Park. The final approval of the GAA-camogie relationship came in 1980 when the women's sport appointed its first full-time paid official, who was provided with an office at Croke Park paid for by the GAA.

Camogie has been fortunate in that, since its early years, it has attracted committed and long-serving administrators who have done much to promote the game, including such legendary figures as Una Bean Úi Phuirseach and Shelia McNulty, both of whom served as president and general secretary of the association. Men have also been centrally important in the promotion of the game. Unlike other sports and cultures in which men appear to hold back and discourage the growth of women's sport, the committeemen and promoters of Gaelic games have worked well with the women who organized camogie. Camogie is seen as part of the cultural and nationalistic crusade to promote an independent sense of Irishness that is the ultimate function of Gaelic games. As such, men have been keen advocates of camogie and view it as an equally valid and important expression of Irish sporting and nationalistic cul-



ture as either hurling or Gaelic football. These men included Séan O'Duffy, who worked for seventy-five years promoting camogie, and Pádraig Puirseál, the legendary Gaelic games correspondent of the *Irish Press*, who did his utmost to promote the game in his columns. In 1966, when the first National Training Programme for Coaches was instigated, the majority of participants in the courses were men. Since 1999 the spirit of camogie as a game has moved closer to that of hurling. While certain rule differences remain, the game is now played by two sides of fifteen, and on the full-size GAA pitch.

In the last two decades, the game of camogie, while remaining strictly amateur at the playing level, has developed into a modern commercial organization. From 1986 annual courses in administration, refereeing, and public relations have been held, and the association became an official member of the government-funded National Coaching and Training Centre Programme. In 1995 the association signed its first-ever national sponsorship deal. In keeping with the national spirit of the organization, the agreement was signed with the governmental body charged with promoting the use of the Irish language, Bord na Gaelige. The need for such sponsorship to support an amateur game was highlighted in

You miss 100% of the shots you never take. ■ WAYNE GRETZKY

2003 when the association appointed its first full-time sponsorship and finance manager.

Rules and Play

Camogie is played by two teams, each with fifteen women. The field is the same as that which is used for hurling. The standard measurements are 110 meters long and 68 meters wide. The stick (*camog*) is based on the hurley (*camán*) of the men's game, although it usually made to a lighter weight specification. The stick is used to advance the ball, pass to a teammate, shoot at the goal, or take the ball from the other team. At either end of the pitch are H-shaped goalposts in the same style as the posts in Rugby Union. The bottom sections of the posts are netted as in soccer. To score a player must hit the ball (*sliothar*) over the top section of the uprights for one point, or else hit the ball into the bottom net for three points. The winner of the game is the team with the highest total score. Players wear footwear, shorts, and shirts bearing the colors of their team or county, and some players will choose to wear headgear to protect them from injuries caused by the ball or stick. Matches last 70 minutes; two halves of 35 minutes each.

Given the GAA's dominant role in the new Irish State that was formed in 1922, Gaelic games became the officially sanctioned sports in Ireland and were encouraged at the school level. As the foremost women's game, camogie was positioned as the main game for girls in schools, a tradition that continues to the present. As the main school sport for girls, camogie has a huge pool of players, supporters, and organizers for its adult competitions. It currently has 78,000 playing members: 14,000 at the under-13 age level, 40,000 between 13 and 18, 20,000 between 19 and 35, and 4,000 players in the over-35 category. Until the 1990s, camogie was unchallenged as the most popular sport for women in Ireland. It now faces serious challenges from the growth in support for women's Gaelic football.

In 2004 the association celebrated its centenary. A yearlong series of events was staged across Ireland, including a banquet, a historical exhibition at the GAA

museum, and the naming of the camogie team of the century.

Further Afield

All the Gaelic games have been taken overseas by those millions of Irish men and women who have left Ireland's shores over the centuries. Other aspects of Irish culture, such as music, have survived transplantation to other nations better than have the games, but pockets of activity remain. Irish emigrants apparently prefer sporting assimilation to sporting separation and have thus more readily adapted to sports such as baseball and Australian Rules football, rather than continuing Gaelic games on foreign fields. Nevertheless, the GAA is an international organization, and GAA clubs can be found across the globe in nations such as the United States, Canada, China, South Africa, Argentina, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Camogie is usually found in all those clubs. It may not be as buoyant as Gaelic football or hurling, but it has its core of women adherents who play camogie in the same way, with the same rules, and with the same enthusiasm as they do on the playing fields of Clare or Roscommon.

Mike Cronin

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Canada

As the northernmost country in the Americas, Canada is home to 32 million people. It is officially bilingual (with federal government services provided in both English and French) and multicultural. Competitive sports have been essential to the Canadian economy, culture, and identity since the beginning of the modern nation in 1867.

Sports in Canada are currently organized, financed, and followed in two distinct sectors. The most visible is the masculinist and corporate professional sector, which is closely integrated with United States–based leagues and what scholars call “the sports-media complex.” The second is the network of public, private, and voluntary organizations in the amateur and Olympic sports known as “the Canadian sport system.” It is increasingly state-driven and financed, and committed to gender equity. It focuses on the participation in and the staging of national and international competitions, especially the Olympic and Paralympic, Commonwealth, Pan American, and Canada Games.

In 1998, nearly 37 percent of Canadians over fifteen years of age reported that they were active in physical activity, including organized sports. Soccer is the most widely played sport with 900,000 registered participants, 40 percent of whom are women. The overall impact of the sport and recreation sector upon the Canadian Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was calculated to have been CAN\$8.9 billion, or 1.1 percent of the Canadian GDP, bigger than the mining and papers industries. It provided 262,325 jobs, or 2 percent of the total employment in Canada.

History

Canada is home to both indigenous peoples and those who have arrived from other parts of the world during the last four hundred years. Although there is a lack of recorded (and undistorted) history about aboriginal Canadians, those who arrived from elsewhere—European explorers, fur traders, settlers, and more re-

cently, southern Canadian bush pilots and geologists in the far Arctic—readily engaged with them in various forms of physical activity and sport. Some aboriginal sports and games served as the basis for the popular sports we know today. Lacrosse, Canada’s official summer sport, is based on George Beers’s 1860 codification of the aboriginal stickball game *teewarathon*, which he learned from the Mohawk at Kahnawake across the St. Lawrence River from Montreal.

ABORIGINAL ATHLETES

Throughout Canadian history, aboriginal athletes have been prominent in both integrated and native-only associations and sporting events. Early in the twentieth century, marathon runner Tom Longboat from the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario, became a sporting icon across North America for his spectacular national and international achievements. Today, kayaker Alwyn Morris from Kahnawake is remembered fondly for his gold medal victory (with Hugh Fisher) at the 1984 Olympics.

That said, like indigenous peoples in many other immigrant societies, indigenous Canadians have faced and continue to face many forms of overt and systemic discrimination in mainstream Canadian sports. In response, they have developed the Northern Games, the North American Indigenous Games, special events in the Arctic Winter Games, and organizations like the Aboriginal Sport Circle to revitalize opportunities for themselves and their children and showcase their achievements and culture.

MIDDLE-CLASS MEN

Sports in Canada were codified, played, elaborated, and promoted in the context of rapid nineteenth-century urbanization and industrialization and similar developments in the British Empire and the United States. The most influential early clubs and organizations were located in Montreal, at the head of the “National Policy” economy of railroads, staple exports, protective tariffs for manufacturing, and the promotion of immigration. The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, formed in 1881,



Canada

First Annual Report of the Montreal Base-Ball Club, 1886

GENTLEMEN:—

I have the honor of presenting you with the first annual report of the above club.

We were formerly organized and officers elected July 29, 1886.

Our season began so late and the difficulty of obtaining special days for practice has been so great that the first year of the club has not been marked by any special feature.

We made our debut Saturday, August 21st, when we met the Gordon B.B. Club, of Point St. Charles, in a practice match of 7 innings and were defeated by a score of 24 to 17.

Nothing daunted we accepted a challenge from the Clippers, and met them on the grounds of the M.L.C. September 4th, winning the match and our first ball by a score of 15 to 14, with an innings [*sic*] to spare. Time of Game 1h, 50 min.

The following players donned their new uniforms to meet the Clippers:—

Jos. Bruce, Jno. Heenan, T.S. Brophy, A.G. Walker, E.A. Cowley, W.G. Slack, J.A. Walker, E.S. Putman, J.G. Cornell, Captain.

September 11th, we met the Gordons and through want of practice sustained a defeat, the score standing 24 to 17 at the end of the 7th innings when game was called to allow the M.J.L.C. the use of the grounds. This match was advertised and netted us a small balance.

When it is taken into consideration that practice was limited to August and the first half of September, our practices were fairly well attended.

Our membership now numbers over 70 and should be tripled by the middle of the coming season.

For the coming season we will have the pick of a very large number of men and should become the possessors of the championship pennant of the City League just formed.

We have purchased 9 uniforms [\$26.10], 9 caps, a mask [\$1.50], catcher's gloves [\$5.75], & c. [for a total of \$38.75] and with the exception of, perhaps, a new mask, and bats and bases, we should begin the season of 1887 fully equipped. . . .

Source: Cowley, E. A. (1886). *First annual report of the Montreal Base-Ball Club, season 1886*. National Archives of Canada.

created eight of the first Canadian national governing bodies, including the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAU), which governed other sports and won many of the first Canadian championships, including the first Stanley Cup, emblematic of supremacy in ice hockey, Canada's official winter sport.

These early clubs, leagues, and organizations were invariably restricted to the white, English-speaking, middle-class males who formed them, and they expressed and required adherence to the Victorian ideology of amateurism. Sports were quickly taken up in other cities and regions, and by those who had been excluded (often in their own clubs) especially Francophones, girls and women, immigrants, and the working class. They were assisted by the spirit of "rational recreation," which developed out of the late nineteenth-

century urban reform movement, which inspired universities and schools, municipal recreation departments, voluntary associations such as the YMCA, and the Christian churches to organize teams and leagues. By the 1920s, sports were played and watched at some point by most Canadians, even if it was in organizations that were separated by class, gender, region, and ethnicity.

THE NHL

Growing urban densities, the popularization of sports by the mass media, and the growing marketing of sports to symbolize collective identities, especially among males, also enabled the growth of capitalist professional sports in baseball, lacrosse, ice hockey, and Canadian football. The most established of these has been the

I wouldn't say it's cold, but every year Winnipeg's athlete of the year is an ice fisherman. ■ DALE TALLON

National Hockey League (NHL). Formed in 1917, it grew significantly during the years between World War I and World War II through expansion to the United States and the development of a pan-Canadian radio network, *Hockey Night in Canada*, in the 1930s. Today there are six Canadian franchises—in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver—in the thirty-team NHL.

THE CFL

The Canadian Football League (CFL), created in 1958 out of long-established community-based clubs and leagues, is the only professional league to operate on a pan-Canadian basis, although it briefly experimented with expansion to the United States during the 1990s. Today, there are CFL teams in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver. The National Basketball Association entered Canada in 1946 with the short-lived Toronto franchise, the Huskies. In 1995, the NBA returned to Canada with the Toronto Raptors and the Vancouver Grizzlies.

BASEBALL AND LACROSSE

Major League Baseball entered Canada in 1967 with a franchise in Montreal, the Expos. In 1977, it added the Toronto Blue Jays. Today, only the Toronto franchises remain in these leagues. Professional lacrosse has had a much rockier history, with leagues and teams being formed and disbanded with almost every season. The National Lacrosse League currently has two Canadian franchises—in Calgary, and Toronto—in the ten-team circuit.

Government and Sport

In 1961, amateur sport received a significant boost with the passage of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act (FAS) by the federal Parliament. The FAS Program initially supported broadly based fitness and recreation initiatives as well as high performance. After 1970, in the face of threats to national unity from Quebec separatism, the Americanization of culture, and the dis-

affection of the western provinces from the federal government, embittered by what they perceived to be its domination by the central Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec, the Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau stepped up its investments in elite sport, believing that successful Canadian performances in international competition strengthened pan-Canadian unity and gave Canadians a better sense of themselves. A new federal agency, Sport Canada, transformed the voluntary amateur governing bodies into fully professionalized enterprises, with paid coaches, technical and administrative staff, and living and training stipends for top athletes.

To assist and promote elite sport development, Sport Canada also created new institutions, such as the National Sport and Recreation Centre, the National Coaching Certification Program, and the Athlete Information Bureau, and encouraged Canadian cities to bid for international games. Most provincial and territorial governments followed suit. The wisdom of these policies seemed to be borne out at the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. For the first time ever, Canadian athletes fared better than those of any other team, and the new Canadian sport system caused so much envy that critics dubbed Canada “the GDR of the Commonwealth.”

Subsequent governments allowed the Canadian sport system to fall into decline. However, early in the twenty-first century, sorry overall performances at the Atlanta and Sydney Olympics, growing concerns about physical inactivity among young people, and a decline in sports participation stimulated an effort to revitalize federal legislation. In 2003, the FAS Act was replaced by the Physical Activity and Sport Act.

Women and Sport

The 1920s and 1930s were a period of such rapid growth and achievement in women's sports that some scholars refer to it as the “Golden Age.” Led by famous teams such as the Edmonton Grads, which won seventeen straight North American basketball championships and four straight “Olympic” titles (in the tournaments

*Canada Olympics Results**2002 Winter Olympics: 6 Gold, 3 Silver, 8 Bronze**2004 Summer Olympics: 3 Gold, 6 Silver, 3 Bronze*

organized at the time of the Olympic Games by the Fédération Sportive Feminine Internationale), and the “matchless six,” who returned from the 1928 Olympics with more medals than any other track and field team, Canadian women excelled in virtually every competition they entered. They created their own clubs, leagues, and governing bodies, coordinated by the Women’s Amateur Athletic Federation, attracted considerable spectatorship and won widespread coverage in the mass media, spearheaded in many cities by daily women’s sports columnists. These breakthroughs were short-lived, however, and by the 1950s Canadian sportswomen once again faced closed doors, bad science (the specious “moral physiology” that claimed that active physical activity would harm their reproductive organs), and the social expectation that sports were properly a male domain.

During the last four decades, second-wave feminists also sought to win opportunities in sports and physical activity. But unlike their predecessors, who sought as much as possible to develop women’s sport within women’s organizations, they sought for the most part to do so within integrated organizations. Employing a range of tactics, from quiet lobbying to political demonstrations and human rights legislation, encouraged by feminist advances elsewhere in society, they won opportunities to participate and compete at every level. Today, while overall male participation rates remain higher than those of females, most national sports organizations provide as many national and international opportunities for women to compete as they do for men. Approximately the same number of women as men competed on the Canadian Olympic Teams in Atlanta, Sydney, and Athens. But Canadian women still continue to be woefully underrepresented in sport leadership and administrative and coaching positions.

The most significant voice for women in sports has been the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS), formed in 1981 by an alliance of academics, athletes, and movement activists. CAAWS has become a powerful advocate for gender equity and a strong voice against sexual harassment and homophobia in the Canadian sport system.

Youth and Sport

Young women and men are the most physically active of all Canadians, with national surveys consistently showing that more than 50 percent of youth between the ages of five and fourteen years are active in sport. Sport and physical activity are a recognized part of the educational curriculum, and many municipal recreation departments privilege children and youth in their programming. The nature, extent, and provision of opportunities vary significantly from place to place, however. Increasingly, shrinking school and municipal budgets, deteriorating or closed facilities, and a shortage of qualified teachers and leaders contribute to the difficulties of delivering sport and physical activity.

Outside the public school and recreation systems, there is an extensive community-based organized sport system, especially among the middle to upper classes. But these are increasingly inaccessible for those facing economic hardship because participant fees continue to rise. Moreover, community sport continues to face the challenges of undertrained volunteer leaders and some of the darker aspects of youth sports, including the increasing preoccupation with performance rather than pleasure and participation, the intensification of training, and sexual harassment and abuse. A number of “made in Canada” strategies have been developed to address and resolve these problems, including a renewed emphasis upon coaching certification, the development of “fair play” leagues in hockey, and the introduction of child protection policies and programs.

With respect to colleges and universities, sport and physical activity are recognized as integral parts of a student’s cocurricular educational experience. All Canadian postsecondary institutions offer a variety of recreational and competitive sporting opportunities to their students, including intramural and intercollegiate or interuniversity competition. The Canadian Colleges Athletic Association (CCAA) and Canadian Interuniversity Sport (CIS) are the governing bodies for postsecondary sport in Canada, and both organizations work in concert with other national and provincial sport organizations to further equitable and accessible sport for



The Saddle Dome in downtown Calgary.

Source: istockphoto/crescott.

as one federal sports minister put it.) In recent years, many Canadian athletes and their leaders have internalized these expectations, and in coalition with others have contributed to the push toward gender equity, doping-free sport, and the fair treatment of high performance athletes (an “athlete-centered system”).

As a result of the tireless lobbying of such organiza-

Canadians. The CIS has taken significant steps to promote gender equity in sport and currently recognizes ten women’s sports and nine men’s sports.

Organizations

Framed under the umbrella of Sport Canada (<http://www.pch.gc.ca/sportcanada>), the Canadian sport system is comprised of numerous national and provincial-territorial sport organizations. Some organizations of note include the following:

Aboriginal Sport Circle (aboriginalsportcircle.ca); Arctic Winter Games (www.awg.ca); Canada Games Council (www.canadagames.ca); Canadian Colleges Athletic Association (www.ccaa.ca); Canadian Olympic Committee (www.olympic.ca); North American Indigenous Games (www.internationalgames.net/naindig.htm).

The Future

Sports are a recognized and valued part of Canadian social and cultural life. That said, there remain several challenges. The first challenge involves an age-old issue that has garnered public attention at different times and in different ways. This is the extent to which Canadian sport remains fair and Canadian athletes, especially those representing Canada in international competitions, exhibit ethical behavior. (“The team that marches behind the flag must represent the values of that flag,”

tions as Athletes CAN (the association of national team members in the amateur and Olympic sports) and the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport (CCES), the 2003 Physical Activity and Sport Act declared that Canadian sport policy “is founded on the highest ethical standards and values, including doping-free sport, the treatment of all persons with fairness and respect (and) the full and fair participation of all persons.” That legislation also created the Sport Dispute Resolution Centre of Canada to ensure the “fair, equitable, transparent and timely resolution of disputes.” Canadians have also been vocal and influential proponents of ethical sport internationally. Canadians were integrally involved in the development and establishment of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), now located in Montreal.

A second challenge concerns the mass media, which are essential to Canadians’ understanding of sports. Most newspapers devote entire sections to sports. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation devotes 11 percent of its entire television schedule to sports, and specialized cable channels like the Sports Network (TSN), CTV Sportsnet, and Réseau des Sports (RDS) in Quebec broadcast 4,300 hours of programming annually. For almost eight months of the year, CBC’s flagship *Hockey Night in Canada* attracts 5 to 6 million viewers every Saturday. But except for the commercial-free CBC radio and during major games such as the Olympics, the sports media distorts the landscape of Canadian sports,



Canada

Key Events in Canada Sports History

- 1860** The Native American game that becomes lacrosse is codified.
- 1881** The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association is formed.
- 1917** The National Hockey league is formed.
- 1920s** Sport is popular across Canada.
- 1920s–1930s** The Golden Era for women’s sports in Canada.
- 1930s** Hockey Night in Canada on the radio is popular across Canada.
- 1958** The Canadian Football League is founded.
- 1961** The Fitness and Amateur Sport Act is passed.
- 1967** The Montreal Expos join Major League Baseball.
- 1977** The Toronto Blue Jays join Major League Baseball.
- 1978** The Commonwealth Games are held in Edmonton and Canada wins more medals than any other team.
- 1981** The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport is founded.
- 2003** The Physical Activity and Sport Act is passed.

giving the bulk of coverage to the men’s professional leagues while marginalizing women and athletes in the Canadian sports system. They are constrained by the basic economics of the sports media complex to marshal affluent male audiences for advertisers. In radio and television, the media are contractually bound to the leagues they cover. While many sports reporters provide brilliant, even incisive, commentary and coverage, they can be considered “embedded” journalists, with considerable limits on their autonomy. Policy makers have long struggled with this challenge in the context of the freedom of

the press. A recent parliament committee recommended that the federal regulatory agency, the Canadian Radio Television Commission, direct the CBC to broadcast more events involving Canada’s national teams, and not authorize any more foreign programming services with strong United States sports components.

A final challenge is the uneven and inconsistent support for sport as an institution by federal, provincial-territorial, and municipal governments. While the Canadian government is signatory to numerous international conventions and charters that proclaim sport and physical education to be basic human rights, and the health benefits of sport and physical activity are regularly touted during major games and elections, in practice, sport and physical activity programs, services, and facilities are often on the frontline of budget cut-backs and spending curtailments. Part of this is a result of the continued perception among Canadian government officials that sport and physical activity are low priorities. The consequence, however, has been declining participation rates, especially among the economically challenged.

Hopefully, the new federal legislation and the 2002 Canadian Sport Policy, signed by federal, provincial, and territorial governments as part of the same process, will contribute to a revitalization of public opportunities. With the 2010 Winter Olympic Games to be held in Vancouver, British Columbia, there is renewed energy for strengthening Canada’s sport system, with regard to both elite sport and mass recreation, to ensure for all present and future Canadians accessible, ethical, and equitable sport.

Bruce Kidd

See also Football, Canadian; Maple Leaf Gardens; Stanley Cup

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Canoeing and Kayaking

Canoeing and kayaking are sports that have a variety of disciplines. Canoeing, in which participants sit or kneel on seats and use single-bladed paddles, is often called “Canadian canoeing” because of Canada’s early promotion of international racing. Kayaking, in which participants use double-bladed paddles, is known as *kanusport* in some countries and is one of the fastest-growing activities globally.

History

Canoes and kayaks still show the traditional lines of a Greenland Inuit kayak or Aleutian umiak, a Maori (relating to a Polynesian people native to New Zealand) dugout, or a Native American birch-bark canoe because the designs that allowed paddlers to handle challenging conditions more than five thousand years ago are still relevant today. The traditional lines bring a sense of tradition to paddle sports, appreciated by many modern paddlers regardless of whether they are racing in sleek, modern craft or touring inland waterways in more stable designs.

The peoples of indigenous cultures in North America, Greenland, Scandinavia, and the former Soviet Union used canoes and kayaks. Builders stretched the skins of seal, walrus, or caribou around wooden frames and fastened them with sinew, baleen (a substance found in plates that hang from the upper jaws of baleen whales), bones, or antlers. Later, the presence of metal tools and toggles in North American boat construction indicated contact with European explorers. Ingenious crafters, the Inuit peoples used local materials to develop a variety of functional designs for different conditions, each of which could handle different types of water and activities.

Kayaks (from the Inuit word *qayak*) were traditionally used to hunt sea animals, including large mammals such as walruses and whales. The kayaks were relatively small, often ranging from 3.6 meters to 4.8 meters, which made them highly maneuverable for chasing prey. Because only men hunted in these societies, the kayak has been associated primarily with men until recent history.

The Inuit umiak (canoe) was a large, undecked skin boat of 7.6 meters to 12.1 meters used to carry large groups of people and heavy loads of cargo. Sometimes also used for hunting, it could be paddled, rowed, or sailed long distances. In Greenland the umiak came to be defined as the women’s boat because women used them when they handled the transport of communities of people to new settlements. The umiak is believed to be the oldest working boat. Rock paintings in Norway from 5000 BCE show illustrations of what some archaeologists conclude to be open skin boats, although this conclusion is controversial. Some experts believe that the elk figureheads etched onto these boats were a link between land and sea and provided a means for humans to enter the lower spirit world. Similar seaworthy craft are also believed to have aided Asian peoples in their migration to the New World.

New World Exploration

When European explorers arrived in the New World during the 1600s, the original dugout or hollowed-out

log of native peoples had given way to the birch-bark canoe used by woodland Native Americans. These lighter, more versatile craft enabled explorers to navigate the thousands of miles of inland lakes and rivers, portaging (carrying overland) over land divides to reach new watersheds. As early as the 1700s traders or voyagers penetrated the Canadian wilderness by canoe to send furs back out for shipment to Europe.

Meanwhile, when European explorers reached Polynesia in the 1600s, they discovered that the indigenous fishermen's skill with dugout canoes and outrigger canoes had allowed them to travel treacherous southern seas for thousands of years. These canoes, built with tools of stone, bone, and coral, were seaworthy enough to complete voyages of more than 3,200 kilometers and to settle Oceania (lands of the central and southern Pacific) in an area of 16 million square kilometers. Double-hull construction created a catamaran-style canoe capable of traveling faster by wind than the English navigator James Cook's ships.

By the mid-1850s canoeing and kayaking were no longer predominantly a means of subsistence, exploration, or commerce. The earliest recreational paddling was probably races by indigenous people, but the development of canoeing as a more formal activity began around 1850 in the Peterborough region of Ontario, Canada. Craftsmen began to develop plank-style canoes that, by the end of the century, led to an explosion in building boats at more affordable prices, an explosion welcomed by the general public, especially in Great Britain. Then the English barrister John MacGregor brought an oak "canoe" home to Europe from Canada. It was propelled by sail and had a double-bladed paddle similar to the one that kayakers use today. MacGregor recorded his exploits in 1866 in the popular *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe on the Rivers and Lakes of Europe*, which fueled an amazing rise in canoe travel for pleasure on both continents. Two years later he toured the eastern Mediterranean, including the Red Sea and the Nile River, to publish *Rob Roy on the Jordan*.

Interest by the General Public

The popularity of canoeing as an egalitarian (relating to a belief in equality) activity during the late 1800s came at a time when the public interest in recreation in general, including bicycling, was rising. Increasingly industrialized nations could produce sporting goods more cheaply, and Victorian attitudes that treated recreation as a frivolous activity were changing. A change in work weeks created more leisure time, and the rise of tourism around the globe prompted a surge in the poor man's yacht—a canoe. Guiding "sports" on notable fishing streams in North America and Europe became a cottage industry and encouraged the construction of specialized guide boats. The canoe became a popular vehicle for cruising, camping, and courting, and canoeing was considered an acceptable activity for women.

Colleges in the United States, including such women's schools as Smith and Wellesley, added canoeing as healthful activity for its students. Not only did general publications such as *Outing* feature gentlemanly wilderness excursions by canoe, but also women's periodicals such as *Cosmopolitan* began to laud the health-enhancing virtues of canoeing. No longer a wilderness endeavor, canoeing expanded in popularity when canoe liveries began renting boats in urban parks by the 1890s. The establishment of local canoe clubs in North America and Europe continued to promote canoeing after the turn of the century, but despite the popularity of races and regattas, no women appeared in American Canoe Association (ACA) race results from that period. Racing was still considered a gentleman's province, although women were actively involved in the social and recreational activities of the clubs. Not until 1944 did women become full voting members of the national association.

Rise of Recreational Racing

Scholars generally believe that canoe races and regattas predate recorded history and figured prominently in the rituals of ancient cultures. Thanks to John MacGregor modern racing emerged in Great Britain with royal

A kayaker on a man-made race course.

Source: istockphoto/groweb.

approval in the 1870s, and the military used canoe racing for training throughout the British empire. The American Canoe Association formed in 1880 as an international organization and awarded three honorary memberships to important non-American men such as John MacGregor and Worrington Baden-Powell, the brother of the Boy Scout founder, Robert Baden-Powell. Many ACA members preferred canoe sailing races in decked boats, which looked more like kayaks, rather than the open Canadian canoe. War canoes created a new class of racing in which teams of twenty people or more propelled a large boat, and boys and girls at summer camps quickly embraced this team event. Outrigger canoe racing, initially for men, began in the Hawaiian islands and quickly grew more competitive.

By the turn of the twentieth century racers experimented with the high kneel position of modern “sprint” canoeing for greater leverage against the paddle, and the greater speed made the high kneel the favorite racing position for flatwater despite its instability. After World War I canoeing and kayaking expanded so greatly that the era has been called their “golden age.” Men first competed in sprint canoeing and kayaking as demonstration sports in the Olympics in 1924 in Paris and as full medal events in 1936 in Berlin. The onset of World War II stalled the expansion of international racing, but later manufacturers converted the war technologies of aluminum and fiberglass to create a wealth of new canoe and kayak designs. The post-World War II popularity of whitewater paddling in western and eastern Europe and former Soviet bloc countries contributed to the 1972 entry of slalom racing at the Munich Olympics, but it has appeared in only four subsequent Olympics because of the expense of creating artificial whitewater facilities.

The International Canoe Federation (ICF), the international governing body for paddle sports, recently approved canoe water polo for men and women as an international event. In this event two teams of kayakers in highly maneuverable boats attempt to score goals by passing a ball. National governing bodies within each



country develop training and racing opportunities for athletes, often in conjunction with local clubs and private schools that have traditionally supported the development of canoe and kayak racing.

However, other forms of racing continue to emerge, often as non-Olympic events. Marathon racing in kayaks and open canoes tests paddlers on 8-kilometer to multi-day courses. Whitewater freestyle or rodeo competitions require paddlers to execute technically difficult moves on holes and waves. Flatwater freestyle is sometimes called “canoe ballet.” In it competitors create a dance choreography set to music. Dragon boat racing, similar to war canoe racing, involves teams of twenty-two people. The colorful nature of competition is a reflection of canoeing’s and kayaking’s enduring popularity among a variety of nations and cultures.

The principle is competing against yourself. It's about self-improvement, about being better than you were the day before. ■ STEVE YOUNG

Nature of the Sports

Many variations of canoeing and kayaking have emerged to offer many opportunities to paddle. Some variations have been accepted as Olympic sports, and many countries have local, regional, or national championships that allow many levels of competition. The International Canoe Federation recognizes the following six disciplines.

FLATWATER

In flatwater sprint racing athletes compete head to head on calm bodies of water in 500- and 1,000-meter distances. The events require speed, strength, and endurance. In the Olympics, women's events were added at London in 1948. However, women compete only in kayaking, not in canoeing, in single, double, and four-woman kayaks in 500-meter races. The four-woman kayak event was added in 1984.

Olympic sprint races begin with qualifying heats, and the eight fastest qualifiers advance directly to the semifinals. The rest compete in a second-chance round known as a "*repechage*" (French for "fishing again"), and the four fastest boats advance to the semifinals. The top six semifinalists take part in the final, whereas the other six take part in a petit-final to determine seventh through twelfth places. Soviet and German women dominated in the early years, whereas more recently a variety of nations has been represented at the winner's podium.

SLALOM

In the slalom single kayakers negotiate a course of twenty-five hanging poles called "gates" over stretches of whitewater rapids 300 to 600 meters long. Kayakers attempt to negotiate as quickly as possible the gates in designated upstream-facing or downstream-facing positions. Kayakers try to complete the course without accruing penalties from touching gates (two seconds) or missing gates (fifty seconds). Only men compete in the canoe classes, kneeling in decked boats that resemble kayaks. C-1 (singles) and C-2 (doubles) races are challenging because each canoeist uses only one blade.

The challenge is to be fast and clean through the gates in frothy whitewater, creating an exciting spectator sport. Paddlers take two runs down the course, and both runs are added together for the final score. Women paddle the same whitewater stretch as men in kayaking classes, although the gates may be placed differently. Development of a slalom site can be difficult and expensive if a natural whitewater site is unavailable. However, the sport has spread beyond hosts in mountainous countries known for their steep rivers to urban hosts that have invested in artificial whitewater parks. Slalom is an intermittent demonstration sport in the Olympics.

WILDWATER

Wildwater racing is downriver sprinting in either kayaks or decked canoes through whitewater. One of the smallest disciplines, wildwater racing requires that paddlers find the fastest current and negotiate challenging obstacles on a sharply descending river in a race against the clock. The first world championship in France in 1959 featured long races of fifty minutes or more, and the trend through the years has been to shorten distances to enhance spectator interest and reduce the expense of managing long river courses. In 1988 the ICF created two racing classes: classic and sprint. The classic race distances are 4 to 6 kilometers, and the sprint race distances are 500 to 1,000 meters. Men's classes include K-1, C-1, and C-2; women race in K-1; mixed teams (man-woman) compete in C-2. Wildwater racing is currently a non-Olympic event.

MARATHON

Canoeing over long flatwater distances is known as "marathon racing" and has enjoyed popularity in Europe with the Kronberg race in Denmark, the Devises in Great Britain, the Sella Descent in Spain, the Liffey Descent in Ireland, and the Tour du Gudena in Denmark. More than twenty national federations sponsored national championships by 1976, and they proposed to the ICF that marathon racing become a sanctioned event, initially for K-1 and K-2 men. With international interest in marathon racing continuing to build, the

ICF finally approved the first world championship in 1988 with trophies for K-1 and K-2 men, K-1 and K-2 women, and C-1 and C-2 men. Interest surged in the United States, Canada, Australia, and South Africa, and now marathon racing exists on all seven continents. It is currently a non-Olympic event.

CANOE POLO

Europeans began kayaking and throwing balls to each other during the 1930s, but international canoe polo rules did not resolve national differences in play until 1990. The game is played in an area that is 30 by 20 meters with goals of 1 by 1.5 meters that hang 2 meters above the water. Playing time is two ten-minute periods. The game begins with each team on its goal line and the ball in the center of the playing field. Every player tries to get to the ball, which can be moved by throwing or hitting it with a paddle. Players are not allowed to keep possession of the ball longer than five seconds, which creates fast turnovers. Players are allowed to attack and push over the opponent in possession of the ball. The first world championship—a biennial event—was held in Great Britain in 1994. Japan introduced the first junior world championship in 2004 as part of the ICF's plan to expand the base of support for canoe polo. Canoe polo competition is not yet an Olympic sport, but there are world and continental championships.

CANOE SAILING

With roots in Polynesian exploration, canoe sailing emerged as a racing discipline in Great Britain through John MacGregor's efforts in 1866 to establish the Canoe Club, which later became the Royal Club. Within twenty years the New York Canoe Club had established an international sailing cup, and U.S. participants had experimented with sliding seats and hiking boards to sit outside the canoe to control the rudder and sails, much to the disdain of British sailors who did not allow such practices. Scandinavians and Germans created entirely different specifications before World War II, and the ICF was challenged to establish hull, sail, and rigging

designs acceptable to many countries for the first world championship in 1961. Canoe sailing is currently a non-Olympic sport.

Dragon Boat Racing

A dragon boat resembles the classic Chinese vision of a dragon: At the bow are an oxen's head, deer antlers, and the mane of a horse; the body has the scales of a python; a hawk's claws are represented by canoeists with single-bladed paddles; and at the stern are the fins and tail of a fish. Usually twenty paddlers propel the large dragon boat with a drummer and helmsman. They often race head to head with another boat over various distances where strength and endurance must be married with team unity and spirit to paddle well to the rhythm of the drum. The ancient Chinese originally used the dragon boat in religious events and later in honor of a beloved patriotic poet. Dragon boat races were a symbol of patriotism long before a 1976 festival in Hong Kong began a new era of modern competition. Now more than 20 million Chinese compete in dragon boat racing, which has spread to western and eastern Europe, where fifty thousand people compete. Dragon boat racing is not yet an Olympic sport, but it organizes world and continental championships.

Competition at the Top

Sprint canoeing and kayaking racers compete each year in world championships as well as in the summer Olympic Games every four years in: kayak singles (K-1), kayak tandem (K-2), kayak fours (K-4), and Canadian singles (C-1), Canadian tandem (C-2), and Canadian fours (C-4). The Olympic performance of Germany's athletes was important to the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, and Germany had a top-three medalist in eight of the ten canoeing and kayaking events in the 1936 Olympics. Other strong contenders in the early years were Austria, France, Sweden, Canada, and Czechoslovakia. Women were allowed to compete in 500-meter sprints in the Olympics in London in 1948, and in the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne, Australia, the Soviet Union made the medals list.



In 1972 slalom racing entered the Munich Olympics as a demonstration sport but had made only its third appearance during the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia, because many host countries cannot offer a white-water venue.

Australia's Danielle Woodward won a silver medal in slalom racing at the Olympics in Barcelona, Spain, in 1992. Then the 2000 Olympics in Sydney further inspired Australia to build a multimillion-dollar slalom course, the only facility of its kind in the Southern Hemisphere. This course has enhanced the training of canoeists and kayakers in the surrounding countries and made them a more dominant force in competition.

Governing Body

The ICF, formed in 1924, has governed international canoe and kayak racing since World War II and has 117 national associations as members. Europe leads the way with forty-three associations, Asia has twenty-nine, the United States has twenty-four, Africa has fifteen, and Oceania has six. The ICF is located in Madrid, Spain.

The ICF formed to provide a link between national associations, to organize international competitions in three flatwater events (kayak racing, Canadian canoe racing, and canoe sailing), to promote foreign touring through river guides and tourism materials, and to share educational materials about the disciplines. Now millions of people are involved in a variety of competitive events globally.

The Future

Whereas at one time paddling appealed to only people who also hiked and backpacked, paddling has a much broader appeal today, and women in particular often see it as a way to gain outdoor skills. In Europe and mountainous countries such as New Zealand, kayaking was once the province of competitors and hard-core adventurers who could handle the rigors of steep, alpine rivers. However, more recreational paddlers are discovering the joys of learning to negotiate whitewater. River kayaks are shorter and highly maneuverable boats, and new paddlers require instruction to paddle them safely

in swift water. Whitewater schools have joined paddling clubs as important developmental programs for recreational paddlers as well as would-be racers.

An analysis of canoeing and kayaking participants reveals some trends. In the United States the Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association Internationale (SGMAI) tracked explosive growth in kayaking between 1998 and 2001 to 4.7 million people, a 34.3 percent increase. That increase makes kayaking one of the top three fastest-growing activities behind artificial wall climbing and snowboarding. More than half of the participants—2.5 million—are women. The average age of participants is thirty-one years, and they participate an average of seven days each year. Canoeing declined slightly in participation during the same period, but canoeists still outnumber kayakers with 12 million participants. Of that total, 5.9 million are women who average twenty-six years of age. The 6.1 million men who canoe average thirty years of age. About half of those who canoe also fish, and the average number of days in which they canoe is six. The most active age group for either activity is children from twelve to seventeen years of age. Surprisingly, members of the next most active group of kayakers are ages forty-five to fifty-four, and in canoeing members of the next most active group are ages thirty-five to forty-four.

Most people paddle on vacations, at summer camps, and on adventure travel excursions. Sea kayaking is experiencing a surge in growth internationally as the result of a general growing interest in adventure travel. The longer, sleeker sea kayaks are easy to paddle and stable and thus offer a secure and rewarding introduction to an outdoor experience. They also allow people to explore such beautiful and exotic locations as sea caves in Thailand, the rocky shores around Great Britain and Norway, the dolphin-filled bays and straits of New Zealand, and the island chains within the United States' Great Lakes.

People who fear being enclosed in a kayak can try sit-on-top kayaks, which seem like modified surfboards and have their origins in surfing cultures along the Pacific Ocean. These kayaks look like the bottom half of a

kayak with a seat and foot supports that allow paddlers to control the kayak. Canoes continue to be a sensible option for families, and the larger size of canoes allows people a greater opportunity for wilderness travel for extended periods of time.

The ICF moved sharply away from its original promotion of paddling tourism, but the public has continued to be attracted to the wealth of opportunities internationally and fascinated by the many designs of canoes and kayaks.

Laurie Gullion

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Capoeira

Capoeira is an Afro-Brazilian game with more than two hundred years of history. Often called a “dance fight,” it incorporates martial arts, gymnastics, improvisation, music, and ritual. Together these elements form a cultural practice that is a physically exuberant—and at times slightly dangerous—game. To play, two *capoeiristas* approach a *roda* (circle). At the discretion of the *mestre* (master), who generally plays the lead *berim-*

bau (a percussive, tonal bow of African origin), the *capoeiristas* squat in front of the area where musical instruments are played and, after greeting each other, cartwheel into the *roda* and begin to play. The game consists of infinite variations on a number of movements. The most important movement is the *jinga*, a rhythmic, swinging, side-to-side back step. From the *jinga* the *capoeiristas* unleash sweeping, circular kicks that are evaded or ducked but never blocked. These evasions flow seamlessly into counterattacks and counterevasions, creating a current of intertwined movement, a mesmerizing, improvised spectacle. As a game and a martial art capoeira inverts normal assumptions; *capoeiristas* are as comfortable on their hands as on their feet, and they use the appearance of weakness to lure opponents into foolish attacks. Instead of rules players observe customs and conventions. Players use no hand strikes, but plenty of head butts, sweeps, and sly feints. Only a player’s hands, feet, or head should touch the ground. No one wins, no one loses. Success is judged by one’s skill, wit, physical bravado, and creativity. Speed, strength, balance, and flexibility are admired only as part of a creative approach. *Malicia* and *malandragan*, essentially untranslatable adjectives of praise for someone’s capacity for deceptive play, creative sneakiness and even well-timed treachery, are admired and encouraged.

Early History

Scholars disagree on the cultural and geographic origins of capoeira, although the combination of playfulness and deceit clearly were an elegant solution for enslaved Africans who wished to pursue martial training undetected by their oppressors. Some scholars, pointing to similar practices in Martinique, Cuba, and elsewhere, argue that capoeira originated in central Africa and was brought to the Americas fully formed. Others scholars argue that capoeira was created in Brazil by Africans, who, although building on existing traditions, were responding to the conditions of New World slavery.

The first written records of capoeira are in newspaper articles from the late eighteenth century, when Brazil

was still a Portuguese colony. Later records, after Brazilian independence in 1822, describe capoeira at festivals and parades. Illustrations show a combative game played in a social setting, and traveler's reports describe an effective form of self-defense unleashed in moments of apparent weakness. Court records from Rio de Janeiro document people imprisoned simply for being identified with capoeira. At other times *capoeiristas* served as bully boys for politicians and headed patriotic crowds confronting rioting foreign soldiers. According to legend they acquitted themselves with honor during the disastrous War of the Triple Alliance during the 1870s.

As the free black population increased in Brazil, particularly after the abolition of slavery in 1888, and as urban centers expanded, capoeira was seen by the government as even more threatening. Capoeira was repressed during the empire (1822–1889), and it was formally outlawed during Brazil's first republic (1889–1930). Although a few elite thinkers saw capoeira as an authentically Brazilian product to be celebrated, the campaign of repression was largely successful.

Twentieth Century

Capoeira survived mainly in the city of Salvador da Bahia, the historic center of African Brazil. To avoid the watchful eye of the republican state, *capoeiristas* further disguised the game's martial qualities by emphasizing its playful nature. The *berimbau* emerged as the conductor of the *roda*, able to slow down an angry game or warn of approaching police with a subtle change in rhythm. After this era of repression, the history of capoeira turns on the work of two *mestres*: Bimba (Manoel dos Reis Machado) and Pastinha (Vicente Ferreira Pastinha). Bimba introduced substantial modifications to capoeira, adding some elements and de-emphasizing others, highlighting the art's combative nature, creating a style now called capoeira regional. He also opened an academy, the Academia-Escola de Capoeira Regional, taking the game off the street, making it accessible to white and middle-class students. Capoeira regional was praised by the government of Gertulio Vargas as a prod-

uct of the Brazilian racial democracy that his authoritarian, populist regime championed. Pastinha, who was taught by an African master, responded by opening an academy where he emphasized and refined traditional capoeira, which in tribute to its roots he named "capoeira Angola." To this day capoeira Angola is deemed traditional, playful, African, and "blacker," whereas by reputation capoeira regional is aggressive, "whiter," and, critics say, less authentic. Capoeira regional spread throughout Brazil during the 1960s and 1970s, and capoeira Angola, after a time when interest waned, also thrives. Capoeira classes are now offered at Brazilian colleges and elite fitness centers, yet it retains its historic link to street culture and blackness.

Attempts to form national federations and to institute formal competitions with scoring and points systems, sometimes led by government ministries, have not proved successful. Factionalism and disagreements on the merits of different styles made uniform judging impossible, and to some people such efforts miss the point. Capoeira remains informally organized around groups, affiliations, academies, and charismatic *mestres*, usually, although not always, defining themselves as regional or Angola.

Capoeira in a Globalized World

During the 1970s capoeira went international. Young *mestres* began to teach classes and open academies in the United States and then Europe. Today it is taught and played around the world. Although this growth has brought many benefits, one cannot know what the ultimate impact will be and what challenges will arise. For example, the U.S. conception of racial identity and the meaning of African cultural practice in the Americas have added new perspectives and heightened the tension in the debate over historic origins. How will this debate proceed in the future? Will capoeira spread until as many academies as taekwondo (a Korean art of unarmed self-defense) studios exist, or will its growth level off? How will capoeira maintain its distinctiveness in a world where people borrow bits of culture with only a slight understanding? At present one cannot imagine

Losing is the great American sin. ■ JEROME HOLTZMAN

capoeira not rooted in Brazilian culture and Brazilian Portuguese, but the game will have to overcome the challenges brought on by its success. In the meantime capoeira reigns, in the words of Robert Farris Thompson, supreme “of all the martial arts of the black Atlantic world,” funky, intoxicating, spiritual, slightly dangerous, profound, and beautiful, like jazz, samba, pickup ball in the park, or Pelé playing soccer on the beach.

Joshua M. Rosenthal

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Carnegie Report

The Carnegie Report—a report by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1929 and formally entitled “American College Athletics”—is often considered the most significant historical document on intercollegiate athletics in North America. It is basically a condemnation of the professionalized

and commercialized athletics that had developed during the previous eight decades in U.S. colleges. Its findings mirror the problems that exist into the twenty-first century.

Background

College sports have been commercialized since the first U.S. intercollegiate contest: a rowing contest between Harvard and Yale in 1852. A railroad sponsored the contest at Lake Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire. About a decade later Yale hired the first professional coach to beat Harvard in rowing. By the 1870s and 1880s other forms of professionalism and commercialism existed in college sports, including contending for valuable noncash and cash prizes, competing against professionals, collecting gate money, providing training tables, paying for tutors of athletes, and recruiting and paying athletes.

Students in nearly all colleges organized athletic associations from the 1870s to 1900, principally to give moral and financial support to the teams they supported—often crew, baseball, football, and track and field. Amateur ideals were often violated because the desire to win was far more important to the students than how the sports fit into general educational goals. In contrast, faculty athletic committees on campuses were established to limit the extent that extracurricular sports would overshadow the educational curriculum.

However, restrictive legislation by a faculty athletic committee lessened the ability of that college to compete against other colleges in sports. Therefore, interinstitutional regulations were needed to “level the playing field” between colleges. Thus, a small group of colleges, such as the four colleges that formed the first Intercollegiate Football Association in 1876—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia—joined to create common rules. From the 1890s to the 1920s dozens of conferences, such as the Big 10 in 1895, were created in an attempt to set standards, including limiting the number of years of participation, setting minimum academic achievement standards, and allowing no payment of players.



Carnegie Report

Pritchett on College Sports

The president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Henry S. Pritchett, offered the strongest condemnation of college athletics in his preface to American College Athletics:

The paid coach, the gate receipts, the special training tables, the costly sweaters and extensive journeys in special Pullman cars, the recruiting from the high school, the demoralizing publicity showered on the players, the devotion of an undue proportion of time to training, the devices for putting a desirable athlete, but a weak scholar, across the hurdles of the examinations—these ought to stop

Source: Savage, H. J. (1929). *American College Athletics* (pp. xxi). New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Calls for National Standards

By the twentieth century people were calling for common rules of various sports and creating common standards of amateurism. Football, which had become the most important college sport by the 1890s, came to a crisis during the early 1900s because of the charge of brutality and the evasion of amateur standards. The 1905 football crisis, involving President Theodore Roosevelt, led to creation of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) at the end of that year. The NCAA was a faculty-controlled organization that created common rules for football and other sports and set standards, although only advisory, for honorable conduct of athletes. Yet, individual colleges still had their own eligibility rules, and the evasion of those rules created continual controversy.

Even before the United States entered World War I, the University of Chicago football coach Amos Alonzo Stagg (1862–1965) called for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Sage Foundation, or the General Educational Board to conduct a survey to establish standards for college athletics. In

1916 the Amateur Athletic Union, the principal amateur athletic organization outside of colleges, and the NCAA agreed in principle on the definition of an amateur as one who competes “only for the pleasure, and the physical, mental, moral, and social benefits derived therefrom.” The NCAA then resolved to petition a foundation to survey intercollegiate athletics. This action was not taken for another decade.

By the early 1920s, as commercialism intensified, people again called for reform of intercollegiate athletics. The NCAA’s Edgar Fauver suggested that a large foundation, such as the Rockefeller Foundation or Carnegie Foundation, conduct a thorough study of intercollegiate athletics. He wanted facts, not sentiment, on which future college athletics could be conducted. In January 1926, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching announced that it would carry out the study.

Carnegie Survey

The Carnegie study team little doubted that its survey would uncover corruption in intercollegiate athletics. The team was careful, though, to quantify the degree of corruption. The team, led by Howard J. Savage, visited more than one hundred U.S. and Canadian schools, including seventy-two private and forty public colleges and ten secondary schools, after questionnaires sent to colleges were found to be untrustworthy. Yet, the team trusted the interviews that raised questions about recruiting by schools and alumni, part-time employment and subsidies for athletes, provision for professional tutoring of athletes, the degree of faculty or alumni control of athletics, the salaries and hiring practices of coaches, and athletic “slush funds.” Those schools that were honest in their answers were lampooned in the final report, whereas those that either lied or concealed data were let off generally unscathed.

The 350-page report, published on 24 October 1929, attacked practices in intercollegiate athletics. It criticized recruiting and subsidization, the hiring of professional coaches, the abandonment of amateurism, and the lack of student involvement in decision making.

More than anything it condemned the rampant commercialism in intercollegiate athletics. Nevertheless, the Carnegie Report did little to change the direction taken by intercollegiate athletics. Although some schools were influenced to get out of big-time athletics, most major schools continued to promote athletics by recruiting the best athletes possible, to try to fill giant stadiums and arenas, and to reap whatever prestige they could from winning athletic teams.

The Future

The commercialization and professionalization of big-time intercollegiate athletics increased when radio, and then television, added to the commercial possibilities of intercollegiate athletics. However, the Carnegie Report had a lasting impact in one respect. Foundation studies of college sports, such as the Knight Foundation Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics of 1989, used the Carnegie Report as a starting point for reform. However, later studies influenced by the Carnegie Report had little effect on the direction taken by big-time intercollegiate athletics.

Ronald A. Smith

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Carriage Driving

People domesticated the horse at least five thousand years ago and used it as a major source of transport until the early twentieth century, when the internal combustion engine reduced the importance of the horse to its current role in recreation and equestrian sports.

Origins

The development of equestrian sports incorporating vehicles such as carriages lagged far behind those equestrian sports in which the horse is ridden under saddle, such as polo, flat racing, and hunting. The amount of equipment required for carriage sports and the additional personnel required for harnessing and handling restricted their development to the most affluent equestrians. Likewise, the creation of breeds suitable for carriage sports was slower than creation of breeds for flat racing and polo. Cold-blooded draft horse breeds, which are sturdier, heavier, and more powerful, were bred to include lines from the faster, lighter-boned, and more high-strung hot-blooded breeds, such as the Thoroughbred, to produce “warmbloods” suitable for driving. The result was carriage horses with the power of cold bloods and the competitiveness and speed of hot bloods.

Driving clubs, such as the Benson Driving Club (1807–1854), the Whip (founded 1808), and the Richmond Driving Club (1838–1845), first developed in England. The British Driving Society has operated since 1958, and the Coaching Club has operated for more than 125 years.

Organized carriage driving competitions have existed in central Europe and Germany for a hundred years, primarily because of the efforts of Benno von Achenbach

Anybody with a little guts and the desire to apply himself can make it, he can make anything he wants to make of himself. ■ WILLIE SHOEMAKER

(1861–1936) of Germany. He was trained by Edwin Howlett of England, who is considered the father of modern four-in-hand driving (four horses under harness, two in front and two behind). What had been the vocation of coachmen became a pastime of the leisure class.

Four-in-hand driving as a sport declined greatly after World War I. Organized carriage driving competitions did not revive until after World War II, and multinational contests in Europe began during the 1950s. Competitions of the time generally included two phases: dressage and marathon.

A ridden version of three standard military tests for horses (dressage, cross-country, and stadium jumping, known collectively as “three-day eventing” because each phase was tested on a different day) had been an Olympic sport since 1912. Adaptations were dictated by the presence of the carriage and the fact that a driver’s only control over the horses is through the voice, the whip, and the reins that attach to each side of a metal bit through the horses’ mouth. Whereas use of the voice is not allowed in ridden dressage, it is allowed in driven dressage. Jumps used in the cross-country phase of a ridden three-day competition are replaced by a marathon section with hazards—water-filled ditches or narrow gates—and, in place of stadium jumping, a precision driving test known as the “cones phase.”

Dressage is an equestrian discipline based on military training in which a horse must demonstrate obedience, flexibility, and strength as its driver directs it through a routine of movements. Ridden dressage has been a staple of classical equestrian training since the seventeenth century.

Marathon driving, also based on military training, requires the horse to be driven across open country and through water and to negotiate obstacles such as an orchard of narrowly spaced trees or a combination of gates.

Practice

In 1969 Prince Philip of Great Britain was president of the Federation Equestre Internationale (FEI, www.horse-sport.org), the governing body for show jumping, dressage, three-day eventing, and other international equestrian competitions. At an FEI meeting, Polish delegate

Eric Brabec suggested to Prince Philip that the FEI establish standardized rules for carriage driving competitions. Brabec’s suggestion was acted on almost immediately. With the help of Sir Michael Ansell of Great Britain, European drivers convened in Bern, Switzerland, and produced a set of rules based on ridden three-day tests. The first test, dressage, includes two parts: presentation and the driven dressage test. Presentation requires that horses, driver, grooms, and equipment be cleanly turned out and correctly outfitted.

The dressage test takes place in a large arena with at least three judges (five for important international contests) scoring the test from different vantage points. Scores are based on the accuracy of the driven test and the quality of the horses’ performance. The test is driven at two gaits—the walk and trot—with halts and backing included. Movements include circles and serpentine down the length of the arena. Scoring is based on how close a driver and team come to achieving the ideal; penalties are levied for deviation from the ideal, based on a high score of ten points per movement. Thus, the lowest dressage score wins.

The second phase is known as the “marathon,” although the distance covered is usually about 27 kilometers. This phase tests the stamina and fitness of the horses and the ability of the driver to maneuver the horses through obstacles and complete the distances within a prescribed pace. Three to five sections are included, with the obstacles course as the final section. A full, five-sectioned marathon would be driven as follows: section A driven at a trot; section B driven at a walk, at the end of which is a compulsory ten-minute halt when horses are inspected for fitness to continue; section C driven at a fast trot; section D again driven at a walk with a compulsory ten-minute halt; and section E, the obstacles course, driven at a trot. Eight obstacles usually are included in this course. Obstacles might be a series of gates, a sloped, wooded area, or a shallow pool of water.

The greatest spectator appeal of carriage driving occurs during the final phase of the marathon. Drivers, belted onto their carriage seats, must drive with enough speed not to incur penalty points as their grooms—

serving as navigators—shout reminders from their posts on the back of the carriages to keep the drivers on course through the maze of gates. Grooms often throw their weight to one side or the other around a turn to shift the carriage on the track, freeing a wheel or avoiding its entrapment on a gatepost or tree. As in dressage, penalties are scored, and the low score wins. Time penalties are scored on each phase and through each obstacle in the final section.

The obstacle phase is usually staged in the same arena as the first day's events—presentation and dressage. The course consists of gates, which are pairs of plastic cones similar to traffic cones, with a ball atop each. The goal is to drive one's horses and carriage between each set of cones without dislodging any balls. The cones are spaced just a few inches wider apart than the wheels of the carriage passing between them, and courses are complicated, twisting back and forth across the arena.

The first international competition driven under the new FEI-created rules was held in 1970 in Lucerne, Switzerland. In 2004 Michael Freund of Germany won the FEI World Cup Driving Championship for the third time in a row. At the 2004 International Paralympic Committee's Carriage Driving World Championships in Edinburgh, Scotland, twenty-nine equestrians from eight nations (Austria, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States) competed in dressage, marathon, and obstacle driving. Karl Bernd Kasgen of Germany won first place in grade 1; Elek Taczman of Hungary won grade 2; Brenda Hodgson of England won the pairs; and Germany won the team event.

Kate Lincoln

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Central American and Caribbean Games

On 4 July 1924, during the Paris Olympic Games, representatives from Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, and Venezuela met to establish a gathering to be called the Central American Games, beginning in 1926 and being held every four years. The goal was to create a competition in which athletes could participate for the sole pleasure of taking part in it and for the physical, mental, social, and moral benefits that result from such participation. These games are now the world's oldest continuous regional games.

History

The first two editions of the games were called the Central American Games, but in 1934 the title "Central American and Caribbean Games" was adopted to reflect the participation of the Caribbean nations.

EARLY GAMES

At the first games Cuba and Guatemala visited Mexico City, and 269 athletes participated in eight sports. Guatemala's president died on the eve of the games, but Guatemala still decided to send a team.

The U.S. ambassador to Cuba, Harry F. Guggenheim, insisted that Puerto Rico be included in the second games in Havana in 1930. A last-minute effort was needed to pull together a team of four athletes, and money was raised by donations from Puerto Rican citizens to fly them by plane, a rarity at that time, to Havana. That year, also, women competed in the games for the first time, in tennis.

San Salvador, El Salvador, hosted the next edition of the games, which were held early in 1935, having been postponed for a year due to an earthquake that hit El Salvador in 1934.



The fourth games were held in Panama City, Panama, from 4–24 February 1938. Jamaica participated for the first time, becoming the first English-speaking nation to join in the games. Unruly crowds led to the cancellation of both the men's and women's basketball final games because the safety of the visiting teams could not be guaranteed.

POSTWAR GAMES

The 1942 edition of the games was cancelled due to World War II, but the games were revived in 1946 in Baranquilla, Columbia, with the next games held in 1950 in Guatemala City, Guatemala. The 1954 games were scheduled to be held in Panama City, but because of the country's economic problems at the time, Panama had to forego the games. Mexico City volunteered to host the events.

The eighth edition was postponed one year, to 1959, due to political unrest in Venezuela. Cuba did not attend, because of the unrest associated with their revolution.

Jamaica became the first English-speaking host nation when it sponsored the games in 1962 in Kingston. Athletes from the Bahamas and Barbados competed for the first time.

THE BATTLE OF CERRO PELADO

The 1966 games in San Juan, Puerto Rico, are significant for "the battle of Cerro Pelado." Many factions wanted to ban Cuba from the games for political reasons after Castro's rise to power, but Don German Rieckehoff, president of the organizing committee, stood alone in his insistence that Cuba be allowed to compete in the games. While the argument raged, the Cubans' boat, the "Cerro Pelado," was not allowed into Puerto Rican waters. Though under intense pressure, Rieckehoff stood firm and finally convinced the governor of Puerto Rico to change his mind. The governor agreed to allow the Cubans into the country, but they had to leave their boat and be picked up and brought to shore on a ship of Puerto Rican ownership, which they did, and Cuba was able to participate in the games.

CUBAN DOMINATION

Mexico, until that point, had been the dominant sports nation, finishing atop the medals standings in nine of the previous ten games (the exception was Havana in 1930). In Panama City in 1970, Cuba took over and became the dominant athletic nation in the region. The Cubans won medals in every team sport and dominated in gymnastics athletics, wrestling, boxing, fencing, and judo. Cuba won ninety-nine gold medals; all other nations combined just eighty-two gold medals.

Cuba continued their domination in the 1974 games, held in Santo Domingo, and in the 1978 games in Medellin, but they broke all their previous records when they hosted the games in Havana in 1982 (originally awarded to Mayaguez, Puerto Rico) and took 173 of the total of 248 available gold medals.

The sixteenth games were scheduled to be held in Guatemala, until the Guatemalan government pulled its financial support early in 1990. Mexico fortunately stepped in and hastily organized the games for later that year, the second time that Mexico had rescued the games. Carlos Salinas de Gortari, president of Mexico, opened the games on the anniversary of Mexico's revolution.

The seventeenth edition of the games was held a bit early, in November of 1993, in Ponce, Puerto Rico. At least forty-two Cubans defected over the course of the games, but Cuba set another record, taking 180 gold medals.

The eighteenth edition of the games, held in August 1998 in Maracaibo, Venezuela, broke records for participation with 1,827 female and 3,487 male athletes, for a total of 5,314.

CUBAN WITHDRAWAL

Cuba surprised everyone in 2002 when it announced that it would not be participating in the games in El Salvador. The two nations have not had diplomatic relations since 1961. Cuba cited concerns about security, possible coercions to defect, kidnappings, and even the possibility that Vice President Jose Ramon Fernandez, the president of the Cuban Olympic Committee, might

be assassinated. It was only the second time that Cuba had missed the games, and several nations took advantage of Cuba's absence by winning more medals than they ever had at the games. One member of Venezuela's rowing team drowned after their rowing shell capsized during practice on Lake Coatepeque before the games.

THE FUTURE

The 2006 games are scheduled to be held in Cartagena, Colombia. Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, has been chosen over Guatemala City to host the 2010 games.

Daniel Bell

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Cheerleading

Cheerleading is a sport that combines stunts, tumblers, dance, cheers, and crowd psychology. Although cheerleading has flourished in the United States since the late 1800s, women have participated only since the 1920s. Although the sport did not spread beyond the United States until the 1980s, it has been transformed into a multibillion-dollar industry.

History

During the 1840s, prior to the creation of cheerleaders, organized cheering was part of military tradition in the U.S. Army and Navy. Cheerleading began with a male “yell leader” who would single-handedly rouse a crowd to motivate its team on the field. The first documented cheering at a sporting event occurred at the 1869 Rutgers-Princeton football game as cheering sections cheered, “Siss, boom, ahhh!” Initially, cheers were led by substitute or injured players on the bench who would seek fan support at critical points of the game. By the late 1890s yell leaders who were captains of baseball, track, and other sports teams were designated as cheerleaders. Johnny Campbell of the University of Minnesota became the first cheerleader in 1898. During the early 1900s the position of yell leader was nearly as prestigious as that of quarterback of the football team. After nearly three decades of having sports captains as yell leaders, noncaptain lettermen began to join the ranks of cheerleading as captains opted to spend their Saturday afternoons in the stands. Eventually cheerleading squads of four or more members replaced individual yell leaders. Women became cheerleaders during the 1920s, although in a limited way and with some opposition.

Growth of the Spirit Industry

Cheerleading associations emerged in 1948 in Dallas, Texas, when Larry Herkimer started the National Cheerleading Association (NCA). Herkimer, the “father of cheerleading,” wrote books on cheerleading, created jumps and cheers, and published the first cheerleading magazine (*The Megaphone*). A year after forming the NCA Herkimer held the first cheerleading camp in Huntsville, Texas, at Sam Houston State University.

The NCA provided cheerleading camps and clinics and helped cheerleading to become nationally organized. Cheerleading competitions were held during the early 1950s in New York's Westchester County. Twenty-five high school squads competed annually in front of large crowds. Participants held a roundtable discussion after these competitions to develop recommendations

for cheerleader selection, types of cheers, precision and timing in cheerleading, uniform problems, and sportsmanship. Herkimer also invented the pom-pom to add color and to attract more people to television. Herkimer has sold more than 1.5 million pom-poms through his company, Cheerleader&DanzTeam. In 1990 he had a gross income of \$60 million.

Growth in the interest in cheerleading and growth in the profit in cheerleading were ignited by a former employee of Herkimer. Jeff Webb left the NCA in 1974 and started Universal Cheerleading Association (UCA) because he wanted to modernize cheerleading by showcasing athleticism. In 1979 he created Varsity Spirit Fashion and Supplies to sell cheerleading equipment, camp gear, accessories, and uniforms. Today the company claims almost 60 percent of the revenue in the cheerleading business, and in 2001 the company's revenue was \$147.5 million. In 1994 *American Cheerleading* magazine was created to cater to high school and college squads. In 2002 *American Cheerleader Junior* magazine was created to attract younger cheer-

leaders. These two magazines have a combined readership of 1 million. Cheerleading camps generate revenue of more than \$100 million a year.

Women Cheerleaders

Documentation of women's early participation in cheerleading is sketchy, but scholars say the University of Minnesota appointed the first woman cheerleader. In general educators initially resisted the notion of women cheerleaders, fearing that women would become "masculinized." Some people thought that the loud and deep yelling causes women cheerleaders to develop manly voices. Some people also thought that women are less capable of performing the acrobatic stunts that men cheerleaders had introduced.

After World War II, as young men returned home, they reclaimed their cheerleading positions. During the 1950s several colleges (e.g., University of Tennessee) and many high schools prohibited women from cheerleading. In fact, Harvard University did not allow women to be cheerleaders until 1971.

Cheerleading increased in popularity among women throughout the 1940s and 1950s despite the occasional ban. In 1946 Bruce Turvold of Northwood, Iowa, began the first cheerleading clinic. In 1950 the University of Minnesota hosted a cheerleading clinic for two hundred cheerleaders. The University of Michigan's cheerleading squad conducted clinics in five locations with two thousand to twenty-five hundred participants per clinic.

College courses in cheerleading emerged during the 1940s and 1950s. In 1942 Purdue University offered a course in which thirty students learned about crowd psychology and tumbling. The University of Michigan offered a course for cheerleading advisers in 1952; it was limited to senior women physical education majors. During the 1950s and 1960s cheerleaders often served as class representatives. Many high school students tried out in front of the student body or faculty. These tryouts often drew between ninety and one hundred aspirants. During this time most high school cheerleading squads were composed of women, and most college squads were co-ed. During the 1960s African-



Cheerleading

From Cheerleading to Fame

Over recent years, movies such as *Bring It On* and *Sugar and Spice* have raised the profile and popularity of cheerleaders. However, numerous female celebrities were also former cheerleaders during their high school or collegiate years including Halle Berry, Katie Couric, Sandra Bullock, and Jamie Lee Curtis. Interestingly, many notable male celebrities (and several U.S. presidents) cheered in their formative years, such as George W. Bush, Michael Douglas, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Samuel L. Jackson, Steve Martin, Franklin D Roosevelt, and Jimmy Stewart.

American and hippie yell leaders were elected to squads, reflecting the civil rights and antiwar sentiments of the time. In 1969 a yell leader at the University of California at Berkeley was elected on an antiwar platform and yelled, “End the war! End the war!” during football games. African-American athletes in Oklahoma fought to elect an African-American cheerleader. During the 1960s some of the first African-American cheerleaders introduced soul-dance movements that involved stomping and clapping more than traditional cheers with straight-arm motions.

Competitive Cheerleading

Prior to the enactment of federal Title IX, which banned sex discrimination in schools, cheerleading was often one of the few sports opportunities for women. When schools deemed cheerleading a varsity sport for funding purposes, feminists were, perhaps understandably, outraged, and many women who were trying to promote what they viewed as more serious women’s athletics resented cheerleading. After enactment of Title IX in 1972, people began to see cheerleaders not only as motivators on the sidelines but also as competitive athletes who perform complex gymnastics and stunts. These gymnastics and stunts showcased women cheerleaders’ strength, coordination, agility, and athletic prowess.

Since the 1950s cheerleading competitions in the United States have increased in number and have often been televised by cable sports channels. Many high school and college cheerleading teams enter regional, state, and national competitions. In 1978 the Collegiate Cheerleading Championships were nationally televised on CBS-TV, initiated by the International Cheerleading Foundation. The first national high school cheerleading competition was held in 1981, and cable TV channel ESPN began televising the event in 1983. The competition separates women’s squads from coed squads (equal representation of males and females) and small squads from large squads into different categories. Typically routines last two and a half minutes and include a combination of music, cheers, stunts, pyramids, and dance.



A high school cheerleader.

Source: istockphoto/kickstand.

Tumbling has reemerged as a crowd-pleasing and competitive element of cheerleading. Since the 1980s many former gymnasts have joined high school and college cheerleading squads as back handsprings and other gymnastic skills have increasingly become tryout requirements. Competitive-only squads (called “All-Stars”) were formed in the 1990s. These squads compete for themselves and do not represent any school or sports team. The increased popularity of cheerleading, despite the limited number of school squad slots, led to the growth of All-Stars. In addition, the decrease in interest in gymnastics led private gyms to recruit cheerleaders. At first private gyms provided training for



Cheerleading

Cheerleading on Fiji

A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost “to keep guard on the beach” (*vakatawa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: “Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run.” The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of “ragging.” While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

Ure, ure wi, urea.
Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa,
A ondra i suai a ngone soko.
Ure, ure wi urea.
Laki kau mai a masi volavola.
A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.

Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the black cloth,
A rag for the sailor boys.
Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the variegated tapa,
A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai,
Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.

Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back,
Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called “the burying of his legs” (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden, this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

Source: Hocart, A. M. (1929). Lau Islands, Fiji. *Bulletin of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum* (62), 130.

middle and high school cheerleaders, but then they formed their own competitive-only squads for girls ages five to eighteen. More than fifteen hundred private gyms or clubs charge \$100 or more a month for training. According to the National Federation of State High School Associations, about 111,200 girls and 3,200 boys participated in competitive cheerleading during the 2002–2003 school year. The introduction of competitive-only squads has lured males back to cheerleading, especially at the high school level.

Professional Cheerleading

During the late 1960s and early 1970s professional cheerleading squads emerged to support U.S. football and basketball teams and to add entertainment. Although the Baltimore Colts was the first team to have a professional cheerleading squad, the Dallas Cowboys cheerleaders were the first to perform a dance routine with pom-poms. In 1976 they performed at Super Bowl X and started an evolution of “dancing cheerleaders.” Professional cheerleaders cheer at games, promote their

team in the community, make public appearances for charity, and entertain crowds. Professional cheerleading is not lucrative (less than minimum wage), and most professional cheerleaders have another job.

Cheerleading by Country and Region

Cheerleading remained a U.S. phenomenon until 1982, when the introduction of U.S. football in Great Britain led to the parallel establishment of cheerleading in that nation. The creation of the World Football League in 1991 led to an international expansion of both U.S. football and cheerleading. The style of cheerleading across the world is modeled on the style developed in the United States. Today cheerleading associations, camps, and competitions are organized in fifty countries outside of the United States (i.e., Canada, Sweden, Germany, Japan, Russia). The World Cheerleading Association (WCA) was established in 1995 and held its 2002 WCA Europe Cheerleading and Dance Championship in Scotland.

People in nations that are unfamiliar with the history of cheerleading, however, do not always view it as a sport. Instead, they view cheerleaders as sex symbols rather than as athletes. Cheerleading squads are not affiliated with or sponsored or funded by schools or clubs. They have to raise money to pay for uniforms and other expenses and often have more than one hundred cheerleaders per squad. In Japan company cheerleaders cheer at football games of the Japanese-based X League. They also promote sponsoring corporations such as Fujitsu and Japanese Airlines.

The Future

Controversy is still rife in cheerleading. People debate the legitimacy of cheerleading as a sport, particularly in professional sports, where cheerleaders are often portrayed as glamorous and sexy entertainment complementary to the game. However, at the high school and college levels cheerleading is gaining respect for its athletic demands. Cheerleaders must try out, dedicate much time to practice and “spirit-raising” activities, rep-

resent their school or team at nonathletic events, and recover from injuries, all in addition to their academic obligations. A growing number of universities (e.g., University of Kentucky, Penn State, University of Memphis) now recognize the contributions made by cheerleaders and offer full and partial athletic scholarships. People do not universally accept cheerleaders as athletes, but many people are campaigning cheerleading to be accepted as a sport because such acceptance would make cheerleading subject to the safety regulations that govern other high school and college sports. Advocates hope that such regulations would reduce the increased prevalence of injuries to cheerleaders. Several universities—San Jose State University, Duke University, and University of Nebraska, for example—have prohibited aerial stunts because of the high risk of injury and litigation that might follow.

The UCA and the National Federation of State High School Associations in 2002 tried to regulate cheerleading and to increase safety standards by educating coaches and organizers of cheerleading events. The National Council for Spirit Safety and Education (NCSSE) helped by providing uniform safety regulations, workshops, and certification programs to increase awareness of the demands of cheerleading as well as by emphasizing the need for safer practices and new guidelines regarding stunts and equipment. Within the cheerleading world people are apprehensive also about issues of adolescent development and body image. More research is needed to fully understand the prevalence and impact of these issues.

Sonya SooHoo, Katie Sell, and Justine J. Reel

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When I was young, I never wanted to leave the court until I got things exactly correct. My dream was to become a pro. ■ LARRY BIRD

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Child Sport Stars

Success at the highest levels in many sports depends on early entry, early specialization, year-round training, and frequent competition. Achievement in sport at elite levels and in professional sport may often be accompanied by lucrative financial rewards, college scholarships, and celebrity, and the drive toward such ends often means children are committed to intense training, with a singular focus on one sport at a young age. National and international media coverage of superior accomplishment by other young athletes often serves as a powerful incentive for parents to enroll young children in competitive programs; efforts to outdo predecessors and outperform contemporaries reflect the ethos of competitive sport. When children are identified as future champions, specialized training soon follows in a systematic, intensive approach to training regimens and

competitions, even when the probability of reaching the highest levels of athletic achievement is exceedingly low.

Early Preparation and Training

Preparation for careers in elite sport, as for those in dance or music, begins in childhood, often long before athletes are able to make decisions for themselves. Decisions are made by parents and coaches when children remain entirely under their control. The selection processes for most Olympic sports attempt to identify future champions at the earliest possible age, so that the young athletes may begin specialized training in organized programs as soon as possible. For sports such as women's gymnastics and figure skating, where world and Olympic champions are generally crowned in their teens, rigorous training begins at the first opportunity, even in toddlerhood.

Early experiences are crucial to the development of children in sport. When such experiences are positive, children will likely continue involvement. In organized, competitive sport, children are introduced to adult-controlled, structured sport with formalized rules, uniforms, and an environment governed by winning. Many parents view such experiences not only as necessary for the development of future world champions, but also for the instrumental objectives of teaching their children values and skills that may help them later in life.

Organized, competitive sports emphasize winning. Experiences with winning and losing may be seen as valuable learning opportunities for children, and certainly, some children thrive in competitive environments, finding such experiences exciting and rewarding. Organized sport may fulfill many important needs for children, such as affiliation, challenge, skill development, success, status, as well as fitness.

Demands Made on Young Athletes

While the benefits of organized, competitive sport serve as positive experiences for some children, the pressures inherent in highly competitive environments may have

adverse effects on children's growth and development and may hinder even potential world champions and professional athletes from developing their talents. The demanding commitment, intensive training, and early and frequent competition of talented young athletes necessarily requires schedules that would be extreme for most adults. There are physical, psychological, and social pressures on young athletes that raise concerns about their health and safety both during childhood and later on in adulthood. Negative experiences early on in sport also may lead to burnout and a complete loss of interest in physical activity, sometimes for a lifetime.

Heavy training loads, early sport-specific training, inadequate rest periods, and the pressure to train and compete while injured increase the risk of impaired skeletal development and permanent deformity. The risks of injury rise as training increases in frequency, duration, intensity, and technical difficulty; they may also be attributed to the age-related vulnerability of the immature skeletal system. Children are poor thermoregulators and are highly susceptible to dehydration and heat-related illnesses. Growth itself may increase children's susceptibility to injury, since growth spurts may interfere with balance and coordination and decrease flexibility. Training for judged sports such as gymnastics and figure skating, as well as those sports with weight classes such as wrestling and rowing, involve severe caloric restrictions in attempts to improve performance. Paradoxically, in an attempt to gain a competitive advantage, such limited nutritional intake may result in muscle weakness, compromised bone density, iron deficiency, and menstrual irregularities.

Despite assertions by organizations such as the International Federation of Sport and the American Academy of Pediatrics that intensive training of children has no physiological or educational justification, and that diversity of movement and all-round physical conditioning should have priority over later specialization, promising young athletes continue to be inducted into high-performance sport. While advocates of children's organized sport promote peer socialization as one of the benefits, not all sports provide such opportunity, at least



Child Sport Stars

Omo Grüpe on Children in Elite Sport

Sport scientist Omo Grüpe has written that children in top-level sport:

- Are not permitted to be children
- Are denied important social contacts and experiences
- Are victims of disrupted family life
- Are exposed to excessive psychological and physiological stress
- May experience impaired intellectual development
- Are detached from larger society
- Face a type of abandonment upon exiting their athletic careers

Source: Grüpe, O. (1988). Top-level sports for children from an education viewpoint. *International Journal of Physical Education*, 22(1): 225–226.

not during training itself. One young swimmer spoke of the sensory deprivation experienced while he was training: "You can neither hear not [sic] see while you swim. You can see next to nothing and the only taste is chlorine! In truth, to the outsider, the only social side to swimming training is a shared mutual discomfort" (Juba 1986, 174). Juba calls the pressure ambitious parents place on their children "parental projection," since such parents view their children as extensions of themselves and perhaps their own missed opportunities. Tofler et al. (1996) refer to this as "achievement by proxy." The importance parents place on swimming within the framework of their lives—both in terms of time and financially—turns into pressure on the children, for example.

What Is the Degree of Risk?

Experience suggests that some degree of harm is an inevitable component of almost all activities. However, in some environments harm appears to be more prevalent than in others. Competitive sport, particularly at the highest levels of performance, seems to involve significant risk of injury—significant in both frequency and degree. Young athletes suffer a wide array of injuries

while training and in competition. In high-performance sport, elements such as injuries, fatigue, and even bad weather rarely interfere with an athlete's participation except in extreme circumstances. Given the intense demands of high-performance sport and the vulnerable nature of children's developing bodies and minds, such excessive cognitive and physiological demands may overburden a child, resulting in harm. The effects of this harm on the shaping of a child's identity and on the child's future are difficult to predict.

Young Female Superstars

There are a number of examples of young female athletes who reached the heights of stardom and of athletic success at very young ages. Athletes such as tennis players Martina Hingis and Jennifer Capriati, gymnasts Dominique Moceanu and her predecessors Nadia Comaneci and Olga Korbut, figure skaters Tara Lipinski, Michelle Qwan, and Sarah Hughes are or have been household names around the world. While many of these athletes have achieved remarkable success at exceedingly young ages, many of their careers are known also for their personal struggles.

Olympic gold medallist Dominique Moceanu began her gymnastics training as a toddler. With both parents former elite-level gymnasts, there seemed to be no doubt that she would follow in their footsteps. Before the age of five, her parents had already asked renowned coach Bela Karolyi to take Dominique on as a pupil, which he did not long thereafter. Dominique's life was focused on gymnastics throughout childhood. By the age of ten, and the youngest qualifier at the United States Nationals, she won a gold medal on the balance beam. That early success continued as she went on to win more gold medals at the Nationals in future years, including becoming the youngest national champion in gymnastics history. At fourteen, Dominique won an Olympic gold medal in the team competition, and finished eight all-around. After the Olympics, Dominique spent time outside the sport for the first time in her life, making the rounds of the talk show circuit, dabbling briefly in modeling, and living under intense media

scrutiny. This combination, along with coping with lingering injuries, her sudden growth spurt of six inches, as well as dealing with significant parental problems, left Dominique struggling to continue her career in gymnastics. She sued her parents for squandering her trust fund, money earned in her professional career from the age of ten. A restraining order against her parents was put in place, and Dominique told the world that she had never had a childhood. Following those events, Dominique never regained her top form.

Perspectives

Child sport stars live, train, and compete in a world that is demanding and ruthlessly competitive. They dedicate, if not sacrifice, one of the most crucial phases of their lives in the quest for success as world or Olympic champion or for a career as a professional athlete. It is essential to remember that while they may be highly competent and talented in the specialized requirements of their sport, as children they remain unaware of their own limitations, susceptibility to injury, and the long-term consequences of injuries to their futures. They should be treated and protected as children first—and as athletes second.

Gabriela Tymowski

See also Academies and Camps, Sports; Elite Sports Parents; Play vs. Organized Sport; Youth Sports

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*If you must play, decide on three things at the start:
the rules of the game, the stakes, and the quitting time. ■ CHINESE PROVERB*

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China

China has one-fourth of the world's population and a heritage of more than five thousand years of history and civilization. The history of China's sport can be divided into three periods: Ancient (2100 BCE–1911 CE), Modern (1911–1949), and the People's Republic (1949 to the present).

Ancient Chinese Physical Education and Sport

In over five thousand years of feudal history, the Chinese people have created some traditional forms of physical exercise and activities and embraced others. Among them were archery, *chuju* (Chinese football), polo, *guiyouci* (long-distance running), wrestling, and *wushu* (martial arts), all with a distinct Chinese character.

Archery was a competitive contest with well-established rules and regulations. It was also called "Archery Ceremony." It was included in the six elements of Confucius's education theory and practice: ritual, music, archery, charioteering, literature, and math. It emphasized social status rather than the performance of the participants. Distinctive bows, arrows, and accompanying music were strictly allocated according to the social status of the participants.

Chuju was Chinese classic football. It started during the Warrior States (475–221 BCE). It was originally an

aggressive, competitive game and was played by two opposing sides, each with goals. During the Han (206 BCE–220 CE) and Tang (618–907 CE) dynasties, due to its competitiveness, the game was often used by military mandarins to train soldiers in order to cultivate their fighting spirit and improve their physical conditioning. However, as time passed, two goals merged into one in the Song (960–1279 CE) and Yuan (1260–1368) dynasties. Vigorous competition was replaced by a much gentler phenomenon: a less competitive and primarily exhibitive game. Gracefulness and harmony of movement were given priority.

Polo was not a game indigenous to China. It came by way of the Silk Road, which began in northeastern Iran and reached northwestern China by way of Turkistan and Tibet. The game reached China about 641 CE and was a very popular throughout the Tang (618–907 CE) and Song (960–1179 CE) dynasties. Most of the twenty-two Tang Dynasty emperors enjoyed playing polo. There was a national polo tournament, which attracted hundreds and thousands of spectators. The first international polo match took place between the Tang palace team and the Tibetan prince's team around 708 CE. Polo was also used to train soldiers in the Tang army. Polo declined during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing dynasties (1644–1911).

Guiyouci means "fast runner." It was a popular long-distance race in China during the Yuan dynasty (1206–1368). It took place once a year in Dadu (Beijing), the capital of Yuan dynasty. The whole distance was 180 li (about 90 meters), which is longer than today's marathon (42.195 meters), and it required participants to finish the distance in six hours. The fastest runner would receive an award from emperor himself.

Wrestling started in West Zhong (eleventh century–771 BCE), and it became popular in the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE). During the Song Dynasty (960–1179 CE), wrestling became a profession, with professional wrestling organizations and tournaments. Women wrestlers appeared during the Song dynasty, but they were entertainers rather than competitors and some of them wrestled naked to attract spectators. Women's



Women hurdlers at the 5th National Games in Shanghai in 1933.

Source: Fan Hong.

wrestling was banned in late Song due to criticism from orthodox Confucianism.

Wushu is the Chinese term usually translated as “martial arts” or “kung fu” in the West. *Wu* is associated with warfare; *shu* with the skill, way, or methods of doing an activity. As a term, wushu covers a wide variety of martially inspired practices. Its entire offensive and defensive repertoire was based on the fighting methods of certain animals and adapted to form the basis of a martial arts system. As Chinese society came to place more and more emphasis on warfare, weapons such as the sword, spear, or knife were employed. Martial arts system and methods became more and more complicated, and they were a specialized profession for many. As a product of feudal society, martial arts were closely linked to feudal culture. The ethical code of martial arts required absolute loyalty and obedience of students to masters and of sons to fathers. The organizational system had tribal characteristics. Each tribe had its own rules and martial-arts style.

In general, during the ancient period, Chinese sports developed very rich forms. However, its development was limited by the traditional Confucian-dominated culture. In Confucianism exercise was an educative tool. Its purpose was to achieve a morally well-developed society through noncompetitive physical activity and to

serve as a cohesive ritual helping maintain the social status quo. In Confucianism appreciation of the beauty of the human body was simply nonexistent. It was forbidden for men to show large parts of the body or even to talk about the human physique. Physical culture was adapted to reinforce moral values. As a result Chinese sport lost its earlier degree of competitiveness, which was replaced by an emphasis on harmony of movement, representing cohesion. Therefore, many forms of traditional Chinese sport, such as polo, *chuju*, archery, swimming, and wrestling, all of which could have easily developed into competitive sports as did their Western counterparts, ceased to evolve and remained essentially forms of recreation.

Modern Chinese Sport and Physical Education

In 1911 the Nationalist Chinese overthrew the Qing government, finally ended the feudal social system, and established a republic. China began to change from a feudal to a modern society. In order to create a new culture for the new society, Western concepts, especially “science” and “democracy” were introduced, and modern education and physical education systems were advocated in order to push aside feudal traditions. On 1 November 1922, the republic government issued “The

Great souls have wills; feeble ones have only wishes. ■ CHINESE PROVERB

Decree of the Reformation of the School System.” The new school system drew heavily on American ideas about education. It emphasized that education must suit the needs of social evolution and pay attention to developing individualism. The result was a complete transformation of Chinese education. In 1923 a new curriculum was issued. In the new curriculum one to two hours of exercise a day became common, and male and female students took part in modern sports activities including basketball, volleyball, tennis, and swimming.

In December 1927, a National Physical Education and Sports Committee was established under the Education Ministry of the Nationalist government. It was the first time that the Chinese had a national government body to supervise exercise throughout the country. To promote exercise the government issued the “Law of Sport for Citizens” on 16 April 1929. It was the first sports law in Chinese history. It laid a foundation for the systematic organization of exercise throughout Nationalist China. It stated that: “Boys and girls must take part in physical education and sport. . . . They should participate in physical activity in which scientific sports methods are applied. . . . The aim of physical education and sport is to develop men and women’s bodies for the good of the country.” Four months later, the “Curriculum of Middle Schools and Primary Schools” was issued. It stated that physical education and sport were compulsory. The curriculum was revised over 1931 and 1932, but most of the original remained in force. Primary school pupils were to have 150–180 minutes physical education classes in their timetable per week, and middle school pupils 85–135 minutes. In addition they should have some activities after school. Activities in and after classes were almost all modern ones, including games, athletics, dance, mountain climbing, football, basketball, volleyball, and tennis.

These developments urgently required professional physical education specialists, and so more than twenty new physical education colleges and departments of universities were opened to train teachers of physical education. The students learned several subjects, including



China

Key Events in Modern China Sports History

- 1923** A new school curriculum is enacted which requires exercise and sports for boys and girls.
- 1924** The China National Amateur Athletic Federation is founded.
- 1927** The National Physical Education and Sports Committee is established.
- 1929** The Law of Sport for Citizens is promulgated.
- 1932** China competes in the Far-East Athletic Championships and the Olympics for the first time.
- 1952** A central Sports Ministry is established.
- 1956** The Competitive Sports System of the PRC is established.
- 1979** China renews its seat on the International Olympic Committee.
- 1980s** Competitive Olympics sports are emphasized.
- 1984** China participates in the Olympics for the first time since 1952.
- 1993** The government encourages the commercialization of sports.
- 2008** The Summer Olympics are to be held in Beijing.

Chinese language and literature, English, history, education, psychology, physiology, gymnastics, athletics, dance, games, and swimming.

Provincial and regional sports meetings now took place, organized by provincial and regional sports associations. There were five regional sports associations in China in 1915: the North, South, East, West, and Central. Each region included several provinces and was responsible for organizing its own athletic competitions. For example, the North China Regional Association held ten sports meetings from 1913 to 1934. The Central Region had six sports meetings from 1923 to 1936.



China

China in the Asian Games

Results of China's Participation in the Asia Games, 1974-2002

Number	Year	Place	Total Medals	Note
1st	1951	New Dehli		China sent a delegation to observe. After the Games China declined to attend subsequent games due to the "Two China" issue.
2nd	1954	Manila		Taiwan attended
3rd	1958	Tokyo		Taiwan attended
4th	1962	Jakarta		Taiwan did not attend
5th	1966	Bangkok		Taiwan attended
6th	1970	Bangkok		Taiwan attended
7th	1974	Tehran	33	China renewed its seat at the Asian Games Federation in 1973.
8th	1978	Bangkok	51	
9th	1982	New Dehli	61	
10th	1986	Seoul	94	
11th	1990	Beijing	341	
12th	1994	Hiroshima	266	
13th	1998	Bangkok	274	
14th	2002	Busan	308	

In 1924 a nongovernmental national sports organization, the China National Amateur Athletic Federation (*Zhonghua quanguo yeyu tiyu xiejinhui*) was founded in Nanjing. The aim of the federation was to supervise and organize all national and international athletic competitions. It was also the official national representative organization in all international athletic organizations, such as the IOC. Under the leadership of the federation, national games took place four times between 1924 and 1948. The Chinese athletes took part in the Far-East Athletic Championships four times and the Olympic Games three times between 1932 and 1948. All the sports events followed the Olympic model. The pattern of organization was copied from the Olympics, and the rules and regulations also were copied from Western competitions. There were two reasons for this. First, initially most of the games were organized by YMCA sports secretaries. Referees spoke English, and even the rules and regulations of competitions were written in English. Second, traditional Chinese sports could not be used in these newly established sports events. Therefore, modern sport and the Olympic

Games readily furnished Chinese sports with both forms and rules. It was this complete imitation that provided a solid foundation for the development of modern Chinese sport. Hence, the period between 1911 and 1949 saw the country advance from a traditional sports system to a modern one. Modern sport became a major part of the Chinese cultural domain and a new physical culture was born.

Sport and Physical Education in the People's Republic of China

In 1949 the Communist Party defeated the Nationalist government and founded the People's Republic of China. The new state was built on Marxist ideology and established a highly centralized government. Chinese Communist leaders showed no hesitation in realizing the importance of sports in state political life. They believed in the superiority of the socialist system and sport provided a stage on which to display this superiority. A centralized organization, the Sports Ministry, was established in 1952 to administer and supervise sport activities throughout China. Physical education

*The only expectation I have of myself
is to play well.* ■ YAO MING

was made compulsory in schools and universities. More than ten sports and physical education institutes and colleges were established. A national official sports daily newspaper, *Tiyu bao*, was published to carry sports propaganda.

During the early years of the People's Republic, in order to guard the young republic against possible invasion from outside and to develop its own socialist identity, the party's slogan became "develop sport in order to build and defend the motherland." Sport in the 1950s and 1960s, on one hand, was focused on exercise for the masses, because the New China needed healthy labor to build the socialist country. On the other hand, the government saw the need to establish a competitive sports system. The ministry issued "The Competitive Sports System of the PRC" in 1956. Rules and regulations were implemented and professional sports teams were established at national and provincial levels. In order to train and advance athletes from young age, the Soviet Union's sports school system (half-day study and half-day training) was copied. National Games took place every four years.

The Cultural Revolution started in 1966 and lasted until 1976. During this period, in order to purify the prevailing ideology elite sport was attacked as capitalist and revisionist. However, mass sport and exercise remained



People in China participate in a group exercise program.



China

Chinese *Disike*: A New Folk Sport for the Young at Heart

In the extract below, the anthropologist Susan Brownell recounts how older Chinese have retooled disco for their own generation.

Disike is a phonetic approximation of "disco." As a fitness activity it emerged around 1985 and became very popular over the next few years. It bore a little resemblance to aerobic dancing or jazzercise and a lot of resemblance to the radio broadcast exercises it had supposedly replaced. The types of body movements characteristic of disco were Western-inspired. Hip-swiveling and shoulder-rolling, hand-clapping and cross step. The music tended to be slightly outdated Western pop music, which was lively by Chinese standards of the time. "Old people's disco" was said to be one of the "Three Hots," or three biggest crazes, in China along with billiards and *qigong*.

Handfuls of older disco dancers could be found in almost every Beijing park in the early morning hours, and the same was true in other cities. It seems that the women usually outnumber the men by quite a bit.

Elderly female disco dancers often put on brightly colored, red, or shiny beaded or silk blouses to dance, sometimes borrowing them from their daughters-in-law. When an older woman wears a bright blouse, she is breaking a taboo by adopting the trappings of the youth, and this is regarded with much amusement by the spectators who laugh and comment on the brightly colored clothes of the dancers. [. . .]

A few years prior, disco was viewed askance by the authorities and banned as decadent, bourgeois, and Western. But in 1987, old people's disco was even broadcast by the national television station on the eve of the Chinese New Year, during the most-watched television program of the year. It featured the disco performance of a Shanghai club founded by a 70-year-old woman.

Source: Brownell, S. (1995). *Training the body for China: Sports in the moral order of the People's Republic* (p. 277ff). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.



China

China in the Olympic Games

Results of China's Participation in the Summer Olympic Games, 1932–2004

Number	Year	Place	Total Medals	Note
11th	1932	Los Angeles	0	
12th	1936	Berlin	0	
14th	1948	London	0	
15th	1952	Helsinki	0	After the Games China declined to attend subsequent Games due to the "Two China" issue.
23th	1984	Los Angeles	15	China renewed its seat at the IOC in 1979.
24th	1988	Seoul	27	
25th	1992	Barcelona	54	
26th	1996	Atlanta	50	
27th	2000	Sydney	59	
28th	2004	Athens	63	

untouched. In many schools and universities, physical education was often carried out in factories, on farms, and in military barracks. It was regarded as Karl Marx's and Mao Zedong's ideal of physical education. Later, when China wanted to escape its long isolation from the international community, competitive sport was brought back into foreground and served as means of diplomatic communication. The "Ping-Pong diplomacy" and "friendship first, competition second" were strategies used to open up new diplomatic channels with the West.

After the Cultural Revolution, at the end of the 1970s and into the early 1980s, China finally emerged from its economic stagnation and isolation. New Communist leaders initiated profound economic reformation in 1981. Their ambitions were to open up China, accelerate China's development, and catch up with the Western capitalist world through "controlled" emulation. China was changing from a centralized state-planned economy to a market economy. After its long period of international isolation, China was eager to be recognized by the outside world. Sport was used as a shop window in which to display the progress and the greatness of China. Therefore, during the 1980s the emphasis of the government was on competitive sport, in particular, the Olympics. China renewed its seat at

the International Olympic Committee in 1979. In 1984 China sent a delegation (of 225 athletes) to the Olympic Games, which were held in Los Angeles, for the first time since 1952. At the games China won fifteen gold medals. These victories provoked a "sports fever" and "gold medal craze" throughout the country. An "Olympic strategy" was formulated: The whole country was to channel its limited resources to convert China to a sports superpower by the end of the twentieth century. The strategy worked very well. Between 1985 and 1998, China won 1,047 world championships and broke world records 674 times. At the 2000 Sydney Olympics, China came third overall.

However, the rapid development of the economy and the commercialization of China, in general, have influenced the development of the sports system. In 1993 the national sports management system developed under Communism more than forty years earlier was reformed. Now, the concern of the government was to promote the commercial development of the sports industry. Sport was expected to stand on its own feet and not only rely on the state for support. The new strategy was to commercialize all aspects of sport, including sponsorship and investment, the club system, advertising, lottery tickets, and participation fees. Chinese sport

China Olympics Results

2002 Winter Olympics: 2 Gold, 2 Silver, 2 Bronze

2004 Summer Olympics: 32 Gold, 17 Silver, 14 Bronze

today has been turned into a money-making proposition. Gradually, the government also shifted its emphasis from elite sport to mass fitness and health while still trying to cater to both elements.

With the approach of the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008, the Chinese government began to focus on elite sports again. It expects that Chinese athletes will win more medals and the Beijing Olympic Games will be the best ever in the history of the Olympics.

Fan Hong

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Clubsports

Clubsports are usually considered amateur sports under the aegis of sports organizations, primarily staffed by volunteers and providing participation opportunities in local or community sport at a range of levels. Clubsports (at this amateur level) provide two major elements of the sport experience that are part of the overall performance but not necessarily core elements of the sport event. These elements are the sport's club structures and the ethos of amateur or community sport that may be concerned more with participation than with performance.

The full spectrum of clubsport structures, however, includes those engaged with amateur sport through to the professional sport organization. McConnell (2003) offers a core classification of clubsports that assists in considering their range and characteristics. This includes:

- *Professional clubs*, with teams competing in professional sport-specific environments. These clubs are each associated with only one sport;
- *Pro-am clubs*, which have professional sport-specific participation and may also have lower-level participation in community or amateur competition in the one sport;
- *Amateur clubs*, which are sport-specific and compete mainly, or solely, in amateur competitions;
- *Community clubs*, which offer a range of sport-participation opportunities, usually across various clubsports, under the aegis of a community sports organization;
- *Clubs in nonsport organizations*, found in organizations whose primary operational goals are not necessarily community-based or sport-centered; and

- *Governance clubs*, which are mainly engaged in the governance and/or administration of a specific sport or sport facility.

Professional Clubs

A club operating in a professional “paid-to-play” environment may be owned by an individual, a group of investors, or a commercial organization. Such clubs are usually based around one sport and may have “feeder levels” below that of the elite. The feeder levels offer a step up to the top team, opportunities for athlete assessment, and induction to the club culture. Realities of player transfers, purchasing of players, and draft systems in fully professional club sports influence formation of only one squad that exists at the elite level. Examples of such clubs are the Dallas Cowboys Football Club and the Real Madrid football team.

Professional club sports are associated with paid athletes, salaried or contract administration staff paid by the club, media focus, and a highly paid coach (known as the “manager” in many sports). Such clubs have facilities and infrastructures oriented to performance, an emphasis upon winning, low tolerance for underachieving coaches and athletes, require financial support from wealthy backers, and engage in competition characterized by high media attention and a play-off or finals system of competition. The club has substantial financial investments in its athletes, in comparison with athletes engaged in other categories of club sports.

NEW YORK YACHT CLUB

The New York Yacht Club is a contemporary professional sports club that, historically, has not had a focus on annual competition. Inaugurated in 1851 with the New York Yacht Club, the America’s Cup competition asks the winning yacht club to set the rules and conditions for the next challenge it hosts. Clubs in the United States, England, Australia, New Zealand, and Switzerland have held the America’s Cup. Each country’s association is characterized by a small, committed group of backers; high costs of participation (including boat

construction); intense media attention upon each every-fourth-year competition; an increasingly mobile pool of sailors who move beyond their original club allegiance; and an undercurrent of legality and laws issues governing yachts and racing.

Pro-Am Clubs

Pro-am clubs have participation up to the elite level, with some or all athletes at that level being paid professionals. Club administrators include some paid officials, but lower-level teams participate in amateur levels of the sport with unpaid managers and coaches.

Such clubs must balance resources between professional and amateur levels of the club, face incremental professionalization of some sports (as in demands on players’ time), and engage in competition with clubs of differing athlete populations or financial resources.

STUDIES DONE

Tensions arising in clubs that encompass amateur and professional sport or in clubs facing increasing professionalization have been studied by researchers in New Zealand (McConnell, 1998) and in Australia. The *Kicking Goals in Community Football* research in Victoria was carried out by an RMIT University research group headed by Peter Kell and Scott Phillips and Mark Penaluna of the Western Region Football League.

They explored recruitment training, volunteer retention, contemporary club management, and tensions between professionalizing clubs, as well as the complexities of developing a professional dimension with volunteers. An overriding dimension of the research was the need for a sport club to operate in a manner that recognized the cultural and linguistic diversity of its community. The complex challenges of commercialization, professionalism, inclusion, and perpetuation of a volunteer ethos in the face of increasing professionalization were features of the research findings.

Amateur Clubs

The “amateur clubs” category is the usual focus for persons examining club sport. Club sport is traditionally



Clubsports

Letter from Thomas Wentworth Wills

Thomas Wentworth Wills (1835–1880) is considered one of the founders of Australian Rules Football. In the letter below to the sporting paper Bell's Life, Wills suggests forming a "foot-ball club" to keep cricketers fit in the off-season.

Sir,—Now that cricket has been put aside for some months to come, and cricketers have assumed somewhat of the chrysalis nature (for a time only 'tis true), but at length will again burst forth in all their varied hues, rather than allow this state of torpor to creep over them, and stifle their now supple limbs, why can they not, I say, form a foot-ball club, and form a committee of three or more to draw up a code of laws? If a club of this sort were got up it would be of vast benefit to any cricket-ground to be trampled upon, and would make the turf quite firm and durable; besides which, it would keep those who are inclined to be stout from having their joints encased

in useless superabundant flesh. If it is not possible to form a foot-ball club, why should not these young men who have adopted this new-born country for their mother land, why I say, do they not form themselves into a rifle club, so as at any rate they may some day be called upon to aid their adopted land against a tyrant's band, that may some day 'pop' upon us when we least expect a foe at our very doors. Surely our young cricketers are not afraid of the crack of the rifle, when they face so courageously the leather sphere, and it would disgrace no one to learn in time how to defend his country and his hearth. A firm heart, a steady hand, a quick eye, are all that are requisite, and with practice, all these may be attained. Trusting that some one will take up the matter, and form either of the above clubs, or at any rate, some athletic games.

I remain, yours truly, T. W. Wills.

regarded as any amateur sport organization that is primarily staffed by volunteers and existing to provide participation opportunities in local or community sport over various levels of competition. Amateur club sport competition is usually officiated by volunteers. Administrators in these clubs are volunteers, although some amateur clubs may pay executive officer and clerical assistant salaries. Such clubs, despite engaging in "amateur sport," may overtly or covertly pay certain players or assist them financially (known as "shamateurism"), but the majority of participants are amateurs. Some clubs engaged in "shamateurism" in certain sports before they became professional, rugby union being an example. In sports such as Gaelic football in Ireland, the clubs engaging in a national amateur competition face challenges in trying to retain an amateur ethos or structure in contemporary environments that have expectations of professional or pro-am commitment, media focus upon achievement in elite competition, high levels of skills mastery, and player time committed to club training and practice.

CONSETT RUGBY CLUB

The innovative Consett Rugby Club of County Durham in northeast England is an example of an amateur sport club with a strong community base and entrepreneurial development of facilities and operations. The area once encapsulated the experience of northern England rugby clubs, whose players sought payment for broken time when away from their workplace playing club rugby and met antagonism from administrators and lawmakers of more traditional or affluent clubs in the south of England. This dissonance eventually led to the separate sports of rugby league and rugby union and the establishment of famous rugby league clubs such as Bradford and Wigan.

Today, the Consett Rugby Club has revamped its playing headquarters and successfully obtained major financial assistance of some £800,000 (U.K.) to install ground lighting and develop facilities for players and club supporters. Club administrators generated private funding to purchase a local hotel, which has become a valuable investment in terms of developing a club social

I don't believe in team motivation. I believe in getting a team prepared so it knows it will have the necessary confidence when it steps on a field and be prepared to play a good game. ■ TOM LANDRY

center, generating approximately £70,000 annually for the club. In a significant political move affecting club-sport, the British government in 2003 created tax relief in the category of “Community Amateur Sports Clubs” (CASC), which provides relief to amateur sport clubs, like Consett, similar to that granted charitable trusts. In a soccer-oriented town of thirty thousand persons, the rugby club has 150 playing members and three thousand social members. Club playing strength has risen, with four senior teams and teams at each age from Under-7s to Under-16s participating in minirugby and fifteen-a-side rugby union. The club’s development officers work with local secondary schools and educational institutions and received external funding support over the past ten years of £250,000. A feature of the club is the off-season arrangement of activities for their club members.

BIRKENHEAD BOWLS CLUB

On the other side of the sporting globe, the Birkenhead Bowls Club in Auckland, New Zealand, elects a voluntary governance committee, in the structure of an incorporated society. Subcommittees work in the areas of match organization, tournaments, grounds and maintenance, and dealing within fractions of discipline. Competition is at various levels from juniors to Champion of Champion events, and coaching is provided by club coaches every Tuesday evening, at no charge. Revenue comes from the amateur club’s bar, open each evening and all day on weekends; from gambling machines; and from funding agencies. Most tournaments are sponsored, so entry fees for such competitions go to club funds. Prize money is provided at tournaments, but the club has no paid professionals or salaried employees, although the greenkeeper is contracted to maintain the club’s greens. As with many amateur sport clubs, the secretary and treasurer receive modest honoraria annually.

Community Clubs

There are many clubs or community organizations that offer participation in community sport through sport clubs operating within their structure. These are found

across the socioeconomic spectrum, ranging from country clubs that offer relatively select sport club membership to community service organizations reliant upon limited budgets and volunteers.

VAST DIFFERENCES

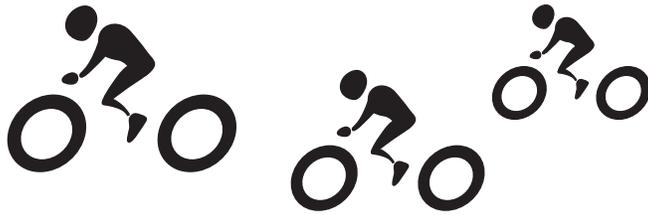
The Meadowood Country Club in the Napa Valley of California has an “introduction fee” of \$25,000. At Meadowood members can play a number of sports, one of which is the flourishing sport of croquet. In the 1980s there were fewer than fifty croquet clubs in the United States, but by 2004 the number had increased dramatically to over four hundred clubs.

In contrast, the Brentwood YMCA in Nashville, Tennessee, is an example of a community-oriented organization that offers sport-club involvement at minimal costs for young people. It has a youth soccer league with up to 130 teams and a youth winter basketball league with 120 to 140 teams involving children from ages three to fourteen.

An amateur sport club formed by a particular sector of the community is seen in the Spears Sports Club of Bankstown City, Sydney, Australia, a not-for-profit organization founded by the Islamic Charity Projects Association in 1999. The club participates in soccer, netball, karate, and table-tennis competitions run locally or statewide.

Clubs in Nonsport Organizations

Many social, commercial, educational, and other types of organizations not formed for sporting purposes have sport clubs operating within their structures. They offer opportunities for their members, followers, or employees to participate in organized club sports formed within the organization, and offer social or informal sport (for example, weekly baseball matches between different divisions of a company) up to countrywide competitions (such as national university tournaments). Factories in nineteenth-century England, arguably, formed such sport clubs or teams to facilitate control over and allegiance from their workers. Historically, examples of clubs were found within railway companies in South



America, churches in Ireland, aboriginal tribes in Australia, and branches of the armed services in many countries.

The University of Massachusetts (UMass) is an educational organization with clubsport in various sports and competition levels. At UMass, clubs include bicycle racing, fencing, ice hockey, baseball, lacrosse, rugby, volleyball, water polo, wrestling, tennis, and disk Frisbee sport. All athletic department sport clubs at UMass are recognized student organizations. Competition exists at intercollegiate or interuniversity, club and intramural, and internal-university levels, offering opportunities for students to participate at several levels.

Governance Clubs

The final category of clubsport, governance clubs, is markedly different from those discussed above. In certain sports, over time, prestigious clubs have become recognized as special bodies shaping a particular sport's laws and assuming responsibilities for the sport's governance. The Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews, established in 1754 by twenty-two "Noblemen and Gentlemen" as the Society of St. Andrews Golfers, has had responsibility for the rules of golf and major facets of the sport. The club has been recognized in all countries except the United States as the governing authority of golf, despite having been a private sport club. In 2004, on its 250th anniversary, the Club devolved authority for golf's administration to a group of companies known as the R&A. The Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews had two thousand four hundred members worldwide in 2004 and retained its identity as a private sports club.

CRICKET CLUBS

The Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC), based in London, has had a similar role in cricket, influencing the international development of the sport.

In Australia the Melbourne Cricket Club is, arguably, the largest sport club in the world. It is responsible for the administration and operation of the Melbourne Cricket Ground, popularly known as the MCG, and

has some eighty-five thousand members, of whom fifty-three thousand are full members and thirty-two thousand are in restricted membership. Such governance clubs may offer members the opportunity to engage in social sport under the club's name.

Development of Clubsport

A study of sports such as lacrosse and cricket in North America reveals historical trends and macroinfluences on clubsport, globalization, and diffusion of sport. In lacrosse, such factors as the indigenous influence, the 1850s–1860s Canadian-club foundations, formalized competition, a national body for governance of the sport, the rise of clubs in the late nineteenth century, and introduction of night games are illustrative signposts of the shaping of clubsport.

The introduction of cricket by the British into North America illustrates the impact of settlers on clubsport. West Indians in the latter half of the twentieth century spread the game, and rising numbers of nonimmigrant Americans have joined cricket clubs. In 2004 there were ten thousand registered players from five hundred clubs in twenty-nine regional leagues.

Contemporary Challenges

The twenty-first-century development of sport continues to be influenced by myriad factors affecting local and national sport bodies and community organizations in decision making and implementation of clubsport. These include:

- local and national government support for community sport
- attitudes of national sport structures towards local sport
- participation opportunities
- sport promotion
- media attention and support
- sport in schools
- cultural, gender, religious, and political considerations
- quality of sport administration

- influence of significant individuals and clubs
- opportunities for special populations and persons of varied abilities
- limited funds sought by rival community interests
- personal costs of sport, as in subscriptions, travel, equipment, fees, and time off work
- competitive opportunities appropriate for the age and ability of participants
- possible mergers, amalgamations, and ventures of common interest between clubs
- sponsorship, revenue generation, and grant applications
- equity in participation opportunities
- policies and organizational culture of clubs
- recognition of minority and special population groups
- building a youth or school-age base
- participant retention
- differences between sport opportunities in schools and those provided by local clubs
- transfer from secondary school participation to club-sport participation
- funding sought by elite sport levels and community or amateur sport within a club
- forces for professionalization of amateur sport
- social attitudes toward sport for participation and sport for performance
- volunteer training
- child protection and legal aspects of club-sport participation

A range of perspectives is covered in sporting-body publications. Guides for clubs and further information are published by bodies such as Sport England, and a New Zealand report (Genet, 2000) notes barriers to participation that are found in virtually all club-sport systems.

The Future

Sport clubs have a range of shapes, as noted above. Club-sport has existed, in various forms, for some two

centuries and continues to be the base of much community sport, as outlined in the section called “Amateur Clubs” in this article. Historically shaped by factors as noted across the globe, club-sport continues to be subject to forces, both social and sport specific, into the twenty-first century. Significant among such challenges are the tensions between amateur and professional sport, often within the one sport, and the competition for allocation of resources to performance sport as against supporting the widening of participation opportunities. The opportunities for young people of particular social classes or special populations to engage in certain club-sports continue to be restricted by cost and perceived social attitudes in some sports.

Robin C. McConnell

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Coaching

Teacher, facilitator, manager, counselor, recruiter, leader, role model—coaching involves wearing many hats. A coach directs activity during practice and competition, chooses and implements training regimens and competitive strategies, organizes practices, and schedules competitive events. Sometimes coaching involves the orchestration of a staff of assistants and the teamwork of additional professionals—for example,

To be prepared is half the victory. ■ MIGUEL CERVANTES

trainers, physicians, and sport psychologists. Many coaches spend time recruiting. But at some point, and usually on a regular basis, all coaches undergo a test for effectiveness. A coach prepares athletes to do their best, and when they experience success, however it is defined, so does the coach.

Essential Attitudes

Scholars have identified a number of attitudes that distinguish effective coaching and studied the relationships between those attitudes and other variables such as performance, safety, and athlete development. Among other qualities, effective coaching demands a flexible leadership style, a positive approach, and a focus on process rather than outcome.

FLEXIBLE LEADERSHIP STYLE

Scholarly work in the area of leadership styles has found that no single leadership style fits all situations. An effective style depends on many factors, such as the environment, the characteristics of the athletes, and team objectives. For example, a more authoritative style works better when a large number of athletes are trying to accomplish an immediate goal—for example, leading a two-hour practice with ninety-five football players or changing the lineup of a swim team during a meet. A more democratic style works best when intrinsic motivation, not time, is the primary concern—for example, leading a goal-setting session or deciding whether to practice on a Saturday or Sunday. Because a coach will most likely be called upon to use many different styles, effective coaching demands a flexible leadership style.

POSITIVE APPROACH

Coaches tend to be more successful when they provide positive feedback and reinforcement rather than negative remarks and punishment. A simple three-step strategy is often used to keep an athlete listening and learning, particularly in the moment after a mistake. The strategy includes (1) a positive statement, (2) positive feedback and instruction, and (3) another positive

statement. An example might be: “Nice try, Chris. Lower your glove closer to the ground next time. Way to hustle to the ball.”

The desire for mastery, a fundamental human motivation, drives many athletes to want to excel, and the coach is an athlete’s most important source of information and guidance. Effective coaches practice their craft, just as athletes do, until their teaching methods become second nature.

FOCUS ON EFFORT

Effective coaching involves a focus on effort and process rather than on outcome and winning. An athlete’s amount of effort is controllable, and to a large extent the training process is also controllable. Attributing mistakes and failure to a lack of effort or an inadequate training method allows athletes to see the opportunity to succeed in the future by increasing their effort or changing their methods. Focusing on the outcome might fire up a team momentarily, but focusing on the process creates a more lasting approach to success.

Essential Characteristics

Effective coaches have five important characteristics. They must be skilled in both verbal and nonverbal communication, must know themselves well enough to change if they need to, must be able to gain the trust of those they work with, must be able to entertain several perspectives on one situation, and must know when to rely on their instincts.

GOOD AT COMMUNICATING

An effective coach uses verbal skills such as active listening, immediate feedback, and clear, direct, and repetitive messages. An effective coach also needs nonverbal skills such as confident postures, appropriate touching, and eye contact.

SELF-AWARE

A self-aware coach can avoid the dangers of burnout. For example, a tendency to be athlete-oriented versus

The fewer rules a coach has, the fewer rules there are for players to break. ■ JOHN MADDEN

task-oriented will make a coach more vulnerable to exhaustion and burnout, but a coach who is aware of this tendency can change it.

TRUSTWORTHY

Relationships between coaches and others, including athletes, parents, and administrators, are built on trust. Demonstrating trustworthiness through consistency, honesty, and reliability, creates peak moments when athletes look to a coach with a complete readiness to learn and perform.

PERCEPTIVE

Effective coaching involves looking at a situation that might appear completely hopeless or anxiety-provoking to an athlete and turning it into a perfect picture of challenge and opportunity.

ARTISTIC

It is difficult to know where science stops and art begins in coaching. Sometimes decisions are made after contemplating concrete factors. Other times they are made with no such contemplation. Like an artist's stroke of the brush or choice of color, a coach puts in a substitute, changes a strategy, chooses this play or that, is patient or quick-acting, or uses humor or seriousness. Most experts agree that effective coaching is both a science and an art.

Mind and Body

Research in the twentieth century made it imperative to include mental training in an athlete's preparation. Coaching involves a greater understanding of team-building, goal-setting, motivation, thought processes, team dynamics, and the specific mental demands on each and every athlete in changing situations. Coaches are expected to understand the developmental differences in a young athlete's mental and physical abilities. As athletes mature, they themselves place greater importance on the mental aspect of training and performance. To a certain extent, a good coach is also a good sport psychologist.

NEW KNOWLEDGE

Coaches must continually update their knowledge of the physical and mental skills they teach. An increasing amount of research in the sport sciences—for example, biomechanics, exercise physiology, sport psychology, and motor learning—has fueled the organization of conferences and workshops and the creation of journals, books, newsletters, videos, and CDs. A pre-1970s instructional book on sport might have included advice on technique, nutrition, drills, games, and exercises to make practice more efficient and motivating. By the turn of the century, however, publishers were offering numerous books on each of these topics for a multitude of sports.

New knowledge gave birth to multiple industries that produce equipment and instructional aids, all of which a coach has to evaluate. Therefore, coaches need to understand the language of physics and chemistry, and effective coaching involves keeping abreast of current findings and applications.

WORKABLE PHILOSOPHY

A philosophy of coaching to a coach is like a goal-setting program to an athlete. Developing and adhering to it enhances confidence and decreases anxiety; attention is focused appropriately, and ultimately, performance improves. A well-thought-out philosophy is the foundation of an effective coach's daily and long-term success.

Ethics

Whenever a profession involves huge gains and losses, financial or otherwise, key players can become targets of negative influence and pressure. If a coach succumbs to this pressure, the result is conduct outside the rules—for instance, cheating, recruiting violations, or forming inappropriate relationships with players—or possibly outside the law—blackmail, fraud, or sexual harassment.

Negative influence can also be subtle, such as the pressure of conformity. Allowing aggressive behavior, illegal substance use, remarks or jokes that demean others, or eating behaviors that appear to enhance per-



Coaching

Creating Unity

At the same time, the plays are drawn with the greatest care, the men are taught to start quickly and run hard and to know their signals. This can be done by a good coach, and there are many teams even among the most successful which are trained on what has often been called the “One Man” system. Here the strategy, the play of the individual and the marshaling of the men on the field are all in the hands of one man, who is apt to rank above the captain.

This state of affairs is partly brought about by choice and partly by stress of circumstances. Colleges which are not situated near large business centers find great difficulty in persuading their graduates to come back and coach.

It has been the uniform policy among the larger colleges not to pay more than one man to supervise the coaching, and without offering inducements of a financial sort it is next to impossible to obtain the time of the best men. Accordingly, the smaller colleges, particularly those situated in more or less remote places, have to employ some one man to act as coach and take full charge of the whole development of the team. The advantage of this method is that the

men are coached uniformly, and it is an axiom that a worse policy, well carried out, is more effective than a better one badly carried out.

These “One Man” teams have unity; they work as a team; they know what they are out for, move in a business-like way, and unless something much better is supplied by the many coaches of teams which they meet, they are apt to win on the very fact of their precision and dash.

Harvard is peculiarly favorably situated for obtaining the services of the largest possible number of coaches, owing to the large body of graduates living in Boston and vicinity, and the extensive graduate schools which tend to keep men on after their playing days are over.

Each season opens with an abundance of material and a multitude of coaches, and it becomes necessary to have a head coach, whose business it shall be to get the unity, without which no team can hope to win.

Source: Forber, W. C. (1899, December). The football coach's relation to the players. *Outing*, 3, 337.

formance but jeopardize health, are all results of a subtle, but powerful, pressure to conform.

The pressure on a coach to win can be tremendous. It comes from many sources, including parents, media, spectators, administrators, and other coaches, and from within the coaches themselves. But regardless of why it happens, unethical behavior is the kind of behavior that ends careers. It undermines another fundamental goal of coaching: influencing the development of athletes in a positive way. Regardless of the statistics, coaching integrity is a building block for all other goals and purposes, although coach education does not necessarily include ethics. The pressure is great, but coaches are in a powerful position to influence a great number of minds, young and old. If they choose to exhibit the highest level of integrity, they promote the integrity of

sport and the positive development of participants, not only as athletes, but also as members of society.

Stress

Intense competition, little control once the contest begins, media attention, and a continual test of personal ethics are major sources of stress for all coaches. Coaches lead the charge for a limited number of positive tangible results, results that are used to measure their professional effectiveness and value. But in a zero-sum game, there can be only one winner and one loser. Not many professionals face the possibility of losing as publicly and as often as a coach does.

Exhaustion from long hours and emotional strain can bring on chronic frustration and irritability. Less enthusiasm, less energy, and an overall inability to reach

Pat Summitt, coach of the University of Tennessee women's basketball team.

Source: University of Tennessee Lady Vols Media Relations Department.

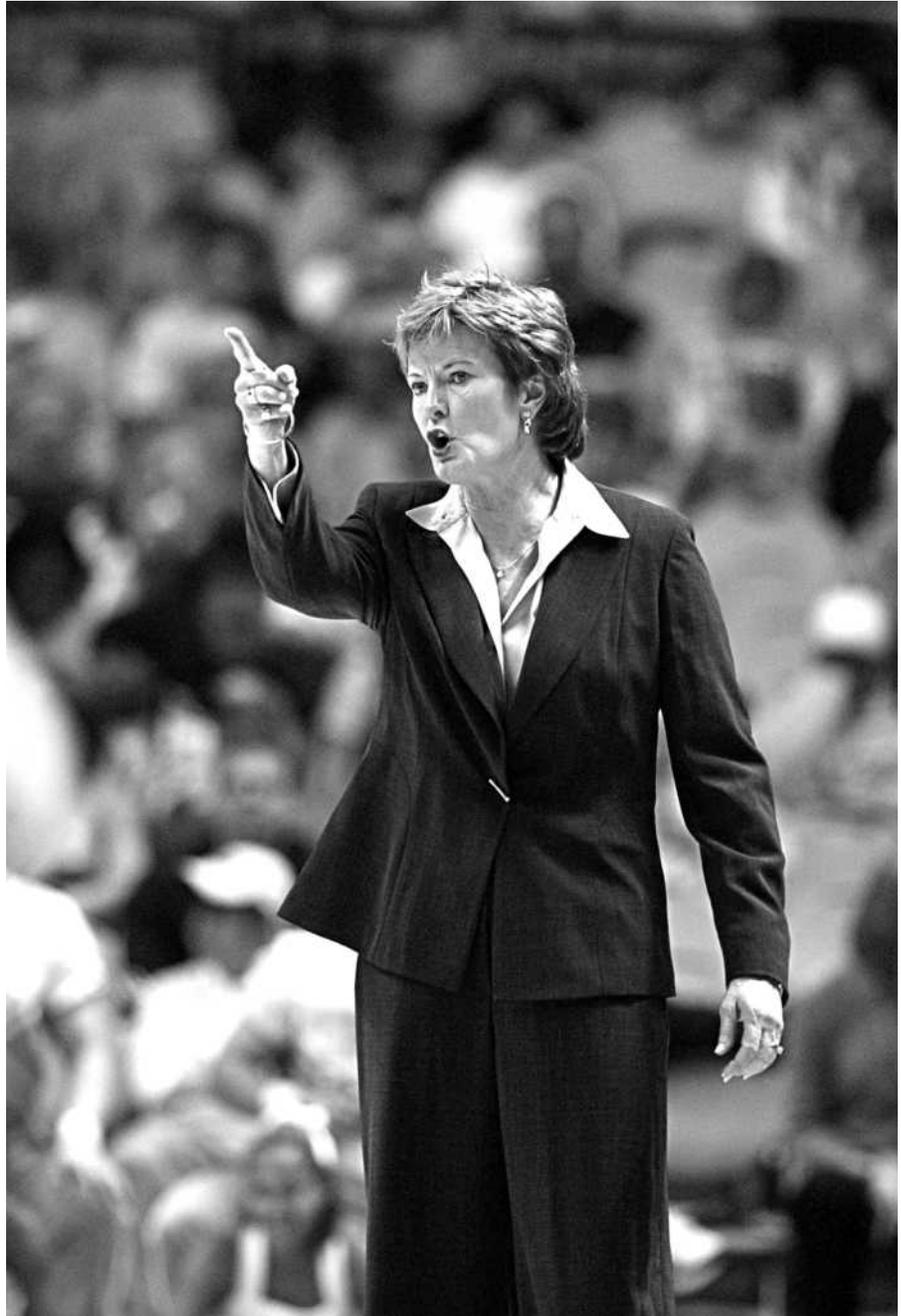
previous standards of effectiveness for an extended period of time despite short rests define staleness, an early stage of burnout. A persistent sense of failure, low self-esteem, depression, and ambivalence about a job that once evoked great passion can follow. For those in the final stage of burnout, a three-day weekend isn't sufficient for revitalization. Relationships with athletes, assistant coaches, administrators, family members, and friends suffer. Coaching effectiveness wanes. In some cases, recovery may not be possible.

Sometimes coaches choose to sacrifice many things with the knowledge that they are limiting the years they can spend coaching. But if a coach ignores the symptoms of staleness and burnout and continues to push without taking needed breaks, the result can be chronic failure, unhappiness, and possibly tragedy. A position that attracted a bright, enthusiastic, and effective leader becomes a place of despair.

Burnout can be avoided by using a number of strategies that most coaches are very familiar with: pacing oneself, maintaining perspective, using stress management skills such as relaxation and positive self-talk, surrounding oneself with supportive people, finding constructive ways to express frustration, laughing and having fun, and in general, making choices that promote health and happiness.

History

At the end of the nineteenth century, sport teams tended to be coached by one or more players on the team. In



fact, until entrepreneurs and investors became aware of the entertainment value of sport, control of sport activity rested primarily with the athletes. However, by the 1920s a sport contest had more at stake than a win or a loss, and the organizational, technical, and managerial demands of teams grew in number and importance. People were needed to organize, teach, and prepare athletes and teams to perform to their highest potential.

The institutionalization of modern sport in the United States reflects the social environment in which

If at first you don't succeed, you are running about average. ■ M.H. ALDERSON

sport exists. In the early years, racial, ethnic, gender, and socioeconomic biases placed pressure on organizations of white athletes to be coached by white coaches, black by black, women by women, and so forth. Since greater financial reward was available within the white male sport arena, nonwhite and female coaches were not offered equal professional opportunities and salaries. Few or no opportunities to train, compete, and coach were available for people with disabilities, Native Americans, and other disenfranchised groups.

Social Context

As social contexts changed, so did opportunities for coaches from various oppressed groups. But today, many years after civil rights laws were passed, the number of minorities in head coach positions is still not representative of the number of minority athletes participating. For example, in 2002 there were four African-American head coaches in Division I-A football of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA.) In the fall of 2004, that number dropped to two. During this period there were no African-American head coaches in Division I-AA, if historically black colleges were not included.

In 2004, 10 percent of head coaches in the National Football League (NFL) were black, although 65 percent of players were black. Even though NFL teams led by black coaches performed better (won more games and went to the playoffs more often) than teams coached by white coaches, black coaches were hired less often and fired more quickly.

Title IX, which mandated that schools receiving federal aid had to provide equal opportunities for girls and women in sport, and the feminist movement of the 1970s sparked social change, making it more socially acceptable and financially feasible for females to train, compete, and coach. The development of the Special Olympics, the Senior Olympics, and Gay Games suggests a shifting away from prejudices of the past. But these changes did not bring more coaching positions to women and other minorities in sport.

When Title IX passed in 1972, women held approx-

imately 90 percent of the coaching positions for women's teams. In 2002 women coached approximately 44 percent of women's teams. Ninety percent of new opportunities to coach women's teams between 2000 and 2002 went to men. The decline in the number of women coaches has been greatest at the highest level of sport and with the highest paying jobs.

Small changes have appeared on the global level as well. There were no women on the International Olympic Committee (IOC) until the 1980s. In 2004 the committee consisted of 10 women and 127 men. The IOC did not meet their goal of 10 percent women by the year 2000, and it is not likely that they will reach their goal of 20 percent by 2005. Over 90 percent of all national team coaches are men.

Despite legal advances, the prejudice and power structure of white males in sport worldwide continues to suppress efforts to equalize opportunities for women, nonwhite men and women, and other minorities. Increased efforts on the part of major governing organizations such as the IOC, the NCAA, and the NFL will be necessary if positive and enduring changes are to occur.

Throughout the twentieth century competition between teams became more popular and intense; schools developed mascots, uniforms, traditions, and rivalries; clubs, leagues, conferences, national teams, and other sport organizations formed. The IOC, the national Olympic committees, and numerous national governing bodies for each sport at the youth, adult, amateur, and professional levels formed to administer to the needs of these groups. Ever-increasing media attention inspired young and old to participate in sport. The number of girls and women playing interscholastic and intercollegiate sport increased as much as tenfold. The need for coaches at all levels, from volunteer parents to million-dollar professionals, grew concurrently.

The demand for coaches grew throughout the twentieth century as winning became more important and the belief grew that sport programs built character. Governing organizations and institutions established guidelines for professional competency and ethical conduct,



Coaching

Knute Rockne: Miracle Man of Athletics

In the extract below from a 1921 volume of sports stories, the legendary Knute Rockne is celebrated.

In the football world Mr. Knute K. Rockne, director of athletics at Notre Dame, is entitled “the Miracle Man of 1920”; by the student-body of the University he is considered “the greatest coach of all times.”

To his football men on the field he is known simply and affectionately as “Rock.”

As a student-athlete, as assistant-coach, and finally a head coach, he has a record of ten successful years at Notre Dame without a break.

With not a little reason has he been called the “Victory Builder.” In his first three years at Notre Dame [1911–1913], the football team did not suffer a single defeat in twenty-two games.

In his last year as player he captained the great Western eleven that startled the East, West, and South.

As assistant-coach from 1914 to 1917 his line-men did more than their share in the remarkable victories of that period.

When as successor to Coach Jesse Harper he took full charge of Notre Dame athletics in the war year of 1918 the football conditions were hopeless, but Rockne would not see them so. He drilled a squad of men averaging only 160 pounds and made of them one of the most heroic of Notre Dame’s fighting teams.

This midget Varsity fought the heavy Nebraska to a tie in the mud, won from Purdue, Wabash, and Case, and for a surprise climax tied the team of the Great Lakes Training Station, the national champions of that year.

In 1919 Rockne’s squad of veterans romped home without a defeat or a tie—in such an impressive way as to disconcert most of the adverse critics.

If any further success was needed to prove Coach Rockne and his Notre Dame system, it has been superabundantly provided this year. The success which has so uniformly attended his work Coach Rockne modestly and sincerely attributes to the quality of the material provided him, to the unmatched morale of the squad, to the superb leadership of such captains as Frank Coughlin, to the natural football instinct of such players as Gipp, Brandy, and Smith—summarily to the clean living, clear thinking, and hard fighting of his men.

These no doubt have been important elements in Notre Dame’s football successes, but we believe that they would have been of little consequence without the coaching of Rockne. His great elevens have on every occasion, and especially in the more trying ones, reflected the keenness, determination, and sportsmanship of their great coach—showing themselves true “Rockmen.”

Source: Spink, A. L. (Volume No. 2). (1921). Knute K. Rockne, athletic coach at Notre Dame College, called the miracle man of athletics. *One thousand sport stories* (Vol. 2, pp. 353–354). Chicago: The Martin Company

and created opportunities for continuing education. More and more coaches with little or no training beyond their own sport or on-the-job coaching experience led a growing number of athletes. Thus the need grew for coach education and credentialing.

Training

Even if they are surrounded by assistants, few coaches today are able to succeed without formal training of some kind. Most high school and collegiate-level

coaches have an undergraduate degree, and many have an advanced degree. In some educational institutions coaches are members of the faculty and are asked to teach courses and coach multiple sports.

Organizations

In the 1950 and 1960s, the American Association for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance (AAHPERD) set standards for training high school coaches and determining ethical conduct. A task force

*Show me a good and gracious loser and I'll
show you a failure.* ■ KNUTE ROCKNE

from AAHPERD recommended the establishment of minimal competency certification standards. In 1970 the Task Force on Sport for Canadians issued similar recommendations, which resulted in the creation of the Coaching Association of Canada (CAC), an organization charged with the responsibility of improving coaching effectiveness for all sports at all levels. The CAC has become a world leader with regard to coach education and training.

The American Coaching Effectiveness Program (ACEP) was certifying approximately 63,000 coaches per year by 2004. Since 1971, the CAC has trained more than 900,000 coaches. They train over 50,000 per year. Many other coach-education programs have emerged—for example, the Coalition of Americans to Protect Sport (CAPS), the National Youth Sports Coaches Association (NYSCA), and the Program for Athletic Coaches Education (PACE). There are also countless certification programs designed for specific sports at different levels—for example, soccer coaches through the American Youth Soccer Organization, cross-country coaches through the Road Runners Club of America, and youth softball coaches through the ACE program of the Amateur Softball Association.

The International Council for Coach Education, established in 1997 with fifteen countries participating, now has thirty members. The European Athletic Association, the International Association of Athletics Federations, and sport-specific organizations such as the Union of European Football Association and the International Tennis Federation are examples of organizations that sponsor educational opportunities and training for coaches on an international level.

Educational websites for coaches have been growing on the Internet. In fact, websites serving the training and continuing education needs of coaches might be the way of the twenty-first century. Some examples of these include the following: Sports Coach (www.brianmac.demon.co.uk), Athletic Insight (www.athleticinsight.com), United States Sports Academy (www.ussa.edu), and the Institute for Sport Coaching (www.instituteforsportcoaching.org).

The Future

Sport in the twenty-first century is a major industry characterized by a network of local, regional, national, and international competitions. It is defined by the need for a positive outcome—to some extent, the job security of all coaches depends on their ability to win. But sport is also defined by the process, the competition, and the striving toward a goal. The process is a test of integrity, determination, teamwork, endurance, intelligence, patience, wit, and coping skills. Good character is not inherent in athletes any more than it is inherent in salespeople or musicians. Athletes build character through the choices they make, and coaches are in a powerful position to influence those choices. As long as coaching enhances the probability of winning and builds character, coaches will have a secure and valued place in the sport arena.

Barbara Teetor Waite

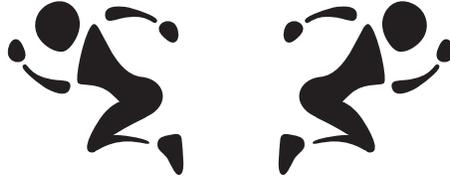
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Coeducational Sport

Originally, coeducation meant the integrated instruction of girls and boys with pedagogical intentions, but the term is often used, as in this article, for mixed classes. Throughout the nineteenth century,



coeducation was not an issue in schools for lower classes and schools in the countryside; on the contrary, big classes without age and sex segregation were the only way to provide at least a basic education for the poor, at least in Europe. Further education was reserved for children whose parents could afford to pay the tuition, and here coeducation was unthinkable. In the United States, girls and boys in the so-called common schools were in the same classes, and most high schools were also coeducational.

Following the modernization processes and social changes at the end of the nineteenth century, a reformation of girls' higher education became necessary in many Western countries. Despite the resistance from various sides—especially from men who were afraid of the potential competition from women in the labor market—after the turn of the century girls were even allowed to enter universities. This led to the question whether girls could be accepted in boys' schools. In many European countries, universities were a men's domain where women were first excluded, then later slowly and reluctantly accepted, but in the United States, women's colleges have been founded since the 1830s, and since the mid-1800s, female students have been admitted to some formerly all-male colleges and universities. However, numerous all-male colleges continued to exclude females until the 1960s.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST COEDUCATION

For sixty to seventy years the pros and cons have repeated themselves in a relatively consistent fashion. Coeducational advocates placed economic arguments in the foreground: Many communities could not afford to establish girls' schools. Coeducation opponents based their arguments mainly on the theory of polarity, that is, on the differences in the nature and purpose of women and men and on the resulting differences in attributes, behavior patterns, interests, and competences. Views about the achievement potentials and natural gifts of men and women synthesized to form the myth of female weakness and male strength, in which the sup-

posed intellectual deficiencies of girls were emphasized. There were also fears of men and women becoming equals, which would have shaken the foundations of the prevailing gender order. Schools were expected to prepare boys for their roles as breadwinners and guardians of the family, and girls were to be prepared for their roles as wives and mothers. Coeducation, it was felt, would jeopardize this division of labor, partly because girls would be able to qualify for the professions. (It was precisely this improvement in educational opportunities for girls that the advocates of coeducation put forward as an argument for mixed classes.) Further arguments frequently used against coeducation were that girls would be overtaxed, that boys would become effeminate, and that coeducation represented a threat to decorum and propriety. The discourse on education before World War II was generally characterized by stereotypical and sometimes contradictory assertions that were not based on valid and reliable empirical findings.

However, the numerous arguments put forward against the teaching of mixed classes were unable to prevent the spread of coeducation in actual educational practice.

Coeducation in PE Developments

When the debate on the implications of coeducation flared up at the end of the nineteenth century, physical education (PE) was completely omitted from the discussion. It was not thought necessary to make any special mention of this issue because even the advocates of coeducation, both male and female, took separate physical education for boys and girls for granted. The manifest differences in athletic achievement, the dangers that seemed to threaten morals and decency, the different contents and goals of physical education—aimed at educating boys to become proficient soldiers and girls to become healthy mothers—all were arguments that made it impossible to even imagine coeducation in school sports. More than the lessons in the classroom, PE lessons emphasized gender differences, delineated the borders between the two sexes, and formed distinct,

gender-specific bodies and characters that, in turn, were used as evidence to legitimize the gender order.

Controversial Mixed PE Classes—1970s

Coeducation in the classroom spread swiftly after World War II without causing controversy, but separate PE classes were still taken for granted, not least because different “male” and “female” sports dominated the curricula for girls and boys. Through women’s integration in ‘men’s sports’ such as football in the 1970s, among other things, the curricula and guidelines for girls’ and boys’ physical education began to adapt to each other. At the same time, though, educators and sports scientists started to question the whole concept of gender segregation in sports lessons. This was the era of the new women’s movement, anti-authoritarian education, the criticism of competitive sports, and, generally, manifold reform initiatives; against this background, aims, contents, and teaching methods—including mixed PE classes—were scrutinized. Empirical studies of mixed PE lessons were carried out, particularly interviews and observations, lessons were evaluated, and pedagogic pilot projects devised. Extensive pupil surveys and numerous test lessons revealed that mixed PE lessons are possible and effective, depending on the aims of the lesson, but that they can also create specific problems.

In discussions of coeducation in the 1970s and 1980s, however, scientific results and arguments were often only ostensibly placed in the foreground while the real issues were the underlying political orientations and ideologies.

Opposition to mixed sports lessons came from various directions: not only from sport educators and administration officials who emphasized the traditional men’s and women’s roles but also from teachers with a traditional understanding of PE who wanted homogeneous groups because they wanted to concentrate on improving pupils’ motor skills and performances.

The opposition to coeducation, which often came from conservative quarters in the 1970s, could call on a long and established tradition, thus meeting with

broad support outside the sports movement, too. Coeducation seemed to challenge the gender order, and opponents considered this a danger but its advocates considered it a hope.

Very popular during this period were anthropological and phenomenological considerations that revolved around the “natures” and the naturally determined roles of men and women as well as around male and female movement patterns. The Dutchman F. J. J. Buytendijk was the most widely read representative (at least among European physical education specialists) of a gender anthropology based on the theory of polarity. He, for instance, regarded the game of soccer (known as football in Europe) as a demonstration of masculinity: “All attempts to make women play football have so far been unsuccessful.” Based on the premises of Buytendijk and those of his followers, girls and boys should be taught separately in different sporting disciplines, according to their “natural” motor skills. Feminist scholars refuted this approach with the argument that it has apparently been proved possible after all “to make women play football” and that it has been demonstrated furthermore that the same basic principles of movement apply to both men and women.

Coeducation opponents also focused their arguments on the physical differences, the different performance levels, and the different needs, interests, and behavior patterns of the two sexes.

Supporters of mixed PE lessons, among them reform-oriented educators and sport scientists, warned against overemphasizing gender differences in sports performances because there are no significant discrepancies in basic motor properties and skills before the onset of puberty, and even afterward most pupils, irrespective of sex, can be classed in the same, middle band of achievement. According to these supporters, the different sporting interests of boys and girls were the result of processes of socialization. Sport scientists in favor of coeducation emphasized the significance of social learning processes and wanted to convey a wide variety of bodily and social experiences in PE lessons. They saw mixed PE classes as a chance of furthering empathy and

An otherwise happily married couple may turn a mixed doubles game into a scene from "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" ■ ROD LAVER

cooperation skills as well as, generally, equal opportunity between the sexes.

In addition to the gender issue, mixed PE lessons brought up fundamental questions about the purpose of physical education:

- What should be learned and what should be taught in PE lessons and how?
- Is it sufficient to teach motor skills?
- Should competition and striving for the improvement of performances play a central role?

The debate about mixed PE classes petered out in the 1980s. A consensus could only be reached for primary schools, where coeducation in PE had already been practiced since the 1960s.

Spread of Coeducation

It is very difficult to get any information about the diffusion of mixed classes in PE in the different countries. In various developing countries and in Islamic cultures, PE is not even a subject in girls' schools, but in many western countries coeducation is the norm in the classroom and the gym hall. Often the choice of mixed or single-sex education depends on the age of the children; coeducation is widespread in elementary schools. For example:

- In the secondary schools of most German federal states, mixed PE lessons are possible if they appear beneficial from an educational point of view. In middle school (Grades 5 to 10), coeducation is regarded as particularly problematic, so mixed classes for girls and boys are likely to be the exception rather than the rule.
- In Australia, after an upswing of coeducation, many schools now choose to provide single-sex PE to avoid the problems in mixed classes.

Attitudes and Evaluations

Results of empirical studies show that most students are in favor of coeducation in the classroom. They would only accept a separation of the girls and boys in certain

subjects, and PE is one of these subjects named in this debate. Research about the attitude of pupils toward mixed classes in PE has been conducted in various countries with different results. Whereas in an American study, most girls voted for single-sex PE, PE lessons in mixed groups seemed to be largely accepted by German pupils. However, their statements depended on their gender and their age and varied by grade and the type of sport. Those confronted with this form of teaching had a more positive attitude than did other students. The attitude toward coeducation in sports is particularly ambivalent among girls, although they support mixed lessons more often than boys do. Girls have more anxiety about high standards, about making fools of themselves, and about being taunted by the boys, but they also hope to be acknowledged, win more esteem from the boys, and have more fun.

Coeducation that is more than an organizational measurement can only succeed if both pupils and teachers are willing to make the best of this form of teaching. Studies of the attitudes of PE teachers reveal that the readiness to teach sports in mixed groups and to connect this with pedagogical purposes depends on many factors, including the age of the pupils and the age and sex of the teachers.

Interviews with male and female PE teachers in the United States and Germany revealed fundamental attitudes toward coeducation in sports that were marked by skepticism. The main difficulties seen were:

- The types of sports identified with one or other of the sexes
- The corresponding differences in the motor skills required
- The hierarchy of sporting values, with those of the boys at the top

In concrete terms, the teachers were concerned about the girls' deficiencies in the ball games that were most popular among the boys and the boys' refusal to participate in "unmanly" activities such as gymnastics and dance. One aspect of mixed PE lessons especially noted by women teachers was the aggressive behavior of

(some) boys and the difficulty of keeping discipline. Both male and female teachers seem to feel that their training has not prepared them sufficiently for coeducation.

CRITIQUE OF COEDUCATION TO “REFLECTED” COEDUCATION

Interest in mixed PE lessons faded in the 1980s, as coeducation in classrooms as a whole was attacked and the “equal opportunity” approach was challenged. The criticism was that girls were not able to follow their success at school with successful careers. Good academic achievement did nothing to boost the little self-confidence that girls have compared with boys, and mixed lessons seemed to exercise a negative influence on girls’ interests and opportunities. Empirical studies revealed that boys dominated the lessons, especially in science subjects, and that teachers gave considerably more attention to boys than to girls, not least because of disciplinary problems. Women education researchers demanded—from a position of “bias toward girls”—the abolition of coeducation or at least separate lessons in science subjects and PE. Whereas in the 1970s, coeducation opponents had feared that boys would be limited in their possibilities of athletic development, feminist sports scientists justified their rejection of coeducation by arguing that girls were marginalized in mixed PE classes.

Their arguments are based on the different “physical” culture of boys and girls resulting from specific male or female attitudes toward the body, body and beauty ideals, rituals, and techniques and practices of the body as well as from the gendered interests, experiences, competencies, wishes, and needs in the area of sports. Thus, both sexes have different strengths and different expectations for school sports, which reinforces, produces, and reproduces these gender differences. Generally speaking, the male values dominate in sports, so it follows that in school sports, the boys’ strengths are taken as the norm, whereas the girls’ strengths, which often lie in the gymnastic and rhythmical fields, are not valued very highly, either at school or in society as a whole. Moreover, as in the classroom, boys are more fre-

It is amazing what can be accomplished when nobody cares about who gets the credit. ■ ROBERT YATES

quently noticed in mixed PE classes, thus boys, or at least some boys, dominate the class and control the environment, whereas girls and their needs are not taken seriously. Aggressive behavior of male pupils against girls, teachers, and other boys was a further argument against coeducation. Both male and female teachers tend to accommodate the interests of the boys, partly in an attempt to make them conform before they become troublemakers. Finally, among the arguments against coeducation in sports is the focus on the body. In sports, one has to present the body constantly; it is perceived, judged, compared, and talked about. This could be a major problem for girls, who tend to develop negative body concepts in the confrontation with the beauty and slimness ideals of Western societies.

PE teachers commonly find that many girls respond to their marginalization in mixed classes with disinterest, with resistance, and by dropping out.

This critique of coeducation led to numerous projects being carried out with separate classes for girls and boys in PE, but also in other subjects. As surveys have shown, however, such projects, especially the sex segregation in scientific subjects, did not meet with an entirely favorable response, either from boys or from girls. In addition, there are benefits connected with coeducation. Thus, in recent years, a reassessment of coeducation was initiated; the magic formula is now the concept of “reflected coeducation.” Reflected coeducation means teaching based on a reflection of gender issues and gender relations that takes differences seriously between the sexes and between other groups and individual students. Focusing on the specific needs of people, it aims at improving the potentials of individuals and groups. Reflected coeducation does not mean that girls are simply participating in the physical education of boys, but that the strengths of both sexes are cultivated while the weaknesses are accepted and compensated for. Strength and stamina as well as the self-confidence deriving from these must be imparted especially to girls, who are confronted with body and beauty ideals that focus on their appearance rather than on the capacities of the body. Creativity and rhythmic skills belong, as a rule, not to

the strengths of the boys who have been afraid to be marginalized in the boys' groups as "sissies" if they participate in a typically girls' activity. These fears have to be taken seriously, but a "degendering" of dance in new dance styles makes a reconciliation of masculinity and rhythmic abilities possible.

This new approach to coeducation allows choices between mixed and (temporary) separate classes depending on pedagogic considerations and the circumstances in a particular class or at a particular school.

In the 1990s, a further paradigm shift occurred when attention was turned to boys and problems such as difficulties in concentrating, hyperactivity, and aggressive behavior. Unrealistic ideals of masculinity, violence in peer groups, and the "feminization" of education seemed to have an unfavorable effect on boys' intellectual and mental developments. The discrepancy between the norm of male superiority and boys' own inadequacies seemed to become especially evident in mixed classes with girls. This is also true for PE especially where those boys who are not skilled are marginalized or even bullied. When this happens in front of the girls, the humiliation is even worse.

The Future

Coeducation in PE is still a contested area, and its success or failure depends on numerous and various factors. Coeducation—not only in school sports—can only succeed under certain conditions. If basic prerequisites are lacking, such as a good understanding between the pupils of a class, a safe and supportive environment, especially for girls, and a positive attitude among the teachers, then coeducation is a liability for both sexes, especially for girls. The chances of mixed school sports increase when intentional and reflected coeducation begins at primary school because the course is set for later development of "doing gender." In addition, teachers must be sensitive toward gender issues and committed to and prepared for coeducation in their training.

The aim of coeducational school sports should be that boys and girls are given the opportunity to learn

more about themselves and others, to understand gender and gender constructions in and through sports, and to act, interact, and participate in sports in a world that is not sex-segregated.

PE plays an important role in sports socialization and can thus contribute to the construction but also to the deconstruction of gender differences. Socialization means the appropriation of the social and ecological environment and self-training in and through cultural practices. Gender-specific sports engagement and the gender of a sport are social constructions and social arrangements. Sports can change their gender, and football is a good example: Whereas soccer (football) was viewed as an unfeminine sport until the 1960s, today it is one of the fastest growing sports for women in many countries of the world. Coeducation as a pedagogical means aims at providing equal opportunities, at transforming gender constructions, and, hence, at changing the hierarchical gender arrangements. This is especially difficult and challenging in PE lessons because they focus on bodies and, thus, on the basis and "markers" of masculinity and femininity. Moreover, sports is the arena in which masculinity and femininity can be convincingly enacted, "doing sport" is always "doing gender" with more or less emphasis on gender differences. It is not surprising, then, that mixed physical education lessons are connected with so many fears and so many hopes.

Gertrud Pfister

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Coliseum (Rome)

The Coliseum is the first permanent and the largest amphitheater built in ancient Rome. Construction of the Coliseum began during the reign of Vespasian (Roman emperor 69–79 CE) in around 72 CE, and it was dedicated by Vespasian’s son Titus (Roman emperor 79–81 CE) in 80 CE. The Coliseum was originally called the “Flavian Amphitheater” in honor of the Flavian dynasty. The popular name “Coliseum” came into existence because the amphitheater was situated next to a colossal statue of Nero (Roman emperor 54–68 CE).

Architectural Marvel

When it was built, the Coliseum was an architectural marvel, with a capacity of more than fifty thousand seats and an efficient system for producing spectacles and managing large crowds. It was a four-story oval structure, with the walls of its outer ring rising to about 55 meters above ground, the height of a modern building twelve to fifteen stories high. The major axis of the Coliseum’s elliptical plan was 188 meters long, and the minor axis was 156 meters long. Eighty walls of arches at ground level supported vaults for passageways, stairways, and tiers of seats. Circumferential arcades at the outer edge linked each level and the stairways between levels. The arches were progressively numbered and led via a system of internal corridors to the outlets that took spectators to their seats. The construction utilized a combination of materials: concrete for the foundations, travertine (a mineral consisting of a massive, usually layered calcium carbonate) for the piers and arcades, and tufa (a porous rock) and brick for the walls and most of the vaults. More than 100,000 cubic meters of travertine were used in the construction, and the metal pins that held the blocks together were estimated to weigh more than 272 metric tons.

The interior of the Coliseum consisted of the arena, a wooden floor bearing a bed of sand and covering an area of about 76 by 46 meters. The stands were subdivided into four superimposed stories. At the top of the

amphitheater masts fastened in brackets and sockets held a giant canvas canopy to protect the spectators from the heat of the sun. Toward the end of the first century CE (after mock naval battles were abolished), a complex system of subterranean tunnels was constructed underneath the wooden flooring, where gladiators and animals were kept prior to their performance. Elevators employing counterweights were built to transport cages of animals and other stage equipment to the arena floor. The gladiators would reach the arena directly from their “barracks” by the side of the Coliseum, using a passage leading to the amphitheater’s underground spaces. During shows a metal mesh surrounding the arena would be set up to protect spectators from the danger of enraged wild animals. Archers were also placed inside the amphitheater at the foot of the steps, ready to intervene should an animal get out of control.

“Bread and Circuses”

The construction of the Coliseum was part of Vespasian’s plan to restore the capitol, which had burned down during civil wars, and to improve the infrastructure of Rome and the empire. The project was also seen as a way to increase political stability by providing the people with “bread and circuses,” as the poet Juvenal put it. The main function of the Coliseum was to provide public events such as gladiator fights, wild animal hunts, and mock naval battles. In many of these events



Coliseum (Rome)

Lord Byron on the Coliseum

While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;
When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall;
And when Rome falls—the world.

Source: Lord Byron. (1818). *Childe Harold’s pilgrimage*, Canto iv. Stanza 145.

animals, gladiators, condemned criminals, and slaves fought each other until death. The events were open to all people, free of charge, although the social elites were entitled to seats of marble at the lower level, whereas commoners, slaves, and foreigners were seated right under the canvas roof, which was the hottest area during summer. The grand opening of the Coliseum included one hundred days of ceremonies and games, which took the lives of five thousand wild animals in combats. Gladiator fights were abolished in the early fifth century CE. The last event on record, which consisted of only animal combats, was held in 523 CE under Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths (471–526 CE).

Square of the Coliseum

Overshadowed by its imposing amphitheater, the Square of the Coliseum received a monumental addition with the building of the Temple of Venus and Rome, designed by Hadrian (Roman emperor 117–138 CE). The layout of the square has been substantially preserved to the present time. Beside the amphitheater stood the Colossus of Nero, a 30-meter-tall statue of gilt bronze, the work of the Greek sculptor Zenodoros. The statue originally represented the emperor but was modified to represent Apollo—god of the sun—after Nero's death. The last monument added to the square was the Arch of Constantine (Roman emperor 309–337 CE). It was erected in 312 CE by the Senate and people of Rome in honor of Constantine, who had liberated the city and the state from the “tyrant” Maxentius winning the Battle of the Milvian Bridge.

For nearly four centuries the Coliseum was the center of public entertainment and a symbol of power of the Roman empire. Its function as a venue for entertainment ended soon after the fall of the Roman empire in 476 CE. The Coliseum was abandoned for hundreds of years until medieval times, when warlords used it as a fortress. During the two millennia of its existence the Coliseum has suffered extensive damage from earthquakes, fires, neglect, and vandalism. Nevertheless, since the fifteenth century people have expressed a desire to restore the ancient architectural marvel. Today the

remains of the Coliseum are one of the most visited tourist sites in the world.

Ying Wushanley

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Collective Bargaining

Collective bargaining is the process through which management of an enterprise and the workers (in the case of sport, the players) bargain over components of the working relationship. In a typical sport the league owners are the management, and the players collectively pool their voices to maximize their bargaining position vis-à-vis the owners. In sports collective bargaining issues typically involve financial remuneration (salaries, salary caps, pension contributions, per diem allowances), working conditions (modes of travel, scheduling, hotel accommodations), and code of conduct (punishments, drug-testing policies, public relations commitments and expectations). The ability of players to unionize in bargaining with management is established under the United States legal system.

U. S. Legislation Affecting Management and Labor

In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Act, which was designed to shatter monopolies and establish an economic landscape that allowed businesses to freely enter and exit the marketplace and compete on equal terms with competitors. Though designed to limit the power of companies, numerous business entities utilized the Sherman Act to restrict the ability of workers to better their conditions. Many corporations successfully argued in court that employees who unionized and implemented strikes to force management to provide employment concessions restricted trade and were thus in violation of antitrust laws. In response the United States Congress passed the Clayton Act of 1914, which established that the labor of human beings was not subject to the Sherman Act. In addition Congress later passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act (1932) and the Wagner Act (1935), which established the right of labor to collectively act in its best interest when negotiating with management. The Wagner Act (known as the National Labor Relations Act) established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to enforce labor laws and assist in governing labor disputes.

United States law enables workers to collectively pool their efforts in labor unions, to choose representatives to bargain their position, and to implement pressure tactics (strikes, picketing, etc.) to enhance their interest. In exchange for the power to bargain collectively, all members of a labor union agree to submit to the terms of their collective bargaining agreement with management and potentially to agree to terms that may diminish their individual rights.

Players Attempt to Unionize

Professional baseball began in the United States shortly after the Civil War. Most of the early years of professional baseball were disorganized and often underfinanced, but as uniform rules and a major league were established, leagues attempted to exert as much control as possible over players. In 1882 the National League and the numerous minor leagues that had been estab-

lished signed the National Baseball Agreement. The National Baseball Agreement established the reserve clause, which gave control of player services to the club. Effectively, the reserve clause allowed teams to retain the services of the players forever. The reserve clause would remain in effect until 1976.

The reserve clause and other antiplayer baseball decisions would occasionally incite the players to attempt to organize in one coherent collective effort. Prominent attempts at organizing labor in baseball included the Brotherhood of Professional Baseball Players in the 1880s, the Professional Players Fraternity of the 1910s, and the American Baseball Guild in the 1940s. Each attempt to organize the players eventually stalled and was destroyed by player dissension, ownership maneuvers, or the American court system.

Marvin Miller and the Major League Baseball Players Association

Undaunted by years of unsuccessful attempts to establish a cohesive and effective union, players continued to work to organize their voices to instigate change in Major League Baseball (MLB). During the 1953 season, All-Stars Ralph Kiner and Allie Reynolds attempted to negotiate with the owners for additional money for the players' pension fund. After meeting with continued resistance, the players hired lawyer Jonas Norman Lewis to represent their interests. The refusal of the owners to meet directly with Lewis frustrated and emboldened the players. In 1954 the Major League Players Association (MLBPA) was established, with aging star pitcher Bob Feller elected the first president of the new association.

Baseball's owners continued to increase their revenues through franchise relocation, broadened television exposure, and expansion. In addition, in 1965 the owners implemented an amateur draft, which severely limited an incoming player's ability to negotiate signing bonuses. Despite the efforts of the players and the MLBPA's attorneys, baseball's owners dramatically increased their profits while offering players only minimal increases in their compensation. The players decided



that they needed to hire an established labor leader who would work for them full-time. In 1966 the MLBPA hired former United Steelworkers of America representative Marvin Miller and changed the course of labor relations in American professional sport forever.

Marvin Miller approached his job as executive director of the MLBPA fervently, immediately attempting to change the mentality of the players. For years players in all American professional sports had been unable to approach management on equal footing; Miller enabled MLB players to realize that they could bargain from a position of strength if they remained united. After collectively bargaining with the owners, an agreement regarding pension plans and insurance was signed in late 1966. From there Miller led the players union in numerous battles with the owners, almost always helping the players to advance their cause. When Miller assumed his position as MLBPA executive director in 1966, the minimum MLB salary was \$6,000 a year, and there were no opportunities for free agency (the opportunity to negotiate with any team in the league). Although the United States Supreme Court ruled in 1972 against outfielder Curt Flood in his bid for free agency, Marvin Miller and the Players Association continued to work tirelessly for the rights of players. In 1976, after reviewing the merits of a player-owner dispute regarding the application of the reserve clause, arbitrator Peter Seitz awarded pitchers Andy Messersmith and Dave McNally free agency, and the reserve rule established in 1882 was finally overturned. The initial efforts of Miller and the continued efforts of the MLBPA created a financial landscape in baseball that resulted in average salaries exceeding \$2.4 million by 2004.

Modern Sport Unions

Players from the National Football League (NFL), National Basketball Association (NBA), and National Hockey League (NHL) have also established player associations in their sports. Utilizing collective bargaining, the unions have successfully increased their share of league revenues and have worked to achieve free agency and other working conditions more favorable to play-

ers. Unfortunately, each of the four major professional sport leagues has experienced labor difficulties over the past thirty years—often with fans being the real losers during the negotiations.

Strikes

Under the collective bargaining process, players not satisfied with management proposals may elect to withhold their services through strikes, attempting to force owners to satisfy player demands by stopping “production.” In addition to postponing or canceling games, strikes increase media and fan attention on the disputed issues, which players hope will lead to concessions by owners. Additional stakeholders besides the union and management are affected by a strike. For every postponed or canceled game, media outlets lose revenue; facility employees working in concessions, security, hospitality, and the like potentially lose a portion of their yearly income; and hotels, restaurants, and bars near the stadiums lose their sport clientele.

Although there have been numerous strikes in the four major North American professional sport leagues, the most notable strikes have involved issues concerning salaries and free agency. The Major League Baseball strike of 1981 was a response by players to the insistence of the owners that teams losing free agents would be compensated with players from the team signing the free agent. The players correctly determined that if owners knew they would lose a player after signing a free agent, the potential salaries of players would be lowered. The strike resulted in a fifty-day shutdown, and 713 games were canceled.

During a strike players may elect to enhance their message of resolve to management, media, and fans by picketing. Often picket lines result in arguments or, occasionally, physical altercations between players and management. In some cases management may elect to employ nonunion workers or “scabs” to cross the picket lines. This occurred most prominently during the 1987 NFL strike as owners utilized replacement players in an attempt to fulfill media obligations while attempting to break the resolve of the striking players. Although the

Understand one thing. Nothing happens without the Game. We can talk about labor relations and relationships with owners and between the teams, and marketing and globalization. But we've also got the best game. Everything we do emanates from that. ■ DAVID STERN

attendance and ratings for games played by replacement players was down considerably from usual levels, the games showed many striking players that the owners were committed to their position. The owners were successful in their tactics as scores of NFL players began to cross the picket lines to return to work. Eventually, the NFL Players Association was forced to end the strike and compromise with owners' demands.

Perhaps the most devastating strike in American professional sport history occurred in Major League Baseball in 1994–1995. The owners insisted on a salary cap and a detailed revenue-sharing system. The players, adamant in their stance against any form of a salary cap, announced a strike on 12 August 1994. The strike resulted in the shutdown of the remainder of the season, including the cancellation of the 1994 World Series. For the first time in ninety years, the October Classic was not played. The 1994 strike continued into the 1995 season, with the owners threatening to utilize replacement players. The parties were able to finally compromise on 25 April 1995. The usual schedule was shortened from 162 to 144 games and unfortunately, despite the posturing and strong negotiations on both sides, few changes to the basic agreement were made.

Lockouts

Owners unable to finalize collective bargaining agreements favorable to their position may elect to lock out the players from the workplace. During a lockout most owners attempt to portray the players as unreasonable in their demands. Although lockouts result in decreased revenue for management and players, sport owners hope the lockout will force players to return to the bargaining table, as they may be unable to financially survive without their regular paychecks.

Although the NHL had experienced relative labor peace from 1950 to 1990, in 1992 players had nearly shut down the postseason before some of their demands were met. In 1995 the NHL owners hoped to regain some concessions lost to the players in 1992, so they closed their doors. The 1995 NHL lockout lasted 103 days and resulted in the loss of 468 total games.

Although the owners were able to advance their cause, hockey lost significant momentum in its marketing efforts as a result of the lockout. The NHL continued to waiver on a financial tightrope as owners and players had not completely settled their disputes and failed to establish a financial system that insured future prosperity for owners and players as well as stability for fans. This labor unrest eventually caused the owners to lock out the players during the start of the 2004 season. Players rebuffed any attempts by management to implement a salary cap or significant luxury tax, while owners insisted that such measures were necessary to contain costs and ensure financial viability for every team in the league. The entire 2004–2005 NHL season was eventually cancelled.

Prior to the 2004–2005 NHL labor disagreement the most devastating lockout in American professional sports occurred in the NBA in 1998–1999. Historically, the NBA had attempted to maintain labor peace despite difficult financial situations. The NBA and its players had established the first salary cap in major professional sports in 1983 and had never lost any games to work stoppages prior to 1998. The owners and players debated the merits of the salary cap, free agency, minimum salaries, rookie compensation, and aberrant behavior during the 202 days of the lockout. Although the finalized collective bargaining agreement created an individual salary cap, greater sharing of resources among players, and a comprehensive drug-testing policy, the loss of thirty-two games for each team significantly tarnished the image of the NBA.

Current Issues

Although unions in professional sports act much like any other union to further the interests of their members, there are some subtle differences across industries. In sports, unions typically do not bargain for exact compensation for members. The union and management craft a basic agreement regarding minimum salaries, working conditions, and the like, but the individual player is free to negotiate yearly salary, bonuses, and incentives with his individual employer. Although

most of the major professional sport leagues have established seniority systems (rookie wage scales, veteran minimum salaries), compared with most nonsport unions, professional athletes have far greater freedom to negotiate as individuals. As salaries for many professional athletes have increased dramatically into the millions of dollars, many have questioned the need for sport unions in MLB, NBA, NFL, and NHL. In fact attempts have been made by individual players to decertify their union in order for individual players to maximize their compensation. During the 1998 NBA lockout, Michael Jordan and other prominent players attempted to decertify the union after the union and management appeared close to agreeing to maximum individual salaries. Jordan and the other players hoping to decertify the union to garner salaries above the proposed maximums failed in their attempt as the vast majority of players realized the collective bargaining agreement between NBA owners and players would enhance the salaries of the majority of players, even if it artificially lowered the salaries for the ultra-superstars.

In recent years Major League Baseball and other professional sport leagues have discussed the possibility of implementing rules (salary caps, revenue sharing, payroll taxes) to enhance competitive balance (the opportunity for every team to have adequate resources to compete for player services). These rules are subject to collective bargaining since they potentially alter financial compensation for players. In some leagues owners have not been able to implement policies that might enhance competitive balance (and therefore potentially improve the overall long-term financial position of the entire league) because they have not been successful in convincing the players association that changes should be implemented.

The Future

As performance-enhancing drugs have become commonplace in sport, unions negotiating collective bargaining agreements with management have been placed in an awkward position. Union leaders are employed to negotiate the best possible deal for the players, and if

performance-enhancing drugs cause irreparable harm to the players, the union will likely not wish to see its members use these drugs. However, the union must also be concerned for the public relations implications if players are caught cheating by using drugs. This dilemma has often delayed the adoption of meaningful drug-testing and punishment policies as union members are not eager to allow management to implement full-scale testing, even if the union hopes to protect its members from the detriments of drug use.

The rapid increase in revenues in intercollegiate athletics has caused many people to consider the possibility of forming a union to protect the interests of athletes competing for men's basketball and football teams in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). For many NCAA Division I universities, revenues from media contracts, ticket and luxury suite sales, licensed merchandise, and other sources often exceed tens of millions of dollars a year. Numerous critics have noted that although players often receive scholarships to attend college, their value to the university is considerably more than what the school is providing them. Future discussions in this area are likely to lead to heated debates as players may elect to collectively bargain for a greater share of the revenue generated from their endeavors.

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See also Unionism

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College Athletes

Former intercollegiate athlete students such as Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Jerry West, Larry Bird, “Magic” Johnson, Cheryl Miller, Nancy Lieberman-Cline, Dominique Dawes, Wilma Rudolph, Jackie Joyner Kersey, Walter Payton, Jackie Robinson, and Jim Brown have become household legends. The terms *March Madness* and *football bowl games* have become synonymous with college sport. Yet, an historical critique of college sport represents a study of contradictions (i.e., student-athlete), player and coach scandals, crises management, perpetration of sport myths, academic dishonesty, and cartel-like behavior. College sports today represent an arena in which gender, race, hegemony, and social class are manifested.

Early College Contests

Sport records show the first college sports event was a crew race between Harvard and Yale Universities in 1852. The first recognized college baseball game was played in 1859 between Princeton and Rutgers Universities. Baseball became the most widely played sport on college campuses during the nineteenth century. Initial college athletic events and conferences were organized and governed by college students who scheduled games, wrote the rules, selected team captains, and organized clubs. “Colleges increasingly turned to the formation of athletic conferences as a means of regulating sports. Students had formed the first intercollegiate association in 1858 when Harvard, Yale, Brown and Trinity organized the College Rowing Association” (Rader 1999, 178).

The desire by college presidents to enhance college visibility and increase student enrollment and the lack of professional sports led to the growth in college sports. By the late 1800s, college sport programs, led by football, began to mature into “for profit” enterprises. What was once a student-organized activity came under the control of college administrators and athletic department officials. Colleges began to hire professional

coaches and build stadiums to support their sports programs. During this time, college faculty members were also cognizant of the rising influence of college sports. In 1881, Princeton University established the first faculty athletic committee. As early as the late nineteenth century, college sport began its transformation to meet the perceived needs of alumni, coaches, and college administrators. College sport was now seen as a vehicle to:

- Promote state-funded financial support
- Increase student body populations
- Enhance educational opportunities for students
- Mobilize alumni support

“Intercollegiate sports were instrumental in defining college identities, in giving them greater emotional depth, and thereby in bonding students, faculty, administrators, alumni, and social climbers into a single college community” (Rader 1999, 96).

By 1900, college sport became embedded in the structure of higher education. College sport began its transformation from an educational and student-centered activity to a corporate enterprise. The establishment and popularity of college football was instrumental in this transformation. Walter Camp, the father of American football, recognized the connection between football and business, stating, “American business has found in American college football the epitomization of present day business methods” (Gorn and Goldstein 1993, 158).

Football

Between 1890 and 1900, college football gained prominence on campus as a major revenue producer, second only to student tuition and fees. College football was played by Ivy League colleges, historically black colleges and universities, and regional and national colleges and universities. Early college football grew to be a brutal, yet popular activity. Formations such as the “flying wedge” resulted in the deaths of eighteen football players in 1905. As a result, President Theodore Roosevelt invited selected college presidents to his office to discuss the future of college football and, to some

Going to college offered me the chance to play football for four more years. ■ RONALD REAGAN

extent, the future of college sports. The meeting led to significant rule changes and the establishment of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association. In 1910, the organization adopted its present name, National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA).

Early Reform

Between 1910 and the 1930s, college sports expanded and grew in popularity. The highly acclaimed and controversial 1929 Carnegie Foundation report labeled football as an organized commercial enterprise providing a level of professionalism on campus. The report focused on the status and future direction for college sports and asked three important questions: (1) How should financial aid be distributed? (2) Who should control college sport? (3) How does alumni support affect the college program? Unfortunately, these questions and others were never answered, and college sport continued to expand its influence on college campuses. As a result, the financial and human cost associated with intercollegiate sports continued to escalate into the 1950s.

Sanity Code

During the 1930s and into the 1940s, several noteworthy social and intercollegiate conditions (widespread professional gambling, college recruiting irregularities, and the establishment of preseason bowl games in football) led NCAA leaders to provide more oversight and better enforcement of its rules and regulations. On 22 and 23 July 1946, conference representatives met in Chicago to draft a document titled, “Principles of Conduct of Intercollegiate Athletes,” which defined amateurism, stipulated academic standards, and determined qualifications for athletic ability. The NCAA membership endorsed these principles, better known as the “Sanity Code.”

The Sanity Code was a very important piece of NCAA history because it tried to define amateurism and the role of the student within a collegiate sport environment. In a fundamental break with the long-held principle of the college amateur athlete, NCAA member

institutions adopted the Sanity Code and the Constitutional Compliance Committee (to provide enforcement power) in 1948. This code permitted the extension of scholarships and jobs to athletes. Scholarships or jobs had to be awarded solely based on demonstrated financial need. Unfortunately, some college officials believed this code pushed recruiting parity too far, affecting financial aid for their college programs. Criticism of the code resulted in its repeal in 1951. A former athletic director at Bradley University said, “The restrictions in the Sanity Code were such that the majority of institutions felt they couldn’t live by it” (Brown 1999, A4).

In an effort to provide athletic regulation and enforcement, the NCAA passed the twelve-point code on 29 August 1951. Specific guidelines focused on the following:

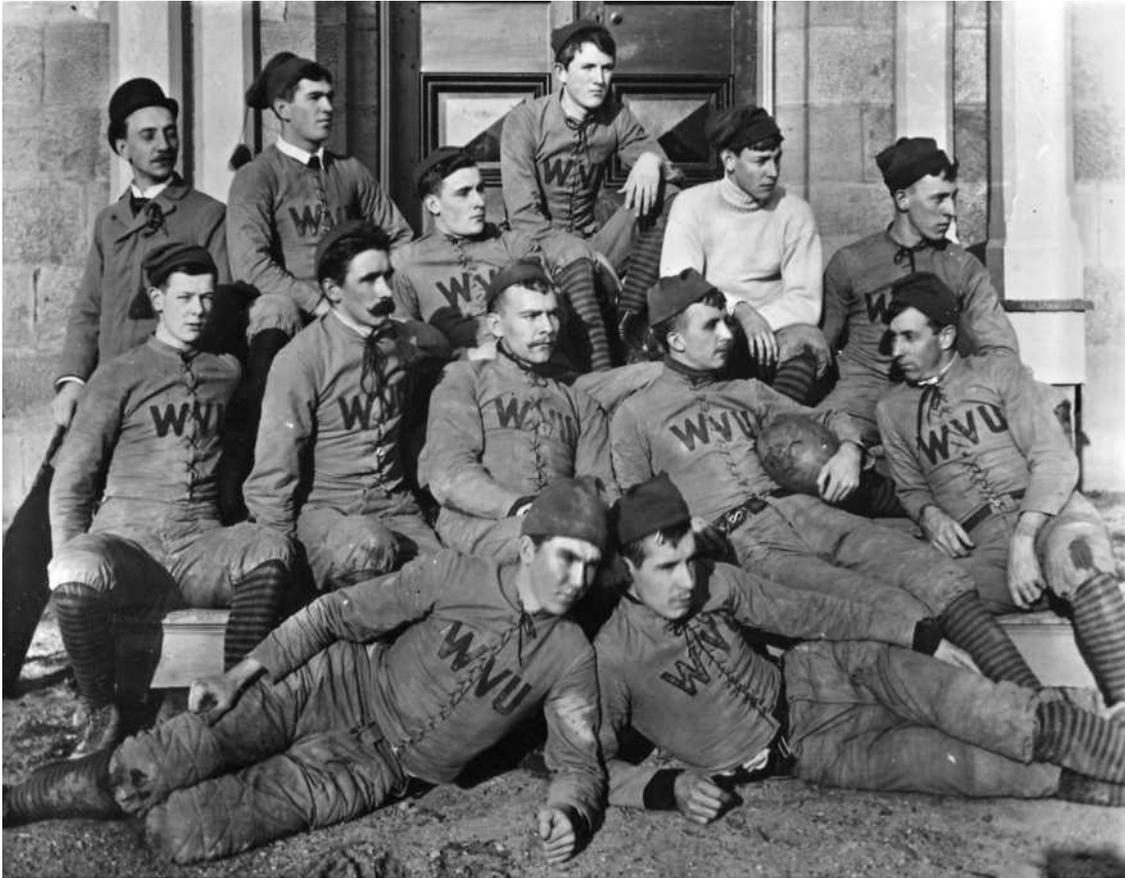
- Limiting practice sessions and number of games in each sport
- Supporting normal academic progress guidelines
- Limiting the number and amount of financial aid to athletes
- Providing guidance for student recruiting

The twelve-point code ultimately led to the establishment of the NCAA Committee on Infractions. During the next thirty years, this committee’s power and authority expanded to include investigative and enforcement procedures.

The term *student-athlete* first appeared in NCAA publications following a highly publicized 1953 college football court case. A University of Denver football player was injured in practice. The courts determined the athlete was eligible to receive Workman’s Compensation because he was viewed as an employee of the institution. The term *student-athlete* was instituted to prevent any additional litigation in this area. The NCAA continues to take the position that student-athletes should not be paid a stipend in addition to tuition, room, and books.

Corporate Sport

The concept *corporate athletics* is defined as a set of institutional “big sport” values associated with modern



A rare image of the first football team at West Virginia State University in 1891.

Source: West Virginia School of Physical Education.

corporations. Literature supports two conflicting college sports models:

1. Amateur-education with its focus on the perceived educational value of sport. Under this model, college officials were able to view college sports as part of the larger university culture.
2. Commercial-education with its focus on corporate “big-business” aspect of sport.

The public began to recognize the contradiction between economics, college sport success, and student-athletes as amateurs.

The two models and the associated rising costs of athletic programs, concerns for student-athletes’ rights, and other college sport deviant behaviors encouraged the public, college faculty, and administrators to advocate reforming college sports. In 1989, the Knight Commission (consisting of college presidents, business leaders, members of Congress, and NCAA representa-

tives) recognized that college sports with its corporate values negatively affects colleges’ educational mission. The 1991 Knight Commission report offered strategies for change, including the one-plus-three model:

- Presidential control
- Academic integrity
- Financial integrity

Specifically, the report recommended the following:

- College presidents should exercise the same degree of control over athletes that they have over the institution.
- Student eligibility should be based on continuous academic progress.
- There should be greater institutional oversight and control of all athletic department business matters.
- Each NCAA institution should undergo an independent self-evaluation.

Prompted by the Knight Commission, the NCAA approved sweeping reforms in January 1991 aimed at controlling cost, reduced the length of playing seasons, established an annual coaches recruiting certification program, and phased out athletic dormitories. The rules prohibiting athletic dormitories at Division I colleges took effect in 1996. In 1995, 24 of the 302 NCAA Division I institutions had residence halls composed of more than 50 percent athletes. Not all of the 1991 commission recommendations were realized. Ten years later, the Knight Commission further deliberated strategies to address graduation rates and the athletic departments' "financial arms race."

Academic Admission Standards

Colleges and universities determine college entrance requirements and admission policies. Yet, in the case of NCAA college sports, colleges and universities have abdicated this responsibility to the NCAA. During the 1980s and 1990s, college faculty and the public voiced concerns about the perceived lack of student athletes graduating from college. In 1983, the NCAA tried to remedy the poor academic performance and low graduation rates of college athletes by passing Proposition 48, which was enforced in 1986 and required all freshmen athletes to be declared eligible by scoring at least 15 on the ACT or 700 on the SAT and a minimum GPA of 2.0 in at least core courses. Athletes could receive financial aid if they met one of these requirements.

In 1989, new NCAA guidelines led to the passage of Proposition 42, which prohibited colleges from providing athletic-related financial aid to athletes who did not meet their GPA and test-score requirements. The controversial legislation was passed in an effort to enhance academic performance and integrity in collegiate athletics. Unfortunately, the SAT/ACT cut-off scores disproportionately eliminated African-Americans from participation. African-American coaches presented the following arguments against the two propositions: (1) The minimum SAT score was arbitrary; and (2) the SAT and ACT tests were racially biased against minorities and students from low socioeconomic back-

grounds. Early reports found that 85 percent of African-American athletes lost eligibility status.

These propositions negatively affected the participation rates of African-American student-athletes attending historically black colleges and universities. As a compromise to Propositions 48 and 42, Proposition 16 was passed in 1996. This proposition raised the standards for the combined GPA and exam score necessary to qualify through use of a sliding scale. In 1999, the federal district court in Philadelphia struck down the NCAA Proposition 16. The court concluded it had a disparate impact against African-American student-athletes. One legal scholar argues, "Achieving racial equality in sports will require a shift in attitude: those in power positions . . . must commit to racial equality" (Davis 2000, 263).

Women's College Sports

Women's historical participation in college sports represents a struggle for equality, social justice, recognition, and respect. The early development of women's sports did not parallel that of their male counterparts. Women's programs were initially organized by women physical educators. Physical education philosophy stressed participation and educational value derived from playing sports. Fearing that participation would cause injury, educators discouraged women's participation in early competitive sports programs.

During the 1880s, women's sports gained a level of popularity in women's colleges. "In the 1880s, for example, women at Vassar and Smith, Mount Holyoke, and Wellesley played not softball or rounders or some gentler version of the game, but baseball" (Gorn and Goldstein 1993, 198). Similarly, in 1890, several colleges (i.e., the University of California, University of Wisconsin, and Goucher College) promoted women's participation in sport clubs (tennis, archery, bowling). In 1891, Dr. James Naismith invented the game of basketball. In 1893, Smith College was the first women's program to play basketball. Women's basketball soon became very popular on college campuses. In the 1890s, physical education programs began to introduce the

Football, fraternities, and fun have no place in the university. They were introduced only to entertain those who shouldn't be in the university. ■ ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

volleyball, field hockey, and basketball for women. These sports represented a departure from bowling, horseback riding, swimming, and gymnastics.

Between 1923 and 1936, intercollegiate athletic competition for women was limited. In 1930, the introduction of “play days” and “sports days” provided some measure of sport participation. These activities, stressing participation and enjoyment of sports, continued until the 1960s, by which time, competitive sports for women were viewed favorably by society. Various women’s sports organizations have provided guidelines for women’s sports participation. In 1957, the Division of Girls’ and Women’s Sports (DGWS) of American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance (AAHPERD) became one of the major advocates for girls’ and women’s sports. In a dramatic change in philosophy, DGWS members advocated female participation on highly competitive athletic teams.

Title IX: The Gender Issue

Two important milestones in the history of women’s sports were the establishment of the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) in 1971 and the passage of Title IX of the Federal Educational Amendment in 1972. “During the early stages of women’s athletics, a concept, unique to women’s athletics, was established: Student involvement in the establishment of policies and guidelines which would determine the path of women’s athletes” (Acosta and Carpenter 1985, 315).

Physical educators and students provided leadership in establishing the AIAW, which replaced the Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW). By 1982, the AIAW offered forty national championships in eighteen sports across various geographical regions. Under the AIAW structure, women gained access to coaching and other leadership positions associated with college sports.

Title IX prohibits sex discrimination in federally assisted education programs: “No person in the United

States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance” (*More Hurdles to Clear: Women and Girls in Competitive Athletics* 1980, 7). Title IX regulations took effect in 1976 and required physical education program and competitive athletic program compliance. This legislation had a positive dramatic impact on high school and college sports for women. Data indicated the number of sports offered to women and the number of female athletes participating increased significantly. “In 1976–77, 170,384 men (72.6 percent of all athletes) and 64,375 women (27.4 percent) participated in intercollegiate sports. The number of female athletes has increased 102.1 percent since 1971–72” (*More Hurdles to Clear: Women and Girls in Competitive Athletics* 1980, 21).

Interest in women’s sports gained momentum and, in 1998, basketball, cross country, soccer, tennis, track, and volleyball were the most frequently offered women’s sports programs across NCAA Division I, II, and III. As of 2004, according to Carpenter and Acosta (2004), there were 8,402 varsity women’s NCAA teams. The passage of Title IX resulted in conflict between the NCAA and the AIAW. “The women’s organization sought equal opportunity and equal treatment for women, charging that ‘the men’ wanted to take over the women’s programs as a means of stopping them from getting a fair share of the money” (Byers 1995, 240). The 1980 NCAA Convention dramatically affected the future of the AIAW: The NCAA established ten women’s championships and provided funding for women to attend these events. As a result, AIAW members joined the NCAA.

In February 1983, the AIAW lost its anti-trust lawsuit against the NCAA. The AIAW could no longer offer national championships or compete for financial support for its programs, which led to its demise. Today, Title IX remains one of the most controversial topics in college sports. Debate between male and female coaches, players, and alumni about the reduction of men’s varsity



College Athletes

A Lesson Learned at the Summitt

The whistle emits a piercing shrill. All movement comes to a stop. I peel myself off the hardwood floor and come face to face with a pair of steely blue eyes staring daggers right through me. “Becky!” she barks as the rest of my teammates freeze in their spots on the court. I brace myself for a good tongue lashing from the most competitive, fiercest coach I have ever known in my nineteen years on earth. This young coach, just eight years my senior, was an Olympic silver medallist (1976 Olympics) as a basketball player for the USA, and already had five years of collegiate coaching under her belt. The previous season, her squad nearly upset the reigning champions of collegiate women’s basketball—Delta State, to finish as runner-up in the AIAW (Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women) national championship game.

“Becky! What happened there? Tell me! You’ve got to get around that pick! You’ve got to see it coming!” She said impatiently. Coach Pat Head Summitt, took two steps toward me as I held my breath. None of us liked to be singled out. We were THE Lady Vols of the University of Tennessee. We were expected to excel at the highest echelons and Pat was going to make sure we succeeded. “Becky, tell me what just happened,” Pat demanded. “Um, Coach, I didn’t hear my teammates holler “pick” and slammed right into the offensive player.” It wasn’t surprising that I didn’t hear the warning as I could not wear my hearing aids while playing because sweat destroys them. As a freshman in college, I was learning how to deal with my own progressive hearing loss, that I had no clue how the deafness was affecting my basketball skills. This excuse did not fly with Pat. “Becky, you know you will not be able to hear your teammates holler

“pick” or “screen.” You must see the pick coming,” Pat demanded as she moved me out of position and proceeded to model what I must do as a defensive player. She quickly switched to visual coaching, never letting up in her quest to achieve what seemed to me the impossible task of “seeing” what everyone else was hearing. As she assumed a defensive stance in denying the ball to her offensive player and stepping around the pick set by another player, she continued to teach and coach with such passion. “Becky, let yourself see the whole court. Use your peripheral vision, be aware of movement around and behind you as well as what you see in front of you. The key, Becky, is to ANTICIPATE. You’ve got to anticipate that pick and get around it. You are the only one on this team that is not allowed to ‘switch’ on defense because you cannot hear your teammates warn you. You’ve got to see it! Again, Becky, ANTICIPATE. ANTICIPATE the action, ANTICIPATE the movement and be ready! Ok, now let’s try it again.”

Coach Summitt taught me a valuable lesson during that practice session twenty-six years ago. I learned to anticipate, to sharpen my mind, and increase my awareness. I’ve developed a deeply analytical mind, which has served me well in all phases of my life. Although I am now deaf, I still hear Coach Summitt’s voice urging me on to greater heights with one simple word, “ANTICIPATE”.

*Becky Clark, Guard 1979–1980
Lady Vols Basketball Team*

Eds. note: In March 2005, Pat Summitt became the “winningest coach” in NCAA history when the Lady Vols’ victory brought Coach Summitt’s record to 880 NCAA wins.

level programs, the definition and interpretation of “gender equity,” “proportionality,” the reduction in the number of female college coaches and administrators, and the cost associated with the addition of women’s programs continue at NCAA conferences and appear in popular press.

Controversies

NCAA Division I-A intercollegiate athletic programs have become a multimillion-dollar, market-driven allocation of power: revenue versus nonrevenue. The desire to win at all costs permeates all levels of college athletic endeavors. Discrepancies in funding available to revenue and nonrevenue sports, male and female coaches, and access to high pay-off college football bowl and NCAA basketball tournament games still exists. Thus, a system of inequity exists in college sports.

The NCAA marked its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1981. A review of the organization’s history finds most of the rule changes and recommendations were aimed at restricting student-athletes’ rights and providing parity across NCAA member institutions. Today, issues such as the following threaten to undermine the fabric and existence of college sports:

- Mis-education of college athletes
- Sport gambling
- The use of performance enhancement drugs
- Realignment of conference teams
- Increased participation rates by female student athletes and Title IX
- Apparent discrimination in hiring practices
- Low graduation rates of African-American student-athletes in certain sports
- Rising costs to fund the athletic programs

Once again, there is public demand for college sport reform and better oversight. A national public-opinion poll taken in May 2003 of the perceived status of higher education in America showed that Americans were concerned about affirmative action, tenure, and “big-time” athletics. Sixty-seven percent said colleges place too much emphasis on athletics.

Collegiate “athletes in overly commercialized, professionalized college sports programs have trouble reconciling the roles associated with their dual status of athlete and student” (Eitzen and Sage 2003, 122), and college faculty continue to voice concerns about the student-athlete’s experience, college sports and its affect on the institution’s educational mission. Mark B. Ellis, a professor at Ohio State’s Mansfield Campus, said, “A successful program can be a source of pride for lots of folk, but the sheer magnitude of this athletic enterprise, and maybe any big-time athletic enterprise, always will present concerns for faculty” (Suggs 2002, A33). If intercollegiate sports hold promise and hope in the future, they must forthrightly focus on student-athletes’ rights and positive educational experiences.

Dana D. Brooks and Ronald C. Althouse

See also Intercollegiate Athletics; World University Games

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Commercialization of College Sports

Many people might say that commercialization has ruined sports. U.S. sports fans are, for the most part, nostalgic about the institution of sports as a way to enjoy leisure with one's family, to relax, to teach skills (most frequently people cite the development of

leadership and team-building skills) that will allow athletes to find success after they leave the field of play, whether their career ends with Little League, high school, college, or even professional sports.

Sports sociology research often finds a sporting tradition at a high school that produces tennis champions or star quarterbacks or pitchers on an annual basis. For example, during the late 1970s the baseball program of Los Angeles' Crenshaw High School placed virtually every member of the roster in the minor or major leagues, including the former Mets and Dodgers superstar Darryl Strawberry. We rarely see an analysis wherein sports are used as the organizing principle to obtain goals that have little to do with running, throwing, jumping, and/or "social capital" obtained from parents. Frank Parkin, a sociologist, had this to say about this issue:

What is especially remarkable about [sports] . . . is how relatively few of the children of successful footballers, boxers, baseball and tennis stars, or the celebrities of stage and screen have succeeded in reproducing their parents' elevated status. One reason for this would seem to be that the skills called for in these pursuits are of a kind that must be acquired and cultivated by the individual in the actual course of performance, and which are thus not easily transferred from parent to child. (1998, 130–131)

Sports force people to learn "sports skills" and how to sell those skills to the highest bidder—or, as economists like to say, whatever the market will bear. This situation brings about commercialization.

Deeply implicated in the commercialization of sports is what we can call the "athletic arms race." We see the athletic arms race in intercollegiate sports and, with free agency, in professional sports. Because of it, athletes and the sports they play come in second to ill attention to academic studies, contract disputes, unruly behavior, and movement from one team to another.

All of the aforementioned problems began in 1984 when the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that playing the sport of college football is an ordinary

Can't anything be done about calling these guys student athletes? That's like referring to Atilla the Hun's cavalry as weekend warriors. ■ RUSSELL BAKER

part of college business and that hence the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) has no right to force its members to abide by a central plan to broadcast football games.

Sports are an institution in U.S. society—and becoming one of the most important institutions—mirroring all that is important in our society, especially the importance of money. Although money is not the only measure of importance, it says a lot about what a society considers important.

“Show Me the Money,” Professional Style

In July 2004 the most recent National Basketball Association draft took place. The outcome was astonishing. During the first round high school players were chosen over the more accomplished college and international players. Dwight Howard of Southwest Atlanta Christian Academy was chosen over everyone else, including the University of Connecticut's Emeka Okafor, perhaps the most dominant college player in the United States in 2003. Howard sported his Orlando Magic cap, his braces glistening in the spotlight, as he shook hands with NBA Commissioner David Stern.

Howard, and many others drafted, will earn \$1.8 million for the first three or so years as a pro. Howard became the third high school player taken first overall in the National Basketball Association draft, touching off a record haul of eight prep players in the first nineteen selections for 2004.

Portland, with the thirteenth draft choice, selected Brooklyn prep star Sebastian Telfair, a cousin of NBA standout Stephon Marbury. Telfair, an eighteen-year-old, already has a lucrative shoe endorsement contract (he was on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* while still in high school) reportedly worth \$12 million over six years. This sum of money is particularly potent when one realizes that Sebastian Telfair's high school coach, for whom Telfair played for only a month or two before the draft, makes a fraction of what Telfair will make going into his first NBA season.

“Show Me the Money,” College Style

Just as salaries for professional athletes have skyrocketed (during the 1950s professional athletes earned *less than the median income* for men), money has become central to the administration of intercollegiate athletics as well. Athletic directors make salaries on par with university presidents, and coaches in the high-profile sports of football and men's basketball make five, ten, even twenty times more than the average college professor on the same campus. College athletic budgets are exorbitant and stretch into all aspects of sports: coaching salaries, stadiums, and recruiting.

Consistent with the search for student-athletes globally is the need for athletic programs to adopt a corporate model to upgrade facilities such as locker rooms and stadiums. This need is essential for two reasons: (1) to competitively recruit sophisticated student-athletes who are well aware of their needs for special amenities to which the college must respond and (2) to expand and retain a fan base that has become accustomed to luxury accommodations. These dual needs fuel the increasingly competitive athletic arms race.

Locker Rooms and Stadiums

Every male who has played sports, from Little League baseball to high school sports to intercollegiate sports, knows that locker rooms traditionally have been dirty and funky. However, those days are past, at least for high-profile athletic programs. A central part of the athletic arms race during the new millennium and especially at the Division 1A level is upgraded locker rooms and megastadiums.

In the autumn of 2003 the University of Oregon, at the expense of \$26,667 per locker (\$3.2 million total), acquired the best locker-room facility in the United States, better than those of most professional football and basketball teams. Inside this mammoth structure the doors open and shut at a rate of 1 meter per second and can accommodate eight players entering at once. The Ducks have 152-centimeter plasma TVs (at a cost

of \$15,000 each) that are outfitted for Xbox game systems. The locker room is a two-story structure, and each locker is equipped with its own ventilation system to “personalize” perspiration. Each locker has outlets for both video games and the Internet as well as a security system that is activated by a code that includes a player’s uniform number and a scan of his thumbprint. Other schools in the PAC 10 and nationally have followed suit. Several, including Oregon, have also built new indoor practice facilities.

The athletic arms race also includes the expansion or construction of stadiums. Many Division 1A colleges have built new stadiums. For example, Folsom Field Stadium at the University of Colorado at Boulder has twenty-eight private boxes and nineteen hundred club seats and was built at a cost of \$42 million. While the University of Colorado is investing in the new stadium, faculty in the Colorado system are fighting to keep the legislature from closing several institutions in the system. The University of Colorado also has spent the last year engaged in a series of lawsuits that charges Buffalo football players and coaches with a variety of uncivil behaviors.

Coaches’ Salaries and Perks

Also part of the athletic arms race are the buying, selling, and trading of coaches. Before Steve Spurrier left Florida, the United States had two \$1 million coaches. Coaches are expensive. They must have not only million-dollar salaries, but also full access to facilities during the summer to host their camps and contracts that have “appendages,” such as a certain number of game tickets, airline tickets for travel, and product endorsements that monetarily are not tied to annual salaries. Before Matt Doherty was fired from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill he had a base salary of \$150,000 but had a “shoe deal” with Nike worth \$500,000.

Today approximately twenty-three U.S. coaches are paid more than a million dollars a year, many of them at programs that will never make the bowl championship series or break into the top twenty-five ranking.



Commercialization of College Sports

Hunter S. Thompson on Commercialization in Sports

There is a progression of understanding vis-à-vis pro football that varies drastically with the factor of distance—physical, emotional, intellectual and every other way. Which is exactly the way it should be, in the eyes of the amazingly small number of people who own and control the game, because it is this finely managed distance factor that accounts for the high-profit mystique that blew the sacred institution of baseball off its “national pastime” pedestal in less than fifteen years.

Source: Hunter S. Thompson (1939–2005), American journalist.

Student-Athlete Perks

Another example of the athletic arms race was the promotion of University of Oregon quarterback Joey Harrington. The University of Oregon in Eugene, a public institution, under the direction of athletic director Bill Moos made headlines a few years back when it advertised, on the Times Square billboard in New York City, its Heisman Trophy quarterback candidate, Joey Harrington, at a cost of \$250,000 for three months.

As frivolous as the Joey Harrington promotion was, perks for student-athletes are serious business. Such perks are institutionalized in the academic support services that are burgeoning on college campuses. Academic support services are a part of an athletic department’s infrastructure designed to address the growing problem of the academic weakness—what Professor Cantor (1996) calls “underperformance”—of many incoming student-athletes. For example, at the University of Missouri in 1998 the Sheldon Resource Center opened in a 900-square-meter facility with a budget of \$130,000 for tutors and \$500,000 for operating costs. It has seven full-time employees and thirty-six computers. At the University of Illinois seventy tutors, sixty computers,

and ten full-time employees are housed in the 743-square-meter Irwin Academic Center. The athletic arms race is about expanding capitalism. The enterprise is used to attract student-athletes and fans to both athletic contests and the academic institution itself.

Faculty members at a number of major sports colleges have begun to question two elements of the athletic arms race. One element is the slip of paper that is brought to professors informing them that certain students are excused a certain number of classes, thus leaving the professors without control of their classrooms but knowing that every student in the classroom does not have this privilege. The second element is the number of athletic events that takes place during the school day. Not only has the number of such events increased, but also for a sport such as basketball, a team may play every day or night of the week. When combined with travel, this schedule results in even more missed classes. Many of these problems occur in high-profile sports, but they are not confined to Division 1A and exist even in the so-called lower-profile sports programs at liberal arts colleges. Student-athletes play sports such as golf and tennis nearly year around in schedules that include tournaments that may take student-athletes away from campus for a week at a time.

Athletic contests “on the road” also cost colleges financially. The costs of airline tickets, hotel rooms, and food for coaches and student-athletes can be a major portion of any athletic department budget. Moreover, many college football programs have adopted the practice of housing teams off campus in hotels on the night before home games. The cost of housing football teams off campus for home games can range from \$6,000 per night to \$50,000 for the home game season.

Finally, the athletic arms race can be viewed from another angle. Two colleges, Wisconsin and Michigan State, which are a few hours apart by bus, in 1992 traveled to Tokyo to play a regular season football game, forcing the colleges to delay final examinations. The NCAA, in connection with its TV deals (such as the \$6 billion March Madness deal with CBS), is interested in increasing its fan base and TV market.

This globalization of sports follows the model of corporate expansion, thus taking control of intercollegiate athletics away from the colleges and placing that control in the hands of marketing and advertising executives who do not have a penchant for higher education but rather are interested only in profits.

Recruiting Practices

Perks for student-athletes begin long before they sign a letter of commitment and accept an athletic scholarship. Recruiting is also a central part of the athletic arms race and involves a large package of inducements.

Here is a description of seventeen-year-old high school recruit Willie Williams:

Willie Williams tells us that after flying to Tallahassee in a private jet, he was taken to the best restaurant in the city by a Florida State University coach. After ordering a lobster tail at \$49.95 and a steak at market value, he then saw that there was no restraint by others at the table. He called the waiter back and made his order four lobster-tails, two steaks, and a shrimp scampi. There were a dozen other recruits at the table.

In Miami at the Mayfair House Hotel Willie’s room, the Paradise Suite, featured a Jacuzzi on the balcony. He said he felt that he was living like King Tut and concluded that he would major in business so this lifestyle would continue. (Navarro 2004)

A central tool in the recruitment process is sex—everything from titillation to intercourse. Many colleges have begun to follow a practice—started by the legendary Alabama coach Paul “Bear” Bryant—of using coeds to lure male student-athletes to their campuses. “Hostess squads” have nice names such as “Garnet & Gold Girls,” “Lady Bells,” and “Tiger Paws.” Recently *Sports Illustrated* published an article on the widespread use of “hostess girls” to recruit male student-athletes that captured the essence of many hostess squads: “honeys for the boys.”

The essence of the athletic arms race is that colleges must expand to remain competitive. That is, they must seek better ways of recruiting blue chip athletes, they

must develop better relationships with fans and boosters, many of whom must be financially able, and they must provide facilities that lure both student-athletes and fans. The expenditures are not voluntary; they are a must to compete in big-time sports.

Although people most often think of the impact of athletic programs on the functioning of Division 1A colleges, as Bowen and Levin point out, because of the small student bodies at Ivy League schools and liberal arts colleges, which often field more intercollegiate teams than do Division 1A schools, the ratio of student-athletes is disproportionately greater, thus increasing the impact of their presence with each incoming class.

Athletics and athletic programs have a far greater impact on the composition of the incoming class (and perhaps the campus ethos) at an Ivy League university or a small liberal arts college than at most Division 1A colleges.

The Future

We often read news stories about law-breaking behavior at every level of intercollegiate sports. Coaches are fired for having sex with co-eds and strippers, student-athletes are arrested for everything from driving under the influence to rape, domestic violence, and murder, and even athletic directors and college presidents have begun to be arrested for such behavior: They, too, are now being scrutinized. The instances mentioned here are not random but rather are a result, either directly or indirectly, of the commercialization in all sports, professional and commercial.

Earl Smith and Angela J. Hattery

See also Amateur vs. Professional Debate

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Commodification and Commercialization

Sports are a prime example of an activity that has, at its higher levels, become a highly commercialized commodity. Commodification is the process by which a product or activity that once existed for utility or pleasure becomes something used to make money, to buy or sell, through promotion or utilization. Commercialization is the application of business practices where they were not formerly applied.

Sports have served as a form of public entertainment in many societies throughout history, but the commercialization of sports is more pervasive today than ever before. The prospect of making money has become both a motivation for sport organizers and a promise for athletes. The high monetary stakes associated with sports tend to drive interest and assist in building an audience. Today, money from television broadcast partners often dictates everything from team schedules to the scheduling of time-outs during a competition. Accomplished athletes have become millionaires through their sport earnings and endorsements. In essence, sport, as we know it today, has become corporate sport. It has been said that high-profile sport events could not exist without the support of corporate sponsorship.

Unquestionably, commodification and commercialization have changed sport in recent decades. Athletes can become a part of this phenomenon in two different ways. As professionals, paid to compete, they in essence become commodities. Their likenesses or images are sold to promote products. As amateur sports participants and spectators, they increase the market for sport-related products and advertising. The commercial success

An athlete cannot run with money in his pockets. He must run with hope in his heart and dreams in his head. ■ EMIL ZATOPEK

of sports has relied on the ability to generate revenue. Common sources of revenue include gate receipts, sale of broadcast rights, sale of licensed merchandise, and corporate sponsorship support. Successful commercialization occurs most often in or near large cities with many potential spectators who will spend money attending events and buying related products. People in urban areas must have the time, discretionary income, and means to travel to competitions. Commercialization of sport is the product of both urbanization and increasing marketing sophistication.

Commercial Success Factors

Commercial sport requires strong spectator interest. Communities often dictate the success of sport products and events. Spectator interest has appeared to be highest in places where the people value achievement, where a widespread system of youth sports programs exist, and where there is general access to newspapers, radio, and television. Spectator interest has increased worldwide, a phenomenon that has included women as well as men in many industrialized countries. One trend worth noting is that as more women have entered occupations with a strong emphasis on advancement and upward mobility, they have become more interested in following sports and attending games. Often spectators see sport as a model of the way they would like the world to operate. As they watch a sport event, they can see that hard work and the pursuit of excellence still lead to success and prosperity.

In addition to strong spectator interest, five key components have been found to exist where sports have received the most large-scale commercial success.

1. Commercialization of sport succeeds most often in market economies where material rewards are highly valued.
2. Societies with large, densely populated cities provide the needed concentration of potential spectators that translate to ticket buyers.
3. Consumers with access to means such as transportation, discretionary time and income, and media outlets are those typically living in societies with higher standards of living and are a key component.
4. Large amounts of capital must be available to invest in the building and maintaining of sports arenas and stadiums.
5. Societies with high rates of consumption that emphasize material status symbols, such as clothing with specific team names and colors or brands that contribute to the person's identity, commonly are found where highly commercialized sport is successful.

This explains the success of multiple sports leagues and high-profile events in the United States. No other country has hosted separate winter and summer Olympic games within a six-year span of time. Few countries could finance the building of the needed facilities, provide the transportation and media, and guarantee the requisite spectator support.

Commodification of World Sport

Two primary factors have contributed to the globalization of commercialized sport:

- Those who control sports work with those who promote and sponsor sports to find new ways of expanding markets. The return on investment dictates that new means for maximizing revenue are driving the latest initiatives.
- Many corporations today are transnational in reach. With production and distribution in multiple countries, means are needed to introduce new products or expand services around the world. Sport becomes the vehicle for achieving this goal because of its ability to go beyond language and cultural barriers that may be more difficult to overcome with traditional marketing approaches.

Take the example of the Olympic games. The 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC) understood the potential that reaching a global audience would have to corporate sponsors. Instead of allowing 628 sponsors to attach themselves to the games,

as was done in the 1976 Olympics, the 1984 games had only 32 sponsors that each paid between \$4 million and \$13 million in cash, goods, and services to be affiliated with this one-of-a-kind global sporting event. The result for the LAOOC was a net profit of \$222 million, which had never been done before. The success of the 1984 games spurred corporate interest and increased both the cost as well as the potential for success. Companies such as Coca Cola, IBM, Visa, and Xerox have expanded into new markets, improved revenue, and maximized their transnational reach via the Olympic platform.

Sport organizations with a global interest logically would align sponsors with similar aspirations. Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the organization responsible for both men's and women's World Cup soccer events, has benefited directly as a sports organization because of the commercial value associated with its global events and subsequent reach. FIFA events are held throughout world, as teams qualify for the World Cup. Cities throughout the world interested in hosting the World Cup of soccer compete for the privilege. Affiliated with hosting are numerous opportunities to gain investment from corporate interests, both locally and globally. Yet, sport properties that are more national have increasingly found ways to invest in expanding their reach; for example, the National Football League (NFL) has expanded beyond North American borders to manage teams and a league in Europe. The NFL Europe has had mixed results, yet, if the product of American football can be developed in European countries, the potential for corporate and media interests can similarly be developed.

Trends in Commercial Sport Development

The global sponsorship market has grown from \$17.6 billion in 1997 to \$37.8 billion during the summer Olympic year of 2004. By 2005, projections for the global sponsorship market amounted to \$42 billion, in a non-Olympic, non-World Cup year. In addition, sport has been attributed to significant amounts of economic

impact for cities that host major events. In the United States, the 2002 Indianapolis 500 topped the chart with a reported impact of \$336 million. The next highest figure was the \$305 million reported for the Super Bowl in New Orleans. Even amateur sporting events can provide economic impact to host cities. The 2001 ESPN Summer X Games reportedly provided between \$45 million and \$50 million for the city of Philadelphia. Action sports are new to the landscape of commercialized sport, yet ESPN has illustrated the power in commodification with yet another genre. Women's sport also contributes to host cities. The 2002 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Women's Final Four basketball championship was reported to have generated between \$26 million and \$32 million for host city San Antonio. The single best economic impact from an amateur event remains the NCAA men's Final Four basketball championship. In 2002, Atlanta benefited from a \$75 million impact, and New Orleans reported a similar figure for 2003. Each of these examples illustrates the five components of commercialization, as well as the economic benefit sought by all parties involved. Sport is big business in the United States and around world.

Television Coverage of Sports

In 1980, NBC paid \$87 million in television rights fees for the Olympic games in Moscow that were then boycotted by the United States. In 1984, however, the LAOOC was able to secure \$225 million from ABC for domestic TV rights. The Los Angeles organizing committee was the last host-city organizing committee to retain the rights to sell all the sponsorship categories and negotiate the domestic television deal. The deal included a \$75 million rebate in case the athlete pool was weakened by political boycott and if the telecasts failed to achieve agreed-upon ratings. The result was a prime-time rating of 23.2 (about 17.4 million households in 1984), which surpassed expectations. This unprecedented success paved the way for future television rights deals that now are represented by staggering figures.

In 2004, the NFL led all sports leagues in television rights deals. With a total rights fee of \$17.6 billion

paid for the contract period of 1998 to 2005, the average annual value for the league was reported to be \$2.2 billion. ABC, Fox, CBS, and ESPN all contribute to these astonishing figures. The NFL also delivers some of the highest ratings in sports, which translates to value for the rights-fee holders. NBC has secured television rights for world-class events such as the Olympics and Wimbledon. The four-year deal to secure Wimbledon through 2006 amounted to \$52 million. Television networks will, however, only purchase such rights if they have strong indications that they can receive a significant return on their investment. Thus, commercialization of sport has created a new field broadly accepted as sport marketing.

Commercializing Athletes

The opportunity to earn money as an athlete has transcended the sport for many of today's top celebrity athletes. The most marketable female athletes, such as Serena Williams, Annika Sorenstam, and Mia Hamm have potential to earn more from endorsements than from their sports performances. Michael Jordan, Tiger Woods, and Kobe Bryant were the top three men in 2002. Each of these athletes has earned a following that extends around the globe, which contributes to their high earnings for endorsements. Similarly, the female athletes represent sports that have a strong following beyond U.S. borders and commensurate appeal desired by companies when marketing on a global scale.

The ability that athletes have to cut through television clutter and deliver messages effectively for corporate partners has established them as some of the most effective commodities. For example, Lance Armstrong and his string of Tour de France wins have placed him at the center of a cable channel working to create an audience. The Outdoor Life Network (OLN) orients its programming around the three weeks during which the Tour de France is taking place. With six titles in a row, Armstrong has built a following that is valuable to OLN, as well as to the sponsors of riders, teams, and Armstrong. This world-class event extends company names to countries that may have little other exposure

to such brands. This proven strategy was initiated in 1984 in Los Angeles and continues in ever-evolving, innovative platforms.

Armstrong and the Tour de France also provide perfect examples of the future of sport commercialization. New categories of interest will continuously arise as exemplified by OLN's Tour de France success, while more companies will discover the power of brand building around athletes and sport properties. The past two decades have demonstrated that commodification of sport is limitless as long as creativity and innovation continue to evolve.

Nancy L. Lough

See also Brand Management; Marketing; Ownership; Sponsorship

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Commonwealth Games

The Commonwealth Games concept dates back to 1891 when Reverend J. Astley Cooper proposed a gathering of sports and other cultural events for nations with ties to the Commonwealth. No event came from this proposal but twenty years later, in 1911, a celebration call the "Festival of the Empire" was held to commemorate the coronation of King George V. Athletes from Britain, Canada, South Africa, and Austral-

The price of success is hard work, dedication to the job at hand, and the determination that whether we win or lose, we have applied the best of ourselves to the task at hand. ■ VINCE LOMBARDI

asia (Australia and New Zealand) competed in a limited schedule of athletics, boxing, swimming, and wrestling in the midst of many other scheduled events.

British Empire Games

The bid for permanent games began in Canada, in 1924, when Canada's Amateur Athletic Union proposed a competition to be called the "British Empire Games." At the 1928 Olympic Games, Melville Marks Robinson, a reporter for a Hamilton newspaper who served at the Games as a manager for the Canadian track and field team, worked to promote the idea.

In 1928 and 1929 the Canadians moved forward with the idea, creating a British Empire Games Committee as part of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada. Robinson led the Hamilton Games organizing committee, and a separate British Empire Games Association of Hamilton was created to provide opportunities for the public to assist the Games organizing committee with hospitality and with funding the Games.

The Canadians were able to convince eleven other nations to join in the first Games in Hamilton in 1930. Robinson is generally credited as the founder of the British Empire Games, and a high school in the neighboring city of Burlington is named after him.

From Empire to Commonwealth

The name of the Games and other symbols changed over time as the relationships of the nations involved changed from an Empire to a Commonwealth. From 1930 to 1950 the Games were called the British Empire Games, from 1954 to 1966 they were called the British Empire and Commonwealth Games, and from 1970 to 1986, they were called the British Commonwealth Games. Since 1990, the Games have been known as the Commonwealth Games.

The original governing body of the Games, the British Empire Games Federation, was formed during meetings at the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. That body is now known as the Commonwealth Games Federation.

The Games flag has also changed to reflect modern

sentiments. The Games emblem since 1954 had consisted of a chain surrounding a crown, which to some symbolized the strong links between Commonwealth nations. Others came to see the links as symbolizing colonial bonds that needed to be tossed off. The emblem was changed to a torch symbol in 2001.

History of Commonwealth Games

Since the games began in 1930, they have often been surrounded by controversy due to protests over the apartheid policy of South Africa. The issue of South African participation persisted in the Commonwealth Games (and in international sports) for much of the twentieth century.

1930 TO 1946: POLITICAL PROBLEMS

After the successful 1930 Games in Hamilton, the 1934 Games were scheduled to be held in Johannesburg, South Africa. However, the government policy of apartheid spurred protests and the Games were switched to London.

Sydney, Australia, hosted the 1938 British Empire Games. The February dates were convenient for the hosts, but out of season for the northern hemisphere guests. Australia used this advantage to top the medals table for the first time. Montreal, Canada, was chosen as the 1942 Games host, but the 1942 and 1946 Games were halted because of World War II.

1950 AND 1954: BREAKING RECORDS

When the Games resumed in 1950, Auckland, New Zealand, served as the host. Auckland chose the option of a grass track, conventional in New Zealand, but rare in other parts of the world. Skeptics were silenced when nine Empire Games records were broken, though it had been nearly twelve years since the last Games. England's Jack Holden ran the last seven miles of the marathon in his bare feet, after rain had ruined his shoes, and still won by more than four minutes.

The 1954 Games in Vancouver, Canada, became famous for the duel between Roger Bannister of England and John Landy of Australia over the mile distance.

Both men had broken the four-minute-mile barrier earlier that year—Bannister first, and the first ever to do so, and then Landy took the world record from him six weeks later. In Vancouver, Bannister bested Landy in the first race, with the two men running under four minutes in the mile.

1958: CARDIFF, WALES

The 1958 Games in Cardiff saw the introduction of the Queen's baton and relay, in which a baton was carried from Buckingham Palace, around the perimeter of Wales, to Cardiff. The Queen began the relay by inserting her message inside the baton at Buckingham Palace, and then the message was removed and read as part of the Commonwealth Games opening ceremonies. Since then, the relay has grown even more lengthy and complex.

Demonstrations against the South African team, which had no black members, took place in both Cardiff and London. South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth in 1961, preempting its probable expulsion, and it did not return to the Commonwealth Games until 1994.

1962: PERTH, AUSTRALIA

The Games were again hosted by Australia in 1962, with Perth as host. In Perth a proposal was made to hold future Commonwealth Games during the Olympic year, a few weeks before the Olympics, in a Commonwealth city close to where the Olympics were to be held. The goal was to reduce travel costs, but the proposal was not approved. For the Games village, the government of Western Australia held a competition and built 150 homes from the winning design. The homes were sold at public auction after the Games.

1966: KINGSTON, JAMAICA

The first Games to be held outside of Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand were the 1966 Games in Kingston. Jamaica, newly independent from Great Britain in 1962, proved doubters wrong who said that it was too small to host the Games. Jamaica could not provide television broadcasting facilities so

the visiting broadcasters brought their own equipment and technicians. But Jamaica's new swimming pool was state of the art and one of the fastest in the world, and it saw fifteen new world records.

At the Edinburgh, Scotland, Games four years later, metric measurements were used for the first time, bringing the Games in line with international standards.

1974: CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND

At the 1974 Games in Christchurch, New Zealand, security was strict in direct response to the terrorist attacks which occurred at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. Christchurch made up for the added tension with its hospitality, even providing equipment and bicycles for Uganda's cycling team, who showed up empty-handed at the Games. Tanzania's Filbert Bayi bested New Zealand's John Walker in the 1,500-meter event, but both broke the 1,500-meter world record. Bayi won in 3:32.2, with Walker second in 3:32.5. Kenya's Ben Jipcho finished third in 3:33.2, adding a bronze to his gold medals in the steeplechase and 5,000-meter event.

1978: EDMONTON, CANADA

Edmonton, Canada, hosted the 1978 Games. It built a Commonwealth stadium for 20 million dollars, which it considered a bargain after the financial debacle of the Montreal Olympic Games. Stung by the African boycott of the 1976 Olympic Games, Canada worked extremely hard to prevent another full-scale boycott. In June of 1977, Commonwealth representatives met in Gleneagles, Scotland, and devised an agreement formally known as the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport. The primary function of the agreement was to stop all sporting contacts with South Africa by other Commonwealth nations.

The Organization for African Unity (OAU) quickly gave its approval, but the Supreme Council of Sport in Africa (SCSA), led by Nigerian Abraham Ordia, was much harder to convince. In November 1977, the SCSA adopted a resolution endorsing African participation, but a few days before the Games, Nigeria announced that it would boycott them and tried to convince other nations to join the boycott. But Canadian diplomacy

Table 1.*Locations of the Commonwealth Games*

Year	City	Country	Dates
1930	Hamilton	Canada	August 16–23
1934	London	England	August 4–11
1938	Sydney	Australia	February 5–12
1950	Auckland	New Zealand	February 4–11
1954	Vancouver	Canada	July 30–August 7
1958	Cardiff	Wales	July 18–26
1962	Perth	Australia	November 21–December 1
1966	Kingston	Jamaica	August 4–13
1970	Edinburgh	Scotland	July 16–25
1974	Christchurch	New Zealand	January 24–February 2
1978	Edmonton	Canada	August 3–12
1982	Brisbane	Australia	September 30–October 9
1986	Edinburgh	Scotland	July 24–August 2
1990	Auckland	New Zealand	January 24–February 3
1994	Victoria	Canada	August 18–28
1998	Kuala Lumpur	Malaysia	September 1–21
2002	Manchester	England	July 25–August 4

won the day and the African athletes participated in Edmonton.

Canada was rewarded by topping the medals table for the first and only time to date in Commonwealth Games history. Kenya's Henry Rono, denied the opportunity to compete in both the Montreal and Moscow Olympic Games due to boycotts, won both the 5,000-meters and the 3,000-meter steeplechase in Edmonton.

1982: BRISBANE, AUSTRALIA

In 1982 Australia hosted the Games and succeeded in avoiding a large-scale African boycott by strongly condemning the 1981 tour of New Zealand by a South African rugby team and reaffirming the Gleneagles agreement. Several protests for aboriginal rights occurred during these Games, and about two hundred people were arrested trying to gain access to the main stadium.

1986: EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND

When the Games returned to Edinburgh in 1986, the question of apartheid in South Africa had still not been resolved. When a New Zealand rugby team embarked on a tour of South Africa, a violation of the Gleneagles agreement, African and Caribbean nations both moved to boycott the Edinburgh Games.

In an effort to try and placate the boycotting nations, distance runner Zola Budd and swimmer Annette Crowley, both South Africans intending to compete for Britain, were excluded from the Games. But the attempt failed, and thirty-two nations stayed home while twenty-six took part.

1990: AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

In 1990 at the Auckland games, the African nations threatened to boycott yet again in protest of another British rugby and cricket tour to South Africa. Anver Versi, of the news magazine *New African* had made strong arguments against a boycott, noting that African victories in the world sport arena was far more important to advancing the status of Africans than "all the speechifying and politicking that goes on every day." In the end, African nations went to Auckland and were successful. These Games saw the first drug scandals, when one Indian and two Welsh weight lifters tested positive.

1994: VICTORIA, CANADA

South Africa returned to the Commonwealth Games in 1994 in Victoria, Canada, after the apartheid government had been removed and the South Africans were able to send multiracial international sports teams.



Hezekiah Sepeng became the first black South African to win a medal in the Commonwealth Games by taking the 800-meter silver. (In the Atlanta Olympic Games in the United States, Sepeng would win another silver medal and become the first black South African to win an Olympic medal.) Horace Dove-Edwin from the small African nation of Sierra Leone also ran extremely well, finishing just behind Linford Christie of England in the final. However, Dove-Edwin then failed his post-race drug test for the same drug Ben Johnson had been found using in Seoul, South Korea.

Disabled athletes were included in the Victoria Games with events in swimming, athletics, and lawn bowls. Separate Commonwealth Paraplegic Games had been held from 1962 until 1974.

1998: KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA

In 1998 the Commonwealth Games were held for the first time outside an English-speaking country. However, in Kuala Lumpur a weak economy created budget difficulties, there was a water shortage, and smoke from forest fires that raged out of control in neighboring Indonesia. This led several countries to threaten to move or cancel their participation, but Malaysia held firm, and the Queen's baton was carried to the stadium on an elephant. It was presented to Prince Edward by Malaysia's first-ever Commonwealth-medal winner, Koh Eng Tong, who had won a bronze medal in weight lifting in the 1954 Games. The Malaysian spectators gave the delegation from Singapore a cool welcome because of political difficulties, and Nigeria did not compete because the nation had been suspended from the Commonwealth council.

The Commonwealth Games Federation took a new direction by adding team sports to the Games: Cricket, rugby, netball, and men's and women's field hockey were added to the upcoming schedule. Team sports had previously been excluded from the Games to emphasize the idea that the Games were between individuals and not nations. A proposal to award prize money at the Games was discussed by the Commonwealth Games Federation, but rejected.

Forty-year-old Judy Oakes of England won the shot put gold medal, becoming the oldest woman to win a gold medal at the Games. This continued her amazing streak of medal-winning: In six straight Games, Oakes won the bronze medal in 1978, the gold medal in 1982, silver medals in 1986 and 1990, and the gold medal in 1994. Kenyan runners dominated the distance events to no one's surprise, taking gold, silver, and bronze medals in both the steeplechase and the 5,000-meter event, and winning the 800-, 1,500- and 10,000-meter runs.

2002: MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

Manchester, England, hosted well-run Games in 2002, but not without controversy. Several medals changed hands during and after the Games due to drug suspensions, and there were disputes over officiating in boxing, field hockey, swimming, and table tennis. Athletes from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Kenya, and Sierra Leone could not be found at the conclusion of the Games and were thought to have defected. Two female swimmers from Pakistan became the first Pakistani Muslim females to compete outside a Muslim country. They participated in swimming events wearing new high-tech bodysuits, which were less revealing and more in line with Muslim cultural norms. In the end, Manchester was praised for its organization. Organizers hoped that the Games would raise the profile of the London bid for the 2012 Olympic Games.

The Future

Melbourne, Australia, was named host of the 2006 Commonwealth Games after all other bidders dropped out. New Delhi, India, beat Hamilton, Canada, for the right to host the 2010 Commonwealth Games.

Daniel Bell

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Community

“Community” is one of the most common and multivalent concepts in the social sciences. At one end of the spectrum, community can refer to small, close-knit groups in which individuals have much in common, know each other intimately, and interact regularly. This is the definition made famous by Ferdinand Tönnies in his classic nineteenth-century characterization of *Gemeinschaft* as community under siege by the organization and force of modern societies (*Gesellschaft*). At the other extreme, community can denote extremely large and diverse collectivities of people who share little more than an idea or place of residence as in Benedict Anderson’s influential reconceptualization of nationalism as an “imagined community.” And conceptions of community vary not only in terms of size and type of interaction but also in terms of what communities are organized around and how organized they are. The community label can be applied, for example, to a neighborhood or a block club, a religious congregation or a social movement, to people who share a lifestyle or ethnic background.

In the popular vernacular—where the language of community also has remarkable currency—these various meanings are often indiscriminately employed and can thus obscure as much as they reveal. But what re-

Tennis was given to me not to become a great player and a world champion. Tennis was given to me to keep me off the street corners of East St. Louis. ■ JIMMY CONNORS

ally stands out about everyday usage is how much moral weight and political baggage the term carries. No matter how defined or applied, “community” is invariably a good thing, a value in and of itself. This idealism actually reflects and reproduces tensions in liberal democratic social theory, where community is not just an abstract analytic category but often serves—as it did for the famous French sociologist Emile Durkheim a century ago and does for communitarian social theorists still today—as moral imperative or some larger, public good.

Community is, in short, a warm and fuzzy concept—“warm” in the sense that the term invokes good feelings and (in)tangible rewards, “fuzzy” in that the concrete empirical object of its affections is often vague and amorphous—and as such one of the more problematic terms in the social sciences to utilize properly much less summarize briefly.

In the field of sport studies, the term community appears in three fairly well-defined contexts. One is as an adjective describing a certain type of sport: namely, community sport or community-based sport. The other primary uses of the term come in the context of more analytical questions about the relationships between sport and various forms of social interaction and collective identification. They can be usefully divided into two main bodies of work—one that focuses on the impact sport has on social life, the other that attends to the ways in which community context and background affect peoples’ experiences in sport and the social outcomes of those experiences. Each of these variations on the community concept in sport studies has its own issues, assumptions, and challenges; cutting across all of them, however, are cultural conceptions of sport that can be just as idealized and amorphous as the concept of community itself.

Community-Based Sport

The idea of community sport or community-based sport is the most concrete usage of the term “community” in the field of sport studies. It refers to active, participatory forms of sport organized (more or less) and practiced at



Community

Swimming Builds Character

Learning to swim should be a part of every boy's education. It adds so much to his health, happiness, and safety that it cannot well be neglected. With the building of large numbers of municipal, Y.M.C.A., school, club, and college swimming pools, it is a rare boy who has not opportunity to learn to swim. During the past year or two the Y. M. C. A.'s through many new swimming pools have been teaching thousands of boys to swim. In Boston, seven thousand boys were taught the crawl in only a few weeks' time. By the use of "water-wings" boys who had never swum a stroke learned the crawl in three or four lessons. This stroke is so similar to the "dog paddle" in the ease with which it can be mastered, and so striking in its results that boys pick it up in an amazingly short time. With swimming so easily learned and opening such vistas of sport and recreation, to say nothing of the protection of life, can any boy afford not to know how to swim?

Source: Kiphuth, R. J. H. (1914). Are you a swimmer? In P. Withington (Ed.), *The Book of Athletics* (p. 405). Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co.

the local, grassroots level. Just how "local" and formally organized community-based sport is understood to be varies from person to person, from scholar to scholar, and across different social settings and cultural contexts. For some, it may involve simple recreational athletics—pickup basketball games at a local park, exercise classes, or swimming lessons at a recreational center. For others, it connotes more organized youth leagues or club sports sponsored by small businesses, civic organizations, or public parks and recreation programs. What these various forms of community sport all have in common may be best captured by contrasting them with what they are not, what they can be distinguished from: namely, high-performance, elite-entertainment sport.

The distinction between community-based sport and high-performance sport is not just a matter of how serious and skilled the players are, how structured their play is, or how many people pay attention to it. It is also and perhaps more importantly a matter of the purported values and rewards of the two sets of athletic practice. With its emphasis on intensive training, formal coaching, and high-level competition and accomplishment (not to mention spectatorship, marketing, and mass-media coverage), high-performance sport is understood as an end unto itself, with values and rewards intrinsic and self-evident for participants and spectators alike. In contrast, community-based sport typically puts the emphasis on the more intimate and immediate personal pleasures and long-term social rewards of physical activity: health and fitness, recreation and leisure, socializing with family and friends. In view of these commitments, community sport advocates typically stress mass participation and healthy practices, preferring to cultivate and support the participation of as many people in as many activities as possible regardless of athletic skill or ability.

In actual practice there is a good deal of overlap between community sport and high-performance sport. In part this is because community-based athletics often serve as training grounds and feeder systems for more competitive, performance-based sport, arenas for promising young athletes to be discovered, hone their skills, and thus move up the highly competitive, elite-sport ladder. The blurry boundaries between community and elite sport also have to do with the way in which the priorities of high-performance sport creep into community-based forms. Winning becomes more important than participating; formal structure and routinized practice push out the more pleasurable, playful aspects of physical activity; spectatorship and consumption are chosen over active participation. Advocates are so sensitive to these incursions that they often say community-based sport is not just different from high-performance sport but inherently in competition with high-performance sport and deeply threatened by it.



Ice fishing houses on a frozen lake. *Source: istockphoto.com/timeless.*

Low and decreasing rates of participation in healthful physical activity have been documented in recent years and have accentuated fears about the vitality and viability of community-based sport. Of particular concern for scholars and advocates are those social groups typically marginalized or excluded by sport's historic masculine, middle-class biases—women, minorities, the poor, and the disabled. And what critics call “bad practices” are not the only barriers these groups encounter. Equally problematic are the deteriorating facilities and declining levels of fiscal support that have resulted from the ascendance of neoliberal public policies. These cut-backs have been offset in more affluent communities by market-based, pay-to-play leagues, private health clubs, personal trainers, and the like. Elsewhere, community sports have become more dependent upon funding targeted at risk reduction, crime prevention, and public safety—objectives that skirt the traditional ideals of community-based sport and are in addition deeply

racialized. Clearly, the future of healthful and equitable community sport depends not only on a recognition of the personal and social value(s) of mass participation, it also requires the infrastructure and funding to turn these ideals into institutional realities.

Sport and Community Building

A second sport-oriented context in which the community concept is present is in discussions about the impact that sport has upon groups and other social collectivities. This use of the term most often appears under the label of “sport and community building” and, more importantly, usually comes with the strong assumption (or even outright assertion) that sport builds, nurtures, and sustains communities. The belief that sport builds community is, at least in Western contexts, extremely broad and pervasive. It applies to virtually all types of sport, levels of sport, and forms of participation, and to the broadest and most elastic possible conceptions of

community. The communities believed to be built by sport can be as small as block clubs or office groups, as large as the whole of humanity itself, and anywhere in between—as exemplified by the language of civic pride, school spirit, and national identity that often appears in accounts of the communal value of sport.

Community building in and through sport can occur in many different ways. Recreational athletic activities can provide an environment and activity that bring individuals from disparate backgrounds and otherwise disconnected contexts into contact with one another. Recreational forms of sport can also provide a venue for people who already know each other from some specific context or social sphere—such as school, church, or work—to get to know each other better and think of themselves in more collective terms. The theory is that in moving people out of the narrow, one-dimensional roles they are accustomed to and into a collective activity stripped of tangible meaning and consequence, individuals will come to trust and understand each other and develop a stronger sense of themselves as a whole group, thus enabling them to work better together toward common ideals and objectives.

These community-building functions can be served through watching and following sports—and cheering for individual teams and players, and even in buying sports-related merchandise and apparel—as well as by playing them. Sometimes the more spectator-oriented interactions are concrete and face-to-face, as when workers in an office or members of a fraternity attend a sporting event together. But much of the community building that occurs in the context of elite-entertainment sport is of a different quality and type, usually more applicable to social entities that are larger and more diffuse. Interscholastic athletics, for example, provide a unique venue for student bodies to come together, and can generate unparalleled positive public attention. In many cities and towns, school sports teams take on even larger meaning and significance. Indeed, American public universities claim that over half of the interactions they have with ordinary citizens come via intercollegiate athletics. That these connections are typically

Basketball can serve as a metaphor for ultimate cooperation. It is a sport where success . . . requires that the dictates of community prevail over selfish impulses. ■ BILL BRADLEY

mediated through mass communications and market-based consumption makes them no less real; quite the contrary, such interactions can be the basis of community itself. It is no accident that sports and nationalism are so closely linked: sports teams or star players or even entire sports (think: hockey in Canada) provide an embodied form and rallying point for the otherwise intangible boundaries and sentiments of the nation. Anthropologist John MacAloon has argued that the popularity of the modern Olympic Games involves their success (in contrast to other global organizations and movements) in creating symbols and rituals that draw the various nations and peoples of the world together.

In each of these cases, the community-building powers of sport derive not only from the way in which sport draws diverse people together but also from its ability to cultivate among these people deep and abiding feelings of solidarity and belonging, unity, collective identity, and common purpose. Here, all of sport's unique cultural qualities—its inherent drama, its immediate physicality and emotion, its ultimate absolute clarity—are almost miraculously transferred to or even merged with the social groups teams or players are said to represent. No better evidence of this mysterious phenomenon may exist than the fact that sports fans the world over speak not of “my team” or “our team” but of “us” and “we.” They feel the successes (and failures) of their favorite teams and players as their own.

There is a temptation to ignore the more problematic aspects of its relation to social collectivities. This is dangerous and inaccurate on several counts. In a very basic sense, sport can (and often does) break down community; it can, in D. Stanley Eitzen's terms, “divide as well as unite.” This is frequently witnessed when a team has a disappointing performance or suffers an unexpected loss. Finger-pointing can take hold among players and coaches, fans begin to lose interest and disengage from the team and the larger collective entity it is said to represent. It can also happen when friends and acquaintances play against each other or root for opposing teams. And if athletic competition can bring out differences and animosities among people who already know



Community

Stilt Walking Indonesia

Stilt walking as performed by the Toradja people of Indonesia has several community functions as indicated in the following text.

Walking on stilts is also a favorite game among the east Toradja. The stilt (*loko*) is a bamboo or a strong pole on which a little block of wood, on which the foot rests, is tied with rattan. Or a hole is chopped in the stilt, in which a little piece of wood for the foot is stuck. Sometimes one uses as a stilt a bamboo stalk on which a piece of a branch has been left as a step. The foot is often placed crosswise on the step, such as children are wont to do among us. Most of the time, however, the foot is placed lengthwise on the step, whereby the stilt is clamped between the big and second toe, so that the foot cannot slip off. The stilts are not held down low behind the shoulder, but up on top in front of the shoulder.

All sorts of games are played on stilts: people hold races on stilts; they go to stand beside one another in a circle, in order then to jump around on one stilt and with the other alternately to stamp on the ground and strike the other stilt. During this the hollow bamboo makes a dull sound. In doing this, the *montangoli* . . . is sometimes imitated. Or two persons on stilts approach each other and remain standing in front of each other; at the same moment they lift one stilt and balance themselves on the other; whoever

can remain standing this way longer is the winner. Boys also try with their stilt to knock that of a companion out from under him, in order to make him fall.

A practical use of stilts is made when people chase birds from the fields with them; when they pick sirih fruits and pinang nuts with them, or when young men come to chat with girls who are sitting on the front veranda of their dwelling, plaiting mats or sewing.

No time is prescribed for walking on stilts, but one sees it done most in the period when the rice is ripening. It is possible that originally people wanted to exert influence on the growth of the crop by walking on stilts. Boys as well as girls walk on stilts, but boys do it much more than girls. For this the latter make use of coconut shells that are also called *moloko*. The half of the coconut in which the seed hole is found is used for this. Through this hole is pulled a rope, the end of which the girl holds in her hand. She puts each of her feet on the rounded side of a shell, with the rope between her big and second toe. By pulling the rope, the shell is wedged against the foot, and thus she strides along on it.

Source: Adriani, N. & Kruyt, A. C. (1951). *The Bare'e-speaking Toradja of Central Celebes (the East Toradja): Vol 3.* (pp. 606–607). Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij.

each other, it isn't difficult to realize that sport's purported community-building properties may fall short of the mark for people who have little in common to begin with. Sport's agonistic, winner-take-all structure doesn't just reproduce the social dynamics of group conflict and competition, it requires them and seems designed to bring out them out.

Given that the competitive qualities of sport are so pervasive and pronounced, the real question may be why the community-building possibilities of sport are so idealized in the first place. The explanation has as much to do with utopian liberal democratic ideals about com-

munity as with sport itself. For one, the making of a community is not as simple and straightforward as it first might appear. Bringing people together in a common space or collective enterprise does not automatically or inevitably generate social harmony. Indeed, it can accentuate the differences that distinguish one group of people from another—especially when the activity is competitive and there are tangible rewards to be won and lost.

On a deeper level, almost all communities are posited on social distinctions that marginalize or exclude others. That is, any sense of communal "we-ness"—who we



Athletes pose at the 1998 Amsterdam Gay Games. Gay athletes form a distinct community within the larger sports community. *Source: Agnes Elling.*

are—also implies and requires a sense of otherness—who we are not. And this otherness not only differentiates one group from another but often turns into a struggle for dominance (which of us is better?). Furthermore, most communities are far more multifaceted and internally differentiated than Western thinking usually allows. While these differences can be the source of divisive infighting, the bigger point here is that they can be used by one group to exercise power and authority over others, all in the name of a larger, communal good. One person's sacred "community," to put it succinctly, can be another's source of marginalization, subordination, or oppression.

All too often sport has been directly involved in privileging one set of community interests and claims over others. Some of this is built into the inflexible, one-dimensional structure of agnostic competition. Olympic athletes, for instance, must compete for their countries and cannot represent collective identities based upon race, religion, or gender. But it also results from sport's own exclusionary history and troubled complicity with the forces of power. The 1920s American play move-

ment is a case in point: mostly white, middle-class reformers used sports ranging from Major League Baseball to neighborhood recreation to turn new European immigrants into "good Americans," thus creating one community (the nation) even as they were controlling, containing, and erasing various ethnic and immigrant minority cultures. In fact, a great deal of sport scholarship has been devoted to showing how hierarchies and stereotypes relating to race, class, gender, and sexuality have been perpetuated in and through sport, and how mass sport has been used as a tool for legitimating political power and the social status quo.

It can be difficult to square these scholarly critiques with the popular conception of sport as a positive, community-building social force. But instead of choosing one approach over the other, it may be better to think of sport as a sociocultural practice where people are constantly put together and pulled apart, where communities—in the plural—are made and often simultaneously unmade, where community construction occurs at multiple levels and often includes cross-cutting ties and allegiances that can have social implications far beyond the formal boundaries of sport itself. And what gives sport its unique power as a site for community building is not just its inherent agnostic structure; it has also to do with the paradoxical way in which sport is experienced and understood by so many of its participants and practitioners: as deeply significant, on the one hand, and yet ultimately trivial, playful, and unimportant. This peculiar attitude dictates that the consequential drama of community formation unfolds without the full knowledge and awareness of the players and audiences themselves.

Community as Mediating Social Force

A third and final line of work is focused on the role of communities—however defined and operationalized—in shaping and determining the experience of sport participation and its broader social impacts. In this context, the causal relationships between sport and community are reversed from the sport-as-community-building context. Here, "community" becomes the fac-

tor or force (or independent variable) that impacts the form, quality, intensity, and social consequence of athletic participation.

Although not all of it uses the language of community explicitly, a great deal of research on this topic has been conducted. One of the first findings of sport sociology was that access to sport participation was clearly and predictably influenced by social factors such as class and education, race, and gender. Sport scholars have also found that the best determinants of whether young people will have fun in sports and continue to participate in them are social factors such as peers, parents, and coaches. More recently researchers interested in how sport participation is related to personal quality-of-life indicators such as mental health, self-esteem, educational aspirations and attainment, and social mobility have discovered that the relationship can be positive or negative and that the variation is shaped and determined by the way sports participation matches up (or interacts) with the communal context in which individuals are situated.

Important in its own right, this research serves as a counterpoint to Western tendencies to romanticize sport as an autonomous, pure-play realm, an arena uncorrupted—even unaffected—by the forces of the external world and whose own social impacts are always positive and progressive. The social force of sport is not one-dimensional or unidirectional but in fact variable and, moreover, largely dependent upon how sport interacts with other forces in the social environment. Thus, the relationships between sport and community are complex and multifaceted not only because of the many different (and often idealized) ways in which both community and sport can be conceived and experienced but also because of the reciprocal ways in which they interact. One cannot be studied or understood without the other—which is why the more we really learn about the deep structure and significance of sport in communities, the more we know about those communities and about modern, global society itself.

Douglas Hartmann

See also Fan Loyalty; Social Identity; Sport and National Identity

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Competition

Competition occurs in social relationships in which comparisons of performances are made according to shared standards, such that performances can be objectively evaluated and ranked.

Competition and the importance of striving for success are an inherent part of the ideology of many social institutions, in particular, the economy, military, and politics. However, competition in sport is not considered in the same way as it is manifested in many forms of social life. The structural aim of sport competition is to measure and rank competitors according to the results of athletic performance. The ranking is based on

the principle of equality among sport competitors. This principle seems to be a unique feature of competition in sport.

Competitive Relationships

The Canadian sport sociologist John W. Loy has defined competition “as a struggle for supremacy between two or more opposing sides,” in which opposing sides can “encompass the competitive relationships between man and other objects of nature both animate and inanimate” (Loy et al. 1981, 25). Thus, he has built a typology of competitive relationships to include competition between one individual and another, competition between one team and another, competition between an individual or team and an animate object of nature, competition between an individual or team and an inanimate object of nature, and competition between an individual or team and an ideal standard.

In general competition in sport can take the form of direct competition in which two opponents confront each other, as in ball games; or parallel competition in which contestants compete with one another indirectly, as in swimming; or competition against a standard, as in gymnastics.

Sport Competition from a Historical Perspective

In order to determine the outcome of a contest and the real winner in sports, it is essential to ensure equality and fair play in the competition. But have sport competitions as we know them always existed?

The concept of ranking athletes according to their performance required a certain equality of opportunity that seems similar to what today we would call “fairness.” However, the principle of fairness in sports is a rather new phenomenon. In ancient Greece the ethical code of sportlike activities was subordinated to the requirements of bravery. In the Middle Ages, it was expressed by honor. In the period around the founding of the modern Olympics in the 1890s, *fair play* became a fundamental moral principle that incorporated ethical codes within the sports arsenal of detailed rules.

True disputants are like true sportsman: their whole delight is in the pursuit. ■ ALEXANDER POPE

The development of sport and the emphasis on the concept of fair play as a standard reference for morally right and good behavior in sport competitions can be seen in light of an increasing social control of violence and aggression since the Middle Ages. As the British-German sociologist Norbert Elias (1897–1990) has noted, the passage of the term *fair play* into everyday language is linked to the growth of sport in the nineteenth century.

Elias found in his analysis of the genesis of sport that the need for competitions to be impartial and fair grew considerably with the increased popularity of gambling. For example, interest in putting money on a horse in horse racing depended on whether gamblers could rely on an impartial and just result.

The conception of sport, as manifested in the modern Olympic system developed at the end of the nineteenth century, was based on principles of equality and distinction. Sport constitutes a distinct social order in its regulation of the systematic endeavor to break records of competitive achievement. Moreover, the mode by which the pronouncement of losers and winners and the symbolic display of results is organized represents a new and modern order. These tasks are accomplished without causing the deaths of parties in the event, which was not always the case during sporting events of earlier times.

According to the Polish sociologist Zbigniew Krawczyk, the modern Olympic Games were built on the principles that sport should be practiced due to its immanent values and not for material gain; sportsmen and sportswomen should compete as people living in friendship and peace without nationalist emotions and wars; and victory means less than participation in sporting events. Unlike a society in which people are differentiated according to race and class, for example, in Olympic sport the goal is that egalitarianism should prevail. Thus, although the system of sport itself is structurally hierarchical in nature, participants experience egalitarianism and friendship.

Though it is possible to identify the modern order in contemporary sport, activities we today refer to as sport



Competition

Extract from *Tom Brown's Schooldays* by Thomas Hughes (1857)

The ball has just fallen again where the two sides are thickest, and they close rapidly around it in a scrummage: it must be driven through now by force or skill, till it flies out on one side or the other. Look how differently the boys face it. Here come two of the bull-dogs, bursting through the outsiders; in they go, straight to the heart of the scrummage, bent on driving that ball out on the opposite side. That is what they mean to do. My sons, my sons! you are too hot; you have gone past the ball, and must struggle now right through the scrummage, and get round and back again to your own side, before you can be of any further use. Here comes young Brooke; he goes in as straight as you, but keeps his head, and backs and bends, holding himself still behind the ball, and driving it furiously when he gets the chance. Take a leaf out of his book, you young chargers. Here comes Speedicut, and Flashman the School-house bully, with shouts and great action. Won't you two come up to young Brooke, after locking-up, by the School-

house fire, with "Old fellow, wasn't that just a splendid scrummage by the three trees!" But he knows you, and so do we. You don't really want to drive that ball through that scrummage, chancing all hurt for the glory of the School-house—but to make us think that's what you want—a vastly different thing; and fellows of your kidney will never go through more than the skirts of a scrummage, where it's all push and no kicking. We respect boys who keep out of it, and don't sham going in; but you—we had rather not say what we think of you.

Then the boys who are bending and watching on the outside, mark them—they are most useful players, the dodgers; who seize on the ball the moment it rolls out from amongst the chargers, and away with it across to the opposite goal; they seldom go into the scrummage, but must have more coolness than the chargers; as endless as are boys' characters, so are their ways of facing or not facing a scrummage at football.

have developed and changed in relation to social and cultural change. As the Norwegian sport philosopher Sigmund Loland maintains: "Today's Olympians may have ideas of serving their country, their race, their ideology, or even their God. Still, secular goals of performing well, of winning, and of attaining fame and fortune are probably more common. During China's Cultural Revolution, the slogan was 'friendship first, competition second.' . . . This is in clear contrast with the Western high-performance sport mentality expressed in telling slogans such as that attributed to the Green Bay Packer football coach Vince Lombardi: 'Winning isn't the most important thing, it's the only thing!'" (Loland 2002, 10–11).

The competitive individualism of the market that dominates professional sports today is far away from ideas of the founders of the modern Olympic Games, who regarded sports competitions as existing outside the mainstream structures of society, separated from

politics and commercializing tendencies. As is the case with commercial entertainment, modern sport would have had no meaning to them, and the social acceptance of women's participation in sports competitions in the late twentieth century would likely also have been unthinkable, as it was to most sport leaders in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Competition as a Defining Feature of Sport

The competitive character of sport regards rules of bodily movement in space and time that are linked with the achievement of a measurable result. The rules are directed at the aim of being able to pronounce a winner and, in contradistinction to premodern times, these rules are no longer local but have been systematized on a global level.

For the Finnish sociologist Juha Heikkälä, the core elements of the logic of competing are as follows (1993,

403): (1) setting individuals/teams against each other to produce a momentarily set hierarchy of performances; (2) maintaining a permanent state of scarcity, meaning that only one individual/team can, at a given time, occupy the position at the top of the hierarchy (i.e., win); (3) ensuring recurring possibilities of transcending one's own and/or opponents' performances and of occupying the top position of the hierarchy; and (4) instilling a will to win.

The Finnish sport sociologist Kalevi Heinilä has noted that in competitive sport these elements are combined in a process of an ascending spiral. This spiral of competition shows not only who is best, but also how good it is possible for an athlete to become, which seems to be infinite.

The logic of competing serves to demarcate sport from nonsport. Competition, according to this view, is identified as a constitutive feature of sport conceived as an action system, in contradistinction to its role in the fields of physical education, play, or game, in which it can have a function that is merely regulative. But what does it mean to compete as defined by the constitutive rules?

An individual's motivations for engaging in sport competition can be varied. They can reflect a desire for pleasure or health, for example. But a shared interpretation of "winning" is a necessity for meaningful competitions to be possible at all. As Loland has noted: "[C]ompetitions between groups of competitors each of whose ethos has radically different content become very hard if not impossible. There would be few shared norms and the sport in question may degenerate or even die" (2002, 8).

Different sports have sport-specific goals, and the constitutive rules of a sport provide a conceptual framework within which sport can occur. In sport, winning is logically dependent on using only the means defined in the individual sport's constitutive rules. Regulative rules, on the other hand, place regulations on activities that are logically independent of the process of competing, whether they be technical demands, norms about how to perform, or rules that define the size of the ball.



The sign shows that a winner steps up, a loser steps aside. *Source: istockphoto/calvinnng.*

The process of competition, according to this view, is a defining feature of sport. Competition is not something that is optional within sport; it is part of sport itself. Athletic activity that is not competitive falls, by this definition, into the domain of play, physical exercise, or training.

Cultural Variances

In real life competitions are characterized according to various degrees of fairness and acting in accordance with the rules. For example, studies of football (soccer) players have shown that the interpretation of the rules of football (soccer) varies between professionals and amateur players and between different clubs. Yet, most sports are also seen to be relatively stable social practices.

Philosophical and social scientific approaches have analyzed and also valued sport competitions in various ways. A traditional interpretation is to distinguish between "formal fair play," which refers to rule conformity, and "informal fair play," referring to attitudes toward the game, toward other competitors, and toward officials. The historical and cultural change of sport

There's nobody you'd rather beat than your good friend. ■ CHARLES BARKLEY,
about playing against MICHAEL JORDAN

competitions as right or not and good or not, respectively, can be seen in the perspective of how formal and informal fair play change in different settings.

When people interpret the meaning of sport for themselves, there will be a variety of the sports forms that they practice. However, it seems that the importance of competition is dependent on age and gender much more so than on nationality. Thus, competition has been indicated to be a more important component of sport for males than for females and for adolescents than for older people. In many cultures competitive behaviors are not considered appropriate for girls or women, although it has become much more acceptable in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Several studies have indicated that sport undergoes cultural adaptation. For example, a comparative study has investigated the degree to which “achievement” criteria characterize the sporting behavior and sporting perceptions of adolescents in Berlin and suburban New York. In this study Berlin adolescents emphasized a more vague concept of sport, in that physical activity that was not competitive or “win-oriented” could still be sport, and was generally perceived to be enjoyable. “Achievement criteria such as the importance of practice, competition, and victory may be less central to the sports concepts of Berlin adolescents when compared with those of suburban New Yorkers” (Rees et al. 1998, 227).

Indeed, the role of sport in the system of education may be what determined the different views on sport concept, since interscholastic sport is largely nonexistent in Germany, whereas school sports and athletic scholarships have a pervasive influence in America. In addition to sport industries, educational institutions have been used socially to promote the virtues of competition in U.S. culture.

The Danish-German sport sociologist Gertrud Pfister has further noted that, in general, women participate in sports less for competition than for health and enjoyment. Yet, still more women enter the sports arenas, although their participation in competitive sport has been limited by ideology, economy, and family responsibilities. For example, about one-third of the participants in

the 2004 Olympics were women, and they are now allowed to compete in almost every Olympic event.

Competitive sport is rapidly becoming a worldwide phenomenon. Economic factors and the media have played a major part in its spread. Thus, what is meant by sport is becoming more uniform as international competitions such as the Olympic Games and the World Cup are televised worldwide. Though there are indeed an increasing number of sports forms that are practiced at the national or local level, at the present time competitive sport is the predominant form of sport from a global perspective.

Critical Perspectives on Competition

Is competition good or bad? Is competition an entirely destructive basis for interaction or a source of exhilaration, motivation, and self-knowledge? The American philosopher Michael L. Schwalbe asks these questions in his essay about a humanist conception of competition in sport. Proponents of competition stress that it spurs the participants toward excellence; that it fosters self-development, discipline, and respect for others; and that it is a legitimate source of pleasure. Critics emphasize that competition is a source of unnecessary stress, that it is less productive than cooperation, and that it celebrates domination.

To suggest that sport competitions are potentially meaningful and valuable social practices, the emphasis is on sport not as forced labor, but as an activity that includes a strong voluntary and playful dimension. The playful character of competition is seen in relation to the principle of equality. From this view it is argued that the symbolic meaning of competition is rendered meaningless unless the contestants in the competition, match, or tournament are also fairly matched. Social practices such as doping, for example, can corrupt the endeavors that ensure such conditions.

Competition in sport, critics have emphasized, ties physical activities to an ideology that stresses individual achievement and dominance over opponents in ways that do not emphasize partnership, sharing, open participation, nurturance, mutual support, and drug-free



Competition

“Ex-Champions” by Grantland Rice

“It’s better to have won and lost
Than never to have won at all”—
This may be true enough, and yet
The far heights yield a greater fall;
And when one tumbles from the crest
Where he once held a golden sway
He carries something in his breast
That burns the living heart away.

I’ve watched them when the fickle crowd
Arose to give the victor cheers,
The haunted look within their eyes
That turned back through the vanished years;
The flame that leaped to sudden glow
To fade within their sullen stare,
As if they, too, had come to know
How soon the laurel withers there.

I’ve watched them as their burning eyes
Saw ghosts again from yesterday,
Where some new winner reaped the prize
Which they had known along the way;
“It’s better to have won and lost
Than never to have won at all”—
But when one comes to pay the cost
The far heights yield the greater fall.

Source: Rice, G. (1924). Ex-champions. (1924). *Badminton*, pp. 128–129.

sports. Winning serves as proof of individual ability, worth, and character. Achievement is measured in terms of a never-ending quest to improve the “bottom line,” according to the American sport sociologist Jay Coakley (2003, 329–330).

Moreover, the way in which the ideology of elitist competition can function to oppress women and children in sport has been discussed. According to feminist thinkers, the emphasis upon strategic relations and non-emotionality between competitors reflects a peculiarly male ethic of competition.

The humanist critique of elitist competition is first

and foremost that “it encourages purely instrumental social relations rather than encouraging relationships in which people are valued as ends in themselves” (Schwalbe 1989, 47). Another criticism is that competition is morally objectionable if inequality is a desirable goal in itself.

However, since competition is intrinsic to sport as we know it, does sport as a competitive activity not seem worth preserving? Schwalbe suggests that competition in sport can be legitimized, if we see sport as “a unique domain of social activity, competitors as critically self-conscious social actors, and competition as dialectically related to cooperation” (1989, 49).

In principle competitive sport can be seen as a unique domain that celebrates equality of opportunity even while it typically insists on inequality of outcome. The way in which striving to excel in relation to others is based on a dialectical relationship between competition and cooperation is explained by the following double premise:

- Symbolically, we are enemies: We can only play together if you are also trying to win.
- Symbolically, we are friends: We can only play together if there is fair play among peers.

This characterization of sport regards the conceptual level of clarifying points of similarity and difference among cultural phenomena.

Media and Large Corporations Highlight Competitive Success

Critical views of competitive sports have mostly concerned professionalization and commercialization of sport. According to Coakley (2003, 368), these processes have been realized because large corporations “use the bodies of elite athletes to represent their public relations and marketing images,” and some high-profile athletes can “reaffirm a success ideology, which reproduces privilege among powerful people around the globe.” Media-hyped rivalries are emphasized as more important than the way athletes enjoy friendships with other competitors. And Coakley continues by sug-

Competing in sports has taught me that if I'm not willing to give 120 percent, somebody else will. ■ RON BLOMBERG

gesting that the media tell about sports participation not from the perspective of the athlete but “in a way that supports the interests of those who benefit from cultural commitments to competition, productivity, and material success” (2003, 428).

As a media celebrity, the athlete is involved in a new form of competition within conceptions of sport as a commodity. In this context, play is paid labor, and professional sporting performers are paid well for doing their work well. And media celebrities seem to be a part of the traditional gender order. Women's sports have been televised more since the early 1990s. However, Coakley stresses that much of this coverage has been given to those sports that emphasise grace, balance, and aesthetics rather than to sports that are more competitive in nature.

Implications

Sport competitions are complex activities, and it seems reasonable to make a distinction, as Loland and Sandberg suggest, between sport competition as a system of ideas—a possible form of conduct defined by a rule system—and as a system of action, the realization of the rule-defined practice of certain persons at a certain time and place. Mostly, it is not competition per se that engenders the cultural forms of sport or the diverged answers to the question of whether competition is good or bad. In spite of a variety of individual, cultural, and social differences, in the Olympic Games, for example, athletes from all over the world, representing approximately 200 nations, are able to interact in an intelligible way in the contest arena.

Yet, the goals of sport competition differ and are objects for controversy. If the only purpose for engaging in sports is to win, then the only role that is required is strategic. The case of professional sports has illustrated this most starkly. Professional athletes are competitive athletes, but they are also workers. However, as Schwalbe emphasizes, “it is not competition per se that engenders this alienated labor,” it is “an economy exploiting athletic ability to make profits” (1989, 56). “External goals, like fame and fortune, can only be re-

alized outside of the competition. Internal goals are linked to experiential values such as excitement, challenge, and fun, and can only be realized within the very activity of competing,” according to Loland and Sandberg (1995, 231).

The invention of new games, for example, alternative and extreme sports in which the usual cultural values of competition are subordinated to values of cooperation, parallel the process of professionalization. However, competitive sport embodies mainstream values of individualism and competition as a means of gaining fame and reward, and new conceptions of competition and changing ethics of competition to a celebration of cooperation can hardly become universal in the very near future.

Inge Kryger Pedersen

See also Cooperation

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Competitive Balance

Competitive balance describes the degree of uncertainty about the outcome of sporting events. Economists posit that uncertainty about the outcome of sporting events plays an important role in determining fans' interest in these events. In order to test this theory, some measure of the degree of uncertainty inherent in sporting events must be developed.

The interest of sports fans in sporting events depends on a number of factors. Fans enjoy watching athletes perform as well as the drama inherent in athletic competition at any level. Additional fan interest stems from watching gifted athletes perform at the highest level possible. But beyond these factors, a part of overall fan interest also depends on the perceived uncertainty of the outcome of the event. Sporting events with a predetermined outcome have no uncertainty and generate relatively little fan interest; closely contested sporting events have a high degree of uncertainty about the outcome and generate a relatively large amount of fan interest. Sporting events with a high degree of uncertainty of outcome are said to be “competitively balanced,” and sporting events with a low degree of uncertainty of outcome are said to be “competitively imbalanced.” Economists call the theory that fan interest varies with competitive balance the *uncertainty of outcome hypothesis*.

In general competitive-balance measures could be applied to any sporting event, from individual events like foot races, horse races, or figure skating to team competitions like the World Cup or America's Cup yacht race to hybrid events that combine elements of both individual and team events like the Tour de France. In practice competitive-balance measures are most frequently applied to sports leagues like the National Basketball Association or the English Premiership League (football/soccer). In the context of a sports league, uncertainty exists about both the outcome of individual games or matches and the final standings in the league. Competitive-balance measures are commonly applied to end-of-season outcomes in sports leagues.

Competitive Balance in Sports Leagues

The owners of teams in professional sports leagues and the organizations that oversee amateur sports leagues have an interest in competitive balance, although the perspective of these individuals and organizations differs from that of sports fans. The long-term success of sports leagues depends on the interest of fans, and owners and regulators have a vested interest in organizing sports leagues in a way that actively promotes the staging of events with highly uncertain outcomes.

Unlike leagues, individual teams have no natural interest in promoting competitive balance. Winning is the primary objective of any sports team. Sports leagues throughout the world contain examples of “dynasties”—teams that enjoy prolonged periods of success—suggesting that success in sports leagues may have a self-perpetuating component. In professional sports leagues, successful teams generate greater revenues, allowing these teams to hire better players and coaches. In amateur settings successful teams attract more talented players than unsuccessful teams. Although diminishing returns to talent tend to mitigate these advantages to some extent—a team will not find it's always advantageous to have the absolute best player at every position—some tension exists between the goals

Competition is the spice of sports; but if you make spice the whole meal you'll be sick. ■ GEORGE LEONARD

of individual teams and the goals of sports leagues. This tension often leads to a reduced competitive balance in sports leagues.

In addition professional leagues that grant individual teams exclusive geographic franchises—a common practice in North American sports leagues like the National Football League (NFL), the National Basketball Association (NBA), and Major League Baseball (MLB), as well as other professional sports leagues around the world—will have revenue disparities due to differences in market size that may also lead to competitive imbalances. These differences in market size may also be related to the existence of “dynasties” in professional sports leagues.

Research on Competitive Balance

Decision makers in professional and amateur sports leagues, sports management professionals, and economists have considerable interest in testing the validity of the uncertainty of outcome hypothesis and in understanding the effect of uncertainty of outcome on fan interest in sporting events. This interest spurs a large amount of research on competitive balance. The competitive-balance literature can be divided into two broad categories: measurement of competitive balance and tests of the uncertainty of outcome hypothesis.

Measuring Competitive Balance

Competitive balance depends on the perceived uncertainty about the outcome of sporting events. Uncertainty is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon that is difficult to reduce to a single quantifiable metric. Consequently, the literature contains no consensus regarding a single best measure of competitive balance. A large number of alternative measures of competitive balance exist, each with a different set of strengths and weaknesses.

The dispersion of winning percentages—the fraction of the total games played that are won by a given team within a sports league—is the most commonly used measure of competitive balance. At first glance average

winning percentage may appear to be a good measure of competitive balance, but because each sporting event generates a win for one team and a loss for the other team (ignoring ties), the average winning percentage in a given league must always equal 0.500. The dispersion of winning percentages around this average reflects how much variation in winning percentage existed in the league, and it is also an indication of the extent of uncertainty of outcome in the contests played in the league.

Competitive Balance within a Single Season

From basic statistical analysis, *variance* is a common measure of the dispersion of a variable. The variance of winning percentages in a sports league is simply the average of the squared difference between each team's winning percentage and 0.500. Leagues with a greater degree of competitive balance have a larger variance of winning percentages. In practice researchers studying competitive balance use the *standard deviation* of winning percentage—the square root of the variance—because the standard deviation is expressed in the same units: percent of games won as winning percentage.

A number of other single-season measures of competitive balance have been developed. These methods include Gini coefficients for wins, Lorenz curves, and Markov chain methods. All of these measures share a common feature: They describe the distribution of wins across teams in a sports league in a single season.

Between-Season Competitive Balance

Because sports leagues exist for many seasons, sports fans may also care about the degree of uncertainty of outcomes for periods longer than a single season. Between-season measures of competitive balance focus on the amount of turnover in the relative success of sports teams from season to season. Unlike single-season measures of competitive balance, these measures of competitive balance focus on changes in the relative success of teams in a league, as measured by

winning percentages or championships, over a number of seasons.

One approach to measuring between-season competitive balance examines the distribution of championships across teams in a sports league over some period of time. Sports leagues within which most championships are distributed among a small number of teams have a smaller degree of uncertainty of championship outcomes and have lower competitive balance; sports leagues within which championships are distributed relatively equally across teams have a larger degree of uncertainty of championship outcomes and have higher competitive balance.

A second approach to measuring between-season competitive balance calculates the dispersion of a single team's relative level of success over a number of seasons and compares this dispersion with the average level of dispersion in success across all teams in the league.

Level of Competitive Balance in Sports Leagues

Professional sports leagues generally exhibit a wide range of variation in degree of competitive balance. Even within a particular sport, different leagues will have different levels of competitive balance.

Table 1 shows the standard deviation of winning percentages in a number of professional sports leagues for the 2002 or 2002–2003 seasons in cases in which the season spans two calendar years (with the ALF exception noted). Recall that the greater the dispersion of winning percentages, the less competitive balance in that league in the 2002 season. The dispersion of winning percentages varies from a high of 0.22 to a low of 0.08 in this sample. The general pattern across sports indicates that baseball leagues had the most competitive balance, American football and basketball leagues had the least competitive balance, while football and ice hockey fell in the middle of these two extremes.

A careful reader will note that the pattern of standard deviations across sports leagues in Table 1 varies with the number of games played in each season by the

teams in each league. Baseball seasons consist of between 140 and just over 160 games; basketball seasons consist of about 80 games; ice hockey seasons consist of between 50 to 80 games; football (soccer) seasons consist of between 30 to 45 games; and American football seasons consist of between 12 to 16 games. Seasons consisting of more games will generally have a lower standard deviation of winning percentage, no matter what level of competitive balance occurs in the leagues. To account for this, the actual standard deviation of winning percentages can be compared with an ideal standard deviation that would result from an evenly matched league of games playing a season of a given length. This ideal standard deviation can be calculated based on the case in which each team in a league has a 0.500 winning percentage—the maximum possible uncertainty of outcome in a single season—for a given number of games played by the teams in the league by dividing the square root of the number of games into 0.5.

Comparing the actual standard deviation with the idealized standard deviation for each league leads to a somewhat different picture of the relative degree of competitive balance in the leagues shown on the table. On average, football (soccer) leagues have standard deviations about 40 percent larger than the ideal standard deviation, American football leagues are about 45 percent larger, ice hockey leagues about 85 percent higher, and baseball and basketball leagues have standard deviations twice the size of the idealized standard deviation based on length of season.

Remedies for Competitive Imbalance

All of the standard deviations shown on Table 1 are larger than the ideal standard deviation for the league. Because the actual standard deviations exceed this ideal value in all leagues, some degree of competitive imbalance exists in all these leagues. It appears that competitive imbalance is a constant feature of most professional sports leagues. Also, recall that the owners of teams in professional sports leagues have an economic incentive to maintain competitive balance. This tension leads

Table 1.
Competitive Balance Indicators, 2002–2003 Seasons

Sport	League	Country	Standard Deviation
<i>Football (soccer)</i>	Premier League	England	0.14
<i>Football (soccer)</i>	La Liga	Spain	0.12
<i>Football (soccer)</i>	Serie A	Italy	0.15
<i>Football (soccer)</i>	Ligue 1	France	0.11
<i>Football (soccer)</i>	1st Bundesliga	Germany	0.11
<i>Football (soccer)</i>	Serie A	Brazil	0.10
<i>Football (soccer)</i>	Premier League	Argentina	0.12
<i>Football (soccer)</i>	MLS	USA	0.09
<i>Ice Hockey</i>	NHL	USA/Canada	0.10
<i>Ice Hockey</i>	Elitserien	Sweden	0.12
<i>Ice Hockey</i>	SM-Liiga	Finland	0.14
<i>Ice Hockey</i>	RHL	Russia	0.14
<i>Australian Rules Football</i>	ALF*	Australia	0.11
<i>Baseball</i>	Japanese League	Japan	0.09
<i>Baseball</i>	MLB	USA/Canada	0.08
<i>American Football</i>	NFL	USA	0.14
<i>American Football</i>	CFL	Canada	0.22
<i>Basketball</i>	NBA	USA	0.14
<i>Basketball</i>	Women's NBA	USA	0.15

Note: ALF standard deviation for all-time records, all others single season.

Source: Author's calculations.

sports leagues to impose rules in order to increase the level of competitive balance. However, most of these rules appear to have little effect.

One common rule aimed at enhancing competitive balance in sports leagues is the reverse-order entry draft. In these drafts the worst teams in terms of winning percentage in the previous season have the first choice of new players coming into the league. Presumably, bad teams will select the best new players and have the greatest chance to improve their performance.

Most evidence suggests that the institution of a reverse-order entry draft has no effect on the level of competitive balance in sports leagues. There are several reasons for this ineffectiveness. First, there can be a considerable amount of uncertainty about the quality of new players coming into a league. If coaches and managers have trouble determining the actual quality of incoming players, there is relatively little benefit to selecting earlier in the draft. Second, the success of the draft depends in part on the ability of the drafters. Bad teams are often run by bad managers and coaches, and

less-able decision makers tend to make bad draft choices and bad trades involving draft choices.

Competitive imbalance often stems from imbalances in revenues. Revenue imbalances can come from differences in market size or differences in past success of teams. Some sports leagues attempt to reduce competitive imbalance by reducing the imbalance in revenues. Rules aimed at reducing revenue imbalance include sharing of revenues from ticket sales and revenues from television and radio broadcasts evenly among teams, rather than the team drawing the most fans or located in the largest market keeping these revenues. In some leagues, a "luxury tax" is imposed on teams with the largest payrolls. Finally, many sports leagues impose salary caps on teams in order to reduce competitive imbalance. A salary cap is a maximum payroll for players. Salary caps do not directly address revenue imbalances but instead equalize the amount of money that each team can spend hiring players. By limiting payroll, salary caps attempt to alter the distribution of talent across teams, thus changing competitive balance in the league.

Like the other rules aimed at reducing competitive imbalance, research suggests that salary caps do not reduce competitive imbalance, and in some cases they appear to increase it. One problem with salary caps is that it is very difficult to construct a salary cap system that cannot be manipulated by teams and players in some fashion. Players will often restructure the terms of contracts or agree to artificially low salaries in the early years of contracts and defer higher payments far into the future. In some instances teams have resorted to illegal side payments to players.

The Future

Competitive balance, and the related uncertainty of outcome hypothesis, have important implications for the behavior of sports fans, the owners of teams in professional sports leagues, and the organizers of amateur sports leagues. Fans, owners, and league organizers prefer a high degree of competitive balance in sports leagues. But competitive imbalance appears to be a feature of all sports leagues, and most rules aimed at reducing competitive imbalance appear to be ineffective. Future research on competitive balance will need to address this issue by (1) quantifying the relationship between the degree of competitive balance and fan interest in order to determine how much competitive imbalance should be tolerated, and (2) improving the understanding of why existing rules aimed at reducing competitive imbalance are ineffective and how to construct effective rules to improve competitive balance.

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Cooperation

Cooperation occurs when people work or play together to accomplish shared goals. Cooperation may seem an ironic entry in an encyclopedia of sport because most definitions of *sport* emphasize competition between opposing groups. However, sport provides many instances when the social processes of cooperation and competition occur separately and sometimes simultaneously.

Cooperative Games

People who oppose excessive competition in sport recently have stressed the importance of maximizing participation and cooperation. Critics both within and outside sport argue that sport should be open to all people—regardless of gender, physical abilities, or political philosophy. Jack Scott, first a professional athlete and then a critic of contemporary sport, has led a democratic movement to restructure sport to encourage the more humanistic values of cooperation, altruism, and interpersonal responsibility and to deemphasize the win-at-all-costs ethic of excessive competition and vio-

Cooperation is required not just for success but also for survival in the sport of mountain climbing.

lence. Other critics of competition in sport have stressed the importance of cooperation and have recommended a more radical examination of the value of competition in general, pointing to its dangers and destructive consequences. Their focus on cooperation is especially visible in discussions of the value of cooperative (or noncompetitive) games for both adults and children.

Cross-cultural studies have shown that not all cultures value competition as much as Western societies do. The sports and games of some cultures place far less emphasis on competition. For example, Galliher and Hessler note that the Chinese government's efforts to promote cooperation and interpersonal relations through sports ("friendship first, competition second") supposedly resulted in greater mass participation in sports.

Central to the theory of cooperative games is the notion of individual people or groups working together toward mutually beneficial ends. The main difference between competitive and cooperative games is that in cooperative games all participants cooperate and therefore, by definition, all win and none loses. An example of this approach is the scoring rules for infinity volleyball as described in the *New Games Book*:

[T]his game is pure cooperation, and any number can play. The rules of standard volleyball still apply, including three hits per side before sending the ball over the net. The score, kept track of by both teams chanting in unison, is the number of times the ball is hit over the net to the other side without hitting the ground. Any score over 50 is good. Over 100 is phenomenal. And both teams always win. (Fluegelman 1976)

The goal of the cooperative games movement is to provide a radical alternative to traditional sports. Cooperative games (sometimes referred to as "new games") offer this alternative by stressing cooperating, participating, being spontaneous, and playing for fun, as opposed to competing, spectating, observing predetermined rules, and playing to win. Most importantly, cooperative games are subject to evolution—players are free to change the rules of the game and to improvise as they play.



Anticompetition Movement

The beginning of the cooperative games movement can be traced to the anticompetition movement in women's sports during the 1920s. During this period in the United States and in many other Western countries, women athletes increased their skill, and women became more competitive, vigorous, and organized. Women athletes began to participate in national and international competition. Pressure from Europe led to the inclusion of women's track and field events in the Olympic Games in 1928.

U.S. educators responded with more intense criticism of organized women's sports. Many educators disapproved of competitive sports for women altogether. However, their disapproval was not based on the earlier idea that women's sporting behaviors run counter to the Victorian ideals of womanhood of the late 1800s. Instead, critics argued that competitive sports for women would follow the example of men's sports and would focus on the elite athlete at the exclusion of the less skilled athlete. They feared that further commercialization of the woman athlete would discourage wider participation of women in sports and other physical



A team builds cooperation when the players and coaches put their hands together in a huddle. *Source: istockphoto/nano.*

activities. For example, a directive of the women's division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF) stated: "The Women's Division believes in the spirit of play for its own sake and works for the promotion of physical activity for the largest possible proportion of persons in any given group." A half-century later research supports this belief: Physical activities that place greater emphasis on competition and winning are generally associated with lower rates of participation.

Orlick credits the origins of the cooperative games movement to the special role of women in many cultures. In his studies of North American cultures, he concludes that the humanistic strength of women holds most cultures together. Orlick credits women as being far more cooperative, caring, considerate, and depend-

able than men. As women's participation in sports increases, these qualities exert more influence on both which sports are played and how people think about sports in general

Cooperation and Gender

Social attitudes, in addition to cultural expectations, influence how people behave. Social scientists refer to the process of internalizing society's attitudes and expectations as "socialization." In every culture an important part of socialization involves people learning culturally acceptable gender roles and shaping themselves to fit them. Men and women have obvious biological differences as well as biological similarities. Cross-cultural research has shown, however, that many cultures exaggerate male-female differences, as in the notion that men and women are polar opposites.

The meaning that a culture gives to these biological differences is as important as the differences themselves. Gender differences, in sociological terms, are social constructions, and exactly what these differences are appear to be relative to each culture. People learn gender roles during childhood, and research shows how important games and play are to the development of a child's identity as either male or female, including the development of separate skills, attitudes, and interests between boys and girls. Games and play in essence are important ways of learning culturally appropriate conceptions of male and female.

Studies on this topic have focused on mainstream European and North American societies. These studies of boys and girls at play have consistently found that although the two genders sometimes play together, they more often play in groups of the same gender. Furthermore, studies have found that boys and girls often play using different types of play styles and games. For example, boys' games (like sports) tend to take place outdoors and in larger groups. Boys' games, too, have more elaborate systems of rules, and they place greater emphasis on competition. Boys' games also stress winners and losers, and status within the group is tied to winning.

The way a team plays as a whole determines its success. You may have the greatest bunch of individual stars in the world, but if they don't play together, the club won't be worth a dime. ■ BABE RUTH

Girls, in contrast, tend to play in smaller groups or even in pairs. Girls emphasize cooperation and intimacy much more than boys do. For example, in such traditional girls' games as jump rope and hopscotch, the focus is on taking turns with one another, and winning may not be all that important. In many girls' games skill, rather than winning, is the goal. Furthermore, many girls' games may not even have winners or losers, and girls more often settle conflicts while playing by stressing the importance of cooperation.

The gender segregation of younger children's play groups is reinforced later in school, and as Thorne indicates, evidence indicates that gender segregation among children is even more extensive in schools in formally organized sports.

In many Western societies cultural attitudes and gender socialization have limited women's athletic participation. Such societies have traditionally viewed sports as a more masculine activity, and different socialization practices have encouraged males to have a more competitive, serious, and professional orientation toward sports. Even when women do participate in sports, studies suggest, their orientations differ significantly from those of men. Studies have found, for example, that winning and competing matter more to men athletes than to women athletes. Time will tell, however, whether increasing participation by women at every level of sports may change this dynamic.

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Country Club

Country clubs are leisure establishments that exist in most communities in North America and across the globe. They provide sports and community for their members. The term *country club* conjures images of privilege, separation, elitism, and difference. To people who are members of a country club, these images may be positive and welcomed. To many people who are not members or who are excluded from membership, these images smack of discrimination and a power imbalance based on wealth and social standing and, in many cases, race and gender.

History

During the early nineteenth century major cities in the eastern United States and Canada had an economic structure that clearly divided people into those who had wealth and social status and those who did not. The wealthy urban class had the means for considerable consumption of both material goods and leisure. Traditions of social stratification from Great Britain and France were reproduced in the young countries of the United States and Canada through clubs and other institutions that were formed to foster social discrimination. Wealthy, white men desired a collective identification of their socioeconomic prestige. This prestige was demonstrated not only by the men's homes and

other possessions, but also by their leisure activities, which were qualitatively better than those in which the average person could hope to engage. The separation of people—men of privilege from everyone else—was the basis for the formation of “city clubs,” the forerunner of today’s country clubs.

City clubs were prominent institutions of privileged and private space for men of means in London. To replicate this exclusivity, people formed city clubs in the United States during the 1830s. One man or a group of powerful men would develop a city club with members from the social elite of the community. Restricted membership solidified the social status of the club members and the exclusivity of the club.

Following the format of their British forerunners, founders of clubs drafted constitutions for all aspects of club governance. Early concerns of clubs included admission standards and acquisition of an appropriate building to house activities.

Admission to a city club was based on social status. The socioeconomic standing of members provided a bond among these elites and set them not only apart, but also above the common person. Therefore, membership was selective. Members used the process of blackballing to deny membership to an applicant without the blackballers being identified. Each member of an admissions committee was given a white ball and a black ball, one of which he placed in a box. From one to three black balls in the box would deny membership to an applicant.

Women were always denied membership and in many cases even entrance to the club. City clubs were formed by powerful men of business. During the nineteenth century women were typically excluded from the public sphere of business. Only with great difficulty could women accrue the power status, if not the wealth, required for club membership. Some clubs allowed women to accompany their husbands; however, a “ladies entrance” was typically provided to ensure the sanctity of the men-only spaces in the clubs.

Cultural, racial, and religious groups were also discriminated against. Jews, Catholics, and African-

Americans were generally excluded from membership in city clubs. In large cities wealthy Jews and Catholics formed their own clubs, and by the late 1880s African-Americans had amassed enough wealth to create exclusively black clubs. Social stratification in these clubs, however, paralleled that of the white clubs as the black elite separated themselves from the black masses.

Exclusive Spaces

Members selected the setting of a city club to present a visual indicator of the privileged nature of the space and the social elitism of those men allowed to enter the club’s doors. City clubs were located in mansions or in facilities that were built with architectural styles that paralleled those of university, financial, or government buildings. The interior of a club was designed to meet the needs and desires of the membership. A club had a reception hall, library, dining room with a kitchen, and a bar. Most clubs also had lounging rooms for reading, playing cards, or smoking. Some clubs had a music room and separate meeting spaces for women. Some clubs had bedrooms for out-of-town guests or for the convenience of members.

Strict rules governed the dress and deportment of members. Clubs might require formal dress and top hats in the dining room, where smoking was usually prohibited, especially if women were allowed to be present. Men were often required to wear jackets of a club color in certain areas of the club—a tradition brought over from the clubs of Great Britain.

By the late 1800s members demanded more sporting facilities in their clubs. Although a number of cities had tennis and racquet clubs, clubs began to include courts, training rooms, and even swimming pools. During this time women’s clubs were formed, many as athletic clubs. The availability of leisure time and discretionary money to spend on sporting and other leisure pursuits created a leisure elite among the social elite.

Activities

Many clubs offered sporting activities such as tennis, squash, croquet, billiards, and, in some clubs with the

*Athlete: Th' athletic fool, to whom what Heaven denied of soul,
is well compensated in limbs.* ■ JOHN ARMSTRONG

space, baseball. However, the elite had the means to leave the cities and to engage in a variety of sporting and leisure activities. The elite desired more privacy than could be found in the increasingly industrialized, crowded, and less-than-sanitary urban centers of the nineteenth century. Sociospatial separation was an indicator of the status of the elite and their ability to discriminate against people whom they felt were below them as well as to escape from everyday life in the cities.

Participation in activities such as foxhunting, polo, horse racing, and yachting required not only large amounts of money, but also large amounts of leisure time, space, and equipment that were available only to the wealthy. "Though American elites were not homogeneous in their selection of sports, they nonetheless tended to select sports beyond the financial resources of non-elites" (Mayo 1998, 51). The types of leisure activities varied by the region of the country and the predominant weather. For example, foxhunting clubs were numerous in New England and Virginia; curling and ice skating prevailed in the North; yachting required access to the harbors of the East. In Canada cricket was the game of choice, although the first clubs outside of U.S. cities were primarily foxhunting clubs.

Control of the spaces in which such activities took place was an important aspect of the segregation and exclusivity that club members desired. Large tracts of land were required for equestrian sports, hunting, and eventually golf. Sometimes a city club developed a large parcel of land owned by a member, and access was by invitation only. At other times clubs leased or purchased land for the development of wilderness camps or resort-type developments that allowed families to vacation as a whole in protected and secluded locations. "Formed in 1877, the Adirondack Club was an early collective retreat. Renamed the Tahawas Club, the group leased 96,000 acres of land. In 1878, the first association to own land was the Bisby Club, which merged with the Adirondack League Club (formed in 1890) in 1983. One year later the club owned 116,000 acres and leased 75,000 acres in a joining parcel. In total the

Adirondack League Club privately controlled 275 square miles for exclusive fishing and hunting privileges to serve its membership" (Mayo 1998, 44). Only people who had access to such land could afford horses and carriages and employees to attend to them and could overcome the difficulties of reaching such secluded spaces.

Leisure activities away from the cities often entailed extended stays because of the distances that had to be traveled and the slow pace of horse-drawn transportation. Men of means who chose to segregate themselves even from their wives in their city clubs began to appreciate the opportunity that their country sporting venues afforded their families. The development of country clubs, sometimes as extensions of city clubs and sometimes as new clubs formed by wealthy men with similar leisure interests, became possible during the 1880s.

Necessary Factors

By the 1880s a number of factors precipitated the development of the country club. First, structures in place for the operation of city clubs could be easily transferred to country clubs, whose members were often members of city clubs. Second, members of the social elite increasingly participated in outdoor leisure activities. This increasing participation was necessary for a foundational membership base in country clubs to ensure sufficient finances to develop and operate them. Third, many major urban centers by this time had a public, affordable street car system, which was necessary to provide the easy access of employees and casual workers to and from a club.

The development of a successful country club had no single formula. Activities varied from club to club, and usually multiple activities were available, including foxhunting, polo, shooting, archery, boating, and croquet. Tennis courts were increasingly in demand at country clubs. Many tennis and racquet clubs already existed in the cities, and members demanded tennis of country clubs. Tennis was also an acceptable physical activity for upper-class women during this time; this acceptability was also a draw for country club membership. Although

Work while you work; play while you play. ■ PROVERB

clubs still did not admit women as members, men whose wives played tennis, and later golf, were likely to see this acceptability as a membership advantage.

As in city clubs, in country clubs membership was strictly controlled by an admissions committee of the board. Not only did this admissions system ensure that new members had the financial means to pay the initiation and membership fees, but also it established the social status that might affect a club's continued existence. Obviously sufficient men of wealth existed in numerous cities because by 1900 more than one thousand country clubs were operating in the United States, mostly in the East.

Development

Regardless of the sporting activities at a club, the founders and board of directors had to attend to certain essentials in every club. The finances of the club had to be sufficient to maintain the facilities and services without undue financial commitment from the members and perspective members. Although the memberships of the first country clubs were some of the wealthiest men in North America, these members were also fiscally conservative people who did not want to risk their own wealth to ensure the solvency of the club. A club had to juggle carefully to have sufficient members to meet its financial needs and yet remain a fashionable and restricted enclave for its members.

Many early country clubs leased their land. Leasing kept costs down, but a club was at the mercy of the landowner, who could increase rent or sell the land, forcing the country club to counter with a higher purchase offer or move to another location. Limited liability corporations were set up among the members of some country clubs who chose to purchase land. Such a corporation reduced the financial liability of each member. The importance of the finance committee of early clubs paralleled that of the admissions committee.

A country club also needed a clubhouse. An existing farmhouse was frequently the first clubhouse for many country clubs. In some cases a barn was renovated. This renovation was less expensive than construction of a

new facility and was less of a financial risk if the club failed. However, many of the wealthy clubs chose to build a clubhouse that would reflect the elite status of their members. The first clubhouse to be designed and built was for the Shinnecock Hills Country Club of Southampton, New York, in 1892. Clubhouse architecture would become a specialized genre of building design. Because members wanted the same grandeur that their city clubs had, architects used a variety of classical styles, including French colonial, Victorian shingle, classical revival, and French renaissance, to design a building with a unique functional form. Because family use was one of the attractions of country club membership the clubhouse needed to provide facilities for women and children as well as men. Women's and men's locker rooms, dining rooms, men's grill and card rooms, a kitchen, and a bar were included in the designs of clubhouses. Some clubhouses continued to provide bedrooms for members who could not return home because of poor road conditions. Shelters for horses and carriages were necessary facilities near the clubhouse before the automobile became the common mode of transportation during the early 1900s. The automobile, another symbol of elite status, was an important aspect of the development of country clubs outside of smaller cities that did not have public transportation systems to convey members to clubs. In small towns only the richest men had cars to easily take them beyond the city limits.

Impact of Golf

The first country clubs were formed around a variety of sporting activities. The more activities that a club offered, the more land that was required to adequately meet all of the wishes of members. This situation often caused conflict among the membership because the fox-hunting members did not want trees cut or land leveled to build tennis courts, swimming pools, or golf courses. Solutions to such conflicts ranged from the merger of clubs to consolidate activities to the development of new clubs for a specific sport or selected sports. Because of the popularity of tennis, many clubs were formed as tennis clubs. The growing popularity of golf, however,



Clubhouse at country club with golf carts parked waiting for players. *Source: istockphoto.com/Digipfoto.*

became the primary reason for the development of new country clubs. “The Royal Montreal GC, founded in 1873, was the first club in North America whose members played golf” (Barclay 1992, 11). In 1885 one golf club existed in the United States. By 1900 more than one thousand existed.

Golf courses had no standards during the 1880s. Country clubs developed the number of holes that their land could accommodate. Clearing and leveling land for fairways and greens required extensive human and animal labor. Finishing a course or adding holes to a course might take years. After the course was finished the maintenance was constant and costly. Some country clubs kept cows to graze the rough areas lining the fairways and sheep to keep the grass on the fairways short. Early mowers were contraptions pulled by horses whose hooves had to be covered to protect the greens. Securing adequate water for irrigation became an issue in country club site selection because clubs could not count on nature to provide adequate irrigation by rain. Clubs experimented with different types of grasses to find the most appropriate type for the climate. The in-

crease in the number of golf courses was so rapid that between 1910 and 1920 manufacturers were profitably producing motorized lawn mowers.

The nine-hole golf course became standardized during the 1890s. As country clubs acquired additional land many expanded to the eighteen-hole standard. Two loops of nine holes, both beginning and ending near the clubhouse, became the accepted design. Members could easily access the course from the clubhouse and could rest or eat between the ninth and tenth holes.

Golf course architects from Great Britain found almost unlimited work in North America as country clubs and golf courses were developed at a furious pace. By 1927 more than fifty-five hundred country clubs with golf courses existed in the United States. Golf course architects and clubhouse architects began to work closely together to create an integrated design that was functional as well as pleasing. Landscape architecture for country clubs lagged well behind, but eventually the incorporation of trees, flowers, ponds, and gardens became an integral aspect of the development of the country club.

I regard golf as an expensive way of playing marbles. ■ GILBERT K. CHESTERTON

Gender Wars and Blue Laws

Even though country clubs, unlike their city club ancestors, allowed women to participate, most clubs had special membership categories for women and did not provide membership for single women regardless of their wealth. Country clubs offered numerous social and arts activities. Women organized plays, dances, and holiday and costume parties. To further highlight the elite status of club members, debutante coming-out parties were often held at the clubhouse.

The greatest conflicts between men members and women members occurred around scheduling of tennis court times and tee times. Because people presumed that only men work through the week, the best tee times and court times on the weekends were reserved for men players. Playing time on the weekends was further restricted in some locations because of blue laws that prohibited a number of activities on Sundays. Some members played on Sundays in an attempt to get arrested so that blue laws could be challenged in court. Because politicians and judges were frequently members of country clubs, these protests were often successful.

To reduce such scheduling conflicts between men and women, some clubs encouraged mixed foursomes and doubles tennis on the weekends. Many clubs, however, made playing golf difficult for women. Some clubs required that women play a number of rounds under a particular score before they could schedule tee times or play a full round of eighteen holes. This requirement angered women, and some left to form their own clubs. Ada Mackenzie, arguably Canada's greatest woman golfer, in 1920 found that British women had much greater access to golf courses than women in Canada. Upon her return to Canada, she looked for an appropriate site for a women's club. "The answer was a rolling tract of land north of Toronto at Thornhill. Mackenzie signed an option on the property and then went to work. She organized a bond issue to raise the capital, issued shares, and in 1924, launched the Ladies Golf and Tennis Club of Toronto, the first (and possibly still the only) course in the world exclusively for women.

At least almost exclusively: there are restricted hours for men" (McDonald and Drewery 1981, 43). Most women's clubs did not fair as well, and the women either opened their membership to men or returned to their former clubs. Even today many clubs do not equitably schedule tee and court times for women and men.

Ups and Downs of the Twentieth Century

Nearly every decade of the twentieth century had an impact on the country club. In 1913 the United States passed the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which created a tax on personal income. This amendment reduced the amount of money that some people had to spend on leisure pursuits. Many people had to give up their club memberships.

The 1920s were a decade of prosperity, and country club development and membership flourished. Operating a club became a complex and time-consuming task that board members were often unable to undertake successfully. Board members hired managers, often from city clubs, to oversee the operations of all club facilities, activities, and services. In 1927 the Club Managers Association of America was formed. It sponsored annual conventions and developed a publication. A new occupation was created for the expanding industry of country clubs.

The stock market crash of 1929 had a devastating effect on many country clubs because their membership was made up of the socioeconomic elite, who were hurt by the financial downturn. Many clubs were financially unprepared for the upheaval.

Throughout the 1930s many country clubs attempted to "tread water" to remain open. To save money, they cut back on maintenance of the clubhouse and sporting facilities, laid off managers, and sold land that was not being used. Clubs searched for ways to increase revenue. They rented out clubhouses to "appropriate" groups for functions. They reduced membership fees and accepted members of lower social standing. In the United States, the end of prohibition, with passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, allowed clubs to reopen



their bars to entice members back to the clubhouse to spend what money they could.

Many clubs installed swimming pools, although a high initial expense, to entice families. Clubs hoped that members would spend more money on ice cream and drinks. Although clubs tried a number of strategies to remain afloat through the Depression, by 1939 more than 15 percent had closed.

For the clubs that weathered the Depression, World War II brought more chaos. Young members left to enlist in the armed forces, and many women took jobs in the defense industry or jobs vacated by the men. Clubs offered limited-term memberships at low rates to service personnel and defense industry workers in an attempt to keep up a cash flow.

Rationing of most goods made maintenance of the clubhouse and facilities difficult. Gasoline rationing limited driving to the club by members. Some clubs offered horse-and-buggy service to transport members from the cities. Club members donated vegetables from their victory gardens and fish and game from hunting to the club to keep the dining room operating.

An economic upturn followed World War II, but it was a slow upturn. Rationing of building supplies and other goods continued to hinder clubhouse and course maintenance and improvements, many of which had been on hold for nearly two decades. During the 1950s and 1960s urban expansion into suburban developments forced a number of country clubs to relocate. Roads and commercial developments in the new suburban areas also encroached on the seclusion of many clubs, causing them to reconfigure the golf course or parking lots and clubhouses.

To boost membership, clubs introduced powered golf carts, which promoted a faster round of golf and allowed more members to access the course on weekends and other busy days. Rebuilding and refurbishing clubhouses, especially the dining room and kitchen to accommodate the increased numbers at clubs, became priorities. Clubs turned their attention back to golf course maintenance and beautification.

The 1960s brought a variety of challenges to country

clubs in the United States. The environmental movement focused public attention on the dangers of pesticides to plants, animals, and water supplies. Golf course managers were forced to find ways to keep the course green without polluting the environment or financially crippling the club. Improvements in this aspect of country club management remains a high priority.

The desire for exclusivity and elite privilege was carried forward into the newly formed country clubs. Not only was the membership drawn from the wealthy members of a community, but also racial, religious, and gender discrimination was still prevalent in most clubs. The civil rights movement and the women's movement of the 1960s did little to affect this aspect of country club membership. Private clubs were exempt from the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination. One might well question the motives of powerful lawmakers who remained members of the very clubs that were exempt. People protested the exemptions, arguing that country clubs are a site of business negotiation and transaction. The right of private discrimination interfered with the ability of women and racial minorities to conduct business in an open market. Because of such protests many states removed the exemptions granted to country clubs.

The Professional Golfers' Association (PGA) became the focus of protests when PGA tournaments were scheduled at clubs that had chosen to pay penalties to the government rather than change their membership standards. Because the PGA, the United States Golf Association (USGA), and the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) were experiencing an increase in the number of tour players from various racial groups, they decreed that their tournaments would not be held in country clubs with discriminatory membership policies, although this decree has not always been enforced.

Twenty-First Century

In the new millennium tens of thousands of country clubs exist around the world. Most have been formed as exclusively golf clubs, but many country clubs continue

to offer tennis and swimming and other social activities to accommodate the needs of all family members.

The basic structure and functioning of country clubs have not significantly changed in 150 years, however. Country clubs remain sites where the economically elite engage in leisure pursuits in an environment that is controlled and private. Initiation fees can cost hundreds of thousands of dollars, and annual fees can be well beyond the means of most North Americans. Dress codes for the clubhouse and specific sporting venues reflect the heritage carried forward from the city clubs and are closely monitored. However, many clubs are more relaxed and accessible to a middle-class membership base, which helps to keep the clubs solvent.

Although membership restrictions on women and racial minorities have been loosened in many clubs, women still face challenges in obtaining prime tee times, and members of racial minorities find themselves an even smaller minority within the country club membership. Admissions committees may still have policies that allow virtual blackballing.

The Future

The future of country clubs in North America is secured. These private enclaves will continue to exist as long as social stratification exists. However, problems remain to be solved for country clubs as the social fabric shifts. Women are still second-class citizens in many clubs and are denied membership in others. People have filed lawsuits against clubs that admit gay and lesbian members but that deny membership benefits to their partners—even in states and provinces where same-sex marriages are legal. Environmental concerns still must be considered in golf course maintenance, especially concerns of water resources and pesticide use. Only with difficulty can we discern what other social changes will present challenges for the country club in the future.

The country club has been a part of the U.S. landscape since the Industrial Revolution. In many ways it is a reflection of the social and economic tapestry that

has made the North American culture what it is today. People of power and privilege will always seek to both demonstrate and protect their status. The country club will likely remain one institution that showcases that status.

Dayna B. Daniels

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Cricket

Cricket, a bat-and-ball game, has long been regarded as the archetypal English game that became popular in British Commonwealth countries. The core rules of the game were formulated in the eighteenth century by wealthy landowners. By that time cricket had been established as a game between two sides of eleven that took turns batting. An inning was completed when ten of the eleven players had been dismissed—caught, bowled, stumped, run out, and leg before wicket being the chief means of dismissal. Play focuses on wickets in the center of an oval or field that consist of three stumps at each end of a 22-yard (20-meter) prepared grass pitch. An over (six balls) is bowled from one end to either one or the other batsmen, followed by an over at the other end. A batsman can hit the ball (on the full—or “fly”—or after it bounces) to any part of the field and

I have always imagined cricket as a game invented by roughnecks in a moment of idleness by casually throwing an unexploded bomb at one another. The game was observed by some officer with a twisted and ingenious mind who devoted his life to inventing impossible rules for it. ■ PETER USTINOV

a run or runs are scored when both batsmen safely reach the other end. If the ball reaches the boundary, four runs are scored; if the ball crosses the boundary on the full, six runs. Batsmen do not have to run when they hit the ball; they can continue to bat for hours and, in international cricket, for days on end.

Underarm bowling was the norm initially, but the laws were altered in the nineteenth century to allow round arm (1835) and eventually over-arm bowling (1864). The laws of cricket dictate that the ball should be bowled (with a straight arm) and not thrown. New traditions developed in the nineteenth century: The English three-day county game was instituted in 1864, and international contests known as test matches, which came to be played over five days, began in 1877. An abbreviated form of one-day cricket, limited overs, was introduced in 1963 and quickly became popular.

Cricket boasts a rich language with fielding positions such as “fine leg,” “gully,” “silly mid on,” as well as bowling terms that include “bouncer,” “yorker,” “googly,” and “wrong-un.” Phrases such as “sticky wicket” and “it’s not cricket” have assumed many broader meanings outside cricket. Cricket is one of the most literary of sports.

Origins of Cricket

The origins of cricket are obscure. The first authentic reference to cricket dates to 1598, and cricket was played in the south of England in the sixteenth century and increased in popularity in the next century. The involvement of wealthy landowners helped transform an informal intervillage pastime to a more organized sport in the eighteenth century. Aristocrats with abundant time and money helped codify the rules of the game to safeguard their substantial bets (up to £10,000) placed on matches. From 1711 articles of agreement, which set out the core rules, were drawn up for individual matches. These articles were later incorporated into the “laws” of the game of 1744, 1771, 1774, and 1788. By the end of the eighteenth century, rules covered the bat, ball, stumps, and bails; the size of the wicket; methods of batting and bowling; and ways of dismissal.

Development of the Game

Cricket appealed to English aristocrats because it was a complex and leisurely game amenable to class distinctions. The aristocrat could lead the side and bat, leaving the more physically taxing fast bowling to the estate laborer. Cricket paintings that adorn the walls of many a country house from this century suggest that at a time when England was undergoing rapid urban and industrial change, cricket conjured up an appealing vision of “Englishness”: bucolic bliss and class cooperation on rustic swards during sunlit afternoons.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

With the number of cricket clubs expanding, matches were played between teams representing counties by the 1740s. Teams designated as “All England” also took the field. The Hambledon Cricket Club, which existed from 1756 to 1791 at Broadhalfpenny Down, Hampshire, was the most famous club of the eighteenth century.

From the 1730s to the 1770s, cricket found a London home at the Artillery Ground, Finsbury. The London Club was a forerunner of the powerful Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC), which was founded in 1787 and became cricket’s governing authority. It was based at Lord’s cricket ground, which took its name from a shrewd businessman, Thomas Lord. Lord’s became the spiritual mecca of world cricket.

From the 1740s there were intervillage cricket games for women, particularly in the counties of Surrey and Sussex. Some of the games were robust and boisterous and involved gambling. There are many suggestions that women cricketers achieved greater acceptance in the eighteenth century than in later centuries. Their matches were advertised, gate-entry was charged, and large crowds attended.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

Cricket continued to grow in popularity in the nineteenth century. Matches between Eton and Harrow were first introduced to Lord’s in 1805, contests between

the Gentlemen and Players (that is, amateurs and professionals) in 1806, and Oxford and Cambridge universities in 1827. Star players, such as Alfred Mynn (1807–1861) and Fuller Pilch (1804–1870), who fired the public imagination, emerged.

The spread of the game throughout England and abroad and its growth into a highly profitable mass-spectator sport owed much to working-class professionals. William Clarke, a bricklayer from Nottingham, formed a lucrative All England XI in 1846. It became a successful professional troupe that traveled around England. The professionals helped take the game overseas to Canada and the United States in 1859, to Australia in 1862, and New Zealand in 1864. Their tours overseas proved immensely profitable and stimulated interest in overseas cricket. The professional John Wisden

(1826–1884) published his annual cricket almanac for first time in 1864; it soon became the bible of cricket collectors. The professionals also played an important role in establishing international cricket. The first test match was played in 1877 at Melbourne between an English professional team and an Australian eleven.

Class distinctions were incorporated into the game: The amateur was segregated from the professional in terms of accommodation and dining, and he even entered the field from a different gate. The amateur had his name and initials recorded in the scorebook, the professional was identified by surname only. It was also thought proper that England should be captained by an amateur; not until 1953, when the Yorkshireman Len Hutton became captain, was England captained by a professional.

Professional tours inspired colonial sides to tour England. The success of the Australians, who performed very creditably against the best English sides in 1878, helped install cricket as an international game. The Australian defeat of the cream of English cricketers at the 1882 test at the Oval gave rise to the “Ashes” mythology. An advertisement in the press a few days later declared that English cricket died on that day, that its body would be cremated, and that the ashes would be taken to Australia. Tests between England and Australia became known as the Ashes.

W. G. Grace (1848–1915), who dominated the cricket world for the last four decades of the nineteenth century, was a superstar who helped popularize cricket. Bearded and solidly built, he became one of the most recognizable Englishmen of his era. The era before World War I has been called the Golden Age of cricket, a period when the game itself was seen as a form of imperial cement that bound the British Empire together. An Indian prince, K. S. Ranjitsinhji, who played for England in the 1890s, became a potent symbol of empire.

By the nineteenth century, cricket was elevated to become a manly and character-building game. Women who took up the game in the late nineteenth century were viewed with suspicion as trespassers on male ter-



Cricket

The First Women's Cricket Match, 1745

Another proof that cricket was not confined to male players is furnished in the following paragraph transcribed from the issue of the “Derby Mercury” of 16 August 1745:

The greatest cricket match that was ever played in the south part of England was on Friday the 26th of last month, on Gosden Common, near Guildford, between eleven maids of Bramley and eleven maids of Hambledon, dressed all in white. The Bramley girls got 119 notches and the Hambledon girls 127. There was of both sexes the greatest number that ever was seen on such an occasion. The girls bowled, batted, ran, and caught as well as any men could do.

Sydney, W. C. (1891). *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century: Chapters in the social history of the times*. London: Ward and Downey.

The leg-break diagram shows the alignment of fieldsmen to be used with the leg-break bowl, which is bowled from round the wicket.

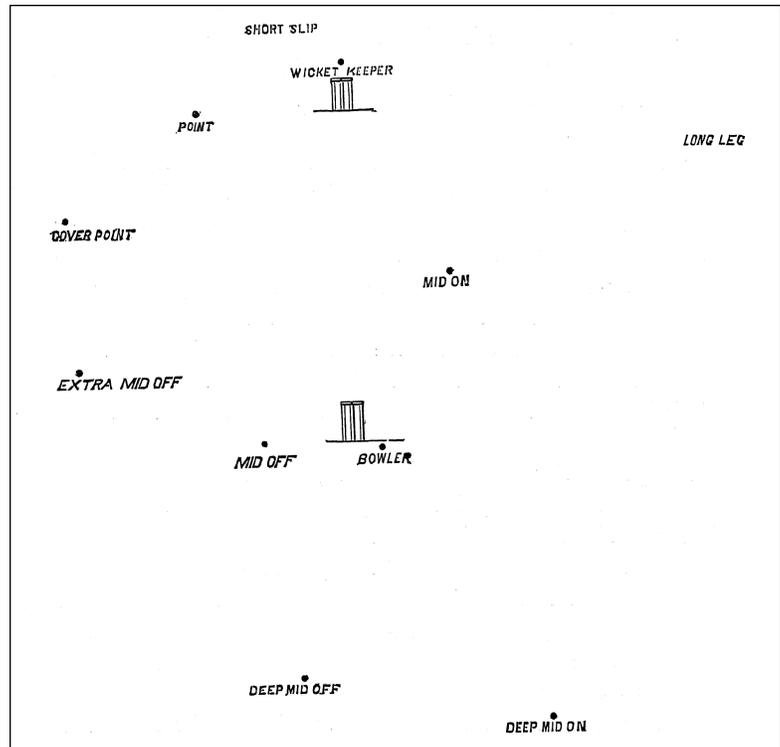
ritory. Women formed cricket clubs from the 1880s but battled to gain public acceptance—they were ignored or ridiculed.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

The twentieth century saw significant growth in international cricket competition and an ever-expanding program of international tours and contests. Many new competitors were accorded test status, including South Africa (1889), West Indies (1928), New Zealand (1930), India (1932), Pakistan (1952), Sri Lanka (1981), Zimbabwe (1992), and Bangladesh (2000). Many other nations have acquired associate status, including the Netherlands, Canada, Kenya, and the United Arab Emirates. The expansion of international competition led to the creation of a world cricket authority, the Imperial Cricket Conference (later the International Cricket Conference) in 1909.

International cricket for women dates from the 1930s, when England toured Australia in 1934–1935 and played three tests. Since then, a number of other women's teams have played test cricket, including New Zealand, India, and teams from the West Indies. For much of the twentieth century, women's cricket struggled to gain acceptance though the staging of a World Cup for women's cricket in 1973, two years before the men, was an inspired idea. Since cricket is still regarded as a man's game, there remains an onus on women who play cricket to prove their femininity. While women in some countries, such as Australia and England, play in a culotte (a divided skirt) to present a suitable feminine image, women in India and the West Indies compete in pants.

The infamous Bodyline series of 1932–1933 aroused great passion. To curb Don Bradman, the Australian run-machine, the English captain Douglas Jardine instructed his chief bowler, Harold Larwood, to bowl bodyline, a form of bowling which restricted scoring and provided greater opportunity for the batsmen to be hit. Australians regarded such tactics as intimidatory



and unsporting. The series strained relations between Australia and England and led to a change in the laws which sought to discourage bodyline bowling. The tour aroused great interest because it was the first to have ball-to-ball radio commentary in Australia.

With dwindling interest in three-day domestic cricket, limited overs cricket was introduced to English domestic cricket in 1963. The abbreviated format, with matches completed in a day, encouraged innovative play and proved an instant success. Limited overs internationals were played starting in 1971 and were featured in the 1975 World Cup in England. An epic final between the West Indies and Australia was watched by a substantial worldwide audience.

Television greatly extended the popularity of cricket in the 1970s. The game translated well on television and slow-motion replays helped unravel the intricacies of the game. This television-related boom in cricket made the game attractive to Australian media tycoon Kerry Packer, who virtually hijacked world cricket after he was denied exclusive Australian television rights. Packer signed up the majority of the world's best cricketers by offering players more generous payment. For two seasons establishment cricket and the World Series were locked in deadly combat before there was a truce



A cricket match at Cockington Court, Devon, England. *Source: istockphoto.com/BjornBP.*

in May 1979. Packer's great innovation in this period of crisis was to popularize day-night limited overs cricket, which proved commercially attractive.

The issue of South Africa and its apartheid regime dogged world cricket from the 1970s to the 1990s, and tours to the area were suspended during this period. The boycott of South Africa spawned a succession of "rebel" tours from various countries and resulted in suspensions for players who had accepted "blood money." Although many South Africans worked for multiracial cricket, progress was slow. South Africa reentered world cricket in the 1990s with the ending of apartheid.

The question of gambling and match fixing was widely debated in the 1990s when it was alleged that Pakistani, Indian, and Australian cricketers had accepted money from bookmakers from the subcontinent. South African captain Hansie Cronje received a life ban in 2000 after he admitted that he had accepted ap-

proximately \$180,000 and offered some of his players money to underperform. Cronje was killed in a plane crash in 2002 before he had a chance to exonerate himself.

Spread of the Game

While the game became popular in England, it attracted less support in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Although cricket appealed to the working classes of Lancashire and Yorkshire, cricket was more of a middle-class game than soccer—the "people's game." English middle-class administrators of cricket considered the game to be the privileged preserve of the comfortable classes.

The British took cricket with them to all parts of their empire, though they made very limited attempts to encourage the indigenes of Asia and Africa to play the game. Indian teams were not formed until the mid-nineteenth century and did not play against European

The English are not very spiritual people, so they invented cricket to give them some idea of eternity ■ GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

teams until later in the century. In the twentieth century, however, cricket became the most popular sport on the four countries of the subcontinent, where it became far more popular than it ever was in England. The support of cricket by comprador communities, such as the Parsis of Bombay, and by many Indian princes endowed the game with glamor and status. Cricket on the subcontinent was able to reinvent itself to fit in with local culture and society and features passionate and noisy crowds and wickets that have encouraged slow bowling.

In the West Indies, too, cricket was initially a white man's game. C. L. R. James, in the cricket classic *Beyond a Boundary*, shows how West Indian cricket, although part of colonial oppression, was domesticated and transformed into a vehicle for the liberation struggle. Creolized West Indian cricket developed its own rich traditions, including "cricket as carnival," and produced outstanding teams that dominated world cricket from the mid-1970s to the 1990s.

Cricket clubs were established at an early stage in Australia and New Zealand, where playing cricket was a way to maintain their culture in remote and exotic locations. Cricket received a further boost in the late nineteenth century when test matches gave colonial teams a prized opportunity to thrash the motherland. Cricket comes close to being the national game of Australia, and it is also popular in New Zealand and South Africa, where it ranks second to rugby. Each of these countries transformed cricket to suit its particular climate, culture, and society. The hard and firm wickets of Australia, for instance, encouraged fast and leg spin bowling and confident shot making.

Although cricket was exported at an earlier period than soccer, it spread far less, remaining confined to the former British Empire. Allen Guttmann has claimed that this limited spread was probably due not to intrinsic factors, such as the greater complexity of the rules, but to the fact that by the time soccer was exported, in the later period of the empire, Manchester's economic influence was paramount and soccer was the favorite sport of Manchester. It is likely that cricket's

failure to spread, for example, from local elites of Philadelphia and other social bastions to the broader population in North America was because these elites preferred to maintain cricket as an exclusive game.

The Future

Cricket as a sport has been a great survivor in that it has been able to reinvent itself many times over. It has evolved from the era of gentlemen who loved to gamble, to the time of the professional, to the amateur era, to the more commercial and professional era following World Series Cricket. In the 1980s and 1990s the balance of cricket has shifted away from England. It is ironic that the game is now more genuinely popular on the subcontinent and in Australia, than it is in England.

Cricket was played at the 1900 Paris Olympic Games, though it has not been recognized as an Olympic sport, and at the 1998 Kuala Lumpur Commonwealth Games. While it is unlikely to become a global sport in the foreseeable future, its global future seems secure because it is so dominant on the subcontinent, has a growing base in Africa (South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Kenya), and remains popular in Australia and New Zealand as well as England.

Richard Cashman

See also Ashes, The; Lords Cricket Ground

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I can't really say I'm batting badly. I'm not batting long enough to be batting badly. ■ GREG CHAPPELL

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Cricket World Cup

The first attempt to create a world championship of cricket occurred in 1912 when Australia, England, and South Africa played a triangular tournament in England in the longer form of the game, Test cricket. The event, plagued by poor weather, was considered a limited success and not repeated. The first World Cup of cricket, known as the Prudential Cup, was played in England in 1975, and the championship has been held every four years since. Although the competition is primarily between the strongest Test-playing nations, some of the developing cricket nations, such as Canada, Namibia, and the Netherlands, have also participated.

Format and Venue Changes

The World Cup is the premier competition for an abbreviated form of cricket, known as limited overs or one-day cricket. (An *over* consists of six balls bowled in sequence by one player.) Whereas Test matches are scheduled for five days, and state, provincial, and county cricket matches occupy three to four days, the limited overs format—sixty six-ball overs per team in the first three World Cups and fifty overs since then—ensure that a match can be completed in one day, in approximately seven hours. The team that scores the highest number of runs in their allocated 300 balls—plus a few extra deliveries for wides (when a batsman cannot reach a ball to play a shot) and no-balls (primarily when the bowler oversteps the bowling crease) that have to be re-bowled—wins the contest.

The first three World Cups were played during daylight, and the traditional red leather ball was used. With the popularity of day-night cricket, some later World Cup matches involved play under lights—with one side

batting in the afternoon and the other at night—necessitating the use of white rather than red balls because they were easier to see at night. Conditions frequently vary from day to night in light, heat, and even dew on the ground. Batsmen face an awkward period at twilight before the artificial lights take over.

The competition grew from eight nations and fifteen matches in 1975 to fourteen countries and fifty-four matches in 2003. In the first World Cup, the teams were divided into two groups, with the leading two teams in each pool advancing to the semi-finals. Since 1999, the best six countries advance to the Super Six playoffs. Under this system, performances in the preliminary matches count at the playoff stage.

Limited overs cricket emerged in England in 1962 when three-day county games were faced with dwindling crowds and declining revenue. The new format proved an instant success on television. The first limited overs international occurred almost by accident. After the first three days of a Test between Australia and England in January 1971 were abandoned because of rain, a hastily scheduled limited overs match on what would have been the fifth day of the Test attracted 46,006 spectators.

The first World Cup (for men) in 1975 was preceded by a World Cup for women, which was held at Edgbaston, England, in 1973, though this tournament was not the primary impetus for the men's World Cup. (The women's tournament is a smaller event because it has a smaller player base, and the game is popular only in a few countries, notably England, Australia, and New Zealand.) The 1975 World Cup final at Lord's in London was the first match broadcast live and in its entirety from England to Australia. The World Cup was an ideal format for television, and the BBC received £200,000 for the 1975 broadcast.

World Cup Events

The first three World Cups were played at Lord's in London and sponsored by the Prudential Insurance Company, but later World Cups have been played in a variety of Commonwealth countries including Australia,



Cricket World Cup

“I’m Here to See Cricket Played, Not Tiddlywinks”

In Dorothy Sayers’s classic whodunit Murder Must Advertise (1933), Lord Peter Wimsey unwittingly reveals himself at cricket. This passage presents a quintessentially English version of cricket, in which class and breeding show in every stroke. The Cricket World Cup is of a more global and democratic era, yet fans today share the same fascination with every nuance of the game.

“The nincompoop! The fat-headed, thick-witted booby!” yelled Mr. Brotherhood. He danced with fury. “Might have thrown the match away! Thrown it away! That man’s a fool. I say he’s a fool. He’s a fool, I tell you.”

“Well, it’s all right, Mr. Brotherhood,” said Mr. Hankin, soothingly. “At least, it’s all wrong for your side, I’m afraid.”

“Our side be damned,” ejaculated Mr. Brotherhood. “I’m here to see cricket played, not tiddlywinks. I don’t care who wins or loses, sir, provided they play the game. Now, then!”

With five minutes to go, Wimsey watched the first ball of the over come skimming down towards him. It was beauty. It was jam. He smote it as Paul smote the Philistines. It soared away in a splendid parabola, struck

the pavilion roof with a noise like the crack of doom, rattled down the galvanized iron roofing, bounced into the enclosure where the scorers were sitting and broke a bottle of lemonade. The match was won.

Mr. Bredon, lolloping back to the pavilion at 6.30 with 83 runs to his credit, found himself caught and cornered by the ancient Mr. Brotherhood.

“Beautifully played, sir, beautifully played indeed,” said the old gentleman. “Pardon me—the name has just come to my recollection. Aren’t you Wimsey of Balliol?”

Wimsey saw Tallboy, who was just ahead of them, falter in his stride and look round, with a face like death. He shook his head.

“My name’s Bredon,” he said.

“Bredon?” Mr. Brotherhood was plainly puzzled. “Bredon? I don’t remember ever hearing the name. But didn’t I see you play for Oxford in 1911? You have a late cut which is exceedingly characteristic, and I could have taken my oath that the last time I saw you play it was at Lords in 1911, when you made 112. But I thought the name was Wimsey—Peter Wimsey of Balliol—Lord Peter Wimsey—and, now I come to think of it. . . .”

India, New Zealand, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and Zimbabwe. The establishment of the World Cup cricket is closely related to the rise and popularity of international cricket television coverage. The first six men’s World Cups held some surprises and changes:

- The 1975 final between the West Indies and Australia was an exciting and fluctuating event with the West Indies winning by 17 runs after a fine 102 by captain Clive Lloyd and some outstanding West Indian fielding that produced 5 run-outs at crucial stages.
- The second World Cup in 1979 was disrupted by bad weather but a brilliant 138 by Viv Richards enabled West Indians to win again, this time defeating England.
- India was the surprise winner of the third World Cup in 1983 when India dismissed the powerful West Indian side for a modest 140 and won by 43 runs.
- India and Pakistan hosted the fourth World Cup, known as the Reliance World Cup after a local sponsor, in 1987. Australia defeated England in Calcutta, India, by just 7 runs.
- Australia and New Zealand hosted the fifth World Cup the Benson & Hedges Cup, in 1992, Pakistan defeated England in the final by 22 runs at the Melbourne (Australia) Cricket Ground. This was England’s second successive loss—and their third overall—in a World Cup final.
- The sixth World Cup in 1996, the Wills World Cup, was again played on the subcontinent with matches hosted by India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka

easily defeated Australia in the final at Lahore, Pakistan, by 7 wickets. Aravinda da Silva, who took 3 wickets and was 107 not out, was the man of the match.

In 1999, the competition was renamed the ICC Cricket World Cup, and a permanent trophy was created. This event was staged in England. Australia twice bettered South Africa in dramatic circumstances to reach the final. In a crucial qualifying match, Australia benefited when Steve Waugh was dropped at 56 before he proceeded to score a match-winning 120. In the semi-final, Australia secured a tie—which was all that was needed to qualify for the final—in the last over when South Africa appeared set to win. Australia comfortably defeated Pakistan in the final at Lord's in London by 8 wickets.

Australia won the 2003 World Cup, when it easily beat India in the final by 125 runs at the New Wanderers Stadium in Johannesburg, South Africa. Captain Ricky Ponting, 140 not out, and Damien Martyn, 88 not out, added 234 runs to register a World Cup record total of two wickets for 359 runs.

Of the first eight World Cups, Australia won the event three times, the West Indies twice, and India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, once each.

Controversies

Several events have affected World Cup Cricket:

- The 1979 World Cup was adversely affected by the World Series Cricket crisis. Caused by the issue of the television rights for cricket the crisis split the cricket world into two competing camps from 1977 to 1979. Australian media tycoon Kerry Packer signed up most of the world's leading players to stage World Series Cricket, challenging establishment cricket. A compromise was brokered in 1979 with Packer receiving the exclusive rights that he had sought. The crisis resulted in some under-strength national teams. Viewed in the longer term, however, World Series Cricket popularized day-night matches and added to the status of the World Cup.
- Australia and West Indies forfeited their matches in Sri Lanka in the 1996 World Cup because of a bomb blast in Sri Lanka.
- The competition was skewed in 2003 when England refused to play in Zimbabwe and New Zealand chose not to play in Kenya; both England and New Zealand forfeited their points.

The Future

The Cricket World Cup continues to grow in popularity. The fifty-four matches in 2003 drew a record crowd of 825,000 and an estimated global television audience of more than one billion. Such has been the popularity of the World Cup that a “mini World Cup” based on a knockout format—the ICC Champions Trophy—was played in Bangladesh in 1998 to raise money for cricket development. The mini World Cup was played in Sri Lanka in 2002 and England in 2004. The 2007 World Cup will be held for the first time in the West Indies.

Richard Cashman

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Croquet

The modern sport of croquet—highly competitive but family oriented—originated in France during the early nineteenth century and was played with a unique mallet. This mallet, in its French peasant form,



Croquet being played on the lawn of Shadowbrook in Lenox, Massachusetts, in 1904.

had a broomstick as a handle. The word croquet is derived from the French word *croc*, meaning “something shaped like a hook or a crook.” Modern croquet probably evolved from an earlier game called *palle mall* in which players hit a ball (*palla*) with a mallet (*maglio*) through a series of iron rings. An account of a variation on that game appeared in a diary entry by the English essayist Samuel Pepys in 1663.

Origins

Croquet was transplanted from France to Ireland, where, records show, people played it regularly after 1852. After the game was introduced to England it flourished as Walter James Whitmore, the game’s star player and tactician, promoted croquet and became the unofficial world champion in 1867 with his victory in the Moreton-on-Marsh, England, Croquet Open Championship. A year later he published a pioneering book entitled *Croquet Tactics*. The All England Croquet Club also was formed in 1868. Tennis historian E. Digby Baltzell, describing this period of the 1860s, was trying to be humorous but may have hit on the truth when he observed:

There were more than half a million more women than men in England, most of them, with the help of their mothers . . . basically engaged in hunting husbands. On the smooth croquet lawns, as well as in the surrounding shrubbery looking for lost balls, proper, crinoline-clad Victorian ladies, more or less cunning, sought to capture the hearts of clean-cut English gentlemen (1995).

Croquet might have grown in popularity to rival cricket as a major outdoor English sport if not for the arrival of another new sport that quickly became a public passion. Tennis was so popular that players took up all available grass space. Not surprisingly, by 1875 the All England Croquet Club had to add the words “and Lawn Tennis Club” to its name.

Five years later the decline of croquet was spelled out when the club, based in Wimbledon, changed its name to the “All England Lawn Tennis Club.” Croquet suffered from having neither the popular appeal of cricket nor the physical dash and style of tennis. One sports historian commented that “even the ladies grew bored and impatient with croquet’s leisurely lack of vigor.” By the turn of the century croquet was no longer played at Wimbledon, and croquet’s international headquarters was moved to Roehampton and then to Hurlingham, both in England.

The American National Croquet League, founded in 1880, and the first Australian croquet club, founded in 1866, led croquet’s international expansion. The Australian Croquet Council was founded in 1950. (Australia leads the world with more than six thousand registered players.) In 1896 the Croquet Association, an international body, was founded. The game’s major impetus at the turn of the century was neither organizational nor regulatory: The emergence of star players from Ireland transformed the game into a sport.

During the nineteenth century croquet became an important vehicle by which women could move beyond the traditional boundaries of home, church, and school and attain a quasi-athletic pursuit. Writer Janet Woolum says that a milestone in women’s sports was the 13 June 1877 founding of the Ladies Club for Outdoor Sports at New Brighton in Staten Island, New York. Club members took part in archery, lawn tennis, and croquet. Sport sociologist Jennifer Hargreaves, however, says that although croquet was “a highly sociable and fashionable



An English croquet lawn.

pastime,” as women entered athletics they were stereotyped as the weaker sex capable of playing only gentle and respectable games. That is, women could acceptably perform only “the smallest and meanest of movements.” Even with croquet, many people felt that women might more appropriately play croquet’s indoor variations—parlor croquet, table croquet, and carpet croquet—instead of the outdoor version.

Hooing It Up

During the 1860s a croquet craze swept the United States as town clubs held competitions, and some scholars say that croquet was important in advancing women’s rights. Nevertheless, during the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s conservative groups in the United States and England feared the downfall of women who let

themselves be swept away by the excesses of such sports as bicycling and croquet. Despite such dire predictions, croquet flourished as a women’s sport. In the United States, long before women took part in competitive tennis or basketball their first venture into competition sport was with croquet during the 1860s.

The croquet court consisted of nine hoops and two pegs at the first championship in England in 1867. The court’s dimensions were 20 meters by 15 meters. The balls measured 9 centimeters in diameter, and the hoops had a maximum width of 20 centimeters. Three years later the court size was increased to 46 meters by 32 meters, and the hoops’ width was reduced to 10 centimeters. The number of hoops was reduced to six in 1871. This configuration, called the “Hale setting,” lasted from 1871 to 1922.

Straight and Narrow

Originally players struck the balls in a particular sequence (blue, red, black, and yellow), as in snooker. In 1914 this style of play was changed by the introduction of the either-ball game in which “the opponent could now play either of his balls. [This] meant that no easy break could be left for the next turn, for the opponent would remove the most useful ball to a safe position” (Arlott 1975). At the same time a 9.4-centimeter hoop was introduced. With a ball of 9.2 centimeters in diameter, the margin of error became minute, thus magnifying the importance of accurate ball striking. Perhaps only golf’s putting carries the same premium on precision striking and ball placement.

Croquet is not a team sport. Almost without exception in croquet one player challenges another. Many descriptions of croquet make it seem as complex and cerebral as chess. However, the essence of the sport is its simplicity. The object is to score points by striking the ball through each hoop in the proper order and hitting the stake. Each player, in turn, tries to make a point or to *roquet*—to hit an opponent’s ball with one’s own. If an opponent scores a point he or she is entitled to another stroke. If not, the next player takes a turn.

Croquet continues to be an elitist sport. During its early days having croquet hoops on a lawn showed the house owner to be on the cutting edge of fashion. Today croquet club memberships still tend to be expensive and exclusive. Not surprisingly, the world’s oldest “name” universities—Oxford and Cambridge—encourage the sport. In the United States croquet clubs exist in resort areas with an exclusive appeal, such as Greenbrier in West Virginia. The oldest U.S. university teams are at Harvard, Yale, and the University of Virginia. Only a few clubs exist in the Midwest, twenty-two in California, and more than that in the coastal resort townships of Florida. The largest concentration of croquet clubs is in the wealthy suburbs of larger northeastern cities such as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. If croquet is to flourish, it must become more attractive to younger players.

Just as tennis has its Davis Cup, yachting its Amer-

ica’s Cup, and golf its Ryder Cup, croquet has its MacRobertson International Shield. The Croquet Association, with headquarters at the Hurlingham Club in England, organizes all of the major championship events. In England these events consist of the open championship (singles and doubles), the men’s, women’s, and mixed-doubles championships, and four invitation events. The President’s Cup is the most highly regarded of these latter events. Interclub croquet competition does not exist in the United Kingdom. In the United States croquet has been organized since 1976 by the United States Croquet Association.

A major, indeed, critical aspect of modern croquet is that it is a leader in terms of gender equality. Kay Flatten (2001, 281) notes: “Modern world rankings are combined for men and women, and the United States Croquet Association does not hold separate men’s and women’s championships.”

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Cross-Country Running

A form of competitive running, cross-country involves racing over outdoor courses of differential lengths and terrains, always “off-road.” Courses are more than a mile long. An invention of nineteenth-century Britain, and primarily an Anglo-European event through the mid-twentieth century, cross-country running is a transnational sport today.

History

Cross-country developed as a competitive sport in early nineteenth-century England. Its origins were in a game called “hare and hounds” or “the paper chase,” in which one runner or a group of runners created a trail for a second group of runners by dropping pieces of paper or other markers. The second group would try to follow the first group’s trail, running through at a later time. The first formal competition, called “The Crick Run,” was held at the Rugby School in 1837. Other public schools followed with competitions of their own, and when Oxford and Cambridge universities began to feature cross-country, this form of competition was consolidated as a sport. While hare and hounds continued to be a recreational and popular pastime, in serious competition this game was transformed into a cross-country race over a course that was clearly marked and established in advance over rough trails and open country. The English National championships were established in 1876. Two years later, William C. Vosburgh, a New York native, brought the sport to the United States. The first U.S. championship was established in 1880 and was run by the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU). The National Cross-Country Association was formed in

The act of taking the first step is what separates the winners from the losers. ■ BRIAN TRACY

1887. Like many sports that developed at this time, it was primarily those who were well-to-do and well educated who participated.

Cross-country was introduced on the collegiate level at Harvard during this same period, but it was conceived as a form of fall training for distance runners who competed in track and field in the spring rather than as a specific sport in its own right. Other campuses followed Harvard’s example. The first intercollegiate meet was held in 1890 between Cornell University, City College of New York, and the University of Pennsylvania. It was Cornell that developed the most pronounced interest in the sport and began to organize the first Intercollegiate Cross-Country Association in 1898. At the college level, the historical emergence of cross-country as a means to facilitate success in track rather than as a distinct sport continues to affect attitudes toward the event to this day. Cross-country is still somewhat seen as less exciting or viewer-friendly than track and is for the most part given less press and attention. It is rare that an athlete is recruited for cross-country alone, and it is always expected that if an athlete runs cross-country, that athlete will also run track (though not always the other way around). Because of the way scholarships are structured at major universities in the United States, wherein long-distance competitors in track are expected to compete in cross-country, it is also often considered a “service” or “feeder” sport. It is furthermore a point of consternation to aficionados of the sport that it is often confused with other forms of long-distance running like the marathon and road races. The sport of cross-country running, however, is distinct from all these forms in terms of terrain and distance.

International cross-country competition began in 1898 with a race between England and France. An annual championship meet, held at the Hamilton Park Racecourse in Glasgow, Scotland, was established in 1903, and included England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The *International Amateur Athletic Foundation Magazine* notes that Alf Shrub, who led England to victory, “like most of his successors . . . was to transfer his talents to the track and during the next two years he set

14 world records” (lack of standardized distance for cross-country means no world records can be set in the sport). But although the idea of cross-country as a starting point for—or stepping stone to—track continued to follow the sport, it did grow, and other European countries began to take part in international meets the 1920s.

Women Compete

Though it is unclear who the first woman was to run a cross-country race, women as well as men were competing by the 1920s. F. A. M. Webster’s *Athletics of Today for Women: History, Development, and Training* (1930) specifies that Rene Trente won the 1930 French Women’s Cross-Country Championship for the seventh year in a row, and that in the English Women’s Cross-Country Championship “Miss L. D. Styles retained her title” (97). The author was clearly an advocate of women’s sports, for he reports that “it was to be proven even more conclusively in 1929 that women athletes have not as yet by any means reached the limits of their record breaking potentialities” (91). Contrary to any lingering stereotypes of delicate Victorian womanhood, Webster emphasizes that “despite adverse weather conditions and continuous showers of hailstones,” on 13 and 14 May 1929 at the Women’s Inter-University Championships in Birmingham, “the home university placed girls in every event, and carried off the Challenge Shield, which they had not held previously” (91).

In the United States, the annual NCAA Cross-Country Championship was established in 1938. The worldwide governing body for track and field, the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), assumed responsibility for cross-country in 1962 and established both men’s and women’s rules. The first international women’s world championship was held in 1967, a year after the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) held a national championship for women in the United States, so cross-country running for women emerged at roughly the same time as a national women’s movement invested in securing equality of opportunity in all areas, including sports. Women’s distance running in general



Cross-Country Running

Cross Country

For many decades, Cross Country coaches were somewhat isolated from a lot of the pressure basketball coaches faced. But lately those pressures have increased, in at least four areas I can think of.

1. Participation in high school Cross Country has always been a good stepping stone to college, but the competition for admission to a top-notch post-secondary institution has definitely increased.
2. With the advent of much more comfortable running shoes, coaches have had the opportunity to demand much more rigorous training, with the concurrent danger of stress fractures and other over-use injuries.
3. With the addition of girls Cross Country and the increased danger of eating disorders, a coach ignores that possibility at great risk.
4. Since it now is apparent that some illegal supplements can enhance a distance runner’s performance, the temptation to use them is ever-present.

My hat’s off to the Cross Country coaches who can cope with those pressures and keep their priorities straight. At the end of the season, it’s a pleasure to see at the starting line a team’s top seven runners: relaxed, healthy, confident and (hopefully) drug-free.

Source: Dougherty, K. (2004). My hat’s off. *Cross Country Journal*, XXII(4), 2.

had a long and problematic history, and the emergence of a women’s world cross-country championship at just this time was due to developments in this larger context. Although scientific data now show that women are actually more suited than men to endurance events, medical lore of the early twentieth century had stressed “moderate” exercise for women lest they compromise their reproductive capacities. This view was pervasive,



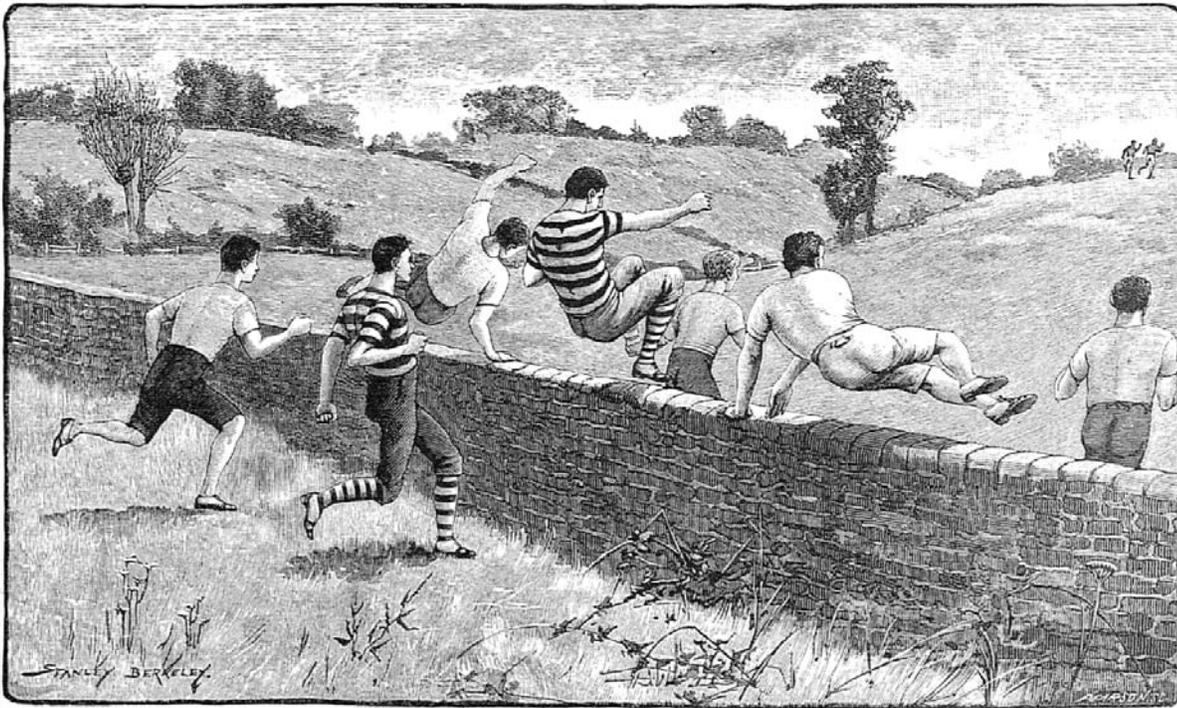
for though women had been running in marathons since 1926 to no visible ill effect, the audience's distress at seeing women looking "exhausted" after their 800-meter runs in the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics led to an IOC (International Olympic Committee) ban that prohibited women from running a race any longer than the 200 meters until the 1960 Games in Rome. Marathon running in the United States was itself notorious for excluding women until that exclusion was publicized and challenged by Kathrine Switzer in 1967. Switzer entered the Boston marathon as K. Switzer, and despite the attempts of race officials to pull her entry number off her chest once they realized a woman was competing in the race, Switzer finished and called media attention to her cause, which was simply that women should be able to compete. Her quest had larger social and political implications, for the women's movement in the United States was gathering force at the time, and the push to include women in athletic events like the marathon paralleled the larger struggle for equal opportunity and revision of women's previously limiting gender roles. Switzer's struggle, along with that of other women pursuing equal rights in running elsewhere, cleared the way for their much larger participation.

Women's distance running developed against this history of gender relations, and that history had a profound effect on women's participation in cross-country. It has shifted from being primarily an intercollegiate men's sport early in the twentieth century to a sport that has far surpassed demands for equality of opportunity. Today, women's cross-country is more widespread and popular than men's, with the NCAA listing 890 schools that sponsored women's cross-country teams in 1998 as compared with 828 schools sponsoring men's teams (schools struggling to comply with Title IX requirements often add women's cross-country as a sport, because it has low overhead). At the high school level, 1995–1996 statistics compiled by the National Federation of State High School Associations show cross-country as the seventh-highest participant sport for girls with 140,187 athletes at 10,774 schools.

Nature of the Sport

The primary difference between a cross-country race and the 5,000 meters and 10,000 meters in track and field is that cross-country events are still run on courses that are technically "off-road." Such courses are not on any kind of synthetic surface such as a track or paved road; cross-country courses rather wind through parks, forests, and the dirt paths along golf courses. Unlike track, the marathon, or 10K or 15K road races, there is no standardized distance for cross-country. Courses vary between 10,000 and 12,000 meters for men, and 2,000 to 5,000 meters for women. It is also more a team sport than is track and field, the marathon, or road racing, with five to nine runners competing in a given race. The team's order of finish is determined by adding up the places in which team members finish—1 point for first, 10 points for tenth, and so on. The team with the lowest score wins. Because it requires little equipment or special facilities beyond access to a park or other open space, it is an inexpensive sport that is accessible to many. Runners come from a wide variety of countries, traditions, and socioeconomic backgrounds. A latter-day derivative of cross-country running is trail running, for which special shoes were marketed in the mid- to late-1990s in the United States, but this is also a distinct sport of its own since competitions usually involve much longer distances than 12,000 meters.

As the generalist event of distance running, cross-country is a very competitive sport, because it draws runners from all distance specializations. Competitors from events as short as the 1,500 meters in track all the way through runners who compete in the marathon flock to cross-country racing in the fall, making the World Cross Country Championships notoriously difficult to win. A person who wins the world championship for the 5,000 meters in track (the most comparable distance) will not necessarily win in cross-country, where variable courses and terrains make every race a new challenge. In recent history, the dominance of African men and women in the sport, particularly those from Ethiopia and Kenya,



Men in turn-of-the-twentieth-century England competing in a cross-country race.

has caused controversy about whether or not there is some “long-distance gene” related to race, but such speculations largely have been discredited by the scientific community.

Competition at the Top

Although cross-country was an Olympic sport in 1912, 1920, and 1924, and then was dropped after 1924 because it was considered a bad fit with summer competition, it has continued to be a vital sport with its own national and international championships—the World Cross Country Championships for international competition, and the U.S. Men’s and Women’s Nationals at the national level. The superstars of cross-country tend to be successful across the distance-running spectrum. The best-known women’s cross-country competitor of all time is Norway’s Grete Waitz, who dominated women’s distance running in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Though she is best known for her marathon victories, Waitz won five World Cross Country titles, four of them consecutively between 1978 and 1981. Waitz is typical of many runners in that she ran cross-country first, and her success there motivated her to try

other distances. Waitz was unbeaten in cross-country races for twelve years, until she was defeated in the 1982 Worlds by Romanians Maricica Puica and Fita Lovin. Her fifth World Cross Country title, however, came in 1983, when she won by over twelve seconds. Like Frank Shorter on the men’s side, she remains best known, however, for her feats in the marathon, which included winning the New York marathon nine times, setting a world record four times, and getting a silver medal in the event in the 1984 Olympic Games.

American Lynn Jennings was also a formidable presence on the cross-country stage, beginning with her 1976 victory at the Junior National Cross-Country Championships. In 1985 she won the first of eight Athletics Congress National Cross-Country Championships. She competed in every single World Cross Country Championship between 1986 and 1993. She placed second in her first appearance, behind Zola Budd, and then had two fourth places and a sixth. In 1990–1992, however, she was undefeated in three consecutive Worlds, including the 1990 race, which she led from the start. She also won a bronze in the 10,000 meters in the 1992 Olympics, finishing behind Derartu Tulu of



Cross-Country Running

The Tarahumara of Northern Mexico

Training might almost be said to start at birth, because the Tarahumara runs from early childhood. Herding goats on the cliffs affords plenty of opportunity to develop endurance. Practice in running is hardly necessary; so the men practice kicking the ball. It is a common sight to see a man kicking a ball as he goes along a trail.

For three nights before a big race, the runners “cure” their legs. The first two nights they do this for themselves, using boiled cedar branches, and goat grease or olive oil. But all the runners spend the last night in the same house. Four old men, selected by the runners, watch over them. It is unlucky for these old men to sleep. (In some pueblos these guards are shamans.) All the paraphernalia of the race is gathered together and covered with a cross. All the runners are cured as follows: One runner takes the stick and the ball in his hands and gets bathed with a boiled cedar mixture—first one leg, then the other. (The bather is a special man, though not a shaman.) Then he makes three turns where he stands, and hands the stick and ball to the shaman again. He

takes a drink of laurel and goes back to his place to sleep. There are from three to four *teokéame* (directors) who furnish coffee, tortillas, beans, esquiote, and other necessities for the runners. The food furnished by them is already prepared; and if a man is hungry, he eats and drinks. The water he drinks is warmed. He may smoke the strongest tobacco. *Tesgüino* or mescal is furnished for the shaman and the bather—not for the runners. Music and *pascal* dancing sometimes accompany the curing.

After a race the runner again cures his legs with a cedar wash. During the race the runners sometimes stop to get *atole*, *pinole*, coffee, mescal, or other sustenance. At other times they stop to get cured. The plant *kotcínawa* (Sp. *sin vergüenza*) is one reason for stopping. The leaves are ground and mixed half and half with tobacco and smoked by the spectators. This smoke, when blown toward an opponent, makes him very sleepy.

Source: Bennett, W. C. & Zingg, R. M. (1935). *The Tarahumara: an Indian tribe of northern Mexico* (pp. 337–338). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ethiopia and Elana Meyer of South Africa. Jennings recommends cross-country, especially for teens, telling *Runner's World* that it “provides the basis of excellence for track success . . . and most kids get their start as runners in high school cross-country. I'd like to think that my success with cross-country could serve as a kind of beacon to them.” She was *Runner's World's* American Female Runner of the Year five times. Though she decided to concentrate her energies on track in 1994 (and most recently won 10,000 meters at the 1998 International Track and Field Championships), Jennings showed to a whole generation of cross-country runners that despite its usual backseat status, fame and fortune could be found in the sport.

On the men's side, the superstars include Oregon's Steve Prefontaine, who won the Individual NCAA men's title in 1970–1973, and has had two major mo-

tion pictures, *Prefontaine* (1997) and *Without Limits* (1998); a documentary, *One Day in September*; and another documentary that ran on CBS, *Fire on Track: The Steve Prefontaine Story*, made about his life. “Pre,” as he is still known to fans, and who died in a car accident at the age of twenty-four, was the first athlete to sign a contract with Nike in 1974. His coach, Bill Bowerman, designed the first Nike running shoes along with Nike CEO Phil Knight. Other men's cross-country champions who had less notoriety but perhaps even more impressive records include Frank Shorter, who won the U.S. Men's National Cross-Country Championships from 1970 to 1973, and who became an Olympic marathon champion. Pat Porter won the Nationals in an unbroken streak from 1982 to 1989. In the World Men's Cross-Country Championships, John Ngugi of Kenya won the title from 1986 to 1989, and then he

Natural abilities are like natural plants; they need pruning by study. ■ RED AUERBACH

made a remarkable comeback to take the title again in 1992. Paul Tergat, also of Kenya, held the title from 1995 to 1999. Most recently, the title belongs to Kenenisa Bekele of Ethiopia, who won the championship in 2002, 2003, and 2004.

In the last seven years or so, African women have also been the dominant presence in women's cross-country, and Derartu Tulu, who won the gold in Jennings Olympics race (the first black African woman to win an Olympic gold), has been one of their leaders. She started her career in cross-country as well, beginning in 1989 on Ethiopia's women's junior cross-country team. She won the World Championships in 1995 and again in 1997, winning the latter with a strong kick at the end that surpassed Britain's Paula Radcliffe, who won the Junior Worlds in 1992. Tulu took the title again in 2000, while Radcliffe was the champion in 2001 and 2002. Ethiopia's Gete Wami also started on the Ethiopian junior team and won the World Cross-Country title in 1996. In the 1998 Worlds, though Irish runner Sonia O'Sullivan won the individual title, Kenya won the team title, followed by Ethiopia. The most recent individual champions have been Werknesh Kidane of Ethiopia in 2003 and Benita Johnson of Australia in 2004.

In recent NCAA cross-country competition, at the team level Stanford, Brigham Young University, and Villanova have continued to dominate. Individually, Kara Grgas-Wheeler of Colorado won the title in 2000, Tara Chaplin from Arizona in 2001, and Shalane Flanagan from the University of North Carolina in 2002 and 2003. On the men's side, Arkansas, Stanford, and Colorado have taken most recent team titles. On the individual level, Keith Kelly from Providence won in 2000, Boaz Cheboiywo from Eastern Michigan in 2001, Jorge Torres from Colorado in 2002, and Dathan Ritzenhein, also from Colorado, in 2003.

A More Positive Future

Though cross-country is still seen as a starting sport for runners who will later become the world's top marathoners and track and field competitors, the in-

creased rate of participation by girls and women shows that it is an important sport for meeting the mandates of Title IX, and that female competitors continue to demonstrate a facility for and interest in the sport. Two recent developments in the NCAA in the United States show a movement toward granting cross-country a more independent status: a move to require universities to offer scholarships to cross-country runners independently of track, and the 1997 subcommittee vote that extended the distance of the women's national championships from 5,000 to 6,000 meters (5,000 meters—3.1 miles—has been the distance since 1981). Coaches contend that the longer distance will also help make cross-country a sport with a firmer identity of its own. Furthermore, the 1997 realignment of Division I schools from eight districts into nine provides a better balance in terms of the number of schools sponsoring cross-country in each district. Better balance has made access to the championships fairer and increased the field sizes by 40 percent, up from 184 runners in 1997 to 255 in 1998. Increased access gives more teams and more athletes the chance to participate in a national championship, which raises the level of excitement in and commitment to the sport. Thanks to these improvements, in conjunction with the increased emphasis on separate scholarships for cross-country, it may not be long before cross-country outgrows its little sister status and emerges as a sport with a distinct identity and place.

Governing Bodies

Primary governing organizations include the International Association of Athletics Federation (www.iaaf.org), USA Track and Field (www.usatf.org), and the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletics Association, www.ncaa.org).

Leslie Heywood

Additional information was provided by Wayne Wilson (Amateur Athletic Foundation, Los Angeles), <http://www.aafila.org>.

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Cuba

The largest island of the West Indies, Cuba is located 200 kilometers south of Florida and 100 kilometers west of Haiti. The capital city, Havana (with an estimated population of 2.3 million in 2003), is located on Cuba's northwest coast. Cuba's national population in 2004 was estimated at 11.3 million. Sport has been an important part of national life since the 1800s, but until mid-twentieth century, it involved mainly professional and amateur baseball, professional boxing, and amateur activities of the university and exclusive sport clubs. Cuba after the revolution of 1959 made sport a top national priority and established a developmental system that produced many great champions and coaches.

History

Indigenous people of Cuba and neighboring islands played *batos*, a bat-and-ball game. Colonial sports included cockfighting, bullfighting, and horseracing. Bullfighting and cockfighting are now prohibited by law, but horseracing continues. The game of *pelota vasca* also has continued since colonial times.

In the 1860s baseball came to Cuba by way of young men returning home from their studies in the United States. During the 1870s baseball teams already existed in Cuba, and a professional league began play. Largely through the efforts of Cubans, baseball spread to other Latin American countries. During the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century

Cubans played professional baseball in the United States (major leagues and Negro leagues) and in other Latin American countries. Adolfo Luque, Martín Di-Higo (a member of the U.S., Cuban, and Mexican Halls of Fame), Orestes "Minnie" Miñoso, and Luis Tiant Sr. were among the early great Cuban professionals. Before 1959 Cuba had supplied more U.S. major league players than any other country outside the United States. Beginning in 1949 interleague play for professional teams culminated in the Caribbean Series, a "world series" for Latin American teams, which Cuba dominated until after professional sport was banned by the new socialist government at the beginning of the 1960s. Cuba hosted the series championship three times and won it seven times during this period. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries exclusive private clubs, such as the Vedado Tennis Club and the Club Atlético de Cuba, and the University of Havana had baseball teams and also played many other sports. Cuba has dominated international amateur baseball throughout its history.

Participant and Spectator Sports

As in the rest of the world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, sports in Cuba were largely limited to relatively wealthy and socially elite people, especially members of exclusive social clubs (such as the Vedado Tennis Club) and university students. Bullfighting, boxing, and baseball were professional sports before 1959. After the socialist revolution Cuba discontinued professional sports, encouraged sports participation for all Cubans, and initiated strong programs for the training of elite athletes. After a developmental period of ten to twelve years, socialist Cuba became a sporting power in the Americas.

Central American and Caribbean Games

Cuba had a large representation in the first Central American and Caribbean Games (called "Central American Games" until 1938) in Mexico City in 1926, where Cuba won baseball, all fencing events (Ramón Fonst won all), five of the eight field events, four of six swim-



Cuba

Key Events in Cuba Sports History

- 1860s** Baseball is brought to Cuba from the United States.
- 1870s** A professional baseball league is formed in Cuba.
- 1900** Cuba participates in the Olympics for the first time.
- 1926** Cuba participates in the first Central American Games in Mexico City.
- 1926** The Cuban Olympic Committee is established.
- 1930** Cuba hosts the second Central American Games.
- 1949** The Caribbean Series is established as the “World Series” for Latin American baseball teams.
- 1951** Cuba participates in the first Pan American Games.
- 1959** The Castro government makes sports a national priority and bans professional sports.
- 1972** Cuban athletes win gold medals for the first time at the Olympics.
- 1984** Cuba boycotts the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles.
- 1988** Cuba boycotts the Summer Olympics in Seoul.
- 1991** Cuba hosts the eleventh Pan American Games.
- 1999** Cuba participates in the first Pan American Paralympics.
- 2002** Cuba boycotts the Central American and Caribbean Games.

ming events, and exhibition rifle shooting. Cuba hosted the second games in Havana in 1930 and subsequently participated in all years of the series except for 1959 (the year the revolution was completed) until boycotting the 2002 edition in El Salvador. Havana was host for the second time in 1982.

Before missing the 1959 games, Cuban men had won gold medals in 100 meters, 200 meters (Rafael Fortún won 100 meters and 200 meters in 1946 and 100 meters again in 1950 and 1954), 4×100 meters, and 400-meter hurdles, as well as several field events, baseball (1926–1938, 1950), boxing, soccer, fencing, gymnastics, swimming and diving, tennis, weightlifting, wrestling, and volleyball and silver medals in basketball. Cuban women had won gold in swimming and diving and a silver in basketball. Cuba won the most gold and total medals in 1930 and 1946 and most total again in 1935 and came in second in both categories behind Mexico in 1926, 1950, and 1954.

From the 1962 games through 1990 Cuban men won gold in 100 meters, 200 meters (Silvio Leonard

won 100 meters and 200 meters in 1974 and 1978), 400 meters (Alberto Juantorena in 1974 finished nearly four seconds faster than the next runner), 800 meters (Juantorena in 1978), 1,500 meters, 110-meter hurdles, 3,000-meter steeplechase, 4×100 meters, 4×400 meters, and the decathlon. Cuban men also won all field events (Javier Sotomayor set a high jump record of 2.34 meters in 1990), archery, baseball (1966–1978, 1986, 1990), basketball (1974, 1982), and boxing (eleven of twelve categories in 1986 and ten of twelve in 1990). Cuban men also won canoeing and kayaking, cycling, fencing (all events in 1978, 1982), field hockey (1982–1990), gymnastics (all medals in 1970, all golds in 1974, 1978, 1982, 1986), judo (all categories in 1978 and 1982 and eight of nine in 1986), rowing (seven of eight events in 1982), shooting, soccer (1970–1978, 1986), softball (1990), swimming, table tennis, tennis, volleyball (1966–1978, 1986, 1990), water polo (1966–1990), and weightlifting (all categories in 1978, 1982, nine of ten in 1986). Cuban men also won in wrestling (all Greco-Roman categories in 1982 and

The Cuban team is welcomed at the Pan American Games.

1986, all freestyle categories in 1986, and all but one category in 1982) and yachting, as well as silver medals in diving and tae kwon do.

Cuban women won gold medals in all women's track and field events, including pentathlon and heptathlon (Liliana Allen won 100 meters and 200 meters in 1990, María Caridad Colón set a javelin record in 1978 and bettered it in 1982, Ana Fidelia Quirot won 400 meters and 800 meters in 1986 and 1990), archery (all events in 1982), basketball (1970–1990), canoe and kayak, fencing (all events in 1978 and 1982), gymnastics (all medals in 1970, all golds in 1974–1986), diving, judo, rowing, shooting (all events in 1982), softball (1990), synchronized swimming, table tennis, tennis, tae kwon do, and volleyball (1966, 1974, 1978, 1986, 1990).

For most games of this period the Cuban athletic delegations were the most numerous, and Cuban athletes dominated track and field, boxing, baseball, basketball, fencing, gymnastics, volleyball, water polo, weightlifting, and wrestling. Among the weakest sports for Cuban athletes were equestrian, swimming, tennis, and yachting. Fearing for the safety of their delegation in San Salvador, Cuba did not participate in the 2002 games. As a substitute activity Cuba held the first "Olympics of Cuban Sports."

Through 1986 Cubans held fifteen of twenty-three Central American and Caribbean women's track and field records and eighteen of twenty-nine men's track and field records, one cycling record, all but one weightlifting record, all women's shooting records, and most men's shooting records, and had won 43 percent of gold and 28 percent of total medals.

Pan American Games

Cuba has participated in all editions of the Pan American Games from the initial games in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1951 through the most recent in the Dominican Republic in 2002. Havana hosted the eleventh games in 1991. In the first Pan Ams, Cuba won men's 100 meters and 200 meters (Rafael Fortún won both), baseball, three men's gymnastics events, and other medals in boxing, fencing, weightlifting, wrestling,



swimming, and shooting. From 1951 through 1959 Cuban men won Pan American gold medals in 100 meters and 200 meters, baseball (1951), boxing, weightlifting, other medals in 4×100 meters, 110-meter hurdles, triple jump, fencing, gymnastics, shooting, swimming, and wrestling. Cuban women won 60-meter and 80-meter hurdles and a bronze medal in discus. During this period of three Pan Ams Cubans won nine gold and forty-five total medals.

From 1963 through 1999 Cuban men won Pan American gold medals in 100 meters (Silvio Leonard in 1975 and both the 100 meters and 200 meters in 1979), 200 meters, 400 meters, 800 meters, marathon, 110-meter hurdles, 400-meter hurdles, 4×100 meters, 4×400 meters, high jump (Javier Sotomayor set records at 2.32 meters in 1987, 2.35 meters in 1991, and 2.4 meters in 1995), long jump, triple jump, shot, discus, javelin, and hammer throw. They also won baseball (1963, 1971, 1979, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003), boxing (seven of eleven categories in 1975, eight of twelve in 1983, ten of twelve in 1987, eleven of twelve in 1991), canoeing and kayaking, cycling, fencing, gymnastics (all eight events in 1991), judo, karate, rowing, shooting, swimming and diving, tae kwon do, team handball (1991–1999), volleyball (1971–1979, 1991, 1999), and water polo. They also won in weightlifting (eighteen of twenty-seven categories in 1975, seventeen of nineteen in 1983, twenty-nine of thirty in 1991), Greco-Roman and freestyle wrestling (eight of ten Greco-Roman and five of ten freestyle categories in 1983).

*Cuba Olympics Results**2004 Summer Olympics: 9 Gold, 7 Silver, 11 Bronze*

Cuban women won gold medals in 100 meters, 200 meters (Liliana Allen in both), 400 meters, 800 meters (Ana Fidelia Quirot won both in 1987 and 1991, with a record in the 800 meters in 1987), 100-meter and 400-meter hurdles, 4×100 meters, and 4×400 meters. They also won high jump, long jump, triple jump, shot, discus, javelin (María Colón in 1979 and 1983), heptathlon, archery, basketball (1979, 1999, 2003), fencing, karate, gymnastics, rhythmic gymnastics, judo (eight of ten categories in 1991, all eight categories in 1995), kayaking, shooting, table tennis, tae kwon do, and volleyball (1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995).

From 1951 through 2003 Cuba was in second place overall in total Pan Am medals won. Cuba's greatest Pan American successes have come in baseball, boxing, men's and women's basketball, fencing, volleyball, track and field, and men's gymnastics, weightlifting, and wrestling. Cuban athletes have been weakest in equestrian, roller skating, softball, swimming, and yachting. Through 1999 Cuba had won 654 gold, 464 silver, and 401 bronze medals for a total of 1,519. The comparable figures are 1,587, 1,154, 774, and 3,515 for first-place United States and 286, 451, 592, and 1,329 for third-place Canada. During the post-1959 period Cuba made its first great advance in 1971 (second overall in gold and total medals) and maintained this position in subsequent games through 2003, with the exception of first place in gold medals in 1991 and third place in total medals in 1999. Cuba also has had extensive participation in the Pan American Paralympics since the first were held in Mexico in 1999.

Olympic Games

Cuba's first Olympic appearance came in 1900 in Paris, where Ramón Fonst won a gold and a silver in fencing. Fonst won two more gold, and Cuba won a total of four gold, two silver, and three bronze medals in fencing in St. Louis in 1904. In 1948 Cuba won a silver in yachting.

After the revolution Cuban participation and success in Olympic Games began slowly but accelerated

through the 1980 games in Moscow. In 1964 (Tokyo) a Cuban man won silver in the 100 meters; in 1968 (Mexico City) Cubans won two silver medals in boxing (Rolando Garbey won one of them) and silver in men's and women's 4×100 meters. The first gold medals came in 1972 (Munich, Germany): three boxing golds (including heavyweight Teófilo Stevenson). Other medals were one silver and one bronze in boxing, bronze in men's basketball, and bronze in the women's 100 meters and 4×100 meters. Gold medals in 1976 (Montreal, Canada) included three in boxing (including Stevenson), 400 meters and 800 meters (Alberto Juantorena won both), and one in men's judo; other medals were three silver and two bronze (including Rolando Garbey) in boxing, silver in men's 110-meter hurdles and bronze in men's volleyball. Cuba's best Olympic year at the time was 1980 (Moscow), when Cuba won six gold (Stevenson again), two silver, and two bronze medals in boxing, gold in javelin (María Caridad Colón), one gold and one bronze in weightlifting, silver in men's 100 meters (Silvio Leonard) and 110-meter hurdles, bronze in men's discus, two silver in men's judo, and one bronze in men's shooting. Cuba tied for third in gold medals (eight) and for fourth in total medals (twenty), however, ending well behind first- and second-place USSR and East Germany.

As a result of political conflicts and allegiances Cuba boycotted the 1984 (Los Angeles) and 1988 (Seoul, South Korea) Olympics. However, for the games in Barcelona, Spain, in 1992, Cuba won unprecedented numbers of medals for such a small country. Cubans won seven of twelve possible gold (including heavyweight Félix Savón) and two silver medals in boxing, gold in men's high jump (Javier Sotomayor) and women's discus, silver in men's 4×400 meters, bronze in men's 4×100 meters and men's discus, and bronze in women's 800 meters (Ana Quirot) and high jump. They also won gold in baseball and women's volleyball, one bronze in men's judo, one gold, one silver, and two bronze in women's judo, one silver in weightlifting, one silver and one bronze in men's fencing, one gold and one bronze in freestyle wrestling, and one gold and



Cuba

Cuban Baseball Players

The extract below from a 1924 sports publication bears out the fact that Cuban athletes have long been coveted players in the U.S. major leagues.

With the prestige of his Cuban predecessor in the big leagues to carve a place for him, Pedro Dibut, Cuban pitcher, comes up to join the Cincinnati team in the Florida training camp this spring. He is a protégé of Adolfo Luque, of the Reds, who last season was by long odds the best baseball pitcher in the world. Pedro has been coached during the winter in Havana by Luque, has a lot of speed and good curves, and, like all Cubans, is a high-class fielder and good hitter. One thing all Cuban pitchers can do, whether they can pitch much or not, is to field and hit like a regular player.

Source: *Sporting Life*. (1924, March), p.44.

two bronze in Greco-Roman wrestling. Cuba finished in fifth place in gold medals (fourteen) and fifth place in total medals (thirty-one). Comparable results for Cuba continued through 2004.

In 1996 in Atlanta, Georgia, Cuban medals included four gold (including Savón) and three silver medals in boxing, one gold in women's judo, gold in baseball and women's volleyball, one gold and one silver in Greco-Roman wrestling, one bronze in freestyle wrestling, one gold in weightlifting, silver in the women's 800 meters (Ana Quirot), one silver in men's fencing, one silver in women's judo, one silver in men's swimming, bronze in triple jump, one bronze in men's fencing, three bronze in women's and one bronze in men's judo, and one bronze in men's swimming.

In 2000 in Sydney, Australia, Cubans won four gold (including Savón) and two bronze medals in boxing, gold in men's 110-meter hurdles and long jump, silver in men's triple jump and high jump (Sotomayor), bronze in men's, bronze in women's javelin (Osleidys Menéndez), one bronze in men's fencing, two gold and two silver in women's judo, and one bronze in men's

judo. They also won gold in women's volleyball, one gold in Greco-Roman wrestling, one gold in men's tae kwon do, one silver in women's tae kwon do, silver in baseball, two silver in men's flatwater canoe, two silver in Greco-Roman wrestling, and one silver and one bronze in men's freestyle wrestling, tying for ninth place overall in gold (eleven) and in eighth place in total medals (twenty-nine).

Cuba's Olympic successes continued in 2004 in Athens, Greece, with gold medals in women's shot and javelin, silver and bronze in women's hammer throw, bronze in men's 110-meter hurdles, gold in baseball, five gold, three silver, and one bronze in boxing, one gold and one bronze in men's freestyle wrestling and one silver in Greco-Roman wrestling, one silver in flatwater canoeing, one silver and four bronze in women's judo, one bronze in men's judo, one silver in women's tae kwon do, one bronze in men's shooting (skeet), and bronze in women's volleyball, tying for ninth overall in gold (nine) and in eleventh place overall in total medals (twenty-seven).

Through 2004 Cubans had won sixty-five gold, fifty-four silver, and fifty-two bronze Olympic medals, with most outstanding performances in boxing, women's volleyball, and track and field.

Women and Cuban Sports

Postrevolution Cuba has given women many more opportunities than they had before to participate in sports and to develop into world-class athletes. Examples of the latter include Ana Fidelia Quirot (400 meters), María Colón (Olympic gold medalist in javelin), Osleidys Menéndez (present world record for javelin at 71.54 meters in 2001), Ioamnet Quintero (Pan Am high jump winner in 1991 and 1995), and Liliana Allen (100 meters and 200 meters).

Youth Sports

The Cuban model of sports proposes to expand mass participation in order to have the greatest chance of locating superior talent for international competition. Children who exhibit athletic ability are identified early

in life and given opportunities to develop their ability. Sports schools (such as rural schools with sports emphasis, combining sports instruction with normal academic study) are available for all grade levels, and additional academies are specialized in particular sports or groups of related sports. Interscholastic sports competition is available from regional to national levels.

Higher-level training for the most accomplished athletes is available at other institutions and training centers, and the training of physical education teachers and coaches takes place at the university-level Instituto Superior de Cultura Física (Superior School of Physical Culture) in Havana and other teacher-training institutions in other parts of the country.

The Cuban Olympic Committee was established in 1926. The main sports organization in the country is the National Institute for Sports, Education, and Recreation.

Sports in Society

Prior to the revolution amateur sport had been largely the privilege of the socially and educationally elite class. Professional sports, in which anyone with enough talent could participate, included baseball and boxing. “Kid Chocolate” (Eligio Sardiñas) was Cuba’s best-known professional boxer. After the revolution, the government’s policy was to make sport available to all Cubans, to encourage talented children to develop their sport abilities, and to raise the level of Cuban elite sport to levels where international victories could bring prestige to the nation. Cubans had sports victories that surpassed expectations, remarkable performances including Alberto Juantorena’s Olympic gold in 400 meters and 800 meters in 1976 and Javier Sotomayor’s many medals and current world record in men’s high jump (2.45 meters in 1993). In addition to programs that developed superior athletes, socialist Cuba promoted sporting and recreational activities for people in the military, workers, women, and the general population, both in cities and the countryside, with goals of attaining health and fitness.

Many principles used to develop Cuban sports were

based on the Soviet model, and the Soviet Union supplied technical consultants for training athletes. Cuba also has provided many coaches to other nations—for example, in Central America—to help them develop elite athletes in many Olympic-type sports. In the absence of major governmental changes and/or negative economic conditions in the future, it is expected that Cuba will continue to stress sport for all and, especially, the preparation of superior competitive athletes.

Richard V. McGehee

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Cultural Studies Theory

Cultural studies is the general study of culture, the study of intercultural relations, and the anthropological study of culture. As theory and as practice, cultural studies is embodied in multiple histories and trajectories (e.g., institutional origins such as the Center

for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University, England; disciplinary affiliations such as sociology and education; and theoretical perspectives such as Marxism and feminism). Interdisciplinary projects within a cultural studies paradigm (framework) display a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches because the investigated issues are considered to be more important than the disciplinary constraints placed on what questions one can ask within an individual discipline.

British Cultural Studies

Cultural studies originated with the work of three founding fathers—Raymond Williams (1921–1988), Richard Hoggart (b. 1918), and E. P. Thompson (1924–1993)—and establishment of the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) during the 1960s. British cultural studies emerged as an attempt to understand the changing sociopolitical and cultural environment of post–World War II Britain. This attempt to make meaning of contemporary culture meant undertaking such projects as critical analysis of Britain during the administration of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher; retelling history from the perspectives of previously marginalized groups in society (e.g., “herstory” or history from women’s perspective and undertaking “history from below” or history from the perspective of the working class); examining police brutality directed at black and working-class populations; taking seriously and studying such “unserious” movements and subcultures as the “hippies” and “skinheads”; and exploring popular culture forms such as pop music, talk shows, shopping malls, sports, and so forth and how the mass media operates in the production of meaning that society gives to these forms.

Numerous scholars affiliated with the CCCS displayed a range of divergent theoretical and methodological traditions that encompassed literary criticism, culturalism, structuralism, Gramscian Marxism (emphasizes class struggle and hegemony), feminism, and poststructuralism. Constantly evolving and seeking “unity-in-difference” (Grossberg 1989, 414), cultural

I think there are only three things America will be known for 2,000 years from now when they study this civilization: the Constitution, jazz music and baseball. ■ GERALD EARLY

studies has never been dominated by a single theoretical position and/or affiliation with a single academic discipline. British intellectuals, who were united by espousing leftist politics and generally working for progressive social change, used cultural studies as a means of undertaking progressive activism in an academic setting and of addressing pressing issues of social justice in and through culture in an interdisciplinary and also antidisciplinary manner.

Characterization

Stuart Hall, a contemporary leading figure of British cultural studies, is credited with asserting that cultural studies is not one thing. The various discourses of cultural studies are distinguishable by such factors as geographical location (e.g., British, Canadian, U.S., African, Nordic, Australian, Asian, etc.), by close disciplinary affiliation (e.g., closely related to communications and media studies, English and literary studies, sociology and anthropology, history, etc.), and by variations on theory/practice balance (although cultural studies is supposed to involve the blending of theory and practice in “praxis” (action), some versions are almost purely theoretical, whereas others maintain strong connections with grass-roots activism). Nevertheless, although different cultural studies theorists and activists would emphasize different characteristics or aspects, or even reject certain aspects, “openness” (in terms of theoretical and methodological approaches and in terms of content) is a pivotal characteristic of cultural studies. Thus, cultural studies is “always already” a contested terrain and is constantly mutating. As Lawrence Grossberg has warned, cultural studies should never be taken for granted:

Doing cultural studies takes work, including the kind of work of deciding what cultural studies is, of making cultural studies over again and again. Cultural studies constructs itself as it faces new questions and takes up new positions. In that sense, doing cultural studies is always risky and never totally comfortable. It is fraught with inescapable tensions (as well as real pleasures). In the U.S., the rapid institutional success of cultural studies has made it all a bit too easy. Cultural studies has to be wary

of anything that makes its work too easy, that erases the real battles, both theoretical and political, that have to be waged, that defines the answers before it even begins. (Grossberg, Nelson, and Treichler 1992, 18–19)

Given the complexity and endless diversity of cultural studies discourses, some prominent cultural studies scholars, such as Grossberg, John Storey, and Handel Wright, contend that we would more usefully discuss the characteristics of a cultural studies project than attempt to define the field itself. The following shortened version of Wright's list of themes pinpoints broad characteristics that would delineate a cultural studies project:

- *Interdisciplinary, antidisiplinary, and postdisciplinary*—refuses to adhere to traditional disciplinary boundaries; draws upon a selection of traditional disciplines; transgresses and transcends disciplinary boundaries
- *Heavily informed by theory (especially cutting edge theorization)*—instead of dogmatically adhering to a certain theoretical position, borrows from and intersects with a number of theories and theorists; theoretical framework is determined by one's own politics and its relevance to one's work
- *Political*—concerned with issues of power, social difference, and justice; critically examines social and national identity/identification; draws on and forwards identity politics discourses; generally works toward progressive social change
- *Praxis driven*—intends to bring theory and practice together; not a purely academic endeavor but rather one that attempts to address real contemporary sociopolitical and cultural issues
- *Contextual*—positioned within a particular context; the method, theory, and politics of critical inquiry are connected to specificity of the geographical location and historical conjuncture
- *Self-reflective*—realizes the potential incongruity and transient nature of the knowledge it produces; resists creating and endorsing canons

Sports

Sports are an integral part of culture. They permeate various aspects of society and are inextricably connected with education, economics, politics, media, and even international diplomacy. Taking into account that cultural studies, as David Andrews indicated, can be conceptualized as a critical investigation into the politics of contemporary popular cultural practices and the magnitude of sports' constituency, we should not be surprised that sports have long been a persistent topic of interest in cultural studies.

The study of sports from a cultural studies perspective has enhanced our understanding of sports as a cultural practice that has definite social and political ramifications. For example, historically sports have been a public space where sex differentiation as a form of power is constructed and the hegemonic (relating to influence) power hierarchy and the male superiority rhetoric are reinforced. Cultural studies' analyses of the oppressive sporting culture have elucidated the ways in which this social institution is embedded in patriarchy and heterosexism as well as the role it plays in legitimizing popular values and social norms regarding women and homosexuals. These critical examinations have further unraveled sports' ability to perpetuate and worsen social discrimination against both marginalized groups. Moreover, cultural studies projects that examine the interrelationship between sports and the mass media have indicated that the patriarchal discourse of contemporary commodified sporting culture tends to trivialize women athletes, representing them not as active subjects but as passive sex objects. Thus, cultural studies as an approach to sports studies has played a crucial role in illuminating the process of meaning making in relation to cultural productions/commodities mediated through popular sporting practices.

Cultural Studies as Praxis Model

One of the emerging pedagogical (relating to education) models that articulates cultural studies characteristics (i.e., interdisciplinarity, exploration of social and cultural differences and social justice, the simultaneous focus on

A young woman showing her muscles. *Source: istockphoto/hidesy.*

both theory and practice, etc.) and has the potential to advance, if not radically alter the study of sports, is that of the cultural studies as praxis model, developed by Handel Wright at the University of Tennessee. This model blends the critical theory and literature of cultural studies (e.g., feminist, [neo]-Marxist, postcolonial theoretical perspectives, etc.), service learning as an activist/practice component, and empirical research (especially the critical forms of qualitative research such as critical ethnography, institutional ethnography, etc.) with progressive politics into everyday praxis.

A specific genre of service learning that Stephen Fisher coined as service learning for social justice is the principal practice and activist component of the model. This genre of service learning examines issues of social difference (i.e., race, social class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.) and addresses issues of discrimination based on social difference in or through institutions and organizations. Service learning for social justice articulated with cultural studies adds the element of pedagogy to the conceptualization and practice of service. It not only links the university with the larger community, forging town-gown relationships and collaborations, but also teaches students to approach local issues within the broader societal and global scope.

Cultural studies theory and qualitative examination of a particular organization and/or institution further students' understanding of how diversity and equity are constructed and operationalized in real-life situations, how power operates in everyday life, and how institutional culture shapes individual experiences. For example, within this frame, a researcher studying various factors that determine the college footballer's playing time on a team would look not only at his performance



skills and college status but also at his race and sexual orientation. The researcher would be interested in questions such as “Could it be that this talented receiver does not get a fair share of playing time because he is gay?” and “Is this just?” and “How do issues of power and privilege play a role in this situation?” and “What can be done to create a safe and just space for all athletes on the football team?” The cultural studies as praxis model thereby endorses empirical research as a factor that engenders cultural studies as praxis (i.e., theory-driven practice and theory informed by practice).

Thus, unlike passive forms of learning or internships that are divorced from theoretical references, the



cultural studies as praxis model pushes students to approach service (e.g., assisting an athletic trainer in the training room) from a research co-participant's point of view (i.e., observing daily interactions among staff members, between staff and athletes, etc.) and yet to theorize about the links between individual (i.e., athlete) and organization (i.e., athletic department) and between the organizational, the institutional (i.e., university), and the social. Because the model highlights four intertwined levels of social existence (i.e., individual, institutional, societal, and global) and puts emphasis on sociocultural difference, it creates a conducive framework for a reexamination of identity in general and of the identity of the athlete in particular. Instead of looking at the athlete in isolation as a whole, singular, unified individual, one looks at the athlete as a subject of multiple discourses of class, gender, race, sexual orientation, region, and so forth; a member of numerous social and cultural groups; and a part of the corporate culture of institutionalized sports immersed in a broader sociocultural and historical context.

Another implication of the cultural studies as praxis model for the study of sports is that interdisciplinarity inherent in the model opens up many more topics for inquiry. Traditionally, sports researchers adhering to the confines of a single discipline could not explore athletes' embodied experiences of being gendered, raced, sexualized, collegiate, or professional; the way athletes perform their identities/identifications and negotiate power in everyday life; or even athletic culture and sports subcultures in relation to cultural meanings. Cultural studies in general and the cultural studies as praxis model in particular provide powerful tools, both in terms of theory and methodology, for undertaking this type of work.

In sum the three principal components of the model (i.e., cultural studies theory, service learning for social justice, and empirical qualitative research), blended together as interrelated elements, transform the mundane everydayness of sports into an arena for social justice praxis work.

Posting the Future

Since the days of the CCCS cultural studies has approached the study of sports as an aspect of its project of challenging the binary opposition between "high" and "low" culture and taking popular culture seriously. Since those days cultural studies projects have attempted to make visible what is "not seen," reading actively against the grain of the common sense and taken-for-grantedness of sports as a neutral, apolitical activity. Cultural studies as an approach to sports studies has played a crucial role in elucidating the process of how the "common sense" is constructed and sustained through popular sporting practices (e.g., sports are a level field; men are better athletes than are women; blacks are natural basketball players; sports "lesbianize" women, etc.).

The relatively recent critical approaches to sports studies share cultural studies' conceptual framework because both display similar characteristics, such as interest in issues of power, human agency, and how individuals and social groups conform to, resist, and change existing power relations. Advocating the use of critical theories in sports studies, the sports sociologist George Sage has stated,

A critical social perspective invites us to step back from thinking about sport merely as a place of personal achievement and entertainment and study sport as a cultural practice embedded in political, economic, and ideological formations. Relevant issues involve how sport is related to social class, race, gender, and the control, production, and distribution of economic and cultural power in the commodified sport industry. (Sage 1998, 11)

Thus, taken together, interdisciplinarity, considerations of social difference, power issues, culture and cultural theories, and especially cultural studies writings have meant that cultural studies has made inroads into sports studies such that we can now speak of a cultural studies of sports.

As stated, cultural studies is "always already" a contested terrain and is constantly mutating to reflect the swiftly changing conditions of the (post)modern world.

Influenced by the fact that cultural studies has been increasingly informed by poststructuralist and postmodern theorizing, cultural studies of sports initiated the poststructuralist project of sports. Drawing on the work of thinkers such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu, a number of sports studies scholars have undertaken a critical analysis of the relationship between contemporary sporting structures, language, power, and subjectivity. In particular, these intellectual activists have exposed and demonstrated that sports language, televised sports, and athletes' representation are not neutral but rather are infused with national identity politics, power relations, and ideology; that the sporting body is disciplined and controlled through various technologies of power; that postmodern sports culture is dominated by the consumption of athletic commodities and celebrity spectacles; and that postmodern sports itself is both (re)producer and (re)produced by the postmodern culture. In sum, in the cultural studies of sports project, poststructuralist theories offer the most sophisticated and rigorous intellectual framework for examining the nature of (post)sports—at least for now.

Tatiana V. Ryba

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Curling

Curling is a team sport played on a long, narrow sheet of ice. It incorporates the basic principles of lawn bowling or horseshoes. Each of four members of a team has a counterpart on an opposing team, and in alternating fashion the members of the teams throw (slide) objects toward a target. The target is a group of concentric circles called a “house” at the far end of the sheet; the largest of these circles is 12 feet (3 meters) in diameter. The objects that are thrown are round “stones” or “rocks,” which must be less than 44 pounds (20 kilograms) in weight, less than 36 inches (1 meter) in circumference, and less than 4.5 inches (11 centimeters) in height.

After each player has made two throws—after a total of sixteen throws—an “end” (similar to an inning in baseball) has been completed, and at this time one point is awarded to a team for each of its stones that lies both in the house and closer to the center of the house (the tee or button) than any of the other team’s stones. If neither team has a stone in the house, the end is “blank”; however, most ends result in one team counting between one and three points. A new end then begins, with players throwing toward the house at the other end of the sheet. A match is normally complete after ten ends. However, extra ends are played to break ties, and in recent years clocks have been introduced to speed up play, and occasionally a match is terminated

because one team has used all the time allowed for its total of eighty throws.

The sheet of ice on which the game is played is called a “rink.” The rink is 146 feet (44 meters) long, although only 132 feet (40 meters) are in play. As one moves down the sheet eight lines are encountered, each drawn straight across the ice, and many of the rules of the game preclude or allow particular activities within the specific sections of the ice created by these lines. The width of the ice varies from the 14 feet, 2 inches (4.2 meters) commonly found in Canadian curling clubs to the 15 feet, 7 inches (4.7 meters) used in other countries and in international play. The side boundaries are identified, often with wooden boards, and stones that touch or strike the boards are removed. The only important consequence of using the different widths is that in Canada one stone can fit in the space between the side boards and each house at the line drawn across the ice at the middle of the house (the tee line), but in other countries and in international events, two stones can fit there.

Teams

A team of curlers, often also called a “rink,” is composed of a “lead,” a “second,” a “third” (sometimes called a “vice skip”), and a “skip.” The four members throw their stones in order, and in the usual pattern the lead alternates with the other team’s lead in throwing his or her two stones, then the second does the same, then the third, and finally the skip. Normally, though not necessarily, the skip throws last because usually he or she is the best shot maker on the team or at least the best shot maker under pressure. For this reason, and because the skip is given the responsibility for calling the shots that a team will attempt as an end unfolds, the skip is the most important member of the team. This explains why usually a team will be identified in the skip’s name.

Shots

If one reduces curling shots to their essential purposes, only four types exist. The first is the draw into the



Curling

The Jolly Curlers

THE LAIRD’S DITTY

Tune: ‘O for him back again’

Of a’ the games that e’er I saw,
Man, callant, laddie, birkie, wean,
The dearest far aboon them a’
Was ay the witching *channel-stane*.

Chorus.—O for the channel-stane,
The fell-gude game, the channel-stane!
There’s ne’er a game that e’er I saw
Can match auld Scotlands channel-stane.

I’ve been at bridals unco glad,
Wi’ courtin’ lasses wondrous fain:
But what is a’ the fun I’ve had,
Compare it wi’ the channel-stane?

O for the, & c.

Were I a sprite in yonder sky,
Never to come back again,
I’d *sweep* the moon and starlets by,
And play them at the channel-stane.

O for the, & c.

We’d boom across the *Milky-Way*;
One *tee* should be the Northern *Wain*;
Another, bright *Orion’s ray*;
A comet for a channel-stane.

O for the, & c.

Source: Peek, H. (Ed.). (1901). *Poetry of sport* (p. 326). London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

house. The second is the hit, a faster-running shot designed to take out (remove) an opponent’s stone(s). The third is the guard, a stone thrown with quiet weight that stops in front of the house (but it must be within 21 feet or 6.4 meters of the tee line to remain in play). The fourth is the tap-back, which might involve raising a guard into the house or simply moving stones to more advantageous positions.



In this skating and curling rink built in Carberry, Manitoba, in 1922, the skating surface is under the high part of the building, and two sheets of curling ice are under the lower, lean-to portion of the structure. *Source: Carberry Plains Archives.*

A curling stone is thrown from a “hack,” which is now a rubber foothold but once was essentially a hole hacked into the ice. Two hacks are at each end, one for left-handed throwers and one for right-handed throwers, and each is 126 feet (38 meters) from the middle of the house at the far end. The curling stone is held by a handle, and as it is released the thrower imparts a spin or turn to the stone. If the thrower twists his or her elbow and hand out on release, then an “out turn” has been used, and if the thrower is right-handed the stone will rotate counterclockwise as it moves down the ice. If the thrower twists the elbow and hand in on release, then an “in turn” has been used, and it will rotate clockwise, again if the thrower is right-handed. As a stone moves along the ice toward the far house, and especially as it starts to lose speed, a stone thrown properly will move across the ice as well as down it. This fact means that a curler almost never throws directly at his or her target. A well-played curling shot is one that has been thrown with not only just the right amount of weight but also just the right allowance for sideways movement.

All of the players hold a curling broom or brush (the brush has become far more common since the 1970s), and this piece of equipment has different functions. The person throwing the stone holds the broom or brush in the nonthrowing hand and uses it to help maintain balance through the delivery. The skip uses his or her broom to provide a target for the thrower; when the skip is throwing, normally the third holds the broom. Almost always the broom is placed to the side of the true target to allow for the sideways movement. The other two members of the team use their brooms (brushes) to affect the speed and direction of the stone after it is on its way. Essentially, they sweep or brush in front of the stone and thereby cause it to slow down at a less rapid rate than it would if they were not sweeping. Just how sweeping affects speed is a matter of some controversy, but it seems to do so in several ways. It removes debris from the path of the stone, although in modern indoor rinks about the only debris that creates problems is the straw or hair left by other brooms or brushes. It affects speed also by temporarily heating the ice directly in front of the moving stone and thus

The greatest efforts in sports came when the mind is as still as a glass lake. ■ TIMOTHY GALLWEY

creating a slicker path, and perhaps by creating a bit of an air vacuum just in front of the stone.

Attractions

The attractions of curling are much like those of bowling and golf. Recreational players can be confident that serious injuries almost never occur to participants. They can be confident as well that even a novice can expect to make a few shots. For competitive players, the rewards can be the fame that comes with victory in prestigious club, regional, national, and even world championship events. The rewards also can be the valuable merchandise or, in recent years, substantial amounts of money awarded to victors. The most important reward, of course, is the knowledge that a player has achieved excellence in a sport that rewards coordination, skill, concentration, stamina, strength, strategy, and teamwork. Finally, for both recreational and competitive players, one of the attractions of curling is that it is a sport with many natural breaks in the action, and the time can be used for socializing with other players and even spectators.

Origins and Early Development

Games in which an object is thrown or rolled or slid toward a target are thousands of years old and have been played in many parts of the world. However, the game we would recognize as curling, featuring stones and brooms and houses, probably appeared during the sixteenth century, perhaps in northwestern continental Europe but more likely in Scotland. Certainly the Scots were responsible for the early development of the game, if not for its first appearance.

The early games of curling were played with stones that were simply held in the hand, although sometimes grooves or small holes might have been added to provide a better grip. The caliber of shot making must have improved dramatically during the seventeenth century when players began to use rocks with handles. The caliber of shot making improved still further during the latter half of the eighteenth century, especially as round

stones became more common, and triangular or oblong ones became less. During the eighteenth century curling clubs began to proliferate. People established clubs for many reasons, but among the reasons were the desires to recognize meritorious play and to schedule regular competitions and social occasions for members.

Until early in the nineteenth century members of Scottish clubs curled with stones of differing weights, and perhaps even shapes. They used sheets of ice of assorted dimensions and a variety of rules to govern delivery, sweeping, and etiquette. Then, during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, improved transportation networks allowed curlers from different towns or districts to compete against each other, and standardized rules and regulations became desirable. The result was the formation of the Grand Caledonian Curling Club in 1838. This club was really an association, not a club. It became the Royal Caledonian Curling Club in 1843. It adopted and then promoted key rules that remain in effect today: Participants should not interfere in any way with an opponent's delivery; each team should have four players; each player should make two shots per end; only circular stones should be used; the sheet of ice should be 138 feet (42 meters) from "foot-score to foot-score" (the hack lines).

As the Scots were developing curling, they also were beginning to export it, often by emigrating, sometimes just by traveling. By the end of the nineteenth century the sport had been introduced into several countries, especially Canada, where in specific regions iron or wooden stones might be used. By the turn of the twentieth century curling in Canada was played mainly with "granites," and the sport was more popular in Canada than anywhere else in the world. This is still true today; Canada has about 1 million curlers, perhaps forty times as many as any other country.

Canadian Prairie

The region of Canada that especially took curling to heart was the Canadian Prairie, which was settled between the 1870s and the 1920s by peoples of European

ethnic origins. Curling quickly became probably the most popular participant sport among them. Part of the reason for this popularity was that a significant number of newcomers were Scots, people already familiar with the sport moving in either from Scotland itself or from an eastern Canadian province. Another reason was that the basis of the Prairie economy was commercial agriculture, and winter was a slow time of the year. Finally, especially on the eastern part of the region, excellent natural ice could be maintained for three or four months each year, much longer than in Scotland or eastern Canada. The indoor, natural-ice curling rink was not invented on the Prairie, but it soon became far more prominent there than anywhere else. In small towns little two- or three-sheet sheds or “rinks,” often joined to an indoor skating rink, were built almost as soon as schools or churches were, and in cities larger structures with perhaps eight or ten sheets were quickly constructed.

Canadians on the Prairie not only curled more often than people in other parts of the world, but also curled more seriously and more skillfully. Beginning in the 1880s the better curlers began to gather for bonspiels, which are curling tournaments of several days’ duration at which prizes are offered to winners of events. The most skilled Prairie participants also introduced techniques and practices that made curling a better test of athletic excellence. In particular, they developed the shoulders-square-to-the-target delivery, a type of delivery that was facilitated by the permanent hacks that players could build in indoor rinks. On their temporary outdoor surfaces the Scots had used portable footholds (crampits), which encouraged a shoulders-sideways-to-the-target delivery that was not as efficient. With the squared-up delivery came improved accuracy and a style of play that featured hits rather than draws. Finally, during the 1920s the serious prairie curlers also worked hard to establish a Canadian (men’s) championship event. It was first held in 1927, and prairie curlers dominated it until the mid-1970s. This championship was called the “Brier,” after a product manufactured by the

sponsor, the Macdonald Tobacco Company. The Brier has been sponsored by other corporate entities since 1979, but it still goes by the same name, and it remains the most keenly followed national championship event in the sport.

Artificial Ice and Growth in Popularity

During the last half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, Canadians and especially Prairie Canadians nurtured the old Scottish game of curling to new levels of popularity and athleticism. However, not until after World War II, with the availability of artificial ice, did the sport become truly international.

Artificial ice is created when a thin layer of water is sprayed onto a cold, hard floor, usually a surface of cement. The floor is cold because brine is pumped through pipes laid just below the floor surface. The sprayed water freezes, and the ice remains hard and true even if the air in the building is quite warm. Artificial ice was invented in England late in the nineteenth century, and it quickly began to have an impact on skating and ice hockey, but not until the prosperous 1950s and 1960s could large numbers of curlers in Canada and elsewhere afford to join clubs that installed an artificial surface. Then the technology began to have immense consequences.

One consequence, especially in Canada, was that more women began to participate. A few women had curled earlier, but the more comfortable, heated, artificial ice rinks drew women by the thousands, and by the 1970s and 1980s curling in Canada was truly a mixed sport. Another consequence was that curling could become much more popular and much more competently played in the moderate to warm weather regions of Canada. Finally, artificial ice led to internationalization. In the United States, in Scandinavian countries, in Switzerland, Germany, and other European nations in which the sport had been established earlier, curling now became much more popular. It also gained a small

following in such unlikely nations (given their climates) as Australia, Bulgaria, Mexico, New Zealand, and Japan (in some of these nations the sport was not completely unknown prior to World War II). By the turn of the twenty-first century curlers competed in about forty countries around the world.

World Championships

Another reason for the rise in popularity of curling after the 1950s was the example of athletic beauty and excellence exhibited by elite players in world championship competitions. Almost always these competitions have featured a strong Canadian team, but competitors from other countries, notably Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States, have won frequently. An unofficial annual men's world championship event began in 1959; it was sponsored by the Scotch Whisky Association. In 1966 the International Curling Federation was formed, partly in an attempt to have curling accepted as an Olympic sport. During the next few decades the federation (in 1991 it became the "World Curling Federation") helped to establish and then to oversee an annual world women's championship (first held in 1979), a world junior men's (1975), and (in 1988) a world junior women's championship (junior curlers can be no more than twenty-one years of age). In 2002 it established world senior (fifty years of age or older) championships for men and for women and a world wheelchair curlers' championship (wheelchair curlers use a stick to push the stone). These world championship events are, of course, preceded by national championship events in the individual countries.

Television

Since the 1980s many of the national and international championship events have become popular on television, as have other events in both North America and Europe that feature "professional" curlers (the money that curlers can win is not enough to live on year around, but it is substantial). Various curling organiza-

tions, including the World Curling Federation, have introduced or promoted initiatives to make curling a more attractive sport for live audiences as well as TV viewers. Among these initiatives are the use of clocks to encourage teams to quickly decide on a shot and then play it, the use of microphones on players so that the television audience has access to discussions about strategy, and especially the use of the "free guard zone" rule to increase the likelihood that the early stones thrown in an end will remain in play and that the last few shots will require great skill.

The Future

Curling likely will grow in popularity both as a participant sport and a spectator sport. Since 1998 it has been an "official" Winter Olympic sport; this designation assures exposure all over the world. In western Europe and in North America demographic trends suggest that recreational, easily learned, sociable sports such as curling will thrive. The sport is easily televised, and, as the Sports Network in Canada has discovered, a large demand for televised curling exists among retired people. Artificial ice has allowed the sport to be introduced in many warm weather countries, and the fact that curling has recently gained a few followers in Israel, Spain, and Greece suggests that this pattern will continue. Curling is enjoyed by men and women, by young and old, by highly competitive athletes as well as by people who want mainly a reason to laugh and talk with friends.

Morris Mott

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Cycling

Cycling is an on-road and off-road sport with variations in terrain, slope, distance, and type of bicycle affecting its outcome. The sport began in France in 1868 and has spread throughout Europe, the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Australia.

History

The Industrial Revolution gave birth to the bicycle after nearly a half-century gestation period. The first crude two-wheeler of 1817 ceded the stage to the velocipede, the first bicycle with pedals, in 1863 when three French-

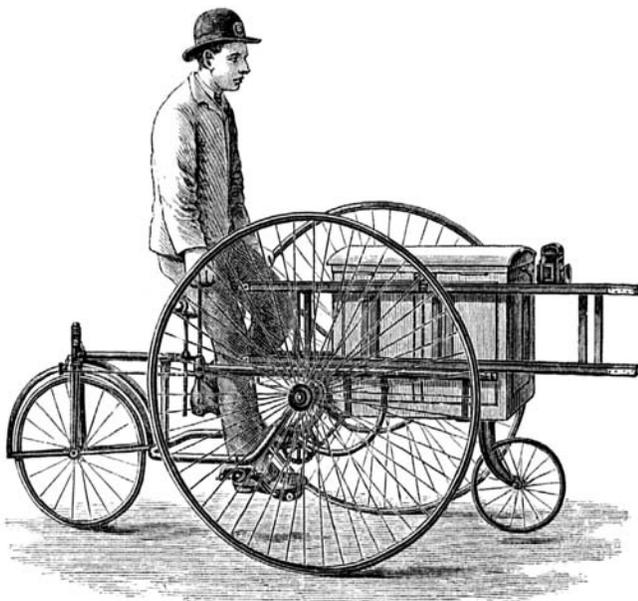
men, brothers Pierre and Ernest Michaux and their compatriot Pierre Lallement, claimed its invention. Yet the bicycle was not an immediate boon to sport in a century still in the shadow of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and other philosophers of the Enlightenment. They had insisted that machines be useful and that they further the ideal of progress. No invention, lest of all a machine, was an end in itself, but instead it was to be a precursor of an even grander innovation. In this context sport gave way to utility. The bicycle was a new form of transportation as well as the herald of a new age of invention that would culminate in the automobile and airplane.

The ideology of the Industrial Revolution might have marred the future of cycling as a sport but for the rivalry between France and Great Britain. In 1868 business and civic leaders in Paris sponsored the first bicycle race, a 1,200-meter circuit of the Parc St. Cloud both to showcase the majesty of Paris and to celebrate the invention of the bicycle, the latest proof of French ingenuity. The event disappointed Parisians who watched Englishman James Moore rather than one of their own sprint to victory. The next year, Moore again deflated French pride, winning the 133-kilometer race between Paris and Rouen, a prelude to the stage races that would capture the French imagination, in 10 hours, 25 minutes. The event was the first to admit women, though once more the French could not claim victory. American Margaret Turner, who took the sobriquet "Miss America" to distinguish herself from her European rivals, captured the women's title to become the first American to win a bicycle race.

In 1878 cycling leapt across the Atlantic, with the first race in the New World in Boston, Massachusetts. The delay of nearly a decade between Turner's win and the first U.S. competition was caused by the tendency of Americans to brand European culture, including sports, as decadent. Yet Americans, even more than Europeans, were fascinated by machines and celebrated the bicycle for the freedom and mobility it gave riders. The bicycle helped democratize the United States, as it was avail-

able to men and women, both working class and middle class. The League of American Wheelmen, which could count only a handful of members in 1880, numbered 102,000 in 1889, triple the membership of the U.S. Cycling Federation in 1987.

But the league was no sanctuary from the racism of segregation that plagued the United States. The 1892 league convention erupted in dispute over the admission of African-Americans. White southerners opposed their admission, and the most militant racists stormed out of the convention. Others, repulsed by the thought of black men fraternizing with white women, were willing to admit blacks on condition that the league bar them from social events. A third group proposed segregated chapters within the league, modeled on the Jim Crow laws of the South. When the dust settled, league members voted to admit blacks so long as they were “gentlemen.” The ambiguity of the word *gentlemen* gave white members the latitude to turn away blacks without cause, an injustice that lingered until the 1960s.



Cycles were built for transportation as well as sport. This carrier tricycle transports a worker, his ladder, and his toolbox.

By then France had reasserted supremacy with the Tour de France, whose origins are among the strangest in sport. In 1894 the French Army accused Alfred Dreyfus, a captain and a Jew, of spying for Germany, igniting a nationwide furor. Pierre Giffard, owner of cycling magazine *Le Velo*, thought Dreyfus the scapegoat of anti-Semitic military commanders and government ministers, whereas bicycle manufacturer and nobleman the Marquis de Dion declared Dreyfus a traitor. The feud grew so bitter that in 1900 Giffard refused to run an advertisement from Dion, then *Le Velo*'s largest advertiser. Dion counted by founding his own magazine *L'Auto-Velo* in hopes of driving Giffard out of business. Desperate to attract readers, *L'Auto-Velo*'s editor Henri Desgrange organized a series of road races, among them the Tour de France, which he launched 1 July 1903.

Almost from its inception the Tour, which circuits France and portions of northwestern Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Luxemburg, claimed a mystique no other sporting event approaches. Although the course varies from year to year, it invariably sweeps across land once owned by the medieval Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire. It ascends into the Pyrenees and Alps traverses, passes through which the Carthaginian commander Hannibal marched his army in 218 BCE. The spectacle of cyclists streaming beneath the Arc de Triomphe recalls the grandeur of French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. In these and other ways, the Tour transcends sport in its evocation of religion, politics, and history. Pope Pius XI recognized as much when he elevated Gino Bartali to the status of Italian icon, blessing him “the Pious” on his winning the Tour in 1938.

The rise of the Tour as an elite event provoked a backlash during the 1960s in the United States among those who yearned for a mythic past when cycling was open to all. This impulse was strongest in California among white suburban teens who reveled in the excitement of motocross, a sport for motorcycle riders, and envisioned a new type of bicycle—and a new type of cycling. To be sure the road bike has virtues. The high

The bicycle is the noblest invention of mankind. ■ WILLIAM SAROYAN

frame permits full leg extension with each turn of the pedals. Slender, smooth tires reduce weight and roll resistance (the friction between tire and road), and aluminum or carbon alloys lighten the frame. High gear ratios maximize speed and the dropdown handlebars allow riders to crouch, minimizing air resistance. But the road bicycle lacks the ruggedness to withstand the shock of jumps and the maneuverability to negotiate the sharp turns of a motocross course. In 1963 the Schwinn Bicycle Company built the Sting-Ray, the prototype of the BMX (bicycle motocross) bicycle. Its short compact frame, small wheels, and thick studded tires absorbed the force from jumps and enabled riders to make abrupt turns. Despite its novelty the BMX bike is a throwback to the first chain-driven bicycles in having only one gear, for multiple gears offer no advantage in the frenetic sprint that is the motocross race. BMX began as an impromptu and informal affair with teens staging the first race in 1969 in Santa Monica, California. In 1975 some 130,000 cyclists competed in more than one hundred BMX races in California alone. BMX spread to more than thirty countries during the next two decades.

Around 1970 the off-road movement of which BMX was one manifestation spawned mountain biking, a phenomenon that combined sport, recreation, and communion with nature. Like BMX, mountain biking sunk roots in California, this time in Marin County, an upscale community that transferred the bohemian spirit and open terrain of cross-country running to cycling. Riders made do with the touring bicycle, the sturdier sibling of the road bike, or cobbled together their own contraptions until Specialized Bicycles owner Mike Sinyard built the Stumpjumper, the first mountain bike, in 1981. It was an eclectic model, borrowing the high frame and multiple gears of the touring and road bicycles and the thick studded tires, cantilever brakes, and flat handlebars of the BMX bike. But the Stumpjumper was not simply a touring-road-BMX hybrid. Its gears spanned a wider range than those of the touring and road bikes and shifted on the handlebar rather than

from levers on the frame. The result was a bicycle capable of covering a wide variation in terrain and slope and of igniting a sport. The National Off-Road Bicycle Association organized the first mountain bike championship in 1983, with the first world championship in 1987 and a debut in the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia.

In all its permutations cycling has swelled in popularity. In 1992 bicycle production worldwide tripled that of the automobile, putting the number of bicycles at several billion according to one estimate. In 2003, 43 million Italians watched the Giro d'Italia, Italy's most prestigious road race. In 2004, 20 million Frenchmen and women thronged the stages of the Tour de France. So popular is cycling that it attracts sponsorship from Coca-Cola, Toyota, and other Fortune 500 companies. American millionaire Donald Trump has sponsored his own race, the Trump Tour, since 1989.

But popularity has not insulated cycling from controversy and scandal. In 1899 the state of New York banned cycling amid reports of riders hallucinating from exhaustion. In 1950 poor sportsmanship, a consequence of animosity between France and Italy, marred the Tour de France. Gino Bartali, in pursuit of his third triumph, surged into the lead in a stage in the Pyrenees. French spectators pelted him with bottles and stones and, when these actions failed, blocked the course and threw Bartali to the ground. Tour director Jacques Goddet broke up the mob with a stick and Bartali won the stage. That evening, he and the entire Italian team withdrew from the Tour. Goddet retaliated by changing the route so it would not traverse any Italian territory. No less pernicious has been the scandal of drug abuse. In 1908 Lucien Petit-Breton, two-time Tour winner, denied rumors that he used drugs to enhance his performance. Then as now, race promoters preferred to the look the other way rather than confront riders, but in 1924 Frenchmen and brothers Henri and Francis Pelissier rekindled the furor by admitting their use of cocaine, chloroform, and an assortment of pills. "In short, we ride on dynamite," confessed Francis. Drug abuse

caused catastrophe, even death. In 1960 Frenchman Roger Riviere, high on amphetamines, was paralyzed when he crashed in the Pyrenees. In 1967 Englishman Tom Simpson died of cardiac arrest on Mont Ventoux. He too had been on amphetamines. In 1998 drugs threatened to unravel the Tour. Six days before its start, French customs officials seized a car laden with anabolic steroids and other drugs owned by the multinational team sponsored by the Swiss watch manufacturer Festina. The arrest of team masseur Willy Voet, director Bruno Roussel, and physician Eric Rijchaert forced Tour director Jean-Marie Leblanc to suspend Festina's cyclists from the race. In disgust over the scandal, 102 of the 198 riders quit the race, and Italian cyclist and eventual winner Marco Pantani refused to start the twelfth stage. The remaining riders joined him, provoking a confrontation between cyclists and Leblanc that threatened to end the Tour that year.

Nature of the Sport

The road race has been a staple of cycling since its inception. The surface of road varies among concrete, asphalt and stone, and the slope from flat to steep incline. A road race may traverse a single route in one day. Amateur races of this type often range between 100 and 120 miles and professional races between 150 and 190 miles. One type of road race is the criterium, which resembles a track race. Riders circuit a rectangle of streets as many as sixty times. Another type, the stage race, knits together a series of routes over several days or weeks. The Tour de France, the most famous stage race, averages about 2,000 miles over three weeks. Among its stages, which have varied between twenty and twenty-two since the end of World War II, is the time trial, unique in road cycling in requiring a rider to negotiate a course alone rather than as part of a group. One might expect the stage race in its diversity of surface,



Cycling

Cycling on Roads

Out of the road conditions of bicycling have at length evolved two postulates: (1) No roadway in a city, unless paved or macadamized, is fit for wheeling during wet weather if used by other vehicles; (2) in the country, safety and convenience demand that bicycles be separated from horse-drawn vehicles, because there is no immediate prospect of wagon roads reaching the needed condition of improvement in this generation of wheelmen.

The result has been the development of what, in the East, is called the "side path," and in the West, the "cycle-path," or "cycle-way." A cycle-path being narrower and cheaper to construct than a wagon road, a stated amount of money will make a correspondingly longer path. [...]

But the conviction is strengthening and rapidly spreading that bicycle-paths should be constructed by the public authorities with the use of public funds. The proposition that it is the duty of the highway authorities to improve the highways in such a manner as the public needs demand, would seem to require no argument to support it. This duty was recognized by the Supreme Court of Minnesota, recently, in a case in which the League of American Wheelmen employed special counsel to establish that principle and to sustain a law prohibiting the use of cycle-paths by any other vehicle.

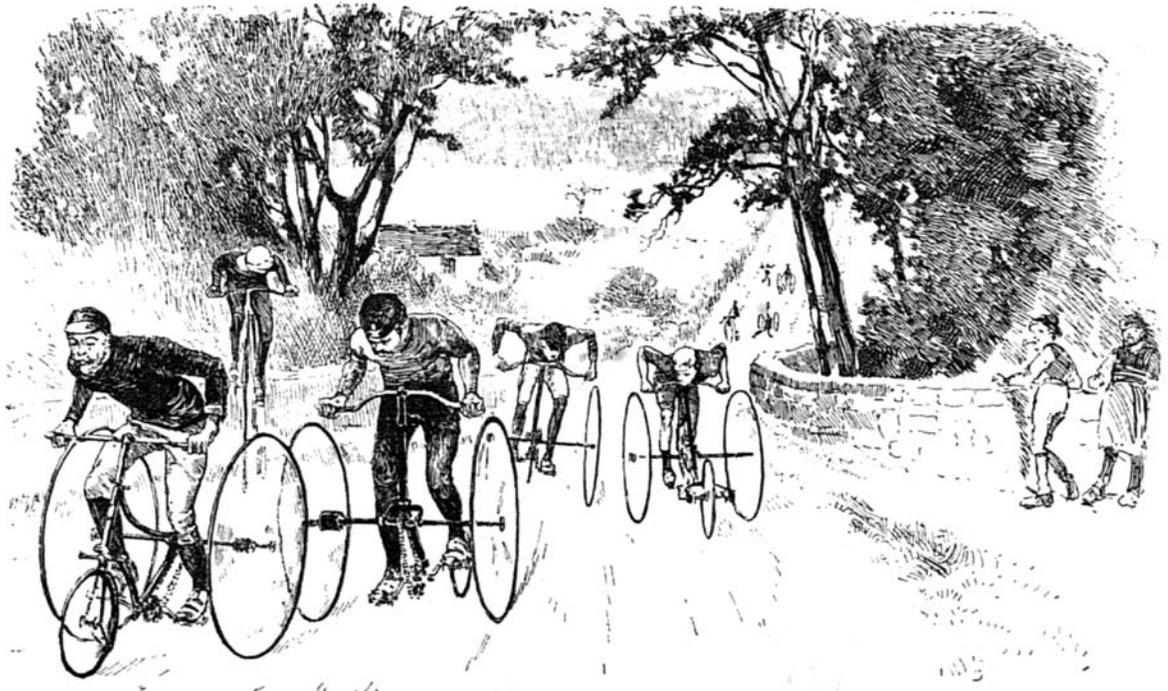
Source: Choate, A. B. (1899, October). *Bicycling. Outing*, 1, 115.

slope, and type of stage to favor the well-rounded cyclist; yet the champion, American Lance Armstrong is an example, is usually the best climber.

This fact, counterintuitive as it may seem, stems from the aerodynamics and tactics of the stage race. At speed a cyclist dissipates 90 percent of his energy against the wind. By drafting behind one or more riders, he minimizes air resistance and thus energy expenditure. The stages on flat terrain bunch riders in a pack as they seek to draft behind their rivals. Riders seldom steal the race by surging ahead because the wind tires them and they fall back into the pack. Mountain stages, however, recast the dynamics of a race. The rigors of the ascent often fragment the pack, reducing the number of riders who can draft behind others and allowing a climber to surge, building a lead of several minutes. Once he breaks from his rivals, the leader looks to his teammates for aid. These teammates hinder what remains of the pack by

staying in front of it but at a slow pace. When a rival tries to pursue the leader, teammates move to block the pursuit. Far from being unfair, these tactics reinforce the hierarchy of cycling: Each team has its star whose success the other members labor to ensure, even at the expense of their own ambitions. The cyclist who commands the mountains may amass a margin of nearly an hour, as Italian Fausto Coppi did in the 1952 Tour. Thereafter, the leader may finish the other stages in the pack without surrendering more than a few minutes of his lead.

Among the road races, the criterium has its parallel in the track race, a mainstay of the Olympic Games and popular in the United States until the 1930s. The 1,000-meter sprint, run over three laps, pits two cyclists against each other in a tour de force of speed and tactics. The two draw lots before the race to determine who must lead the first lap and thereby bear the brunt



An early cycling race. Note the three types of cycles used.



of wind resistance. At the end of the lap, the leader will try to force his rival ahead of him by coming to a virtual standstill, balancing precariously on his bicycle without falling or drifting backwards. His opponent, equally reluctant to lead, will respond in kind until 200 meters remain, when the clock starts and both cyclists bolt for the finish. The trailer has the advantage of draft and surprise but must time a surge correctly to win. If he moves too soon his opponent may recapture the lead in a countersprint, if too late, he will not overtake his rival. Sprint tactics are absent from the pursuit, a type of track race over 3,000 meters for women, 4,000 for male amateurs, and 5,000 for male professionals. Cyclists chase one another (hence the name pursuit) from opposite sides of the track. They compete as individuals or on a team. If part of a team, a cyclist may draft behind his mates, but the start on opposite ends prevents rivals from drafting or jockeying for position. In fact there is no passing in pursuit, for a cyclist who catches his rival wins the race. Otherwise, the cyclist with the fastest time wins.

The importance of drafting as a tactic diminishes in BMX because cyclists dissipate less energy against the wind than road and track cyclists and more on absorption of shock, roll resistance, and the effort to balance and maintain traction on loose terrain and sharp corners. With drafting less beneficial, advantage tilts toward the leader rather than pursuer. The danger of a wreck, compounded by loose terrain and tight turns, increases this advantage, for the leader will emerge unscathed with the opportunity to widen the lead. Consequently, riders sprint for the lead at the start. The leader into the first turn has the greatest probability of winning the race.

BMX favors technique rather than tactics. A cyclist who leaps a jump in an arc looks picturesque at the expense of time. While airborne a cyclist slows. Better to make a low jump, reestablish traction, and resume pedaling. This logic also applies to cornering. The shortest line through a turn, like the shortest jump, is fastest. As it does in BMX, rough terrain negates tactics in moun-

tain biking. The need to ford streams, climb steep banks, and wind down precipitous trails requires strength and stamina akin to that required to meet the demands of the mountain portions of a stage race.

Whatever the terrain and tactics, women have participated in cycling since its origin, though men have not always welcomed them. The form-fitting leggings women wore in competition struck nineteenth-century moralists as risqué. The scandal in the 1890s over male cyclists hallucinating from exhaustion bolstered the argument that the sport was too rigorous for many men let alone women. The argument countered the fact that in 1896 sixteen-year-old Englishwoman Monica Harwood rode 429 miles at the first women's six-day race in London, England, and American Frankie Nelson, "Queen of the Sixes," finished every six-day race she entered, losing only four times between 1896 and 1900. The conviction that women were too frail nonetheless persisted, leading the Tour de France and Giro d'Italia, Italy's most prestigious stage race, to bar women from competition in 1903 and 1904, respectively.

Women clawed their way back into cycling during the second half of the twentieth century, though the lingering belief in their inferior stamina and strength confined them to shorter distances than men raced. In 1984 Tour de France organizers created the Tour Féminin at 625 miles, less than one-third the men's distance and without ascents into the Pyrenees and Alps. The Hewlett-Packard Women's Challenge bills itself as the true equivalent of the men's Tour because it includes ascents into the Rocky Mountains, but at 688 miles in its inaugural year of 1984, it was little more than a third of the Tour. Since the inclusion of mountain biking in the 1996 Olympic Games, women have raced between 30 and 40 kilometers compared with between 40 and 50 kilometers for men. The women's road race spans between 100 and 140 kilometers compared with between 230 and 250 kilometers for men. On the track, women sprint 500 meters, half the men's distance. As noted earlier the women's pursuit covers 3,000 meters compared with 4,000 for men. The

The truth is, if you asked me to choose between winning the Tour de France and cancer, I would choose cancer. Odd as it sounds, I would rather have the title of cancer survivor than winner of the Tour, because of what it has done for me as a human being, a man, a husband, a son and a father. ■ LANCE ARMSTRONG.

3,000-mile Race Across America, however, does not distinguish between men and women. Both pedal the same course.

BMX has been the most successful among the types of cycling in recruiting youth, sponsoring races that admit participants as young as age three. Boys ages eleven and twelve, the largest cohort of BMX racers, have their own age division in state and national competitions. Small races group all youth under age sixteen, sometimes under eighteen, in their own division. Youth, particular in affluent communities in the United States, flock to BMX as they once did to Little League Baseball.

Competition at the Top

The Tour de France has been the jewel of cycling for a century. The world's best cyclists converge on France during the last three weeks of July. The winner conquers not merely a grueling course but the sport itself. Gino Bartali won the Tour in 1938, but during World War II, the Nazis conquered France and abolished the Tour. Undaunted, Bartali returned to the Tour in 1947 and won again in 1948 to become the only person to win two Tours a decade apart. The next year, and again in 1952, Fausto Coppi captured the Tour, establishing himself as the fiercest mountain climber of his generation. The *Campionissimo* (the Great Champion) climbed like "a homesick angel," gushed British journalist Phil Liggett. His revised twenty-nine-minute margin of victory in 1952 wounded French pride, causing Jacques Goddet to bar Coppi the next year. In addition to the Tour, Coppi won the Giro d'Italia five times, Italy's Milan to San Remo thrice, and France's Paris to Roubaix once. Barely past his zenith, he died in 1959 in Italy after returning from a criterium in Africa. The medical examiner declared malaria the cause, but the explanation never satisfied Italians who believed a rival poisoned Coppi. In 1999 Italian prosecutors reopened the case, but the evidence remains inconclusive. Frenchmen Jacques Anquetil and Bernard Hinault, Belgian Eddy "the Cannibal" Merckx, and Spaniard Miguel Indurain each won five Tours, but in

2004 Lance Armstrong eclipsed them to become the only six-time champion, a feat all the more remarkable because of his recovery from a near fatal case of testicular cancer.

Armstrong was not the first American cyclist to win international acclaim. Several may claim the honor, perhaps none more deserving than Marshall "Major" Walter Taylor, the grandson of slaves. In 1891 Taylor, then only thirteen years old, won his first competition, a 10-mile road race in Indianapolis, Indiana. His forte, however, was the track rather than the road. In 1898 he won the U.S. Sprint Championship and broke seven world records between one-quarter mile and 2 miles, twice lowering the time for the mile. He would shatter the record again in 1899 and 1900, setting the mark at 1:22.4 minutes. In 1899 Taylor won twenty-two races, including the World Sprint Championship. Between March and June 1901, he won 18 of 24 races in France, Belgium, Germany, Denmark and Italy. He won 42 races in 1901, 40 in 1902, 31 in 1903, and 159 overall despite the fact that rivals elbowed him and referees ruled against him in close races. In Paris in 1901, sprinter Edmund Tacquelin thumbed his nose at Taylor and *Le Velo* attributed his success to biology: Taylor was typical of blacks in having been born strong and fast at the expense of intellect. His American rivals Floyd MacFarland and Owen Kimble assailed him with racial epithets. Twice he retired from cycling, returning both times in search of financial security, only to die destitute in 1932.

Taylor's career coincided with the rise of cycling as an Olympic sport. The first Olympic Games since Greco-Roman antiquity, the 1896 Games in Athens, Greece, featured an 87-kilometer race, an out and back course between Athens and Marathon. Track cycling included the 1,000-meter sprint and 4,000-meter pursuit. In its emphasis on road and track events Olympic cycling mirrored track and field and the marathon, the staple of Olympic running events. Only in the last decade has Olympic cycling broadened its appeal with new events:

mountain biking in 1996, and keirin, a Japanese variant of the track sprint, in 2004.

Women Participate

Olympic and world cycling records dispel the myth of female inferiority. The sprint is the best comparison, being timed over the last 200 meters for both men and women. The men's Olympic and world records are 10.129 and 9.865 seconds, respectively, and the women's 11.212 and 10.831, a difference of only a second, or 10 percent, for both Olympic and world records. Two women, New Zealander Sarah Ulmer and Australian Anna Meares, hold both Olympic and world records for their events, the 3,000-meter pursuit in 3:24.537, minutes and the 500-meter time trial in 33.952 seconds, respectively. Ulmer and Meares signal the emergence of a new generation of women champions. French mountain-biker Anne-Caroline Chausson won twelve downhill and slalom world championships by age twenty-six. Former U.S. Olympic skier Juli Furtado turned to cycling in 1989, winning five U.S. mountain biking championships between 1990 and 1995 and the U.S. Road Championship in 1989. As with Coppi, disease truncated Furtado's career. In 1997 doctors diagnosed her with systemic lupus erythematosus, an autoimmune disease.

Other major competitions for women have included since 1984 the Tour Feminin, the Hewlett-Packard Women's Challenge, and the Race Across America. Ultramarathon cyclist John Marino founded the Race Across America in 1982, admitting women two years later, in hopes of generating enthusiasm for a long race unburdened by the rigidity and elitism of the stage race. Marino envisioned a less-commercial, more-spontaneous event. The 1984 women's race exceeded expectation, ending in a sprint between Shelby Hayden-Clifton and Pat Hines, both of whom finished in 12 days, 20 hours, and 57 minutes, the only tie in the race's history. Like the Tour de France and Tour Feminin, the Race Across America posts no records because of variations in distance and terrain.

The Future

Cycling may be entering a period of experimentation in which the traditions of the Tour de France and Giro d'Italia give way to a search for freedom and self-expression through sport. In 1984 writer, traveler, and cyclist Jacquie Phelan founded in Marin County, California, the Women's Mountain Bike and Tea Society, an organization that combines this new spirit of reverence for sport and impatience with the status quo. The society has organized mountain bike races for women in California, New Mexico, Alaska, and Massachusetts. Phelan wants to stoke competition not as an end in itself but as a mean of self-discovery. This is a vision of cycling as both sport and therapeutic escape from a high-tech world. In pursuit of this goal, cycling promises to attract a new generation of enthusiasts.

Governing Bodies

Governing organizations include the International Mountain Bicycling Association (www.imba.com), National Bicycle League (www.nbl.org), Union Cycliste Internationale (www.uci.ch), and USA Cycling (www.usacycling.org).

Christopher Cumo

See also Tour de France

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Czech Republic

A small, strategically located country in Central Europe with a population of 10 million, the Czech Republic came into existence in 1993, the result of political changes that began with the disintegration of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Its mountains and plentiful streams and rivers, and the regular alternation of four seasons, permit a wide spectrum of summer and winter sports. The development of sports in Czech lands can be divided into four stages that reflect the dramatic political and social changes that have significantly affected all spheres of life since 1918.

The First Stage

The period leading to the establishment of an independent Czechoslovakia after World War I comprises the beginning of the Olympic movement, the fight for an independent state, and the development of sports societies in Czech lands. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when these lands were an integral part of Austria, sports such as horseback riding and fencing were performed mostly by the rich and socially influential to mark various celebrations.

An important milestone in the establishment of sports societies was the founding of the *Sokol* (Falcon) Society in 1862. As early as in 1871, a total of 131 *Sokol* clubs were active in Czech lands. The principal idea of its founder and chief representative, Miroslav Tyrš, lay in the belief that “in a healthy body dwells a healthy soul.” The *Sokol* movement fueled an intense national feeling that furthered the establishment of an independent Czech state.

The enthusiasm for sports development in Czech lands facilitated efforts to establish and restore the Olympic movement. One of the first members of a new twelve-member International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894 was the Czech representative Jiri Guth-Jarkovsky, who in 1896 established the Czech Olympic Committee, whose objective was to strive for inde-

pendent Czech participation in the Olympics. The first Czech team, represented by five athletes, participated in the second Olympic Games, held in Paris in 1900, and Frantisek Janda-Suk, a discus thrower, won a second place and introduced a new throwing technique—the turn.

From then on, despite the numerous hardships that followed the political integration of Czech lands with the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, the Czech Olympic Committee remained committed to its objectives and participated wholeheartedly in the international Olympic movement. From 1885 to 1913 a number of sports associations and societies grew up spontaneously (for example, the Czech Athletic Amateur Union, which encompassed not only cycling and rowing, but also the Football Association, the Ski Association of the Czech Kingdom, the Czech Ice Hockey Association, canoeing, and fencing). This period lay the foundation for organized sporting activities in the Czech lands.

The Second Stage

The second stage encompasses the period between the establishment of an independent Czechoslovakia in 1918 and the Communist coup of 1948, though between 1939 and 1945 it was interrupted by the German occupation of the Republic. The young democratic state created ideal conditions for the rapid and unhindered development of sports and the activities of sports societies. The physical education system in the then-free Czechoslovakia was marked by the proliferation of several independent sports organizations. Concurrently, the democratic Czechoslovakia saw the political polarization of these sports societies and associations—for example, the Association of Workers' Sport Clubs was left-wing, while *Sokol* was democratic. The activities of sports societies based on religious principles led to the founding of the *Orel* (Eagle) sports society.

The number of registered gymnasts and athletes in the 1930s totaled about 1.2 million. Sports and physical education activities developed rapidly and successfully, international contacts were renewed, and most

importantly, the spread of the Olympic movement was accompanied by the increasing participation of Czechoslovak athletes in the Olympic Games. On the *Sokol* premises, a unique phenomenon developed—*Sokol* gatherings (*sokolské slety*) in which a huge number of gymnasts gathered to exercise together. As many as thirty thousand gymnasts might participate in one gymnastic set.

Fascism and the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Germany in 1939 suppressed sports development. Sports societies and associations were dissolved, and the many *Sokol* members who engaged in the resistance movement were ruthlessly pursued and killed. After the end of World War II, sports activities were restored, and the growing influence of the Communists after 1948 laid the groundwork for another wave of development of sports in Czechoslovakia.

The Third Stage

The third stage in the development of sports relates to the period from 1948 to 1989, when all activities in all spheres of social life were brought under central control by the Communists. In the sports domain, a new public authority was established, the National Board for Physical Education and Sports, whose objectives were to unify and control all sporting activities, beginning with national representation teams and including spontaneous individual sporting activities. *Sokol*, as the largest democratic organization, was gradually transformed into a body with an ideological direction dictated by the new regime. However, the difficulty of subordinating *Sokol* led to the setting up in 1957 of a volunteer organization, which was constantly under the system's control, the Czechoslovak Association of Physical Education (*CSTV—Ceskoslovensky svaz telesne*



Czech Republic

Key Events in Czech Republic and Czechoslovakia Sports History

1862	The <i>Sokol</i> Society is founded.
1896	The Czech Olympic Committee is established.
1900	The Czech team competes in the Olympics for the first time.
1885–1913	Many sports associations are founded.
1918	Czechoslovakia becomes an independent nation and sports become politicized.
1939	Sports is repressed by the Nazis.
1948	Sports comes under the central control of the Communist government.
1957	Czechoslovak Association of Physical Education is founded.
1980	Czechoslovakia wins the gold medal in soccer at the Olympics.
1989	Communist rule ends and independent sports organizations are revitalized.
1993	Czechoslovakia becomes the separate nations of the Czech Republic and Slovakia.
1998	The Czech team wins the gold medal in ice hockey at the Winter Olympics.

Czech Republic Olympics Results*2002 Winter Olympics: 1 Gold, 1 Bronze**2004 Summer Olympics: 1 Gold, 3 Silver, 4 Bronze*

vychovy). Its emphasis was on the international representation of the country in sports.

Following the model of the Soviet Union, Centres for Sports Excellence (*strediska vrcholoveho sportu*) were established. The state provided financial guarantees for all spheres of sports activities, and athletes were prepared for achieving excellence. This emphasis on excellence bore fruit in the form of a series of international triumphs. For example, between 1945 and 1965 Czechoslovak athletes won eighty-eight titles in the World Championships, forty-four titles in the European Championships, and broke seventy-nine world records; additionally, Czechoslovakia organized thirty world and European meets. The *Sokol* gatherings, renowned for their mass performances, were replaced by *spartakiads*, which were intended to propagate the ideology of the current regime. This trend prevailed until 1989 when the Communist regime finally collapsed.

During this period, physical education and sports were regarded as healthy leisure-time activities for citizens, and millions of people were engaged in organized as well as occasional sports and recreational activities, including hiking, cycling, skiing (about 2 million skiers), jogging, volleyball, and football. On the international scene, Czechoslovak athletes continued to triumph in important meets—for example, from 1948 to 1988 they won seventy-six medals in the summer Olympic Games and twenty-one medals in the winter Olympic Games.

The Fourth Stage

The fourth stage, which began after the collapse of the Communist regime in 1989, has seen the gradual decapitation and restructuring of the centrally controlled sports system. Another milestone was the division of Czechoslovakia into two independent states in 1993: the Czech Republic (population 10 million) and Slovakia (population 5 million). Since then, a new way of organizing and managing physical education and sports has evolved and, apart from the central organization (*CSTV*), new sports associations have been established

and many private and group sporting activities have sprung up. On the state level, the sphere of sports is supervised by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. Based on the former central organization, *CSTV* has assumed the form of a sports federation comprising seventy-three sports associations (the total number of registered athletes is about 1.3 million).

Parallel to this impressive growth are various independent sports organizations—for example, *Sokol* (170,000 members), *Orel*, the Czech Association of Sports Clubs (275,000 members), and the Czech Association of Sports for All (250,000 members). The Czech Olympic Committee and the Czech Paralympic Committee supervise and coordinate the preparation of athletes for the Olympic Games and together they form an integral part of the international Olympic movement. People have also been encouraged to play sports for pleasure and health. Currently, the estimated number of people who engage in a sport exceeds 2 million, which is about 20 percent of the total Czech population.

The spectrum of sports disciplines in the Czech Republic is very wide, and in many sports Czech athletes have achieved excellent results on the international level. The most popular disciplines are football (a silver medal in the 1962 World Championship, a gold medal in the European Championship in 1976, a bronze medal in the 2004 European Championship, and a gold medal in the 1980 Olympic Games) and ice hockey (multiple World Championship titles and winner of the 1998 Olympic Games in Nagano). The popularity of individual sports disciplines such as skiing, tennis, and water slalom depends on their success in important international meets. The number of disciplines in which Czechoslovak and current Czech athletes won gold medals at the Olympic Games illustrates the great variety of sports in this relatively small country: gymnastics, horseback riding, weight lifting, canoeing, athletics, boxing, rowing, cycling, diving, shooting, modern pentathlon, wrestling, tennis, water slalom, football, ice hockey, figure skating, and acrobatic skiing.

The most famous athletes are those who won more than one medal in the Olympic Games—these include Bedřich Supčík and Alois Hudec (gymnastics, two medals), Emil Zatopek (athletics, four medals), Dana Zatopková (athletics, two medals), Vera Caslavská (gymnastics, seven medals), Jiří Ráška (ski jump, two medals), and very recently, Martin Doktor (canoeing, two medals), Štěpánka Hilgertová (water slalom, two medals), Jan Zelezný (athletics-javelin, three medals), Robert Sebrle (athletics-decathlon, three medals), and Kateřina Neumannová (cross-country skiing, three medals).

In the free Czech Republic of today, sports opportunities for the handicapped are increasing, and the results achieved in the Paralympic Games reflect impressive talent. The international achievements of Czech athletes are also the subject of significant media attention, an important factor in motivating young people to play sports. An interest in sports activities organized on

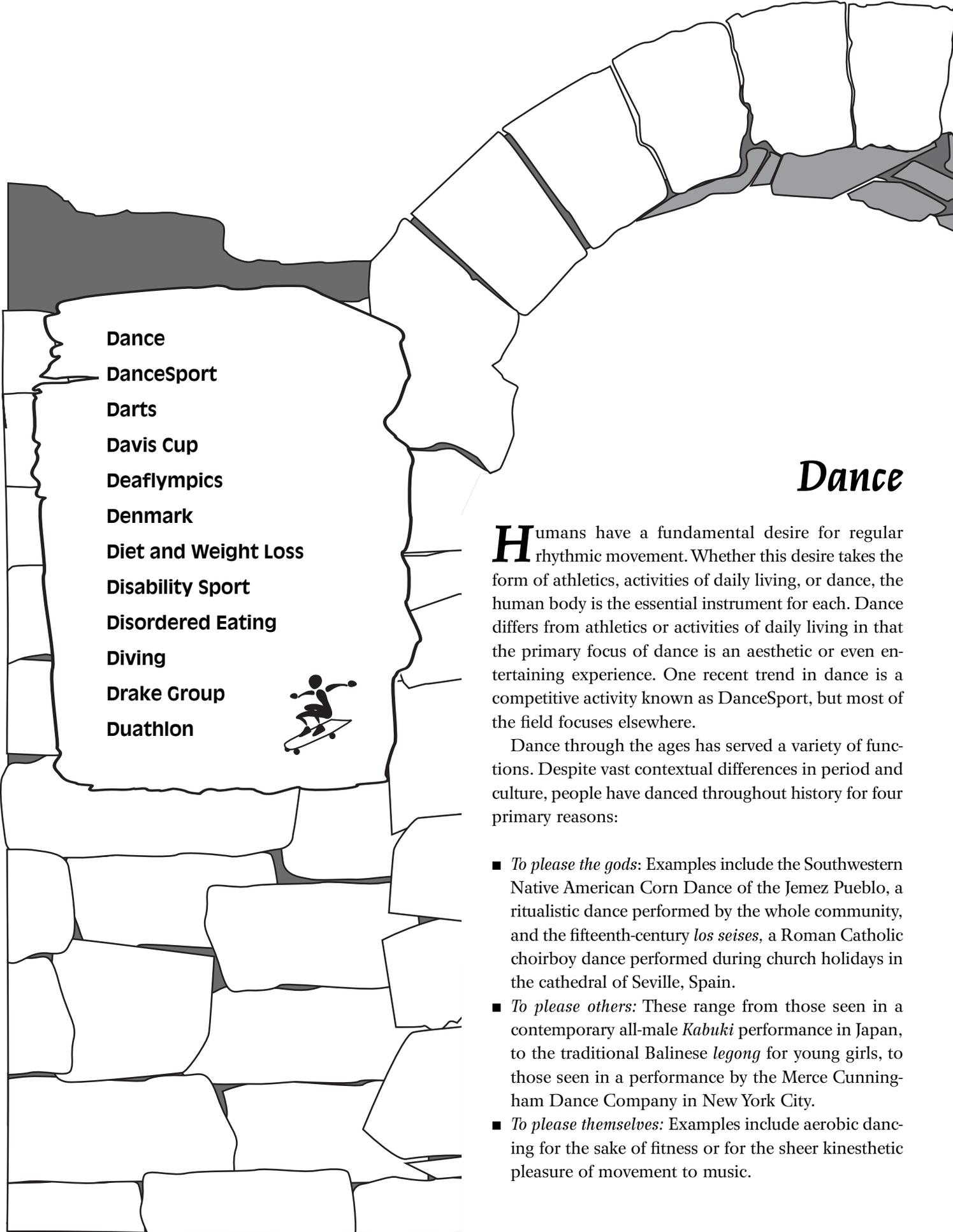
a noncompetitive basis for pleasure and for self-betterment is also increasing.

František Vaverka

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Dance
DanceSport
Darts
Davis Cup
Deaflympics
Denmark
Diet and Weight Loss
Disability Sport
Disordered Eating
Diving
Drake Group
Duathlon

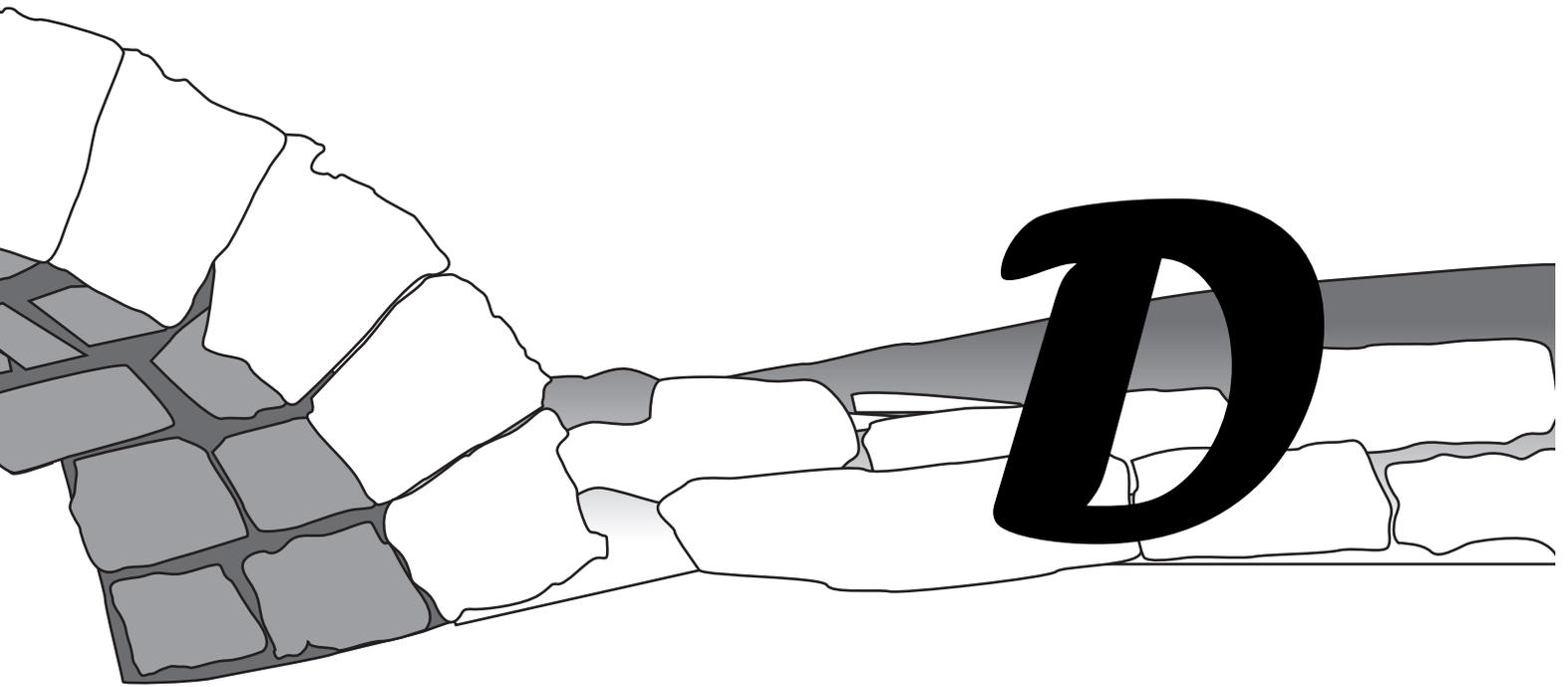


Dance

Humans have a fundamental desire for regular rhythmic movement. Whether this desire takes the form of athletics, activities of daily living, or dance, the human body is the essential instrument for each. Dance differs from athletics or activities of daily living in that the primary focus of dance is an aesthetic or even entertaining experience. One recent trend in dance is a competitive activity known as DanceSport, but most of the field focuses elsewhere.

Dance through the ages has served a variety of functions. Despite vast contextual differences in period and culture, people have danced throughout history for four primary reasons:

- *To please the gods:* Examples include the Southwestern Native American Corn Dance of the Jemez Pueblo, a ritualistic dance performed by the whole community, and the fifteenth-century *los seises*, a Roman Catholic choirboy dance performed during church holidays in the cathedral of Seville, Spain.
- *To please others:* These range from those seen in a contemporary all-male *Kabuki* performance in Japan, to the traditional Balinese *legong* for young girls, to those seen in a performance by the Merce Cunningham Dance Company in New York City.
- *To please themselves:* Examples include aerobic dancing for the sake of fitness or for the sheer kinesthetic pleasure of movement to music.



- *To build community within an ethnic group:* Examples include *la marcha*, a group dance traditionally performed at Hispanic weddings; the *mayim*, an Israeli folk dance; and the *koko sawa*, a playful West African dance for boys and girls.

Global Dance Forms

Differences in dance forms and gender roles vary with culture and historical period. In traditional ritualistic dances, gender roles are a dominant factor. Women's dances often have themes of planting, harvest, relationships, or child rearing, whereas men's dances deal with war, hunting, or displays of physical prowess. Female ritualistic dancing often uses subtlety in its use of gestures and a compact use of space. Male dancers are usually more physically mobile with bold and energetic movements.

Dance forms also vary from culture to culture. Around the globe, identifiable characteristics may be associated with individual cultures.

ASIAN

Traditional Asian dance has remained closely linked with worship and generally has adhered to ancient forms and legends for its choreography, costumes, and musical accompaniment. Characteristics of Asian dance movement include a fluid body stance, with a flexible use of the spine. The hips, rib cage, head, and shoulders shift from side to side while the legs glide in a low level over the ground. The overall movement quality is multifocused, with a bound flow and a light use of weight.

The arms, fingers, hands, and eyes perform complicated yet expressive movements, and stylized facial expressions are used. In most Asian dance forms, one finds a distinction between more vigorous and athletic dancing for males, with more confined and subtle dancing for females. In certain traditional Asian dance forms, including Kabuki and Noh, male dancers perform all roles.

AFRICAN

African dance has evolved from a religious and community-building context into a means of personal fulfillment or theatrical performance. African dance has always been closely tied to the music with which it is performed. African dance, like African music, is frequently polyrhythmic, with contrasting rhythms and musical gestures occurring simultaneously. The movement style is strong and free flowing, with the body weight rooted in the earth. The head, shoulders, rib cage, and hips move in a flexible manner, often to independent rhythms, and the legs are often bent. In African dance forms, both males and females sometimes dance in a strong and grounded manner. However, some dances such as the *adowa* are gender specific, with the female version being more subtle and expressive, and the male version being more aggressive and exhibitionistic. African dance is often performed solo or in large unison groups that allow individual expression.

EUROPEAN

Most classical European dance is performed either with a partner or in choreographed group formations. It



These exercise illustrations from an 1829 German manual suggest the loose boundary between dance and exercise.

Broadway dance, lyrical jazz dance, and various street-dance forms (e.g., hip-hop dance).

- Tap dance is derived from a mix of British Isles step dancing and dances of African slaves from the colonial United States.

- Modern dance, which has European as well as American roots, incorporates a flexible use of the spine and a lower use of body weight than ballet technique uses. Although both men and women today dance leading roles in modern dance, many of the most significant early pioneers were women.

Origins of Western Dance

Since ancient times, dance has been associated with ritual and worship. In ancient Egypt, the goddess Isis was the center of a cult celebrating the rising and falling of the Nile River. Dance and music played a significant part in this agricultural ritual event. Egyptian priests, who were also astronomers, imitated the

movements of the sun and cosmos during ritual functions. Egyptian courts and temples maintained specially trained dancers to participate in ceremonial functions.

incorporates a stable and erect spine, with hips, shoulders, and arms held framing the torso. Classical European dancers often use bent legs only as a preparation to jump or to accentuate the extension of the legs. The body is generally held erect, with a light use of weight and an emphasis on intricate footwork. High jumps and leg extensions are frequently used in ballet technique and in some folk dance forms. Ballets often feature women in spectacular displays of exhibitionism, while the male dancers are often seen in supporting roles.

AMERICAN

American dance forms, with the exception of traditional Native American dances, are recent additions to world dance. Jazz dance, tap dance, and modern dance are uniquely American forms and vary widely in style.

- Jazz dance has its roots in African dance and has developed into an eclectic mix of styles including

movements of the sun and cosmos during ritual functions. Egyptian courts and temples maintained specially trained dancers to participate in ceremonial functions.

The ancient Greeks have exerted a profound influence on dance in Western civilization. Dance flourished among the ancient Greeks during the classical period (540–300 BCE). The Greeks viewed the union of dance, music, and poetry as symbolic of the harmony of mind and body. Dance was seen as a metaphor for order and harmony in the heavens. Dance enriched theatrical presentations as well as religious festivals. Young men were taught to dance as part of their military training, professional dancers entertained guests at banquets, and at many religious festivals everyone danced—men and women, young and old, aristocrats and peasants.

According to Greek mythology, the cultivation and preservation of dance was entrusted to Terpsichore, the muse of dance. Two Greek gods also watched over dance and came to symbolize opposing types of art:

- *Apollo*, the sun god, symbolizes the ideals of intellect, formal balance, and an ordered perfection. Thus, a dance that emphasizes virtuoso technique and form may be considered “Apollonian” in Nature, for example, many traditional ballets such as *Agon* (1957), choreographed by George Balanchine (1904–1983).
- *Dionysus*, the god of wine and fertility, symbolizes artistic expression that is emotional and unrestrained. The Neo-Expressionist Japanese dance form called Butoh, with its sometimes grotesque movements, is a Dionysian response to the horrors of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as a reaction to the traditional etiquette of Japanese society.

Viewing dance according to its Apollonian or Dionysian elements can provide a framework for understanding contrasting artistic styles.

During the Roman Empire, dance became increasingly divorced from poetry and music. As a result, the art form that later became known as pantomime flourished. Over time, there grew to be a lewd, violent, and sensationalistic side to Roman entertainment. Scholars have cited instances in which captured slaves and condemned prisoners were forced to dance in an arena until the flammable clothing they wore was set on fire and they died in agony. In 426 CE, Saint Augustine denounced the cruelty of the arena games and the vulgarity of pantomime, blaming the debauched state of Roman society. The Christian church eventually adopted a policy discouraging all large public gatherings that included dance and theatrical performances and, by 744 CE, forbade all secular forms of dance.

As Christianity spread slowly throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, the use of dance in public festivals became limited. Unlike traditional Asian dance that has remained closely linked with worship, the idea of dance as worship struck many Europeans of the time as sacrilegious. The eighth-century English priest Alcuin characterized the situation in his admonition, “The man who brings actors and mimes and dancers to his house

knows not what a bevy of unclean spirits follow them.” Anyone engaging in public dancing was cast out of the church, ostracized from society, and denied Christian burial.

Although dance as public entertainment was severely limited because of restrictions imposed by the Christian church, everyday life during the Middle Ages was not devoid of dancing. Medieval guilds (representing workers in a particular profession) developed ritual activities, including dances that were specifically related to the occupations they represented. Musician guilds, founded by royal decree, provided music for social gatherings for the nobility and taught dance steps. Throughout Europe, licenses were granted for the teaching of dance after a person had demonstrated a thorough knowledge of music and the ability to execute dance steps, to create new dances, and to notate dances.

Renaissance Court Dance

During the Renaissance, members of the nobility organized an elaborate court life for themselves, their associates, and their servants. Intricate rituals of dressing, etiquette, and personal fashion evolved. Florence was the fifteenth-century cultural capital of Europe, with the Medici court a prominent cultural force. Dance masters were in great demand. Court entertainments became lavish spectacles, usually organized around Greek or Roman mythology. These spectacles served as powerful political propaganda for the ruling class—the nobility could display great wealth (and therefore authority), along with richly cloaked allegorical commentary on political and social matters.

In the mid-sixteenth century, Catherine de Medici married into the French court and brought with her the Italian ideals of lavish court entertainments, as well as proper culture and style. She hired Balthasar de Beaujoyeux, an Italian dance master, to create entertainments for the court. His *Ballet Comique de la Reine* (1581) became what is considered by dance historians to be the first identifiable ballet because of its cohesive plot, poetry, music, dance, and décor. Although Renaissance

court spectacles were often elaborate, the performers were all amateur dancers from the noble class. Dancing was one of the few acceptable ways for women of the nobility to engage in strenuous physical activity.

Many popular sixteenth- and seventeenth-century court dances survive today, preserved by the notations and descriptions made by dance masters during that time. Of these, one of the most famous dance manuals is *Orchésographie*, written in 1588 by Thoinot Arbeau. Skill in performing these dances was considered essential for a proper lady or gentleman of the nobility during this period:

- The slow and stately *pavane*
- The fast and athletic *galliard*
- The gracefully flowing *allemande*
- The playful and running *courante*
- The lively *gigue*
- The dainty and precise *minuet*.

Court dance reached its height during the reign of King Louis XIV of France (1638–1715), who used dance as a tool of power. He built the Palace of Versailles and invited French nobility to live together under one roof. The king staged elaborate dance productions in which members of the nobility were expected to participate. Men and women spent many hours each day learning dance steps to keep their status within the court. Missteps had grave consequences. Scholars have noted reports of persons being disgraced from court for poor dancing and having to climb through the social ranks slowly.

Louis XIV was himself a dancer; his teacher, Pierre Beauchamp (1636–1705), was the leading dance master of this era. Ballet fundamentals, including the five feet positions and standard arm movements, were classified under Beauchamp. As the dance steps became more complicated, the use of a ballet barre in training was developed. The barre is a railing attached to the floor or walls that ballet dancers gently grasp while practicing. Ballet turnout, an outward rotation of the hip sockets, was originally an adaptation of a fencer's

stance. Dance masters found that turnout allowed a performer to open outward toward an audience and increased flexibility in the hips. By the middle of the seventeenth century, ballet had reached such a technical level that the first professional dancers arose in Europe.

Proscenium theaters began to be built during the seventeenth century, and dance moved out of the courts and onto the professional stage. Previously, audience members had sat on all sides of the performance, but proscenium theaters framed the stage as in a picture frame, with the audience seated on only one side. With the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of a new middle class, audiences flocked to these popular theaters for entertainment. The ascent of professional dancers gave rise to the first “balletomanes,” or devotees of ballet, and to famous rivalries among dancers. This was one of the earliest examples of respectable middle-class women working outside the home in Europe.

Ballet and Beyond: Apollo versus Dionysus

As in other sports, there have always existed intense rivalries in dance. Apollo and Dionysus, the two Greek gods who symbolized contrasting types of art, were the prototypes for these dance rivalries. Apollo symbolizes the ideals of virtuoso technique, strength, and perfect form, ideals that also hold true for many sports. Dionysus symbolizes the ideals of artistic expression that is emotional, creative, and focused on content. This type of expression is present in certain sports including figure skating, ice dancing, and rhythmic gymnastics. Although these events have demanding technical requirements, the aesthetic component of the event is part of the criteria in judging. Dance is generally expected to include both Apollonian and Dionysian components—both form and content. Emphasis on dance technique alone ignores artistic expression, and emotional expression can rarely be effectively conveyed without a fully developed technique.

Two eighteenth-century dance rivals, exemplified the prototypical ballerina rivals:

Hungarian folk dancers in the early nineteenth century.

- *Marie-Anne de Cupis de Camargo* (1710–1770) was highly skilled in performing virtuoso jumps and leg beats that were usually the domain of male dancers. Although she caused a scandal by raising her skirts to ankle length to display her impressive technique and fast footwork, her athleticism and technical ability made her famous throughout Europe.
- *Marie Sallé* (1707–1756) was known for her formidable acting talent and expressive performance ability. Sallé also altered her costumes, not to display her technical abilities, but to heighten her emotional intensity in portraying dramatic characters as convincingly as possible.

For many, it is difficult to find a more sentimental image than that of an otherworldly Romantic ballerina floating across stage as an unattainable and tragic figure. During the golden age of Romantic ballet (1830–1850), female dancers rose to unprecedented prominence. Ballets such as *La Sylphide*, *Giselle*, and *Coppélia* feature women as the central figures, and male dancers were demoted from strong and muscular figures to assistants waiting to assist ballerinas in lifts. The most famous rival ballerinas during this time were Marie Taglioni and Fanny Elssler:

- *Marie Taglioni* (1804–1884), an Italian dancer, won fame through a combination of great technical skill and a demeanor of ease in performance. Her skill was the result of a demanding training regime directed by her father, Filippo Taglioni (1777–1871), who led his daughter through a rigorous daily physical routine until she was near fainting and had to



have help dressing after rehearsal. Her strength, graceful ease, and ethereal lightness dancing *en pointe* in *La Sylphide* made her internationally famous.

- *Fanny Elssler* (1810–1884), the Austrian dancer, was a more Dionysian dancer. Elssler had impressive technique, yet audiences were drawn to her personal magnetism and theatrical ability. One of her most famous roles was a sensual solo dance called “La Cachucha,” a Spanish-influenced dance in which she played castanets.

Taglioni came to be known as the ethereal “Christian dancer,” and Elssler was loved as the sensuous “pagan dancer.”



Dance

Dance in Africa

In the extract below, British missionary George Basden describes dance among the Ibos of Nigeria.

The twistings, turnings, contortions and springing movements, executed in perfect time, are wonderful to behold. Movement succeeds movement in rapid succession, speed and force increasing, until the grand finale is reached. . . . For these set dances . . . the physical strength required is tremendous. The body movements are extremely difficult and would probably kill a European. The whole anatomy of the performer appears to be in serious danger, and it is a marvel that his internal machinery is not completely thrown out of gear. The practice of such dancing leads to a wonderful development of the back and abdominal muscles. Moreover the movements are free, there is nothing rigid about them, and they produce no sign of “physical exerciser” stiffness. Every movement is clean, sure and decided, showing absolute control of the muscles.”

Source: Basden, G. (1921). *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*. London: Seeley, Service and Co.

In the early twentieth century, a new company commanded attention throughout Europe—the Ballets Russes. The company manager, Sergei Diaghilev (1872–1929), managed to hire the most talented choreographers, composers, visual artists, and dancers of his time. Important artists who created work for this company included the following:

- Choreographers Balanchine, Nijinsky, Massine, Fokine, and Nijinska
- Composers Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Debussy, Satie, Poulenc, and Richard Strauss
- Painters Picasso, Matisse, Miró, Rouault, and Bakst

As before, two rival ballerinas embodying the Apollonian-Dionysian contrast arose:

- *Anna Pavlova* (1881–1931), who trained at the Maryinsky School in St. Petersburg, had a natural delicacy, lightness, and grace. After leaving the Ballets Russes in 1910, Pavlova formed her own company and toured the globe, often performing her celebrated piece *The Dying Swan*, choreographed for her by Michel Fokine (1880–1942). She was known for the Apollonian ideals of grace, beauty, and form.
- *Tamara Karsavina* (1885–1978), who danced as a soloist in the Imperial Ballet in St. Petersburg, was also a starring ballerina for the Ballet Russes. Although Karsavina had strong technical abilities, she impressed audiences with her dramatic and expressive qualities in ballets such as *Firebird* and *Petrouchka*.

Revolutions in Dance

Modern dance began in the early twentieth century, partly as a reaction to the strict confines of ballet technique but also as means for a new society to express its changing ideals following the world wars. Modern dance with its German and American roots, has flourished in an unbroken progression in the United States since its inception, while the devastating effects of World War II inhibited the growth of German modern dance for many years. Early German modern dancers such as Mary Wigman (1886–1973) believed that art is most powerful when form and content are joined. She was instrumental in developing the new dance form *Ausdruckstanz*, or “expressive dance.” Wigman’s dances were often about the struggles between conflicting powers, in which opposing forces were given corporeal shape. She studied with Émile Jacques-Dalcroze (1865–1950), who developed a system of expressing rhythm through bodily movements called *eurhythmics*, and with the important dance theorist Rudolph von Laban (1879–1958). Laban, who was also a dancer and choreographer, is perhaps best known for his work in the analysis of human motion and his development of a dance notation system. His Labanotation system is the most widely used dance notation system today.

By the end of World War II, German modern dance

Young Zulu women participating in a Zulu ritual dance in South Africa.



had been artistically weakened by the Nazi oppression and did not see an artistic phoenix until the rise of *Tanz-theater* in the early 1970s. Perhaps the best known of these *Tanz-theater* artists is Pina Bausch (b. 1940), whose productions are known for their dream-like imagery, dramatic intensity, and preoccupation with the struggles between women and men.

During the early part of the twentieth century, several American dancers made their fame in Europe. Among these are the following:

- *Loie Fuller* (1862–1928) was an early pioneer of modern dance who experimented with the effect of stage lighting on voluminous costumes of silk, which she manipulated through movement.
- *Josephine Baker* (1906–1975) devoted herself more to musical theater and cabaret. Her performances were considered suggestive for early twentieth century America, so Paris became the center of her activities while her international fame grew.
- *Isadora Duncan* (1877–1927) is considered one of the most important early pioneers of modern dance. She reduced costuming to silky tunics, performed barefoot, and used freely flowing movements inspired by nature, great classical music, and Grecian art. Duncan often performed solo dances to music by composers such as Beethoven, Wagner, Chopin, and Scriabin, and sometimes burst into impromptu speeches on the issues of the day.

All three women enjoyed international fame, albeit for differing approaches to artistic expression through dance.

Two of the most influential American founders of modern dance, may also be discussed in the context of form (Apollonian) versus content (Dionysian):

- *Doris Humphrey* (1895–1958) based her movement vocabulary on a reaction to gravity, yielding, and resisting gravity in a “fall and recovery.” Her choreog-

raphy centered around designs in space. Although she believed in a clear motivation for her dances, the manner in which her dancers interact in space suggests these motivations. Her works are seldom literal depictions, and her earlier works can be described as abstract “music visualizations.”

- *Martha Graham* (1894–1991) based her movement vocabulary on the breath, or “contraction and release,” believing that movement was a mirror into the expressive soul. Her choreography is angular, expressionistic, theatrical, and charged with tension and passion. She created an impressive body of choreographic work during a sixty-year period and was the first dancer to receive the Medal of Freedom, the highest U.S. civilian honor.

Later modern dancers had different aesthetic concerns. Choreographers such as Merce Cunningham (b. 1919) rejected the notion of dance as expressing emotions or stories. His work is abstract, and his experiments with chance choreography, the treatment of stage space as an open field for movement, and his regard for all components in a dance production (choreography, costuming, scenic design, lighting design) as independent entities, have made him an influential choreographer. He is also known for his collaborations with the foremost artists of the era, including the painters Andy Warhol, Jasper Johns, and Robert Rauschenberg, and his long-term collaboration with the experimental composer John Cage.

Now, the judges are God; I'm not. I can fly like a bird or dance like a flower, but the judges say who is the winner and who is not. ■ AMINA ZARIPOVA

In the early 1960s, experimental choreographers from the Judson Dance Theatre explored the idea that everyday movements ordered in time and space can function as dance. Pedestrian movements, those that can be performed by nondancers in everyday situations, quickly came into vogue on the concert stage. Choreographers such as Yvonne Rainer, Steve Paxton, Deborah Hay, and David Gordon accepted the concept that almost any movement from the simplest, to the most complex, may legitimately function as dance.

Dance Training Today

Dance today has progressed dramatically from its origins. In the early part of the twentieth century, American choreographer Ted Shawn (1891–1972) characterized the relationship between dance and athletics by explaining, “Dancing is a manly sport, more strenuous than golf or tennis, more exciting than boxing or wrestling and more beneficial than gymnastics.” First-class choreographers often began their careers as superb dancers, including the following:

- Martha Graham (1894–1991)
- Merce Cunningham (b. 1919)
- Paul Taylor (b. 1930)
- Alvin Ailey (1931–1989)
- Twyla Tharp (b. 1942)
- Mark Morris (b. 1956)

Dance training today shares much in common with athletics:

- Repetitive training that focuses on specific muscular patterns
- Practice sessions that emphasize strength, coordination, and balance
- Both individual and group training sessions

Most professional dancers attend daily dance technique classes, in addition to three to six hours of daily rehearsal for specific choreographic works. Many professional dance companies provide technique classes for company members, but others expect dancers to

arrange their own personal training schedules. The need for rigorous training, as well as an aesthetic based on leanness, has caused some dancers to develop eating disorders and other addictive problems.

A famous dancer who suffered such problems is Gelsey Kirkland (b. 1953), who shocked balletomanes by leaving the New York City Ballet, where she worked with Balanchine, and joining the American Ballet Theatre to work with Mikhail Baryshnikov (b. 1948). After leaving the American Ballet Theatre, Kirkland revealed in her autobiography, *Dancing on My Grave*, that she was able to maintain such a svelte physique and perform with such speed and brilliance because of cocaine addiction and an accompanying eating disorder. Many critics cite Balanchine, founder of the New York City Ballet, for contributing to the problem of dancers’ eating disorders. Balanchine, a seminal figure in American ballet, idolized the female form, albeit an extremely thin female form. This emphasis on an idealized female form is common to both dance and certain sports such as gymnastics and figure skating.

Athletics of Dance

Some choreographers who desire to find new sources for virtuosic steps turn away from standard dance techniques to sports, acrobatics, weightlifting, and gymnastics. The American company Pilobolus combines gymnastic movements with modern dance in witty, sculptural dances. Contemporary American choreographers such as Molissa Fenley (b. 1954), and Elizabeth Streb (b. 1950) are also interested in athletics. Fenley’s grueling dances require great endurance, so much so that her training routine has included running and weightlifting, instead of the standard dance technique class. Streb’s company, based in New York City, regularly performs on a series of trapezes and mats, presenting movements related to circus acrobatics and gymnastics.

However inclined choreographers may be to emphasize athletic movements, dancers are still refining their dance techniques in traditional ways. To gain strength



Chinese women participate in the highly ritualized “sport dancing” at the Temple of Heaven in Beijing in 2002.

and versatility, professional dancers often train in modern dance, ballet, and Pilates or other alternative training methods. Ballet technique develops speed, line, lightness, and articulate footwork, whereas modern dance emphasizes strength, weight, a flexible use of the spine, and asymmetrical and off-balance movements. Pilates develops strong core musculature of the abdominal and back muscles, whereas other alternative training techniques focus on different areas.

In contemporary dance, women and men are expected to have the strength and flexibility to lift other dancers, and to be lifted themselves. Although gender roles in dance have expanded in most Western concert dance forms, traditional forms such as classical ballet, flamenco, and some folk dances retain their historical gender role divisions.

Professional dance is a competitive field. Dancers usually audition for specific roles, or openings in professional companies through a highly competitive audition process. Dancers sometimes compete for prizes and titles in competitions such as the USA Interna-

tional Ballet Competition. Nonprofessional dance studios and dance teams commonly compete in regional and national competitions. Examples of these include Dancemakers, Inc., Dance Alliance, and the International Jazz Dance World Congress, among others. These competitions are a way for dance studios to compete with peer institutions and assess the quality of their training. The area of DanceSport, in which partners or teams of dancers compete in ballroom or Latin dance styles, has also become popular.

Athletes and their coaches are increasingly using dance training to improve coordination, flexibility, agility, alignment, and balance—for example, professional football teams in the United States regularly require their players to attend ballet class. Research clearly shows that dance technique has benefits for athletes in other sports as well, such as diving, track and field, and synchronized swimming. Nevertheless, although dance training can benefit athletes, its primary focus historically has been on aesthetics rather than on competition.

The Future

The dance of the future is multifaceted. Today, one can see dance on stage, on film, on video, and on computer screens all around the world. Technological advances have added to the complex nature of twenty-first century dance, from computer-generated dance images, to multimedia performances melding live dancers with projected images. Choreographic explorations now require dancers to improve not only their technical virtuosity but also their skills in music, acting, and a large variety of dance styles. The dancers of today generally are stronger, more flexible, and have more stamina than their historic counterparts, partly because of increased knowledge and application in kinesiology, diet, injury prevention, alternative therapies, and diverse training techniques.

Dance has also seen a recent return to content and expressionism as the focus for choreography. International artists working in this vein include the following:

- Anne Teresa de Keersmaeker (Belgium, b. 1960)
- Meredith Monk (U.S., b. 1943)
- Pina Bausch (Germany, b. 1940)
- Kazuo Ohno (Japan, b. 1906)

Other choreographers and dance companies—such as Bill T. Jones (U.S., b. 1952), Anna Halprin (U.S., b. 1920), and the Urban Bush Women—are more concerned with exploring social issues. Anna Halprin, for example, has become known for fusing dance with rehabilitation, particularly in working with AIDS patients.

National folk dance companies have also become common, as highly choreographed performances of these forms successfully tour to concert stages around the globe. Recreational dance enjoys increased interest with its cultivation of physical fitness and social enjoyment. Ballroom and other social dance forms are now popular as both recreational and competitive activities. Dance continues to grow and change as cross-fertilization of dance around the world increases.

Helen Myers

See also Capoeira

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BERKSHIRE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

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BERKSHIRE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

World Sport



VOLUME 2

David Levinson *and*
Karen Christensen

Editors

BERKSHIRE PUBLISHING GROUP

Great Barrington, Massachusetts U.S.A.

www.iWorldSport.com

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For information:

Berkshire Publishing Group LLC
314 Main Street
Great Barrington, Massachusetts 01230
www.berkshirepublishing.com

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Berkshire encyclopedia of world sport / David Levinson and Karen Christensen, general editors.

p. cm.

Summary: "Covers the whole world of sport, from major professional sports and sporting events to community and youth sport, as well as the business of sports and key social issues"—Provided by publisher.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

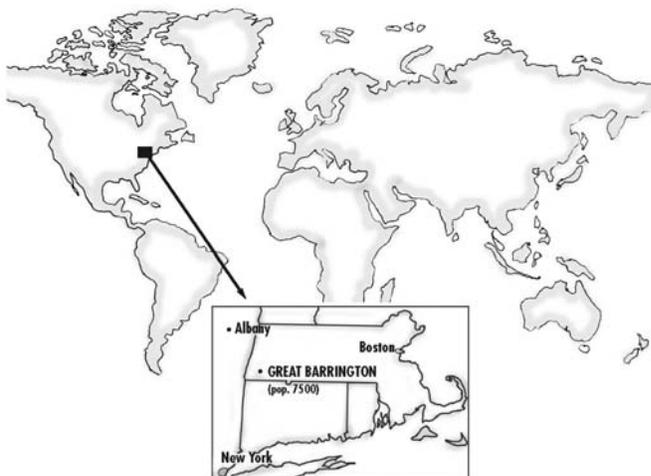
ISBN 0-9743091-1-7

1. Sports—Encyclopedias. I. Levinson, David, 1947- II. Christensen, Karen, 1957-

GV567.B48 2005

796.03—dc22

2005013050



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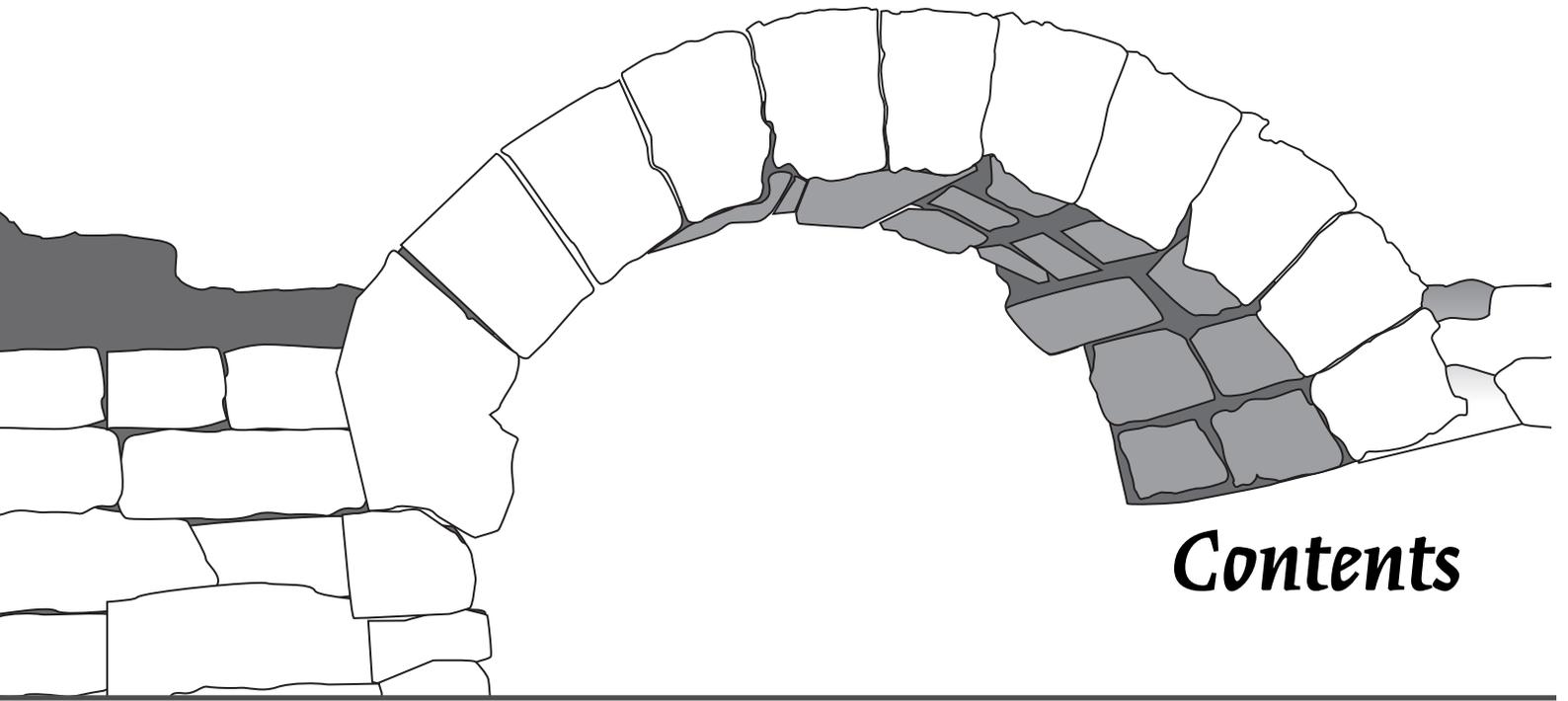
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Contents

List of Entries, ix
Reader's Guide, xiii

Entries

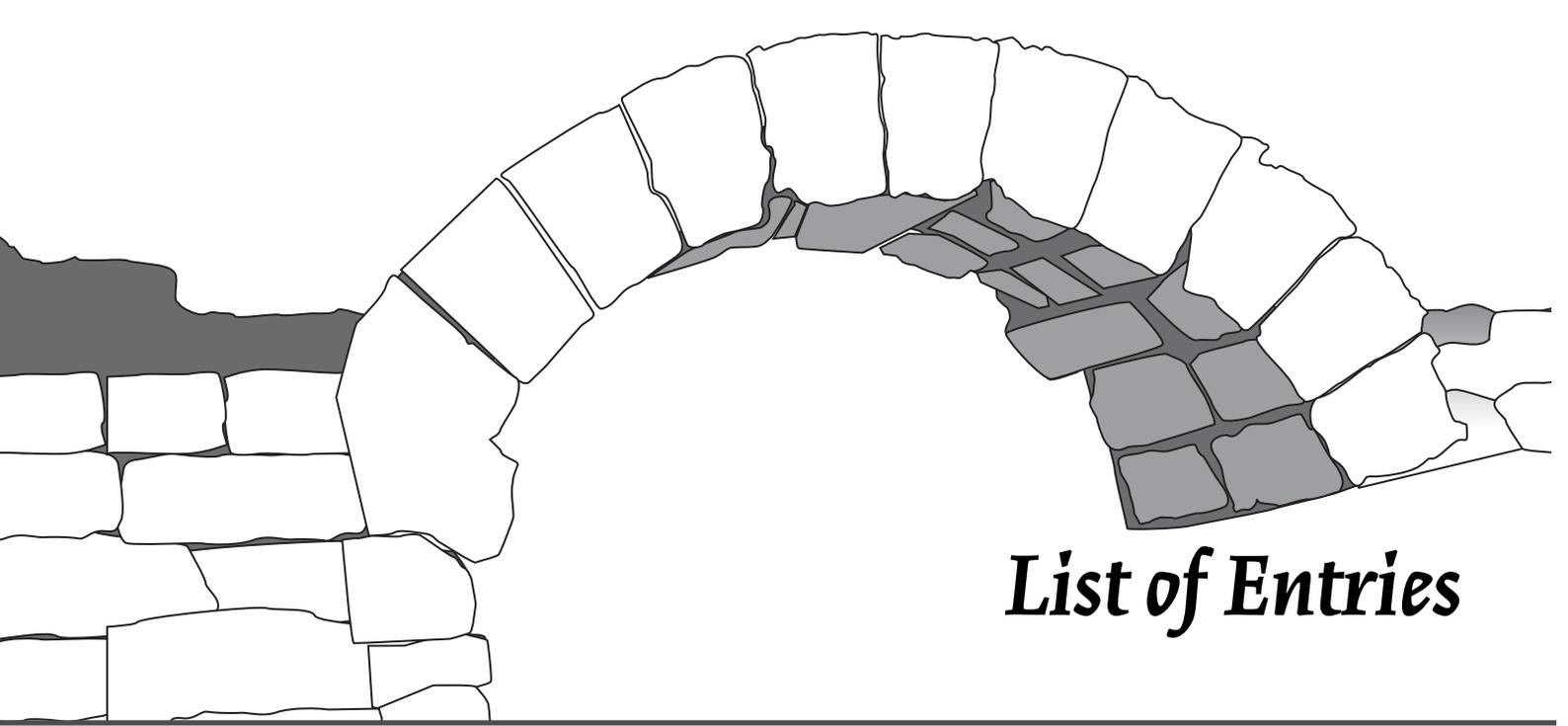
VOLUME I:
Academies and Camps, Sport–Dance
2

VOLUME II:
DanceSport–Kinesiology
443

VOLUME III:
Kite Sports–Sexual Harassment
903

VOLUME IV:
Sexuality–Youth Sports
1357

Index 1751



List of Entries

Academies and Camps, Sport
Adapted Physical Education
Adventure Education
Aerobics
Aesthetics
African Games
Agents
AIDS and HIV
Aikido
All England Lawn Tennis and
 Croquet Club
Alternative Sports
Amateur vs. Professional Debate
American Sports Exceptionalism
American Youth Soccer
 Organization (AYSO)
America's Cup
Anemia
Animal Rights
Anthropology Days
Anti-Jock Movement
Arab Games
Archery
Argentina
Arm Wrestling
Art
Ascot
Ashes, The
Asian Games
Astrodome

Athletes as Celebrities
Athletes as Heroes
Athletic Talent Migration
Athletic Training
Australia
Australian Rules Football
Austria
Auto Racing

Badminton
Ballooning
Baseball
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Wives
Basketball
Baton Twirling
Beauty
Belgium
Biathlon and Triathlon
Billiards
Biomechanics
Biotechnology
Bislett Stadium
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Boating, Ice
Bobsledding
Body Image
Bodybuilding
Bondi Beach

Boomerang Throwing
Boston Marathon
Bowls and Bowling
Boxing
Brand Management
Brazil
British Open
Bulgaria
Bullfighting
Burnout
Buzkashi

Cameroon
Camogie
Canada
Canoeing and Kayaking
Capoeira
Carnegie Report
Carriage Driving
Central American and
 Caribbean Games
Cheerleading
Child Sport Stars
China
Clubsport Systems
Coaching
Coeducational Sport
Coliseum (Rome)
Collective Bargaining
College Athletes

- Commercialization of College Sports
- Commodification and Commercialization
- Commonwealth Games
- Community
- Competition
- Competitive Balance
- Cooperation
- Country Club
- Cricket
- Cricket World Cup
- Croquet
- Cross-Country Running
- Cuba
- Cultural Studies Theory
- Curling
- Cycling
- Czech Republic

- Dance
- DanceSport
- Darts
- Davis Cup
- Deaflympics
- Denmark
- Diet and Weight Loss
- Disability Sport
- Disordered Eating
- Diving
- Drake Group
- Duathlon

- East Germany
- Economics and Public Policy
- Egypt
- Eiger North Face
- Elfstedentocht
- Elite Sports Parents
- Endorsements
- Endurance
- Environment

- ESPN
- Euro 2004
- European Football Championship
- Eurosport
- Exercise and Health
- Extreme Sports
- Extreme Surfing

- Facility Management
- Facility Naming Rights
- Falconry
- Family Involvement
- Fan Loyalty
- Fantasy Sports
- Fashion
- Feminist Perspective
- Fencing
- Fenway Park
- Finland
- Fishing
- Fitness
- Fitness Industry
- Floorball
- Flying
- Folk Sports
- Footbag
- Football
- Football, Canadian
- Football, Flag
- Football, Gaelic
- Foro Italico
- Foxhunting
- France
- Franchise Relocation
- Free Agency

- Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0)
- Gay Games
- Gender Equity
- Gender Verification
- Germany

- Globalization
- Goalball
- Golf
- Greece
- Greece, Ancient
- Growth and Development
- Gymnastics, Apparatus
- Gymnastics, Rhythmic

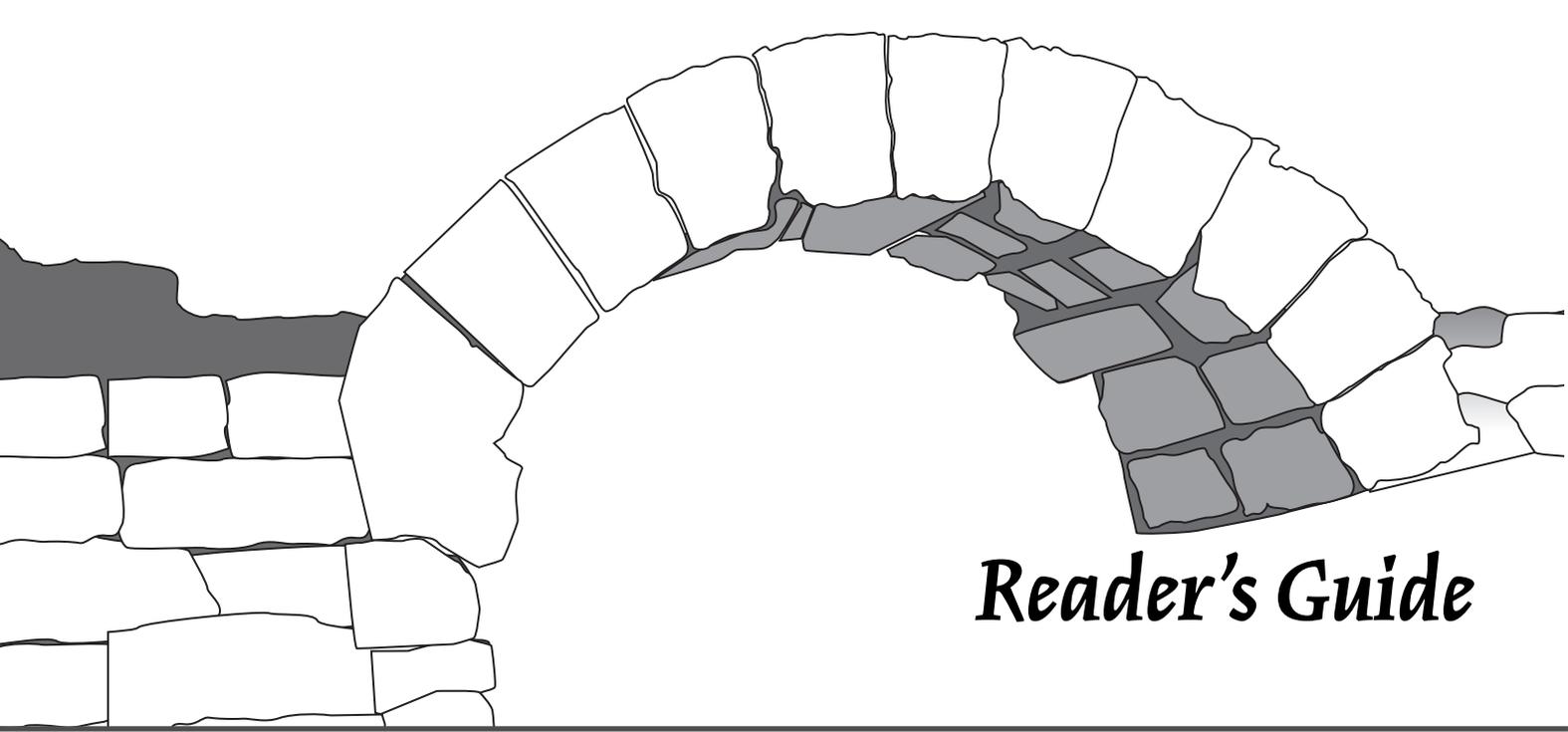
- Handball, Team
- Hang Gliding
- Hazing
- Henley Regatta
- Heptathlon
- Highland Games
- Hockey, Field
- Hockey, Ice
- Hockey, In-line
- Holmenkollen Ski Jump
- Holmenkollen Sunday
- Home Field Advantage
- Homophobia
- Honduras
- Horse Racing
- Horseback Riding
- Human Movement Studies
- Hungary
- Hunting
- Hurling

- Iditarod
- India
- Indianapolis 500
- Injuries, Youth
- Injury
- Injury Risk in Women's Sport
- Innebandy
- Interallied Games
- Intercollegiate Athletics
- International Olympic Academy
- International Politics
- Internet



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|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Interpretive Sociology | Marathon and Distance Running | Pain |
| Iran | Marketing | Pan American Games |
| Ireland | Mascots | Parachuting |
| Ironman Triathlon | Masculinity | Paralympics |
| Islamic Countries' Women's
Sports Solidarity Games | Masters | Pebble Beach |
| Israel | Media-Sports Complex | Pelota |
| Italy | Memorabilia Industry | Pentathlon, Modern |
| | Mental Conditioning | Performance |
| | Mesoamerican Ball Court Games | Performance Enhancement |
| Jamaica | Mexico | Personality |
| Japan | Mixed Martial Arts | Physical Education |
| Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional | Motivation | Pilates |
| Jogging | Motorboat Racing | Play vs. Organized Sport |
| Jousting | Motorcycle Racing | Play-by-Play Announcing |
| Judo | Mount Everest | Poland |
| Jujutsu | Mountain Biking | Polo |
| | Mountaineering | Polo, Bicycle |
| Karate | Movies | Polo, Water |
| Karting | Multiculturalism | Portugal |
| Kendo | | Postmodernism |
| Kenya | Naginata | Powerlifting |
| Kinesiology | Narrative Theory | Prayer |
| Kite Sports | Native American Games and
Sports | Professionalism |
| Koreas | Netball | Psychology |
| Korfball | Netherlands | Psychology of Gender Differences |
| | New Zealand | |
| Lacrosse | Newspapers | Race Walking |
| Lake Placid | Nextel (Winston) Cup | Racism |
| Law | Nigeria | Racquetball |
| Le Mans | Norway | Radio |
| Lesbianism | Nutrition | Religion |
| Lifeguarding | | Reproduction |
| Literature | Officiating | Revenue Sharing |
| Lord's Cricket Ground | Olympia | Ringette |
| Luge | Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936 | Rituals |
| | Olympics, 2004 | Rodeo |
| Maccabiah Games | Olympics, Summer | Romania |
| Madison Square Garden | Olympics, Winter | Rome, Ancient |
| Magazines | Orienteering | Rope Jumping |
| Management | Osteoporosis | Rounders and Stoolball |
| Maple Leaf Gardens | Ownership | Rowing |
| Maracana Stadium | | Rugby |

- Russia and USSR
- Ryder Cup
- Sail Sports
- Sailing
- Salary Caps
- Scholar-Baller
- School Performance
- Scotland
- Senegal
- Senior Sport
- Sepak Takraw
- Sex and Performance
- Sexual Harassment
- Sexuality
- Shinty
- Shooting
- Silat
- Singapore
- Skateboarding
- Skating, Ice Figure
- Skating, Ice Speed
- Skating, In-line
- Skating, Roller
- Ski Jumping
- Skiing, Alpine
- Skiing, Cross-Country
- Skiing, Freestyle
- Skiing, Water
- Sled Dog Racing
- Sledding—Skeleton
- Snowboarding
- Snowshoe Racing
- Soaring
- Soccer
- Social Class
- Social Constructivism
- Social Identity
- Softball
- South Africa
- South East Asian Games
- Spain
- Special Olympics
- Spectator Consumption Behavior
- Spectators
- Speedball
- Sponsorship
- Sport and National Identity
- Sport as Religion
- Sport as Spectacle
- Sport Politics
- Sport Science
- Sport Tourism
- Sporting Goods Industry
- Sports Medicine
- Sportsmanship
- Sportswriting and Reporting
- Squash
- St. Andrews
- St. Moritz
- Stanley Cup
- Strength
- Stress
- Sumo
- Sumo Grand Tournament Series
- Super Bowl
- Surf Lifesaving
- Surfing
- Sweden
- Swimming
- Swimming, Synchronized
- Switzerland
- Table Tennis
- Taekwando
- Tai Chi
- Technology
- Tennis
- Title IX
- Tour de France
- Track and Field—Jumping and Throwing
- Track and Field—Running and Hurdling
- Tug of War
- Turkey
- Turner Festivals
- Ultimate
- Underwater Sports
- Unionism
- United Kingdom
- Values and Ethics
- Venice Beach
- Violence
- Volleyball
- Volleyball, Beach
- Wakeboarding
- Weightlifting
- Wembley Stadium
- Wimbledon
- Windsurfing
- Women’s Sports, Media Coverage of
- Women’s World Cup
- Worker Sports
- World Cup
- World Series
- World University Games
- Wrestling
- Wrigley Field
- Wushu
- X Games
- Yankee Stadium
- Yoga
- Youth Culture and Sport
- Youth Sports



Reader's Guide

College Sports

Amateur vs. Professional Debate
Carnegie Report
College Athletes
Drake Group
Intercollegiate Athletics
Racism
Title IX

Culture of Sport

Adapted Physical Education
Adventure Education
Athletes as Celebrities
Athletes as Heroes
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Wives
Burnout
Clubsport Systems
Coaching
Coeducational Sport
Fan Loyalty
Gender Verification
Hazing
Home Field Advantage
Homophobia
Mascots
Mental Conditioning
Motivation
Multiculturalism

Officiating
Performance Enhancement
Personality
Professionalism
Rituals
Sex and Performance
Spectators
Sport as Religion
Sport as Spectacle
Sport Politics
Sportsmanship

Events

African Games
America's Cup
Anthropology Days
Arab Games
Ashes, The
Asian Games
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Boston Marathon
British Open
Central American and Caribbean
Games
Commonwealth Games
Cricket World Cup
Davis Cup
Deaflympics
Elfstedentocht
Euro 2004

European Football Championship
Games of the New Emerging
Forces (GANEFO)
Gay Games
Henley Regatta
Highland Games
Holmenkollen Sunday
Iditarod
Indianapolis 500
Interallied Games
Ironman Triathlon
Islamic Countries' Women's
Sports Solidarity Games
Le Mans
Maccabiah Games
Masters
Nextel (Winston) Cup
Olympics, 2004
Olympics, Summer
Olympics, Winter
Pan American Games
Paralympics
Ryder Cup
South East Asian Games
Special Olympics
Stanley Cup
Sumo Grand Tournament Series
Super Bowl
Tour de France
Turner Festivals



Wimbledon
Women's World Cup
World Cup
World Series
World University Games
X Games

Health and Fitness

Aerobics
AIDS and HIV
Anemia
Athletic Training
Biomechanics
Biotechnology
Diet and Weight Loss
Disordered Eating
Endurance
Exercise and Health
Fitness
Fitness Industry
Injury
Injury Risk in Women's Sport
Jogging
Nutrition
Osteoporosis
Pain
Performance
Pilates
Reproduction
Sports Medicine
Strength
Stress
Tai Chi
Yoga

Media

ESPN
Eurosport
Internet
Magazines
Media-Sports Complex
Newspapers

Play-by-Play Announcing
Radio
Sportswriting and Reporting
Women's Sports,
Media Coverage of

National Profiles

Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Bulgaria
Cameroon
Canada
China
Cuba
Czech Republic
Denmark
East Germany
Egypt
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Greece, Ancient
Honduras
Hungary
India
Iran
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Jamaica
Japan
Kenya
Koreas
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nigeria
Norway

Poland
Portugal
Romania
Rome, Ancient
Russia and USSR
Scotland
Senegal
Singapore
South Africa
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
United Kingdom

Paradigms and Perspectives

Cultural Studies Theory
Feminist Perspective
Human Movement Studies
Interpretive Sociology
Kinesiology
Narrative Theory
Physical Education
Postmodernism
Social Constructivism
Sport Science

Sports Industry

Agents
Athletic Talent Migration
Brand Management
Collective Bargaining
Commodification and Commercialization
Competitive Balance
Endorsements
Facility Management
Facility Naming Rights
Fashion
Franchise Relocation
Free Agency

Management
 Marketing
 Memorabilia Industry
 Ownership
 Revenue Sharing
 Salary Caps
 Spectator Consumption Behavior
 Sponsorship
 Sport Tourism
 Sporting Goods Industry
 Unionism

Sport in Society

Aesthetics
 American Sports Exceptionalism
 Animal Rights
 Art
 Beauty
 Body Image
 Commercialization
 Community
 Competition
 Cooperation
 Country Club
 Economics and Public Policy
 Environment
 Gender Equity
 Globalization
 International Politics
 Law
 Lesbianism
 Literature
 Masculinity
 Movies
 Prayer
 Psychology
 Psychology of Gender Differences
 Religion
 Scholar-Baller
 Sexual Harassment
 Sexuality
 Social Class

Social Identity
 Sport and National Identity
 Technology
 Values and Ethics
 Violence

Sports—Air

Ballooning
 Flying
 Hang Gliding
 Kite Sports
 Parachuting
 Soaring

Sports—Animal

Bullfighting
 Buzkashi
 Carriage Driving
 Falconry
 Foxhunting
 Horse Racing
 Horseback Riding
 Hunting
 Jousting
 Polo
 Rodeo

Sports—Ball

Basketball
 Bowls and Bowling
 Floorball
 Football
 Goalball
 Handball, Team
 Korfbal
 Mesoamerican Ball Court Games
 Pelota
 Netball
 Volleyball
 Volleyball, Beach
 Sepak takraw
 Speedball

Sports—Body Movement and Strength

Baton Twirling
 Bodybuilding
 Capoeira
 Cheerleading
 Dance
 DanceSport
 Gymnastics, Apparatus
 Gymnastics, Rhythmic
 Powerlifting
 Rope Jumping
 Tug of War
 Weightlifting

Sports—Combative and Martial

Aikido
 Archery
 Arm Wrestling
 Boxing
 Bullfighting
 Buzkashi
 Fencing
 Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional
 Jousting
 Judo
 Jujutsu
 Karate
 Kendo
 Mixed Martial Arts
 Naginata
 Shooting
 Silat
 Sumo
 Taekwando
 Wrestling
 Wushu

Sports—Environmental

Fishing
 Hunting

Foxhunting
Mountaineering
Orienteering

Sports—Field

Australian Rules Football
Camogie
Football
Football, Canadian
Football, Flag
Football, Gaelic
Hockey, Field
Hurling
Innebandy
Lacrosse
Rugby
Shinty
Soccer

Sports—General

Alternative Sports
Disability Sport
Fantasy Sports
Folk Sports
Native American Games and Sports
Senior Sport
Worker Sports

Sports—Ice and Snow

Boating, Ice
Bobsledding
Curling
Hockey, Ice
Luge
Skating, Ice Figure
Skating, Ice Speed
Ski Jumping
Skiing, Alpine
Skiing, Cross-Country
Skiing, Freestyle
Sled Dog Racing

Sledding—Skeleton
Snowboarding
Snowshoe Racing

Sports—Mechanized and Motor

Auto Racing
Carriage Driving
Cycling
Hockey, In-line
Karting
Motorboat Racing
Motorcycle Racing
Mountain Biking
Polo, Bicycle
Skateboarding
Skating, In-line
Skating, Roller

Sports—Mixed

Biathlon and Triathlon
Duathlon
Extreme Sports
Heptathlon
Pentathlon, Modern

Sports—Racket

Badminton
Racquetball
Squash
Table Tennis
Tennis

Sports—Running and Jumping

Cross-Country Running
Heptathlon
Marathon and Distance Running
Race Walking
Track and Field—Running and Hurdling

Sports—Stick and Ball

Baseball
Billiards
Cricket
Croquet
Golf
Rounders and Stoolball
Softball

Sports—Throwing

Boomerang Throwing
Darts
Heptathlon
Ultimate
Track and Field—Jumping and Throwing

Sports—Water

Canoeing and Kayaking
Diving
Extreme Surfing
Lifeguarding
Polo, Water
Rowing
Sail Sports
Sailing
Skiing, Water
Surf Lifesaving
Surfing
Swimming
Swimming, Synchronized
Underwater Sports
Wakeboarding
Windsurfing

Venues

All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club
Ascot
Astrodome
Bislett Stadium
Bondi Beach



Coliseum (Rome)
 Eiger North Face
 Fenway Park
 Foro Italico
 Holmenkollen Ski Jump
 International Olympic Academy
 Lake Placid
 Lord's Cricket Ground
 Madison Square Garden
 Maple Leaf Gardens
 Maracana Stadium
 Mount Everest
 Olympia

Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936
 Pebble Beach
 St. Andrews
 St. Moritz
 Venice Beach
 Wembley Stadium
 Wrigley Field
 Yankee Stadium

Youth Sports

Academies and Camps, Sport
 American Youth Soccer
 Organization (AYSO)

Anti-Jock Movement
 Child Sport Stars
 Elite Sports Parents
 Family Involvement
 Growth and Development
 Injuries, Youth
 Play vs. Organized Sport
 School Performance
 Youth Culture and Sport
 Youth Sports

DanceSport

The history of ballroom dancing competitions can be traced to pre–World War I days, and its popularity has increased over the years, most dramatically in the 1990s. DanceSport, the competitive version of ballroom dancing, requires athletic skills, combined with required techniques, floorcraft, and artistic interpretation, to produce a disciplined dance performance. Competitions involve couples, or groups of couples combining as a team, and a panel of judges evaluates competitors. DanceSport attracts equal numbers of men and women, thus eliminating gender bias. DanceSport is currently practiced on all five continents, from young children to older adults.

The International DanceSport Federation (IDSF) is the governing body for DanceSport, and in 2004, there were eighty-one national DanceSport federations, representing more than four million athletes throughout the world. Forty-six of the eighty-one national DanceSport federations have been recognized by their national Olympic committees. DanceSport proponents are pushing to make it an Olympic sport.

Modern ballroom dancing has its origins in the dance styles of medieval Europe. From the choral dance of the Middle Ages emerged the practice of dancing in couples, leading to the popular court dances of Renaissance Europe. The stately minuet made its debut in the early 1700s, but the waltz changed couple dancing forever. Known as wild and risqué, it became the rage throughout Germany in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The waltz was not, however, readily accepted everywhere. Eventually, English society accepted it, and both France and Austria followed their neighbor's lead; the waltz (notably the Vienna Waltz of Austria's capital city) became the classical, whirling favorite of European ballrooms.

Other countries contributed dances to the ballroom genre during the first half of the twentieth century, including Argentina (tango); United States (foxtrot,

swing); England (quickstep); Cuba (rumba, cha cha cha); and Brazil (samba).

Developing Associations

Ballroom dancing competitions occurred as early as pre–World War I in European cities such as Paris and Berlin. These competitions were private because no international organizations for either amateurs or professionals existed. The first international amateur association was formed in 1935 in Prague; this Federation Internationale de Dance pour Amateurs (FIDA) was active until the outbreak of World War II in 1939. In 1950, the first professional dance organization, the International Council of Ballroom Dancing (ICBD), was formed in Edinburgh, Scotland.

Because the interests of FIDA and ICBD were so diverse, the two organizations did not cooperate, and FIDA ceased its activities by 1956. A core of dedicated amateurs founded the International Council of Amateur Dancers (ICAD) in 1957 in Wiesbaden, Germany, with the approval of ICBD. By 1958, fourteen national organizations from twelve countries claimed membership in this new amateur organization. In 1990, the ICAD changed its name to the IDSF, primarily so that ballroom dancing could become recognized by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as a sport and gain entry into the Olympic Games.

In North America, the United States Amateur Ballroom Dancers Association (USABDA) was formed in 1965. Its membership doubled in the late 1980s, and by 1987 IDSF had designated USABDA as the sole governing body for ballroom dancing in the United States. Currently, USA DanceSport (the competitive arm of USABDA) is the title recognized by the U.S. Olympic Committee. In the early 1990s, many changes occurred:

- Eastern European and Asian countries added to the growing IDSF membership.
- In 1995, IDSF was granted provisional federation status by the International Olympic Committee.
- In 1997, IDSF was welcomed into the Olympic family as a fully recognized federation.

A dance team performing the salsa.

Source: istockphoto/StyleP.

The IDSF goal is acceptance into the Olympic Games for the 2012 Olympic Games. No new sports were admitted for the Athens 2004 or the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games.

DanceSport athletes, under the auspices of IDSF, competed in a full program of competitions at the 1997 and 2001 World Games in Finland and Japan, respectively. In 2005, DanceSport athletes will compete at the World Games in Germany. The World Games were established in the 1970s to showcase the world's best athletes in those sports not yet included in the Olympic Games. The Asian Games also included DanceSport for the first time in Thailand in 1998, then again in South Korea in 2002.

The current level of interest worldwide continues to expand, and IDSF touts the following reasons to include DanceSport in the Olympic Games:

- The event has 100 percent gender parity
- No major venue construction is needed.
- The event would attract television viewers.
- A maximum of 160 participants (including athletes, judges, coaches, and officials) are required
- Olympic competition would take only two days to complete.

What Is DanceSport?

The focus of DanceSport is to create opportunities for individuals of all ages to participate in DanceSport competitions as well as in social ballroom dancing. This activity brings physical, social, and mental benefits to participants; it requires discipline and teamwork and breeds self-confidence. Supporters promote ballroom dance and DanceSport in elementary and secondary schools, at the college/university level, and in clubs to ensure the future of DanceSport.



Competition at the Top

IDSF World DanceSport Championships are held in the following categories:

- Standard: waltz, tango, Viennese waltz, slow foxtrot, quickstep
- Latin-American: samba, cha cha cha, rumba, paso doble, jive
- Ten Dance: all those listed in Standard and Latin-American
- Rock 'n' Roll: rock 'n' roll, boogie woogie, Lindy hop

The Standard and Latin-American sections include competition for both couples and formation teams. Teams consist of either six or eight couples dancing to choreography and music of their own choosing. The Ten Dance section is for couples only. Judging is done by elimination rounds, and the final round usually consists of six couples.

The Future

If the increasing number of DanceSport competitions worldwide is any indication of the sport's future, there is a robust outlook for DanceSport. Among youth, senior, and open competitions, there exists something for

[Darts] is a game to play with the golden glow of beer in one's brain, to the sound of tinkling glasses. ■ RUPERT CROFT-COOKE

everyone. DanceSport competitions are now included on the IOC website (sporting events calendar), and the IOC Programme Commission continues to note global participation and direct emphasis on development of youth as two essential criteria for the addition of any future Olympic sport.

One of the newest IDSF members, as of 2005, is the Federation of DanceSport South Africa (FEDANSA), which received full recognition as the sole governing body for DanceSport from the National Olympic Committee of South Africa. This is one more “feather in the cap” for the future of DanceSport.

Governing Bodies

Governing organizations include the International DanceSport Federation (IDSF) (www.idsf.net); and the United States Amateur Ballroom Dancers Association (USABDA, www.usabda.org)—also known as USA DanceSport.

Elizabeth A. Hanley

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Darts

Darts is one of the oldest established English pub games that, since the late 1970s, has become one of the most popular indoor sports in the world. Darts has been considered as a derivative of javelins, crossbow bolts, and archery. The most likely scenario is that the game has its roots in archery. The earliest type of dartboard was a concentric target, a miniature form of the archery target. Moreover, darts is most commonly known in England as “arrows”—a possible, if tenuous link to its origins as a target sport.

Darts can be played alone, in pairs, or by teams. It has no restrictions in terms of gender, ability or disability, size, height, or ethnic origin. The standard game is 501. In this each player must reduce the score of 501 to zero and finish on a double (if a player has 16 points left, the player should hit a “double” 8 to win, for example). All that any player requires is a set of darts and a dartboard. Darts can be played anywhere—in the home, in the garage, on board ship, indoors or outdoors.

The History of Darts

Up until the early part of the twentieth century, darts existed in disparate forms across parts of England, the only matches taking place being either “in-house” or friendly matches between teams from taverns that were close to each other. (The cost of transportation was prohibitive at that time.) However, after the Great War, the first brewery leagues appeared and grew to such an extent that, in 1924, the National Darts Association (NDA) was founded in London. The NDA standardized the sport and introduced the first national rules and regulations.

Such was the popularity of this “new” sport that in 1927 the *News of the World*—an extremely popular British Sunday newspaper—sponsored what was to become the *News of the World* Individual Darts Championship. The newspaper provided “a silver cup and many other prizes” while the organization of the event was the responsibility of the NDA. For the first year the championship was held only in the London area, but by the end of the 1930s, it had expanded to cover most of England. Such was the enthusiasm of brewers and the dart-playing public for the game that by the 1930s it had become a popular national recreation in England and parts of Wales. An indication of the popularity of the sport in England and Wales alone is that the number of entrants for the 1938–1939 *News of the World* competition was in excess of 280,000. Participants came from all classes, and interest in the game by women increased substantially when Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, played a game of darts in a worker’s social center in Slough, Buckinghamshire, England, in

Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, plays darts at a social center in Slough, Berkshire, England, in December 1937. *Source: Patrick Chaplin.*

1937. Regrettably, one of the downsides of the increasing popularity of the sport was that darts often ousted existing pub games such as skittle and rings (indoor quoits), some of them disappearing forever. In addition, the development of darts by “southerners” in the form of the NDA based in London, found some resistance in places in the north of England, such as Manchester, where the smaller Manchester “log-end” dartboard was played on and where it still holds sway to this day.

DARTS IN WORLD WAR II

Dart playing boosted morale in the armed forces during World War II. It was played in the officers’ mess and even in some prisoner of war camps, where the playing of darts reminded the prisoners of what they might be doing if they were at home—that is “down the pub, playing darts.” The rules tended to be those of the *News of the World* competition. By the middle of the war, darts was standard issue in the Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes (NAAFI) sports packs issued to troops. American soldiers visiting England took darts home with them and generated substantial interest in this “olde English” pastime that up until that time was little played in the United States.

POSTWAR GROWTH

The *News of the World* Individual Darts Championship was revived in 1947–1948, this time on a national basis, and continued to be described as “the championship every dart player wants to win” until its demise in the 1990s. The end of the war also saw the return of *The People* National Team Championships (first played for in 1938–1939). However, the original National Darts Association did not survive the war. Although a number of attempts were made to introduce another national, controlling agency, nothing firm was realized until 1954 when *The People*—another national U.K. Sunday newspaper—supported the setting up of the National Darts Association of Great Britain (NDAGB).

The 1950s and 1960s were decades when darts maintained a fairly low profile even though levels of



participation were still extremely high, between 3 and 4 million in England alone. The NDAGB did outstanding work during this time both in establishing county leagues and organizing top competitions, such as the NODOR Fours for its sponsor the NODOR Dartboard Company.

In the 1960s darts appeared on TV in Britain for the first time, but not until the establishment of the British Darts Organization (BDO) in 1973 and the introduction of split-screen technology did darts really take hold in Britain. The rest of the world followed. The Embassy World Professional Darts Championship—the most sought after trophy in the sport—was established in 1978. The Embassy—now renamed the Lakeside World Championship following the government’s ban on tobacco advertising in 2003—remains the key darting event seen on non-satellite TV in the U.K..

WHO RULES THE GAME?

With the television companies and a multitude of sponsors on board, the late 1970s and 1980s saw the creation of the first household names—the first darts “stars”—including Eric Bristow, John Lowe, Alan Evans, Jocky Wilson, and Leighton Rees.

In 1993 sixteen so-called rebel professionals, who wanted more say in the future of the sport, broke away from the ranks of the BDO and were from then on represented by the World Darts Council (WDC). This action by the players eventually led to the two organizations going to court in 1997 and the arguments primarily related to alleged restriction of trade being settled in the Tomlin Order.

The establishment of the World Darts Council (now the Professional Darts Corporation—PDC) following

the “great split” of 1993 took darts in a new direction. This has resulted in the introduction of key, high-profile competitions, including the World Matchplay, Grand Prix, and the World Championship. Meanwhile, the BDO continues to provide support to the grassroots of the sport, to the youth and women’s game, and at the same time it has managed to introduce a number of new major competitions.

However, despite the Tomlin Order, the BDO and the PDC—although between them they control the future of the sport—maintain a distance between each other that appears unlikely to be breached any time soon.

Governing Body

The primarily governing bodies are the British Darts Organization (www.bdodarts.com) and the Professional Darts Corporation (www.planetdarts.co.uk).

Patrick Chaplin

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Davis Cup

The Davis Cup, technically the International Tennis Federation (ITF) Team Championship for men, is the largest annual international tennis team competition. The event was established in 1899 by Dwight Filley Davis (1879–1945), a twenty-year-old Harvard University student from St. Louis. When commenced in 1900, the event was intended to be a challenge be-

tween the United States and the British Isles. Today, the Davis Cup has become the indisputable prime event of international team tennis. In 2001, a record 142 nations entered the Davis Cup competition. Through 2004, the championship had been held ninety-three times; the only interruption to this annual competition was two world wars and a hiatus in 1901 and again in 1910.

The Beginning

Like most other American sports, tennis in America has a British origin with upper-class trappings. The Lawn Tennis Championships at Wimbledon were established in 1877 as a result of garden parties of the British social elites. Nearly a quarter century later, a wealthy young American founded the Davis Cup, which would become another symbol in the world of elite sports. Dwight Filley Davis was born into a wealthy family in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1879. At age eighteen, Davis went to Boston and began his college education at Harvard University. The horizon of Davis’s life, however, spread beyond the famed Cambridge campus. Before long the young Missourian found himself much more interested in the sporting opportunities among Boston Brahmins than the quality education that Harvard offered. Harvard, meanwhile, was engaged in the first intercollegiate athletic competition in a crew meet with Yale and was responsible for adopting the game of rugby, which evolved into American football. Interestingly, the most prestigious institute of American higher education in the eve of the twentieth century bred more tennis enthusiasts than rowers and football players. Boston was the hotbed of American lawn tennis, and college men of the Northeast, many of them from Harvard, dominated the American game.

Davis was one of the greatest athletes that Harvard had ever produced. By 1899, Davis had established himself as the second-highest-ranked player in the United States. That year, he commissioned Boston jeweler Shreve, Crump & Low to produce a \$1,000 silver trophy for an international tennis championship. It was designed by Rowland Rhodes and crafted by William B.

 Davis Cup	
Winners of the Davis Cup	
COUNTRY	# OF WINS
United States	31
Australia	24
France	9
Great Britain	9
Sweden	8
Australasia*	4
Germany	3
Spain	2
Czechoslovakia	1
Italy	1
Russia	1
South Africa	1

*Australia and New Zealand competing as one country

Durgin's silverware manufacturers in Concord, New Hampshire. When completed in 1900, the beautiful silver trophy, in the shape of a punch bowl, stood 33 centimeters high and 46 centimeters across at the top, and weighed 6.1 kilograms.

Davis's proposal to establish the championship earned the support of the United States National Lawn Tennis Association and met enthusiastic response from the British. The first Davis Cup was subsequently arranged and held at Boston's Longwood Cricket Club in early August 1900. The U.S. team, captained by Davis, defeated the British Isles 3-0 and became the first Davis Cup winner. The first three years (1900, 1902, 1903) of the event were held as Davis had hoped—team tennis challenges between the United States and the British Isles. But in 1904 Belgium and France also joined the competition. By the end of the first decade, newcomer Australasia (a combined team of Australia and New Zealand) had taken over as the new owner of the Davis Cup.

World War I was the first major interruption of the Cup when it was canceled between 1915 and 1918. The 1920s began with a U.S. dominance of the championship epitomized by the stardom of Bill Tilden

(1893–1953). Tilden not only led the U.S. team to seven consecutive wins of the Davis Cup (1920–1926) and dominated the tennis scene of the decade, but his flamboyant style of play helped to propel tennis into a major spectator sport. In 1923 the ITF revised the championship structure by dividing the world into two zones—American and European—to accommodate the increasing number of participating nations.

America's reign of the Davis Cup in the 1920s ended in 1927 when a more balanced and well-trained French team took the championship title. The fabulous French team, better known as the "Four Musketeers," not only brought the Davis Cup to their home soil, but kept the championship round as a fixture of the Paris scene for six years, until Great Britain recaptured the cup in 1933. With the exception of Japan in 1921, no teams other than the United States, Great Britain, Australasia, and France ever made it to the challenge round of the Davis Cup in its first six decades.

The Postwar Era

Like most other international sporting events, the Davis Cup was canceled during World War II, between 1940 and 1945. After it was reinstated in 1946, the United States won the championship four consecutive times. The postwar era of the Davis Cup, nevertheless, belonged to the team Down Under. Under the legendary coach Harry Hopman (1906–1985), Australia won fifteen Cup titles in eighteen years between 1950 and 1967. Australia also competed in twenty-five consecutive championship rounds and was victorious sixteen times between 1938 and 1968.

The increasing popularity of the Davis Cup with a growing number of participating nations led to several structural changes of the event, most drastically in 1972, when the traditional challenge round was abolished. All nations, including the standing champion, were required to play in the elimination rounds in their respective zones: American (north and south sections), Eastern (A and B sections), and European (A and B sections). In 1981 the World Group was established. Only

sixteen nations that had entered this group were eligible annually to compete for the Cup itself. Remaining countries would engage in regional (“zonal”) competition with the possibility of being promoted to the World Group the following year, replacing four first-round World Group losers who were relegated to zonal play.

The structural changes since 1972 eliminated the privilege of the reigning champion for an automatic seat in the championship round. Consequently, a nation’s chance to retain its championship title was greatly reduced. The Davis Cup in the first three quarters of the century was dominated by four nations: the United States, Australia, Great Britain, and France. Since 1974, seven new nations have joined the champion’s list: South Africa, Sweden, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Spain, and Russia.

For seven decades, the Davis Cup competition was confined to amateur athletes. In 1969, professional players associated with their national federations became eligible. Finally in 1973, the Davis Cup became an open event to all players.

Currently, the format for a match (or tie) is a best-of-five series over three days with four singles and one doubles. A team may be composed of a minimum of three and a maximum of four players, with two designated singles players. The number one computer-ranked player of a country will face the number two player of the other country on the first day with the opponents reversed on the third day. A draw determines who plays the first match each day. Nations visit one another for matches, a scheduling formula determining which of two opponents has choice of ground.

Ying Wushanley

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Deaflympics

Deaflympics (formerly known as Deaf World Games, World Games for the Deaf, and International Silent Games) is an international multisport competition held every four years for elite deaf and hard of hearing athletes. It is closely modeled after the Olympic Games and is the oldest international sports organization for people with disabilities. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) recognized the Deaflympics in 1955 as an “International Federation with Olympic standing.” Unlike the Paralympics and Special Olympics, there are no changes in the rules of events, nor are there special classifications for deaf and hard of hearing athletes. Visual cues such as flashing strobe lights for auditory starting signals are the only adaptations necessary. The Summer Deaflympics include fifteen sports: athletics, badminton, basketball, bowling, cycling, football (soccer), handball, orienteering, shooting, swimming, table tennis, tennis, volleyball, water polo, and wrestling. The Winter Deaflympics are held two years after the Summer Deaflympics (a practice the IOC adopted in the 1990s) and offers Alpine and Nordic skiing, ice hockey, and snowboarding.

History of the Games

Two deaf Europeans, Eugene Rubens Alcais of France and Antoine Dresse of Belgium founded the International Silent Games, now known as the Deaflympics, in Paris, France, in 1924. At the time of its founding, there were six official national federations for deaf sport in



Taiwanese delegates at the 2003 Deaflympics flash peace signs. *Source: CISS/Ralph Fernandez*

existence. Rubens Alcais and Dresse united these federations and created an international governing body, the Comité International des Sports Silencieux (CISS), to oversee the Deaflympics and world championships.

Athletes from the six countries of the official federations (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Poland), along with those from Hungary, Italy, Latvia, and Romania competed in the first Deaflympics held 10–17 August 1924 in Paris, France. Sports included were athletics, cycling, football, shooting, and swimming. Women competed in these games from the onset.

The Winter Deaflympics was founded by Heinz Prochazka of Austria and held in Seefeld, Austria, from 26–30 January 1949. There were five nations competing, with a total of thirty-three competitors. Athletes competed in Alpine skiing (men's downhill, men's slalom, men's combined classification, and Nordic skiing—men's 15km and men's 3×10km relay). Women began

participating in 1955 Winter Deaflympics in Oberammergau, Germany.

In 1933 the World Records Commission (WRC) was established to keep track of deaf world records in athletics and swimming. The WRC later added shooting, speed skating, and short-course swimming records. The Deaflympics awards gold, silver, and bronze medals for first-, second-, and third-place winners. The ICSD maintains records of all medal winners by individual, team, and country categories. In 1974 the CISS Museum opened in Rome, Italy, to showcase the long and rich history of deaf sports.

The CISS has undergone two name changes since its inception. Sourds (deaf) replaced Silencieux (silent) in 1979 as voted by the Twenty-fifth CISS Congress. It then was changed to the International Committee of Sports for the Deaf (ICSD) in 2001 when the IOC approved the Deaflympics name change from Deaf World Games. An eight-member executive committee, all of



Deaflympics

Autonomy for the Deaflympics

The International Committee of Sports for the Deaf (ICSD) was a founding member of the International Coordinating Committee (currently the International Paralympic Committee—IPC). The IPC is the umbrella of sports for disabled athletes under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). It is a multi-disability, multisport event for elite athletes who are physically disabled (i.e., spinal cord injuries, amputees, blind/visually impaired, cerebral palsy, and some mental disabilities). The IPC categorizes the disabilities in complex classifications and the rules of sports are adapted depending upon the disability. Deaf and hard of hearing athletes are not physically disabled and do not require special classifications or any alterations in rules other than visual cues for auditory starting signals. The ICSD joined the IPC in 1986 with the understanding that they would maintain their autonomy and continue the Deaflympics. However, problems arose when many national sporting bodies and committees reduced or cut off funding and ordered their deaf athletes to participate in the Paralympics, when in fact, there were and are not any competitions for deaf athletes in these games. The Deaflympics did not receive equal financial parity from the IPC as originally agreed nor did they include the ICSD in important decision-making concerning deaf athletes. The ICSD after significant deliberations in an effort to resolve some of the problems and confusion between the IPC and ICSD voted to resign their membership from the IPC

at the 1995 Congress. The IOC continued to recognize ICSD and the Deaflympics.

Dr. Donalda Ammons, interim president and secretary general of the ICSD, states that maintaining its independence remains necessary for the organization, which is the oldest international organization of sports for the disabled. The Deaflympics serve not only as a sporting event but also as a socialization and cultural vehicle for deaf people. Competitors in the Paralympics communicate in spoken languages whereas deaf people tend to communicate via sign languages. If the Deaflympics merge with the Paralympics, the cost of providing sign language interpreters would be astronomical and impractical. Very few interpreters are needed in the Deaflympics (usually only for communication with nondeaf officials and coaches) whereas deaf athletes, coaches, and officials communicate directly with one another. Should the Deaflympics merge with the Paralympics, the deaf athletes would be isolated from the nondeaf athletes with very little means of communication.

Dr. Ammons stresses that the ICSD remains committed to working with the IPC in resolving issues and achieving common goals. However, she concludes: “We, the deaf, maintain our right to self-determination and the full control of our sport organizations. This right will not be compromised nor relinquished in the interest of funding support for our various levels of sports.”

Becky Clark

whom are deaf, manages the ICSD. Deaf individuals must make up 51 percent of the membership of the national federations as mandated by the ICSD constitution. Membership has boomed since the first Deaflympics, from six to ninety countries representing deaf national sports governing bodies. Since its recognition by the IOC as an international federation with Olympic standing in 1955, ICSD and IOC have developed a productive and successful relationship. The IOC awarded

the organization the Coubertin Olympic Cup in 1966, created by the founder of the modern Olympic Games, Baron de Coubertin, in recognition of ICSD’s strict adherence to the Olympic ideal and its service to international sports.

Other notable historic moments include the election of Maria Dolores Rojas de Bendeguz of Venezuela in 1981 as the first deaf woman to serve on the ICSD executive committee. Dr. Donalda Ammons served as

second vice president (1995–1997) and secretary general (1997–present) of the ICSD Executive Committee and is currently its interim president. The IOC honored former ICSD president Jerald M. Jordan in 1995 with the Olympic Order—the highest award the IOC can give to any person—for his outstanding work of nearly a quarter century in the true spirit of the Olympic ideals.

Significance of Deaflympics

The Deaflympics is unique in that it is organized and governed by and for deaf people. The only classification necessary to compete is one must be deaf or hard of hearing (a loss of 55 decibels or greater in the better ear). Hearing aids are not permitted in competition in order to maintain a level playing field among athletes. Deaf people consider themselves a cultural and linguistic minority, not “disabled,” as is typically the view of nondeaf people. Only when competing in the nondeaf world where communication is spoken is the deaf athlete at a disadvantage. Hence, Dr. David Stewart stated that “deafness is a communication disability in the hearing society” (Jordan 2001, 55).

The Deaflympics also serves as a rich cultural and social event for deaf people from all over the world. Deaf people tend to communicate with each other using international sign language and/or their national sign language. Over 3,000 deaf athletes from eighty countries competed in the 2001 Summer Deaflympics in Rome, Italy. An average of 5,000 spectators daily, the majority of whom were deaf, attended these games. More than 4,000 athletes from ninety countries are expected to compete in fifteen different sports at the 2005 Summer Deaflympics in Melbourne, Australia. The Winter Deaflympics, although smaller than the summer games, also draws large crowds from every corner of the globe.

The Future

The Deaflympics continue to prosper and expand. The ICSD is working with the International Paralympics Committee (IPC) to develop a mutual working relationship in providing financial parity for the Deaflympics

while maintaining their autonomy. The Deaflympics is a cultural event as well as one that provides the opportunity for deaf athletes to excel at the pinnacle of elite competition among other deaf athletes. The Deaflympics are truly a celebration of the Olympic ideals that the IOC continues to recognize.

Becky Clark

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Denmark

Denmark is a small Scandinavian country with approximately 5 million inhabitants. Its government consists of a monarchy; representative democracy, with a parliament; and 275 self-governing regions. Denmark has several cities, but only one metropolis, Copenhagen, with approximately 1 million inhabitants. The official Danish sport policy is built on a close interconnection between sporting organizations and facilities; that is, the government has provided facilities, which sporting associations have priority access to. The

government created preconditions for sport; however, without a detailed plan describing the government's role, it was necessary for the general population to use legislation to create the framework. This article presents the development of sport across two distinct periods: the mid-1800s until World War II and from World War II to the present day.

The First Period: 1861–1945

Danish citizens did not have the right to assemble nor to form associations before the Constitution of 1849 that stated:

S. 78(1) Citizens shall, without previous permission, be free to form associations for any lawful purpose.

S. 79 Citizens shall, without previous permission, be at liberty to assemble unarmed. . . .

These two rights were decisive if citizens were to be able to engage in sports in the modern sense of the word. How the civilian population used these rights with regard to sport is a process that started in the 1860s. The time was characterized by the political battle between the government party, the Conservatives, and the opposition party, the Liberals. During this period many associations were formed in opposition to the Conservatives, for example, the first youth/rifle association, which was founded in 1861 and is regarded as the first sporting association. Later, associations integrated (Swedish) gymnastics which during this period quickly became the most popular sport in the countryside. English sports like rowing, ball games, sailing, tennis, and horse racing gained popularity in the larger towns, especially in Copenhagen. These sports led to the further development of clubs and associations. Gymnastics and shooting merged and the Danish Shooting Association (later called the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Association—DGI) was created in 1861. Other sports were mainly organized in the Denmark's Sports Federation (DIF), founded in 1896.

At this time Denmark was an agricultural society, the majority of whose population lived in the countryside. From the beginning of the 1870s up to 1905, al-



Denmark

Fagenes Fest: The Festival of the Professions

The extract below is a 1938 newspaper account of Fagenes Fest, the “Festival of the Professions”: a sporting event sponsored annually by the Danish workers movement.

There was a gigantic performance. The blacksmiths quickly defeated the bakers, and the tailors could not stand long time against the coal-heavers who weighed at least twice as much. But there arose a gigantic competition between the dairy workers and the brewery men—and much to the distress of the agitators for abstinence, the beer won. The final was between the brewers and the coalmen, and here the brewery workers had “to bite the dust.” “This is not at all surprising,” said the captain of the coal-heavers. “You only carry the beer, but it is us who drink it.”

Source: Hansen, J. (1993). Fagenes Fest. Working-class culture and sport. In: K. Dietrich & H. Eichberg (Eds.), *Körpersprache. Über identität und konflikt* (p. 97ff). Frankfurt, Germany: Afra Verlag.

most 1,000 village halls were built in Denmark, and at the turn of the century almost every village had its own hall. The village halls became the “home” for many rifle and gymnastics associations. Up until the 1920s and 1930s gymnastics, that is, Swedish team gymnastics, was the dominant winter sport in the countryside for men and women.

The development in the Copenhagen area differed from that of the rest of the country. The first sports centers in Copenhagen were private, that is, large football (soccer) clubs bought land and built their own facilities. Several of these clubs housed football (soccer), cricket, and tennis that were exclusively for men (from upper-class society). In 1911 the municipality of Copenhagen provided a sports center (Idrætsparken) with an adjoining clubhouse for a number of poor common football (soccer) clubs (for apprentices and workers). During this period townswomen also practiced gymnastics in



Denmark

Key Events in Denmark Sports History

- | | |
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| <p>1861 A youth/rifle association is formed as the first sports association in Denmark.</p> <p>1861 The Danish Shooting association is formed.</p> <p>1896 Denmark's Sport Federation is founded.</p> <p>1911 Copenhagen builds a sports center for public use.</p> <p>1930s Soccer has become as popular as gymnastics.</p> <p>1937 Sports centers are built at all schools.</p> <p>1940s Many public facilities are built leading to much participation in sport.</p> | <p>1948 The government begins to subsidize sports associations.</p> <p>1952 A movement emerges to support youth sports.</p> <p>1968 The Leisure-Time Act and other legislation guarantee equal opportunity in sport.</p> <p>1984 Team Denmark is formed to support elite-level athletes.</p> <p>1994 The Danish Foundation for Culture and Sports Facilities is established to build more facilities.</p> |
|--|--|

clubs and private institutions. In addition they also participated in hockey, ice-skating, rowing, and tennis. Although gymnastics was the most accepted sport for women, there was considerable resistance to women practicing sport in public. Copenhagen continued to build municipal sports centers throughout the first half of the 1900s, but after World War II, Copenhagen was not able to provide the rest of the country with good sports facilities.

The building of sports facilities all over the country accelerated with the School Act of 1937, which stipulated that schools with more than twelve students should have a sports hall with adjoining changing rooms and shower facilities. And each municipality had to provide a suitable area for ball games and other sports for children and young people. It was also stressed to the parish councils that they could lend their sporting facilities to local sporting clubs. This opportunity paved the way for football (soccer) and (outdoor) team handball to spread from the cities to the rest of the country during the 1920s and 1930s. At the end of the 1930s, as many people played football (soccer) as took part in gymnastics, however, football (soccer) was not well supported by the government. In 1937–1938, the government subsidy that football received was half the size of that given to rifle and gymnastic associations (Ibsen 1999).

Parallel with the building of sporting facilities was

their availability for use by the general public in the 1930s and 1940s. Most of the outdoor sporting facilities and clubhouses that were built in the first half of the last century were built on the initiative of local clubs and on a voluntary basis. However, the administration of most of these facilities was later overseen by the local authorities. Many sporting facilities were built throughout the 1940s.

During this period participation in sport grew. This was a turning point for Denmark sport as it was no longer reserved for an exclusive circle, even though it was still mainly boys and young men who participated in sports activities. A study of participation in sport from 1938 showed that nationwide women made up approximately 35 percent of the total number of those active in sports (Trangbæk 1998, 29).

The Second Period: 1945–Present

After World War I, the youth of Denmark became the focus of the government in its attempt to reconstruct and develop a welfare state. In 1948 the Football Pool Act was passed as a permanent government subsidy to three voluntary sporting organisations: DGI, DIF, and DFIF (Danish Federation of Company Sports, founded 1946). In 1952 a Youth Commission's report on "youth and leisure" stressed the importance of suitable facilities for sport and stated that providing them was a public responsibility. In actual fact the division of work and re-

sponsibility among the state, the local authorities, and the local associations still exists today. The commission report stated that the local associations had to provide voluntary work and subscriptions in order for the associations to survive. The local authorities had to provide the facilities, and the government had to support the education of leaders in the sporting organizations.

At the end of the 1960s, legislation on leisure activities peaked. The Leisure-Time Act passed in 1968 embodied as legislation social democratic ideals about equal opportunities for all and equal access to sports and other leisure activities—welfare benefits to *all* citizens. (These acts from the late 1960s have been retained with minor amendments by the Act on General Education [Enlightenment of the People] from 1991.)

Sport becomes more politicized in the 1970s and 1980s. Several parliament debates took place about the role of sport. During the late nineteenth century, the state always regarded sport as a means to preventing social problems among young people, increasing health, and teaching democracy. These principles existed until the 1980s when new measures were taken and the state began to support elite athletes via Team Denmark (a national organization due to an act passed in 1984).

The involvement of the government and local authorities in youth leisure time, strong economic growth in society, and an intense expansion of the public sector throughout the 1970s and 1980s resulted in a boom in the building of sporting facilities. From the late 1960s to the mid-1980s approximately one thousand sports halls were built, almost the same number as village halls built one hundred years previously. During this period the local authorities increased their role in the management of sport. This included centralizing and expanding many sports centers into hall complexes, football (soccer) pitches, tennis courts, facilities for athletics, and the like.

From the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, the local authorities almost stopped building sporting halls due to financial constraints and changes in participation in sport. A growing number of sports facilities were built by private investors, in particular tennis courts, squash

courts, riding schools, bowling alleys, golf courses, aquatic centers, and fitness clubs. There were many reasons for the decrease in the building of sports centers. Perhaps the most important reason was a diversification of interests. Regular surveys from 1964 on indicate the proportion of Danes participating in sport had steadily increased: from 15 percent in 1964 to 29 percent in 1975, to 47 percent in 1993, 51 percent in 1998, and reaching 72 percent in 2002.

The latest surveys show that the most characteristic changes in sports participation over the past decades are as follows:

- The total number of people participating in sport has tripled.
- Sporting activities outside associations (commercial and private) has more than tripled.
- Activity in associations has almost tripled.
- Women's participation in sport has increased fourfold (and is now equal to that of men).
- The number of people over 66 years of age participating in sporting activities has increased tenfold.

These changes in sports participation, Denmark's ratification of the Council of Europe's "Sports for All" charter in 1972, and an increasing focus on sports as a means of preserving health (WHO's "Health for All" by the year 2000) led to a criticism of public funding for sporting associations. This resulted in a small portion of the public funding for sport being earmarked for the disabled, elderly, refugees, ethnic minorities, and poor areas in the big cities. The critique of public funding, changes in funding allocations, and the lull in the development of sports centers led to a time for reflection. In order to counter the decline in new sports centers, the Danish Foundation for Culture and Sports Facilities (LOA) was founded by an act of parliament in 1994. Since the establishment of the foundation, there has been an increase in the building of new sporting facilities.

It is interesting to note that there was obviously never one single national plan for the development of sport in Denmark. The importance that the government has placed on associations since the Constitution of 1849



has greatly influenced state involvement. “Association democracy” was therefore regarded as an important component of government equal to the formal representative democracy (Kaspersen and Ottesen 2001). For this reason sporting associations were regarded as the backbone of Danish sports culture and sports policy throughout the twentieth century. The building of sporting facilities was controlled more by this idea than the population’s participation in sport, even though sport always has been the most popular leisure-time activity in Denmark.

Laila Ottesen

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Diet and Weight Loss

The term *diet* actually means those things that are customarily eaten. However, the meaning of “diet” has changed over the years, and now the common perception of a diet is of a food regime designed for los-

ing weight. Dieting is best understood as the practice of eating and drinking in a regulated fashion with the aim of losing (or sometimes gaining) weight. Dieting for weight loss has been around for hundreds if not thousands of years, although it is only in more recent times that it has occupied such a central position in society. In the twenty-first century, diet and weight loss are terms we are likely to encounter every day, such as their centrality to contemporary discussions of identity. The societal value placed upon the body is now arguably greater than at any other time in history, leading to an increased interest in, and awareness of, the foods we eat.

Healthy Eating

Diet and nutrition are important for everyone, but they are especially important for those who exercise, as food and drink are the fuel that our bodies burn. Nutrition is the science of feeding the body with the right nutrients. Nutrients perform three major roles:

1. Growth, repair, and maintenance of all body cells
2. Regulation of body processes
3. Supplying of energy for cells

A good diet should contain carbohydrates, fats, proteins, vitamins, minerals, and water. Most foods are mixtures of nutrients. Bread, for example, is usually described as a carbohydrate food, yet it supplies fats, proteins, and other nutrients also. Without an adequate supply of nutrients, cells lose their ability to perform their jobs. Eventually, this affects the rest of the body, and nutritional deficiencies develop. Each type of nutrient performs a different function.

CARBOHYDRATES

When taken into the body, these are broken down into glucose (our main source of energy). Carbohydrates help build up energy reserves and can be found in foods like bread, pasta, and potatoes. It is often recommended that carbohydrates make up at least half our total food intake.

What some call health, if purchased by perpetual anxiety about diet, isn't much better than tedious disease. ■ GEORGE DENNISON PRENTICE

FATS

Fats can be broken down into two main types: saturated fats, found in animal products such as milk, meat, and cheese; and polyunsaturated fats, found in cooking oils, nuts, and seeds. Fats provide a layer of energy to be used when an individual is resting, help keep us warm, and protect vital organs. Like carbohydrates they are a source of energy but should account for no more than one-third of daily food intake.

PROTEINS

Proteins supply energy when our body has used up its stores of fats and carbohydrates. Proteins are made from amino acids and can be found in foods such as fish, eggs, and meat. Bodies use amino acids to build cells and replace body tissue. Protein should account for approximately 15 percent of our daily food intake.

VITAMINS

Like carbohydrates, proteins, and fats, vitamins are organic compounds that are essential for health. Although only required in very small amounts, vitamins perform many roles, primarily as regulators of body processes. Most people are familiar with the letter names for vitamins such as vitamin A and vitamin C.

MINERALS

Over twenty mineral elements need to be supplied by the diet. They are necessary for a variety of jobs such as forming strong bones, activating enzymes, and maintaining water balance. Minerals include iron (helps produce the oxygen-carrying compartments in the blood), calcium (helps keep teeth and bones hard) and potassium (helps muscles work and prevents cramp). Vitamins and minerals interact with one another—if you do not get enough of one, the other may not work the way it is supposed to.

Water is the most essential nutrient and is the main component of cells and blood. It plays an important role in regulating our temperature when exercising. As perspiration (sweat) it helps cool us down during phys-

ical activity. It is important to note that we are not losing water only when sweating; even when we are breathing, we are losing water. The more active an individual, the more water is lost. Loss of too much water leads to dehydration, which can cause illness and even death.

The Social Value of the Body

For a large part of Western society, the modern diets we eat, together with increasingly inactive lifestyles, are resulting in fatter people than at any other time in history. In traditional Christian culture, diet was perceived as a method of regulating the self to protect the soul from the ravages of sexuality. The diet has a very close relationship to religion, which as a system of disciplinary practices binds the individual to the collective whole through rituals such as the Eucharist.

In contemporary society looking good means looking sexually attractive, and for women this has come to mean being thin. The modern psyche is expressed through a sexually charged body image that is socially good. Sociologists suggest that the slogan “eat less fat” is accepted within popular culture because it is understood within a discourse of the sexual body. Therefore, the role of the body has been reversed, as we now diet in order to express our sensuality and sexuality.

Sports stars are often used as examples of “healthy” bodies, and many are used to endorse certain food and drinks. Particularly in women’s sports, athletes that are deemed to be the most physically attractive receive a greater share of media coverage and more lucrative endorsements. The social value attached to the body has never been greater, and the weight-loss industry has been quick to capitalize on this.

Today the diet industry’s marketing strategy is based largely on the creation and perpetuation of fear, bias, and stereotype. Fat people are portrayed as unhealthy, unattractive, and weak, while a thin figure is linked to health and success. This is somewhat dangerous; in pursuit of this thin ideal, many individuals have developed serious eating disorders and other associated problems.

Whenever I get the urge to exercise, I lie down until the feeling passes away. ■ ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

Eating Disorders

For many people weight loss becomes an obsession that poses a very real threat to health and well-being. Bulimia and anorexia nervosa are two of the most commonly reported eating disorders in modern society.

Bulimia involves recurrent episodes of binge eating followed by purging. Usually the binge eating involves food high in calories from fat or sugar. To avoid gaining weight from such eating, individuals follow this binge eating with vomiting, laxatives, or fasting. This purging usually takes place in secret, and some bulimics go to great lengths to hide this behavior from family and friends.

Anorexia nervosa is a psychological disease in which a person develops an aversion to food and a distorted body image. Over a period of time, an individual can lose a significant amount of body weight, but sufferers cannot be convinced that they are too thin. Anorexics should be referred to a psychologist or a medical doctor who specializes in such cases.

Both of the above illnesses are more prevalent among females. While there is significant pressure to conform to thin ideals in Western society in general, the pressure faced by women to achieve a thin figure is much greater than for men. A growing number of newspapers and magazines carry regular features about women's relationships with their bodies. Thinness, central to notions of a desirable femininity, is promoted and celebrated, while being fat is characterized as one of society's great ills.

Obesity

Obesity is one of the largest and fastest-growing health problems in the world today. It is defined as an excessive accumulation of fat beyond what is considered normal for an individual's age, sex, and body type. Obesity is defined as more than 20 percent above desirable weight, or as 20 percent fat for men and 30 percent fat for women. A Body Mass Index (BMI) of 30 and above is also taken as an indicator of obesity, although it must be noted that muscle weighs more than fat, and heav-

ily muscled individuals will have a much higher weight than the stated norm on such charts.

In the United Kingdom, for example, 20 percent of women and 17 percent of men are classified as obese, and it is estimated that if the current trend continues more than one-quarter of British adults will be obese by the year 2010. Studies have shown that foods high in fat promote "passive overconsumption" due to their low bulk and limited ability to satisfy the desire for food. Foods high in carbohydrate have a lower energy density and higher satiety value. Studies have also shown evidence of modest weight loss when fat is reduced in the diet and complex carbohydrate consumption is increased.

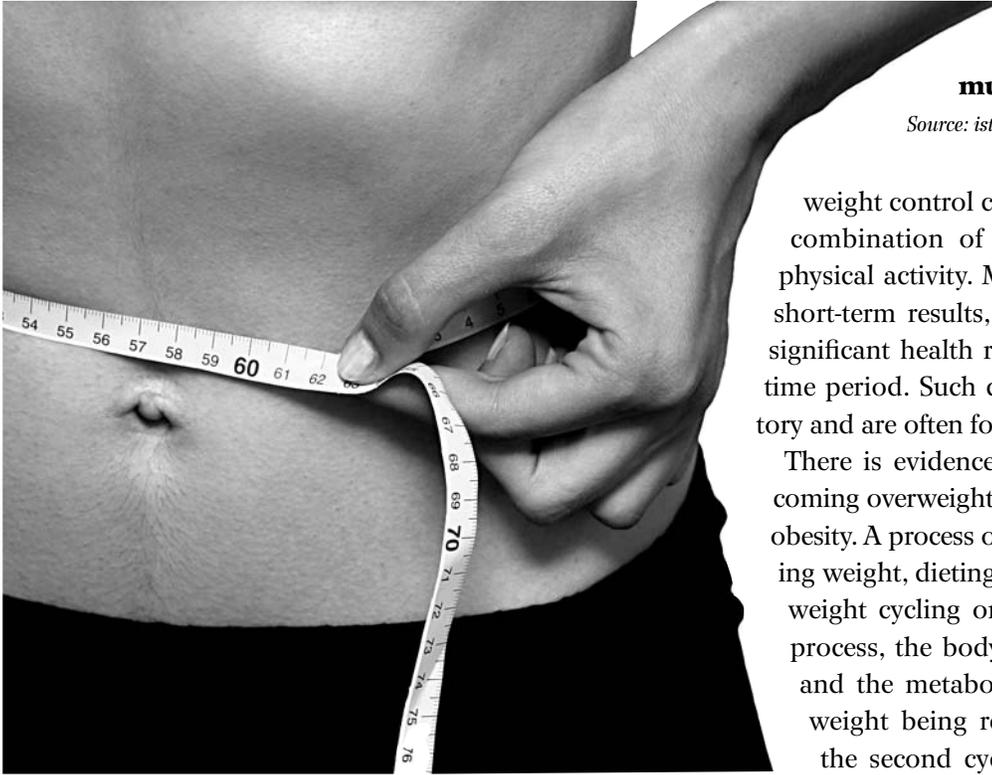
TACKLING THE OBESITY PROBLEM

There needs to be a greater awareness and acceptance of the causes of obesity and its adverse health consequences. It is important that interventions to tackle these problems begin in childhood and adolescence, as these are crucial periods in the development of behavior patterns. Most studies suggest that an increase in carbohydrates and a decrease in fat consumption are crucial for weight control. There is a need for a range of parties to work together to promote healthy eating in society, although it must also be noted that individuals must ultimately take responsibility for their own well-being.

Weight Loss

Although there are many programs advertised to help individuals lose weight, the only proven safe and long-term method is to burn more calories than are consumed. This is achieved by eating less and by eating healthier foods coupled with an increase in energy expenditure. Dieting should encompass a nutritionally balanced, low-calorie diet together with an increase in physical-activity levels.

A calorie is the amount of heat required to raise one cubic centimeter of water one degree Celsius. A kilocalorie is equal to one thousand calories and is the term



A young woman on a diet measuring how much weight she has lost.

Source: istockphoto/tomazi.

weight control can best be achieved through a combination of sensible eating and regular physical activity. Many crash diets tend to offer short-term results, but a number of these have significant health risks if followed over a longer time period. Such diets usually prove unsatisfactory and are often followed by further weight gain.

There is evidence that dieting can lead to becoming overweight and is linked to some cases of obesity. A process of gaining weight, dieting, gaining weight, dieting again, and so on is known as weight cycling or “yo-yo” dieting. During this process, the body becomes more fuel efficient and the metabolic rate declines, resulting in weight being regained three times faster in the second cycle. Muscle weakness, blood-

pressure abnormalities, thermoregulatory problems, and impaired memory function are all by-products of weight cycling.

generally used as a standard measurement in nutrition and exercise. One pound of fat contains approximately 3,500 calories, so to lose one pound a week an individual should consume 3,500 fewer calories each week. This can best be achieved by reducing daily caloric intake by 500 calories a day. It is also important to note that exercise burns calories, so an overall caloric deficit can be achieved through a combination of exercise and modified eating—weight loss does not have to be solely about a reduced food intake. The lowest recommended daily intake is 1,500 calories for men and 1,200 calories for women. A lower calorie intake than this should only be undertaken if following a medically supervised program.

BARRIERS TO EFFECTIVE WEIGHT LOSS

Changes to lifestyle behavior are difficult, as both diet and physical habits are highly resistant to change. There is also a great deal of sensationalism and hype within the media about different diet plans and weight-loss practices. Many celebrities endorse particular products, and there is also a tendency to promote “quick-fix” solutions to weight problems. Crash diets are definitely not the solution to this problem; as noted previously,

WEIGHT LOSS IN SPORT

Sport, like all other forms of physical activity, is characterized as an effective way to lose weight. Despite the healthy image associated with athleticism, research has shown that many athletes are engaging in practices that are detrimental to their health. Weight loss, when achieved through a combination of aerobic exercise and carefully planned dietary manipulation, is recommended as being both safe and effective.

In many weight-category combat sports, participants fight in the lowest possible weight class in order to gain a competitive advantage. Rapid weight reduction is often seen as the answer, yet weight loss of more than two pounds a week may involve either dehydration or starvation.

Dehydration

Dehydration is one of the most commonly reported methods of weight loss among athletes in combat sports. Dehydration has been shown to result in a reduction in blood and plasma volume, resulting in a



Diet and Weight Loss

Hippocrates on Health

Positive health requires a knowledge of man's primary constitution and the powers of various foods, both those natural to them and those resulting from human skill. But eating alone is not enough to health. There must be exercise, of which the effects likewise be known. If there is any deficiency in food or exercise the body will fall sick.

compensatory increase in heart rate. Given that one liter of water weighs approximately one kilogram, then dehydration can lead to significant weight loss, particularly when considering that 55–60 percent of adult body weight is made up of water. Serious injuries and some fatalities in the sport of boxing are often linked to dehydration; evidence indicates that many serious injuries tend to occur among boxers in the lighter-weight categories and not among heavyweights. In 1997, in separate incidents over the course of little more than a month, three young American wrestlers died while trying to make the weight for their sport. Such incidents often involve individuals exercising in saunas while wearing rubber suits. The body knows how much water it needs, so attempting to lose water as a means of weight reduction should not be attempted.

DIET TRENDS

The weight loss industry is now a multibillion dollar business. Numerous companies have attempted to cash in on such a potentially lucrative market, leading to a whole host of different weight-loss programs being promoted. Many of these offer quick-fix solutions to weight problems. There are very few controls or regulations in place to protect dieters, and weight-loss success stories are often only vaguely defined using short-term results. Diet fads have come and gone over the years, usually with more sophisticated marketing techniques but often with little change to the programs themselves. High-protein diets are one such example of a particular dietary plan that resurfaces every few years or so.

The Future

At present dieting is viewed as the deprivation and punishment one must endure for overindulgence. Thinness rather than health is the overriding concern. In any weight loss program the “long haul” must be emphasized. Extra weight has generally taken a long time to acquire, so it is obvious that to lose it safely will also take a long time. Inactivity and poor food choices have resulted in a massive rise in overweight people and an obesity epidemic. Huge numbers of people will diet and attempt to lose weight at some stage in their lives. It must be noted that physical activity is the positive way to achieve weight control, as dieting by itself is rarely successful in the long run.

John Harris

See also Exercise and Health; Nutrition

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Disability Sport

Today, images of athletes with a disability are becoming more commonplace. Stories appear in the sports section (not just the human interest section). Athletes with a disability earn money for competing and have sponsors for their athletic endeavors. They serve as commentators for sports events, and the premiere international sporting events that include athletes

Fall down seven times, get up eight ■ CHINESE PROVERB

with a disability get coverage on national television. The president of the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) was voted into membership on the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

Elite international and national competitions for athletes with a disability are held regularly; they include the International Paralympics Games, Deaflympics, International Special Olympics, and numerous sport specific world championships. International and national organizations governing these competitions have emerged throughout the world. Rules governing competitions, sports, athlete eligibility and classification, doping in sport, and more have become more defined.

The records held by elite athletes with a disability are seconds or tenths of seconds behind those of elite able-bodied athletes in such sports as downhill skiing, swimming, and track events. Athletes with double leg amputations finish the 100-meter race under 11 seconds (10.85 seconds). Elite male wheelchair marathoners complete marathons in under 90 minutes, frequently averaging 3.5 minutes per mile. Female wheelchair marathoners often finish in 1:49 (Paralympian 2000). In field events athletes with single leg amputations have jumped 6 feet, 8 inches.

Sport has become a viable entity for youth with a disability: Athletic role models exist for aspiring young athletes, and community and recreation centers provide opportunities for these individuals. Interscholastic athletic competition in wheelchair basketball exists. Athletes with a disability have appeared on the Wheaties box and have become celebrities. Disability sport is an entity whose time has finally come.

Defining Disability Sport

Throughout its history, many terms have been used to describe sport participation by individuals with a disability: *handicapped sports*, *sport for the disabled*, *adapted sport*, *disabled sport*, *wheelchair sport*, *blind sport*, and *deaf sport*. The most recent, and widely accepted, term is *disability sport*. DePauw and Gavron (2005) define disability sport as “sport that has been designed for or specifically practiced by athletes with dis-

abilities. Disability sports might include sports that were designed for a selected disability group: goalball for blind athletes, wheelchair basketball for athletes with physical impairments who use a wheelchair, or sitting volleyball for athletes with lower-limb impairments. Disability sport also includes those sports practiced by able-bodied individuals (e.g., athletics, volleyball, swimming, etc.) that have been modified or adapted to include athletes with disabilities (e.g., wheelchair tennis, tandem cycling) as well as those that require little or no modification to allow individuals with disabilities to participate (e.g., athletics, wrestling, swimming).”

Many athletes with hearing impairments and deafness do not consider themselves a part of the disability community or disability sport. Without wishing to offend, I include mention of deaf athletes and deaf sport for the readers who might not know that sport opportunities for deaf individuals exist.

Historical Perspectives

Individuals with a disability have participated in sport for more than one hundred years dating back to the late nineteenth century. The initial sport experiences and opportunities were quite limited until the 1940s. Sport opportunities for athletes with a disability now span the continuum from recreational sports to elite competitive sports.

In recorded history deaf athletes were among the first individuals to participate in sport through the Sports Club for the Deaf founded in Berlin in 1888. The first international competition for deaf athletes was held in Paris in 1924 at the same time that the Comité Internationale des Sports des Sourds (CISS), or International Sports Committee for the Deaf, was founded. Competitions for deaf athletes, known initially as the World Games for the Deaf and now known as the Deaflympics, have been held every four years since. The CISS was recognized by the International Olympic Committee in 1955 and has national affiliated associations throughout the world.

The significant impact of the aftermath of the world wars is seen in the development of sport rehabilitation

programs. The most notable of these was developed in the 1940s by Sir Ludwig Guttman of Stoke Mandeville, England, who first introduced competitive sports as an integral part of the rehabilitation of disabled veterans. The International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation (ISMGF) was formed by Guttman in 1960 to sanction all international competition for individuals with spinal cord injuries.

Competitive teams of wheelchair athletes emerged across the European continent and spread to the United States in 1949 when the first national wheelchair basketball tournament was held at the University of Illinois. This precipitated the founding of the National Wheelchair Basketball Association (NWBA) that would ultimately become the governing body for wheelchair basketball in the United States.

During the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s, international sport competitions were expanded to include other disability groups not eligible for the World Games for the Deaf or international wheelchair competitions. These included the following:

- International Sports Organization for the Disabled (ISOD) (1964)
- Special Olympics International (1968)
- International Cerebral Palsy Society (1968)
- Cerebral Palsy International Sports & Recreation Association (CP-ISRA) (1978; reorganized as U.S. Cerebral Palsy Athletic Association, 1986)
- International Blind Sports Association (IBSA) (1981)

In 1982, CP-ISRA, IBSA, ISMGF, and ISOD came together to form the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) to coordinate disability sport worldwide and to negotiate with the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on behalf of athletes with a disability. In addition to the four founding member organizations, CISS and Federation for Sports for Persons with Mental Handicaps (INAS-FMH) joined the ICC in the 1980s. The ICC served as a fragile alliance of international sport federations and experienced an uneasy history during the years between 1982 and 1987 (DePauw

Things do not change. We change. ■ HENRY DAVID THOREAU

and Gavron 2005). Following the Arnhem Seminar in 1987 and the subsequent meeting in Dusseldorf, Germany, on 21 September 1989, the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) was born.

International Paralympic Committee (IPC)

The International Paralympic Committee, the umbrella multidisability organization for elite sport for athletes with a disability, has the primary responsibility to organize, supervise, and coordinate the Paralympic Games and other multidisability elite sports competitions. The purposes of the IPC include organizing the Paralympics and Multi-Disability World Games.

The Paralympics have a historical connection to the Olympic Games. As early as 1960, an attempt was made to hold the Paralympic Games in the same country (and city) and same year of the Olympic Games (e.g., Rome, 1960). The Olympic flag has flown over the Paralympic Games since the International Games for the Disabled were held in New York in 1984. Since the Summer Paralympic Games in South Korea in 1988, the Summer and Winter Paralympic Games have been officially held in the same city, following shortly after the Olympic Games and making use of the same facilities. Today, the bidding process for hosting future Olympic Games includes a formal bid for organizing the Paralympic Games as well. Relationships between the IPC and IOC were formalized in 2000 through IPC representation in selected IOC commissions, financial assistance to the IPC by the IOC, and official membership on the IOC by the IPC president (Paralympian 2000).

Elite International Competitions

There are three major international competitions: Paralympics, Deaflympics, and Special Olympics.

PARALYMPICS

The term *Paralympics* comes from combining the Latin word *para* meaning “next to” or “with” and “Olympics” (DePauw and Gavron 2005). The chronology of the

Paralympic Games can be traced to Sir Ludwig Guttman, who founded the First Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralyzed in 1948. Four years later, the first international competition for wheelchair athletes was held at Stoke Mandeville, with teams from Britain and the Netherlands competing. Since then, summer international competitions for athletes with a disability have been held every four years, with increases in the number of sports, the number of athletes, and type of disability. Competitions in winter sports, which began in 1976, have followed a similar pattern.

DEAFLYMPICS

The Deaflympics (formerly known as the World Games for the Deaf) are a quadrennial event that includes both summer and winter games (Stewart and Ammons 2001) usually conducted the year after the Olympic Games. The Summer Deaflympics includes competitions in athletics, badminton, basketball, cycling, marathon, shooting, soccer, and swimming. The Winter Deaflympics includes Nordic skiing, speed skating, Alpine skiing, and hockey.

SPECIAL OLYMPICS

In 1968 Eunice Kennedy Shriver founded Special Olympics to benefit individuals with mental retardation and hosted the first International Special Olympic Games at Soldier Field, Chicago. These competitions are held every two years, alternating between the Winter and Summer Games. Special Olympics also includes year-round programming for athletes with intellectual disabilities. (The sports included on the program of these elite international competitions are shown in Table 1.)

Issues and Controversies

A number of issues and controversies have arisen along with the emergence of disability sport since the late nineteenth century. Athletes with a disability have benefited by the technological advances, improved training techniques, and the assistance of coaches and sports medicine personnel. The controversies have included

Table 1.
Sports Offered in International Competitions

Sport	Paralympics	Special Olympics	Deaflympics
<i>Archery</i>	x		
<i>Athletics</i>	x	x	x
<i>Badminton</i>	x	x	
<i>Basketball</i>	x	x	x
<i>Bocce</i>	x	x	
<i>Bowling</i>	x	x	x
<i>Curling</i>	x		
<i>Cycling</i>	x	x	x
<i>Equestrian</i>	x	x	
<i>Fencing</i>	x		
<i>Figure Skating</i>		x	
<i>Goalball</i>	x		
<i>Golf</i>		x	
<i>Gymnastics</i>		x	
<i>Hockey</i>	x	x	x
<i>Judo</i>	x		
<i>Orienteering</i>			x
<i>Powerlifting</i>	x	x	
<i>Roller Skating</i>		x	
<i>Rugby</i>	x		
<i>Sailing</i>	x	x	
<i>Shooting</i>	x		x
<i>Skiing</i>	x	x	x
<i>Snowboarding</i>		x	x
<i>Snowshoeing</i>		x	
<i>Soccer</i>	x	x	x
<i>Softball</i>		x	
<i>Speed skating</i>		x	
<i>Swimming</i>	x	x	x
<i>Table tennis</i>	x	x	x
<i>Team handball</i>	x	x	
<i>Tennis</i>	x	x	x
<i>Volleyball</i>	x	x	x
<i>Water Polo</i>			x
<i>Wrestling</i>			x

classification systems, inclusion, ethical dilemmas, and drug testing and doping.

CLASSIFICATION

Classification is related to the underlying philosophy of disability sport. For some the goal of classification is to



Before disability sport was taken seriously, so-called cripple races were a form of amusement in England.

ined and refined for use in international competitions.

INCLUSION AND INTEGRATION

One can argue that classification is primarily a concern for the fairness of competitions among athletes with a disability. But central to sport and disability in the broader context is the issue of competition with able-bodied athletes and the inclusion of athletes with a disability in elite sport competitions (e.g., Olympics). This issue manifests itself in two distinct ways: the inclusion of disability sport events within competitions for able-bodied athletes and competition between athletes with a disability and able-bodied athletes.

Over the years athletes with a disability have experienced selected “inclusion” within the Olympic arena. Athletes have been included in exhibition events at the Summer and Winter Olympics. The IOC granted approval to use the term Paralympics. Full medal events for athletes with a disability were incorporated into the Commonwealth Games.

But the question of integrating athletes with a disability into international competitions remains somewhat controversial. A growing number of athletes with a disability advocate the inclusion of events for athletes with a disability within major international competitions such as the Olympic Games, Pan American Games, World University Games, and Commonwealth Games. Others question this approach because it would eliminate the more severely disabled athletes from international competition.

The dilemma continues. Inasmuch as disability remains an important factor (for both the IPC and the Olympic Games organizers), the events selected will be limited to selected athletes with a disability, and specific disabilities in particular.

ETHICS, DRUG TESTING, AND DOPING

Unfortunately, disability sport is not immune to the ethical issues that are apparent in able-bodied elite sport. Boosting due to autonomic dysreflexia can result

enable each competitor, regardless of severity of impairment, to compete in a fair manner with others of similar ability/disability (a more medical-based classification system). For others the goal of classification is to provide for meaningful athletic competition based on ability, not disability. In this instance of emphasis on ability and less on adaptation/modification of the sport, the more severely impaired are more likely to be eliminated from elite athletic competition. This latter goal of classification has emerged partly because of the administrative problem and logistics of numerous classes for competitions.

Classification of athletes with a disability for competition has been a long-standing controversy, particularly for the Paralympic Games. Prior to the 1990s, a medical classification system was used to assign athletes with physical and sensory impairments to numerous “classes” for competition (e.g., 50 and 100-meter races by gender and disability type—3 for blind, 8 for cerebral palsy, 9 for amputee, 6 for *les autres*, 7 for wheelchair users). With pressure to reduce the number of classes in major competitions, the medical system finally gave way in the 1990s to the functional classification system used in the Paralympic movement.

Classification remains a hotly debated topic within the Paralympic movement today. Integrated or functional classification systems will continue to be exam-



Disability Sport

The U. S. Supreme Court Decision in *PGA Tour, Inc. v. Martin*

Enforcement of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) enters into the world of sports in 2001 with this decision from the United States Supreme Court.

Under the ADA's basic requirement that the need of a disabled person be evaluated on an individual basis, we have no doubt that allowing Martin to use a golf cart would not fundamentally alter the nature of petitioners' tournaments. As we have discussed, the purpose of the walking rule is to subject players to fatigue, which in turn may influence the outcome of tournaments. Even if the rule does serve that purpose, it is an uncontested finding of the District Court that Martin easily endures greater fatigue even with a cart than his able-bodied competitors do by walking. 994 F.Supp., at 1252. The purpose of the walking rule is therefore not compromised in the slightest by allowing Martin to use a cart. A modification that provides an exception to a peripheral tournament rule without impairing its purpose cannot be said to fundamentally alter the tournament. What it can be said to do, on the other hand, is to allow Martin the chance to qualify for and compete

in the athletic events petitioner offers to those members of the public who have the skill and desire to enter. That is exactly what the ADA requires. As a result, Martin's request for a waiver of the walking rule should have been granted.

The ADA admittedly imposes some administrative burdens on the operators of places of public accommodation that could be avoided by strictly adhering to general rules and policies that are entirely fair with respect to the able-bodied but that may indiscriminately preclude access by qualified persons with disabilities. But surely, in a case of this kind, Congress intended that an entity like the PGA not only give individualized attention to the handful of requests that it might receive from talented but disabled athletes for a modification or waiver of a rule to allow them access to the competition, but also carefully weigh the purpose, as well as the letter, of the rule before determining that no accommodation would be tolerable.

The judgment of the Court of Appeals is affirmed.
It is so ordered.

in enhanced performance and has been reported to have occurred during competitions. Thus, boosting and doping have become important considerations in team and athlete management. Drug testing now occurs regularly at international competitions for athletes with a disability. Equipment modifications for wheelchair and other assistive devices are also ripe for manipulation in an effort to win. These and other ethical issues for Paralympians will continue to be present long into the future.

The fight against doping has become important for disability sport, especially the Paralympic athletes. Similar to the IOC, the IPC has taken a strong stance against doping and has developed and implemented policies and procedures to prevent the use of performance enhancing drugs by athletes with a disability. The IPC Medical and Anti-Doping Code has developed a

list of the prohibited substances and has identified penalties for violations. Currently, the IPC is working closely with the IOC and the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) to develop a testing program and an educational program designed to prevent doping in disability sport.

Trends

Disability sport has been influenced by the elite sport movement and has been shaped by the political, social, and economic factors of society's cultural contexts. According to DePauw and Gavron (2005), the historical trends include the following:

- A vertical structure of sport with extensive developmental sports programs for individuals with a disability leading toward a national-level and

international-level competitive structure for elite athletes with disabilities

- Establishment of multidisability national and international sport organizations as the governing bodies for disability sport with strong links to and within the national and international sport structure (organized more by sport than by disability)
- Increased emphasis on high levels of athletic excellence and high standards for performance
- Increased specialization within sport among athletes with a disability and fewer athletes being able to participate in multiple events
- Classification and competitions becoming more sport specific and ability oriented than disability specific
- Increased numbers of individuals with a disability (adults, youth, seniors) pursuing sport programs
- Increased concern for equity in sport opportunities for girls and women with a disability and increasing attention to issues of race and socioeconomic status
- Inclusion of athletes with a disability within major international competitions such as the Olympic Games and world championships
- Inclusion of persons with a disability within the structure of disability sport as well as coaches, officials, and administrators
- Increased public awareness and acceptance of athletes with a disability and of sport as a viable option for youth

Disability sport has made its mark on society. Today, athletes with a disability have a far greater number of opportunities for sport participation and competitions than in any other time in history. Sport will be an avenue for youth with a disability in the same way that sport serves the able-bodied youth. Sport opportunities for and including individuals with a disability will continue to increase into the twenty-first century, and disability sport will be viewed as sport.

Karen P. DePauw

See also Adapted Physical Education; Deaflympics; Paralympics; Special Olympics

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Disordered Eating

Disordered eating is a spectrum of attitudes and behaviors such as a preoccupation with weight and shape, insufficient energy availability, and dieting as well as bingeing, vomiting, and abusing diuretics, laxatives, diet pills, and exercise. Disordered eating may develop in frequency and intensity to a degree that a person suffers from a clinically significant eating disorder such as anorexia nervosa or bulimia nervosa.

Athletes constitute a unique population, and the impact on them of factors such as training, eating pattern, extreme diets, restriction of food intake, and psychological profile must be evaluated differently than the impact on nonathletes. Many women athletes are not aware of the energy requirements necessary to meet the demands of their energy expenditure and to prevent or reverse amenorrhea (abnormal absence or suppression of menses) or the negative effect on bone health. These athletes may have entirely normal eating behaviors and attitudes, but they are not eating enough to meet their energy demands. Thus, an athlete can have insufficient energy availability without having disordered eating or an eating disorder.



Anorexia nervosa is the extreme of restrictive eating behavior in which an athlete views herself as overweight and is afraid of gaining weight even though she is 15 percent below ideal body weight. Amenorrhea is one of the *DSM-IV* (American Psychological Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, fourth edition) diagnostic criteria for anorexia nervosa. Behaviors observed in bulimia nervosa follow a cycle of food restriction or fasting leading to overeating or bingeing followed by purging. Purging behavior includes vomiting, the use of laxatives, diuretics, or enemas, and/or excessive exercise. Persons suffering from bulimia nervosa are usually at "normal" body weight. In both anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa restricting types and binge-purging types exist.

The category "Eating Disorder Not Otherwise Specified" (EDNOS) includes eating disorders that do not meet the criteria for a specific eating disorder such as anorexia nervosa or bulimia nervosa. This category acknowledges the importance of a variety of eating disorders. A person with EDNOS is usually of average weight; however, the person still has a preoccupation with body image and weight and guilt about eating.

Diagnosis of Athletes

We should not think of disordered eating behavior as a benign or adaptive variant in certain environments. Because athletes constitute a unique population, special diagnostic considerations should be made when working with this group. Identifying disordered eating among athletes must go beyond focusing on those who meet formal diagnoses to include those who have symptoms of disordered eating and who are in negative energy balance and engage in a myriad of pathogenic weight control behaviors that have clinical significance and that can severely compromise health and performance.

People who are helping such athletes must determine whether the athletes' abnormal eating and dieting behavior is a transient behavior associated with the specific demands of sports or if the symptoms are more stable and part of a clinical eating disorder. Therefore, merely documenting behaviors is not enough; the emo-

tional and psychological state of the athletes must also be examined. A clinical interview based on standard diagnostic criteria is necessary to distinguish true eating disorders from concerns about eating, weight, and shape or disordered eating. In contrast to athletes with anorexia, most athletes with bulimia nervosa are at or near normal weight and therefore difficult to detect. Hence, team staff members and parents must be able to recognize the physical symptoms and psychological characteristics.

Athletes with disordered eating may show some of the common psychological traits associated with clinical eating disorders such as high achievement orientation, obsessive-compulsive tendencies, and perfectionism. However, these traits are generally expected and usually essential for competing successfully.

Prevalence

In general, studies have suggested a higher frequency of eating problems in athletes than nonathletes, particularly in athletes competing in sports that emphasize leanness or a low body weight. However, some studies suggest a similar risk for eating disorders compared with controls for women athletes in aesthetic sports and running and for women athletes of lower competitive levels. Of the few studies that include men athletes, some indicate an increased risk for eating disorders in men athletes competing in weight class and endurance sports, and others indicate a lower risk for eating disorders in men figure skaters and swimmers. A controlled study shows that the prevalence of eating disorders is higher in women athletes (20 percent) than in nonathletic women controls (9 percent) and more common among those competing in leanness-dependent and weight-dependent sports than in other sports. (See Table 1.) Also, the prevalence of eating disorders among men national team members is higher (8 percent versus .05 percent) than among men controls.

Health Consequences

Energy deficiency and disordered eating practices impair health and physical performance. Problems result

Table 1.

Prevalence (Percentage) of Eating Disorders in Women Elite Athletes Representing Different Sports Groups and Nonathletes

Sports Groups	Prevalence (%)
Technical 12/72	17
Endurance 24/102	24
Aesthetic 22/52	42
Weight dependent 16/53	30
Ball games 39/252	16
Power 1/31	—
Antigravitation 1/10	—
Athletes total 115/572	20
Nonathletes 52/574	9

Only one athlete representing power sports was diagnosed with eating disorders.

Source: Sundgot-Borgen and Torstveit (2004).

from depletion of muscle glycogen stores, dehydration, loss of muscle mass, hypoglycemia, electrolyte abnormalities, anemia, menstrual dysfunction, and loss of bone mass. Problems associated with bingeing and purging are depressive symptoms, low self-esteem, and anxiety. (See Table 2.)

Risk Factors

Many factors contribute to the development of disordered eating and clinical eating disorders. The most common factors are low self-esteem, social pressure to be lean, family dysfunction, abuse, and biological factors. Additional factors for competitive athletes include personality factors, pressure to lose weight that leads to restrained eating and/or frequent weight cycling, early start of sport-specific training, injury, overtraining, and the impact of coaching behavior. Thus, for some athletes who start dieting to improve performance, weight concerns and use of extreme weight control methods become the focal point of their athletic existence.

A model of activity-induced anorexia nervosa in rats has been reported. Some researchers also claim that exercise per se can trigger eating disorders in humans.

However, a number of studies have shown that active men and women have been reported as being more satisfied with their bodies than less active people and that preoccupation with body weight is often associated with a negative body perception. Some researchers also have suggested that some habitual exercisers may develop an increased awareness of body size and shape as well as disordered eating patterns. We might reasonably believe that certain physically active people tread a narrow line between optimal performance inclination and harmful health behaviors.

Women athletes at the greatest risk for disordered eating are (1) those who restrict energy intake to lose weight or maintain a low body weight, to increase exercise energy expenditure through increased hours of training, and/or to increase exercise intensity without increasing energy intake and (2) those athletes who are vegetarian or limit the types of food they will eat.

Prevention

Because athletes—at least at the elite level—are evaluated by their coach every day, changes in behavior and physical symptoms of disordered eating should be easily observed. However, symptoms of disordered eating in competitive and elite athletes are too often ignored or not observed by coaches. One reason for this failure is lack of knowledge about disordered eating.

Physicians, athletic trainers, nutritionists, and other members of the health-care team as well as coaches, parents, athletes, and athletic administrators should emphasize prevention through education and increased awareness of disordered eating and the female athlete triad (disordered eating, menstrual dysfunction, and low bone mass). These people also should emphasize energy availability as a cause of eating disorders and the female athlete triad and emphasize optimizing energy availability as a prevention and treatment. They also should emphasize maximizing peak bone mass in pediatric and young athletes. Collaborative efforts among organizations and administration will likely be needed for further prevention of eating disorders and female athlete triad disorders. These efforts may entail rule

Table 2.
Signs, Symptoms, and Medical Complications of Disordered Eating

Orofacial	Lipid abnormalities
Perimolysis ^b	Obesity ^b
Dental caries ^b	Renal
Cheilosis ^b	Renal calculi
Enlargement of the parotid gland ^b	Reproductive
Cardiovascular	Infertility
Postural and nonpostural hypotension	Insufficient weight gain during pregnancy
Acrocyanosis	Low-birth weight infant
Electrocardiographic abnormalities: low voltage, prolonged QT interval, prominent U waves	Integumentary
Sinus bradycardia	Dry skin and hair
Atrial and ventricular arrhythmias	Hair loss
Left ventricular changes: decreased mass, decreased cavity size	Lanugo
Mitral-valve prolapse	Yellow skin due to hypercarotenemia
Cardiomyopathy (due to ipecac poisoning)	Hand abrasions
Gastrointestinal	Neurologic
Esophagitis hematemesia (including Mallory-Weiss syndrome) ^b	Peripheral neuropathy
Delayed gastric emptying	Reversible cortical atrophy
Decreased intestinal motility	Ventricular enlargement
Constipation	Hematologic
Rectal prolapse	Anemia, leucopenia, neutropenia, thrombocytopenia
Gastric dilatation and rupture ^b	Fluids and electrolytes
Abnormal results on liver-function tests	Dehydration
Elevated serum amylase level	Edema
Endocrine and metabolic	Electrolyte abnormalities
Hypokalemia (including hypokalemic nephropathy)	Hypokalemia
Hyponatremia, hypernatremia (rarely)	Muscle cramps
Hypomagnesemia	Metabolic alkalosis
Hyperphosphatemia	Thermoregulation
Hypoglycemia	Hypothermia ^a
Hypothermia	<i>Others</i>
Euthyroid sick syndrome	Significant weight loss (beyond that necessary for optimal sport performance) ^a
Hypercortisolism, elevated free cortisol level in urine	Frequent and often extreme weight fluctuations ^b
Low serum estradiol level	Low weight despite eating large volumes ^b
Decreased serum testosterone level	Fatigue (beyond that normally expected in training or competition)
Amenorrhea, oligomenorrhea	Muscle weakness
Delay in puberty	More training (aerobic type) than required for performance enhancement
Arrested growth	
Osteoporosis	
Stress fractures	

^aEspecially for anorexia nervosa; ^bespecially for bulimia nervosa.

Source: Sundgot-Borgen (2002).

There's no substitute for guts. ■ PAUL BEAR BRYANT

changes by national and international governing bodies and athletic associations. Experts recommend that all national and international governing bodies and athletic associations have procedures and policies in place to eliminate weight control practices that could potentially harm athletes.

Early intervention is also important because the longer eating disorders progress, the more difficult they are to treat. Therefore, professionals working with athletes should be informed about risk factors for the development, early signs, and symptoms of disordered eating; the medical, psychological, and social consequences of eating disorders; how to approach the disorders if they occur; and what treatment options are available.

Therefore, health-care personnel, coaches, trainers, administrators, and parents should receive information about energy and nutrition demands, consequences of extreme weight control methods, eating disorders, the menstrual cycle and related issues such as growth and development, and the relationship between body composition, health, and performance. In addition, coaches should realize that they can strongly influence their athletes. Coaches and others involved with young athletes should not comment on an athlete's body size or require weight loss in young and still-growing athletes. Unless they offer further professional guidance, dieting may result in unhealthy eating behavior or eating disorders in highly motivated and uninformed athletes.

Teammates, coaches, and parents who are familiar with the signs of disordered eating are likely to notice them. Those people who provide medical care for athletes should be alert to energy deficiency, eating disorder behavior, irregular periods, fractures, fatigue, anemia, and depression as possible signs of eating disorders, particularly noting unusual fractures that occur from minimal trauma

How to Help Athletes

Women athletes with one component of the female athlete triad should be screened for the other components. Screening for the triad can be done during the prepar-

ation examination and during evaluation of the following: energy intake and nutrient intake, possible eating disorder behavior, menstrual status and history, weight change, cardiac arrhythmias including bradycardia, depression, and stress fracture. The athlete suspected of suffering from disordered eating or an eating disorder should be asked certain questions at the first consultation. (See Table 3.)

Few researchers have studied the issue of athletes and the treatment of eating disorders. The success of a treatment plan is based on a trusting relationship between athletes and care providers. This relationship includes respecting an athlete's desire to be lean for optimal athletic performance and expressing a willingness to help the athlete be lean and healthy.

According to Manore (2002), the most common nutrition issues in athletes with disordered eating and/or menstrual dysfunction are poor energy intake and/or poor food selection, which can lead to poor intake of proteins, carbohydrates, and essential fatty acids. The most common micronutrients to be in low supply are the bone-building nutrients, especially calcium, B vitamins, iron, and zinc. If energy drain is the primary factor contributing to athletic menstrual dysfunction, improved energy balance will improve overall nutritional status and may reverse the menstrual dysfunction, thus returning the athlete to normal reproductive function. Because bone health can be compromised in women athletes with menstrual dysfunction, intake of bone-building nutrients is especially important.

In addition, normalizing weight, body composition, and menstrual cycle, modifying unhealthy thought processes that maintain the disorder, and dealing with the emotional issues in an athlete's life are important. The younger the athlete, the more the family's involvement is recommended.

If menstrual irregularities are confirmed, the therapist should inform the athlete about the detrimental effects of loss of menses in relation to skeletal integrity. The therapist should emphasize both short- and long-term consequences of decreased bone mineral density. If the athlete has experienced irregular menses for some time,

Table 3.
Questions That Can Be Asked at the First Consultation

QUESTIONS			
Regarding Food	Regarding Weight	Regarding Menstruation	Regarding Training and Injuries
How do you feel about food? Do you have a “relaxed” relationship with food?	What has been your highest and lowest weight during the last year?	When did you start to menstruate?	Have you changed your training regime (type, load, or intensity)?
How is your eating pattern?*	What do you consider to be your competition weight-match weight?	Has your menstrual cycle been regular after menarche (the beginning of the menstrual function)?	Do you engage in forms of training other than that related to your specific sport?
How many meals do you eat per day?	Have you reduced your weight lately? What did you do to achieve the weight loss?	What has been the longest time without menstrual bleedings?	Have you experienced a stress fracture or a regular fracture?
Do you try to avoid any sort of food (forbidden food)?	Are you satisfied with your present weight?	When did you have your last menstrual bleeding?	
What did you eat and drink yesterday?	Do other persons have opinions about your weight?	How do you experience your menstrual cycle?*	
Questions about purging (ask about the past)		Do you use or have you used oral contraceptives?	

* A person with disordered eating may have difficulty recalling what he or she ate. A person with anorexia nervosa avoids fat and is usually vegetarian. A person with bulimia nervosa constantly tries to avoid the calorie intake and binge eats in the afternoon and evening.

** An athlete with disordered eating prefers the absence of menstruation (considers having a percentage of body fat required for regular cycles to be a detriment).

a bone-density assessment via dual-energy X-ray absorptiometry should be carried out. A diagnosis of osteopenia (a bone-related health condition that is a precursor to osteoporosis) may be enough for the athlete to initiate a change in behavior or training regimen.

Health professionals should question athletes who have had stress fractures about menstruation history and eating history. The presence of other symptoms such as tiredness-exhaustion, inadequate or poor nutrition, anemia, electrolyte imbalance, and depression should also lead to an evaluation.

Treatment

Treatment for eating disorders includes individual psychotherapy, cognitive group therapy, and nutrition counseling. (See Table 4.) Medications are sometimes prescribed, especially for bulimia or concomitant de-

pression. Some women athletes who have insufficient energy availability may not have a psychological component to explain their chronic caloric deficit. When these athletes are identified, intervention may need to involve only educating the athletes on how best to increase energy intake and/or reduce energy expenditure in order to have optimal energy available for exercise and sports.

Perspective

Identifying disordered eating among athletes must go beyond focusing on those who meet formal diagnostic criteria for an eating disorder and should include athletes who are in a negative energy balance and who engage in unhealthy weight control practices that have clinical significance and that can severely compromise health and performance. Many athletes with disordered

Table 4.*Treatment of Athletes with Disordered Eating*

Type of Treatment	Contents
Individual psychotherapy	The therapist works with the disordered eating athlete and tries to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ determine the nature of the athlete's eating difficulties and how they might be most effectively changed ■ implement a change process ■ teach the athlete to deal with how her sport may be contributing to the maintenance of the disordered eating
Group therapy	The athlete is part of a group made up of other eating disordered athletes. The athlete discovers that others have a similar problem. This therapy gives the athlete a support group who understands her feelings and eating difficulties. This therapy provides a safe environment for the athlete to practice the new skills and attitudes she has learned.
Family therapy	This therapy includes the patient and her immediate family. The family is the focus of treatment. A goal is to modify maladaptive family interactions, attitudes, and dynamics to decrease the need for, or the function of, the disordered eating in the family.
Nutrition counseling	This is often part of a multimodal treatment approach. Athletes with disordered eating do not remember what constitutes a balanced meal or "normal" eating. The dietitian's primary roles involve providing nutritional information and assisting in meal planning.
Pharmacotherapy	This therapy can be useful in some cases, especially with patients with bulimic behaviors.

Source: Sundgot-Borgen (2002).

eating behaviors need help from a health-care provider to normalize eating behaviors and to redefine their goals related to their performance and school, work, and personal life. Treatment for clinical eating disorders includes individual psychotherapy, cognitive group therapy, and nutrition counseling. Ideally the team should include a registered sports nutritionist, a physician, and a psychologist or psychiatrist specializing in eating disorders. Health-care personnel who have a good knowledge of disordered eating behaviors and a familiarity with sports medicine will be better able to understand an athlete's situation specific to the sport. To prevent disordered eating and eating disorders, athletes must practice healthy eating and be sure that energy intake covers energy needs. Team staff members and parents also must be able to recognize the physical symptoms and psychological characteristics that indicate that an athlete is at risk for clinical eating disorders.

Jorunn Sundgot-Borgen

See also Diet and Weight Loss; Exercise and Health; Nutrition

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Distance Running

See Marathon and Distance Running

Diving

Diving requires a person to jump, perform acrobatics, and land either feet first or head first in water. Diving events include the 10-meter platform, 3-meter springboard, and synchronized platform and springboard events.

History

People have been diving for millennia in some form. A twenty-five-hundred-year-old tomb in Naples, Italy, shows a man diving from a cliff or rock. Evidence indicates diving during the ancient Greek and Roman eras. Evidence of diving during the Middle Ages and Renaissance is sparse, probably because water sports were not popular.

When diving became a competitive sport during the nineteenth century, people competed in “plunging.” The winner was the diver who measured the greatest distance from takeoff to depth in the water. The first plunging competition was held in 1893 and has continued to the present as the Britain National Plunging Championships. Frank Parrington (Great Britain) is considered to be the greatest plunger. His record of 26.4 meters set in 1933 remains a world record.

The greatest early influences came from Germany and Sweden as diving evolved from gymnastics, acrobatics, and tumbling. Early gymnasts from Sweden and Germany moved gymnastics apparatus to the beach

and practiced maneuvers over the water. Diving was a good alternative, allowing athletes to land in water rather than on hard ground. Soon the sport developed into plain diving events and fancy diving events, which included acrobatics.

German and Swedish divers dominated globally prior to the two world wars; afterward the United States dominated. However, since 1984 China has been dominant in the sport.

Diving is more closely related to gymnastics than to swimming, but because both diving and swimming require water, the two sports have been grouped together. Thus, diving is considered an aquatic sport and is governed by the International Federation of Aquatics, which oversees swimming, diving, synchronized swimming, and water polo. The federation was founded in 1908.

Germany and Sweden helped to popularize diving, building on their strong backgrounds in gymnastics. Sweden introduced a dive technique called the “Swedish swallow” that later in the United States was called the “swan dive.” The dive was named because of its similarity to the graceful dive of the bird. It required a one-foot takeoff that was thought to give more control to the diver than a two-foot takeoff.

During the 1890s Britain gained interest in diving after the Swedes Hjalmar Johansson, Otto Hageborge, and C. F. Mauritzzi visited the country and introduced fancy diving, which was being developed in Sweden. In fancy diving a person performed somersaults, twists, and so forth before landing in the water. In plain diving a person faced the water, dove, and landed head first in the water. Whereas Swedish divers specialized in the Swedish swallow, British divers performed the plain dive with the arms held above the head. Swedes dominated plain diving contests with their Swedish swallow dives.

In 1895 the National Graceful Diving Competition began in Britain. It consisted of running dives from 4.5 meters and 9.1 meters. According to the Amateur Swimming Association (ASA), this competition continued through 1961 as the “Plain Diving Championships of the ASA.” The first diving association, the Amateur

Diving Association, was formed in Britain in 1901 and later was merged with the ASA.

Springboard diving, which allows a diver to get additional spring from the board, was introduced during the 1920s. The springboard has a movable fulcrum and was first used in competition in the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris. The movable fulcrum allows divers to adjust the pivot point of the diving board and thus gain greater spring and height to perform a variety of dives. As a result divers began to perform dives that the world had never seen before. For example, Peter Desjardins in the 1928 Olympic Games performed a forward one-and-one-half somersault with a full twist. Two of his dives earned the highest score of any diver in the Olympics. He averaged a 9.2 score out of a possible 10 for ten dives.

The first European championships in diving were held in 1926 and were dominated by German divers.

Rules and Strategies

Divers perform a series of dives for judges who score the dives according to degree of difficulty. The highest possible score is 10. Individual diving (platform and springboard) typically is judged by seven judges who focus on approach, takeoff, execution, and entry into the water.

In synchronized diving two divers perform the same or similar dives simultaneously and are judged on their dives and on their synchronization. Synchronized diving has nine judges; five concentrate on synchronization (how the two divers are similar in height, distance, speed of rotation, and entry into water); four concentrate on each swimmer’s dive.

Springboard diving has five groups of dives: inward, forward, backward, reverse, and twisting. Platform diving has an additional group: arm stand. Not only does a diver perform a dive from one of the groups of dives, but also a diver can select pike, tuck, or straight-layout positions of a dive.

Strategies include balancing risk and difficulty with execution. A diver performing a difficult dive with execution errors will outscore a diver performing a less-



Young woman on a high dive.

Source: istockphoto.com/ PhotoInc.

difficult dive with no execution errors. Divers must select dives that not only have some difficulty but also that they can execute well.

During the years diving competition rules have fluctuated between mandating certain dives and allowing divers to select dives. Springboard diving competition has five compulsory dives. The top divers advance to the final round, where they perform six dives of their choice.

Today more than one hundred dives are performed. Most are performed with a head-first entry because it is deemed less difficult to control than a feet-first entry.

Top Athletes

Hjalmar Johansson (Sweden) was the leading pioneer in diving during the late 1800s and early 1900s. He was the oldest Olympic diving champion, winning the 10-meter platform event at the 1908 games at the age of thirty-four. He won a silver medal in plain high diving at the 1912 Stockholm games at the age of thirty-eight.

Annette Kellerman (Australia) was not an Olympic competitor, but she was a swimming champion during the early 1900s. She was a great ambassador for swimming, diving, and entertainment. She was considered to have the perfect body and pushed the limits of what women were allowed to wear in competition. Kellerman had a successful vaudeville swimming and diving career. She performed many high dives for motion pictures, including *Diving Venus*.

Ernst Brandsten (Sweden and United States) and

team. Brandsten is credited with inventing the movable fulcrum.

Greta Johanson Brandsten (Sweden), wife of Ernst, was the first woman to win a gold medal in diving in the Olympics. She won in the 1912 games in her hometown of Stockholm.

Ingrid Kramer was one of the top divers from Germany. She won gold medals in the springboard and platform events in the 1960 and 1964 Olympics.

Klaus Dibiasi (Italy) is the only diver to win three successive gold medals in diving: in the 1968, 1972, and 1976 Olympics. He also won the silver medal in platform diving in 1964.

Victoria Manalo Draves (United States) was the first woman to win both the springboard and platform events in the same Olympics (1948). She was born to an English mother and a Filipino father and faced discrimination in some competitions, causing her to change her name. Draves was the first woman of Asian descent to win an Olympic medal.

Sammy Lee was the first U.S. male athlete of Asian descent (Korean parents) to win an Olympic medal. He won a gold in the platform event and a bronze in the springboard event at the 1948 Olympics and another gold in the platform event at the 1952 Olympics. Lee was the U.S. Olympic diving coach in 1964 and 1968.

Tan Liangde (China) won the silver medal in springboard diving at the 1984 Olympics. While competing



internationally for ten years, he was a talented and consistent diver. Liangde usually finished in second place to Greg Louganis of the United States, who is considered to be the best diver ever.

Fu Mingxia (China) became the second youngest person in Olympics history to win an individual gold medal when she won a gold medal in the 10-meter platform event at the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona, Spain. Mingxia matched the record of Pat McCormick and Louganis of the United States by winning a total of four gold medals in diving. She also won gold in both the platform and springboard events in 1996 and her fourth gold medal in the 2000 Olympics in Australia.

Greg Louganis won his first Olympic medal in 1976, winning a silver in the platform event at the age of sixteen. Because of the boycott of the Olympic Games, Greg did not compete again until the 1984 games. At both the 1984 and 1988 Olympic Games, he won both the springboard and platform competitions. In 1988 he dramatically won the gold in the springboard event after hitting his head on the diving board during a dive.

Pat McCormick won the gold medal in both the springboard and platform events in the 1952 and 1956 Olympic Games. No one had ever won gold medals in back-to-back Olympic Games before. McCormick was also the first woman to be inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame. In addition, McCormick's daughter, Kelly, won a silver medal in diving at the 1984 Olympics and a bronze at the 1988 games. McCormick trained with fellow U.S. divers Victoria Draves and Sammy Lee.

Gao Min (China) won back-to-back gold medals in the springboard events in the 1988 and 1992 Olympics. She dominated women's diving from 1986 to 1992, winning as many international awards on one board as Louganis did. She, too, is considered to be one of the best divers in history.

Aileen Riggins (United States) was the first person to win medals in both swimming and diving at the Olympics. As a fourteen-year-old from Newport, Rhode Island, Riggins won a gold medal in springboard diving at the 1920 Olympics. In the 1924 Olympics she won

a silver medal in springboard diving and a bronze medal in the 100-meter backstroke event.

Xiong Ni (China) is one of only three men to have won five Olympic medals in diving. He won silver in 1988 and bronze in 1992 in the 10-meter platform event. He won the gold medal in 1996 and 2000 in the springboard event. He also won the synchronized springboard event in 2000.

Albert Zurner (Germany) won a gold medal in the springboard event at the 1908 Olympic Games. He also won a silver in the platform event at the Olympics in 1912. Zurner was one of the early talented German divers.

Competition at the Top

Diving (plunging and plain high diving) became an official men's event in the 1904 Olympic Games in St. Louis, Missouri, although the plunging event was held only in 1904. Since 1928 men and women have competed in 3-meter springboard and 10-meter platform diving. In men's diving from 1912 to 1924 plain high diving was also included. In 2000 synchronized diving, 3-meter springboard, and 10-meter platform were added for men and women.

Women first competed in the Olympic Games in diving in 1912—the year when fancy high diving was introduced. Women's springboard diving debuted in 1920. Nonetheless, women were limited in the types of dives they were allowed to perform. Not until 1957, after the Melbourne, Australia, Olympics of 1956, were the limits lifted.

During the 1920s the pike and tuck positions became popular, making multiple somersaults possible. The first permanent concrete diving tower appeared in Paris in 1924. In that year Albert White, with the first perfect score of 10, won two gold medals, marking the first time a person had won both the springboard and platform events in the same Olympics.

During the early years of Olympic diving Sweden and Germany dominated. One exception was the Italian Klaus Dibiasi. In the 1908 and 1912 Olympics, Swedish men won all medals possible except one,

which Germany won. Quickly, though, the United States began to dominate. This domination was reflected in 1932, when the United States captured all medals for men and women in diving.

The 1936 Olympics in Munich, Germany, featured the youngest competitor ever to win a medal. Marjorie Gestring of the United States was thirteen years and nine months old when she won the gold medal in the springboard event. With the onset of World War II the 1940 and 1944 Olympics were not held. Thus, Gestring could not compete in the Olympics again until 1948, when she just fell short of winning another medal.

China began its domination in diving with Jihong Zhou in 1984. Zhou was the first Chinese diver to be inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame and the first Chinese woman to win an Olympic gold medal in the 10-meter platform diving event. In 2000 China won five of eight gold medals, led by Xi Niong and Fu Mingxia. Mingxia has won four gold medals in individual diving. Mingxia won a fifth Olympic medal, coming in second in the 3-meter synchronized event at the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games and becoming the first woman to win five diving medals. Three men have won five medals: Greg Louganis, Klaus Dibiasi, and Xiong Ni.

Out of the twenty-four possible diving medals in the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, China won nine (six gold), Australia won six, Russia won four, Canada won two, and Great Britain, Germany, and Greece each won one. Since 1904 the United States has won the most Olympic diving medals (128), followed by China (38) and Sweden and Germany (21 each).

Shawn Ladda

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Drake Group

The Drake Group is a national coalition of faculty members dedicated to defending academic integrity in the face of the burgeoning college sports industry by lobbying for proposals that will enable faculties to provide college athletes with access to an education.

History

Jon Ericson, then provost and professor of rhetoric at Drake University in Des Moines, Iowa, founded The Drake Group in 1999. The first meeting called together several faculty authors, athletic administrators, and members of the sports media to address the problem of academic corruption in college sports.

Since that first meeting The Drake Group has continued to grow in membership, fueled by the difficulties of providing access to an education to athletes who find their time increasingly compromised by the demands of commercial and media interests in the entertainment sports.

The Drake Group has drafted proposals for athletic academic reform to protect college athletes' student rights and to protect the rights of faculty members as educators of these students. In addition to meeting annually at the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) basketball championship games to lobby for these proposals, members of The Drake Group network with other reform groups who share The Drake Group's goals (e.g., the Coalition of Faculty Senates, the American Association of University Professors, the Knight Commission, and the Collegiate Athletes Coalition). The Drake Group also provides support for faculty



Drake Group

The Drake Group Mission

The mission of The Drake Group (TDG) is to help faculty and staff defend academic integrity in the face of the burgeoning college sport industry. The Drake Group's national network of college faculty lobbies aggressively for proposals that ensure quality education for college athletes, supports faculty whose job security is threatened for defending academic standards, and disseminates information on current issues and controversies in sport and higher education. The Drake Group seeks to form coalitions with other groups that share its mission and goals.

Source: The Drake Group website. (n.d.) Retrieved February 22, 2005 from www.thedrakegroup.org

members whose job security is threatened by their attempts to defend academic standards at their institutions and gives the annual Robert Maynard Hutchins Award to a faculty member who has demonstrated remarkable courage in defending the academic rights of college athletes.

Proposals

The Drake Group urges faculty senates and other bodies concerned with academic integrity to endorse its proposals as a first step toward closing the ever-widening gap between athletics and education.

RETIRE THE TERM *STUDENT-ATHLETE*

The proposals, for example, recommend retiring the term *student-athlete*, affirming that athletes are an integral part of the student body. People, The Drake Group believes, have no more need to call athletes "student-athletes" than to call members of the marching band "student-band members." The term *student-athlete* was created by the NCAA in the 1950s to deflect the threat that its new athletic scholarship policy might lead workers' compensation boards to view athletes as paid employees. The Drake Group believes that the words that

faculty members use to refer to athletes should not be determined by the public relations needs of the NCAA. Replacing the term *student-athlete* with *student* or *college athlete* in college documents is an action that faculty members can take immediately, The Drake Group believes.

PROVIDE ACADEMIC COUNSELING AND SUPPORT SERVICES

The Drake Group proposals further reinforce the notion that athletes are students and should be integrated into the general student body. Separate athletic counseling centers have been spawned by the "student-athlete" philosophy that The Drake Group rejects. The goal of academic counseling, The Drake Group believes, is education, not athletic eligibility. This goal cannot be accomplished in a setting that is compromised by pressure to produce winning athletic teams. The Drake Group believes that faculty senates should act to ensure equal access to education for all students.

EMPHASIZE CLASS ATTENDANCE

To protect athletes' right to equal access to educational opportunities, The Drake Group proposes that faculties enforce a policy that class attendance should take priority over athletic participation. Whenever scheduling conflicts exist between sports and course requirements, faculty members have a professional responsibility to enforce attendance policies that support quality instruction. In some instances, The Drake Group believes, the problem arises because faculty, rather than athletic personnel, does not demand that students attend class. Faculty senates, The Drake Group believes, should require faculty members to establish attendance policies that treat all students equally.

REPLACE ONE-YEAR RENEWABLE SCHOLARSHIPS

The Drake Group also believes that as long as coaches and athletic directors can use factors related to athletics to determine whether financial aid to athletes will be renewed, athletes are under considerable pressure to make sports their main priority. This situation, The

The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy. ■ MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Drake Group believes, highlights the inherent hypocrisy in the term *athletic scholarship*, a term that should be related to educational opportunities. To ensure that education remains the main priority, The Drake Group urges that renewal of athletic scholarships be unrelated to athletic performance or that athletic scholarships themselves be replaced with educational grants awarded on the basis of financial need. In either case, The Drake Group believes, colleges should be committed to athletes as students whose value to the colleges exceeds their role in athletics. The Big Ten Conference and the Knight Foundation have listed the creation of multi-year scholarships among possible reform measures that they could support.

REQUIRE A CUMULATIVE GRADE POINT AVERAGE OF 2.0

The Drake Group further proposes that students whose cumulative grade point average (GPA) falls below 2.0 in any given semester should give immediate attention to academic performance. Some people might argue that this standard is unfair because the standard for student academic eligibility on some campuses may be less than a cumulative 2.0 GPA. However, given the steady decline in graduation rates for athletes in the revenue-producing sports (rates that decline despite the rise of multimillion-dollar academic support units) and the acknowledged stressors on the lives of athletes, The Drake Group believes that such a GPA requirement would provide a safety net for athletes who are most academically at risk.

ENSURE THAT COLLEGES PROVIDE ACCOUNTABILITY

Much of the academic fraud that has come to be associated with college athletics could be eliminated, The Drake Group believes, if information on how students are educated were publicly disclosed. Disclosure, The Drake Group believes, is not about student behavior—it is about institutional behavior. Academic evidence of the quality of education being given athletes would enable faculty members and administrators to monitor

grade inflation and the educational practices that affect the quality of an institution's degrees. The Drake Group does not advocate that academic records of athletes be revealed, nor does The Drake Group wish to "blame" athletes for this situation. Rather, The Drake Group wishes to expose areas in education where the so-called preferential treatment of athletes (i.e., advisement into bogus or easy courses, manipulation of grades) constitutes a denial of equitable access to educational opportunity.

INSTITUTE A FIRST-YEAR RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT

The Drake Group also proposes a first-year residency requirement to put the decision of who will represent an institution in athletic competition squarely in the hands of the faculty of that institution. Each student who represents that institution should prove that he or she can do the academic work. In addition, The Drake Group believes, each student should have a full year to adjust to college life and to explore the many opportunities available before being required to spend many hours on the road in athletic competition.

Linda Bensel-Meyers

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Drugs

See Bodybuilding; Horse Racing; Nutrition; Performance Enhancement; Powerlifting

Duathlon

Duathlon, formerly known as biathlon, is a race including two disciplines, typically biking and running. Unlike other multisport events, like the pentathlon and decathlon, disciplines in a duathlon are done without any time breaks, and athletes must quickly transition from one event to the other. Various formats, distances, and settings exist for the sport, although there are several standardized distances and formats that prevail in many of the most popular events. In most cases, duathlons are formatted run/bike/run. Athletes begin by running, then cycle, and finish with a second running leg.

A near relative of the more popular and established sport of triathlon, duathlon has historically been overshadowed by triathlon. Perhaps because triathlon was perceived as more grueling or perhaps due to more aggressive marketing of triathlon, duathlon has consistently lagged behind triathlon in media and fan support as well as the number of events and participants. While duathlon did reach a fairly lofty peak in the mid- to late 1980s, it soon thereafter plummeted in popularity. The sport has enjoyed a considerable resurgence in popularity in the past few years, in part due to corporate sponsorship of events around the United States.

History

The official origins of duathlon are hazy at best, particularly as early examples of the sport differ greatly from their later evolutions. In many ways, variants of duathlon led to the later creation of triathlon (in 1974), although not in a formal sense. In the early 1970s, swim/run events were common in Southern California. These informal competitions were popular with life-

guards and more adventurous runners and swimmers. A few such races were bike/swim races. These events, which differ greatly from the running and biking events of today, were called biathlons, indicative of their dual sport nature. As the sport of triathlon began to grow in popularity in the late 1970s and 1980s, particularly with the intrigue created by television coverage of the Ironman Triathlon, these events became a secondary diversion to the more formalized offsprings.

Events similar to the run/bike/run duathlon events we see today emerged in the early 1980s. However, the growth of this sport, which was still called biathlon, occurred slowly at the onset, particularly when juxtaposed to the triathlon explosion of the mid-1980s. Biathlons did not begin to grow in number or in number of participants until the late 1980s, when major corporate sponsors helped to fund the growth of the sport. This growth was fairly pronounced. In 1984, only fifteen biathlons were staged in America. According to the U.S. Biathlon Association, this number grew only to twenty-seven in 1986. The New York Biathlon Series, which included races throughout New York City and were staged by the Big Apple Triathlon Club, were among these early races. Nineteen eighty-six was also the first year the sport named a national championship race, that year held at the New York City Biathlon. While some races numbered in the hundreds of participants, they still catered to amateur athletes. As such, races didn't include large monetary prizes for winners, nor did they involve large national sponsorships.

This began to change in 1987, when the sport grew exponentially, with approximately three hundred races run throughout the course of the year. Races also started to see more elite participants, both crossover athletes from triathlon and athletes who were dedicated exclusively to biathlons. Many athletes who either disliked swimming or were weak swimmers enjoyed greater success in biathlon than in triathlon. Particularly as triathletes became equally proficient in all three sports, those who were strong runners and cyclists but novice swimmers began to fall farther back in triathlons, often beginning the cycling leg far behind their swifter-swimming competitors. In biathlon, how-

*The only way to overcome is to hang in.
Even I'm starting to believe that.* ■ DAN O'BRIEN

ever, this was not the case, and this was a likely component in the exponential growth of the sport. There was similar acceptance of this sport amongst international athletes as well, and the first world duathlon championship was held in 1990—only one year later than triathlon.

Capitalizing on this explosive growth, Coors sponsored a nationwide biathlon series that would become the most visible and recognizable duathlon races in the country. This series included a considerable cash prize purse for elite athletes, an obvious factor in the increased professionalization of the sport. The Coors Light Biathlon Series began in 1988 with twelve races across the country. By 1991, the series had grown to fifteen races and distributed \$100,000 in prize money. The largest races in the series, such as the annual event in Chicago, attracted nearly 2,500 participants at the height of the biathlon boom. Additionally, the amount of money to be made at these races attracted increasingly elite athletes who, like in endurance sports such as marathon running and triathlon, made their living through sport. These races sponsored by Coors were only but fifteen of hundreds across the country, but they served as the driving force and the increasingly public face of the sport in America. Thus, when the series was discontinued after 1992 due to general sponsor disinterest and decreasing race participation, the sport of biathlon would take a considerable fall in popularity from which it might never truly recover.

Several conditions caused the rise of biathlon to ebb and quickly subside. First, corporate sponsorships, such as that from Coors, were pulled, ending the viability of popular races and series. Second, public interest began to wane, leading to fewer participants in the shrinking number of races. Many biathlon competitors searched for other athletic challenges, most notably mountain biking, marathon racing, or triathlon. The sport also did not receive the institutional support from its own governing body. USA Triathlon, then know as Tri-Fed, was in charge of the growth and management of both triathlon and biathlon, setting rules for the sports and helping to market and grow these sports. As triathlon began to achieve its goal of inclusion in the Olympic

Games (accomplished in 2000), Tri-Fed spent much more of its promotional resources growing the sport of triathlon. Interest in biathlon fell in conjunction with the growth of other endurance events.

Further hindering growth, the sport of biathlon was forced to change its name in the early 1990s to avoid legal conflicts with the older Olympic sport of biathlon, which paired shooting with either cross-country skiing or running. Therefore, the sport of biathlon became known as duathlon, which is still the name of the two-discipline sport. While this change was largely semantic, duathlon, more so than its predecessor biathlon, only referred to events that were staged with the run-bike-run format. Therefore, swim-run events or swim-bike events (which were exceptionally rare) would not be called duathlons. So while this name change did represent a loss to the rarely contested Olympic biathlon and a virtual loss of sporting heritage, it also provided an increased formalization of the sport that allowed participants and spectators to have a more concise understanding of the sport.

With the demise of the Coors-sponsored race series and increased attention placed by Tri-Fed on the sport of triathlon, duathlon enjoyed little growth through the mid-1990s. One bright spot, however, came as the company Dannon began to sponsor a new duathlon series in 1995. Although it began with only two races and was not nearly as extravagant as its predecessor, this series did attract those who had committed to racing as professional duathletes, as well as elite amateur athletes and recreational athletes. Race distances varied slightly in this series, but most followed the 5K run–30K bike–5K run format. This series has never reached the same popularity as the Coors race series, and some of the races have been expanded to include triathlon events. However, it has remained a constant that helped stabilize participation in the sport.

In addition to shorter races, duathletes have also looked to longer, more challenging events—both in America and abroad. Much of this has been spurred by the famed race in Switzerland known as Powerman Zofingen, which has often been referred to as duathlon's version of the Hawaiian Ironman. The distances



for the race are typically 10K run (originally 8.5K)–150K bike–30K run, and much of the race is contested over rigorous mountain terrain. Started in 1989, the race has been contested by many of the sport’s top athletes, as well as several top triathletes and Ironman champions. Financial difficulties nearly sidelined the race in 2003, but necessary sponsorship was found to afford the race and its generous prize purse of approximately \$50,000. In addition to the famed Swiss race, many other races in the Powerman Series have been added in recent years. Most of these events contest approximately half the distance of Zofingen, and the series includes venues in Europe and the United States. There are currently eleven races in the Powerman Series.

The current state of duathlon finds the sport in a relatively stable position, even if the sport remains far from its peak and nowhere near its former goal of Olympic recognition. Race distances range from sprint distance races (3K run–16K bike–3K run) up to Powerman distance races. USA Triathlon has organized a “grand prix” system, a group of twenty-one duathlons that would award points and modest prizes to series winners. USA Triathlon currently certifies over one hundred duathlons each year, merely a fraction of the number of triathlons certified by the governing body. At least for the time being, the sport of duathlon seems poised to remain a stepchild of the sport of triathlon, one that will support the overall efforts of triathlon but not challenge the sport in its status or popularity.

Rules, Governance, and Championships

The national governing body for duathlon in the United States is USA Triathlon, although much more of their efforts are placed toward the growth and promotion of triathlon. USA Triathlon employs a duathlon commission chair, and there are also several elected regional representatives. USA Triathlon’s primary jobs include certifying duathlons across the country, establishing rules, overseeing a system of national rankings, selecting national and regional championship events, and organizing the team to participate in world champi-

onship events. To accomplish this, USA Triathlon must rely on a limited staff and a loyal group of volunteers.

The rules of duathlon are effectively the same as those for triathlon, and they share the same official USA Triathlon rule book. While there are many details to the rule book, the spirit of the rules—that each participant must complete the course unassisted—is fairly straightforward. After the first run segment, athletes enter a designated transition area, where they have left their bicycles, and begin the cycling leg of the race. At the end of the bike segment, athletes again enter the transition area, leaving their bicycles and exiting for the final run segment. Many athletes change shoes during each transition area, allowing them to wear specialized cycling shoes that fit into aerodynamic pedals. Athletes must also wear a helmet during the cycling leg.

The most regulated and often most controversial rule in duathlon is that prohibiting drafting, or riding in a pack or pace line during the cycling leg. This common practice in cycling races makes athletes able to ride faster with less effort. Since duathlon, like triathlon, is to be an individual effort, drafting is not allowed and is monitored by race officials. If athletes are caught drafting, time penalties are assessed after the race. Multiple penalties result in disqualification. Adding to the controversy of drafting are the different rules for professional and amateur athletes. In recent years, certified professional athletes have been allowed to draft during certain races, although not all. This change has been made to increase spectator interest in professional duathlon. Amateur athletes, however, are still prohibited from drafting. This rule change has not been embraced by all in the sport, especially those that view duathlon as a personal voyage instead of a group competition. Additionally, the difference in rules between amateurs and professionals has alienated some from a sport that originally adhered to an egalitarian ethic.

Duathletes have the opportunity to compete in regional, national, and international championships at a variety of distances. The national championships rotate amongst different race sites, as do international championships, which are organized by the International



Triathlon Union (ITU). In order to participate in ITU duathlon championships, athletes must qualify by ranking at qualifier races set by their national governing body, which for Americans is USA Triathlon. Professional duathletes race in separate divisions in these championships—often draft legal—with several thousands of dollars for top finishers. Championships aside, Powerman Zofingen is still generally regarded as the premier duathlon in the world and still the ultimate prize for most amateur and professional duathletes.

Athletes

Perhaps the American most synonymous with duathlon in history is Kenny Souza, who dominated the sport throughout the sport's heyday of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Souza won eight national championships and one world championship. He also garnered attention for his flamboyant clothing and hairstyles. Michael Tobin was also a frequent top duathlon finisher and a series champion of the 1991 Coors Biathlon Series. On the women's side, Liz Downing dominated American racing for years, also taking the 1991 Coors series title and winning two world championships. Downing retired from professional racing in 1994. Many duathlons were won by athletes who primarily competed in triathlons, yet raced in duathlons both for additional competition and for more chances for prize money.

In recent years, Greg Watson has led all American duathletes, and he remains one of the few elite athletes to focus exclusively on duathlon. Watson won his first ITU duathlon world championship in 2004, and he has won several Dannon Duathlon Series titles. Eric Schwartz also regularly finishes at the top of the professional ranks. Anne Curi-Pressig is one of the leading American women in the sport, although European athletes have largely dominated the sport in recent years. Clearly, the sport continues to be driven by less competitive, amateur athletes. Approximately one thousand amateur athletes compete in at least three duathlons per year (the minimum number to gain a national ranking by USA Triathlon), and many events still attract several hundred athletes. While this is only a fraction of the

number of athletes ranked for triathlon, there remains a loyal base of amateur duathletes maintaining the sport.

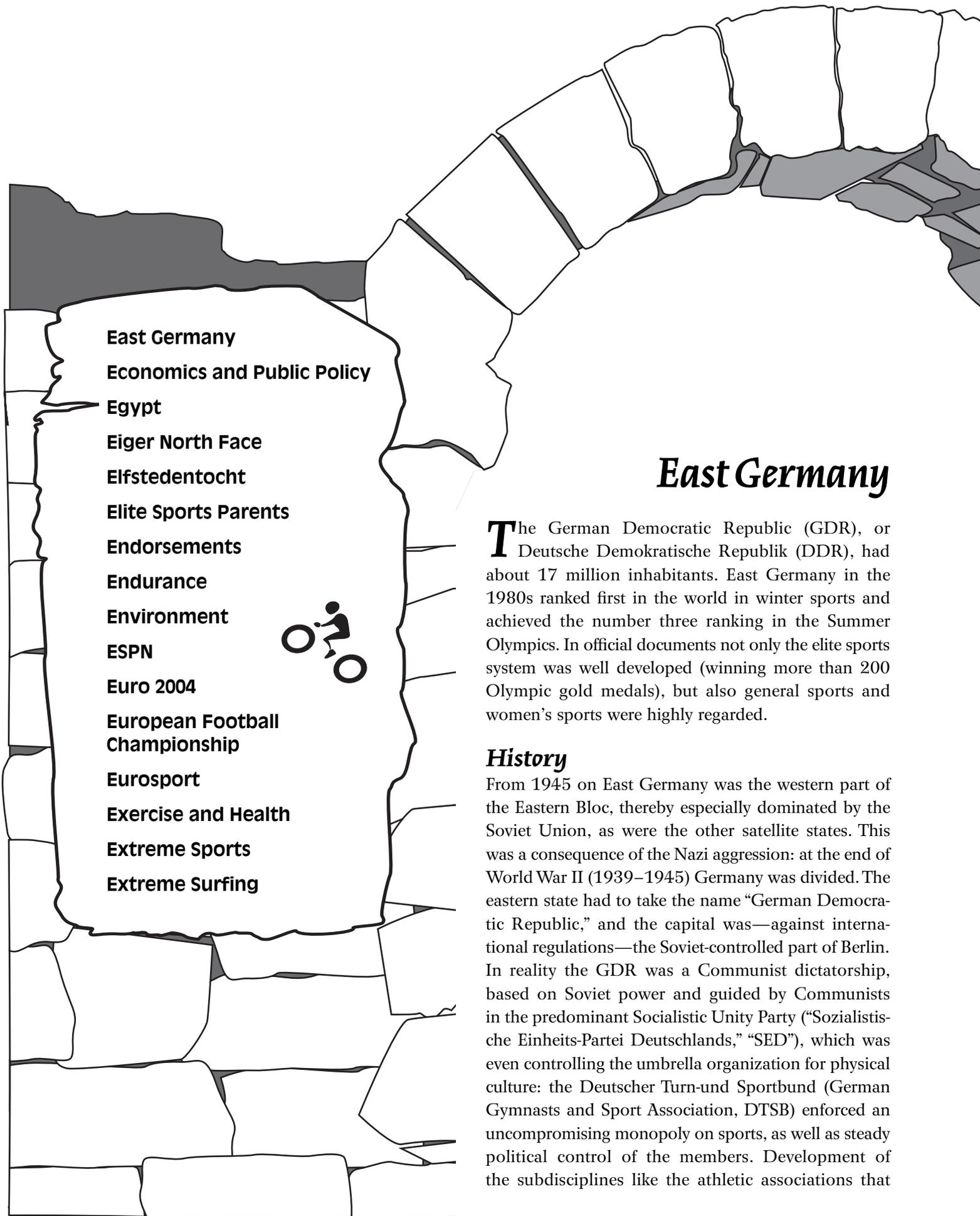
The Future

The future of duathlon, as it is still a relatively new sport, lies in the hands of race and series organizers, such as those for the Dannon Duathlon Series, and loyal amateur athletes who continue to race duathlons despite their stepchild image. It appears, at least for the near future, duathlon will not achieve its original goal of Olympic inclusion. It also seems that duathlon will continue to trail the Olympic sport of triathlon in both number of participants and promotional efforts. That said, perhaps the greatest asset for the sport of duathlon will be its shared lineage with triathlon. An increasing number of events now offer triathlon and duathlon choices at the same race. Additionally, triathletes will continue to compete in duathlons as part of their triathlon preparation and to vary their racing experiences. This is particularly true during the spring and fall, when lakes and oceans are often too cold for swimming. So while duathlon may not soon equal its peak of the late 1980s, it is well positioned to attract loyal elite and amateur participants seeking a varied athletic challenge.

Keith Strudler

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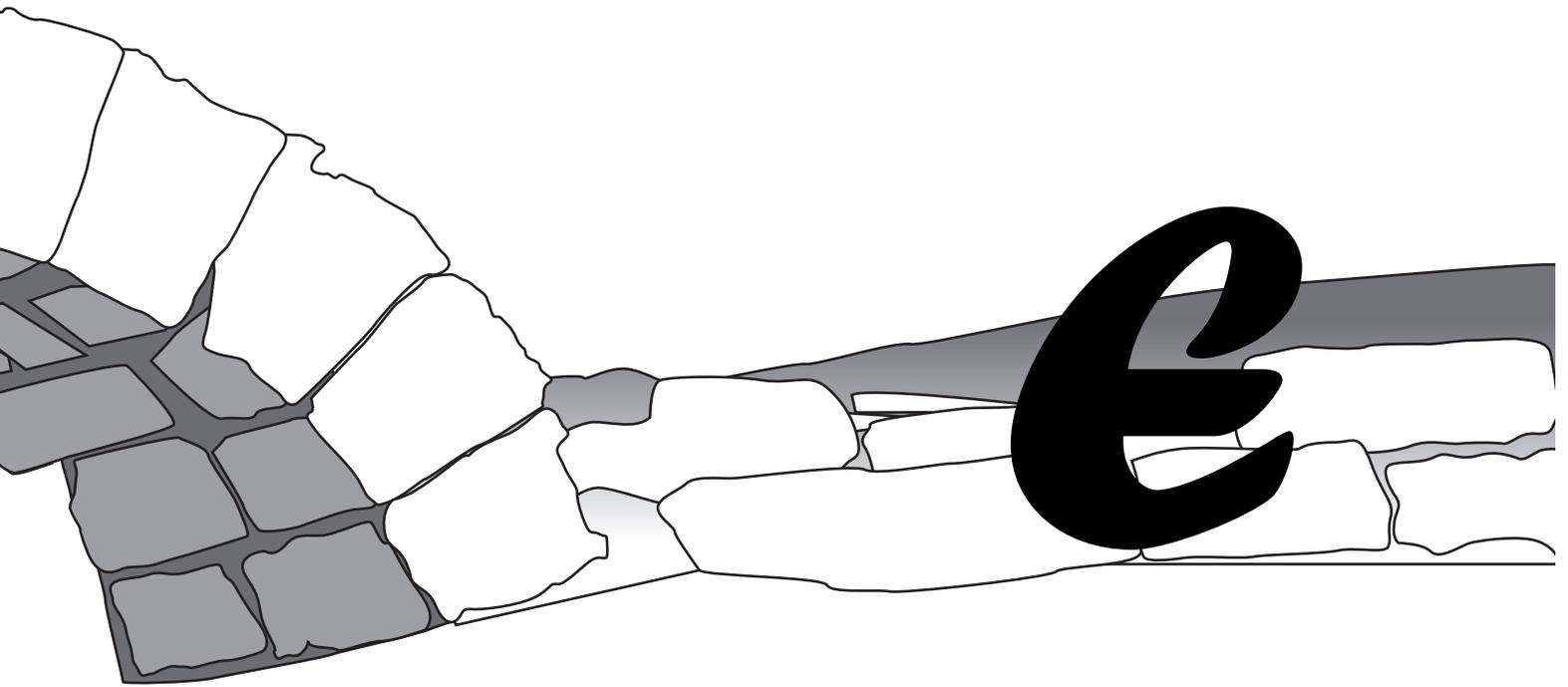
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- Elfstedentocht**
- Elite Sports Parents**
- Endorsements**
- Endurance**
- Environment**
- ESPN**
- Euro 2004**
- European Football Championship**
- Eurosport**
- Exercise and Health**
- Extreme Sports**
- Extreme Surfing**

East Germany

The German Democratic Republic (GDR), or Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR), had about 17 million inhabitants. East Germany in the 1980s ranked first in the world in winter sports and achieved the number three ranking in the Summer Olympics. In official documents not only the elite sports system was well developed (winning more than 200 Olympic gold medals), but also general sports and women's sports were highly regarded.

History

From 1945 on East Germany was the western part of the Eastern Bloc, thereby especially dominated by the Soviet Union, as were the other satellite states. This was a consequence of the Nazi aggression: at the end of World War II (1939–1945) Germany was divided. The eastern state had to take the name “German Democratic Republic,” and the capital was—against international regulations—the Soviet-controlled part of Berlin. In reality the GDR was a Communist dictatorship, based on Soviet power and guided by Communists in the predominant Socialistic Unity Party (“Sozialistische Einheits-Partei Deutschlands,” “SED”), which was even controlling the umbrella organization for physical culture: the Deutscher Turn-und Sportbund (German Gymnasts and Sport Association, DTSB) enforced an uncompromising monopoly on sports, as well as steady political control of the members. Development of the subdisciplines like the athletic associations that



followed the will of their members was not possible. Following a crisis in economy and society and after opening the Iron Curtain between Hungary and Austria in October 1989, giving a way to escape the totalitarian system, a great “Friendly Revolution” surprisingly ended the existence of the state in November 1989—without any violence. From 1990 on the process of democratic reunification of West and East Germany started, bringing new structures and a much higher degree of voluntary work for coaches or functionaries.

In the GDR, as the geographical middle-eastern part of the former “Deutsches Reich,” all traditional sports disciplines were practiced, but the trend was to concentrate on medal-intensive Olympic events. The emphasis on female swimming (no GDR tradition) and cutting off water polo (even if the GDR was a leading power in this sport) was a symbol for that decision.

Indigenous sports like German *Turnen* (enjoyed by versatile healthy men and especially women, but beyond any goal of medals or records), *Faustball* (fist ball), the more modern German *Feldhandball* (field handball), or the very strong left-wing worker sports clubs of the years before the Nazi dictatorship could not be maintained in their old forms because the new system banned all democratic forms of sport organization. The only viable imported sport was volleyball, which was imported by the Red Army of the Soviet Union and became known as the “sport of socialism,” especially for the younger generation. In fact, volleyball’s popularity grew over the years, leaving the traditional fist ball and field handball behind, a situation that continues until today, more than in the former West Germany.

Governmental support for sports opened a scissor that divided the chance of participation in sports for girls and women, boys and men. First priority was the political correctness of active sports people (witnesses say that that was a great reason to avoid getting into organized sports and instead to have informal sports activities, like in the Nazi era). Second, there was restriction on participation. The main element of the GDR system since 1950 was a politically dominated professional sport without free access and with life-long employment guarantee. This sector was dominating amateur forms of sport engagement, by attempting to dominate world sports by seeking of “new blood” through the selection of the top 3 percent of each GDR generation.

Sport was organized following the principles of an army: following all “orders” and “commands” from everybody above the athlete. Besides that, the athletes were victims of a rigorous control, because the Secret Service (Stasi) used about 3,000 volunteers, named “IM” (“unofficial supporters” of the State Security) to generate confidential information about athletes’ politics and private life, in addition to the absolute control of sports by the SED. More than 4,700 professional trainers and about 1,000 medical doctors or helpers as well as 5,000 administrators were involved in high-level sport. Nearly 1,500 persons were active in “research” or “application” of doping means; about 10,000 athletes were doped and are suffering today from severe side effects. That was the result of the GDR goals; internal plans for 1984 and 1988 saw the ranking of “number one” as realistic. This shows that the rulers

hoped that the GDR, a state with a population of 17 million, would dominate world sport.

Participant and Spectator Sports

As shown above, elite sports were actively abused to construct a national identity. The most accepted spectator sports were, for male viewers, soccer and cycling; for female spectators, figure skating, horse riding, gymnastics; for both genders, the Olympics. Under the GDR dictatorship there was more freedom to act outside societal norms in attending sports events than in other activities; this was abused by fascist “fans” or hooligans in soccer stadiums, who were a growing problem in the 1980s.

Because of fear of political demonstrations the international matches were attended by State Security: 80 to 90 percent of the spectators were agents who had the task to play “good” fans. This was a symbol of dictatorship in GDR sports.

Women and Sport

In theory and at international congresses women’s participation in sports was a great goal. But in reality girls and women had few chances. Stories like that of a member of the Democratic Women’s Organization were often reported: “Because society is not able to give me a temporary nurse for my child, I have to miss the next assembly of our organization for the rights of women.”

On the one hand women were the main part in the Olympic medal statistic of the GDR and, as a result, were the bigger part in recruiting “new blood.” An overall analysis of the entire East German youth population brought approximately 60,000 children of both sexes into the 1,800 state-run “training centers”—selected against their own will. Rigorous selection of 10,000 athletes led into the second level: the “sport clubs” for training. These “SCs” were combined with “child and youth sport schools.” Twenty percent of this group could rise to the 2,000 top athletes of the real national teams—as “pros” in high-performance training. In reality GDR athletes were exceptionally well-paid civil servants, soldiers, policemen, or officers of the Stasi with

guaranteed careers and the obligation to withhold information about the day-to-day course of athletic life, including practices that are identified today as massive doping.

Girls and women were the basis for the medals—they won most of them. But, the higher the position of women in the elite sports, the lower was the representation of them, which proves the strong conservative tendencies in the male-dominated GDR world of sports. Girls’ and women’s soccer may have been a positive development, compared with other nations who had tendencies to hinder women from kicking the ball. Women’s sports in general followed the hierarchy of gender, contrary to the propaganda, which claimed the emancipation of women in the GDR.

Youth Sports

The nature of youth participation in sport followed the principle of steady screening for world mastery: seeking (*Sichtung*) youngsters for the elite sector. This group of about 80,000 children had good chances for practice and education in sports; those who had to leave lost these chances again. Interviews prove that the loss of an elite-sport position resulted in a very bad life crisis.

Near the end of the GDR there was a growing sector of voluntary sports activities for pupils at school facilities, organized by teachers in their free time: *Schul-Sportgemeinschaften*. But in general the youth had in comparison to those of other nations very few chances to practice sports in sport organizations on a lower or medium level.

Organizations

The GDR sport organization DTSB integrated officially independent national organizations in disciplines, such as *Deutscher Fußball-Verband*. Democracy in electing the governing bodies was just for show. All organizations had to have the suffix *der DDR* (of the GDR), and all were subjected to the SED-controlled DTSB. Even above the umbrella organization DTSB and the National Olympic Committee the highest organizing body was a secret SED commission that controlled and de-

Luck is what happens when preparation meets opportunity. ■ COACH DARREL ROYAL

cided, named Leistungssportkommission der DDR (Central Sport Commission of the GDR). The president was controlled by the Secretary of Youth and Security in the central committee of the SED. He wrote internal orders like doping or training plans as “state-run secrets,” which were given by a Secret Service officer to the clubs. Following the International Olympic Committee rules a National Olympic Committee of the GDR existed, but in reality it was not independent.

The biggest regular events were the Deutsche Turn- und Sportfeste at Leipzig with a political focus and the Zentrale Jugend-Spartakiade, focusing on elite sport and mastery of junior cadres. Other most accepted sport events were soccer leagues and cycling competitions, and there was a growing reception of TV shows on elite sports.

As a consequence in a society with limited economic power, a very small sum of money was given to the sports activities of the majority outside that elite sports army of 90,000. Estimates of critical research go in the same direction: more than 80 percent (maybe 90 percent, integrating “secret” money for state-run doping) was given to elite sports, not to the wide majority outside the national team. Even this “rest” was divided: “Sport 2” consisted of achievement sports without participation in the international competition system of European championships or the Olympics (for instance, basketball). Sport 2 got more money than “sports for all” (*Volkssport* or *Freizeit-und Erholungssport*) or sport of the handicapped. That is one reason why organized sport in the former East Germany after reunification is until now on a level equivalent to that of West Germany in the 1950s.

As a consequence of GDR politics, new disciplines were not allowed to be integrated. So karate, windsurfing, and triathlon had to find a way to develop self-organized and outside of organizations, with many restrictions.

Sports in Society

Elite sports in society had an extraordinary high value—it had become virtually the only sector of society where the GDR had reached an international level, pro-

ducing the biggest part of positive identification with state and society by that “achievement” of young athletes. But today we see behind the curtain of Communist propaganda and disinformation, even though the GDR Secret Service has tried to hide information about drug abuse and violating amateur ideals. For example, we could show that the State Secretary of Sports had to resign at once by political decision when he tried to make *Volkssport* stronger.

The status of elite athletes in society was extremely high because of the high level of identification of the GDR with their achievement. But in the last decade that tendency changed, because the pattern of cheating by doping was known and openly discussed and the huge expenditures in that sector were criticized in a society that was going down economically and where it was nearly impossible to buy sports shoes.

The Future

Today there is a controversy about the future of sport in the former GDR. Sports-for-all as well as school education is a negative model; in comparison this sector was poor, lacking money, gymnastic or swimming halls, sport dresses and shoes. This underdevelopment led to a very low participation in sport-for-all: even today—one and a half decades after the end of Communist East Germany—it is only a fraction, compared with the Democratic Western part. In contrary the high-level sector is discussed from different perspectives. Scientists or politicians who like the “straight” model (of central decisions of the political system and with literally unlimited resources and salaries) tend to ignore the systemic elements like damaging health, cheating by doping and money, and giving inappropriate pressure and transforming the minds and bodies of children and youngsters.

That system lives on in the perception that organized sport is connected with money or employment, so it is a problem to organize truly amateur sports in now democratic East Germany, in contrast to other industrial societies. Even the personal influence of former agents of Stasi as well as doping criminals and the undemocratic

structures are discussed now, one and a half decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Giselher Spitzer

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Economics and Public Policy

Economics has a profound influence on the world of sport. This influence is especially felt in the most popular spectator sports where the players are paid professionals and the teams are firms. Researchers have conducted the majority of economic research in three areas of investigation: the organization and structure of sports leagues, the labor market in sports, and the issue of public subsidies to sporting franchises. In each of these areas economic issues have driven public policy decisions, and public policy decisions have affected the economic choices of individuals and firms.

In each of these issues important distinctions exist between sports institutions in Europe (primarily European football—soccer) and “the big four” professional sports leagues in North America—the National Football League (NFL), the National Basketball League (NBA), Major League Baseball (MLB), and the National Hockey League (NHL).

Peculiar Economics of Professional Sports

Sport exhibits a number of characteristics that distinguish it from other fields of economic endeavor. Notable among these characteristics is the applicability of one of the fundamental assumptions of economics, namely that the driving motivation behind any business is the desire to maximize profit. However, the application of this assumption to sports firms has been criticized as inaccurate given the social status that accompanies ownership of such a culturally important asset. Owners may be motivated to own teams as a means to boost their ego, increase their public profile, or even (as with basketball’s Dallas Mavericks owner Mark Cuban) to relive their childhood dreams of playing professional sports. The realization of any of these motives is dependent on the playing success of the team. Therefore, some owners might be willing to sacrifice profits in order to have a team that wins more games.

ECONOMICS OF TEAMS AND LEAGUES

In most industries cooperation between competing firms is called “collusion” and is prohibited. Antitrust legislation exists to enforce this prohibition. However, in the sports industry cooperation between competing teams is standard business practice. All professional sports teams cooperate by forming into leagues. Originally this cooperation was done in an effort to formalize the rules. Teams in different regions often operated under vastly different rules, making competition difficult. In England the debate about whether handling the ball was legal resulted in the division between soccer and rugby. Teams also quickly realized that fans would

be much more interested in sports that culminate in an ultimate victor being declared, creating a need to cooperate to formalize a league schedule and championship.

In marked difference with other industries, every business or team in a sporting league depends on the other businesses or teams with which it competes. Ford can produce a car without any assistance from Chrysler, but no sports team can put on a contest by itself, creating a unique interdependence between the teams in a league.

This interdependence is reinforced by the importance of uncertainty of outcome. Because few people will show up to watch a game in which the result is a foregone conclusion, both teams must have some chance of winning the game. The success of the Cleveland Browns, who won fifty-one of fifty-seven games and all four championships in the history of the All American Football Conference (AAFC), reduced interest in all of the other teams to such an extent that the conference folded.

The practical consequence of this interdependence is that each team or firm has an interest in the performance of its rivals. This peculiar economics of interdependence has given rise to a host of cooperative rules within leagues that goes well beyond what is strictly necessary to coordinate league play.

COOPERATION IN LEAGUE STRUCTURE

In North America all of the professional sports leagues maintain tight control over both the number of teams in the league and their location. In general, each franchise in a league is given monopoly rights to a given region (in the NFL the region is 120 kilometers around the franchise’s home stadium), meaning that no other team in that league will be allowed to locate in that market. Exceptions to this rule exist where some large markets have more than one team in each sport, but a new franchise must compensate the existing franchise for the lost revenue caused by the competition. For example, the NHL Anaheim Mighty Ducks had to pay the Los Angeles Kings \$25 million for encroaching on their exclusive rights in the Los Angeles region.

Owners also determine the number of teams in a league. In considering the optimal size of a league, the existing teams will weigh the costs and benefits of permitting an additional team. The benefits include any expansion of revenue that is shared among the teams in a league (such as national television revenue) and the expansion fees that are charged to new franchises. The costs include the dilution of any future shared revenue by the addition of a franchise and increased competition for the closest existing team to the proposed new franchise.

Control of league size is much less of an issue in European soccer, where leagues include far more teams that are organized into divisions. For example, the English league contains ninety-two teams divided into four divisions, and below these is a pyramid of nonleague clubs. Unlike in North American sport, where no mobility of teams exists between the “big leagues” and the minor leagues in each sport, at the end of every season in Europe the top teams in each division move up, and the bottom teams move down. With almost every population center represented by a team at some level, and with the opportunity for every team to play in the top division, decisions about league expansion are something of a moot point.

Cooperation in Revenue Sharing

Revenue sharing is another economic anomaly that is peculiar to sport and related to the issue of interdependence. Team owners argue that revenue sharing is important because equalizing revenue between teams helps improve competitive balance within the league by allowing small-market teams to compete financially with large-market teams. The most common form of revenue sharing is a leaguewide national television broadcast contract, which is distributed equally between all teams. Negotiating as a unit rather than as individual sellers also allows teams in a league to earn more revenue from the broadcast networks. The shared revenue from national TV broadcasts varies widely between the professional leagues. Between 1998 and 2005 the NFL will receive \$2.2 billion a year for its four

national contracts with ABC, Fox, CBS, and ESPN. At the other end of the spectrum, the NHL contract with ABC/ESPN that ran from 1999 to 2003 was worth only \$120 million per year.

Revenue sharing is not without its problems from an economic standpoint. It creates an incentive system that penalizes success and rewards failure. For example, the Oakland Raiders sell more NFL merchandise than any other team. However, because revenue from merchandising is shared equally among all of the teams in the NFL, the Raiders do not benefit from their marketing skills any more than the team that sells the least amount of merchandise. The corollary of this fact is that teams with weaker sales have little incentive to improve.

A second issue is that not all revenue sources are shared, creating an incentive for teams to concentrate on expanding nonshared revenues more than shared revenues. For example, in the NFL, gate, TV, and merchandising are shared, whereas luxury box revenue is not. As a result, owners have been building stadiums with more luxury boxes and less general seating. This situation has also contributed to the seemingly strange movement of teams from large to small markets (for example, the Rams moved from Los Angeles to St. Louis). Smaller markets have been able to attract teams by constructing stadiums that maximize nonshared revenue such as luxury boxes.

Without revenue sharing one of the major benefits of locating in a large market is the revenue from contracts with local media outlets. Movement from large to small markets is more likely when this benefit is diluted, which is the case when media revenue is shared, as is the case in the NFL, which has a national, shared TV contract and prohibits local TV contracts. This situation creates a problem for the league as a whole because leaguewide revenues (such as a national TV contract) would increase with more teams in larger markets.

Revenue sharing also reduces spending on players. Profit-maximizing teams will hire additional players only if the revenue generated is greater than the cost of the players. With revenue sharing the benefits of improving the team (measured, for example, by increased



Heavy Athenian construction in preparation for the 2004 Olympics.

challenge of a rival league since the Federal League, whereas all of the other three major North American leagues have had to fend off competition. As a league, baseball also has more power over its team owners' location decisions. Few would argue that given the paltry attendance figures for the Expos in Montreal that the team needed to move at the end of the 2004 season. Prior to this, no baseball team had changed cities since 1972 when the

Washington Senators moved to Texas to become the Rangers, and the league has been able to prevent other team owners who were interested in moving their franchises from doing so. The NFL, by contrast, has not been able to prevent teams from relocating since Al Davis successfully sued the league for attempting to prevent him from moving the Raiders to Los Angeles from Oakland in 1980 (they moved back in 1996).

Cooperation and Public Policy

Antitrust laws in the United States stipulate that firms cannot conspire to increase joint profits or restrain trade. In addition, firms cannot monopolize or attempt to monopolize trade. However, the application of these laws to professional sports teams has been uneven. A 1922 court case granted MLB the only blanket exemption from antitrust law. The case was brought to the Supreme Court by Ned Hanlon, owner of the Baltimore Terrapins of the rival Federal League. In a unanimous decision the Supreme Court ruled that baseball should not be subject to antitrust laws because baseball is a public exhibition rather than a business. This ruling has never been adequately justified, especially since the Supreme Court has not allowed this ruling to set a precedent and has denied other sports a similar exemption.

These court decisions have had a significant impact on the power of the leagues in the marketplace and on their constituent franchises. Baseball has not faced the

Washington Senators moved to Texas to become the Rangers, and the league has been able to prevent other team owners who were interested in moving their franchises from doing so. The NFL, by contrast, has not been able to prevent teams from relocating since Al Davis successfully sued the league for attempting to prevent him from moving the Raiders to Los Angeles from Oakland in 1980 (they moved back in 1996).

Antitrust laws have been applied only sporadically to other leagues. For example, the rival United States Football League (USFL) successfully sued the NFL for restraint of trade (although the damage award was only \$1) based on the pressure tactics applied by the NFL on the broadcast networks to keep the USFL from gaining a television contract. However, courts have consistently granted leagues the right to collude in negotiating collectively for national television contracts. In fact, the NFL was granted a limited exemption to antitrust legislation explicitly to allow it to negotiate a league-wide TV deal.

Europe has less need for antitrust policy, however inconsistently applied, because open entrance into the existing league creates much less incentive to start rival leagues. In addition, with the exception of league-wide TV contracts, little in the way of revenue sharing exists in Europe. However, the European Union (EU) has been threatening to prevent leagues from negotiating



Economics and Public Policy

1890—Not A Great Year for Baseball Owners

Cleveland, O., Nov. 21.—Players' National League figures are full of deep interest to the public at this time. The losses of the league during the season through the playing side of the game footed about \$125,00, divided as follows: Boston, none; New York, \$15,000; Philadelphia, \$20,000; Cleveland, \$15,000; Pittsburg[h], \$20,000; Buffalo, \$20,000; Brooklyn, \$19,000; Chicago, \$16,000. Total, \$125,000.

In the conferences the following admissions as to losses have been made by National League men about National League clubs: Boston, \$60,000; New York, \$45,000; Chicago, \$35,000; Brooklyn, \$25,000; Cleveland, \$23,000; Philadelphia, \$16,000; Cincinnati, \$15,000; Pittsburg[h], \$12,000. Total,

\$2231,000. Against the latter item stands a claim by J. Palmer O'Neil that the Pittsburg[h]s lost but \$3,700 last season. He also has a claim for \$2,000 for extra mileage traveled, but doesn't hope to get is all.

Added to the losses in case the Players' League does not go on, may be added the following sums spent in building and equipping grounds: Boston, \$40,000; New York, \$60,000; Philadelphia, \$38,000; Brooklyn, \$42,000; Chicago \$25,000; Cleveland, \$20,000; Pittsburg[h], \$18,000; Buffalo, \$13,000, Total, \$215,000. Grand total invested: \$340,000. The Brooklyn club did not pay for its ground or stands.

Source: Here are the figures: The losses of the base-ball year made public at last. (1890, November 22). *Chicago Tribune*.

nationwide TV contracts, although this prohibition has not yet come to pass.

Labor Market

Researchers have applied most economic analysis of the labor market in sports to determining the impact of changes in the structure of the labor market on both player wages and competitive balance in league play.

Historically, labor market restrictions have been prevalent in both Europe and North America. The main restriction on the labor market in all of the North American leagues used to be the reserve clause, which stated that at the end of a player's contract, owners could unilaterally extend the terms of the previous contract for an additional year. Unless players were willing to take the extraordinary step of sitting out a year, this clause effectively bound players to their existing team for their entire playing career, eliminating bidding for players by other teams in the league.

In Europe three labor market restrictions were in place: the maximum wage, the retain and transfer system, and import restrictions. The maximum wage stipulated the maximum amount that a player could be paid and was abolished in 1961. The retain and trans-

fer system, like the reserve clause, bound players to one particular team for their entire career. Players could move between teams only with the payment of a transfer fee from the new team to the old team. The purpose of this payment was to provide compensation from the wealthy buying teams to the more modest selling teams for the loss of a valuable playing asset. Finally, European leagues contained import restrictions stipulating the maximum number of foreign players permitted on each team. This stipulation was designed to both foster the development of domestic talent, which is important in a sport in which competition between national teams (such as the World Cup) is prestigious, and to prevent wealthy teams from stocking up on foreign superstars and dominating a league.

Current Labor Market

Under pressure from individual players, who challenged leagues in court under restraint of trade, and player unions negotiating in the collective bargaining process, the reserve clause in North America was gradually eliminated and replaced with free agency, which allows players to negotiate with any team at the end of their contract. By allowing a more competitive labor market

to develop in sports, free agency has stimulated an increase in player salaries as teams vie with each other to attract talented athletes.

In an effort to control salaries in the era of free agency, the NFL and the NBA have implemented salary caps, a maximum amount that can be spent on all of the players on a team. Although caps do reduce spending on players' salaries, salary caps create some important problems. First, the maximum payroll makes it difficult to keep successful teams together. Players on successful (especially championship) teams are more likely to command higher salaries, which makes it unlikely that teams will be able to re-sign their free agent status and stay under the salary cap. In 1983, for example, the Boston Celtics of the NBA discovered that re-signing Larry Bird would use up most of their salary cap, forcing them to sell off much of the rest of their team. In an effort to avoid this problem, the NBA permitted teams to re-sign their own free agents without regard to the salary cap, which came to be known as a "soft cap." Of course, omitting the salaries of re-signed players from the cap limit severely compromises its ability to constrain salaries.

The second difficulty is that teams often have an incentive to cheat on the salary cap. Teams that are caught going over the cap incur a fine. However, because of the complex financial arrangements in players' contracts, detecting teams that have cheated is difficult. In addition, some team owners may be willing to accept the fine if they can attract more talent and win more games than teams that obey the cap. This situation is quite likely if owners are not profit maximizers, willing to compromise profits for playing success. However, even if owners were strictly profit maximizers, going over the cap is still rational if the additional revenue from signing a player is greater than the cost.

Another peculiar aspect of the labor market in sports is the draft, which exists in all four North American leagues. Drafts are designed to improve long-term competitive balance by having teams select entry-level players in reverse order of the teams' playing performance during the previous season. For example, the worst

team during the previous season gets the first choice of entry-level players. Of course, eliminating competitive bidding between teams on entry-level players also reduces the cost of recruiting new players.

Players object to the elimination of bidding, as well as to the possibility of being compelled to play for a team, or in a city, that they do not like. Under pressure from players and their unions, the number of draft rounds has been gradually reduced. For example, in the NBA it has been reduced from seven rounds to only two. Players who are not drafted are free to attempt to make any team they choose.

In Europe the retain and transfer system was dramatically altered when a Belgian soccer player, Jean-Marc Bosman, challenged it before the European Union. Unhappy at his original team, F. C. Liege, Bosman wanted a transfer to French team Dunkirk, but the deal foundered on the large transfer fee requested by Liege. In 1990 Bosman sued for damages based on restraint of trade, and, after numerous appeals, in 1995 the EU ruled that transfer fees contravene Article 48 of the EU Treaty of Rome, which states that residents of EU nations must be free to ply their trade in any country of the EU. This ruling forced European soccer clubs to cease the practice of charging transfer fees after a player's contract is over, although it is still permitted for the duration of the contract. The Bosman ruling also encouraged the EU to force the various soccer associations in Europe to abandon their restrictions on the number of imported players that are permitted on a team.

Salaries of Professional Athletes

In both North America and Europe the reduction of labor market restrictions has paved the way for rapidly increasing salaries for athletes. For example, salaries in the NHL increased by 400 percent between 1990 and 1999. This increase was not unique to North America. Between 1994 and 1999 wages in the Premier Division in England increased by 200 percent. In 2002 average player salaries were \$4.5 million in the NBA, \$2.5 million in MLB, \$1.6 million in the NHL, and \$1.3 million in the NFL.

There isn't a single professional sports season now that doesn't go on at least a month too long. Baseball starts in football weather, and football in baseball weather, and basketball overlaps them both. ■ JAMES RESTON

Without question major league athletes are generously paid. However, economists distinguish between being well paid and being overpaid. The most frequently used definition of a “fair” wage in economics is to compare workers’ earnings with their contribution to their firm’s revenue, termed the “marginal revenue product” (MRP). If earnings are below MRP, then players are being paid less than they are contributing to the firm and are being “exploited,” whereas if the opposite is true, players are overpaid. Evidence from the NHL and MLB suggests that when the reserve clause was in place players were badly exploited, earning as little as 10–20 percent of their MRP. In the era of free agency, however, the opposite has occurred. Players are, on average, being paid more than their MRP.

Economists argue that no firm that is attempting to maximize profits should ever pay a wage in excess of a worker’s MRP. The most straightforward explanation of why this argument does not appear to be heeded in professional sports is that owners are not profit maximizing and are willing to sacrifice profits for success. Another possible explanation is the winner’s curse, which occurs when a number of bidders are in an auction-type setting with a degree of uncertainty about the value of the subject of the auction, as is the case when a number of teams are bidding on a free-agent athlete. The successful bidder will inevitably be the one with the most optimistic evaluation of the athlete, creating a tendency for the winning bid to overestimate the value of the athlete.

Economists also have asked whether the relaxation of labor market restrictions has had an impact on the distribution of playing talent in professional sports. Empirical evidence, in North America at least, suggests no impact has occurred. Two studies have demonstrated that no change has taken place in the distribution of winning percentages in any one season after the move from the reserve clause to free agency in baseball. Economists explain this fact through the “invariance principle,” which holds as follows. Assume that the same player has a higher value in a larger market than in a smaller market. Under free agency the team in the larger

market will offer the player more money than will the team in the smaller market, and the player will go to the larger market team. With the reserve clause in place, the larger market team cannot negotiate with the player, who is contractually bound to the smaller market team. However, the larger market team can negotiate with the smaller market team, who will agree to sell the player if the larger market team offers more than the player can contribute to the smaller market team. Because the player can generate more revenue in the larger market, the player will be sold.

Notice that although in either case the player ends up with the larger market team, under free agency the player keeps all of the benefits from being able to sign with the larger market team, whereas under the reserve clause the smaller market team receives the payment from the larger market team. Therefore, although the distribution of playing talent remains the same, the reserve clause does redistribute income away from players and toward small-market teams.

Subsidization of Professional Sports Teams

The third important area of economic research in the sports realm emerged when governments became involved in the economics of sports by subsidizing teams. This involvement is particularly common in North America. In an extreme example, the NFL Baltimore Ravens pay nothing to play in a publicly funded facility. Two questions arise from this practice. First, does an economic justification exist for this subsidy? Second, if no justification exists, why is subsidization so prevalent?

The use of public money to support what is essentially little more than grownups playing children’s games at first seems to defy rationality. However, at least in theory, some potential justifications exist for subsidization, assuming that in the absence of the subsidy, the team would leave for another city. If no threat of a team leaving exists, then no economic rationale for subsidization exists.

The presence of a team may bring several types of economic benefits that could justify subsidization. First,



A bike path in Vancouver, British Columbia; such paths are important community resources. *Source: istockphoto/Waynerd.*

a team can increase spending in the local economy, both by increasing tourism and by capturing more of the discretionary spending of locals. For example, purchasing season tickets instead of a foreign vacation reduces spending that would have otherwise “leaked” out of the region. Second, sports teams are considered by some to be a cultural amenity that attracts businesses and workers who would not otherwise locate in a region, thus contributing to general economic expansion. Third, sports teams have an “existence value,” which is the value that residents derive from the mere presence of the team in their city. Unfortunately, existence values are difficult to quantify. As far as the more tangible economic benefits are concerned, a number of economic studies have found no connection between the presence of a professional sports team and a variety of economic indicators such as economic growth, income, or employment.

The explanation for the seemingly perplexing political decision to subsidize teams with so little economic justification rests partially on the ability of wealthier and more organized groups to exert greater influence on the citizenry and on political decision makers than can disorganized and poorly resourced groups. For the team itself and those groups (such as the construction industry) who stand to gain considerably from the sub-

sidy, dedicating considerable resources to a campaign to curry the favor of the public and politicians is rational. On the other hand, the costs of the subsidy are spread thinly across the entire taxpaying public, meaning that it is not economically “rational” for people to invest much time or money in a countercampaign. The pro-subsidy camp has both the resources and the incentive to dramatically outspend its opponents in a political system in which money can purchase results. This unequal contest in the political system can result in government subsidies even when the majority of the public would not reasonably support the policy.

The greater incidence of public subsidies of teams in North America compared with teams in Europe is caused in part by the tight control over the number of teams exercised by North American leagues. This control ensures that not all major markets contain teams, making threats of relocation highly credible. As noted earlier, in Europe the number of teams in a league is not similarly restricted. London, for example, had five teams playing in the English Premier division in 2003–2004 and numerous others toiling away in the divisions below. Virtually all major centers already contain teams with a strong traditional fan base, making it difficult for a team to pack up and move to another region and remain viable. Indeed, the only instance of such a move occurring in England in recent history was the move of Wimbledon to Milton Keynes. Not only was this move greeted with horror across the country, but also the team became known derisively as “Franchise FC,” and has attracted few fans in its new location, incurred massive debts, and was relegated from the first division in 2004. The limited possibility of team movement in Europe would make any owner’s relocation threat, on which most subsidy decisions in North America are based, quite hollow.

Economic Crisis?

Professional sports are going through something of an economic crisis. In both Europe and North America the easing of restrictions in the labor market has paved the way for dramatic salary escalation. Owners have

responded in two ways. First, they have sought to convince, with varying degrees of success, fellow owners and players that new restrictions in the form of salary caps and revenue sharing are necessary. This effort has been truly successful only in the NFL, which is both the most profitable league and has the strongest salary cap and most revenue sharing. Second, teams have attempted to expand all of their revenue sources. This attempt has resulted in efforts to expand the sales of league merchandise around the globe (most aggressively by the English soccer team Manchester United, which has opened club superstores in several Asian locations) and pressure on governments to increase team revenues through publicly subsidized facilities. Despite these revenue increases, team owners still claim that they are losing money and are placing increasing pressure on player unions to reduce wages and on politicians to increase subsidies. Unsurprisingly, both strategies are being met with increasing resistance, making some people question the ability of these strategies to restore profitability.

Ian Hudson

See also Franchise Relocation; Sport Politics; Unionism

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Egypt

Egypt, with a population of 76 million, is located in the northeastern corner of Africa at the crossroads of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Egyptian culture has been influenced by developments in all three continents. In particular, because England controlled Egypt during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, sports in Egypt were influenced, primarily as men played traditional European sports such as soccer (association football).

Centuries ago, as Egypt declined and came under Roman rule, sports were mainly limited to large Roman-style public tournaments. During the seventh century Muslims from Arabia conquered Egypt, and Egypt became an Islamic society. In Islam physical fitness is important in maintaining health and strength. The ulamas, the scholars of Islam, affirmed that fitness helps create an integrated, well-rounded personality and that a person should become physically fit through sports, socially fit through social service, morally fit through virtue, spiritually fit through worship, mentally



A view from a hotel looking at the Red Sea. *Source: istockphoto/HTOUDY.*

fit through culture, and politically fit through community involvement. Some activities of Islamic life promote fitness. For example, prayer involves physical movements and helps to strengthen muscles; pilgrimage often requires physical activity and hardship; and fasting develops several traits necessary for success in sports, including self-control, patience, and discipline.

Women in Sports

Ancient Egypt provides some of the oldest evidence of physical fitness activity and sports participation by women in human history. This evidence comes from the archaeological record, which includes writings, carvings, drawings, sculpture, and paintings of women involved in gymnastics, archery, swimming, horseback riding, and dance. An Eighteenth Dynasty illustration from the Luxor tomb of Nub Amon, for example, shows two women dancing, and from the Eleventh Dynasty the walls of the temple of Bani Hassan show women exercising and playing with balls stuffed with hay and thread and covered with animal hide. Ancient Egyptian

rulers, both men and women, valued physical fitness. For example, statues of Queen Hatshepsut (1490–1468 BCE) and Queen Nefertiti (1364–1306 BCE) show them both as physically active. However, most Egyptians, male or female, probably did not participate in sports because sports were the domain of the ruling and priestly classes.

Islamic beliefs about women and about appropriate sports activity have had a major influence on sports participation in Egyptian society. Physical education programs for girls were begun during the Ottoman rule of Egypt during the nineteenth century and also were encouraged during British control from 1882 to 1920. However, women's sports programs developed slowly, and not until 1937 did the Ministry of Education establish training programs for physical education teachers and more women become involved as instructors. In keeping with Islamic beliefs, men teachers and women teachers had separate departments at the Princess Fawzeya School for Girls. To be accepted, applicants had to have a high school diploma, be between eight-

Egypt Olympics Results*2004 Summer Olympics: 1 Gold, 1 Silver, 3 Bronze*

een and twenty-four years of age, show good behavior, be physically fit, and pass an exam. The ministry in 1939 established two physical education departments—one for men that remained a part of the Educational Institute for Teachers and one for women that became part of the Institute for Art Teachers.

The revolution of 1952, which ended the monarchy and created a republic, significantly changed Egypt. The new government emphasized education, especially women's education. Two physical education institutes were established in 1955 in Alexandria—one for men, one for women—and a four-year course of study led to a bachelor's degree in physical education. In 1974 master's and doctoral programs were developed.

Sports had become important in African and Muslim nations by the 1990s. In 1993 the physical education program established at Tanta University became the first coed physical education faculty in Egypt. The El Minya University physical education program became coed in 1994, as did the program at Monofaya University in 1995 and at Assuit University in 1996. Boys and girls and men and women would share classrooms for their academic studies but would participate separately in sports and other physical activities.

Although since the 1950s Egyptian women have had more opportunities to participate in sports (soccer, basketball) and physical fitness activities at the school level, not until 1994 did an Egyptian woman, Sahar al-Hawari, form a women's soccer team. Despite opposition from some in the sports establishment and some parents who did not want their daughters to participate in public or in a rough sport, she founded the Egyptian Association for Women's Football (EAWF), and in 1998 Egyptian women competed in the Africa Cup for Women. According to al-Hawari, "I suffered a lot. This is a dream that came true. I knew it was not a miracle. I believed in the sport." Soccer had been a male-only sport until establishment of Egypt's first national team for women and creation of the EAWF. Nevertheless, women's participation remained low compared with that of men. Although women represented more than half of the population, men participated in hundreds of

soccer teams, as well as other sports teams; only fifteen women's soccer teams existed. Men hold the most positions on the EAWF board of directors, and fathers still have a say in whether their daughters may participate.

Parental attitudes about the appropriate role of young women in Egyptian society have been perhaps the major problem facing women's soccer. Some families, according to Ashraf Shafik, trainer of the national women's team, "didn't want their girls to look masculine or stay away from home too long." Other families were relieved to learn that the audiences at most women's matches were families, and some progress has been achieved.

Competition at the Top

At the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens, Greece, Egypt won five medals. Karam Ibrahim won a gold medal for men's Greco-Roman wrestling (96 kilograms); Mohamed Aly won a silver medal for men's boxing, super heavy (more than 91 kilograms); Ahmed Ismail won a bronze medal for men's boxing, light heavy (81 kilograms); Mohamed Elsayed won a bronze medal for men's boxing, heavy (91 kilograms); and Tamer Bayoumi won a bronze medal for men's taekwondo (less than 58 kilograms).

Nabila Ahmed Abdel Rahman (with Mickey Friedman)

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Eiger North Face

The Eiger North Face of the Swiss Alps is at once a place of myth and of collective remembrance, veiled by the aura of danger, death, and heroism. It is a dream or a nightmare, a challenge and a trial. Those who have

mastered the Eiger North Face belong without doubt to the small community of elite alpinists.

The Eiger, nearly four thousand meters high, forms together with its neighbors Moench and Jungfrau an impressive triangle called Dreigestirn in the Bernese Oberland. In the wake of the Eroberungsalpinismus, the top of the Eiger was reached in 1858.

Until early modern times, mountains have been untamed nature or vast wilderness. Only at the end of the eighteenth century did artists and scientists begin to be interested in the secrets of the mountains. The starting point and first highlight of mountain climbing was the conquest of Mont Blanc in 1786; with much time in between, the Grossglockner (1800), the Zugspitze (1820), and the Grossvenediger (1841) were climbed for the first time. In the middle of the nineteenth century, suddenly the Alpine fever erupted, coming from Great Britain, the fatherland of sport. Now, mountains were looked upon as a sporting challenge and the run on the highest mountains began. After the conquest of most summits, the mountaineers turned to difficult walls and routes. Detailerschliessung was the motto that opened the way for numerous first climbs.

In the years between World War I and World War II, most routes had already been climbed and the top alpinists searched for new challenges, such as, for example, climbing alone or in winter or the conquest of walls that were looked upon as impossible to climb.

North Face—Wall of Death

The dark and concave North Face of the Eiger was looked upon as insurmountable, not only because of its steep incline and its overhang, its great height difference of 1,800 meters, and the numerous difficult passages, but also because of the weather conditions and the danger of falling rocks and avalanches. The Eiger North Face was the last big challenge of the Alps after the north face of the Matterhorn had been climbed in 1931 and the north face of the Grandes Jorasses in 1935. Now the interest of the elite alpinists but also of the general public concentrated on the Eiger, whose North Face and the dramatic events of a climbing attempt can



Eiger North Face

Catherine Destivelle, First Woman to Climb Eiger

In 1992, at age 22, the French climber Catherine Destivelle became the first woman to ascend Eiger North Face. As the extract below (from of profile of Destivelle on her website) attests, her success on Eiger came as a result of a childhood dream and a decade of hard work:

She remembers the pleasure of reading books such as “Heidi” and “Belle et Sebastien” when she was young. “One day, I dreamed of being Heidi, looking after cows in alpine meadows.” This romantic ideal has seen her through the years to this day.

Her climbing is deeply rooted in the traditions of this sport, at one with mountains and adventure. She began climbing at the age of 13: “When I tried rock-climbing, I was good at it straight away, so I liked it.” By the age of 15, she was picked up every Sunday by a group of more experienced climbers and whisked off to Fontainebleau for the day. By the age of 16, she had climbed the Couzy-Desmaison route on the Olan and the Devies-Gervasutti route on the Ailefroide, followed the year after by an ascent of the American Direct on the Petit Dru.

Source: Catherine Destivelle. (2005). Retrieved March 1, 2005, from <http://www.destivelle.com/A/BVFrame.html>

be observed by a sensation-prone audience with telescopes from a hotel terrace. The German climbers especially showed a contempt for death or maybe even a longing for death and were willing to take greatest risks in order to triumph over the seemingly undefeatable wall.

Until 1936, only one team had tried to climb the North Face and both mountain climbers froze to death in the “bivouac of death” at 3,300 meters after a dramatic change of weather. The Olympic Games of 1936 and the challenge of an Olympic medal heightened Eiger fever even more. In 1924, an Olympic medal was



The Eiger North Face. *Source: istockphoto.com/treboyd.*

handed out for achievements in alpinism, and the opportunity to gain this award in the Olympic Games in their own country was a special incentive for the German mountain climbers. In 1936, a German-Austrian team (Willy Angerer and Edi Rainer from Germany and Andreas Hinterstoisser and Toni Kurz from Austria) were the most promising aspirants for the victory over the Eiger North Face. After three bivouacs they had to give up, and they lost their lives in a dramatic way during their attempt to escape the wall. Hinterstoisser and Rainer fell to their deaths, Angerer was strangled by the rope, and Kurz died after he had survived a night hanging onto the rope, only a few meters away from rescuers who had come to the hole in the wall that led to a train

tunnel leading to the Jungfrau. But Kurz was unreachable from this place. Whereas the president of the British Alpine Club named the Eiger North Face an obsession for crazy people, the four dead mountain climbers were glorified in Germany as heroes who had given their lives and were lost in action for the fatherland.

In 1938, again two teams prepared themselves for climbing the wall. The two Germans, Andreas Heckmair und Ludwig Vörg, were unemployed Bergvagabunden. They let themselves be employed in the Ordensburgen of the Nazi Party in Sonthofen, Germany, in order to earn enough money to buy the newly invented crampons with twelve spikes. In the Ordensburgen, Nazi

The best climber in the world is the one who's having fun. ■ ALEX LOWE

leaders were educated and military exercises, sport training, and political indoctrination were obligatory.

On the wall, Andreas Heckmair and Ludwig Vörg met the Austrian climbers Heinrich Harrer and Fritz Kasparek, and after some consideration they joined forces. The ascent took place in an arena visible to the public as a show for the audience. Spectators, eager for sensational events, and also journalists, observed the actions in the wall with telescopes. In addition, pictures were taken from an airplane. Adolf Hitler had asked to be informed continuously about the progress of the climbers. Andreas (Anderl) Heckmair, the best climber of the four, took the lead and the success of the team was mainly his achievement. With much luck, the four climbers reached the summit in three days in spite of bad weather. In Germany, the conquest of the last fortress of the Alps was interpreted as a symbol of German superiority and frenetically celebrated: "A people that has such sons cannot be destroyed" (Amstadter 1996, 468).

After a pause caused by World War II, in the 1950s there was a run to the Eiger North Face and to the route of the first climbers, which was named the Heckmair Route. This route was and is a challenge that was taken up by the best climbers, but also by adventurers and reckless people. All in all, around fifty individuals have lost their lives trying to climb the Eiger North Face.

Soon it was not enough just to climb the wall. In 1961, a German-Austrian team conducted the first ascent in wintertime. In 1963, the Swiss Michel Darbellay climbed the wall alone. In 1964, the first woman, the German Daisy Voog, was able to conquer the North Face of the Eiger, and in 1992 Catherine Destivelle managed to climb the wall alone in wintertime.

Not only the difficulty but also the speed was increased continuously. Today, the record of climbing the wall is 4½ hours, set by Christoph Hainz in 2003. In 1985, Christophe Profit climbed with the help of a helicopter, as a means of transportation between the mountains, the north faces of the Eiger, the Matterhorn, and the Grandes Jorasses in 22½ hours.

In spite of improved equipment, climbing the wall is now as then incredibly difficult, exhausting, and dangerous. This is especially true for the new routes. In 1966, a *direttissima* was opened that was named after John Harlin, who died through an accident on the mountain. In 1969, six Japanese climbers, five men and one woman, climbed the wall in the Japanese *direttissima*. More routes followed, and today there are around twenty-five routes, some of them free climbing routes.

Rescue Operations

Until today, the wall was the arena of great sport performances, but also of dramatic rescue operations. In 1957, an international team of top-level mountaineers managed to save the Italian climber Claudio Corti with the help of a cable winch from the summit. Like the tragedy of 1936, this action caused incredible public attention, not least because the attempt failed to also rescue the team comrade of Corti, Stefano Longhi. On the seventh day in the wall, he fell and had to be left on a ledge. There he stayed hungry and freezing for three days. Members of the rescue team could only try to cheer him up and to feed him with hopes for the next day. But on the next day Longhi's dead body hung on the rope after a storm had swept him out of his stand. His body dangled on the wall for two years before the corpse could be recovered in 1959. Since the 1970s, climbers in trouble have been able to be rescued by a helicopter. However, in the words of the climber Uli Auffermann, the wall is still a legend and a "masterpiece of mountaineering."

Gertrud Pfister

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Elfstedentocht

Also known as the “Eleven-Town Race” and the “Eleven-City Tour,” Elfstedentocht is a one-day ice skating race in which competitors skate to eleven towns in Friesland Province of the northern Netherlands. Elfstedentocht is only held on years when the bodies of water that connect the towns freeze over so that the racers can skate from town to town. The race covers almost 200 kilometers, visiting the towns of Leeuwarden, Sneek, IJlst, Sloten, Stavoren, Hindeloopen, Workum, Bolsward, Harlingen, Franeker, Dokkum, and back to Leeuwarden. The race is usually held in January or February, the coldest months of the year. The ice must be a minimum of 15 centimeters thick across most of the course, with “ice transplants” and facilities (*klunen*) for walking across non-icy areas on skates added to fill out the course.

Short Notice

Elfstedentocht is announced by the Vereniging De Friesche Elfsteden (Fresian Eleven Cities Association), only a few days before it is held, with the declaration, “*It sil hewe*” (“It is on”). Because the timing of the race cannot be predicted, one cannot train specifically for it, although two people have won it twice. Elfstedentocht captures the imagination and interest of an entire country when it is held, and most activity ceases so people can watch the racers come through their towns or watch on television. The race has been held only four times during the last forty years.

Typically the race starts at 5:30 A.M., with nonelite skaters starting directly after elite skaters at a rate of one

thousand every fifteen minutes. The elite skaters are in the dark for much of the race. In 1997 local farmers helped illuminate the course with lights from their tractors.

Origin

Elfstedentocht originated during the eighteenth century when local people attempted to skate through all eleven towns of Friesland in one day. In 1890 the sports journalist Willem “Pim” Mulier organized a tour. The first organized race was held in 1909, and the Vereniging De Friesche Elfsteden was created later that year to manage the race. The association is made up of a ten-member executive committee and a larger group of area supervisors. The association controls the number of people who can compete, when the race can be held, measures the ice throughout the course, and creates *klunen* where the ice is not thick enough.

Importance

The Dutch have other long-distance ice skating races, but Elfstedentocht is the longest and the most famous. People who can’t wait for the course to freeze over can in-line skate along roughly the same route. Ice skating is an important part of the Dutch identity, and the race takes the nation back to a timeless Holland for a day. The winner has always been Dutch. More than one-third of the competitors in the 1997 race were older than fifty.

Rules

Only members of the Vereniging De Friesche Elfsteden can compete in the race. Membership is limited to people who are eighteen or older who can prove they are competent skaters and are vouched for by two members of the association. Members will either have a “start right” or will enter a lottery to obtain a start place after all the members with start rights have elected to race. A maximum of sixteen thousand people start the race. The percentage that finishes the race varies because of the weather; only 1.3 percent of the starters finished in 1963. Elite competitors must finish within a percentage



of the winning time (20 percent for men, 30 percent for women), and other competitors must finish by midnight (other town checkpoints close earlier).

Shared wins (created when race winners cross the finish line together) were outlawed after the race had shared winners in 1933 and 1940. Women, previously able to compete only with the amateurs, were added to the elite competition in 1985. Women have not received a separate award in past races, but they will the next time the race is held. To ensure that shortcuts are not taken on the course, all racers have cards hand-stamped in each town to prove they came through. All finishers receive the Elfstedenkruisje (Eleven Cities Cross). The top eleven men and top three women receive medals, with the top male winner receiving a large silver plate, and the top female winner receiving a silver cup and bowl.

Winners

The race has been held only fifteen times. The years, winners, and times (in hours and minutes): 1909, Minne Hoekstra, 13:50; 1912, Coen de Koning, 11:40; 1917, Coen de Koning, 9:53; 1929, Karst Leemburg, 11:09; 1933, Abe de Vries, Sipke Castelein, 9:53; 1940, Piet Keizer, Auke Adema, Cor Jongert, Dirk van Duim, Sjouke Westra, 11:30; 1941, Auke Adema, 9:19; 1942, Sietze de Groot, 8:44; 1947, Jan van der Hoorn, 10:51; 1954, Jeen van den Berg, 7:35; 1956, no winner declared because of a shared win disqualification; 1963, Reinier Paping, 10:59; 1985, Evert van Benthem, 6:47; 1986, Evert van Benthem, 6:55; and 1997, Henk Angenent, 6:49.

The Future

Today Elfstedentocht has become more commercial, and amateurs have more difficulty winning as corporations support the training of elite skaters, sometimes including world and Olympic champions. Global warming is also affecting the viability of the race. The Dutch meteorological institute predicts weather suitable for only four to ten races during this century. Because of the international popularity of the race and the

long time between races, much pressure exists to stage the race even if the weather is not cooperating.

Christina L. Hennessey

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Elite Sports Parents

Families play a pivotal role in the development of children's sports talent. Parents are the most influential in initially exposing their children to sports and provide the greatest encouragement concerning their participation. Elite sports parents are those whose resources support the development of a child's talent in becoming an elite athlete.

Family Situations

There can be worlds of difference between an American middle-class family with a thirteen-year-old male basketball player and a Chinese low-income family with an eight-year-old female gymnast. Yet, some general aspects can be stressed. Certain types of families seem to be more likely to nurture sports talents. Social and economic conditions play a central role because children from a family in a higher socioeconomic group are



Elite Sports Parents

Earl Woods on His Son, Tiger

At the Fred Haskins Award dinner in honor America's outstanding college golfer of 1996, Earl Woods spoke eloquently about the honoree—his son, Tiger Woods.

Please forgive me . . . but sometimes I get very emotional when I talk about my son . . . My heart fills with so much joy when I realize that this young man is going to be able to help so many people . . . He will transcend this game . . . and bring to the world . . . a humanitarianism which has never been known before. The world will be a better place to live in by virtue of his existence and his presence—I acknowledge only a small part in that—in that I know that I was personally selected by God himself . . . to nurture this young man . . . and bring him to the point where he can make his contribution to humanity . . . This is my treasure . . . Please accept it and use it wisely. Thank you.

Source: Smith, G. (1996). The chosen one. *Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved March 1, 2005, from <http://sportsillustrated.enn.com/features/1996/sportsman/1996.html>

more likely to achieve high levels of performance. This is also the case if children come from a family that is headed by two parents. Moreover, children are more likely to become elite sports performers in families in which the parents have competed at a high level in sports.

Few studies concern the way in which elite sports parents and their families function in supporting children's sports talent and the factors that can limit the parents' capacity to do so. The emphasis among sports researchers has been on the impact that parents have on their children's sports careers.

Parental Support

Parents appear to be important as financial supporters, as organizers of transportation, in providing moral sup-

port, as supportive in times of problems such as injuries, and in their presence at practice and games. However, parental roles differ, and research concerning elite performers has revealed different stages in the development of talent, including shifting demands on the parents.

Research suggests that in the early years, the sampling years (ages 6–12), optimum parental support is given to encouraging their child's participation, having fun, and enjoying the learning. In programs for the development of talent, it is recommended that parents provide the child with access to varied programs of physical education and sport from an early age. Rather than additional advice, the children require understanding and emotional support from their parents.

The middle years, the specializing years (ages 13–15), are characterized by a greater commitment of the child as well as the parents to a particular sport. More accomplished coaches are sought, and the parents often devote more resources to the activity. They are providing the child with financial support and transportation needed for training and competition. Often, the family's routine can be dominated by the child's talent development.

During the later years, the investment years, parental involvement might decrease. Parents provide support in a background role and can be essential in providing financial as well as emotional support. During the investment years, athletes often need help in overcoming setbacks, such as major sporting defeats, injuries, pressure, and fatigue. Also, the departure of a trainer or the breaking up of a training team can be a stressful event implicated in competition sport. Of great importance is that parents provide an understanding environment to which their children can retreat, if necessary.

Complex Families

Young athletes are commuters between school and sport. One of the major tasks for the parents in elite sports is to enable their children to gain school qualifications without having to neglect their commitment to top-level sport. Sometimes the parents are involved in teaching their children.

Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence. In other words, it is war minus the shooting. ■ GEORGE ORWELL

In all research findings, parents and coaches are considered to be the most important people in the athlete's career. However, their roles are differentiated, and it should be the coach who makes the athlete aware of the reasons for his or her failures and successes. Parents are encouraged to remember that they should not place more importance on their child's performance than the child does himself or herself.

Families that were defined as being integrated as well as differentiated have been found to be the best stimulus for the development of the teenager's talent. Integrated families are families with stable conditions among their members and those families that provide their children with a sense of support and consistency. Differentiated families refer to those families in which members are encouraged to develop their individuality by seeking out new challenges and opportunities.

Variety of Life Stories

Different sports have various demands, and the resources that are made available to young athletes and their parents vary among national and federal states and schools. Moreover, gendered as well as subjective strategies used by young athletes, not to mention their parents' wide variety of strategies, are not to be ignored. Being talented means being different, and every talent is a unique individual and has his or her own life story.

The stages in the development of talent refer to objective demands and social circumstances. However, the perceived pressure is not simply the sum of these demands. Athletes and their parents must have both social and personal resources at their disposal to cope with the pressure imposed on them.

A Time of Family Change

Increased sports participation, seen specifically as a result of increased social acceptance of sports women in the twentieth century, means that more families than ever before have become involved in sports. Moreover, young athletes are involved in an increasing number of competitions and hours of training. Patterns of parental employment and family situations and therefore pat-

terns of parenting have been changing as well. Thus, the social conditions of nurturing sports talents have changed, in particular since the 1970s. The number of elite parents has increased, and their role has expanded for the following reasons: (1) the stakes associated with the success of athletes has increased, and (2) the decline of public support for skills development has forced families to seek elite training in private clubs and with privately hired coaches. This means that parents are now faced with monitoring development outside of the institutional supports that in the past often were provided by public and community-based agencies and schools.

The availability of parental support will significantly influence the ability of a child to engage in the required amounts and quality of training in the future. However, social circumstances, such as a high incidence of divorce, might limit families' capacities to do so. Social change and constraints in providing support for young performers may further actualize policy interventions or could enhance the sponsorship of activities that would make parents' practical and economic support of less decisive importance.

Parents influence a child's initial participation, his or her persistence, and his or her socialization into sport. Children's enjoyment is paramount, and supportive elite sports parents seem to induce minimal amounts of pressure by being encouraging and by not becoming over-involved.

Inge Kryger Pedersen

See also Academies and Camps, Sport; Family Involvement; Youth Sports

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Endorsements

Hiring sports celebrities to endorse both sports and nonsports products is firmly embedded as an international business practice. Companies use the popularity of athletes to sell more products or services. That is the bottom line for companies: “How can this athlete help me sell more [beer, shoes, balls, or whatever]?” The underlying principle is that if the consumer feels an affinity for a popular and successful athlete, that affinity can transfer to the products or services that he or she endorses.

Research supports both sides of the practice. On the one hand, one study showed that only 4 percent of consumers said it is important for a famous person to endorse a product and that more than 50 percent of consumers said athletes endorse products just for the money. On the other hand, the most successful sports product endorsers clearly have generated millions of dollars for the companies they represent. Nike did not sell a basketball shoe prior to signing U.S. basketball player Michael Jordan in 1984. Jordan received an unprecedented contract for \$2.5 million for five years. Nike went from 0 percent to 70 percent of the basket-

ball shoe market in eight years and in 2003 bought Converse, the company that had been its chief rival in 1984, out of bankruptcy.

Historical Development

Endorsements in sports date as far back as the ancient Olympic Games. Although no record exists of the first athlete to secure endorsement money, competitors from Greek city-states were often provided with free housing, meals, and training support in preparation for the games. One can only imagine that the return of successful athletes to their hometowns also brought many opportunities to associate with local business people and their wares. However, as modern sports began to develop at the turn of the twentieth century, so did the practice of athlete endorsements. In Europe race drivers for the likes of Mercedes, Fiat, and Peugeot served as representatives for their respective companies. In the United States professional baseball players granted the right to their name and likeness for tobacco companies to include on baseball cards with their cigarette packs. In 1918 a seventeen-year-old basketball player named Chuck Taylor joined a rubber shoe company named Converse and redesigned a shoe specifically for basketball. That shoe, bearing his name, appeared in the 1936 Olympics and is still in production today.

The true proliferation of athlete endorsements came during the 1950s and 1960s, primarily through tennis and golf and ostensibly because of television. In these sports the viewing audience could easily recognize the athletes' faces, and the nature of these sports was “upper class” and “civil.” Golfers, including Sam Snead, Ben Hogan, Byron Nelson, Patty Berg, Arnold Palmer, Jack Nicklaus, and Gary Player, endorsed clubs. In tennis Doris Hart, Billie Jean King, Margaret Smith, Jack Kramer, Rod Laver, and Stan Smith, among others, were under contract with racquet producers for autographed models.

Athletes also endorsed nonsports products during the 1960s and 1970s, primarily on television. Wheaties cereal was a staple for U.S. athletes, and the men's razor company Gillette also secured various athletes

I've got a theory that if you give 100% all of the time, somehow things will work out in the end. ■ LARRY BIRD

for endorsements. From the Brazilian soccer player Pele to the U.S. football star Joe Namath, the most popular athletes were sought by consumer product companies to lend their image to products. Even tennis “bad boy” Ilie Nastase secured endorsement opportunities. In 1972 the endorsement world was shocked when seven-time Olympic gold medal swimmer Mark Spitz priced his endorsement fee so high that few companies actually signed him to contracts.

Endorsement opportunities can also transcend an athlete’s playing career. The U.S. golfer Arnold Palmer signed a twelve-year endorsement contract with Calaway golf clubs at age seventy, long after he had placed in a championship event. George Foreman, 1968 heavyweight boxing Olympic gold medalist and world heavyweight boxing champion, was still active in the endorsement field in 2004 with \$27.5 million per year for endorsements of his burger-cooking machine in addition to an automobile parts and service promotion.

Business Strategies

Contemporary thinking has produced a paradigm (framework) that depicts how athletes have been used in endorsements. At the primary level an athlete can merely be shown with the product in the advertisement. The association between the two is left completely to the mind of the consumer. At a higher level the athlete can directly encourage the consumer to use the product (“Buy Wilson tennis balls!”). On a more implicit level the athlete can proclaim that he or she uses the product (“I wear only Adidas”). Finally the athlete can proclaim his or her endorsement of the product either through spoken words or the use of his or her name on the product (official “Sammy Sosa” baseball glove).

In order for the endorsement to be effective, several criteria must be met. The consumer must consider the athlete trustworthy. This trust, of course, varies from product to product and across age groups. Whereas one age group may find the U.S. golfer Jack Nicklaus trustworthy, a younger group may trust the U.S. skateboarder Tony Hawk. The athlete must also be readily recognizable by the audience. This recognizability has

created problems for some athletes. Race drivers and U.S. football players often have their face obscured by a helmet. Thus, many consumers recognize the athlete only when the athlete is presented in a specific context with his or her race car or team uniform. Recognition also has its geographical limits. The German Formula 1 driver Michael Schumacher reportedly likes shopping in the United States, where he can stroll the avenues with little distraction because few people recognize him. Similarly, U.S. Hall of Fame football player John Elway enjoyed the same anonymity when shopping in Europe.

If some question exists about the ease with which the consumer would recognize the athlete, commercials should include a graphic with the athlete’s name or include it on the jersey. The athlete also must be affordable to the sponsoring company. Some athletes and their agents demand prices that companies cannot meet. As one Reebok executive said, one has to sell a lot of additional pairs of shoes to pay an athlete \$10 million. However, the U.S. golfer Tiger Woods’s victory in the 1997 Masters golf tournament pushed sales of Nike golf equipment up 100 percent—from \$100 million to \$200 million. When he switched to a Nike golf ball the Nike market share went from 1 percent to 3 percent in three months. Trek’s sponsorship of the U.S. bicyclist Lance Armstrong resulted in a 100 percent increase in sales of its \$4,000 tour model bike after Armstrong’s fourth Tour de France win. A similar scenario exists with nonsports products. The British soccer star David Beckham’s endorsement of Vodafone was credited with selling more than fifty thousand cell phones during the first three weeks of the ad campaign.

Another key element is matching the personality and image of the athlete with the product and audience. Most successful endorsement deals exhibit strong, direct connections between the product and the athlete. Tiger Woods’s success on the golf course obviously relates to his equipment. However, what is it about his image that relates to American Express credit cards? Perhaps it is the affluence of golf and his charming personality.



Endorsements

The Big-Time Endorsers in the Late 1990s

Most Appealing ¹	Most Recognized	Most Influential/ Trusted ²	Most Controversial ²	Highest Total Endorsements ³
Tiger Woods	O.J. Simpson	Michael Jordan	Dennis Rodman	Michael Jordan (\$40 million)
Michael Jordan	Magic Johnson	Shaquille O'Neil	Michael Irvin	Tiger Woods (\$25 million)
Grant Hill	Michael Jordan	Joe Montana	John Daly	Shaquille O'Neil (\$23 million)
Dennis Rodman	Muhammed Ali	Tiger Woods	Darryl Strawberry	Arnold Palmer (\$19.2 million)
Ken Griffey, Jr.	Mike Tyson	Cal Ripken, Jr.	Mike Tyson	Andre Agassi (\$17 million)
Troy Aikman	Joe Montana	Troy Aikman	Jennifer Capriati	Jack Nicholas (\$16 million)
Scottie Pippen	Nancy Kerrigan	Steve Young	Albert Belle	Grant Hill (\$7 million) ⁴
George Foreman	Tonya Harding	Ken Griffey, Jr.	Pete Rose	Joe Montana (\$12 million)
Bonnie Blair	Joe Namath	Dan Marino	Derrick Coleman	Ken Griffey, Jr. (\$6 million)
Joe Montana	Hank Aaron	Wayne Gretzky	O.J. Simpson	Deon Sanders (\$6 million)

1. Burns Sports Celebrity Services, April 1997

2. Sports Media Index, American Sports Data, February 1997

3. The ten most wanted spokesperson survey, Sports Marketing Newsletter, August 1997

4. According to Sports Marketing Newsletter, Grant Hill signed a new endorsement contract with Fila in October, 1997, worth at least \$80 million over the next 7 years. This new deal would now place Hill significantly higher on the SMN survey list.

Source: Brooks, C. M. (1998). Celebrity athlete endorsement: An overview of the key theoretical issues. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 7(2), 35.

Current Practice

Top endorsers in golf include Woods, Ernie Els, Sergio Garcia, and Vijay Singh. The Swede Annika Sorenstam and the South Korean Se Ri Pak head up the women's list. All of these venerable golfers have substantial endorsement earnings. Tiger Woods reportedly made \$78 million in 2004 for his endorsement earnings alone. He has secured endorsements from a variety of companies, including Nike, Buick automobiles, Tag Heuer watches, and American Express credit cards. In the shadow of NBA legend Michael Jordan, rising star LeBron James earns more than \$100 million per year in endorsements, most notably from his seven-year \$90 million contract with Nike. The most lucrative women's endorsement contract to date was secured by the U.S. tennis player Venus Williams, who signed a five-year, \$40 million deal with Reebok in 2000. Her sister, Serena, signed an agreement with Nike in 2003 for a total of \$60 million during eight years. Annika Sorenstam reportedly made more than \$10 million in 2003 en-

dorsement earnings. The leading endorser in motor sports is Michael Schumacher. The six-time Formula 1 champion reportedly earns a salary of \$48 million from Ferrari and another \$96 million from endorsements and merchandising. Formula 1 drivers own the sponsorship rights to their helmet, whereas the team owner owns the rights to signage on the car and on the driver's uniform. Several Formula 1 drivers earn as much as \$300,000 from their helmet sponsorships.

Endorsement opportunities are not limited to traditional sports. Lance Armstrong's endorsement earnings have totaled \$16 million annually and have ranged from Trek bicycles and Coke to Subaru automobiles. So-called extreme sports such as snowboarding and motocross also present athletes with endorsements. Tony Hawk is reported to have earnings of more than \$10 million from his products but most significantly from his Pro Skater video game. In 2003 it was the number-one sports video game and number-three video game overall. Hawk obtained his fame principally through the

X-Games, an event developed by U.S. sports cable TV channel ESPN and broadcast in 145 countries.

Controversies

The question of who has control over endorsements raises significant issues in the world of sport. The most blatant fight over control came during the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona, Spain. Members of the U.S. basketball team had individual endorsement contracts with a variety of shoe companies. However, the U.S. Olympic Committee had a podium apparel agreement with Reebok, conflicting with several players' contracts. The conflict was addressed by allowing players to use the lapels of their sweat suits to cover the Reebok logo, thus pacifying their primary sponsor. At the 1998 U.S. Open Venus Williams was fined \$100 by the Women's Tennis Association (WTA) for refusing to wear the Corel WTA Tour patch on her clothing. The WTA had signed an agreement with the software company Corel that required all players on the WTA circuit to wear their patch on apparel during tournament matches. However, Williams had signed a contract with Reebok that included language that "prohibited any other logo" on her clothing. The issue was eventually resolved without serious incident. Reebok remained neutral, saying that Venus could do whatever she wanted.

Such controversy, however, has not disappeared. Shortly before the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, Australia, a controversy enveloped the Brazilian tennis player Gustavo Kuerten. The Brazil Olympic Committee had signed a deal for all players to wear clothing from the local outfitter Olympikus, but Kuerten had an apparel agreement with the Italian manufacturer Diadora. Kuerten offered to wear the Olympikus shirt but without the logo. The Olympic committee rejected his offer. He scheduled a news conference to announce why he would not be representing Brazil in the games. On the morning of the news conference, Diadora agreed to let Kuerten wear the Olympikus logo, and Olympikus said he could also wear Diadora's logo. Perhaps the settlement was motivated by the risk that both companies would suffer retaliation from consumers.

Issues of control have also emerged between players and the league or organizing body for which they play. In 2003 the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) modified its long-standing restrictions on nonapparel logos. The previous restrictions had prohibited nonapparel logos on the front of a player's shirt (i.e., Visa). If the player had a Nike logo on the front, the ATP required the logo on the back of the shirt. The new restrictions allowed nonapparel logos and apparel logos and dropped the requirement for use of the ATP logo. However, some Grand Slam tournaments continued to prohibit nonapparel logos on player shirts. Several years ago Professional Golfers' Association (PGA) players (Tiger Woods, Davis Love III, David Duval, and others) fought the PGA because the player agreement (required to get a PGA card) gave sponsors of tournaments the rights to use the winning player's image in one advertisement after a tournament. Mercedes was a sponsor and after a Tiger Woods victory used his photo in a Mercedes ad. One of Tiger's primary sponsors, Buick, was not happy.

Issues of control also extend to the U.S. professional sports leagues—National Basketball Association (NBA), Major League Baseball (MLB), and National Football League (NFL). All of the leagues have rules governing the endorsement rights of players. Whereas individual players have the right to endorse products and services, the leagues require the company to pay a rights fee if a player appears in a trademarked team uniform. In addition, the leagues have a players association (union) that typically secures the rights to "group" licensing. Each league defines "group" differently but often equates it to the use of five or more players jointly or collectively promoted. The profits from these agreements (i.e., player trading cards) are then divided equally among the association members. In light of these limits, some star players have retracted the right to their name from the association, opting instead for total control over their name and likeness. The Chinese NBA star Yao Ming filed a lawsuit against Coke because it used his image in advertising based on an arrangement that Coke had with the Chinese basketball national

*I can accept failure. Everyone fails at something.
But I can't accept not trying.* ■ MICHAEL JORDAN

team. Again, the issue was whether Coke had the right to Yao as an individual player or could use his likeness only as a group member of the entire Chinese national team. The case was eventually settled out of court.

Some athlete endorsers have run into trouble with the law. The negative publicity associated with an endorser then transfers to the products that he or she endorses. One of the more notorious examples is boxer Mike Tyson. Tyson, once heavyweight champion of the world, was arrested and imprisoned for a variety of charges, including assault and rape. In the NBA Los Angeles Lakers star Kobe Bryant, on the heels of signing a new contract with Nike and Coca-Cola brand Sprite, lost many of his endorsement deals when he was arrested for sexual assault. The enormity of such problems has led many companies to include termination clauses in athlete endorsement contracts. These clauses allow a company to sever its ties with an athlete if the athlete engages in any activities that produce negative publicity for the company.

When is an athlete too young to enter into an endorsement agreement? In recent years many teenaged basketball standouts have entered the NBA directly from high school and have signed lucrative shoe endorsements; however, Nike's \$1 million sponsorship of then-thirteen-year-old U.S. soccer player Freddie Adu in 2003 stunned the sports community. Although Adu opted to play professional soccer, forgoing an amateur career, many people believed that he was too young to enter the professional game. After Nike signed Adu, Reebok signed three-year-old basketball show-off Mark Walker to an endorsement deal. Many people believe that signing was a parody of endorsements, but Reebok did use Walker in its advertising. Some people noted that Walker was the first player to sign an endorsement deal for basketball shoes without being able to tie them.

Outlook

"Fewer, bigger, better" seems to be the slogan of many product companies. That is, they are decreasing the number of endorsers but increasing the amount of money paid to them. In 2003 first-year NBA player

LeBron James signed an endorsement contract with Nike for \$13 million per year, slightly more than his annual player salary of \$12.96 million. To further illustrate the point, Nike's 2004 commitment to player endorsements was \$1.64 billion. This trend began to emerge during the last five years, with the list of endorsers growing smaller each year as the value of contracts increased. Companies are also looking for athletes who present little risk for negative publicity. With the recurrent problems and well-documented misdeeds of star athletes, companies are increasing their quest for "squeaky clean" athletes. In some cases they have looked back to historical sports figures, both dead and alive, who have proven themselves and are trusted by consumers.

Companies also are seeking women athletes as endorsers. According to many executives, women athletes are far less likely to generate negative publicity and are more accessible and personable with consumers. They will actually sign autographs and spend time with fans. Leading women endorsers are Venus and Serena Williams, Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) standout Lisa Leslie, golfer Annika Sorenstam, and the Russian tennis player Anna Kournikova, who earns \$14 million from her endorsement deals even though she has never won a WTA tournament. Most companies play down the "sex sells" controversy surrounding some women endorsers and instead portray their women endorsers as role models and athletically talented representatives of the company who can connect with consumers.

Product placement will most certainly increase through in-the-market marketing. Companies will make sure that their products are both closely associated with the endorser and used authentically in the sport. A Nike official once commented that Nike did not have to prove that its shoes are great because Michael Jordan proved it everyday on the basketball court. Skiers at the end of an event dash to the victory podium gleefully raising their skis overhead in celebration (unfortunately, often the latest product, not the actual skis used in event). At the 2002 Winter Olympic Games, event personnel were instructed to allow Coca-Cola staff to place

Coca-Cola's Dasani brand water bottles on the podium for the postrace news conferences. The athletes were, of course, not supposed to drink the water from these bottles because the International Olympic Committee medical commission had not screened the water to be free of banned substances. Regardless, Coke wanted to have its product associated with the winning athletes.

Experts contend that conflicts over control will continue between athletes, agents, leagues, and event owners. The National Thoroughbred Racing Association began talks with jockeys about the issue of sponsor logos on their pants. These talks came about after a controversy at the 2003 Belmont Stakes where three jockeys displayed logos for Wrangler jeans and Budweiser beer. Although no rules prohibiting logos had existed prior to the race, the controversy had never arisen before. Issues are sure to arise when a company (e.g., the International Management Group) that owns the event, produces the TV content, and represents the athlete controls which athletes appear in an event, which images are broadcast on TV, and who can or must purchase advertising during the broadcast.

Athlete endorsements are projected to grow in step with the popularity of sports. The fluctuations in the popularity of specific sports will also dictate the popularity of athletes with consumers. As noted, the primary rationale for athlete endorsements will remain the same: How does this arrangement sell the product? As the world becomes a global marketplace, multinational companies will continue to search for ways to make a connection with their consumers. History has shown that athlete celebrities can make that connection.

David K. Stotlar

See also Athletes as Celebrities; Sponsorship

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Endurance

Endurance is a key concept of fitness that involves the cardiorespiratory, muscular, and skeletal systems of the human body. The objective of endurance training is to develop the energy-production systems necessary to meet the demands of tasks.

Endurance Fitness and Cardiovascular Endurance

Dr. Kenneth Cooper of the Cooper Fitness Institute in Texas has been studying the effects of exercise on the body since the 1960s. When he began his study, although the medical community acknowledged that regular exercise promotes general health, the ideal amount of exercise and the ideal type of exercise were not known. Cooper felt that the right kind of exercise can improve and maintain all-around health. He believed in exercise not only as preventive medicine but also as therapy for people with heart and lung ailments, overeaters, smokers, overanxious people, and people with diabetes and arthritis. In his book *Aerobics* Cooper detailed the type and amount of exercise needed to benefit the human body. In early studies with the U.S. Air Force, he found that exercising the heart and the lungs (cardiovascular system) improves what he called “endurance fitness” or one’s working capacity. This improvement can be realized by performing prolonged exercise without undue fatigue. Cooper’s research on the connection between exercise and health motivated millions of people to exercise.

Cardiovascular endurance (or cardiorespiratory endurance) is a critical component of fitness because the



A lone runner endures with focus and concentration. *Source: istockphoto.com/ P_Wei.*

functioning of the heart and the lungs is essential for overall wellness. In 1996 the U.S. surgeon general reported that both males and females of all ages can benefit by performing a moderate amount of physical activity (at least thirty minutes) such as brisk walking on most days of the week. Experts also reported that additional benefits can be gained by maintaining a regular exercise program of more vigorous intensity or longer duration. The American College of Sports Medicine (ACSM) also said exercising more intensely for a longer duration can lead to greater health benefits.

Energy for exercise can be produced either anaerobically (without oxygen) or aerobically (with oxygen). When one starts exercising a series of chemical reactions takes place in the body to convert food energy into adenosine triphosphate (ATP). ATP is the chemical compound that supplies energy for muscular contraction. Because ATP is stored in only small amounts in the muscles, for continuous exercise to occur ATP must be synthesized in the body at the same rate of utilization.

Aerobic Endurance

The oxygen system (or the “aerobic system,” as it is more commonly known) is developed through continuous submaximal exercise and activities that require performance times of three minutes or longer. Whereas intense bursts of energy (lifting weights or running up a flight of stairs) benefit anaerobic energy systems, a developed aerobic system helps improve the body’s oxygen transport system (heart, lungs, and blood vessels). The cardiovascular system keeps the body supplied with the oxygen it needs twenty-four hours a day. The cardiorespiratory changes induced by this type of training benefit the oxygen transport system. The ability of the heart and lungs to take in and transport adequate amounts of oxygen to working muscles increases when one engages in activities such as running, walking or hiking, swimming, cycling, cross-country skiing, dancing, and endurance games and activities that are performed over long periods of time at a certain heart rate.

Champions keep playing until they get it right. ■ BILLIE JEAN KING

The key to developing the fitness component of cardiovascular endurance and aerobic endurance is oxygen consumption (VO_2). The amount of oxygen the body can take in and then deliver to working cells is the best measure of one's aerobic fitness. VO_2 max is the body's capacity to extract oxygen from the air and then deliver it to the body tissues. Scientists have measured VO_2 max in the amount of oxygen a person extracts from the air during intense exercise on a treadmill or stationary bicycle. The highest maximal oxygen uptake (absorbing and incorporating, especially into a living organism, tissue, or cell) is generally recorded in men and women who compete in distance running, swimming, cycling, and cross-country skiing. Many of these athletes have doubled their aerobic capacity in comparison with that of sedentary people.

Benefits of Aerobic Exercise

Numerous laboratory studies have quantified the many health and fitness benefits of endurance training. To develop and maintain cardiorespiratory (CR) endurance a person can perform any activity that uses large muscle groups, can be maintained continuously, and is rhythmic and aerobic in nature. When fitness levels of CR endurance are low the heart is forced to work hard during normal daily activities and may not be able to sustain the work intensity required in an emergency. As CR endurance improves certain adaptations are made in order for the heart to work more efficiently. One's stroke volume (amount of blood pumped each beat) increases, and the resting heart rate decreases. This adaptation means the heart does not have to work as hard at rest or during low levels of exercise. Other adaptations that enhance efficiency are an increased blood volume, an improvement in blood supply to tissues, and a decrease in resting blood pressure. Cardiovascular endurance training also improves the body's ability to use energy supplied by food and to perform more exercise with less effort from the aerobic system.

Many studies have shown that moderate levels of activity benefit the balance of lipids (one of the principal structural components of living cells) in the blood. High

levels of lipids such as cholesterol and triglycerides are linked to heart disease because they contribute to the buildup of fatty deposits on the linings of arteries. Low levels of cardiovascular endurance are linked with heart disease, the leading cause of death in the United States. Exercise can also minimize the risk factors for high blood pressure, obesity, stroke, and diabetes. The American Heart Association (AHA) has identified physical inactivity as one of the six major risk factors for cardiovascular disease. A healthy heart can better withstand the strains of everyday life and can also adapt to occasional emergencies and the wear and tear of time.

Target Heart Rate Zone

The ACSM has reported significant improvements in aerobic endurance capacity when people train above 50 percent of their maximal capacity (VO_2). Beginners can make progress by initially training at 40–50 percent of their VO_2 max. This intensity stresses one's body enough to produce positive changes in the cardiorespiratory system, fostering improvement in its overall ability to transport oxygen. An exercise heart rate can be used to measure one's exercise intensity.

In order to use the heart rate to determine exercise intensity, one must first determine his or her maximum heart rate. A rough estimate of maximum heart rate is determined by subtracting age from 220. For example, a twenty-year-old college student would have a maximum heart rate of two hundred beats per minute. Maximum heart rate is most accurately measured by a treadmill test conducted in an exercise laboratory, usually at a clinic or hospital.

After a maximum heart rate is established one can determine the target heart rate zone. One's target heart rate zone is the rate at which one should exercise to experience cardiorespiratory benefits. According to the ACSM, a significant endurance training effect will occur when one's exercise heart rate reaches 65 percent (low end) to 90 percent (high end) of one's maximum heart rate. Experts suggest that one use 55 percent as the low end value if one is extremely unfit or a beginner. To calculate one's target heart rate zone, one should multiply

the maximum heart rate first by either .55 or .65 (depending on fitness level) and then by .90. These two heart rates represent the upper and lower limits of the target heart rate zone. Heart rates can be taken while exercising by purchasing a heart rate monitor or by simply taking one's own pulse at the carotid artery in the neck or the radial pulse at the wrist. People should know their prescribed heart rate zone when they become involved in an exercise program and exercise within that zone to receive the benefits of aerobic endurance.

Relative Perceived Exertion Scale and Talk Test

Other simple techniques to determine proper exercising intensity suggested by the ASCM are the relative perceived exertion (RPE) scale and the talk test. The RPE scale helps one associate a given exercise intensity with how one feels during exercise. The level of perceived exertion is often measured with a fifteen-category scale that was developed by the Swedish psychologist Gunnar Borg. Studies have shown a linear relationship between heart rate and oxygen consumption during aerobic exercise. An increase in oxygen demands will bring an increased feeling of exertion. Moderate-intensity physical activities should feel somewhat difficult. Self-monitoring how hard one works can help one adjust the intensity of the activity by speeding or slowing movements. Offering a subjective reflection of physiological responses during exercise, the RPE can be most helpful to people on medications that would alter normal heart rate. The rate of perceived exertion is recommended by experts to rate the intensity of a given activity.

The talk test has also been adopted to assess the intensity of a workout. In this test one should exercise at the fastest pace one can while still being able to engage in conversation. The *Journal of Medicine & Science in Sport & Exercise* reported that studies showed that if people struggled with speaking while exercising, their heart rate and peak oxygen consumption had begun to exceed the threshold for safe exercise. The talk test can

help determine exercising intensity and minimizes the risk of injury.

Tests of Aerobic Endurance

Aerobic endurance capacity is determined by trained personnel in sophisticated laboratories. This fact makes determining such capacity impractical for most exercise situations. However, participants in aerobic conditioning programs can measure progress in cardiovascular endurance by field tests. Dr. Cooper developed several such field tests. The twelve-minute walk/run test and the twelve-minute swimming tests are appropriate for persons of all aerobic ability levels. The 2.4-kilometer run test and the 4.8-kilometer walk test are reserved for well-conditioned people. Normative data from these tests provide a reasonably accurate estimate of a person's aerobic fitness.

Muscular Endurance

Although cardiorespiratory endurance is essential for a healthy heart and is a critical part of one's total fitness, other factors contribute to total body wellness. Another factor that helps maintain muscle mass and contributes to healthy joints is muscular endurance. Muscular endurance is the ability to sustain a given level of muscular tension or force, that is, to hold a muscle contraction for a long period of time or to contract a muscle repeatedly. This ability is important when performing tasks such as standing or sitting properly over long periods of time. If the muscles of the back and stomach are not strong enough or do not have the endurance to hold the spine in a correct position the chances of low back pain and injury are increased. Muscles that have good muscle endurance are more resistant to fatigue and to injury.

Muscular endurance depends on a combination of muscle strength (the ability to exert force) and the ability of the muscle to sustain exercise over a period of time. Muscular strength and muscular endurance can be enhanced through resistance training. Although resistance training is not effective in increasing maximum oxygen uptake, it can improve the heart, lungs, and cir-



Endurance

Guidelines for Aerobic Exercise

American College of Sports Medicine offers the following guidelines for aerobic exercise programs:

EXERCISE

CHARACTERISTICS	RECOMMENDATIONS
Mode	Continuous, rhythmic activities using the large muscle groups of the arms and/or legs
Intensity	Range of 55%–90% of maximal heart rate or RPE of 12–16 (somewhat hard to hard)
Duration	Minimum of 20–60 minutes of continuous aerobic activity to improve fitness and endurance capacity
Frequency	Minimum of 3–5 days per week, with frequency determined by exercise duration and intensity.

Resistance-type and flexibility training are recommended 2–3 days per week.

Source: Colberg, S. R. & Swain, D. P. (2000). Exercise and diabetes control: A winning combination. *The Physician in Sports Medicine*, 28(4), 71.

culatory system to function under conditions of high pressure and increased workloads. Muscular endurance is important when performing activities that require sustained muscular contractions, such as shoveling snow and raking leaves or sporting and fitness activities such as playing basketball or rock climbing. As with muscular strength, muscular endurance is enhanced by stressing the muscles with a greater work load (weight) than that to which they are accustomed. The degree to which muscular strength or muscular endurance develops depends on the type and the amount of stress that is applied. Low-resistance and high-repetition exercises can lead to improvements in muscular endurance. In contrast, heavy resistance exercises promote an increase in strength with no or little change in muscular endurance. Experts agree that people engaged in proper resistance training can enhance physical performance, increase self-confidence, and benefit their health.

Overload and Progression

Overload is the key component of all conditioning programs. Providing greater stress on a muscle will train the muscle to adapt to the new workload. Overload is the amount of resistance applied for each exercise or repetition. To develop muscular strength, the overload

principle dictates increasing resistance against muscles. To develop muscular endurance, the overload principle dictates increasing the number of repetitions performed or decreasing the rest between activities. Progression is the way a person increases that overload to minimize injury to the muscles. Gradual progression in overload will improve muscular strength and muscular endurance in a safe manner. According to the Strength and Conditioning Association, a 5–10 percent increase is a good target in progression. All muscles respond to the overload principle. The American Orthopedic Society for Sports Medicine and the Strength and Conditioning Association say children as well as adults can benefit from a resistance-training program.

Circuit Training

People circuit train when they move from one exercise to the next with little or no rest intervals. Circuits can be designed to enhance any of the components of fitness (muscular strength, muscular endurance, cardiorespiratory endurance, flexibility, body composition). Circuit training usually emphasizes muscular endurance but can also provide aerobic benefits. If a person is using weight machines, circuit training is relatively quick and easy to perform. Usually eight to fifteen repetitions are

I don't know if I practiced more than anybody, but I sure practiced enough. I still wonder if somebody—somewhere—was practicing more than me. ■ LARRY BIRD

performed in fifteen to thirty seconds at each station. A circuit can also be used with free weights, calisthenics, or a variety of skill-oriented activities. The number of repetitions, sets, and periods of rest between stations is based on a person's goal. The ACSM recommends that the average healthy adult perform eight to ten exercises involving the major muscle groups a minimum of two days a week.

Muscular Endurance Field Tests

People can perform simple field tests such as a curl-up test for the abdominal muscles or a push-up test for the upper body to evaluate the endurance of specific muscle groups. Assessment of strength and endurance is specific to the muscle groups being exercised. Norms by age group and by gender can be evaluated. The data obtained from these field tests can then be used as a benchmark for evaluating the effectiveness of one's exercise program. No single test can be used to evaluate total body muscular strength and muscular endurance.

Cross-Training

Incorporating a variety of activities in an exercise program can be an excellent way to increase the components of physical fitness. A reduced risk of injury, weight loss, improved total fitness, and enhanced exercise adherence are among the benefits of cross-training programs. Cross-training may involve running on one day, swimming on another day, and cycling on yet another day. It can also involve alternating activities within a single workout, for example, walking ten minutes on a treadmill, cycling ten minutes, and exercising ten minutes on an elliptical trainer.

Medical Clearance

Although exercise programs are safe for healthy people, evidence suggests that the increased demands of the heart during vigorous exercise may precipitate cardiovascular events in persons with heart disease. People who are predisposed to cardiovascular complications can be difficult to identify. In general the risk is lowest in healthy young adults and highest in older adults or

people who show a high-risk profile for heart disease, such as smoking, or a history of heart disease in their family. To reduce the incidence of muscular-skeletal and cardiovascular complications during exercise, the ACSM recommends a medical clearance for older adults (men forty-five years or older, women fifty-five years or older) and people at risk for cardiovascular events who display two or more risk factors or one or more symptoms of coronary artery disease.

National State of Health

Coronary artery disease, diabetes, hypertension, elevated cholesterol levels, and obesity are widespread in the United States. Researchers in endurance continue to study the type and amount of exercise that people need to promote fitness. Experts say five fitness components (cardiovascular endurance, muscular strength, muscular endurance, flexibility, and body composition) are vital to good health and physical performance. As people age their decline in physical abilities can be offset if they continue to exercise. Research shows that increased endurance can reduce the loss that age brings to each component. Exercise physiologists continue to study how exercise helps the body achieve youthful energy and limits the effects of debilitating diseases.

Lisa Toscano

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Environment

The term *environment* cannot in itself be easily defined. Human activity has affected virtually all of the “natural” environment, leaving little of the natural world as it once was. For convenience *environment* is defined here as the phenomenon of the physical world in general.

The relationships between sports and the environment are varied and complex. The environment undoubtedly influences sports in numerous ways. Those people responsible for the organization of sports have, in many cases, attempted to neutralize the impact of the physical environment—that is, weather, climate, slope, soil, and water—by creating artificial environments in which sports are played. People have increasingly recognized, however, that sports also affect the environment. Often the artificial environments that have been designed to neutralize nature have had a negative effect on nature.

Effect of the Natural Environment

Sports can be categorized on the basis of environmental interference. Specialized-environment sports require certain environmental conditions for them to take place

at all. An obvious example is sailing; without wind the sport would not exist. Skiing would not have developed were it not for the existence of snow and hills; surfing owes its origins to the presence of waves and beaches. However, as noted later, sports that may appear benign in terms of their impact on the environment can directly, or indirectly, have negative effects.

More commonly, however, people think of the environmental effect on sports less in terms of its being the basis for particular sports and more in terms of its having effects on particular events. Environmental-interference sports (i.e., sports in which the physical environment interferes in some way with the outcome and performance) are best suited to “environmentless” days. This means that ideally the ground should be flat and dry, the weather warm and dry, the sky bright but overcast, the wind light or nonexistent; and the visibility excellent. Unfortunately, these are the conditions in which most specialized-environment sports could not take place. Physical effects such as the weather may affect the playing surface and the comfort of players and spectators. These factors may, in turn, affect the athletes’ performances, the attendance, and the economics of the sports event.

Environmental-Advantage Sports

In environmental-advantage sports changeable environmental conditions may influence some competitors but not others. In golf, for example, players starting on a clear morning would have an obvious advantage over those struggling over a windswept course later in the day. In a long-jump competition, the wind may assist one jumper to a leading position but blow against a fellow competitor and hinder performance. Any sport taking place in an arena too small to allow all participants to take part at the same time is open to the possibility of a change in the weather affecting the participants unequally. Indeed, the microclimate differs from place to place *within* most stadiums at any time. The effect of an apparently constant environmental condition during the course of an event can be highly misleading. Take, for example, a 100-meter sprint race. An anemometer

may record that the wind speed was above the permitted level for a record to be recognized. However, even within a 100-meter distance, the wind swirls in several directions, affecting to various degrees athletes in different lanes. In a soccer game a strong wind may exist during the first half, hence affecting one of the teams either positively or negatively, but die away during the second half and affect neither side.

The unpredictability of the environment may bring unexpected outcomes to a game. In baseball the ball may strike a pebble and glance off in an unexpected direction. The type of soil making up baseball fields and cricket pitches varies from place to place. To some extent this variation may constitute a home field advantage, the opposing team being less familiar with the texture of the field. The degree of bounce, registered by using a standard test of dropping a cricket ball onto the field from a height of 5 meters, varies directly with the clay content of the soil. Likewise, place-to-place differences in altitude affect performance.

PLAYING SURFACE

Traditionally, most playing surfaces have been made of natural or seminatural materials such as grass, clay, water, or snow. Changes during the course of an event or differences from place to place in such surfaces can affect the outcome of a sports event. Soil can become saturated during heavy rain, hence leading to the postponement or cancellation of an event. Snow-covered fields lead to soccer (association football) postponement; rain-outs are common in cricket and baseball; unseasonably mild weather has often led to the cancellation of ski events.

PLAYER COMFORT

A number of environmental considerations contribute to player comfort during a sports event. Player discomfort may impact performance. During the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, many long-distance runners felt physically distressed as a result of a relative lack of oxygen at high altitudes. Times in events higher than 1,500 meters were slower than expected. In the case of the

sprints and jumps, however, performances were greatly enhanced. The world long-jump record set by Bob Beamon (b. 1945) typified such altitude assistance.

As far as participant comfort is concerned, the temperature is important because different sports have different activity levels. For example, in swimming, the warmer the pool temperature, the less heat is dissipated. No heat would be lost at all if the water temperature was 37°C but considerable discomfort would result from swimming in such conditions. As far as performance is concerned, the optimum water temperature is between 20 and 34.5° C for short races and between 23 and 26° C for 1,500-meter races.

High temperatures can be extremely hazardous in long-distance cycling and running events. The 1908 Olympic marathon in London and the 1954 Empire Games marathon in Vancouver, Canada, provide examples of races in which several runners collapsed because of excessively high temperatures. Low temperatures can be a hazard in sports in which the hands play an important role, such as rugby, football, or field hockey. In cold conditions the flow of blood to the hands and toes is reduced in greater proportion than to the rest of the body. Also, athletes tend to perform speed and power events poorly in cold conditions because human muscle functions best at 40 to 41° C.

Spectator Comfort

Many of the effects of the environment on players also affect spectators. The anticipation of spectator discomfort at sports events may affect attendance and hence economics. In general, adverse environmental conditions tend to lure spectators away from sports events to the perceived comfort of the indoors and television sets. Attendance at sports events can be related to climatic factors because frequently the spectator has to put up with exactly the same weather conditions as the players, yet the activity level of the spectator is much lower.

Another aspect of environmental economics on sports is that sports-related marketing often has to take potential attendance into account when planning the amount of food, programs, and other concessions to be

Bags promoting environmental awareness were given away at the 2004 Olympics in Athens, Greece.

sold at a particular event. For example, during a rugby match in New Zealand, the weather was so bad that ten thousand meat pies went unsold because only half the expected sixty thousand spectators turned up to watch.

One of the problems inherent in this discussion is that of isolating the effect of the weather or other environmental factors from other factors that may contribute to any of the possible outcomes. Take, for example, the effect of an assisting wind in the case of sprinters. Not all sprinters achieve their best times in wind-assisted races. Hence, wind is not the only factor influencing performance, and assuming cause and effect in such situations is dangerous.

In recent years scientists have recognized that an environmental effect on sports may be taking place as a result of global warming. Such an occurrence threatens to limit the geographic area over which certain sports can take place. Skiing is the best-researched example. The effect of oxygen-induced warming may raise winter temperatures, leading to a reduction in snowfall and hence a shortening of the skiing seasons in particular parts of Quebec and Ontario, Canada, and Michigan.

Women and the Environment

The environment can affect women players differently than men players. For example, hot, dry environments cause high sweat and evaporative rates during physical activity. Because the sweat rate is elevated, dehydration is a common problem during physical activity and can lead to serious heat illnesses. Adequate fluid replacement (150–300 milliliters) must occur every fifteen minutes to reduce the risk of heat illness. Evaporative heat loss is similar in well-trained men and women exercising in hot, dry environments. In women, however, a slightly greater degree of dehydration will occur due



to their smaller body size and total body water. Women athletes should consume up to 500 milliliters of fluid before exercising to reduce the amount of dehydration.

In cold environments women's relatively greater subcutaneous fat thickness is advantageous because it provides more insulation and reduces the rate of heat loss from the body. During cold water immersion, women skin divers have thicker tissue insulation and thus can tolerate colder water temperatures before they begin to shiver than can males. Similar responses have been observed during exercise in cold water.

Neutralizing the Environment

The interference caused by the physical environment, its unpredictability, and the risk to comfort, performance, and economics have led the sports business to neutralize environmental interference. This neutralization has assumed two basic forms: the decision not to recognize environment-assisted performances and the attempt to eliminate the natural environment by making it artificial.

In track and field, performances in certain events are not recognized for record purposes if the wind is greater than a certain strength. Wind readings are taken by an anemometer, and despite the inadequacies of such measurements (as noted earlier), critical readings of



Rock and mountain climbing are two sports where the goal is not to win but rather to test one's limits against nature.

wind speeds are used to determine whether sprint times or long- and triple-jump distances are recognized. Wind speeds of more than 2 meters per second are deemed sufficient to nullify a performance for record purposes. On the other hand, this rule applies only to the sprints and the horizontal jumps; wind-aided javelin performances are not rejected; nor are performances achieved at high altitudes.

People also overcome environmental interference by providing artificial environments where a sport takes place. The history of sports has been one of attempts to make its environment artificial. Early baseball, cricket,

and soccer (association football) took place in natural environments; as the desire grew for improved performances and less unpredictable environments, grass playing surfaces were rolled and cut. Nature was tamed and manicured. Later, grass was replaced by plastic so that games could continue to be played in adverse weather conditions. The situation in track and field has been similar—from grass to cinder to synthetic tracks. The first synthetic running track appeared during the early 1960s; AstroTurf was introduced in the United States in 1966. Other artificial environments include those produced by human-induced weather. Artificial snow is commonly found on ski slopes where natural snowfall cannot be guaranteed.

Moving sports indoors serves to nullify many environmental effects. Indoor sports arenas are now large enough to satisfy the needs of football, soccer, track and field, swimming, skating, and, in modified form, golf, sailing, wind surfing, climbing, show jumping, and rodeo. Even in the case of indoor sports, however, microclimatic effects can be significant. Indoor environments for sports range from the high school gymnasium to the fully domed super stadium. Such latter facilities have grown dramatically during recent decades. In Toronto, Canada, the distinction between an indoor and an outdoor sports facility is blurred by the presence of the SkyDome with its retractable roof.

In outdoor sports the effects of the environment could be reduced by establishing the climatically optimal season. In baseball, for example, from a purely climatic viewpoint it would be appropriate to shift the season to a later date, although climate is not the only variable to be taken into account in such scheduling.

The Effect of Sports on the Natural Environment

Only in recent decades have people turned their attention to the effect of sports on the natural environment. The growing application of technology to sports has been a major contributor to this attention, although some observers believe that sports are intrinsically anti-nature. One can argue that sports have a number of

Leadership is getting someone to do what they don't want to do, to achieve what they want to achieve. ■ TOM LANDRY

positive effects on the environment. A golf course in the Arizona desert brings a splash of greenery to an otherwise arid area. In Britain the construction of golf courses has been said to increase the number of botanical and zoological species in the course area. On the other hand, the same sport, and a large number of others, has been shown to have a negative effect on the environment.

So widespread are the negative effects of sports that we can now conceive of sports pollution. Such pollution has been well researched in the case of golf. Among the nations experiencing the most rapid rate of increase in golf courses is Japan. In 1956 the country had seventy-two golf courses; today the figure is nearing three thousand. With limited open space available for the construction of such courses, forests, usually near the foot of mountains, have been felled to satisfy the demand. Herbicides, germicides, pesticides, coloring agents, organic chlorine, and other chemical fertilizers that are carcinogenic or may cause health problems are among the risks associated with golf course construction. Widespread damage to plant and animal life has been reported. In Korea pesticides spread on golf courses can be absorbed into the human body through inhalation or skin contact. Pesticide abuse is now seen as a problem requiring serious regulation. Golf is one sport that has spawned opposing ecological movements. The Global Anti-Golf Movement is a network of ecological organizations that is fighting against golf as a sport that destroys the natural environment.

Detailed studies also document the effect of ski facilities in mountain areas. During ski piste (downhill ski trail) construction the natural terrain is modified to such an extent that soil erosion occurs, which in turn inhibits the regeneration of vegetation. The artificial modification of mountain slopes for improved skiing covers substantial areas of many alpine zones.

Spectator sports in urban areas also create pollution of various kinds. The development of urban stadium complexes increases traffic and pollution. Traffic congestion around older, inner-city stadiums is often perceived by local residents as being a greater nuisance

than crowds, noise, or fan hooliganism. Few sports are completely free of environmental impact. Stadium- and arena-based sports involve the removal of the entire natural ecosystem and the creation of an artificial environment. Motor sports create lead pollution and noise pollution. Even wind surfing can produce some damage to water courses; nesting birds can be driven away from sites where the sport takes place. Orienteering lies at the other end of the spectrum, and its effects are (almost) undetectable.

Sports are not independent of broader global concerns. As environmental concern grows during the decades ahead, people will need to carefully monitor its effect on sports and the effects of sports themselves. Attempts to ban environmentally unfriendly sports may grow in significance; at the same time, sports may, through their "need" to eliminate many environmental effects, unwittingly contribute to the very degradation that threatens the environment.

John Bale

See also Community

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ESPN

Prior to the debut of the Entertainment and Sports Network (ESPN), U.S. network television sports programming, with the exception of ABC's *Monday Night Football*, was available to fans only on weekends. Outside of newspapers and radio, the media paid little attention to sports during the week. Local television stations devoted less than ten minutes per evening to sports coverage and often ignored all but the most popular teams and sports. ESPN changed all that, and in doing so, changed U.S. viewing habits, added words and phrases to everyday language, and played a key role in transforming the role of sports in the national consciousness.

The ESPN cable network debuted in 1979, offering a blend of sports news, live and taped National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) events, and sports traditionally outside the mainstream. "Sports junkies," as they were dubbed by network founder Bill Rasmussen's son Scott, could now tune in at nearly any hour and view a sporting event. During the early years of ESPN that sporting event might be hurling (an Irish game similar to field hockey), professional miniature golf, or Australian rules football.

ESPN now provides twenty-four-hour coverage of all major sports, including live programming of National Football League (NFL), National Basketball Association (NBA), Major League Baseball (MLB), and National Hockey League (NHL) games. *Sports Center*, the nightly one-hour sports news program watched by 88 million viewers monthly, is the most popular sports news programs in the United States and has made stars of its anchors and reporters. The once-chancy proposi-

tion has expanded into a multimedia empire providing sports reporting, programming, and network-licensed content through seven domestic and thirty international cable networks, the Internet, radio, electronic games, print and online magazines, and sports bars known as "ESPN Sports Zones."

ESPN began as a revolutionary—and, to many, ludicrous—idea in television programming: an all-sports, all-the-time network. Most prominent observers in the television industry believed that the demand for sports programming would not be sufficient to support such fare and thus were caught off guard by the success of the network. In addition, the major networks argued that the network would fail because of the sparse number of households wired to receive cable television.

ESPN originally was available to fewer than 2 million households. However, the increasing popularity of the technology allowed the network to penetrate more homes every year. ESPN, the original network, now reaches more than 89 million households in the United States plus a global audience in 192 countries served by thirty international networks.

The idea behind ESPN originated with Bill Rasmussen, who had been fired as communications director of the New England Whalers of the World Hockey League. Rasmussen, who had been a sports broadcaster for WWLP-TV, an NBC affiliate in North Carolina, and remembered that small college athletic directors were continually clamoring for more television exposure, originally envisioned a television network utilizing satellite technology to feature sports programming from the Connecticut area.

As communications director of the Whalers, Rasmussen had experience working with small cable operations to increase the team's fan base and also was friends with men who were working along the edges of the new medium. One, Ed Eagan, was working with Bob Beyus on a series of videotaped programs on Connecticut sports. With Scott Rasmussen these men became the group who backed the idea that would become ESPN.

I learned that if you want to make it bad enough, no matter how bad it is, you can make it. ■ GALE SAYERS

“Football All Day?”

As the idea advanced, the issue of what sort of programming should fill air time around the nightly sports report led to an argument between Bill and Scott Rasmussen while they were stranded in a traffic jam. Scott reportedly snapped: “Dad, play football all day for all I care!” The elder Rasmussen responded: “What’s wrong with football all day?” Instead of featuring just Connecticut sports, the new network could fill all of its air time with sports programming rather than old movies, as Ted Turner’s WTBS network was doing. Thus, the idea of regional sports programming expanded to a national and international scope that included football and any other sporting event that the group could find.

To translate his dream into reality, Bill Rasmussen needed money, and Getty Oil provided it. Rasmussen and his group initially secured \$75,000 from the K. S. Sweet investment group and brought in Stuart Evey, vice president of Getty Oil’s diversified operations division. Getty Oil came through with an initial investment of \$10 million, which arrived just in time for Rasmussen to meet his first installment payment for access to the signal from RCA’s Satcom 1, a communication satellite launched in 1975. The money also paid for purchase of the site and construction of the embryonic network’s headquarters in Bristol, Connecticut.

Even after securing capital, many obstacles, including cost overruns, kept Rasmussen and his partners on edge until the station made its first broadcast. Fortunately, the influence that backing from Getty Oil lent the project convinced the NCAA to enter into contract negotiations on the same day when Rasmussen learned of the oil company’s tentative approval of funding.

The good news continued when Anheuser Busch signed a \$1.38 million contract to advertise on the network. This was the largest contract in the history of cable television and signaled that the concept behind the new network was attractive enough to attract major sponsors.

However, Getty Oil’s money also gave Getty Oil control over the operation in the form of Evey, who pro-

vided liaison between the Rasmussen group and its new backers. Evey initiated the search for a well-known talent to lead the operation and also provided the clout that allowed the Rasmussen group to hire Chester Simmons away from his position as president of NBC Sports. Simmons served as the organizing force behind the fledgling ESP-TV network, as it was then known, and in turn raided the networks, especially his former employer, to flesh out the new organization.

Rasmussen, Evey, and Simmons had differing styles and differing visions for the new network that led to early clashes. Eagan was forced out as part of Getty Oil’s conditions for providing backing, and Simmons and Rasmussen particularly clashed over how the new network would be run. In order for the network to survive and thrive, one man needed to be in control, and that man turned out to be Simmons. Evey and Simmons first forced out Scott and then his father from positions of authority, and the two consolidated their control of the organization.

ESPN Is on the Air

On 7 September 1979, with the headquarters complex still under construction, ESPN broadcast its initial *Sports Center* program, with anchors Lee Leonard and George Grand delivering the day’s sporting news. The debut was the culmination of months of effort to be ready in time, and tension remained until the program actually went on the air. The first broadcast went well, despite a bulldozer knocking over one of the trailers that housed staff while construction continued.

The largest hurdle that Simmons and staff had to clear during the first years on the air was locating material to fill air time. The producers were coached to look for unusual events, and in 1980 ESPN scored a coup by convincing National Football League commissioner Pete Rozelle to allow the network to televise the entire NFL draft live. The network continued to build its fan base by televising sporting events ignored by ABC, CBS, and NBC. Some of these events were odd, such as mud wrestling or the running of the bulls in Pamplona

Spain, but they also included the early rounds of the NCAA basketball championships, college baseball, and Canadian Football League games. When NFL Films signed a contract with the network, late night sports junkies now could watch more mainstream sports action on ESPN.

Changes at the top continued, and ESPN became a valuable commodity for corporations seeking to diversify and for older networks seeking to catch up. In 1984 Getty Oil sold its interest in ESPN to ABC, which later sold a 20 percent interest to Nabisco, which was in turn purchased by Hearst. In 1996 the Walt Disney Company purchased ABC's parent company, Capital Cities, and remains the majority stockholder in the company.

Under ABC's leadership ESPN won the first cable contract to televise NFL games in 1987 and MLB games in 1989. To expand its audience outside of the English-speaking world, ESPN debuted its international network in South and Central America in 1988. It also expanded into different broadcast mediums with the launch of ESPN radio in 1992 and launched a second network, ESPN2, in 1993. The network group continued to expand its reach in 1994 by acquiring Creative Sports, which it renamed "ESPN Regional Sports," and Sports Ticker, a service that provides statistics from the major professional leagues to subscribers through a variety of electronic outlets. After providing content for other online services, the network launched its own website (www.ESPN.com) in 1995.

Disney continued the aggressive diversification of the network's content and expansion of its reach by acquiring the Classic Sports Network, which was renamed "ESPN Classic" in 1997. The network went into the publishing business by launching *ESPN the Magazine* in 1998 and further expanded its reach into new technologies, including high-definition television and pay-per-view events. ESPN Deportes, a Spanish-language network that began as a Sunday night feature, became the latest twenty-four-hour network in the ESPN group in 2004, and in 2005 ESPN plans to start a wireless phone service.

Here's to the Sports Bar

Disney and ESPN also melded Disney's experience with ESPN's sports content to provide the latest iteration of an institution they helped to expand: the sports bar. The rising volume of sports programming available on television helped the rapid spread of the now-ubiquitous sports bar, which features multiple television sets tuned to various games or sports. ESPN also staked out a piece of this turf in 1992 when it opened its first ESPN Sports Zone, a sports-themed restaurant and bar in Baltimore designed to immerse fans in sports. In such bars patrons can sit in recliners and watch the action on individual screens or join the crowd in watching big-screen televisions. Television monitors are also placed in restrooms so that fans will not miss one crucial play.

Under Disney's control ESPN also began producing original sport films and has dabbled in series television. In 2002 the network premiered *A Season on the Brink*, a dramatization of the career of legendary basketball coach Bobby Knight, and *The Junction Boys*, which depicted the grueling training camp that Paul "Bear" Bryant put his Texas A&M Aggies players through in 1954. The latest additions to the network's film library are *Hustle* and *3: The Dale Earnhardt Story*, biographies of baseball legend Pete Rose and National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) icon Dale Earnhardt. ESPN's first television series, *Playmakers*, went inside the locker room with a fictional NFL team. The series was a popular and critical success, but the NFL took a dim view of the show's dramatization of the abuses of professional football players, and ESPN, mindful of its contractual relationship with the league, pulled the plug after one season. *Tilt*, a second television series that debuted in 2005, depicts the lives of professional poker players in Las Vegas.

ESPN is now, in short, everywhere that has either electricity or mail service.

In addition to filling the electronic media with sports content, the personalities and styles of the network have had a transformative effect on U.S. culture, creating or abetting spin-off institutions and even creating new sporting events such as the X Games, which highlight

Success is how high you bounce when you hit bottom. ■ GENERAL GEORGE PATTON

“extreme” sports such as snow boarding or BASE (an acronym for “building, antenna, span, earth”) jumping, in which participants parachute off of fixed structures.

On-air personalities have driven ESPN’s entry into popular culture by contributing phrases such as “en fuego,” which means an athlete or anyone else who is hot, and “boo-yah,” which is an exuberant expression that celebrates an exceptional feat.

Quirky advertisements featuring well-known athletes and team mascots mixing with anchors in the ESPN offices or anchors teaching at the mythical Bristol University have further inserted the network into the public consciousness. Live, on-location programming such as *College Gameday* has become a spectacle in itself as programs are broadcast from a different college campus each week.

The Nickname Game

Keith Olberman and Dan Patrick, the most famous of the new breed of ESPN sports newsmen, created a sarcastic, ad-libbing style of presentation that helped make *Sports Center* a cultural icon. Chris Berman, anchoring the late night sports recap program during the network’s first year, spontaneously added “R.F.D.” to baseball player John Mayberry’s name and so began his practice of modifying players’ names to include pop culture references (*Mayberry R.F.D.* was a popular sitcom during the 1970s). Stuart Scott brought African-American vernacular and a hip hop sensibility to *Sports Center*, and ESPN also provided opportunities for women to assume a more visible role with anchors such as Robin Roberts and Linda Cohn, who have added their own catch phrases to the mix, such as Cohn’s ironic use of the old breakup line, “It’s not you, it’s me.”

ESPN’s impact can also be seen in the number of sports programs that U.S. viewers can watch each week. In 1980 ABC, NBC, and CBS provided 787 hours of live sports programming for the entire year. In 1989, with the addition of ESPN and later arrivals CNN, WTBS, and others, sports programming increased to 7,341 hours. In 2004 ESPN alone provided more than

fifty-one hundred hours of live sports or original programming in addition to its news programs. By 2005, the NFL could safely move *Monday Night Football* to ESPN, knowing the viewers would follow. ESPN2 added another forty-eight hundred hours. ESPN’s success in sports programming has also led to several other networks, such as the Golf Channel and NFLTV, which now make up the sports niche market of the cable television world.

The popularity of ESPN’s programming has inspired two prime-time situation comedies: *Sports Night*, a short-lived but critically acclaimed program that looked inside the production of live sports news broadcasts, was a close copy of *Sports Center*, and *Listen Up*, starring Jason Alexander and Malcolm-Jamal Warner, was based on *Pardon the Interruption*, an ESPN program featuring Tony Kornheiser and Michael Wilbon.

From the original conception as an all-sports, all-the-time cable network to the current multimedia empire, ESPN has dramatically increased the visibility of sports, if not their importance, in U.S. culture. In the process the network has deeply penetrated U.S. popular culture during the past two-plus decades, transforming the way we watch, think about, and talk about sports.

Russ Crawford

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Euro 2004

The secretary-general of the French Football Federation, Henry Delauney, first suggested staging a competition among the national soccer teams of Europe in 1927 at a meeting of the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA—the world governing body of soccer), arguing that a similar competition had existed in South America since 1916.

However, only after the founding of the Union of European Football Association (UEFA) in 1954 was a European soccer competition established. The European Nations' Cup competition, whose trophy was named after Delauney, was established in 1957 and first played in 1960. In 1966 the name was changed to the "European Football Championship." Since then the final phase of the competition, which is preceded by an elimination tournament the previous season, is played every four years. Years, venues, opposing teams, and scores have been:

- 1960; Paris, France; USSR-Yugoslavia; 2–1
- 1964; Madrid, Spain; Spain-USSR; 2–1
- 1968; Rome, Italy; Italy-Yugoslavia; 1–1; replay 2–0
- 1972; Brussels, Belgium; Federal Republic of Germany-USSR; 3–0
- 1976; Belgrade, Yugoslavia; Czechoslovakia-Federal Republic of Germany; 2–2; on penalties 5–3
- 1980; Rome, Italy; Federal Republic of Germany-Belgium; 2–1
- 1984; Paris, France; France-Spain; 2–0
- 1988; Munich, Federal Republic of Germany; Netherlands-USSR; 2–0
- 1992; Gothenburg, Sweden; Denmark-Germany; 2–0
- 1996; Wembley, England; Germany-Czech Republic; 2–1
- 2000; Rotterdam, Netherlands, and Belgium; France-Italy; 2–1
- 2004; Lisbon, Portugal; Portugal-Greece, 0–1

Since the 1990s the European Football Championship has been called "UEFA Euro." It is the third-largest sporting event in the world and the largest in Europe, followed by the European Champions' Cup since 1955–1956 (now called the "European Champions League") and the UEFA Cup since 1972.

All of these competitions occupy a special place in the world of sports because they offer a stage for players, trainers, and referees in the wider market of professional soccer, which in itself justifies the increased efforts of sports agents and the greater competitiveness of the competitions, as well as the club and national spirit with which the competitions are suffused. The intensified commercialization of the competitions and the enormous media coverage that surrounds them have also contributed to their importance, especially UEFA Euro, because they are played by national teams.

Despite the considerable costs of such events, European nations and sports organizations increasingly tender their applications in the hope that they will be approved. In the case of UEFA Euro 2004 in Portugal, the public investment in the construction of seven stadiums and the remodeling of three totaled about 75 percent, of which 21 percent came from government funds. The cost of providing security, with about twenty thousand police officers, was enormous.

Global Coverage

In fact, aside from the millions of Portuguese who participated in the great party of European soccer, about 1 million spectators (half of them foreign) watched the games in stadiums, while almost two hundred television stations and hundreds of journalists and photographers transmitted news and images from UEFA Euro 2004 to millions of spectators and readers around the world during the twenty-three-day championship.

The public interest in UEFA Euro goes beyond a sporting interest in the competition. In addition to the economic dimension of professional sports, especially in relation to soccer, the national teams, as well as the

Rugby is a beastly game played by gentlemen; soccer is a gentlemen's game played by beasts; football is a beastly game played by beasts. ■ HENRY BLAHA

public in general and soccer fans in particular, have compelling reasons to defend their national colors. Sporting events are venues for the display of nations on a global scale, and a nation's participation therefore acquires great symbolic significance. In this context one can easily understand the large national investments and the scramble by sports organizations to host such a large event. As countries invest in a venue to present their image in a global framework, communities also participate in an affirmation of their national identity, transposing strong emotions into the fervor with which their soccer teams are supported.

UEFA Euro has grown into a social venue par excellence for the affirmation of the national cultures of Europe, with the final phase of the competition being a moment of keen celebration for fans of the teams selected and sorted into four groups. From each group, the teams that win first and second place pass to the quarterfinals, which are followed by the semifinals, which are played by the four winners of the quarterfinals. In the finals the winners of the semifinals compete to be the champion.

"Us" versus "Others"

Even if what is played for is only a trophy in a sports competition, fans' support of their teams strengthens identity ties and a sense of cohesion in favor of "us" as opposed to "others," the adversaries, which in some soccer subcultures becomes a motive for acts of intolerance and violence. Despite the acts of intolerance and violence and xenophobic behavior manifested on occasion, a large part of the confrontation is transposed into a symbolic domain, where verbal hostilities comprise the usual course of action.

Fans from different countries use different ways to re-create their image and reassert their identity—through carnival parties, historical symbols, or the reproduction of soccer subcultures, such as the so-called hooligans as "casuals" or "ultras," although the latter have been less involved in championships between national teams. The cultural mix observed at UEFA Euro

events develops into a complex sociological reality where behavior is unpredictable, and for this reason police are mobilized to ensure public order and the safety of fans.

Since the 1990s public authorities and sports organizations have acted to prevent violence and occasional xenophobic behavior at such international soccer competitions, namely by offering fan projects and fan embassies that encourage hospitality.

The teams of sixteen countries competed in the final phase of UEFA Euro 2004 in Portugal. The next championship is planned for 2008 in Austria and Switzerland.

Salomé Marivoet

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European Football Championship

The European Football Championship, also known the “UEFA Football Championship,” is a quadrennial soccer tournament of men’s teams representing each nation in Europe. The qualifying rounds start two years ahead of time, and the final rounds are played in years divisible by four. The tournament is run by the Union des Associations Europeennes de Football (UEFA), the governing body of European soccer, established in 1954.

Origin

International soccer matches and tournaments have a long history. The first international soccer match was England versus Scotland in 1872, the Olympics first featured soccer in 1900, and the FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Associations) World Cup was started in 1930.

Soccer was experiencing a “cup fever” during the 1950s. Many European nations already had regular tournaments, including the British Championship and the Scandinavian (Nordic) Championship. International championships that began in Europe during the 1950s were the UEFA Cup, the annual European Cup (consisting of the first-place finishers in each major European league), the annual World Club Cup, and the annual European Cup-Winner’s Cup.

The European Football Championship started as the “European Nations Cup” in 1958 as the idea of Henri Delauney, secretary of the French Football Federation. The trophy given to the winner of the tournament still bears his name.

History

Organizers had difficulty getting nations to compete in the first European Nations Cup series, held 1958–1960, but eventually seventeen of the thirty-three eligi-

ble European nations entered. A home-and-away match between Ireland and Czechoslovakia brought the number of entrants down to sixteen, and the first true match of the tournament was held 28 September 1958, in Moscow’s Lenin Stadium, with 100,572 people watching the USSR beat Hungary, 3–1. The format of the first round was home-and-away games for each assigned pair, with aggregate winners reaching the quarterfinals for home-and-away games and those winners making the semifinals. One of the semifinal nations would be chosen as the host nation of the semifinal and final. The final was played on 10 July 1960, won by the USSR over Yugoslavia, 2–1, in extra time in front of only 17,966 fans at the Parc des Princes stadium in Paris.

The second series of the European Nations Cup, held 1962–1964, had fewer problems getting nations to compete as twenty-nine of the thirty-three eligible nations participated. The final was played on 21 June 1964, in Chamatin Stadium in Madrid, Spain, in front of 120,000 people. Spain’s defeat of the USSR, 2–1, was the first defeat for the USSR in any match in the tournament’s history.

With the third series, held 1966–1968, the name of the tournament was changed to the “European Football Championship.” Thirty-one countries entered; thus, the tournament changed to a group format. Eight groups would play home-and-away matches against the other nations in the group, and Group 8, comprised of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, also served simultaneously as the British home championship for 1966–1967 and 1967–1968. The eight group winners would advance to quarterfinals of home-and-away matches, then to a single semifinal and a final in Italy. The final was held in Rome’s Olympic Stadium on 8 June 1968, with Italy tying Yugoslavia, 1–1. A “final replay” was set for 10 June 1968, and Italy prevailed, 2–0.

The fourth series, held 1970–1972, involved thirty-two countries divided into eight groups. In the final, held in Heysel Stadium in Brussels, Belgium, on 28 June 1972, the upcoming 1974 World Cup champion West Germany beat the USSR, 3–0.

The fifth series, held 1974–1976, also included thirty-two countries. The final, held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, on 20 June 1976, ended in regulation time with Czechoslovakia tied with West Germany, 2–2. The Czechs won, 5–3, on penalties.

For the sixth series, held 1978–1980, the host country for the final was chosen before the tournament. The host country (Italy) automatically received a berth to the quarterfinal eight and did not compete in the group rounds. Seven groups competed for the other seven quarterfinal spots, where they moved into two new groups of four teams. No semifinal games were played in this series. It was also the last series to have the pointless third-place match. The final was held in Rome's Olympic Stadium on 22 June 1980, with West Germany winning its second title against Belgium, 2–1.

For the seventh series, held 1982–1984, semifinal straight knockout rounds were reintroduced for the top two nations from each final group. France was the final host and champion, defeating Spain, 2–0, in Parc des Princes stadium on 27 June 1984.

In the eighth series, held 1986–1988, West Germany was the final host when the Netherlands defeated the USSR, 2–0, in front of 72,308 fans at Olympic Stadium in Munich on 25 June 1988.

For the ninth series, held 1990–1992, Denmark defeated Germany in the final, 2–0, on 26 June 1992, in Gothenburg, Sweden. The final that year had lower attendance than in previous years but less of the soccer hooliganism that had marred earlier tournaments.

Because of the creation of many new European nations, forty-eight teams entered the tenth series, held 1994–1996, and the tournament was modified to its current format. Eight groups of six teams each made up the qualifying rounds, with all group winners, seven group runners-up, and the host country for the final making the final tournament. These sixteen teams are divided into four groups that play home-and-aways, with the winner and runner-up of these four groups making the quarterfinals. With sixteen teams in the final tournament, the tournament was more popular than



An Englishman wearing an England jersey on a car ferry going to a football match.

Source: istockphoto/urbanecow.

ever. In London's Wembley Stadium on 30 June 1996, Germany defeated the Czech Republic, 2–1, on a golden goal by Oliver Bierhoff.

In the eleventh series, held 1998–2000, forty-nine teams were divided into nine qualifying groups, with group winners, five runners-up, and host countries Belgium and the Netherlands making the final tournament. In the final, reigning World Cup champion France beat Italy, 2–1, in Rotterdam, Netherlands, on 2 July 2000, with a golden goal by David Trezeguet.

For the twelfth series, held 2002–2004, a record fifty teams were divided into ten groups for qualifying, with

sixteen teams making the final round. Greece was a surprise winner over host country Portugal, 1–0, on 4 July 2004, in Lisbon.

The Future

The 2004 European Football Championship garnered an estimated television audience of 10 billion people and was one of the most popular sporting events worldwide. Qualifying for the European Football Championship in 2008 will start with matches in 2006, culminating in a final round in host countries Austria and Switzerland. The parallel event for women, the UEFA Women's Championship, has been held since 1982 and is also becoming more popular.

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Eurosport

The company Eurosport was founded by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) in 1989 and subsequently developed into a unique multimedia platform. In Europe, the TV station Eurosport occupies a leading position among TV sport providers. Eurosportnews is the first sport news station to operate on an international basis. Online, eurosport.com is the only

multinational sport network, and Eurosport mobile offers a mobile sport service. The philosophy of this fully integrated information service is “Don’t Watch Sport . . . Feel Sport!”

History

Eurosport was founded in 1989 by the European Broadcasting Union and is owned by two companies. The 100-percent owner is TF1, a commercial French TV station, and 41.5 percent of TF1 is owned by a conglomerate called Bouygues, which deals globally in property and the building and service industry. The headquarters of Eurosport are in Issy-les-Moulineaux, France.

Eurosport gradually developed into a fully integrated information system. The unique multimedia platform consists of the TV channel Eurosport, the first international TV sport news channel; Eurosportnews; the multinational online service network eurosport.com; and Eurosport mobile.

The strategic vision of Eurosport is to cater to the interests of every customer, and therefore it covers more than a hundred disciplines. Respected experts, commentators, and media professionals who share a passion for sport work together to present an informed sports coverage for the various media subsumed in the multimedia platform of Eurosport. Furthermore, the editors seek to establish partnerships with top athletes, sport clubs, and the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The use of cutting-edge technology, another key characteristic of Eurosport, also supports its main mission: the promotion of sport.

Eurosport

The TV channel Eurosport has become the leading sport channel in Europe and is distributed in fifty-four countries in nineteen different languages. It is received in 98 million European homes, and 95 percent of Europeans can watch it in their native language. Every day, 21 million viewers make use of this opportunity.

The TV channel Eurosport presents the most extensive sport coverage in Europe. Although it focuses on

It is a noteworthy fact that kicking and beating have played so considerable a part in the habits which necessity has imposed on mankind in past ages that the only way of preventing civilized men from beating and kicking their wives is to organize games in which they can kick and beat balls. ■ GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

top international sport events, Eurosport also supports promising newcomers among the disciplines, such as youth football and beach volleyball. It rediscovered traditional TV-friendly disciplines like tennis and it has even created its own events, like the Olympic SportStar Awards.

Most of the channel's airtime is taken up by football (20 percent), winter sports (17 percent), tennis (15 percent), and motor sport (12 percent). Disciplines like cycling, combat sports, martial arts, track and field athletics, and water sports constitute another 4 to 6 percent of the coverage. Modern, action-laden fun sports and extreme sports are also shown on a regular basis.

To maintain its leading position among TV sport channels, Eurosport has purchased the rights to televise top sport events on a long-term basis. This purchase includes the Olympics as well as a variety of football events such as the qualifications for the World Cup and the European Cup, UEFA U-17, UEFA U-19, UEFA Champions League, African Nations Cup, and the tournament in Toulon, France. It also covers major tennis tournaments: the French Open in Roland Garros, the Australian Open, the U.S. Open, the WTA Tour, the Masters Cup, and the ATP Tour. Eurosport also owns the TV rights for cycling events such as the Tour de France, Giro d'Italia, Vuelta, Cycling World Cup and World Championships, and Track World Championships; for the motor sports events Moto GP, 24h of Le Mans, Nascar, Indy Racing League, Superbike, Rallye World Championships, and LG Super Racing Weekend; for golf events such as the US PGA and the European PGA Tour; and finally, for the rights for X-Games and Quiksilver Events.

The editorial representation of Eurosport centers on results when doing behind-the-scenes and live coverage. In effect, 41 percent of the program will be live broadcasts, and another 51 percent will consist of reports and documentaries. Six percent of its airtime is taken up by reports on a variety of themes, 4 percent by magazine programs, and 3 percent by sports news. Eurosport does not, however, send any entertainment formats.

To guarantee the successful reception of Eurosport, its

editors continually strive to optimize program structures. For example, using the ReLive-concept, sports events can be shown a second time in full length, so those who missed out on the first transmission get a chance to view it again in the familiar format.

Additional value is provided by two supplementary services: Eurosport Interactive and Sportext. Eurosport Interactive allows the viewer to access news, results, program information, and games without having to switch away from the event they are watching. This new digital application is now available in France, Greece, and Sweden. Sportext, the well-established information format, transmits sports news such as results, updates, statistics, and schedules.

Eurosport targets audiences of all ages, starting with fourteen-year-olds. Covering a large variety of disciplines in accessible formats, it caters to specialists and lay fans alike, to women as well as to men. The average viewer is well educated, of an above-average income, and has a family.

Eurosportnews

Anybody living on a tight schedule can get a daily fix of updates via the international sport news station Eurosportnews, which has transmitted real-time and around-the-clock sport news since 1 September 2000. Eurosportnews, a digital sport news station, incorporates elements such as videos, texts, and graphics. Every fifteen minutes, viewers receive the latest sport news. Furthermore, the station sends out live commentary, real-time results, and the latest headlines. Eurosportnews is currently accessible to 18 million households in over seventy countries in Europe, Africa, and Asia, and Eurosport is planning to expand its network globally in order to fully encompass Asia, Australia, and Africa.

Eurosport.com

Eurosport.com is the international website of Eurosport. Five national versions have been added to the original pan-European version in English, and there are plans to extend this service. The website provides

in-depth, wide-scale sport coverage, including news, live commentary, and results. Eurosport.com receives up to 85 million hits per month and has 1.7 million users.

Eurosport Mobile

Eurosport is transmitted to mobile phones via SMS, WAP, i-mode, and PDA. The WAP and i-mode services are offered in five languages and can be accessed in Italy, Spain, Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. The SMS service is available in three languages.

Expanding Eurosport

In January 2005 Eurosport 2 was introduced to provide more live event coverage, additional news broadcasts, and magazine-type shows that are targeted to a younger audience. The new service is initially available in 13 million European households, with programming presented in English, Polish, Turkish, and Greek.

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Exercise and Health

Throughout history, dating back to prehistoric times, physical activity and exercise have been shown to impact health physically, psychologically, socially, and spiritually among all populations. Our ancestors

engaged in strenuous physical activities such as hunting, gathering, foraging for food in addition to recreational physical activities. Physical activity and proper diet were linked to prolonged health and longevity in ancient China and India as early as 3000 BCE. Ancient Greece with its physical ideals and Olympic games has served as a model for physical fitness and health in the modern Western culture. Health benefits of physical activity and exercise were first linked to three Greek physicians: Herodicus (c. 480 BCE), Hippocrates (c. 460–377 BCE), and Galen (129–c. 199 CE). Herodicus studied “gymnastic medicine,” which was the forerunner of the study of health benefits of physical activity. His work greatly influenced Hippocrates in his studies of health, exercise, and diet. (It was Hippocrates who gave the sage advice, “If we could give every individual the right amount of nourishment and exercise, not too little and not too much, we would have found the safest way to health.”) Galen, influenced by Hippocrates, was one of the greatest physicians who studied and researched the benefits of health on physical activity and exercise.

What Are Physical Activity and Exercise?

Physical activity and exercise are often used interchangeably, but they are defined differently. Physical activity is defined as “bodily movement that is produced by contraction of skeletal muscle and that substantially increases energy expenditure” (CDCP 1996, 21). Exercise is “a planned, structured and repetitive bodily movement done to improve or maintain one or more components of physical fitness” (CDCP 1996, 21). Scientific studies show that regular physical activity and exercise along with a proper diet improve health by reducing risks of developing chronic diseases (e.g., heart disease, cancer, diabetes, hypertension); reduce obesity and help control weight; help build strong bones, muscles, and joints; reduce anxiety and depression, promote psychological well-being; and increase life span. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), an unhealthy diet and physical inactivity contribute to the rise in noncommunicable diseases (NCDs) such as

A young woman exercising outdoors. *Source: istockphoto/barsik.*

cardiovascular disease, diabetes, obesity, and cancers. Health-care costs are associated with lack of physical activity. In the United States, for example, WHO estimated health-care costs in 2000 alone rose to \$75 billion dollars as a result of physical inactivity. NCDs now account for 60 percent of global deaths and 47 percent of global disease. Furthermore, WHO reports an estimated average of 2 million deaths annually from physical inactivity throughout the world. Men, women, and children of all ages are at risk: a person who is sedentary as opposed to one who is physically active will be more susceptible to health problems.



RECOMMENDED LEVELS AND TYPES OF EXERCISE

Physical activity and exercise do not need to be strenuous. WHO recommends thirty minutes of physical activity/exercise at a moderate intensity daily. Physical activity and exercise are measured by frequency, intensity (mild, moderate, strenuous), and duration (time/length). They can be aerobic and/or anaerobic in nature. This also includes weight-bearing exercises (e.g., free weights, machine weights, body weight). Endurance activities (e.g., cycling, walking, running, swimming) increase heart rate and breathing and strengthen the heart, lungs, and circulatory system. Strength exercises (e.g., free weights, machine weights, body weight, resistant bands) strengthen the body overall. Flexibility exercises, commonly known as stretching (with or without a partner), affect various body parts that are stretched slowly without bouncing. These exercises improve the body's overall flexibility and keep the body limber. Exercise is a way to stay active and physically fit and to meet other individuals with the same interests. Participating in a daily regimen of physical activity and/or exercise improves physical and psychological health and reduces the risks of chronic diseases.

Relationship of Exercise to Overall Health

Research studies show that people who are active physically tend to be healthier. Exercise can help prevent or delay some diseases and disabilities, improve one's mood, and enhance one's lifestyle. Life expectancy may also be increased. The effects of exercise on health include changes in cardiovascular system, muscle mass, respiratory system, metabolism, bone mass, and mood. With regular physical activity, there is an increase in the heart's work capacity, aerobic capacity, and HDL (good) cholesterol and a decrease in resting heart rate, total cholesterol, and blood pressure. There is an increase in muscular strength, muscular endurance, metabolism, lean body mass, joint flexibility, and bone-mineral content. The effects of exercise on the nervous system include a decrease in the speed of reaction and movement time and an improvement in response time, visual organization, memory, and mental flexibility. The respiratory system increases in function, vital capacity, decrease in minute ventilation and respiratory ratio. Exercise reduces depression and anxiety, increases self-esteem, and improves overall psychological well-being. Economic benefits include reduction in health-care costs, increased



Exercise and Health

The Power of Exercise, 1707

From the preface to Medicina Gymnastica or a Treatise Concerning the Power of Exercise. with Respect to the Annual Oeconomy; and the Great Necessity of it in the Cure of Several Distempers, 1707.

Though some People have supposed a Warm Bath to be only a last Resort, yet it is quite otherwise, it being impossible to remove some Diseases of the Limbs without an universal equal Relaxation. Again, quite different from this is the equal Distribution of a greater Degree of Heat throughout the whole Body, which is procured by Habitual Exercise; in the former Method the Parts are relaxed, in this they are strengthened, and in every Respect the Effects are widely different, though in both ways there is a considerable Encrease of the Heat.

It is one thing to dispose Nature to collect her own Strength and throw off her Enemy; and it is another to assist her by the Corpuscula, the Minute parts of a Medicine given inwardly; the first way has Regard to the whole Animal Oeconomy; the second respects the Blood and Juices chiefly; the first may succeed, where the second cannot, because here the Laws of Motion, and the rules of the Oeconomy are enforced, and brought to be assisting to a Recovery

of Health, which in some cases can't be effected by a private and simple attempt upon the Blood only.

As for the Exercise of the Body, which is the subject of this ensuing Discourse, if people would not think so superficially of it, if they would but abstract the Benefit got by it, from the Means by which it is got, they would set a great Value upon it; if some of the Advantages occurring from Exercise were to be procured by any one Medicine, nothing in the World would be in more Esteem than that Medicine would be; but as those advantages are to be obtained another way, and by taking some Pains, Men's Heads are turned to overlook and slight them. The habitual increase of the Natural Heat of the Body, as I took notice above is not to be despised.

If any Drug could cause such an effect as the Motion of the Body does, in this respect it would be of singular Use in some tender Cases upon this very Account; but then add to this the great Strength which the Muscular and Nervous parts acquire by Exercises, if that could be adequately obtained likewise by the same Internal Means, what a Value, what an Extravagant Esteem would Mankind have for that Remedy which could produce such wonderful Effects!

physical and psychological fitness, and increased productivity.

OBESITY

According to WHO, obesity has reached epidemic proportions throughout the world. Statistics show there are over 1 billion people who are overweight (i.e., they have a body mass index [BMI] greater than 25 kg/m²) and 300 million people defined as obese (BMI greater than 30 kg/m²) (WHO 2004, 2). Obesity and being overweight are related to chronic disease and disability problems (e.g., coronary artery disease, diabetes, hypertension, and hyperlipidemia, as well as musculoskeletal and pulmonary disease). Obesity and being overweight

affects all ages, cultures, men, women, and children, in both developed and undeveloped countries. Lack of exercise and poor diet are among the major reasons for this alarming epidemic.

CORONARY ARTERY DISEASE

Coronary artery disease (CAD) is a leading cause of death in the world today. The narrowing of the coronary arteries, which supply blood and oxygen to the heart, is called atherosclerosis. Atherosclerosis in turn causes CAD, which can lead to heart attack, stroke, and angina. Research shows that regular physical activity helps reduce CAD. Exercise increases the functional capabilities of the heart and reduces oxygen demands. For

I get my exercise acting as a pallbearer to my friends who exercise. ■ CHAUNCEY DEPEW

those individuals with CAD, those who resume physical activity and exercise as prescribed by their doctors recover at a faster rate with fewer clinical problems compared with patients who remain immobile following medical treatment. Individuals who undergo cardiac surgery most often benefit from a supervised cardiac rehabilitation program in which specific exercise is prescribed and monitored. Once the individual graduates from rehabilitation, regular exercise (i.e., low-intensity endurance exercise: walking, stationary cycling, and swimming) tailored to his or her physical condition on a gradual schedule is beneficial.

HYPERLIPIDEMIA

Hyperlipidemia, or high cholesterol as it is commonly called, is diagnosed when total blood plasma cholesterol levels rise above 240 mg/dl. High blood cholesterol can lead to elevated blood plasma, which can cause CAD and other chronic medical problems. Cholesterol consists of low-density lipoproteins (LDL), high-density lipoproteins (HDL), and triglycerides. HDL cholesterol, the “good” cholesterol, should measure 65 mg/dl or more. LDL, the “bad” cholesterol, should measure less than 100 mg/dl. A measurement of 182–200 mg/dl (HDL and LDL) is the average recommendation for total cholesterol. Regular exercise helps reduce LDL levels and increase HDL levels.

HYPERTENSION/STROKE

Hypertension, known as the silent killer as it can occur without symptoms, kills five million people each year globally (WHO 2002). Blood pressure is measured by two numbers—systolic (top number) and diastolic pressure. Systolic measures the arteries when the heart contracts. Diastolic is the pressure in the arteries when the heart rests between beats. Hypertension (high blood pressure) occurs when a person’s blood pressure is greater than 140/90 mmHg. It is a leading cause of cardiovascular disease (i.e., stroke, peripheral arterial disease, heart and kidney failures). Regular exercise helps reduce the risk of hypertension. It also helps lower

blood pressure (low- to moderate-intensity exercise: aerobic endurance and strength-training activities). For those individuals being treated with hypertension medication (e.g., ACE-receptor blockers, beta-blockers), the effects of the drug(s) on blood pressure should be taken into account when devising a physician-approved exercise regimen.

Hypertension is a major risk factor for strokes. A stroke occurs when there is a blood clot within a blood vessel (thrombosis). It affects the arteries of the nervous system, resulting in reduced or lack of oxygen to the brain. Similar guidelines and recommendations of regular exercise prescribed to reduce hypertension are also used to reduce the risk of stroke and in treatment of individuals who have suffered a stroke.

PERIPHERAL VASCULAR DISEASE

Peripheral vascular disease (PVD) is a painful disease often occurring in the legs, especially in the older adult population. It is caused by atherosclerotic narrowing of the peripheral arterial and/or venous blood vessels. As a result of reduced blood flow to the lower extremities, spasms and blockages (claudication) can cause various degrees of muscle pain. Exercise should be tailored to the individual’s comfort level (measured by subjective grades I–IV of claudication discomfort). Regular exercise improves blood flow, tolerance to pain, muscle metabolism, and oxygen utilization. It also reduces the risk of CAD and improves overall physical health.

DIABETES MELLITUS

Diabetes mellitus is characterized by glucose intolerance—the body is not able to utilize food appropriately. Diabetes left untreated can lead to a variety of health problems such as CAD, vision impairment, kidney disease, and vascular and nerve disorders. There are two types of diabetes: Type I is called insulin-dependent mellitus (IDM); Type II is called noninsulin-dependent diabetes mellitus (NIDDM). IDM usually occurs in childhood or adolescence and is also known as juvenile diabetes. Regular insulin injections are used to regulate

blood-glucose levels for IDM. Overweight and obese individuals often develop NIDDM, but the disease is not limited to this population. NIDDM is caused by the body's reduced ability to regulate blood-glucose levels. Both types of diabetes can occur at any age. Regular exercise, especially of an aerobic nature designed specifically for the diabetic, helps increase good cholesterol and improves insulin tolerance, cardiovascular fitness, and weight control.

CHRONIC OBSTRUCTIVE PULMONARY DISEASE

Bronchitis and emphysema are known as chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases (COPD). Bronchitis is characterized by the obstruction of the airways, mainly inflammation of the bronchial tubes and mucous membranes, making it hard to breathe. Emphysema develops when the alveoli are enlarged as a result of damage to the alveolar walls, which causes an obstruction of air-flow and difficulty in breathing.

Asthma is another form of pulmonary disease that results in obstruction of airways. However, unlike COPD, asthma can be reversed, either spontaneously or by medication). Asthma is characterized by wheezing, swelling, and obstruction in the tracheobronchial tree. Exercise can induce an asthma attack (known as exercise-induced asthma or EIA), but this can be alleviated with medication and/or adjustment of exercise activity. Depending on the severity of COPD, exercise may or may not benefit persons with pulmonary disorders. These individuals must have a medical doctor's clearance and a prescription for specific types of exercise and physical activity.

OSTEOPOROSIS

As we age, we begin to lose bone-mineral mass. For women, this loss begins around age 30 and for men, at 50 years old. Osteoporosis is the loss of bone as a result of less density and tensile strength. This also increases our susceptibility for falls and fractures. Osteoporosis is more common in women than men after the age of 45. Regular exercise and physical activity assist in main-

taining bone density; weight-bearing exercises (i.e., weight-bearing, aerobic, and strength training) on a regular basis help build bone-mineral mass and reduce the risk of osteoporosis for both men and women.

CANCER

Scientific research studies have shown that regular physical activity and exercise (in addition to a healthy diet and not smoking) can prevent many forms of cancer. Individuals who are physically inactive are more likely to develop cancer than those who engage in regular exercise on a daily basis. For those individuals with cancer, an exercise program should be cleared by a medical doctor and developed specifically for the individual's special needs.

MENTAL HEALTH

Stress, anger, anxiety, and depression contribute to a wide variety of health conditions, such as CAD, cancer, migraines, headaches, and insomnia. Research studies show that regular exercise reduces stress, anxiety, tension, anger, and depression. Physical activity and exercise have proven beneficial for both psychiatric and nonpsychiatric populations; severe mental-health problems are often treated with medication and psychotherapy, with exercise as an adjunct treatment. Furthermore, exercise is known to increase self-esteem, confidence, and overall psychological well-being.

Adverse Effects of Exercise on Health

While benefits of exercise on health and mental health far outweigh the adverse effects, one must be aware of potential problems. Most common of these are injuries to the musculoskeletal system. These include broken bones, bruises, strains, and sprains while one is engaged in physical activity or exercise. Repetitive motion (e.g., swimming, running, cycling, strength training) can cause a variety of muscle pulls and tears. Doing too much too soon or adhering to the "no pain, no gain" mentality can lead to serious injuries and even sudden death.

Exercising for long duration without proper fluid

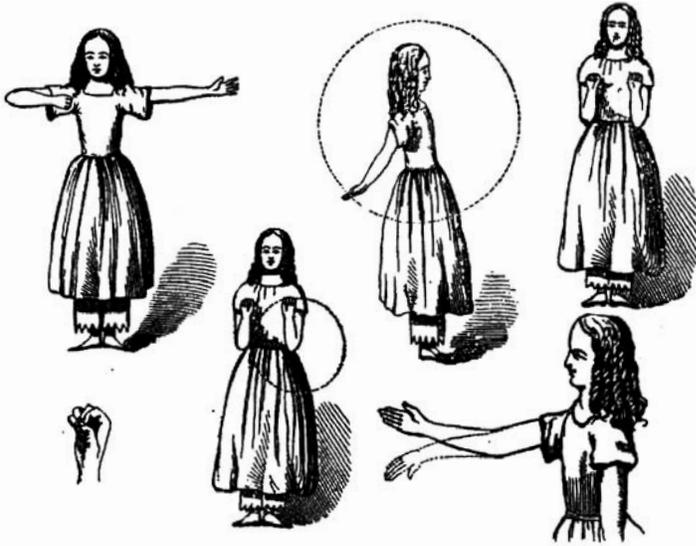


Figure 47: Upper extremity exercises from Catharine Beecher's *Calisthenics Exercises for Home, Schools and Families* (1856).

and food intake in hot or cold weather can lead to heat stroke, hypothermia, dehydration, amenorrhea (in females), and other endocrine and metabolic disorders. Strenuous exertion can lead to tears in muscles and blood cells, kidney failure, and other organ dysfunction.

Individuals who become addicted to exercise or over-train risk depressing their immune systems, which can lead to an increase in infections and illnesses (including irritability, insomnia, and depression). Exercise can also induce asthma attacks in certain individuals.

Specific physical activity, exercise, and sports expose one to collisions and injuries; these activities include contact sports such as football, boxing, and hockey. Such equipment as baseball bats, balls, tennis racquets, and skis can seriously hurt an individual when thrown, swung, or broken during the activity.

Many of these adverse effects are preventable if people work up to the level of exercise to which they aspire. A sound and smart regimen of regular exercise is progressive in nature (in frequency, duration, and intensity). A personal trainer is valuable in devising exercise programs tailored to the individual's needs and goals. People with a high risk of cardiovascular disease, men over 40 years old, women over 50 years old, and those with health problems or disability should consult with their medical doctor before beginning any course of exercise or physical activity.

Upper extremity exercises for girls in the 1850s.

Special Populations

A number of subgroups within the generation population have special needs in terms of exercise programs.

PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

People with disabilities need exercise as much as the general population. More often than not exercise programs are not accessible. People with disabilities tend to be more socially isolated and less likely to engage in physical activities than those who are not disabled. Health and mental-health benefits of physical activity and exercise are similar

to those for the nondisabled population. Moreover, people with chronic, disabling conditions benefit from an increase in stamina and overall body strength.

OLDER ADULTS

Those 50 years of age and older are the fastest-growing population in the world today. WHO reports show there will be a growth of 223 percent in this older population during the period 1970–2025. As people age, many tend to view the process in negative terms. Physical activity and exercise offer older adults a fun way to stay active and physically fit and to meet other seniors with the same interests. Research studies show that older people who are active physically tend to be healthier. Exercise can help prevent or delay some diseases and disabilities, improve one's mood, and enhance one's lifestyle. Life expectancy is increased as well. With respect to the aging process, there are many benefits derived from participation in regular physical activities including cardiovascular, musculoskeletal, nervous and pulmonary system improvements.

ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS

Adolescents and young adults are not getting regular exercise as a result of physical-education courses and extracurricular activities being cut from many school programs. Technological advances including televisions,

Exercise is a modern superstition invented by people who ate too much, and had nothing to think about. Athletics don't make anybody either long-lived or useful. ■ GEORGE SANTAYANA

computers, pagers, and multimedia programs often lead to physical inactivity for long hours on a daily basis. The CDC reports that nearly half of American youths 12–21 years old are not involved in vigorous exercise, and 14 percent of this population does not engage in any physical activity at all. Adolescents and young adults need programs that emphasize movement and fun physical activities that will motivate them to lose or maintain weight, build strong bones and muscle strength, and increase overall psychological well-being and physical fitness. Parents should plan family physical activities together and encourage participation on a regular basis. Schools and other community programs need to include physical education in their curriculums and offer extracurricular activities.

PREGNANT WOMEN

Scientific research studies show that women can benefit from specific regular exercise or physical activity during pregnancy. Exercise programs can vary among pregnant women depending upon their needs. Aerobic exercise is the most common exercise for conditioning for this population. However, certain exercises should not be performed, depending on the woman's limitations, needs, and trimester of pregnancy (for example, no supine exercises after the fourth month and basic strength exercises that tax the body excessively). Exercise can reduce the risk of pregnancy-related medical conditions (e.g., eclampsia, diabetes) and enhance labor

and delivery and improve the overall health of the mother and child.

The Future

Physical inactivity increases the risk of chronic diseases and health or mental-health conditions. People who are physically active are healthier and more productive than those who are not. Medical costs rise to epic proportions due to sedentary lifestyles. The World Health Organization has developed a “global strategy on diet, physical activity and health that provides member states with a range of global policy options to address two of the major risks responsible for the heavy and growing burden of NCDs: unhealthy diet and physical inactivity” (WHO 2004, 1). These NCDs include the growing epidemic of obesity, cancers, cardiovascular diseases, and diabetes mellitus. An alarming 60 percent of the world's population fails to exercise the recommended minimum of 30 minutes of moderate physical activity per day. Everyone can benefit from physical activity and exercise. Many NCDs are preventable through healthy diet and exercise. Physical activity does not need to be strenuous. It should be fun and motivating. The benefits of exercise far outweigh the risks. It's the best preventive measure against poor health that the world can afford and that each of us can give to ourselves.

Becky Clark

See also Diet and Weight Loss; Fitness; Nutrition; Performance

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Extreme Sports

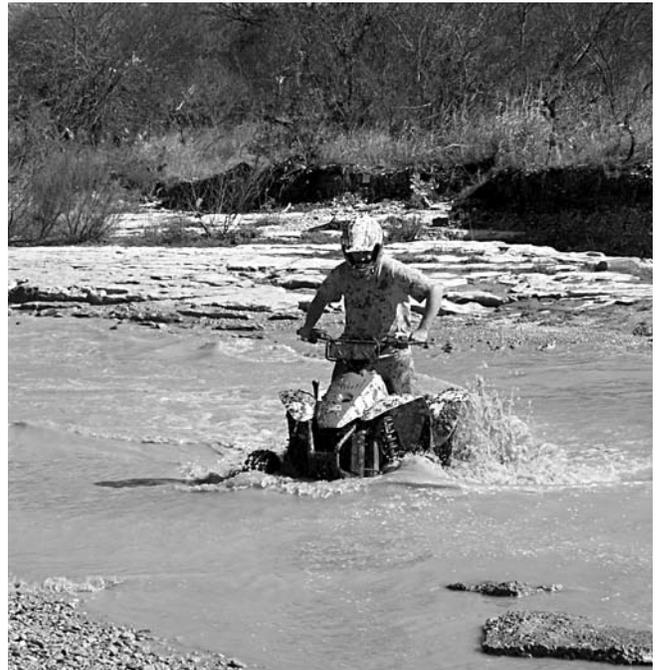
Extrême sports is a relatively new sports genre. Sports are considered extreme when participants engage in the sport in a way that creates great personal risk. Sensation seeking and pushing one's personal boundaries of risk are the primary reason people participate in extreme sports. They are sometimes referred to as "adrenaline sports" and participants speak of seeking to reach the "zone" or "flow." In some of the sports, participants seek also to achieve a closer relationship with the environment. Some extreme sports are recent inventions such as canopy climbing or cave diving while others are extensions of established sports such as rock climbing or skydiving. Some extreme sports such as sky surfing combine elements from two other sports; in this case surfing and parachuting. Most extreme sports athletes are men but the number of female participants is increasing. While most extreme participants are recreational athletes, extreme sports as a genre has received a boost from television coverage and especially the X Games first televised on ESPN in 1995. There is now an entire extreme-sports industry that markets the sports, extreme-sport tourism, equipment, clothing, and training.

Some experts believe that extreme sports grew out of

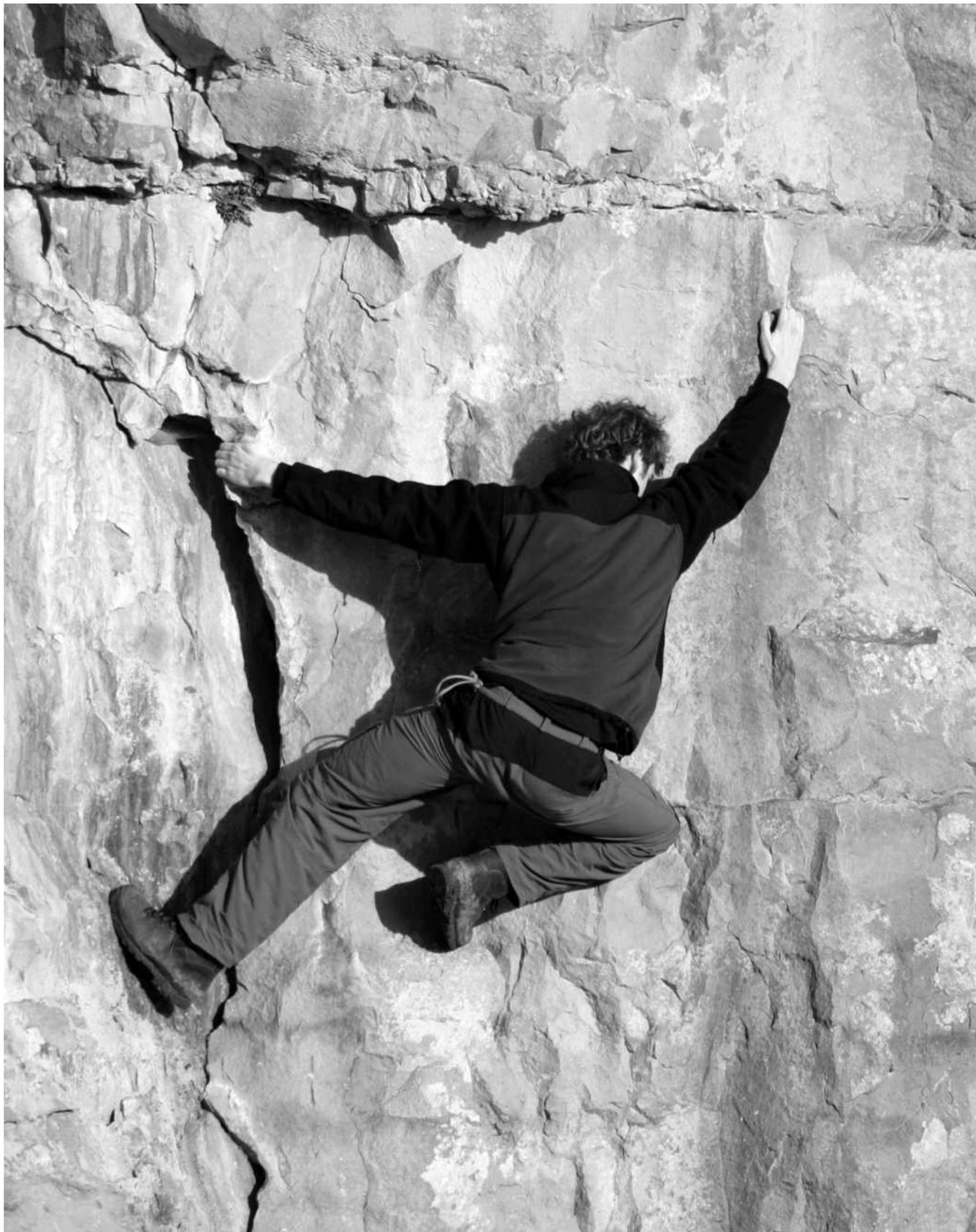
the counterculture of the 1960s that was reflected in lifestyle, art, music, and literature. Extreme sports were seen as play rather than competition and an expression of individual freedom and creativity.

Culture and Psychology of Extreme Sport

Extreme sports differ from both so-called traditional and modern sports in several ways. First, extreme sports are about experience and process, not about outcomes. Second, most extreme sports are noncompetitive. The goal is individual achievement and risk-taking, not winning. Third, extreme sports are expressions of individuality. Fourth, many extreme sports are cross-over sports in that athletes come to extreme sports from other sports such as rock climbing, surfing, parachuting, and triathlon. Thus, extreme sports reverse the trend in sports in general toward specialization. Finally, extreme sports are closely linked to youth culture. Many



A young man plays in a water hole on his ATV. Source: istockphoto/Area Photography.



Free climber traversing rock face at full stretch. *Source: istockphoto.com/gough.*

The highest reward for a person's toil is not what they get for it, but what they become by it. ■ JOHN RUSKIN

participants are young men and women who value independence, pushing the limits, personal growth, and risk-taking.

Research suggests that those who participate in extreme sports have a greater need than others to engage in high-risk behaviors. These people seem to have a high tolerance for risk and can continue to function at high physical and mental levels in dangerous situations. There is also evidence that such people often feel in control in situations where most people would feel out of control. They also tend to minimize their personal risk by preparing well for the activity and by objectively analyzing their own skills, the environment, and the task.

A Roster of Extreme Sports

The list of sports classified as extreme is large and growing. The following list covers the major ones.

Adventure racing is a competitive extreme sport in which teams of “adventurers” race hundreds of miles nonstop using orienteering skills and canoes, kayaks, mountain bikes, white-water rafts, horses, their feet, and ropes. The first team to finish wins. *Eco-Challenge* is a specific form of adventure racing.

ATV is riding and/or racing over rough, wet, muddy or other dangerous terrain in all-terrain vehicles.

BASE jumping stands for Building, Antennae, Span, Earth—an acronym that indicates the type of objects BASE jumpers jump off of, with a parachute on their back.

Bungee jumping is jumping from a tower, bridge or other high spot while attached to an elastic cord by a harness. Part of the thrill comes from the feeling of weightless that come from bouncing several times when the cord reaches its maximum extension.

Canopying is traveling through tree tops (usually in rainforests) using climbing equipment and cables.

Canyoning is a combination of swimming, sliding, climbing down mountain streams which are reached by climbing down via rope and harness from the canyon walls above.

Cave diving is diving and exploring underground, water-filled caves.

Extreme skiing is skiing off of cliffs and down steep and dangerous terrain. In addition to skis, extreme skiers use snowshoes and climbing gear and safety equipment.

Free climbing means climbing rock or ice with a minimum of equipment. The most extreme free climbers use only their hands, chocks, and special shoes. How extreme is also defined by how high one climbs. Free climbing is probably the most physically and mentally rigorous of all extreme sports.

In-line skating classified as extreme differs from recreational or competitive in-line skating and is more like skateboarding. Skaters go as fast as possible, jump over or grind across whatever obstacles they encounter, skate



A woman climbing a steep rock face. Source: istockphoto/bangkok.



A street luge race. Source: istockphoto/Photo-Dave.

on vertical (vert) planes and perform their own “big-air” twists, turns, and flips.

Kite surfing (kite skiing, kite boarding, kite flying) is surfing on a modified surf board while being pulled by a kite across open water.

Mountain boarding is a combination of skateboarding and snowboarding using a board with wheels on grass or dirt.

Parkour is an urban extreme sport in which individuals run and jump in a smooth, gliding continuous motion over whatever comes in their path. The goal is not speed, but smoothness of the journey to achieve inner serenity.

Paragliding is cross-country gliding in which the paraglider uses a special parachute designed to allow him or her to use wind currents to stay aloft. The goal is to stay aloft as long and to travel as far as possible.

Running with bulls is running in the streets and trying to avoid being gorged or crushed by wild bulls let lose in the streets. Many extreme athletes would question whether this is really an extreme sport.

Skijoring (skidriiving) is a Norwegian sport in which a person on cross-country skis is pulled by a dog team of dogs. The challenge is to control both the skis and the dogs at the same time.

Sky surfing is jumping out of an airplane standing on a small surfboard that is attached to ones feet with snowboard bindings. Once airborne, the surfer performs twists and spins before parachuting to land. Sky surfing is often competitive, with a free-falling cameraman filming the surfer in action so the judges can grade the performance.

Speed biking is biking down steep terrain (usually two-mile, 60-degree slopes) as fast as possible and then stopping at the end. Speed bikers go faster than any other human-powered athletes other than speed skiers.

Street luge is one of the first extreme sports and was started by teenage boys in California who lay face up on their skateboards and sped down steep roads at up to 60 miles per hour. Street luge boards are now modified skateboards designed to fit the luger.

Supermoto (Supermotard) is a form of motorcycle racing involving both on-track and off-raid courses that favors skill and agility over motor power.

Tough Man Competitions are fights in which the competitors seek to injure one another by hitting, kicking, gouging, punching, etc. Many extreme athletes would question whether this is really an extreme sport.

Wakeboarding is performing stunts while standing

on a modified board and being pulled across the wake by a powerboat. Wakeboarders also grind off of objects such as rocks and buoys.

The Future

The future of extreme sports looks bright. New extreme sports appear each year, the X Games and other competitions remain popular, and more people participate each year. In addition, oldtimers and newcomers both are always ready to push the limit further and further to encounter new risk.

David Levinson

See also Adventure Education; Youth Culture and Sports; X Games

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Extreme Surfing

In the popular imagination every surfer confronts danger: collapsing mountains of water, violent turbulence, razor-sharp coral heads, boulder-strewn reefs, frenzied sharks. News items reinforce these images. A photo of Jay Moriarty free-falling down the face of a 6-meter wave at Maverick's off northern California in

December 1994 appeared in the *New York Times*; NBC's *Nightly News* showed film of the wipeout. Laird Hamilton's ride across a 5.4-meter wall at Teahupoo in Tahiti in August 2000 received front-page coverage in the *Los Angeles Times* and won the Action Sports Feat of 2000 at the annual ESPN Action Sports Awards. The international media reported the shark attack on thirteen-year-old surfer Bethany Hamilton at Ha'ena, Hawaii, in October 2003. Hamilton, who lost her left arm just below the shoulder, subsequently appeared on the *Oprah Winfrey Show* and gave interviews to *Glamour* magazine and *Entertainment Tonight*.

Contrary to these images and stories, surfing is a relatively safe sport. The average surfer incurs four injuries (deep cuts, sprains, fractures, etc.) every one thousand days of riding. Death from shark attacks or drowning is rare. Of course, this rarity, paradoxically, draws media attention that fuels the popular imagination of a wildly dangerous pastime. Such media attention was drawn during the mid-1990s when a spate of accidents caused the deaths of three experienced big-wave riders. Mark Foo drowned in December 1994 at Maverick's. A few years earlier he had prophetically warned that "the ultimate thrill" could extract "the ultimate price." Donnie Solomon died at the shrine of big-wave riding at Waimea Bay, Hawaii, in December 1995. Todd Chesser drowned at Outside Alligators, a reef west of Waimea Bay, in February 1997.

Although surfing's safety record may belie the appellation "extreme," both surfing and mainstream culture bestow the highest prestige on those who ride the biggest and thickest waves and who risk smashed bones, torn ligaments, burst ear drums, and torn flesh. Indeed, these surfers undoubtedly do play in an extreme realm.

Wipeout

All surfers intrinsically know that, in the words of surf-film cinematographer Bruce Brown, "it takes a lot of guts to go out there when the waves are breaking bigger than a house." Yet many of the dangers are not immediately apparent, especially from the shore. The most

*Ingenuity, plus courage, plus work,
equals miracles.* ■ BOB RICHARDS

dangerous waves break on reefs, the depth of which is not always easy to decipher. Former world champion Nat Young points to the acute sense of alertness and skill needed in this environment. The surfer must focus well ahead and look for shallow water: “Sometimes it’s a boil in the face of the wave, at others there’s no sign at all, the wave just sucks out revealing dry reef.”

Deep holes formed by coral polyps also pose dangers, as pioneer big-wave rider Jose Angel can testify. Surfing at the famed Pipeline, Hawaii, in 1967, Angel wiped out and was “blasted” into a pitch-black vertical cavern with an overhanging lip. Disoriented, he searched in vain for the exit. Angel escaped only when a subsequent wave broke with particular ferocity and unleashed a burst of energy that literally ejected him from a potential coral coffin.

Being caught in the impact zone of a powerful wave and churned by its turbulence are no less hazardous than being pitched into a serrated coral head. Big-wave rider Greg Noll compares entanglement in a collapsing 7.6-meter wall of water with “going off Niagara Falls without the barrel.” He estimates the chances of drowning at “about 80 percent.” After wiping out at Maverick’s in 1994, Moriarty spoke of having his “skin ripped from my bones.” However, Moriarty also considered himself fortunate: “Luckily the force of the wave pushed me so deep that I struck the reef and realized which way was up. Otherwise I don’t think I would have made it to the surface to get a suck of air before the next wave hit.” Briece Taerea was not so fortunate. Confronted by a 7.6-meter wall of water at Teahupoo in April 2000 he tried to push through its face. However, the wave at the world’s most challenging and dangerous reef was too thick. It sucked him backward and rammed him into the marine floor, breaking his neck and back. Taerea died two days later.

Impact Zone

Surfers dance in the jaws of the impact zone. Catching a wave requires the surfer to paddle in front, and sometimes directly underneath, the breaking lip; the slightest

mistake—catching an edge of the board, losing balance, hesitating—means being catapulted into the impact zone.

When riding at a new location, a surfer must carefully establish the precise points where the waves break, the take-off zones, and the areas where one can sit safely. In 1964 Greg Noll and Mike Strange spent eight hours in the water establishing the take-off location at Outside (third reef) Pipeline. Regardless of what happens in the surf, getting to where the waves break and returning to shore can be hazardous. Noll and Strange spent an hour just to get through the shorebreak and lateral current on the day they ventured to Outside Pipeline. They were dumped back on the sand four times before making it to safety. Returning to the shore after wiping out in 7.6-meter surf at Makaha, Hawaii, in December 1969 was a life-threatening journey for Noll. After a battering in the impact zone, the exhausted Noll had to swim to shore across a raging lateral current and through a horrendous shorebreak.

Tow-in surfing has radically redefined big-wave riding. Using finely tuned jet skis, devotees tow each other, like water skiers, into ocean waves that jack up and produce 12-, 15-, and 18-meter faces. As well as narrow surfboards with cushioned straps for the feet, tow-in equipment includes rescue sleds, life vests, and hospital-grade oxygen. Partnerships and assistance are key ingredients in tow-in surfing. Surfers in the impact zones of 12-meter-plus waves depend on partners risking their own lives and equipment to drag them clear. Of course, sometimes partners magnify the danger. When Michael Willis’s partner arrived to pluck him from the shadow of a dark horizon at Pe’ahi, Hawaii, the ski stalled. As the thunder descended upon the pair, the drifting tow rope wrapped around Willis’s leg. The wave crashed over the pair, and Willis, now “tied” to the ski, was dragged 400 meters with the rope progressively tightening and cutting deeper into his leg muscle. Willis spent two weeks on crutches.

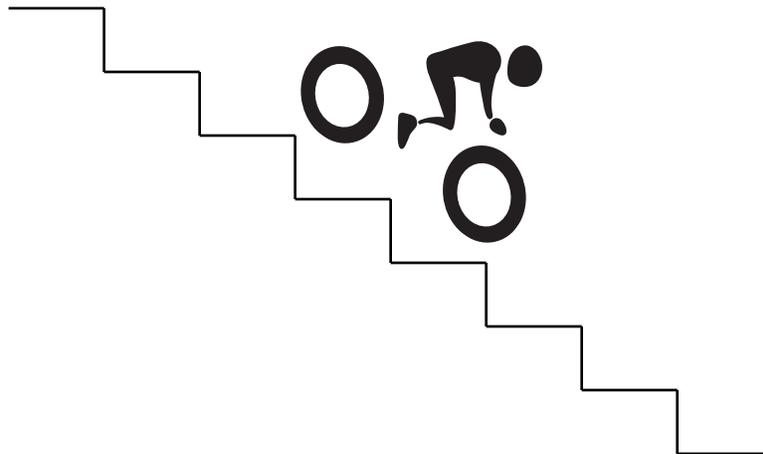
Nearly all surf conditions incorporate some element of the extreme by virtue of the dynamic nature of the

environment. However, in their quest for prestige, surfing's warrior caste ventures further into the extreme of bigger and thicker waves.

Douglas Booth

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Facility Management
Facility Naming Rights
Falconry
Family Involvement
Fan Loyalty
Fantasy Sports
Fashion
Feminist Perspective
Fencing
Fenway Park
Finland
Fishing
Fitness
Fitness Industry
Floorball
Flying
Folk Sports
Footbag
Football
Football, Canadian
Football, Flag
Football, Gaelic
Foro Italico
Foxhunting
France
Franchise Relocation
Free Agency

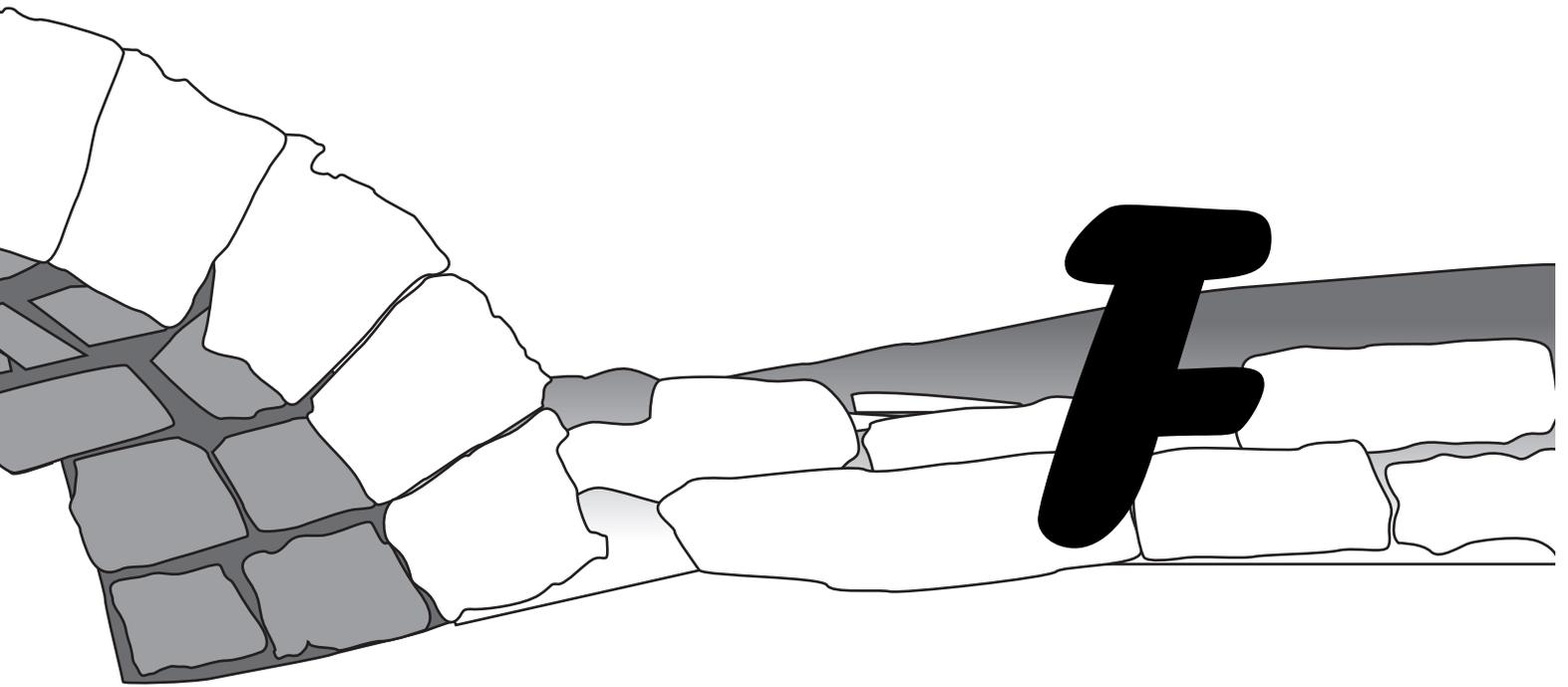


Facility Management

Sports facilities are not a new phenomenon; they existed in some of the earliest civilizations: The Egyptians, Chinese, Greeks, and Romans used sports facilities to benefit the well-being of citizens and to maintain military readiness. These facilities were the forerunner of today's sports facilities.

As sports are becoming more popular throughout the world facilities are constantly being constructed and renovated to cater to increased demand. During the past three decades in the United States more than one hundred large stadiums have been built to accommodate the increasing attendance at college and professional sporting events. Throughout the world stadiums and other sports facilities have been built, including Wembley Stadium (England, 126,000 capacity), Soldier Field (United States, 102,000), Hamden Park (Scotland, 149,500), Melbourne Cricket Ground (Australia, 116,000), Maracana Municipal Stadium (Brazil, 200,000), and the world's largest stadium, Strahov Stadium (Czech Republic, 240,000).

The Olympic Games have played a major role in the growth of sports facilities. Every four years since the revival of the modern Olympics in Athens in 1896, with the exception of World War I (1914–1918) and World War II (1939–1945), host countries have constructed and renovated sports facilities to stage this major sporting event. In 2004 the Olympic Games returned to Greece. Thirty-eight venues were used for the games;



sixteen were new venues, and twenty-two were renovated or improved venues.

The trend in sports facility construction is to offer quality and safety as opposed to quantity. Facilities are being designed to hold fewer spectators and to provide more amenities. An example of this trend is the new soccer stadiums built in Portugal to host the 2004 European Soccer Championships. Ten world-class stadiums were built or renovated, including the Stadium of Light (Lisbon, capacity 65,647), the Stadium of the Dragon (Porto, 50,948), the Dom Afonso Henriques Stadium (Guimaraes, 29,865), and the Jose Alvalade Stadium (Lisbon, 50,466, with a cinema multiplex, bowling alley, health club, and shopping mall). Many of the other stadiums have capacities ranging from twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand people.

No longer do sports facilities operate in isolation; what happens in one country can directly affect the operations of a facility in another. Facility managers everywhere have to address acts of violence, terrorism, and other issues. They also must maximize revenue while providing patrons with a positive experience and ensuring their safety. Patrons expect safety, comfort, and excellent service, and facility management must deliver.

Management Options

Sports facilities can be operated by their owners, by primary or anchor tenants, by not-for-profit organizations, or by private management companies. Private management is a growing trend. Many publicly owned and managed sports facilities have been losing money, and

private management is one way to help facilities become profit centers.

Private management companies such as SMG, Centre Management, and Leisure Management International usually are contracted to provide services for the entire facility. The largest facility management company, SMG, manages 156 facilities for both public and private clients throughout the world. Unless a facility is booked for more than two hundred days per year, hiring full-time event labor is not cost effective. Cost effectiveness is also subject to such factors as facility size, occupancy, event type, and concessionaires' capital investment in equipment (IAAM 1997). When the facility owner uses in-house management, outside contractual agreements are usually arranged for many services. Three basic areas of contracted services are service, equipment, and supplies; these areas may include services such as crowd management, security, maintenance, and concessions. Regardless of the operational methods used, facility management can determine the success or failure of a sports facility (Farmer, Mulrooney, and Ammon 1996).

Facility Manager or Team

Sports facilities are normally operated by a management team headed by a general manager, chief executive officer, or executive director. Other members of the team are responsible for marketing, public relations, advertising, and operations. The size and function of the facility determine the size of the management team (Farmer, Mulrooney, and Ammon 1996). Traditionally a facility manager has four functions: planning,

organizing, leading, and evaluating. These functions give rise to the overall strategic management process. Therefore, the facility manager or facility management team must be competent in the many areas involved in operating a sports facility.

Operational Procedures

Regardless of the type or size of a facility, operational procedures guide the facility staff and employees and can reduce confusion. However, before an organization establishes procedures it must be aware of the factors that influence the operations of the facility, such as national, state, and local codes and regulations; if these are not complied with the facility could face legal action. Each organization establishes its own procedures regarding personnel and management, and most organizations create procedures regarding signage, equipment, safety, animals, food and beverage, and services. All operational procedures should be in writing and communicated clearly to all personnel.

The facility manager or team also must update operational procedures. In reviewing and revising contractual agreements and policy manuals, the manager or team must use input gathered from support staff, patrons, customers, promoters, and clients through regular feedback or evaluation mechanisms. At the 2004 North American Society for Sport Management (NASSM) annual conference in Atlanta, Georgia, Jamie Rootes, senior vice president of the Houston Texans, described how he and his staff use digital cameras on the day of an event to document changes that should be made to any operations and how these changes are discussed the following day and implemented immediately.

Booking and Scheduling

Booking and scheduling play an integral role in the operation of a sports facility. A thorough knowledge of the client's requirements and the facility and an understanding of the physical constraints of the facility are essential to the economic success of a facility. Therefore, booking and scheduling are far more complex than merely logging an event in an open date. The person re-

sponsible for booking and scheduling must have sales and marketing skills. The trend is to develop multipurpose rather than single-purpose facilities. Multipurpose facilities are cost effective because they can be used for a variety of activities. However, most facilities cannot survive financially if only the dates played by the home team are booked. The facility must be marketed and sold for the remainder of the open dates. The facility manager must establish long-term relationships and a sound reputation to bring new business and return business to the facility. In addition, booking and scheduling multiple events require close attention to move-in and move-out times and dates, especially with back-to-back events. Great consideration must be given to the time required to prepare the facility for different types of events, such as the time required to change the floor from basketball use to ice hockey use (IAAM 1997).

Financial Management

Financial management is the process of planning, organizing, directing, controlling, and analyzing all aspects that affect the financial performance of a facility. Although a facility manager may not be directly involved in the accounting process of the facility, he or she is responsible for the day-to-day decisions that depend on accuracy and an understanding of financial information. A facility manager needs a basic knowledge of the tools involved (computer software) and an ability to accurately interpret financial information. A facility manager must be competent in budgeting, cost control, methodology, and negotiation skills.

Housekeeping and Maintenance

Housekeeping and maintenance are two of the most important responsibilities of the facility manager. They keep a facility in a clean and safe condition so that customers have a positive experience. The appearance of a sports facility greatly affects the public's image of the facility. A housekeeping and maintenance operation can keep a facility looking like new and assist in maintaining its competitiveness with newer and more expensive facilities. The facility manager must implement a com-

One job of the modern facilities manager is to arrange for product advertising throughout the facility as shown here in Fenway Park in 2004.

prehensive plan for house-keeping and maintenance, taking into consideration facility type, location, usage level, types of groups using the facility, available labor, and revenue availability. This plan should include guidelines concerning purpose, operation, storage, staffing, inventory, repair, and safety (Mulrooney and Styles 2004). An aggressive housekeeping and maintenance plan creates a positive public image of the facility, which in turn increases usage of the facility.

Concessions and Merchandise

Food and beverages are concessions, whereas licensed goods and novelties are merchandise. These products can create a tremendous amount of revenue for a facility. The facility manager has many options in attending to these products: outside full-contract service food, novelty, and merchandising companies; an in-house service; or a combination of the two. Regardless of the choice, the facility manager must have adequate knowledge of sales projections, labor costs, and insurance costs and the ability to compute total expenditures. Most patrons know that they will pay more for food and other products at a sporting event; therefore, the products and the sales staff must be of the highest quality. Patrons are becoming more demanding of concessions and other products, and the facility management team must ensure that its services and sales meet demands.

Risk Management and Crowd Management

Risk management limits exposure to harm in a facility. The most common risk that a facility manager tries to limit is injuries to patrons. The facility manager should implement a risk-management plan to include identification, assessment, treatment, and creation of standard



operating procedures to decrease and deal with risk (Mulrooney and Styles 2004).

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States, facilities, regardless of size and usage, must have comprehensive risk-management procedures for emergencies. Security has become a major priority for sports facilities. Sporting events such as the Olympics and world championships are global events and have become targets of terrorist groups.

In addition, managers should have procedures to manage alcohol use, violence, and crowds. Most problems with violence and crowds at sports facilities involve the excessive consumption of alcohol. At a sportsmanship and fan behavior summit in Dallas, Texas, in 2003, academics and professionals discussed the problems and issues of alcohol consumption and its effect on fan behavior, particularly relating to postgame activities. However, the problems are not unique to the United States. Recently at the European soccer championships in Portugal, many fans were arrested and deported for being violent and staging riots; in all cases alcohol was a major factor. Professionals recommend that all sports facilities implement TEAM (techniques for effective alcohol management) recommendations for the training of staff and the sales of alcohol.

The world has witnessed many acts of violence at sports events. A terrorist attack on Israeli Olympians at the 1972 Munich Summer Olympics left six dead. More than one hundred people were injured when a bomb exploded at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia. In



The arched entrance to the ancient Olympic Stadium in Greece, 2003.

1993 the tennis star Monica Seles was stabbed by a fan at a tournament. In May 2001 at a soccer stadium in Ghana, fighting broke out among opposing fans. The police responded by firing tear gas into the crowd; the crowd panicked; 126 fans died. More than seventy thousand fans had been admitted into a stadium built to hold forty-five thousand.

One of the worst sports crowd disasters in Europe occurred in 1989 on a soccer field in Hillsborough, England. At the time, many stadiums, to prevent fans from running onto the field or throwing objects onto the field, had high chain-link fences between the seats and their playing field. However, to admit the large crowd outside, Hillsborough police opened a second set of admittance gates that did not have turnstiles. The entrance of the fans at the rear caused the fans at the front to be crushed against the fence with no means of escape. Ninety-six people were killed.

Violence, other crowd problems, and terrorist acts can occur at any event. The facility manager must make patrons feel safe; therefore, the manager must create and implement risk-management and crowd-management procedures.

Customer Service

Customer service is probably the most important responsibility of facility management, encompassing all the services and operations provided by the facility. Providing good customer service can be the difference between mediocre management and exceptional management and can affect the return rate of patrons. To provide good customer service a facility must have procedures for staff training, recruitment, customer complaints, employee motivation, internal and external communication, and chain of command. Research has shown that the most important element in delivering good customer service is a positive working environment for employees. Employees who feel good about their working environment and have a positive attitude are more likely to pass that attitude on to customers.

Grim Realities

The 2002 National Football League Super Bowl was classified as a “national security event,” which meant the federal government took control of security. The Secret Service, along with the FBI and other elements of the federal government, devised a comprehensive security

plan. Since then each year the Super Bowl has been staged using high level security, with Homeland Security assisting local and regional security forces. Security for the 2005 Super Bowl involved local, state, and federal agencies, including the FBI, Coast Guard, and U.S. Navy. Because of the high-tech security technology that has been put in place since September 11th, 2001, the Homeland Security Department was able to observe and monitor the event through the department's Homeland Security Operations Center.

At the 2004 Summer Olympics in Athens the nation of Greece was placed on the highest state of alert, with more than seventy thousand Athens city police (ten security personnel for each athlete), sixteen thousand military police officers, U.S. special forces, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) personnel, and a complex security network that cost \$312 million, including an airship with the latest security technology to spy on the people of an ancient city in modern times. Greece is one of the safest countries in Europe. However, it suddenly had a security bill of \$1.5 billion. These are the times we live in, and facility management has to be able to adapt. Whether the event is a high school basketball game, a Friday night football game, a community tennis tournament, or a national or international event, management plays a major role in the success of the event and the facility.

Alvy Styles and Aaron Mulrooney

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Facility Naming Rights

The typical professional sport facility is no longer named after a geographic area, prominent individuals, or the local team. Facility naming rights refers to the relatively recent trend in sport of naming, for a fee, an established or new athletic facility after a corporate sponsor.

Every sport organization has seen an increase in the need to generate revenues. Expenses such as player and coaching salaries, scholarships, travel, insurance, and equipment have in many cases increased dramatically over the past ten years. Traditional revenue sources such as ticket sales, fund raising, media rights, and licensed merchandise often have not kept pace with escalating expenses. Given this financial climate, some sport organizations are “forced” to sell the name of their facility to the highest bidder in order to maintain financial solvency.

A corporation invests in a sport naming-rights agreement in an attempt to link its name with a sport enterprise and avoid advertising clutter. Rather than simply placing a sign in a sport facility or purchasing advertising during a media broadcast of the event, a naming-rights partnership gives the sponsoring company a platform to increase its visibility in the local, and potentially national, market. The naming-rights holder ideally is viewed not only as a sponsor of the team or sporting event, but also as an integral component of the community.

Naming Rights History

Prior to 1990 the only facilities in major North American professional sport named after a corporation or product were Arco Arena (Sacramento Kings), Busch Stadium (St. Louis Cardinals), Great Western Forum (Los Angeles Lakers/Los Angeles Kings), Rich Stadium (Buffalo Bills), and Wrigley Field (Chicago Cubs). The remaining teams in Major League Baseball (MLB), National Basketball League (NBA), National Football

As a nation we are dedicated to keeping physically fit—and parking as close to the stadium as possible. ■ BILL VAUGHAN

League (NFL), and National Hockey League (NHL) played in facilities named after individuals (Brendan Byrne Arena, RFK Stadium, etc.), geographic areas (Texas Stadium, Three Rivers Stadium, etc.), or the local team (Dodger Stadium, Yankee Stadium).

In 1995 a variety of MLB, NBA, NFL, and NHL teams decided to sell the naming rights to their existing facilities or to attach corporate monikers to facilities under construction or about to be opened. Although the Buffalo Bills had sold a twenty-five-year naming-rights deal to Rich Products Corporation in 1973 for \$1.5 million, most of the 1995 deals were for at least \$1 million a year. Facilities in Boston (Fleet Center, 15 years, \$30 million), Indianapolis (RCA Dome, 10 years, \$10 million), San Francisco (3Com Park, 5 years, \$4 million), and Seattle (Key Arena, 15 years, \$15 million) were all signed in 1995. After 1995 terms of facility naming-rights deals rapidly increased, with facilities such as Phillips Arena in Atlanta (1999 opening, 20 years, \$168 million), PSINet Stadium in Baltimore (1999 opening, 20 years, \$105 million), and the Stables Center in Los Angeles (1999 opening, 20 years, \$100 million) exceeding the \$5 million per year mark. As the economy of the United States slowed during the early part of the twenty-first century, new naming rights deals continued to be consummated, but typically they averaged from \$2 million to \$3 million a year for twenty-year to thirty-year year periods. Despite the decrease in the value of some naming-rights agreements, the popularity of sponsoring facilities continues to grow, and as the economy improves, the financial terms of agreements should again approach and then exceed the \$5 million per year.

Concerns in the Marketplace

Despite the rapid increase in naming rights prices and popularity in American professional sport after 1995, many concerns still exist. Corporations changing the names of established facilities occasionally experienced a backlash as fans resented the renaming of places such as Candlestick Park (3Com), Anaheim Stadium (Edison Field), and Riverfront Stadium (Cinergy Field). In ad-

dition broadcasters often would ignore the name change and refer to the previous name of the facility or simply not mention the facility name when describing the location of an event. For many corporations naming a new facility became a better public relations option than eliciting negative community reactions associated with renaming an older building.

Teams receiving money in naming-rights deals also experienced occasional hardship from their corporate partners. Occasionally, naming-rights partners were purchased by other companies (e.g., in Philadelphia, CoreStates was purchased by First Union), which created confusion for the team, fans, and media. In Buffalo, when HSBC Holdings purchased Marine Midland Bank, the name of the Buffalo Sabres arena was not immediately changed to reflect the sale, resulting in litigation. Worse than confusion or litigation was the backlash that occurred when a corporate partner behaved poorly. In Houston the Enron financial scandal reflected poorly on MLB's Astros as Enron was the naming-rights partner for their new stadium. The Astros eventually had to replace Enron with Minute Maid as a corporate naming partner.

Future of Naming Rights Agreements

Despite the occasional concerns of teams and participating companies, naming-rights agreements will likely remain a part of sport in the near future. Sport organizations are constantly in search of revenue, and corporations are looking for ways to reach potential consumers, creating a situation from which both parties can benefit.

As the majority of American professional teams have had their facilities named after a corporation, the future will likely see intercollegiate, recreational, and, in some cases, interscholastic sport organizations selling the rights to the name of their facilities to the highest bidder. As schools and municipal recreational programs are primarily operated for education and community service, initial reaction to widespread use of corporate names on these types of sport buildings may be negative. However, given the financial needs of these sport

enterprises, and the strong desire of companies to increase sales and profits, these agreements are likely to be inevitable.

Mark S. Nagel

See also Sponsorship

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Falconry

Falconry is the sport of using trained birds of prey to hunt wild quarry in its natural habitat. In the English language falconry has also been known as "hawking." Historically people practiced falconry throughout the Old World from the Orient and the Indian subcontinent through central Asia and the Middle East to north Africa and Europe. People now practice falconry on all continents except Antarctica. North America has a strong tradition of falconry that developed during the twentieth century.

History

First recorded in early Chinese literature four thousand years ago and in Syrian bas-relief thought to be three

thousand years old, falconry is one of the oldest of field or hunting sports. Using birds of prey as an aid to hunting probably developed simultaneously in a number of ancient cultures in Asia. Early in its evolution it became an important cultural practice and recreation, becoming far more significant than an aid to the provision of food.

Falconry was introduced to Europe by the nomadic tribes from the steppes (usually level and treeless tracts in southeastern Europe or Asia) of Russia, and Attila the Hun was a keen falconer, bringing his falcons, hawks, and eagles with him on his military conquests. The practice spread throughout Christendom after it had become important in the Islamic world and became codified and formalized into both a sport and mark of social status.

In Britain, France, the Low Countries (Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg), the Germanic states, Spain, and Italy from the sixth until the seventeenth century the social significance of falconry is difficult to overestimate. Laws protecting birds of prey were enacted, conventions on ownership enforced, taxes and ransoms were paid with falcons and hawks. Indeed, a falconer and his boy were important members of any aristocrat's retinue. The Bayeux Tapestry of France depicts the Saxon king Harold with a hawk and certain Norman noblemen with hawks and falcons departing for the invasion of Britain under William the Conqueror. Nor was the practice confined to landowners; the use of hawks was not an uncommon method of obtaining food for the pot for all classes.

Two distinct cultures and traditions of falconry met during the Euro-Christian crusades to wrest control of the Holy Land from the Saracens. King Richard I of England halted one of his campaigns to fly his falcons near Jaffa in modern Israel. Moreover, Richard sent an emissary to Melik el Aadile (a military commander under the Muslim leader Saladin) to request a supply of food for his hawks. That Richard and Melik had been involved in several long and bloody battles seems to have been unimportant in this respect.

Legislation under King Henry VII of England forbade the taking of eggs from the nests of hawks and

falcons or of any bird that may be used for hunting. This decree was followed by King Henry VIII's decree prohibiting the taking of any species of bird that may be the quarry of hawks or falcons from the land that was set aside for royal hunting. The penalties for conviction of such offenses were terms of imprisonment. During the reign of King James I of England (James IV of Scotland) restrictions forbade the use of longbows, crossbows, and firearms to kill game. These restrictions were to preserve stocks for trained hawks and falcons. Falconers were given dispensation, however, to shoot small birds to obtain hawk food. The preceding illustrates that falconry was significant enough to feature in late medieval legislation.

Some scholars have claimed that the advent of the firearm pushed falconry from the center of the hunting scene. Although this advent was evidently contributory, as was the enclosure of open countryside, far greater changes actually spelled out the sport's fall from popularity. Having become so closely linked with social status—falconry was truly the sport of kings and the nobility—when the social and religious upheavals of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries occurred in Europe the sport was rejected because of its social connotations. King Charles II was the last British monarch to actively participate in falconry. In 1688 he conferred the office of hereditary grand falconer upon the duke of St. Albans. This title survives today merely as a sinecure (an office or position that requires little or no work); no duke of St. Albans has practiced falconry since the early nineteenth century, although a token mews (enclosures) of a few falcons were kept until 1867. After Charles's death the British monarchy ceased to practice falconry, and it lost its already diminished popularity in court society and the landed nobility. By the middle of the seventeenth century the golden age of falconry was over.

However, falconry did not die out completely. Within a hundred years or so sport falconry began to take on the form that we recognize today, with branches of the sport hunting specific quarries in a specialized manner. Rook and heron hawking became popular after the traditionally hunted red kite had declined in num-

bers so as to render it too rare a quarry. In the manner of former times a group of men and women on horseback followed the flight of the falcon, an undertaking that demanded open unfenced countryside that was increasingly difficult to find in Europe of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Falconry survived into the industrial age, carried in Britain by Colonel Thomas Thornton, a wealthy eccentric and self-publicist. Thornton of Thornville Royal in Yorkshire was born during the mid-eighteenth century and educated at the historic English public school Charterhouse. He was a fanatical devotee of all field sports, including falconry, fox and stag hunting, coursing (the pursuit of running game with dogs that follow by sight instead of by scent), and shooting. He followed the example set by the medieval aristocracy and kept birds of prey, mainly falcons, on a considerable scale. Thornton in 1772 was instrumental in the formation of the Confederate Hawks of Great Britain, a club for subscription-paying falconers. The notion of clubs was developing at the time in numerous sports and recreations. The Confederate Hawks of Great Britain soon became known as the "Falconer's Club" and was initially managed by Thornton.

The Falconer's Club lost its most influential landowner when Lord Berners died in 1838, and his death brought the club close to closure. However, the remaining enthusiasts took their sport abroad. The heath and downland of southern Netherlands were chosen. The open and unfenced countryside was ideal for flights at the relatively plentiful heron. The Falconer's Club was renamed the "Loo Hawking Club" in 1839. The sport in the Netherlands was of high quality, and the club enjoyed considerable success.

In an echo of days long past the club was to receive royal patronage from members of the Dutch royal family: The Prince of Orange, Prince Alexander, and Prince Henry were all to become members. Indeed, the name of the club was altered to the "Royal Loo Club." Despite providing outstanding sport throughout the 1840s the club was short-lived, and when its royal patronage was withdrawn in 1853, it was closed.



A bird of prey. *Source: istockphoto.com/RMAX.*

During the 1850s and 1860s none of the traditional grand hawking establishments and few active falconers existed in the British Isles. A small number, such as Francis Salvin and Lt. Col. E. Delme-Radcliffe, kept a professional to train and manage their hawks and falcons. Falconry continued on a more limited scale than had been seen for many years. During the mid-nineteenth century amateur falconers took over the mantle of the sport. The notion of the amateur as it came to be understood at this time fit the manifestation of contemporary Victorian falconry.

In 1864 another British club was formed along much the same lines as previous ones, with club-owned falcons, a professional falconer, and other such regalia. The Old Hawking Club began with a membership of seven, the majority of whom were titled or held military rank. The notion of seasons for specific quarry was by

then well established, and the OHC, as it came to be known, met in March and April on Salisbury Plain for rook hawking, in August in Perthshire or Caithness for grouse, and in Norfolk in October for partridges.

Game hawking became the pinnacle of the sport. Game preservation for shooting actually facilitated this branch of falconry by providing the raw material of the flight: the partridge and pheasant.

Lark hawking with merlins and blackbird hawking with sparrowhawks survived the transformation from medieval to modern society almost unaltered. The goshawk continued to provide valued sport and additions to the larder with flights at rabbit and pheasant.

The OHC maintained its control of the sport in the United Kingdom. All hawking was suspended during World War I, and the club's hawks were distributed among its members, with some going to Regents Park



Zoo. This break in continuity signaled the end for the OHC. Many of its older members were too infirm to continue hawking after the war, and many younger ones had been killed in the trenches. The war was a watershed for British society, and previous ways of living were difficult to resurrect after 1918. With a reduced membership the OHC could not afford to rent good quality ground over which to hawk, and in any event game hawking was not an activity that lent itself to club demands, rook hawking was all but discontinued, and the club folded. For sixty-two years the Old Hawking Club had been the mainstay of British falconry, but it was essentially a Victorian institution and could not adapt to the change in circumstances that the first quarter of the twentieth century had brought about.

In 1927, at the invitation of George Blackall-Simonds, a falconers' feast was held in London. At this meeting of twelve gentlemen falconers the British Falconers' Club was formed. Blackall-Simonds was elected president and Sir Theodore Cook was elected honorary secretary. The tradition of organized falconry in Britain had continued unbroken, except for ten years during the mid-nineteenth century, since 1772. The British Falconer's Club is the oldest and largest of the current European clubs and second only in size to the North American Falconers Association.

North America has developed a modern tradition of falconry that has become the envy of falconers throughout the world. This tradition has largely taken place since 1945, and since then U.S. falconry husbandry, training methods, and conservation have been at the forefront of the sport. The Arab states in the Middle East have retained a strong tradition in flying large falcons at *houbara* bustards (large Old World and Australian game birds), but even this form of falconry does not match the excellence and opportunity found in North America during the early years of the twenty-first century.

What Is Falconry?

Broadly falconry falls into two distinct disciplines. The first is training and flying of the true falcons: gyrfalcon, peregrine, saker, prairie, lanner, and merlin. These are pre-

dominantly bird hunters with long, pointed wings and comparatively short tails. They are trained to fly, either to a pitch high above the falconer's head from which they stoop at quarry flushed by the falconer or by trained dogs below them, or at the bolt, straight off the falconer's fist at fleeing quarry. These falcons require considerable open spaces unrestricted by trees, hedges, fences, or buildings. The second discipline is training and flying of the true hawks and some members of the buzzard family. These birds are raptors with shorter, more rounded wings and often quite long tails; they are far more catholic in their quarries and will catch mammals as well as some bird species. These hawks are flown straight off the fist at quarry after it is located, and they can be used in rather more enclosed country than can the true falcons.

Falconers also use some species of eagle and a few species of owl; however, these are comparative rarities in the sport, with the exception of some central European countries and some areas in Asia where large eagles are the traditional raptor used.

Trained birds of prey wear straps known as "jesses" on their legs to which a swivel and leash are attached. This gear enables falconers to maintain control of the raptor prior to its release after quarry. Some species are also hooded while being either carried or transported; the leather hood restricts the raptor's sight until it is to be flown or returned to its place of keeping.

Birds of prey can be trained only with positive reinforcement. No chastisement or punishment can be used. The falconer, through skill and patience, develops a bond with the raptor that is based upon acceptance and reward. Hawks and falcons used in falconry are not pets and never become such.

Hunting strategies and tactics vary with the species of raptor used and the type of quarry sought. The essence of the sport, however, is for the falconer to witness the capabilities of the trained bird of prey being tested in relation to a fit, wild, and natural quarry. Professor Tom Cade of the Peregrine Fund referred to falconry as "a specialised form of bird watching," and this understanding of the sport has probably not been bettered.

Competition

Although people hold competitions in various countries, such competitions are not central to the sport. Being a hunting activity falconry is predominantly a small-scale and private activity carried out by the falconer, occasionally accompanied by a few friends. The measure of quality of the sport is in a personal assessment of the trained raptor's performance and not in numbers of quarry taken. The force that motivates falconers is generally the potential that the sport provides both to bond with the raptor and to witness natural predation at close hand. In essence the falconer becomes, for all of the training and conditioning that is inherent in the sport, a mere spectator.

Demonstrations of flying trained birds of prey are often given at zoos and wildlife parks. Although the training methods used are those of falconry, these are not demonstrations of the sport. Falconry proper is a hunting activity and does not lend itself to demonstration for paying customers.

Governing Body

Falconry is subject to national legislation wherever it is practiced. Most countries have a club or clubs that have codes of conduct for falconers. Some aspects of the sport may be permissible in certain parts of the world but not in others because of animal welfare or conservation legislation. The International Association of Falconry (IAF) represents falconry clubs from more than forty countries and operates throughout the world.

People wishing to take up the sport must be acquainted with their national legislation with regards to obtaining, keeping, and hunting with a bird of prey.

Perspective

Recent years have brought great changes in the nature of the countryside and attitudes to wildlife, but falconry has steadily increased in popularity. Now practiced by a wide range of people from differing classes and backgrounds, from both town and country, in developed as well as undeveloped countries, falconry is a flourishing field sport. This specialized form of bird watching en-

ables the practitioner to encounter nature at an intimate and fundamental level.

Gordon T. Mellor

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Family Involvement

Since the 1970s increased family involvement in adult-organized and adult-supervised youth sports has been accompanied by a growth in the rates of youngsters engaging in such sports. The family plays an important role in children's introduction to and involvement in sports. In particular, a family's child-rearing and sporting practices, structure and socioeconomic status, and values and beliefs concerning youth sports influence the sports participation of youngsters. Family relations also may be affected by members' involvement in youth sports.

Family Child-Rearing and Sports Practices

Parents' child-rearing practices and sporting-physical activity practices are thought to play roles in children's ultimate choices of whether to become involved in sports. Child-rearing practices have much to do with what parents think about gender—what it means to be masculine and feminine and if and how girls and boys and women and men should differ from one another. Although most parents expect their sons to develop and display physical power, strength, and skill and to become involved in sports—all hallmarks



A family snowshoeing together at Glacier Point Road, Yosemite. *Source: istockphoto/Paigefalk.*

of masculinity—they may not hold the same expectations for their daughters.

Gender-based child-rearing practices begin at a child's birth and are thought to set the stage for the development of sporting-physical activity interests and skills in childhood. In many families girl infants are handled more carefully and delicately, whereas boy infants are more often moved through space and physically stimulated. Parents often provide their sons and daughters with differing toys based on ideas about masculinity and femininity. Sons are most often given and expected to play with toys that aid in the development of gross motor skills, such as riding toys, balls, bats, and other sports equipment. Daughters are most often given and expected to play with dolls and homemaking-related toys, such as dollhouses, ovens, and tea sets. These toys tend to aid in the development of fine motor skills rather than gross motor skills.

As boys and girls play with these differing toys, they receive differing feedback from family members. Because boys more often play with toys that help develop physical skills or are related to sports, boys are likely to receive more positive encouragement and evaluation of their physical skills. Girls, because of the nature of their play, are more likely to receive positive encouragement and evaluation of their play with dolls and homemaking-related toys. The positive feedback that boys and girls receive is rewarding and reinforces their continued play with these differing toys. Researchers suggest that, in contrast to the play of girls, boys' continued play with toys that build their physical skills leads them to develop a greater interest in and ability with respect to sports. These gender-based child-rearing practices are believed to ultimately help explain the lower rate of sports participation among girls.

Research indicates that boys and girls who are in-

volved in sports tend to be raised in families who, at the least, do not discourage physical activity. Most often youth sports participants are raised by parents who value and encourage physical play and interest in sports. Young athletes tend to grow up in families in which their parents and siblings play with them, teach them physical skills, and provide them with the necessary sporting equipment, instruction, and access to sporting facilities. Research findings are mixed with respect to which parent initiates a child's involvement in sports. Some studies indicate that the mother most often plays with and provides physical skill instruction to daughters, whereas others indicate that the father's involvement is greater. Studies also report that fathers, rather than mothers, most often play with and teach physical skills to their sons. After youngsters are involved in sports, mothers, rather than fathers, provide the consistent emotional and material support for children's long-term participation.

Young athletes report that mothers are emotionally more positive and supportive than fathers. Fathers are more often reported critically to evaluate the sports performances of their children. Mothers not only provide more emotional support but also commit time and effort to support their children's sports involvement. Mothers expend considerable time transporting their daughters and sons to and from practices and competitions, attending practices and competitions, laundering uniforms, shopping for equipment and uniforms, and preparing meals for their young athletes.

A family's sports practices also influence children's sports participation. Young athletes tend to be raised in families in which one or both parents have been or are active sports participants, attend sports events, and watch televised sports. As a consequence, children often are provided with opportunities to learn about and participate in the sports that their families are engaged in, attend sports events, and watch televised sports with their families. Some studies also report that young athletes are more likely than their nonathlete counterparts to have older siblings who participate in sports. These studies report that older brothers' and sisters' sports participation often serves as a catalyst for generating in-

terest in sports participation among younger siblings. Older brothers and sisters often play with their younger siblings, teach them sports skills, and generally serve as athletic role models.

Family Structure and Socioeconomic Status

Family structure and socioeconomic status also influence youth sports involvement. The amount of time, attention, and resources that a family has to develop and support its children's physical skills and sports interests is largely dependent upon family structure and socioeconomic status. Family structure consists of size, the presence of one or both parents, and the presence and number of children. Family structure ranges from two- to single-parent families and from families without children or a single child to families with ten or more children. A family's socioeconomic status is based on parental-guardian income, occupation, and education and generally indicates the quantity and quality of material resources, life experiences, and opportunities that a family can provide to its children.

Little is known about how particular family structures may influence youth sports participation. Researchers suggest, however, that in contrast to parents of two-parent families, single working parents have more difficulty devoting the time, energy, and material resources necessary for the development of a child's sports interests and skills. Older children of single working parents, particularly girls, are often relied upon to supervise their younger brothers and sisters after school and weekends while their parent works. As a consequence, these children's opportunities for involvement in organized sports are often diminished.

More is understood about how family socioeconomic status influences youth sports participation. Generally, the higher a family's socioeconomic status, the greater its leisure time and discretionary income. Parents/guardians who have more time and money have the ability to expend considerable time and energy transporting their children to and from practices and competitions, serving as coaches or referees, organizing youth sports leagues and competitions, and investing

substantial sums of money in their children's sports activities. Parents with higher socioeconomic status are able to purchase sports equipment, instruction, and facility usage time and to finance travel to competitions. Thus, organized youth sports participants tend to come from families with higher socioeconomic status.

Family Values and Beliefs about Youth Sports

Families of higher socioeconomic status also tend to more often value and believe in organized youth sports. Adult-organized and adult-supervised youth sports are particularly valued and often considered to be "serious business" in wealthier communities where families can afford the time and money to support their children's sports participation. In such communities parents-guardians often value youth sports as a way to ensure that their children are supervised by adults, remain safe and out of trouble, and acquire valuable social skills and cultural values, including teamwork, dedication, hard work, and responsibility. Families also value youth sports as a way for their children to develop superior sports skills, become successful athletes, and earn college scholarships and perhaps professional sports careers. Organized youth sports participation is often valued so greatly in neighborhoods of wealthier families with children that it becomes not only an expectation and a basis for peer acceptance among the children but also an indication of "appropriate" parenting among the adults.

Generally speaking, the behavior of children is most often attributed to parents, and this inclination is certainly true with respect to youth sports. When youngsters are successful athletes, their parents are viewed as good parents who have done the "right things" for their children. When children fail in sports, parents are often blamed. Thus, youth sports can serve as an arena where the worth of parents is judged, and this fact helps to explain why many parents take youth sports so seriously. In addition, many parents may take their children's success in youth sports so seriously because of the hopes they may hold that their children will be popular with

and accepted by their peers, become star athletes, obtain college scholarships, and perhaps even play at the professional level.

Research suggests that parents who place a great deal of importance on their youngsters' success in youth sports may become overly involved. Overinvolvement is often indicated when parents place too much importance on winning; experience guilt, embarrassment, or stress especially after poor performances or losses; or place unreasonable pressure on their youngsters to be successful athletes.

Research has identified two types of overinvolved parents. The first type are excitable parents. They tend to yell instructions and encouragement to players, coaches, and referees during competitions and practices. The second type are fanatical parents. Fanatical parents have unrealistic expectations about their children's ability, often believing that their children can become world-class athletes. Such parents often fail to listen to and understand their children's sports participation concerns. They may be overly controlling of their children, confrontational, and preoccupied with winning and losing. They may see their sons' and daughters' sporting experiences as a financial investment in the future. They also may live vicariously through their children.

Parents who live vicariously through their children begin to view their children as extensions of their own egos. With this view parents become dependent upon their children's sporting success for feelings of self-worth. When the children perform well and win, the parents feel good about themselves. When the children perform poorly or lose, the parents feel bad about themselves. This dependency upon their children's sporting success for feelings of self-worth can lead parents to place undue pressure on themselves and their children.

Studies indicate that, in general, young athletes who perceive pressure from their parents to engage in and succeed at sports tend to be less motivated to continue participating. Young athletes who perceive that they, rather than their parents, are in control of sports participation decisions tend to enjoy, be more interested in, and less prone to drop out of sports.



Family Involvement

Champion Woman Bronco Buster of the World (1909)

Her parents were riders, her mother being a noted relay rider, and the children were given the run of the range. Mrs. Goldie St. Clair and one of her brothers herded cattle on barebacked horses as soon as they were able to toddle. As they grew older the children rode horses to and from school and were such daring little experts that they nearly wore them out. At last the father restricted the children to some mules. They were small mules but could match with Steamboat or

Rocking Chair (well know bucking horses) when it came to bucking. . . . As time went by they began to have bucking contests every Sunday afternoon. The exhibition ground was a wheat field, and the spectators were neighbors . . . It was in this wheat field that Mrs. St. Clair got the training which was afterward to make her the champion of the world.

Source: Cheyenne State Leader (1909, August 21).

Finally, within organized youth sports a growing number of overly involved parents engage in violent, abusive, or dishonest behavior. Officials, coaches, athletes, spectators, and other parents often bear the brunt of this unacceptable behavior. During competition parents may scream criticisms at coaches, referees, and even their own or other young athletes. In some cases parents physically attack others, and in the worst case one parent was attacked and killed by another. Parents also have lowered the age of children on birth records to give them an age advantage in athletic competition. Behavior such as this has led some parents to reconsider the value of having their children engage in organized youth sports, and some parents prefer that their children participate in youth sports programs that focus on children's overall development rather than on winning.

Family Relations

Whereas research clearly indicates the importance of the family in initial and continued involvement of their children in youth sports, relatively little is known about how such involvement may affect family relations. "The family that plays together stays together" is a generally accepted North American belief. However, little, if any, research supports this belief with respect to family sports involvement leading to a more secure and stable family. In fact, some evidence suggests that involvement in highly competitive, elite youth sports may strain family relations. For example, elite youth sports programs such as gymnastics, figure skating, ice hockey, soccer,

swimming, and tennis require extensive time, resource, and energy demands.

In such sports young athletes and parents may devote twenty to thirty hours per week, ten to eleven months a year for eight to ten years. Family schedules are designed to accommodate these time demands, and parents and other family members are often involved in transporting children to and from practices and competitions, serving as coaches and officials, organizing leagues, and spending considerable sums of money for instruction, equipment, and travel. The cumulative effect of these demands can result in spousal, parent-child, and sibling conflicts over the central importance of youngsters' sports involvement versus other family responsibilities, activities, and commitments.

The Future

As adult-organized and adult-supervised youth sports continue to grow, they are also likely to continue to become increasingly privatized. Families who desire that their children participate in such sports will likely continue to pay increasing participation fees and expenses and to devote more time and energy to facilitating their youngsters' participation. As parents devote more time, money, and energy to supporting their children's sports participation, the prevalence of overinvolved parents and the pressure they place on themselves and their children to succeed may increase. The strain on family relations that may occur with such increases in the time, money, and energy required to support youth sports

will be important to investigate. Lower-income families with less discretionary income and leisure time will likely have increasing difficulty in involving and supporting their children in organized youth sports. Future research exploring this likely trend will be important.

Cynthia A. Hasbrook

See also Elite Sports Parents

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Fan Loyalty

The phrase “sports fan” may evoke a variety of different images or ideas. Some may think of a sporting event with thousands of cheering fans, or specific individuals who paint their faces and/or bodies with the colors of a favorite team, or people who dress in a team's uniform to demonstrate their allegiance. Others may conjure images of individuals who engage in violence and destructive behavior when their favorite team wins or loses (Berkowitz 1982, Mann 1989).

Who Is a Loyal Fan?

The difference between a loyal fan and others who merely follow sports, a spectator, is the strong personal connection to or relationship with a sports team that an individual feels. Funk and James (2001) describe in their Psychological Continuum Model (PCM) four different relationships that individuals may have with a sports team: Awareness, Attraction, Attachment, or Allegiance. Knowledge of sports teams with no distinct preference is representative of *Awareness*; an individual knows that sports teams exist but she or he is not interested in following a particular team. An individual's relationship with a sports team is characterized as *Attraction* when she or he acknowledges an interest in watching or following a particular team. This interest is based on social situational features or hedonic motives (e.g., star player, team success, nostalgia) (Baade and Tiehen 1990; Funk, Ridinger, and Moorman 2003; Trail and James 2001). A relationship characterized by *Attachment* involves forming a meaningful psychological connection with a sports team. The team becomes personally important to an individual, leading to identifi-

*Fans are the only ones who really care.
There are no free-agent fans.* ■ DICK YOUNG

cation (Wann and Branscombe 1993), internalization (James and Ross 2002), and a close link to core values (Kahle, Duncan, Dalakas, and Aiken 2001). *Allegiance* (or loyalty) represents the strongest relationship with a sports team; it is characterized by durability, persistent thoughts about a team and resistance to counterpersuasive attempts, and it impacts biases in cognitive thoughts about a team and consistent behavior.

The place of fan loyalty in sport is open to debate. Some believe that following sports is absurd (cf. Beisser 1967, Howard 1912, Meier 1989) and that “no human being on this Earth either has to or needs to attend” sporting events (Reese 1994, 12A). Others have a more positive view of fan loyalty. Roosa (1898, 642) described football crowds as “an orderly, well-

dressed, even cultivated and intellectual mass of humanity; and numerous social scientists consider fan loyalty to be positive (Guttman 1986; Melnick 1993; Zillman, Bryant, and Sapolsky 1989). Criticisms of loyal fans from an individual (psychological) level seem to focus on four points: (1) fans are lazy, (2) fans are aggressive, (3) fans adopt negative values (e.g., violence is okay) and maladaptive behaviors (e.g., alcohol and tobacco consumption), and (4) fans have poor interpersonal relationships. In response to the criticisms Wann, Melnick, Russell, and Pease (2001) reviewed a number of different writings and research studies. They concluded that the criticisms of loyal fans can be supported anecdotally. Some loyal fans do consume large amounts of alcohol (maladaptive behavior),



Fan Loyalty

“The Fan Responds” by Grantland Rice

Legendary American sportswriter Grantland Rice wrote sports-themed poetry to chronicle the events of his time. In the 1924 poem below, he expresses the mood of the sports fan waiting for baseball season to begin.

Temples of Art—you can take 'em or lose
'em—
Writers of novels that lead to romance—
We haven't time at the moment to use 'em—
What do we care for the gods of finance?
Out of young April a new thrill is coming,
Born of the struggle that graces the pit.
Greatest of melodies—roaring and
strumming—
Give us the song of the game-winning hit!
Artists and writers and famous physicians,
Owners of trusts, will you kindly stand by,
While you are chanting of world-saving
missions,

All that we ask is the Walloping Eye.
Drama? It's there where the Bambino rages.
Art? I abound where the Speakers may flit.
Here comes the lyrical gift of the ages—
Give us the song of the game-winning hit!
Here is the quiver where pulses are jumping
In the first dash for the far-away wire;

Here is the fever where red blood is
pumping,
Thrills through the channels where veins are
on fire.
Start back with Homer and leap to to-
morrow,
What do we care where the masters may sit?
Here is the melody drowning our sorrow—
Give us the song of the game-winning hit!

Source: Rice, G. (1924). The fan responds. *Badminton*, p. 113 & 114.



True Colors: Lisbon sports fans make their presence felt. *Source: EMPICS.*

and some do become violent when watching their favorite teams. The data currently available, however, suggest that the problems are the exception and not the rule. Loyal fans by and large do not have drinking problems, marital strife, or violent tendencies. Going further, Wann et al. report that being a loyal fan may

enhance personal and collective self-esteem and contribute to psychological health by providing an outlet for expressing one's emotions (e.g., yelling and cheering for a favorite team).

Fan Loyalty—Good or Bad?

Another approach to discussing the place of fan loyalty in sport is to consider the topic from a societal level. Critics may raise a variety of arguments as to why fan loyalty is bad for society. One suggestion is that sports maintain the interests of the power elite in society (Danielson 1997). The idea here is that the elite in society encourage fan loyalty because of the belief that loyal fans are more interested in following their favorite team than participating in other civic activities. Research has shown, however, that loyal fans have broader general interests and more active lifestyles than nonfans (Lieberman 1991). Another critic may argue that fan loyalty perpetuates gender discrimination (Bryson 1987) and suppresses the rights of women. Given the large numbers of loyal fans who are females and the op-



Fan Loyalty

Be a Fan or Get a Life

Baseball is not necessarily an obsessive-compulsive disorder, like washing your hands 100 times a day, but it's beginning to seem that way. We're reaching the point where you can be a truly dedicated, state-of-the-art fan or you can have a life. Take your pick.

Source: Boswell, T. (1990, April 13). *Washington Post*.

portunities for women to participate in sports, this argument becomes less and less viable. An elitist critique would argue that loyal fans lack taste and refinement (Wann et al. 2001), that they lack intellectual challenge and stimulation. Considering that loyal fans are cognitively engaged—they analyze team and individual performances, mull over game strategies, and critique decisions by coaches—it would seem more likely that loyal fans express creative and critical thinking skills.

The place of fan loyalty in sport may be debated from different perspectives. What seems to bear out, however, is that fan loyalty provides an expression of both individual (psychological) and societal health. A strong personal relationship with a sports team provides a means of enhancing personal and collective self-esteem. A loyal fan shares the excitement and euphoria of a team win and must deal with the disappointment of a frustrating loss. While episodes of individual and collective violence occur, the frequency of such incidents relative to the thousands of sporting events that take place suggests that loyal fans are well adjusted psychologically and socially. Far from being a negative influence, fan loyalty gives people opportunities to escape from their daily routine, to enjoy the excitement of competition, and to appreciate the skills of athletes, and it offers an outlet for individual and group identification that many in society seek.

Jeffrey D. James

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Fan Loyalty

The Importance of Being a Fan

The psychological satisfaction that people gain from [sporting] victories, related media coverage, social events, wearing the respective team colours and identifying with the emblems and symbols, which represent hundreds of years of history as well as everyday realities, is immense.

Source: Bradley, J. (1995) Football in Scotland: A history of political and ethnic identity. *International Journal for the History of Sport, 12*(1), 96.

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Fantasy Camps

See Academies and Camps, Sport

Fantasy Sports

Fantasy sports, also known as “rotisserie,” “fanalytics,” or “fantasy leisure,” are sports in which fans compete with one another based on statistics generated on an ongoing basis by real athletes.

History

Fantasy sports trace their roots to the early 1980s, when Daniel Okrent, then an editor at *Sports Illustrated*, wrote the rules of rotisserie baseball, so named for the restaurant that served as the first league’s home. Okrent gave fans a simple and flexible structure; baseball provided the data. Fantasy sports have progressed from a baseball-only phenomenon played in face-to-face settings by friends and acquaintances in the United States to a pastime that includes most sports and is played by millions around the world, supported by the Internet. Today, according to a survey commissioned by the Fantasy Sports Trade Association (FSTA), more than 15 million people in the United States play fantasy sports. This survey, as well as one conducted by Donald Levy of the University of Connecticut, finds that more than 90 percent of North American fantasy players are men, most of whom identify as white, college educated, married, with a mean age of forty-one and a median yearly income of \$90,000. Although about two-thirds of fans continue to play fantasy baseball, football has become the most popular game, perhaps because of the popularity of football itself or, as some players say, because of fantasy football’s ease of play as compared with that of fantasy baseball. In addition to the big two, football and baseball, players in North America play fantasy basketball, hockey, golf, fishing, and the fastest growing game, NASCAR (National Association for Stock Car

Auto Racing). In other parts of the world fantasy soccer (England), cricket (India), and horse racing (Hong Kong) are growing in popularity. In fact, fantasy competition is spreading to arenas outside of sports in games such as fantasy Supreme Court and fantasy movie producer.

According to one avid fantasy sports player and successful prognosticator, Ron Shandler, fantasy sports players tend to be sports fans, game players, statistical purists, or some hybrid of the three. Players cite an increased ability to appreciate their favorite sports, competition, camaraderie, and excitement as motivations for involvement. Whereas during the 1980s fantasy sports players had to compile statistics and standings by hand or wait for updates in the mail, today the Internet provides an endless array of easily accessible data and a growing platform for leagues and intrafan communication. In fact, fantasy sports are one of the few financially lucrative Internet businesses and have attracted significant investments from giants including Yahoo!, ESPN, and Comcast. These companies as well as smaller ones have discovered that the average fantasy owner spends three hours a week online monitoring his team and that much of that time is spent while the owner is at work.

Although most participants see the benefits of fantasy sports, some observers note not only potential problems with workplace productivity but also other problems, including a fanship that focuses on individuals rather than real teams, a socially isolated and consuming form of fanship, and the potential incorporation of gambling into fantasy sports. To this point fantasy sports have been categorized as games of skill rather than chance, but many people do play for money, and in the fantasy sports industry people debate the incorporation of gambling advertisers.

Nature of the Sport

Fantasy sports are played by assembling or joining a league of competitors, selecting a commissioner and a set of rules (a constitution), organizing a player selection process (a draft), agreeing on transaction procedures,

Every sport pretends to a literature, but people don't believe it of any other sport but their own. ■ ALISTAIR COOKE

and arranging for a mechanism to compile statistics and keep score. Players in fantasy sports are considered owners, and part of the appeal is to simultaneously be both the on-the-field manager or coach and the general manager or owner who makes personnel and financial decisions. Team success is based on the statistics generated by actual players. In most cases owners select players through either a draft or an auction format. In the typical format an actual player in baseball, football, or soccer can be selected or owned by only one fantasy player in each fantasy league. One variation uses a salary cap mechanism to allow multiple owners of the same player. Still, the standard version of fantasy sports mirrors real sports in that a player plays for only one team. Leagues that use the auction format incorporate salaries by providing each team with an identical starting budget within which all owners must acquire a specified number of players by position.

After assembling their team, owners track the progress of their team by watching the statistics that their players assemble in an agreed-upon set of categories. For example, baseball may include batting average, home runs, runs batted in, runs scored, bases stolen, pitching wins, saves, strikeouts, earned run average, and walks plus hits divided by innings pitched. Similarly, a group of categories is created and tracked in every other sport. For each fantasy sport the season lasts as long as the mirrored real sports season, and like the real owners and general managers, fantasy owners research, plan, barter, and sometimes negotiate rule changes during the off-season.

Fantasy owners, of course, have no direct control over the actual games in which the statistics are generated. Although luck plays a part given the difficulty of forecasting injuries or other unforeseeable events, successful fantasy players value the work of sabermetricians (analysts of baseball data) such as Bill James or their adherents such as baseball's Billy Beane, who not only pore over statistics but also constantly attempt to identify the most crucial variables that lead to success, whether success is winning the real game or the fantasy competition. In this way fantasy players are actively engaged in

understanding and quantifying their favorite sports. Still, most player-owners agree that luck, intuition, and deal making remain attractions of fantasy sports.

Competition at the Top

Whereas the early fantasy sports players most often were friends of one another or friends of friends, today, through the Internet, players join leagues and play with others across the country or even internationally without ever meeting or even speaking by phone. Leagues form, operate, communicate, and continue entirely online. Communities of owners have Internet message boards.

Fantasy sports information is now marketed through magazines, radio and television shows, and most often through a myriad of websites. Experts have emerged and gained notoriety through their publications and seminars and through well-publicized "expert leagues" in which winning carries status beyond just bragging rights. In addition, players who may not be commercially involved in the business of fantasy sports can compete in high-stakes games in which the opening draft may take place in convention halls or casinos and look much like the National Football League or National Basketball Association drafts. Still, as the FSTA indicates, the future of fantasy sports is the average player who joins a league with friends or with strangers over the Internet, spends time at home and at work on "his" computer, and vicariously experiences the on-field sport and the manipulations of ownership while testing his skills against other players.

The Future

Fantasy sports combine the love of sports, statistics, competition, and the growth of technology. They are a low-cost, enjoyable hobby that has drawn advertisers. As such, their growth, especially in the near future, seems assured. Fantasy sports attract the casual fan, not just the game player or statistical purist. Although more women are beginning to play, fantasy sports remain overwhelmingly practiced by men. Additionally, in the United States fantasy sports remain a white, middle-class activity. No one knows if fantasy sports will become popular

among other populations or whether they speak, as now, to a limited audience.

As a game, fantasy sports continues to grow and to attract attention from advertisers and sports-related media. In addition, professional sports teams have begun to pay attention to fantasy sports. As Michael Lewis demonstrates in his result book, *Money Ball* (2003), teams have begun to incorporate sabermetric analytical techniques familiar to fantasy owners in their assessment of talent and strategy decisions. In fact, some fantasy enthusiasts have been hired as consultants by major league teams. The line between fantasy and reality has blurred.

Donald P. Levy

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Fashion

The permanent change of taste called “fashion” does not apply only to clothes and body type, but to all human activities, from art to language to consumption preferences. Fashion is a way of self-presentation and communication. On the one hand, it promises individuality, uniqueness, and distinction, and on the other hand, it represents sameness and demonstrates an affiliation to a certain culture, subculture, or group. Fashion

can also be a protest against fashion—a refusal to participate can itself become a fashion. Fashion is a paradox—it strives for broad acceptance, but in the very moment when it has reached its goal, fashion ceases to be fashionable.

Long-term changes in clothing styles and behavior patterns can be observed in all cultures. In hierarchically structured societies, clothes were signs of power and social status—the higher classes were the agents of fashion and fashion changed very slowly from antiquity to medieval times. Fashion has also always served to differentiate and dramatize masculinity and femininity.

History

A decisive change of body ideals and clothing styles occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. Nature and naturalness became the new ideals, not only in lifestyles, but also in fashion. Along with men’s wigs and pantaloons, the French Revolution swept away hoops and voluminous skirts, ruffles, silk stockings, high heels, powder, and make up. A slender line, light and flowing dresses “a la Greque,” and cropped hair became popular for women, while long trousers became modish for men. For a short period of time women even survived without corsets. However, whereas the functional clothes and the uniform look of the men became the standard until today, women were soon forced back into corsets to shape the fashionable big breasts, broad hips, and small waists.

Another revolution in women’s fashion took place after World War I. Long hair was cropped, corsets and long skirts were thrown away, and women dared for the first time in European history to show their legs. After World War II, driven by the economic interests of the clothing industry, fashion became a mass phenomenon. Industrialization had made the mass production of clothes possible and every year new trends emerged to encourage conspicuous consumption. Today new fashion styles are mostly initiated by young people, but because youthfulness is the ideal of Western societies, all generations try to follow the trend-setters. As always, women are in many ways more affected by fashion; they are not only the protagonists

European men's and women's gymnastic clothing in the 1860s.

but also the victims of new trends. Contemporary stylishness demands not only the right clothes and outfits, but also the right body, which requires a sophisticated body management that reaches from body styling to tattoos and piercing.

Theories

Fashion as a social phenomenon has always instigated fierce arguments among scholars from various disciplines. Explanations for fashion and its effects have been offered by scholars of cultural studies and gender studies as well as by historians, anthropologists, linguists, psychologists, and sociologists like Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929), Werner Sombart (1863–1941), Georg Simmel (1858–1918), and Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2001). In these discourses, the following topics played a more or less important role: human drives and instincts like curiosity or sexuality; the human desire for decoration; social distinctions, identifications, and imitations; and marking out differences. Scholars have often emphasized the ambiguity of fashion, which embodies both the need for conformity and the striving for individuality. The role of fashion in highlighting gender differences and enacting gender has also been a frequent focus of scholarly attention. In addition, economic interests and the huge market behind fashion have also been studied.

Not only the reasons, but also the effects of fashion are questioned. Is fashion responsible for increasing consumption, or does it contribute to the democratization and the aesthetics of everyday life?

Sporting Outfits

In the wake of modernization at the end of the nineteenth century, body ideals, body management, and behavior patterns changed decisively. Modern sport was, on the one hand, the expression of these changes; on the other hand, it also served as an instigator of them. Gender myths and gender roles, the development of sport, and changing sport clothes and fashions are inextricably intertwined.



At the end of the nineteenth century, women's clothes illustrated the ambivalent trends of the sexualization of the female body along with an increasing prudishness. Legs were taboo, but bosom, butt, and hips were emphasized. A small waist, signaling delicacy and frailty, was a must that could only be reached by the violent harnessing of the body with the help of a corset. Although after the turn of the century various reform movements tried to popularize freeing the female body, although without a broad public acceptance. The most successful "reform movement" was modern sport of British descent.

Because of its orientation toward performance and competition, participation in sports was commonly looked upon as utterly unfeminine, but this did not prevent women from participating in various sports from hockey to ski jumping, but very few women participated in competitions and sport remained to a high degree a male domain.

THE STREET COSTUME AS SPORT DRESS

The street clothes of men did not reduce their freedom of movement, and thus they could also be used for doing sports with few changes. Until the beginning of the twentieth century women also wore sport costumes that were very similar to the clothes they wore on the street. However, there were slight differences that symbolized their social status and emphasized their distinction from



Fashion

Highland Dress for Ladies, 1931

As far back as we can trace the records of our past, Scottish women—Highland and Lowland—gave much attention to their garments. In the higher walks of Clan life the ladies were noted for the style and elegance of their wearing apparel. The tartan skirt, sometimes flounced; the well-fitted bodice or firmly flanged middy, the colours of which varied from the crotul-brown to the deep-hued saffron; the pliant cuaran; the tilted cap and feather, make up an attire beautiful and becoming. The ladies of the Clan were the peers of their sisters in France in the matter of dress design, and were but slightly affected by foreign modes. As a rule they had an instinctive feeling for the fitness of things. A native garb was to them a garb which adapted itself to native conditions, such as climate, and the seasonal changes consequent on different avocations, pastimes, social functions or

domestic usages. Queen Victoria, to whom Highland customs owe much, delighted to speak and write about the costumes of the Highland women, and did much to encourage the wearing of the distinctive Highland Dress by them on suitable occasions. Her own daughters and granddaughters, too, with her warm approval, set a fine example.

A Highland Gathering is not a vaudeville show, and responsible committees are moving for a gradual return to correct girls' dresses at their annual competitions. Already such outstanding places as Balmoral and Braemar have ruled out the incorrect dress altogether; Cowal is more or less in line; so are Toronto and other centres of Caledonian Games.

Source: Fraser, J. A. (1931). Booklet from the Banff Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival.

the lower classes. Thus, clothes for hiking in the mountains had to be made from special cloth, ice skating costumes were decorated with fur, and riding costumes had to have a certain elegance.

Fashionable ideals of femininity also determined which sports women played. For instance, women were not supposed to participate in exercises that could not be done in corsets and long skirts. However, social changes and changes in women's roles eventually led dresses to be adapted to the demands of different sports, which in turn changed the ideals of beauty and femininity. These changes can be seen in lawn tennis, which was looked upon as an appropriate leisure-time activity for young ladies, not least because the tennis court was an important place in the marriage market. Before World War I, women wore their street clothes, which meant skirts to the floor, starched petticoats, a corset, long and narrow sleeves, a stiff collar, a hat with a broad brim, and high-heeled shoes. Initiatives to shorten the skirts and to allow women to participate in tennis competitions met the fierce, but finally vain, resistance of tennis officials.

However, while female tennis players eventually found social acceptance, public opinion toward swimming remained ambivalent. On the one hand, swimming was believed to have positive influences on health and well-being, but on the other hand, female swimmers were thought to endanger morality and propriety. In the nineteenth century, this dilemma was solved with a strict segregation of the sexes. Although women swam among themselves, they wore voluminous bathing costumes that revealed much less of the female body than ball dresses. Bathing suits gradually changed from long dresses to knee-length trousers, but all bathing costumes were designed to hide the female form. They were always wide and made of nontransparent fabrics that created strong water resistance. However, shortly before World War I, the first competitive female swimmers adopted a tight swimming suit made of a thin black tricot fabric.

All other sports, from skiing to land hockey and gymnastics, had to be done in long skirts. Female rowers wore sailor suits, women sailing with their husbands wore floor-length yachting dresses, and horseback rid-

Soccer shirts in a souvenir kiosk.

Source: istockphoto/lcsdesign.

ers, who had to sit sidesaddle, wore riding costumes designed to hide the fact that women have legs.

An especially hot issue was the dress question with regard to cycling. Cycling gained more and more adherents at the end of the nineteenth century, not only among men, but also among women, for whom the bicycle meant freedom, mobility, and self-reliance. In fact, cycling was looked upon as a symbol of emancipation. However, cycling in street clothes was not only impractical, but also dangerous. Because long and voluminous skirts tended to get caught in the wheels and narrow skirts raised problems in getting on and off the bike, a practical cycling costume was urgently needed. Conservative women preferred an ankle-length skirt under which there would be trousers. A compromise was the divided skirt, which consisted of two very wide pant legs. The most progressive cyclists chose bloomers, full loose trousers named after their inventor, the American Amelia Bloomer. Women who cycled with trousers were confronted with verbal or even physical aggression.

After the turn of the century, the fight about trousers, which guaranteed the necessary freedom of movement, also erupted in other sports. Trousers met forceful resistance with the public, even among women, because they were perceived as a symbol of emancipation. In addition, men and women were both afraid of masculinizing the female sex; the arguments of many men also clearly showed their determination to defend their privileged position. The female cyclists, the first track and field athletes, and the first female pilots with their flying costumes represented a new type of woman who adopted not only the trousers, but also the power and position they symbolized.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, men's sport clothes were adapted to the norm of functionality, which meant that trousers got shorter and shirts were exchanged for sweaters.



SPORTS BECOME FASHION

After World War I, sports became fashionable, athletes were worshipped as idols, and newspapers, movies, and advertisements brought sports into the center of public attention. In gymnastic halls and sports grounds a uniform look became popular—in many sports both men and women wore short black trousers and a blouse or sweater. Both the style and the material were oriented to functionality.

Eventually the functionality of sport clothes was transferred to street clothes, and “sporting” became an adjective applied to summer dresses as well as to winter coats. Sportiness signaled a new attitude toward body and movement, and new ideals and expectations that women could interpret as liberating, although there was also an internalization of pressures. The fashionable slim body ideal could not be reached with the help of corsets, but needed both sports and diet.

In the 1950s and 1960s, male and female sport clothes remained functional. Not until the 1970s and 1980s were sporting outfits influenced by fashion trends. The collections of the sporting good companies grew larger, and clothes and equipment became more differentiated and specialized. Technological progress also helped to revolutionize sport clothes and equipment. Sport clothes made from new materials like Gore-Tex were performance-enhancing and contributed decisively to comfort. Another example of the increasing influence of science and technology on sport fashion was sport shoes, which were adapted to the demands of different sports, and also to the specific needs of men and women.

In addition to increasing functionality, specific brands like Lacoste T-shirts or Nike shoes signified social distinctions and conspicuous consumption. Today men and women use sportswear to project a certain image. Whereas in former times female athletes had to chose between top-level performances and femininity, many contemporary sport stars embody eroticism and sexual attractiveness.

The Future

Today sports are an essential ingredient of modern life, closely connected with ideals and values like slimness, fitness, and health, as well as with adventure, luxury, and fun. Sports embody the modern approach to life, including the belief that everybody earns what he or she deserves. Sport has left the sporting grounds: Men and women dream of a trained and muscular body and wear sporty outfits, from jogging shoes to baseball caps, which at least convey a sporting image. Sports have become fashionable, but this may not actually lead to an increase in sport activity.

Gertrud Pfister

See also Beauty

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Feminist Perspectives

Organized sports with the sorts of rules for competition that we recognize today were first established in schools, colleges, and clubs during the late eighteenth century and spread rapidly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in England, North America, and other parts of the Western and colonized worlds. The “cult of athleticism” describes the images of male physical power, aggression, and competitiveness associated with the exaggerated status given to games playing and other sports in the British boys’ public schools during the Victorian period.

Establishing Gendered Sport

The early organized sports that developed in countries throughout the West and then in countries colonized by Western immigrants, such as horse racing, cricket, rowing, soccer, rugby, field hockey and American football were specifically male sports, establishing the idea that men were naturally suited to the rigors of the games field. In contrast, women were symbolically aligned to “nature” and to their roles as wives and mothers and

considered to be unsuited to vigorous physical activities such as competitive sports. Although this was an essentially middle-class construction of womanhood, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was used to generalize about all women as if they were a homogeneous group.

VICTORIAN INFLUENCES

The Victorians maximized cultural differences between men and women in sport and used biological explanation to justify them. The outcome was that sport became a thoroughly gendered institution. Although women were never completely excluded from participation, only “feminine-appropriate” activities such as calisthenics, dancing and Swedish gymnastics were actively encouraged for reasons of health, whereas games and sports such as tennis, badminton, cycling, field hockey and basketball were opposed unless they were played in “ladylike” fashion, on the grounds that they would otherwise damage the reproductive potential of the “gentle sex.” This was known as the *theory of constitutional overstrain* and was popularly applied to middle-class women in Northern Europe, North America, and the Antipodes. In contrast, sports requiring speed, strength, aggression, and physical contact were characterized as “masculine-appropriate” activities. The scene was set for the future of modern sports divided along gender lines and dominated by men.

From the start, women participated in far fewer numbers than men, they had access to fewer facilities, there was far less resourcing of women’s sport than of men’s sport, and women had less control over how sport was financed and organized. Women had some autonomy in sport but only when they played in separate spheres from the men, ran their own organizations, made their own rules, and played according to acceptable images of femininity. But in public sport contexts there were stark divisions between the sexes and in many cases outright discrimination against women, providing the trigger for a sport feminist movement.

“Miss Wicket” from an 1770 English print.

Role of First-Wave Feminism

All forms of feminism in Western societies have been associated with the subordination of women to men. *First-wave feminism* describes the struggles of middle-class Western women during the nineteenth century to get the vote and gain access to education and the professions. Although there was no organized sport-feminist movement at the time, some women were struggling for equality with men in the specific contexts of sport and physical education. Most notably, women struggled to get into the Olympic Games. They challenged the role of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), which, for almost a century from the time of its foundation in 1894, was an undemocratic, self-regulating and exclusively male institution, opposed to women’s participation in Olympic competition. The IOC’s founder and first president, Pierre de Coubertin, declared that, “The Olympic Games must be reserved for men and the





Feminist Perspective

Muscles and Femininity, Circa 1890

And, ladies, when some jealous and false prophet arises to decry your noble efforts by drawing a forbidding picture of your great-great-grandchildren as huge, muscular amazons divested of sweet womanly charms by too steady encroachment on the field where men alone are fitted to excel, believe him not! By some happy provision of kind Nature, no matter if the woman's biceps grow as firm as steel, the member remains as softly rounded, as tenderly curved, as though no greater strain than the weight of jeweled ornaments had been laid upon them. This is a comforting assurance, and one that may induce many hitherto prudent ladies to lay aside old fashioned prejudice and join the growing host of womankind in the bowling alley.

Bisland, M. (1890, April 16). Bowling for women. *Outing*.

solemn and periodic exaltation of male athleticism with female applause as reward.”

STRUGGLE FOR OLYMPIC PARTICIPATION

Women's struggles for Olympic recognition centered on their demands (initially in 1917), advanced by a French woman, Alice Milliat, to have women's track-and-field athletics put on the Olympic program. In defiance of the IOC's refusal, women created their own organization—the Federation Sportive Feminine Internationale—and every four years, from 1922 until 1934, they organized their own highly successful competitions—the Women's World Games, with eleven events. However, controversy still raged about women's participation in the Olympic Games until in 1928 they were grudgingly allowed to compete in five track-and-field events. Women's early Olympic struggles over equal participation and equal representation on decision-making bodies exemplifies the practical ways in which

sport feminism took root. In spite of the fact that women were setting up their own organizations in countries from the continents of the world and were participating in greater numbers in more and more events, it was never without struggles and negotiations and disappointments. Opposition to full and equal participation in all sports continued into the future and is still apparent in the present day.

Second-Wave Feminism

Sport feminism is usually associated with the 1970s onward, when women from North America, Western Europe, Australia, and New Zealand started to articulate their demands for sexual equality in sport in books and articles. This was a feature of *second-wave feminism*, which had focused since the 1960s on issues such as women's legal status, social welfare and health for women and children, equal opportunities in education, and conditions of work. The particular focus in sport was on equality of opportunity between men and women. Women wanted to take part in all sports, including traditional male sports, such as soccer, rugby, boxing, and snooker; or to have “equivalent” (but not necessarily identical) resources including access to facilities, funding, good-quality coaching, and representation in key administrative positions. The quest for equal opportunities has been associated with the struggles of feminists in liberal democracies—a perspective characterized as *liberal sport feminism*.

Liberal sport feminists have worked within the frameworks of sex-equality legislation in their respective countries—for example, the 1972 Title IX of the Education Amendments (to the Civil Rights Act of 1964) in the USA and the 1975 UK Sex Discrimination Act provided legitimation for removing discrimination against women in sport in public and educational contexts. There are also government-led initiatives intended specifically to improve the position of women in sport vis-a-vis men—for example, the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS) and Womensport Australia. Development programs for girls and women

Before I was ever in my teens, I knew exactly what I wanted to be when I grew up. My goal was to be the greatest athlete that ever lived. ■ BABE DIDRIKSON ZAHARIAS

in sport are also typical of the work of sport organizations and governing bodies throughout the developed world and increasingly in countries in the developing world as well. In addition, voluntary organizations run by women *for* women have liberal feminist approaches; for example, the Women's Sports Foundations of the USA and Britain, founded in 1974 and 1985, respectively. There are also international organizations that focus on the global development of women's sport; for example, the International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW), WomenSport International (WSI), and the International Working Group on Women and Sport (IWG).

The advances that have been made by women through national and international initiatives represent a powerful challenge to historically based inequalities in sport between men and women. Many of the liberal sport feminists who have been involved in these practical struggles have also been feminist theorists who have set out to analyze the gendered nature of sport, carefully documenting the history of sex-based inequalities, as well as suggesting ways in which emancipatory changes in sport might come about. Sport feminists, in common with mainstream feminists, have always linked theory to practice.

CRITICISMS OF LIBERAL SPORT FEMINISM

Liberal sport feminism has been a powerful, very successful challenge to male-dominated sport. It remains the most popular perspective. However, there are critiques of liberalism for being concerned more with quantitative change than with qualitative change. Liberal sport feminism has been characterized as essentially conservative, tending to overlook the limitations of legal reform and underestimate the extent to which the power of men over women continues to permeate everyday life and culture, including sport. Also, this approach has done little to oppose the structures, values, and distinctly masculine modes of thought intrinsic to mainstream sport, such as aggressive competition, xenophobia, physical and psychological abuse of athletes, violence, and the com-

modification of sports. In brief, the major critique of the liberal perspective is that it fails systematically to relate the concept of equality to wider social, economic, political, and moral issues.

Liberalism tends also to treat women as a homogeneous group and misleadingly to imply that an overall increase in participation is an improvement for women *in general*. Radical and cultural sport feminisms, posited as alternatives, both argue that liberal sport feminism does not go far enough or adequately take into account one or more of the following: a) the gendered social structures that remain in place; b) the huge resistance to changes in the gender relations of power that still exist; or c) the complexities that relate to social changes reflecting global and postmodern developments.

Radical Separatism

During the 1980s, the limitations of equal-opportunity programs and philosophies were recognized, and the more critical radical and cultural sport-feminist approaches were maturing. Radical sport feminism focuses on the global dominance of heterosexual men, the resistently patriarchal character of sport, and, deriving specifically from the standpoint of women, their empowerment through separate development. Good examples of radical separatism are the Women's World Games, mentioned above, and the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) in the United States after the turn of the century, the members of which strongly advocated separate programs for men and women because men's sports were highly competitive, overspecialized and corrupted by commercialization. In more recent years, lesbians have argued that sexuality, specifically in the form of compulsory heterosexuality, lies at the heart of women's oppression in sport, and they have been one of the leading groups to oppose discrimination (in particular, sexual discrimination) against women and to spearhead single-sex participation.

Radical sport feminists oppose men's control of sport, arguing that in mixed-sex organizations women

are usually marginalized and have fewer resources, less convenient access to facilities, and inferior coaching and funding. In contrast, in their own organizations, even though they may have limited resources, women have the power to decide how to develop their own sports. Separate development in sport is sensitive to the specific needs of women, providing spaces and opportunities with no threat of male domination, sexism, or harassment of the sort experienced in other aspects of women's lives. For religious or cultural reasons, closed female spaces provide the only conditions under which some women will participate in physical activities. Separatism allows women to feel empowered through exercise without feeling inhibited, as they may do in mixed environments. In single-sex organizations there are also better prospects for getting into leadership and decision-making positions. By placing women at the center of both theory and practice, radical feminism values and celebrates the ideal of a specifically feminine characteristic.

Culture and Difference

In common with liberal feminism, there is a tendency in radical feminism to treat women as a homogeneous group, prioritizing gender as the primary cause of oppression and failing to take account adequately of other social variables such as age, class, disability, ethnicity, nationhood, religion, politics, or sexuality. The demands of marginalized groups—particularly in recent years—have highlighted the heterogeneity of women, not only within Western nations but also within developing nations and between women from the developed and developing worlds. Sensitivity to difference is intrinsic within the cultural-studies tradition, and sport feminists concerned with the heterogeneity of women's experiences and with the particular histories, problems, and needs of marginalized groups have used "difference" as both an organizing and a conceptual strategy. Cultural sport feminists have been influential in disrupting the assumed homogeneity of women's experiences and the misleading tendency to generalize about all women from the perspective of the white, Western, middle-class,

heterosexual, able-bodied woman. They have brought to light ways in which different groups of women experience prejudice in sport in specific ways.

OPPRESSION OF MINORITY WOMEN

Highlighting the problems of minority women in sport and acting upon their specific oppressions follows in the tradition of the human rights movement. Specific groups of women have been targeted for development programs in sport, linked to initiatives in mainstream feminism. For example, sport feminists who have derived inspiration from Marxism have drawn particular attention to class differences and capitalist structures that prevent working-class women from participating in sport in equal numbers to their middle-class counterparts. Although this approach has been criticized for privileging class over gender, cultural feminists also oppose the reductionism in radical feminism that prioritizes patriarchal relations of power as the determining cause of gender discrimination. Further, in cultural feminism the concept of hegemony is used to explain that women are active agents struggling creatively for better opportunities in sport; that male domination and other forms of discrimination are incomplete; and that there is a dialectical relationship between agency (freedom) and determination (constraint).

PROBLEMS OF DIFFERENCE

Lesbians have been integral to the sport-feminist movement and have played key roles throughout its development. Because of the melding of sport with compulsory heterosexuality and the rampant and damaging expressions of homophobia intrinsic to sport at all levels, lesbians have usually stayed closeted—especially if they are elite athletes or women in prestigious coaching or administrative positions. But some top-level athletes, such as Martina Navratilova, have advanced the lesbian cause by "coming out" and speaking openly about the specific problems facing lesbians in sport. A large number of research projects—with increasingly sophisticated theoretical frameworks, including queer theory—have provided a clear analysis of

This illustration from the *Sydney Sportsman* (13 March 1912) provides a decidedly nonfeminist view of women and sports.

the problematic links between sport participation and sexuality.

Sport feminism has also spawned critiques based on the problems of other minority groups. For example, during the late 1980s, critical black feminists reacted to the ethnocentrism of white Western sport feminism, exposing the damaging nature of racial stereotyping—notably of African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans for their supposed “natural” sporting abilities and of women with South Asian origins for their supposed innate lack of sporting ability. The various forms of institutional discrimination based on race and ethnicity were related to women from other ethnic minority groups as well; for example, aboriginal women in Australia and Canada (known as First Nation women).

Attention has also been paid to issues of difference, identity, and discrimination relating to gender and disability, and gender and aging in particular. Focus has been placed on the politics of disability and aging, institutional discrimination, and the failure of sports organizations and leisure providers to take affirmative action and implement radical policies around the needs of these minority groups. Cultural feminists have exposed the myths of “equality of opportunity” ideology and practice and have pointed to the need for discriminatory attitudes to be systematically challenged and for sport environments to cater to special needs.

WOMEN FROM THE DEVELOPING WORLD

But issues of gender inequalities, exclusion, and discrimination relate even more starkly to women from the developing world than to women in the west. *Third World feminism* has been used to characterize the work of women who have engaged in political fights against racism, sexism, colonialism, and monopoly capitalism and who have contributed to postcolonial theory, the

SOME PROPHETIC SKETCHES.

“When the Girls Play on the Ball.”

During the last fortnight a number of letters have appeared in the city press written by young ladies to Mr. E. R. Larkin (secretary to the Rugby Football League), asking him to form a football club for them.—(Press Item.)



gendered nature of colonial rule, and its effect on contemporary postcolonial life. Third World feminists have sought to avoid white Western Euroethnic influences and to deconstruct the characterization of women from the developing world as “other.”

However, there are very few sport feminists who are engaging in postcolonial discourses. As mentioned above, there are organizations with a global philosophy that are working hard to improve opportunities in sport for Third World women, but there are few feminist



theorists—either from the developed world or from the developing world itself—who through their research are working to help girls and women in postcolonial sport. An additional complication is that the heterogeneity of women from the developing world also needs to be taken into account; for example, lesbian and disabled women in sport face exceptionally harsh oppressions, which outweigh those of the majority of women in their countries.

The Future

Cultural feminists have tried to avoid the relativism of treating differences as if they are discrete and have investigated the relations of power between them. For example, investigating the nexus of gender, class, and ethnicity or gender, disability, and sexuality highlights the changing and complex natures of difference and identity. But the contemporary interest in postmodernism has led to a tendency in sport feminism—through looking at the *intersections* of class, gender, ethnic differences, and the other categories of difference—to argue that differentiation is complex, identities are destabilized, and experience is fractured, so that the supposedly overarching systems of power related to capitalist relations or patriarchal relations or racial relations (the “grand narratives”) are no longer viable.

The problem of this approach is that concrete, everyday experiences of, for example, social, religious, and political discrimination tend to get overlooked. The resistantly harsh forms of exploitation that make it impossible for poor women to become sportswomen or the practical and ideological barriers preventing disabled women from participating in sport are just two examples of structures of power that are widespread and very real for disadvantaged women throughout the world.

UNAPOLOGETIC APPROACH

With postmodernism there has developed something of a trend of sport feminism to loosen its links with the radical politics of gender oppression and interventionism. There is no doubt that increasing numbers of young Western women have an unapologetic approach to par-

ticipation in sport. Although still in smaller numbers than men, they take part in more sports than ever before, including traditional male sports, such as soccer, rugby, and boxing and in the burgeoning numbers of “lifestyle” sports, high-risk sports, extreme sports, ironmen competitions, and others. These women are proud of their bodies, their musculature, their athleticism and sense of raw health, their control, and their sense of empowerment. They do not experience insurmountable barriers, reveling instead in their own physical autonomy.

Among this new stream of athletic women are a very few “third-wave” feminists who recognize that their opportunities are in large part the result of the struggles of first- and particularly second-wave sport feminists. But these developments have little relevance for the minority groups mentioned above, in particular for women outside the West, in countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, where sport feminism is in its infancy. They are concerned only with very basic questions of exercise for health, access, facilities, and safety.

It is clear that there remains a need for sport feminism to continue to be concerned with social justice. There are huge numbers of women across the world who need greater control over their lives and their bodies, and it is argued that sport feminism should be part of a more general feminist movement working at three levels to make this a reality—the personal, the politics of society, and global revolutionary politics.

Jennifer Hargreaves

See also Lesbiansim

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Fencing

Fencing is the sport and art of swordsmanship using blunted weapons. Several features of fencing make it distinctive, if not unique. For example, until recently, fencing was the only combative sport open to both men and women, although they compete separately. Fencing also is the only combative sport that has neither weight classes nor height restrictions.

Fencing champions come in all sizes and shapes, and competitors meet each other as equals, separated only

by ability. A person can initiate fencing at any age and can continue to fence for the rest of one's life. Fencing requires few players and a group may be large or small) and no purpose-built setting or expensive installation. The nature of fencing is such that athletes with visual or physical impairments that might prevent them from taking an active role in other vigorous sports are not only welcome, but also encounter no limit but that of their own talent. Successful fencers have been deaf, blind in one eye, or missing a limb.

History

Fencing has several millennia of tradition behind it. Perhaps the earliest reference to a fencing match appears in a relief carving in the temple at Madinet-Habu near Luxor in Upper Egypt, built about 1190 BCE by King Ramses III. The fencers depicted there are using weapons with well-covered points and masks not unlike those used today. A panel of officials and administrators is depicted and distinguished by the feathered wands that they hold.

Every ancient civilization—Persian, Babylonian, Chinese, Japanese, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman—practiced swordsmanship as a sport as well as training for combat. Curiously, European swordsmanship—the most immediate ancestor of modern fencing—did not develop until after the advent of firearms (black weapons) during the fourteenth century. Until then men carried ever-heavier swords to cleave through ever-more-ponderous armor. Strength was more critical than skill. However, the development of ballistic weapons rendered armor obsolete, enabling speed, skill, and mobility to prove a greater influence than mere force. This development led to lighter swords (white weapons), which were used with faster, more subtle handwork for better use in close quarters. Thus arose the art of fencing. Learning to use a sword was difficult. The wounds resulting from fencing became infected. Threats to a fencer's vision were a particular risk. Indeed, it was said that no competent fencing master could expect to end his career with two good eyes.

Three innovations, however, made fencing more appealing to students who were concerned for their safety.

The first innovation came during the seventeenth century, when a light practice weapon was developed. It was called a “foil” because its point had been flattened—“foiled”—and padded to reduce the chance of injury to an opponent. The second innovation was the development of rules of engagement known as “conventions,” in which the valid target was limited to the breast, and the fencer who initiated the attack had precedence unless completely parried (warded off) by the defender. Fencing with foils thus became a “conversation of blades.” However, even with the advent of the foil and its conventions, fencing remained a stylized, slow sport because of the chance of injury to the face and eyes. The third innovation—the invention of the quadrilled (having squares) wire-mesh fencing mask by the English master Joseph Boulogne (c. 1739–1799) and the French master La Boissiere during the closing decades of the eighteenth century—was the final step necessary to make fencing a completely safe sport.

More complex “phrases” (exchanges of blows) became possible after the mask came into widespread use, and foil fencing as it is now known was developed. The conventions prevented fencing from deteriorating into a brawl. These conventions form the basis of modern fencing.

Few athletic activities were open to women during the nineteenth century. The exceptions were skating, lawn tennis, gymnastics, and fencing. Fencing was offered at athletic and gymnastic clubs such as the New York Turnverein (founded 1851), which early on included women in its activities. The New York Fencers Club (founded 1883) has had women members since the 1880s, although during the early years women members had to fence at different hours than men of the club. The Fencers Club of Philadelphia (founded 1913) admitted women from its inception. Not all clubs were as gracious; the London Fencing Club (founded 1848) did not admit its first woman member until 1946. The Boston Fencing Club (founded 1840) passed the following resolution in 1858: “no females shall be admitted to the club-rooms under any pretext whatever, except by permission of a member of the government of the club.”

Women’s participation until the twentieth century was largely restricted to *salle* fencing, that is, women fenced only with foils. The sport’s national governing body in the United States, the Amateur Fencers League of America (AFLA; founded 1891), held its first national championships for men in 1892 but held no events for women until 1912. The first AFLA national women’s foil champion was Adelaide Baylis of the New York Fencers Club. The AFLA added a foil team event for women in 1928.

Fencers during the early years of the twentieth century were frequently three-weapon competitors. As time passed, the duration of competitions and the size of the starting fields, as well as the accompanying expenses, continued to increase. The quest for success led fencers to specialize in one weapon or at most two. Each weapon came to have its own aficionados. As noted, women’s fencing had been restricted to the foil, but during the 1970s a group of women, particularly in the United States and England, began campaigning to fence with the heavier weapons. Local events were staged, eventually sectional championships were expanded, and finally national championships were staged. In the United States épée events for women were added to the national championships in 1981. An épée is a sword with a bowl-shaped guard and a blade of triangular cross-section with no cutting edge; it tapers to a sharp point blunted for fencing. Events for women were added to the national championships in 1998. Most women fencers today specialize in one weapon.

Competitions

The Olympic Games are connected with much of the history of modern fencing. Fencing was one of the eight sports on the program of the Olympic Games when they were revived in 1896 by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, himself a fencer. Fencing shares with only three other sports (track and field, gymnastics, and swimming) the distinction of having been on the program of every Olympic Games.

In 1900 an épée individual event was added at the Olympic Games at Paris. Ramon Fonst of Cuba won. Other events for fencing masters were added on a short-



A statue of fencer in Wrocław, Poland. Source: [istockphoto.com/simm18pl](https://www.istockphoto.com/simm18pl).

term basis. A foil team event was added at the games in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904. It was won by Cuba. Most of the best European fencers did not attend those games because of the great distance between Europe and St. Louis. At the Olympic Games at Athens, Greece, in 1906 an épée team event was added, won by France; and a saber team event was added, won by Germany. A saber is a light sword with an arched guard that covers the back of the hand and a tapering, flexible blade with a full cutting edge along one side and a partial cutting edge on the back at the tip. A women's foil individual event was added at the Olympic Games in Paris in 1924. Ellen Osiier of Denmark won. A women's foil team event was added at the 1960 games in Rome and was won by Russia. At the Olympic Games at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1996 women's épée individual events and women's épée team events were held for the first time.

The record for the most championships won by any fencer is seven: Aladar Gerevich (b. 1910) of Hungary won in saber individual and team between 1932 and 1960. He is also the only athlete in any sport to win an Olympic championship at six different Olympics. The record for the most fencing medals of any types is thirteen, held by Edoardo Mangiarotti (b. 1920) of Italy in foil and épée, individual and team, between 1936 and 1960; he won five gold, five silver, and three bronze.

Women's fencing champions in general have been far more dispersed than men's champions, who have largely been from France, Hungary, Italy, and Russia. In addition to champions from those countries, Olympic women's champions have included Austrians, Germans, English, Danes, and Chinese.

Until the 1960 Olympics at Rome, when a foil team event was added, the foil individual remained the only

The height of your accomplishment will equal the depth of your convictions. ■ WILLIAM F. SCOLAVI

fencing event for women; the first winner was the Soviet Union. Épée events for women were added for the 1996 Olympics at Atlanta, where the individual champion was Laura Flessel of France; France also won the team event. A world's women's foil championship (then known as the "European championship") was initiated in 1929; the first winner was Germany's Helene Mayer. A women's foil team event was added in 1932; the first winner was Denmark. A world's épée championship was initiated in 1988; and the first Olympic saber event for women took place in the 2004 Summer Olympics in Athens.

Other successful women fencers have included Ellen Mueller-Preiss of Austria, the 1932 Olympic champion and two-time world champion, and Ilona Elek of Hungary, the 1936 and 1948 Olympic champion and three-time world champion.

At the 2004 Summer Olympics Mariel Zagunis won the first fencing gold medal for the United States in more than a century. Other successful U.S. women fencers have been Maria Cerra Tishman, who was in a three-way tie for second and finished fourth in the 1948 Olympics; Janice York Romary, who tied for third and finished fourth in the 1952 Olympics and was fourth again in the 1956 Olympics; and Maxine Mitchell, who finished sixth in the 1952 Olympics. Marion Lloyd Vince was the first U.S. woman to reach the Olympics finals, placing ninth in 1932. The most successful U.S. woman épée fencer is Donna Stone, who was fifth in the 1989 world championship. The most successful British women fencers have been Gwen Neligan, the 1933 world champion, and Gillian Sheen Donaldson, the 1956 Olympic champion.

Fencing offers athletes a much longer competitive career than do many other sports. This fact is best shown by the careers of Janice York Romary, who competed on six U.S. Olympic teams between 1948 and 1968, and Kerstin Palm of Sweden, who fenced in seven Olympics between 1964 and 1988. Palm was the first woman in any sport to participate in that many Olympics.

The creation of women's collegiate fencing was the factor most responsible for increased interest among

women in the United States. Women's collegiate fencing was years ahead of similar activity in most other U.S. sports for women. Bryn Mawr and the University of Pennsylvania established the earliest college teams during the early 1920s. By 1929 those colleges joined with Cornell and New York University (NYU) to create the Intercollegiate Women's Fencing Association (IWFA).

NYU won the first IWFA team title, and NYU's Julia Jones won the first individual title. IWFA, known since 1971 as the "National Intercollegiate Women's Fencing Association" (NIWFA), grew to nearly eighty teams by 1980. However, by 2004 its membership stood at twenty teams, and it has struggled to maintain itself because of the centralization policies of the Intercollegiate Fencing Association (IFA), the U.S. Fencing Association (USFA), the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW), and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA).

A surge in secondary school fencing accompanied the growth of collegiate fencing from the 1950s to the 1980s, but that surge has abated. New Jersey has the most highly developed program, followed by California and New England.

Women are increasingly involved in fencing as coaches, administrators, and officials. Julia Jones became the first woman to coach an intercollegiate championship team in 1932. Maria Cerra Tishman in 1965 was the first woman named to the U.S. Olympic fencing committee. Julia Jones in 1970 was the first woman to coach a U.S. international squad, the World University Games team. Harriet King in 1976 became the first woman editor of *American Fencing* magazine. Emily Johnson, a San Francisco jurist, in 1980 was the first woman elected president of the AFLA. She changed the organization's name, after ninety years, to the "U.S. Fencing Association" (USFA).

Rules and Play

A fencer uses one of three types of weapons: the épée, the foil, or the saber. Competitions for men or women are conducted for all three weapons, although until the 1970s women competed almost exclusively with the

foil. Fencing events may be conducted as individual events or team events, although even in team events only two fencers meet each other at any one time. Team matches may be run in a “relay” fashion, in which touches (hits against an opponent) are added cumulatively from one bout to the next. International teams are usually composed of three or four on a side, with each competitor meeting each competitor on the opposing side.

The foil has a flexible, slender blade, quadrangular in cross-section, and a small, circular guard that is centrally mounted. The maximum blade length is 90 centimeters. A foil fencer tries to score, using only the point of his weapon, by hitting his opponent on the torso. If the fencer touches his opponent’s head, legs, or arms, no point is scored, and the action resumes. If the fencer touches his opponent on the torso, then a point (touch) is scored. If both fencers touch each other, then the official applies the conventions of right of way to assess the situation and awards the touch, if any. Bouts usually are for five touches in elimination pools leading to a final round-robin pool, ten or fifteen touches in direct-elimination ladders leading to the title bout, or a combination of both methods. Until 1976 women fenced four touch bouts in pools and eight touch bouts in direct elimination.

The épée has a wide blade, more rigid than that of a foil. The blade is no more than 90 centimeters long. Épée fencing observes no conventions, and touches are made with the point anywhere on an opponent. If both fencers hit together, then a double-touch is scored against each, and both fencers are counted as having been hit. Épée bouts may be fenced to one touch or multiple touch bouts, in pools or direct elimination, or a combination of both. Épée fencing for one touch is part of the five-event competition called the “modern pentathlon.”

The saber has a flexible blade with a maximum length of 88 centimeters. In saber fencing touches made with either the point or one of the two cutting edges count if they land above the opponent’s hips. Saber fencing observes the conventions of foil fencing, al-

though before World War II it observed some rules more characteristic of a combative weapon.

With all three types of weapons bouts in a round-robin pool last four minutes. Direct-elimination contests are encounters of ten or fifteen minutes, depending on the maximum number of touches. Until 1976 women’s bouts were of shorter duration than men’s.

Fencing is conducted on a field of play called a “strip” or “piste,” which is 2 meters wide and 14 meters long. A fencer who exits the side of the piste is penalized 1 meter in distance. A fencer who exits the end of the piste is penalized one touch.

Fencers wear a heavy wire-mesh mask with a thick canvas bib to protect the head and neck. They also wear a padded glove on the weapon hand and thick canvas or nylon jackets and knickers. In competition fencers wear additional equipment that permits electric scoring. Until 1940 women fencers could wear dresses or skirts instead of trousers or knickers. Women also wear breast protectors or plastic shields under their jackets.

Until electric scoring devices were developed, fencing matches were adjudicated by a jury composed of a president and four assistants. The president has also been called a “director” and, more recently, a “referee,” and the assistants “judges.” At the end of the nineteenth century foil fencers wore black uniforms, and chalk tips on foils aided in the scoring; this system was not popular, particularly in Europe and U.S. colleges, where form was also taken into account in scoring. About the time of World War I and for the next thirty years, fencers wore white uniforms and used red ink on the tips of épées to indicate a touch.

Since the invention of the mask, no innovation has had more impact on fencing than electrified scoring. It has eliminated the need for assistants, leaving only the president to officiate. In 1935 épée was electrified in time for the world championships at Lausanne, Switzerland; in 1955 foil was electrified for the world championship in Rome; and in 1989 saber was electrified for the world championships at Denver, Colorado. However, these advances have not been without complications. Electrification has increased startup and maintenance costs

considerably and has had a steadily debilitating effect on the technique of competitors. Also, despite the objectivity of the equipment, the individual bias of officials remains entrenched. Many observers feel that fencing has been changed from the simulation of a duel into a display in which competitors simply turn on a light with flair and that fencing's truth and drama have been sacrificed to speed and efficiency.

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the twentieth. But, believe or not, the opening of Fenway was not the main headline of the day in Boston. The tragedy of the sinking of the *Titanic* was the main focus of attention of the nation's papers, including Boston's.

Although Fenway is primarily known as the home Major League Baseball's Boston Red Sox and is the oldest stadium in existence to hold a World Series game, several other sports teams have called Fenway home. In 1914 the National League's "Miracle" Boston Braves played their World Series games at Fenway while their new ballpark was being built. Three professional football teams have also called Fenway home. From 1933 to 1936, the Boston Redskins played at Fenway, before moving to Washington; from 1944 to 1948 the Boston Yanks—today's Indianapolis Colts—occupied the Fens; and from 1963 to 1968, the Boston (now New England) Patriots played their home games at Fenway before moving to Foxboro.

Fenway Park has significance beyond baseball and other sports to which it has been a home. In 1986 the National Park Service's National Historic Landmark program undertook a nationwide thematic study of historic recreational resources, and its advisory board recommended that Fenway Park be designated a National Historic Landmark. Unfortunately, however, the objections of the owners prevented the designation from becoming official. But the design, charm, and mystique of Fenway Park have not gone unnoticed or unappreciated; elements of it have been incorporated into the layouts of newer facility designs, such as those of Camden Yards, Jacobs Field, Coors Field, Comerica Park, and Pacific Bell Park.

Fenway Park

Located in Boston, Massachusetts, Fenway Park opened on April 20, 1912, when the Boston Red Sox beat the New York Highlanders (Yankees) 7 to 6 in front of 27,000 fans. Fenway was originally scheduled to open on April 18, but due to rain, there were two postponements that pushed opening day back to

Fenway History

Fenway Park has a rich history that has been in no small part created by many of its unique design features, as well as the feats of those who have played there.

The left-field wall, also known as the Green Monster, is 37 feet high, with the screen above the wall extending another 23 feet. By way of comparison, the center-field wall is 17 feet high, the bull pen fences are 5 feet



Fans arrive at Fenway Park for a game in the fall of 2004.

high, and the right-field fence is 3 to 5 feet high. This configuration is much different than the more uniform modern stadiums of today.

From 1912 to 1933, there was a ten-foot-high mound that formed an incline in front of the left-field wall, extending from the left-field foul pole to the center-field flagpole. As a result of the mound, a left fielder in Fenway had to play the entire territory running uphill. Boston's first star left fielder, Duffy Lewis, mastered the skill so well that the area became known as Duffy's Cliff. In 1934 Red Sox owner Tom Yawkey arranged to flatten the ground in left field so that Duffy's Cliff no longer existed, becoming instead part of the lore of Fenway Park.

Another unique feature of Fenway is the seat in the right-field bleachers that is painted red to mark the spot where the longest measurable home run ever inside

Fenway Park landed. Of course, the legendary Ted Williams hit the home run, on 9 June 1946, against the Detroit Tigers. The blast was measured at 502 feet, and legend has it that the ball crashed through the straw hat of the man sitting in section 42, row 37, seat 21.

Right field at Fenway has two other unique features. First, no player has ever hit a home run over the park's right-field roof. Second, there's Pesky's Pole, dubbed as such in the 1950s by Red Sox pitcher Mel Parnell, who named the right-field pole after Johnny Pesky, when he hit a home run just inside the pole that won a game for Parnell. That home run was one of only six home runs ever hit by the Red Sox star.

An innovation that first appeared at Fenway, now in use in all major league ballparks, is the screen behind Fenway's home plate that protects fans and allows foul balls to roll back down onto the field. This screen was

the first of its kind in the major leagues. Another safety feature added in the mid-1970s was the padding at the bottom of both left- and center-field walls. In Game 6 of the 1975 World Series, Red Sox outfielder Fred Lynn crashed into the concrete wall in center trying to make a catch and lay stunned on the field for several minutes. His near-injury prompted installation of protective padding as seen in all stadiums today.

Venue Today

Fenway Park seems to have a tradition like no other ballpark in America. As part of its charm, Fenway still has a hand-operated scoreboard in the left-field wall. Green and red lights are used to signal balls, strikes, and outs, and each scoreboard number used to indicate runs and hits measures sixteen by sixteen inches and weighs three pounds. The numbers used for errors, innings, and pitcher's numbers measure twelve by sixteen inches and weigh two pounds each. Behind this scoreboard is a room whose walls are covered with signatures of players who have played at Fenway Park over the years. Although only scores from American League games are posted there now, the use of this hand-operated scoreboard adds to the park's mystique.

As ballparks continue to get larger and larger with more luxury boxes and suites, Fenway keeps its charm as a backyard park, with a "backyard" capacity as well. The largest crowd ever at Fenway was 47,627, but due to fire codes that capacity has been reduced, and today Fenway can hold 36,298, which is the lowest capacity in the major leagues.

Finally, even the players get a taste of tradition at Fenway. As other ballparks have state-of-the-art locker-room facilities and player amenities, Fenway's clubhouses are still small and modest (*cramped* and *uncomfortable* could describe them as well). The tunnels that lead to the dugouts are usually wet, and the floorboards creak, which wasn't unusual for the older ballparks of the Fenway era. But, while those other old parks have disappeared, Fenway remains as a tribute to a storied past.

Aaron L. Mulrooney and Alvy Styles

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Finland

Finland is a republic of 5.5 million inhabitants situated in northern Europe, between Scandinavia and Russia. The country became independent in 1917, having previously been an autonomous Grand Duchy under the Russian Empire and before that (until 1809) a part of Sweden. The political history of the country has had its effects on the organization of sports, which is based on a strong voluntary sports movement divided organizationally on the basis of class, language (Finnish/Swedish), and gender. From its early stages Finnish sporting life has emphasized a relatively few male-oriented sports and top-level competitive events as a way of gaining international success, which was seen to be of great political importance. Track and field and wrestling were the most important sports initially, followed by cross-country skiing. Today, the most popular top-level sports are ice hockey and auto racing. Women's group gymnastics is one of the most popular sports in terms of numbers of participants.

History of Finnish Sports

The main forms of traditional popular sports were developed in the agrarian communities in the countryside. Prominent among them were various strength events (wrestling, stone lifting, pulling and throwing competitions) and traditional throwing/hitting games. Indoor sports practiced in wintertime tested agility and cleverness, for both genders of all ages. Skiing was at first foremost a practical way of moving about, as were horse carriage driving and rowing. They were turned into sports only during the nineteenth century.



Indigenous sports and forms of modern sport first met at the circus (from the early nineteenth century), and since the 1860s at local folk festivals, where modern shooting and running competitions and traditional combat forms were exhibited. In the 1870s skating became a part of social life in towns, and gymnastics clubs began to organize exercises for men and women. Beginning in the 1880s, cross-country skiing, cycling, and tourism won popularity among the middle class. All-embracing gymnastics and sports clubs became a basic form of organization of physical activity in the 1890s.

The model for modern sports in Finland came from both West (England, Scandinavia, later from the United States) and East (Saint Petersburg, Russia) as well as from Central Europe. A national form of men's gymnastics was developed, emphasizing many-sided, non-

competitive physical exercises. A "national front" against "one-sided" competitive sports of foreign origin formed, centered at first around a Finnish-language gymnastics and sports federation (1900). In 1906 a central Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation (SVUL) was founded, with competitive sports as part of its program. Competitive sports won political and social acceptance especially after 1912, when the great success of Finnish athletes at the Stockholm Olympic Games was used to procure sympathy for the cause of national struggle against Russian oppression. Having won independence (1917), Finland kept on running (Paavo Nurmi being its top runner), wrestling, and later on skiing to gain more international fame. Only athletes representing the SVUL could take part in the Olympic Games. The sportsmen and sportswomen of the Workers' Sports Federation



Finland

Key Events in Finland Sports History

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1842 Sports activities are made obligatory in the school curriculum for boys.</p> <p>1872 Sports activities are made obligatory in the school curriculum for girls.</p> <p>1890s Gymnastics and sports clubs became the basic form for the organization of physical activity.</p> <p>1896 The Women's Gymnastics Federation is founded.</p> <p>1900 A Finnish-language gymnastics and sports federation is founded.</p> <p>1906 The Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation (SVUL) is founded.</p> <p>1906 Finland participates in the Olympics for the first time.</p> <p>1919 The Workers' Sports Federation is founded and organizes Workers' Olympiads and Spartakiads.</p> | <p>1920s The Finnish government begins financing sports institutions and training facilities.</p> <p>1926 The world Nordic skiing championships are held for the first of six times at Lahti.</p> <p>1952 The Olympics are held in Helsinki.</p> <p>1983 The first World Athletics Championships are held in Helsinki.</p> <p>1987 The comprehensive "Young Finland" sports program is established.</p> <p>1993 The Finnish Sports Federation is founded.</p> <p>1995 The Finnish national hockey team wins the world championship.</p> <p>2001 A doping scandal involving Nordic skiers leads to a reevaluation of sports in Finnish society.</p> |
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(TUL, founded in 1919) participated in Workers' Olympiads and Spartakiads.

The Finnish state began financing sports institutions and training facilities in the 1920s. Private financing took place on a very small scale. The sports movement was seen as a part of ideological popular movements based on voluntary work. Professional sports did not gain structural footing in Finland until the 1990s.

Participant and Spectator Sports

According to the most recent survey (2001–2002), the most popular sports in Finland in terms of numbers of participants in organized competitions are floorball, football, volleyball, and golf. The most popular spectator sports are ice hockey, football, Nordic skiing, track and field, and auto racing. *Pesäpallo*, a Finnish variant of baseball, is locally popular, especially in rural areas.

Elite sports have always been considered important in Finland. In the 1920s and 1930s, Finland was counted among the great powers of Olympic sports, especially in track and field, where Paavo Nurmi reigned supreme in long-distance running. Consequently, elite sports became a vital ingredient in the build-up of the Finnish national identity. After World War II, Finnish successes waned, but sports retained its place at the center of national imagery.

Finland has taken part in every Olympic Games since 1906. In overall medal standings, Finland occupies eleventh place in Summer Olympic Games medals and fifth place in Winter Games medals. In 1952 Finland very successfully hosted the Olympic Games in Helsinki. Finland also has a proud record in international track and field championships. The inaugural World Athletics Championships were held in Helsinki in 1983, to be followed by the 2005 edition of the event in the Olympic Stadium. Modern indoor arenas built in Turku (1991) and Helsinki (1997) have hosted world championship tournaments in ice hockey. Finland has some of the best facilities in the world for Nordic skiing, notably at Lahti, host city of six world championships, beginning in 1926. The largest annual sports event in Finland in terms of number of spectators

and international media exposure is the World Rally Championship race based in Jyväskylä in Central Finland.

Women and Sport

The first form that modern women's physical training took in Finland was gymnastics, introduced in the curriculum of girls' schools since the 1860s. The first female gymnastics teachers were schooled at a private institute, since 1894 at the Gymnastics Institute of Helsinki University. Elin Kallio was the leading person in Finnish women's gymnastics movement, which developed simultaneously with, but separate from, men's gymnastics. The first Finnish women's gymnastics club was founded in 1876, the Women's Gymnastics Federation in 1896. The basis for women's gymnastics was the so-called Swedish (Lingian) gymnastics. Using it, Elli Björkstén developed a special system for women by the 1920s.

Women's competitive sports had an early start in Finland. In the first decades of the twentieth century, national championships were held in ice-skating, swimming, skiing, and track and field. The 1920s saw a backlash, especially in track and field, during which time women's participation on national and international levels was strongly opposed by the leading male organizations. At the same time, the women's gymnastics movement grew enormously, implying a strict gender division in the sports movement. After World War II, women's committees for promoting women's rights on all levels were founded in male-controlled sports organizations. There was a new rise in women's and girls' sports participation, especially in track and field, cross-country skiing, and ball games. Football (soccer) was introduced as a women's sport in the 1970s, followed by other former "male sports," from weightlifting to boxing. Yet the traditional women's group gymnastics is still the most popular form of women's sport, challenged, however, by the growing number of private commercial fitness centers and enterprises. In the seventy-five national sports federations, 34 percent of the membership but only 19 percent of the council members are women.

The great runner Paavo Nurmi lighting Olympic flame at the Opening Ceremony of the Helsinki Olympic Games (19 July 1952).

Youth Sports

Children and youth have long participated in sports activities in obligatory school curriculum (boys since 1842, girls since 1872). First associations for school sports were founded in 1898; in the beginning girls could participate. Sections for girls and boys were founded in some voluntary sports and gymnastics clubs. In 1931 a special federation for boys' sports was founded within the central sports federation, SVUL; in the TUL a youth section organized sports for children. After World War II, a Sports Federation for Boys and Girls was founded in the SVUL to recruit talented youth and also to promote social youth work; it was supported financially by state. However, the first programs that took into consideration children's own needs were initiated only in the 1980s, both in the SVUL and in the TUL. Further, in 1987 a comprehensive program, "Young Finland," was started as a joint effort of sports organizations. In addition the ethical and educational ideal of "fair play" in sport is promoted by a "green card" system, initiated by the Football Association (1991). Currently, the diminishing role of school sports is being discussed actively.

Organizations

Finnish sports organizations were brought under the umbrella of the Finnish Sports Federation (SLU; www.slu.fi) in 1993. It has fifteen regional branch organizations and seventy-five national sports associations as full members. On the local level, the SLU encompasses 7,800 sport clubs. The largest national sports associations are those in track and field (www.sul.fi), skiing (www.hiitoliiitto.fi), football (soccer) (

www.finhockey.fi), ice hockey (www.finhockey.fi), and women's gymnastics (www.svoli.fi). The Swedish-language central organization, CIF (www.cif.fi), and the Workers' Sports Federation, TUL, (www.tul.fi) are also members of SLU. The Finnish Olympic Committee (www.noc.fi) has a prominent role in representation and coordination of elite sports.

Sports in Society

Sports and elite athletes have generally been highly valued in Finland. Finns have always taken pride in their glorious Olympic history. Success in international sport has traditionally been seen as an entry card into the community of nations. This was evident as late as in 1995, when the Finnish national ice

hockey team won its first-ever world championship, a victory that was wildly celebrated and seen in symbolic connection with Finland's entry to the European Union, which took place in the same year. The high esteem in which elite athletes are held is also reflected in political life: twelve Olympic athletes, most of whom medalists, have been elected to the Finnish Parliament.

In 2001 six top Finnish cross-country skiers were caught for doping at the World Championships in Lahti, Finland. This high-profile case in a revered national sport, involving some of the most respected Finnish sports heroes, dealt a severe blow to Finnish elite sports in general. State support was reevaluated and tied to strict ethical guidelines, while private sponsorship plummeted and public opinion became cynical. Already curtailed by economic depression in the early 1990s, the funding of Finnish elite sports lags far behind that of neighboring countries. These domestic constraints do not apply to a handful of Finnish athletes who have been successful in major professional sports, such as Formula One and rally drivers, ice hockey players, and alpine skiers.

The Future

The reputation of Finnish elite sports has suffered in the last few years. The doping cases in cross-country skiing were preceded by a match-fixing scandal in the national sport *pesäpallo*. A rapid change of values has taken place in elite sports, marked by their open commercialization. There is turmoil on the grassroots level as well, as traditional forms of voluntary club activity are threatened by diminishing. municipal financial support for the sports clubs, making them even more dependent on the efforts of volunteers. On the other hand, participation in sports is becoming more individualistic. As financial support from public authorities diminishes, inequality of opportunity to participate in sports increases. State-supported gender equality programs are also still far from meeting their targets. Despite these trends, using the criteria of equality of opportunity to participate in sport and actual levels of

participation, Finland still ranks highly when measured against other nations.

Leena Laine and Vesa Tikander

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Fishing

Although no one can accurately pinpoint the date “fishing” as a survival strategy to provide food for the stomach was transformed to sport as “food for the soul,” both practical and leisure fishing have been around as long as humankind. Angling, often used synonymously with fishing, is the art and sport of casting a line to a target, using artificial bait to lure and land fish, and often releasing the catch to provide sport for another day. The angler considers *fishing* as catching

fish without regard to method, to provide food for the frying pan. Angling has become popular around the world. Its venues include freshwater streams, lakes, and saltwater seas and oceans. Competitors are male and female and span all age groups and all backgrounds. The excitement of a sudden strike arising from calm water, the thrill of the fish pulling on the line, and the ensuing challenge to land the fish creates an attraction for outdoors enthusiasts. Even when the fish aren't biting, the true "angler" finds sport in merely making accurate casts, hitting a target that may be as far as 375 feet (114 meters) away. Fishing is never a predictable sport—luck and the whims of the fish equalize expertise and modern equipment in all competitive tournaments.

Economic Impact

In the United States, the American Sportfishing Association reported that forty-five million Americans over the age of six spent more than \$42 billion on fishing tackle, trips, and related services in 2001, with each angler spending an average of \$1,046 on fishing. The sportfishing industry is estimated to be a \$116 billion business in the United States alone. The National Survey of Fishing, Hunting, and Wildlife-Associated Recreation estimated that Americans sixteen years and older spent an average of sixteen days fishing in 2001, with more than 9 million saltwater anglers and more than 27.93 million freshwater participants. Of that number, 20 percent of women and 37 percent of men participated. Members of minority groups in the United States participated at a lower rate than Caucasian participants did; however, participation rates among African-American and Hispanic populations are rising. Similar reports from recreation and environmental agencies in countries around the world demonstrate recreational fishing to be on the rise. In Australia, for example, participation in recreational fishing of all kinds has more than doubled from 284,000 people to about 600,000 people each year with about 34 percent of the population over five years old participating. Economically, recreational fisheries are important, contributing more

than \$570 million a year to the Australia's economy and supporting an estimated 7,000 jobs. Freshwater and sea anglers in the United Kingdom were estimated at more than 3.5 million in 1994 and are also believed to be on the rise. Fishing seems to have a universal appeal, combining the sporting challenge with outdoor ambience and the accomplishment connected with landing a prize fish.

Early Methods and Equipment

Early historians established that fish were first caught with bare hands and that early Persians included fish as part of their national diet, about 3000 BCE. The fish were caught most easily as tides receded, leaving fish flailing on dry beaches or caught in pools of water. A related method known as "tickling" is still practiced in many countries today, where the fisher leans over a pool of water, puts her hands under the fish and proceeds to tickle the belly of the fish. As the fish lazily relaxes with the tickling motion, the fisher makes a sudden grab with spread fingers, and tosses the fish to the riverbank or grassy area, where it can be collected for the evening dinner. Tickling is still popular, especially in the Rocky Mountain region of the United States, in late summer when the waters are low and fish have become trapped in pools near the sides of streams.

Spear fishing is believed to be the next form of fishing; however, the valuable spears were too often lost in waters, leaving the hungry fisher without a catch to show for work and without the spear to try again. Harpooning was developed as a form of spear fishing—it allowed the implement to be used repeatedly, saving the spear, and enabling the fish to be hauled in efficiently. Today, harpooning, spear, and bow fishing are all practiced for sport.

The Egyptians were the first people to use lines for fishing and a burr as a crude form of bait. Early Egyptian pictures from unearthed tombs depict men using a rod or fish pole with a line attached to catch the fish and a club to render the catch motionless upon hauling it to shore. Their lines were made from a vine, and the burr was attached to the end to attract the fish. Small



An English fishing stream in winter.

fish would swallow the burr and were drug into the shore. Larger fish were often bludgeoned with a club as they got close to the shore. The Egyptians eventually replaced the vine with lines made from braided animal hair, and the burr with thornwood branches, increasing the range of the cast. They added hooks made from bone to keep the larger fish entangled and on the line. Later, the bone hooks were replaced by ivory, then bronze, iron, and eventually steel, as people from other nations began sharing techniques and materials through trade routes. In *A History of the Fish Hook*, Hans Jorgen Hurum reported discoveries of bone fishhooks as old as 20,000 years in Moravia and 8,000 years in Nordic countries. European explorers of North America found Native Americans using fishhooks made from wood, stone, and bone. Hurum also reported that early anglers used a *gorge*, a stick covered by bait, attached to the end of a line. The fish swallowed the baited stick lengthwise, and when the line was jerked tightly, the stick lodged crosswise, allowing the fish to be hauled to shore.

The Chinese were known to have used braided silk for fishing lines by 900 BCE. India recorded using fish as food about 800 BCE, catching them chiefly with spears attached to vines, but also with braided hair or silk lines. About 500 BCE, records report Jewish men fishing with woven nets, collecting fish in vast numbers

and beginning the commercial trade with the excess fish hauled in.

The first written accounts on fly casting were by Martial, a Roman (10 BCE–20 CE), and Aelian, an Italian (170–230 CE). Artificial bait (an imitation of a fly) is substituted for live lures such as bait fish or worms or grasshoppers. The first accounts of angling by a woman—Dame Juliana Berners in *Treatyse of Fysshynge with an Angle*—were published in 1496. Berners was an English nun and noblewoman who described both fishing and hunting techniques between 1420 and 1450, as entries in *The Booke of St. Albans* (1486), the first work published in the English language on hunting and sport. The detailed use of a rod and techniques useful in the sport of fly-casting were first included in a later edition (1496).

The seventeenth century was a highly developmental period for angling equipment. Thomas Barker's *The Art of Angling* (1651) included detailed drawings of a fishing reel, descriptions of artificial flies, and rods 18- to 22-foot long, with pleated horsehair tied to one end. Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton, in *The Compleat Angler* (1653), wrote about new tackle and methods of fishing using wire loops or rings attached at the tip end of the rod, to facilitate the untangled use of a running line for both casting and playing a hooked fish. Barker (1667) also refers to a salmon-fishing line of twenty-six yards and the refinement of the reel to manage the line without tangling. In response to the “ones that got away,” anglers began experimenting with material for the line, including gut string (Samuel Pepys, 1667) and of lute string (Robert Venables, 1676). In 1667, Barker also noted the use of a landing hook, called a gaff, for lifting large hooked fish from the water. Charles Kirby, a needle maker, began experimenting with shapes of the hook about 1650. He later invented the *Kirby bend*, a hook with an offset point that is still in common use worldwide.

A rod with guides for the line along its length and a reel emerged by 1770. The earliest rendition of the reel was placed on the underside of the rod, and had gearing that resulted in several revolutions of the spool with

each crank of the handle. Its popularity was immediate, and became the prototype of the bait-casting reel developed in Kentucky in the early 1800s. On the other side of the Atlantic, the Nottingham reel, patterned after the wooden lace bobbin, was commonly used in Britain. A wide-drummed, ungeared, and free-running reel, the Nottingham was better suited for letting the line and lure float downstream with the current, or for casting lures into waves in deep-sea fishing. The Nottingham reel was the precursor design for today's fly-fishing reels.

From 1880 onward, fishing equipment/tackle has been constantly evolving. Fishing line progressed from horsehair, to greased or oiled silk, and today is comprised of a variety of synthetic materials. Anglers found that greased lines floated, and were desired for top-water fishing. If grease or oil were not used on the lines, they would sink and attract deepwater prey. The changes in line composition allowed for greater distance in casting, and increased the anglers' ability to use either wet or dry flies as bait for lures. In the Nottingham reel, the wooden spool was replaced by spools of hard rubber (ebonite), or by metallic substances. Lighter and evenly tempered crafter spools created a more free-spinning effect, and resulted in the reels spinning so fast that the lines became tangled (referred to as an *overrun* or *backlash*). To resolve this problem, *governors* were created. The *governor* moves across the spool and evenly spreads the line as it is reeled. This fixed the tangling during the uptake of line, but failed to resolve the tangling during casting. In 1880, the Malloch Company (Scotland) introduced the first *turntable* reel. This reel left one side of the spool open, and turned 90 degrees (hence the name *turntable*)—or parallel with the rod—during casting, a position that allowed the line to slip easily and rapidly off the spool during the casting phase. For reeling line in, the spool was returned to its original position, perpendicular to the rod. Further reel refinement by Holden Illingworth, an English textile magnate, led to the fixed spool or spinning reel used today. The reel is positioned with the spool aligned with the rod, and usually has a metal guard that is



Fishing

The South Wind

A FISHERMAN'S BLESSINGS

O blessed drums of Aldershot!
 O blessed South-west train!
 O blessed, blessed Speaker's clock,
 All prophesying rain!
 O blessed yaffil, laughing load!
 O blessed falling glass!
 O blessed fan of cold gray cloud!
 O blessed smelling glass!
 O bless'd South wind that toots his horn
 Through every hole and crack!
 I'm off at eight to-morrow morn
 To bring *such* fishes back!

Source: Kingsley, C. (1901). A fisherman's blessings. In H. Peck, (Ed.), *Poetry of sport* (p. 260). London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

flipped open during casting, but that closes for reeling. The gears are positioned at angles, so that the line is wound perpendicularly to the crank of the handle.

In the twentieth century, with the industrial advances in artificial materials, rods became shorter and lighter without sacrificing strength. Split bamboo was replaced by fiberglass, and then by carbon fiber rods. By the 1930s, the fixed-spool reel was the tool of choice in Europe, and after World War II, in North America and the rest of the world, it created a boom in spin casting. Nylon monofilament and braided synthetic lines were developed in the late 1930s, and plastic coverings for fly lines allowed them to float or sink without greasing. Plastic also became the dominant material for artificial casting lures.

Organizing Competitive Fishing Around the World

Freshwater fishing attracts most of the anglers in the United States and Canada; in other nations, saltwater fishing is the sport of choice—most likely because North America has more freshwater streams and lakes than most other continents do, and most of its populous lives further from saltwater. In the United States,

official angling competitions began when the Schuylkill Fishing Company was formed in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1732). Still in existence today as the Fish House Club, it is believed to be the oldest continuous sporting body in the United States. A national tournament was arranged in 1861, but details are sketchy about results or competition rules. The American Rod and Reel Association was founded in 1874, and the first U.S. national fly-casting tournament was staged in conjunction with the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The events were accuracy, accuracy fly, delicacy fly, long-distance bait, and long-distance fly-casting. In the early competitions, all casts were actually made on a lawn, to accurately measure distances because this measurement was not possible yet on water. After the fifth U.S. National Tournament, (1906), the National Association of Scientific Angling Clubs was formed (1906) and became the governing body of the sport of fly-casting. This group later (1960) changed its name to the American Casting Association.

The years just before and during World War II were a boom for saltwater fishing. The growth of air travel after World War II made many areas of the world accessible to anglers and introduced them to new fish, such as the dorado of Argentina and the tigerfish of Central Africa. The International Game Fish Association (IGFA) was established in 1939 to promote and regulate big-game fishing, in collaboration between sportsmen from England, Australia, and the United States. Within a year, membership included two scientific institutions, ten member clubs, and twelve overseas representatives. Within ten years, it rose to ten scientific institutions, eighty member clubs, and representatives in forty-one areas of the world. The first overseas representatives were Clive Firth of Australia, and others from Nigeria, New Zealand, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Chile, Costa Rica, the Canal Zone, Cuba, Hawaii, Mexico, and Puerto Rico. Notables among early IGFA members and officers were authors Ernest Hemingway and Philip Wylie, and Charles M. Breder, Jr., Chairman of the Committee on Scientific Activities. In 1978, *Field &*

Many men go fishing all of their lives without knowing that it is not fish they are after. ■ HENRY DAVID THOREAU

Stream magazine turned over the tracking of freshwater records to the IGFA.

Today, the IGFA has many activities:

- Supervises marine-fishing competitions
- Establishes the weight categories for lines
- Keeps championship records
- Promotes scientific study through the tagging of released fish to explore fish habitat patterns and monitor endangered species
- Sponsors both saltwater and freshwater competitive events
- Archives world fishing in the E. K. Harry Library of Fishes

The IGFA Fishing Hall of Fame and Museum in Dania Beach, Florida, contains more than 13,000 books and 150 outdoor and fishing magazines from many countries and in many languages (some from as early as the 1930s), and numerous videos and scientific documents about the sport.

Halls of fame and museums are numerous, and contain facts and records about fishing and angling around the world. Many are aligned with a specific type of fish or angling competition. For example, the National Bass Fishing Hall of Fame is located in Hot Springs, Arkansas (www.probassfishinghof.com), and has artifacts, statistics, equipment, and photos about bass fishing. The International Big Fish Network (www.ibfn.org) is comprised of 1,600 organizations around the world, and links information on fishing associations and clubs, tournament dates and locations, boat builders and worldwide news, education, and advocacy actions in support of ocean fisheries. The Western Australia Maritime Museum (www.museum.wa.gov.au) has a section entitled "Hooked on Fishing" that has exhibits related to cultural and historical facts of fishing and angling, and includes methods developed by Aboriginal fisherman. Granville Island, Vancouver, Canada, lists among its museum collection: "Hardy Brothers Reels, Rare art, Fry Plates, Salmon Fishing History, Ralph Wahl Photographs" (www.sportfishingmuseum.com). The Amer-

A father and son fishing on a lake.

Source: istockphoto/fullvalue.

ican Museum of Fly Fishing (www.amff.com), in Manchester, Vermont, is an education institution dedicated to fly fishing. The National (US) Freshwater Fishing Hall of Fame and Museum in Hayward, Wisconsin, was organized (1960) to collect and display freshwater angling. It is especially attractive to children, with the building shaped like a giant fish (muskie). Visitors walk through and learn about the history of freshwater fishing, conservation efforts, the catch and release program, and other activities related to angling and fishing. The website also has educational information for kids, including photos for fish recognition, conservation information, and tying knots.

Types of Fishing Today

Bait fishing refers to fishing with live bait such as worms, grasshoppers, or small fish. *Lures* are fake bait such as plastic worms or flashy metal lures (jigs, plugs, or spoons) that attract fish by darting movements as they are pulled through the water. Coined by bass fishermen in the 1960s, the term *crankbait* has been applied to hard-bodied lures made out of wood, plastic, foam, or other materials that simulate the wiggling, wobbling action of bait fish as it is *cranked* or reeled in. The avid bait angler has an assortment of lures in the tackle box.

Fly-fishing uses a collection of strings, feathers, or other artificial materials, tied to resemble bugs that naturally inhabit lakes or streams and that provide food for fish in their environment.

- *Dry-fly fishing* requires the angler to place the fly on the surface momentarily—and to create movement similar to that of a live fly flitting across the top of the water.



- *Wet-fly fishing* places the fly beneath the surface and requires less line management.

Artful anglers use the techniques according to the natural environmental conditions and the development of the bait during the seasons. Similarly, both fly and bait fishing require knowledge of the seasonal conditions and tastes of the prey, plus a wide array of flies, lures, and bait in varied colors to attract the most elusive prey.

Whether using bait, lures, or flies, anglers practice the art of *casting*, or getting the fishing line from the pole to the place where the fish lie. Techniques for casting are many and combine the skill of placing the line artfully with an understanding of how fish swim, experiential knowledge of where they are likely to hide, and scientific knowledge of the flow of the waters in the stream or lake. *Spin casting* is considered the easier method, using a reel that releases the line with the cast and the weight of the lure or bait. *Fly casting* is considered the more difficult sport because of the light weight of the fly and longer line, which is hand fed with each arm movement. Fly-casting line is often heavy and colored at the reel end, and gradually slims and is colorless at the lure end, to allow the angler to see the flight pattern of the line, while not alarming the fish near the fly.



Fishing

The Spirituality of Fishing, 1606

An extract from A Booke of Angling or Fishing. Wherein is shewed, by conference with Scriptures, the agreement between the Fisherman, Fishes, Fishing of both natures, Temporall and Spirituall by Samuel Gardiner, 1606.

Every Fisher-man hath his proper baytes, agreeable to the nature of those fishes that hee trowleth or angleth for. For at a bare hooke no Fish will bite. The case-worme, the dewe-worme, the gentile, the flye, the small Roache, and suche-like, are for their turnes according to the nature of the waters, and the times, and the kindes of fishes. Whoso fisheth not with a right bayte, shall neuer do good. Wee that are sprituall fishermen, haue our seurall baites suitable to the stomackes we angle for. If we obserue not the natures of our auditors, and fit ourselves to them, we shall not do wisely. Let such as will not bee led by love bee drawne by feare. But with some the spirit of meeknes will doe most, and loue rather than a rodde doth

more good and we shall do indiscreetly, to deale roughly with such. For as the water of a spacious and deepe lake, being still and quiet by nature, by ruffling windes is moued and disquieted; so a people tractable by nature, by the rough behaiour of the Minister may be as much turmoyled and altered from his nature.

The fisherman baiteth not his hook that the fish might only take it, but be taken of it. The red-worme, the case-worme, maggot-flies, small flie, small roche, or such like, are glorious in outward appearance to the fish. So the riches, prioritie, authoritie, of the world, are but pleasant bayts laid out for our destruction. The fisherman's bayte is a deadly deceite: so are all the pleasures of the world. As all the waters of the riuers runne into the salt sea, so all worldly delights, in the saltish sea of sorrows finish their course. Wherefore mistrust worldly benefits as baites, and feed not upon them in hungry wise.

In fly-casting tournaments, the target usually is a rubber circle about thirty inches in diameter. For accuracy casting tests, five rings are placed about five feet apart, and the competitor tries for a bull's-eye in each. Normally, the competitor is permitted two casts at each ring and a total time limit of about eight minutes for all the casts. In accuracy casting, ties are possible because the winner is determined by an aggregate of points scored. Distance events start with a target being placed at medium range, and then moved progressively with each competitor's successful cast. This is head-to-head competition, with the winner being the competitor who successfully hits the furthest target.

Categories are created based upon the weight and type of bait, bug, fly, or plug in both distance and accuracy events. They are also divided by water—either saltwater (billfish, tuna, shark, or other ocean catch) or freshwater (trout, bass, catfish, stripers, pike, muskies, salmon, steelhead, and others)—and sometimes by the specific type of freshwater or saltwater fish found in

those waters. Men's records date back to the 1890s, and women's records begin in the early 1920s.

Freshwater Fishing

Freshwater fish come a variety of sizes and shapes. Most commonly known freshwater game fish include bass, bluegill, trout, salmon, catfish, and crappies, commonly known as panfish. More hearty anglers seek out trophy-sized species like pike, muskie, walleye, and sturgeon. Peter Dubuc's 46-pound, 2-ounce pike caught in 1940 in New York's Sacandaga Lake is the North American record. A fish mounted in Michigan's tourism office weighed 193 pounds and was speared through the ice by Joe Maka in 1974. Such monster fish are rarely caught, with habitats in the dark, deepest parts of the Great Lakes. Canadian biologists have records of lake sturgeon reaching 212, 220, 236, and 275 pounds. Improved electronics and sonar tracking may eventually lead to new record catches in the Great Lakes regions of the United States and Canada.

Fishing is much more than fish. It is the great occasion when we may return to the fine simplicity of our forefathers. ■ HERBERT HOOVER

Freshwater angling is alluring, and both men and women have contributed to its rich history. Cornelia T. Crosby (1854–1946), a guide in the Maine woods for almost seventy years, was credited with catching more fish with a fly than anyone before her. She is credited as the pioneer of the short skirt (seven inches above the ground) to avoid entangling her submerged feet, as well as with starting the tradition of hooking flies around the band of her hat. Known as “Fly Rod” Crosby from her column *The Maine Woods*, she was commissioned to carry custom-made rods and write travel brochures for the railroads of the region. Today, the clothing and outfitting of anglers is a multibillion-dollar industry, which continues to develop new gear to make all types of fishing more comfortable and convenient. Crosby’s contemporary was Mary Orvis-Marbury, whose fly tying and recording of the flies used by anglers in the United States (*Favorite Flies and Their Histories*, 1893) inspired the founding of the Orvis Company, known for fishing apparel, equipment, and tackle. The first Woman Fly-fisher’s Club (1932) formed by Julia Fairchild and Frank Connell is credited for modern conservation efforts.

Angling is also a lifetime activity. For example, Joan Salvato captured her first title at the age of eleven, held the women’s dry fly accuracy record from 1943 to 1946, and recaptured the title in 1951. By age thirty-four, she had seventeen national and one international records, held a distance record of 161 feet and was the first woman to win the distance event against all male competitors. Salvato and her husband Lee Wulff established the Joan and Lee Wulff Fishing School and wrote several books and a monthly feature for *Fly Rod & Reel*.

Saltwater and Big-Game Fishing

Big-game fishing emerged as competitive sport as the motorized boat emerged as a recreational vehicle. Noteworthy to its development was C. F. Holder, who hooked a 183-pound bluefin tuna near Santa Catalina Island, California in 1898. Saltwater big-game fish include tuna, marlin, swordfish, and shark. Big-game competitions include not just catching the biggest fish, but doing so on the lightest tackle and line. Equipment in-

cludes massive rods with butts fitted into sockets mounted on the chair of *fighting seats*, into which anglers can be strapped. Reels are large with Dacron or Terylene line, and wire leader near the hook. *Billfish* (including swordfish, marlin, spearfish, and sailfish) are considered some of the most exciting species for ocean anglers. W. C. Boshen caught the first recorded broadbill swordfish in 1913, and only about 800 catches have been recorded since. The Sian Ka’an Biosphere Reserve along the Caribbean coast of eastern Mexico is renowned as a fly-fishing and light-tackle capital of the world for bonefish, permit, and tarpon. Saltwater fishing also abounds around the Pacific Rim, Australia, and New Zealand and in the Atlantic Ocean, south of Bermuda.

Record Catches

As in freshwater fishing, both men and women are active competitors. Helen Lerner became the first woman to haul a broadbill out of both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, with one being a 570-pounder, caught off the coast of Peru, in 1936. She later received a gold medal from France’s Academie des Sports for catching the first giant tuna on a rod and reel off the coast of Brittany. Helen and her husband Michael Lerner are both known for their scientific contributions to the study and recording of the diet and migratory patterns of many of the ocean’s game fish—inviting scientists on their expeditions—and were instrumental in the formation of the IGFA. Michael served as its president from 1941 to 1960.

The albacore tuna is prized by saltwater anglers for its fighting spirit and tenacity against being landed once hooked. The women’s bluefin tuna record is 886 pounds, by Gertrude Collings (1970). The IGFA All-Tackle Record Bluefin Tuna (*Thunnus thynnus*) weighed 1,496 pounds, caught by Ken Fraser of Prince Edward Island, Aulds Cove, Nova Scotia, Canada in 1979.

Another of the great saltwater catches is the marlin. Although not in the official IGFA records (sharks bit the fish at the boat), Zane Grey, author and world traveler, caught the first “grander,” a 1,040-pound blue marlin

off Tahiti (1930). Another 1,000-plus pound marlin wasn't landed for twenty-two years. The largest fish (by weight) caught by a woman (Kimberly Wiss, 1954) was a black marlin weighing 1,525 pounds hooked off the coast of Peru.

Such accomplishments require hours of constant battle between fish and fisher—the woman's record for the longest single-handed fight with a tuna was 11.5 hours (Francis Low, Nova Scotia, 1936), and justifiably, fishing competitions aren't categorized just by size. Sometimes records amass over a year; for example, in 1936, Georgia McCoy of Los Angeles set a record for the number and gross weight of tuna captured in one year—fifteen fish for an aggregate weight of 5,284 pounds.

Of a lighter nature, the bonefish is prized because of its skittish nature (record catches are only around 12 to 13 pounds) and is rarely caught with a cast less than 80 feet. Bill Smith, of Florida was the first recorded person to catch a bonefish on a fly (1939), and his wife “Bonefish Bonnie” Smith, was the first woman to accomplish the same feat. Keeping the records in the family, Bonnie's sister Frankee Albright set a record by catching a 48.5-pound tarpon on 12-pound test line and guided others to bonefish, in the shadow of her sister's feats. In 1993, Deborah Dunaway, of Texas, became the first angler (male or female) in sport-fishing history to collect all IGFA billfish world records; by 1994, she held thirty world records.

Finding Fishing Facts

For more angling records, contact the IGFA Hall of Fame or, for female specific information, the International Women's Fishing Association (IWFA) Hall of Fame or Bass 'n Gal (founded in 1976) and its affiliated clubs throughout the United States and Canada. The IGFA, the American Bass Association, the American Casting Association, and the Billfish Foundation sponsor competitive men's events. National environmental agencies provide web links to statistics about types of fish around the world.

Debra Ann Ballinger

See also Hunting

There's a fine line between fishing and just standing on the shore like an idiot. ■ STEVEN WRIGHT

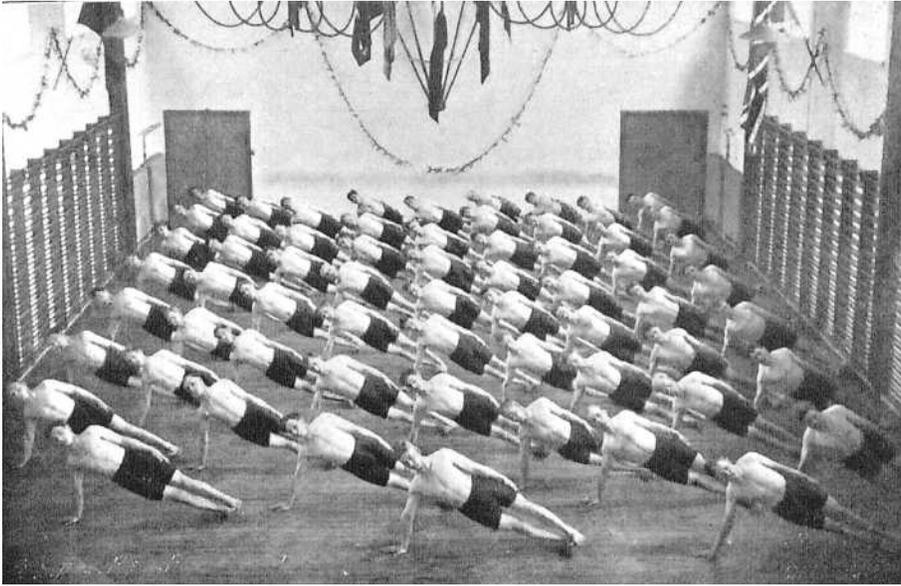
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Fitness

The worlds of sport and fitness have been intertwined since the beginning of sport itself. From the first competitive road race to the first game of basketball, the concepts of sport and physical fitness have played a major role in shaping human culture.

Although there is no definitive beginning in regard to the history of sports, there has been a growing participation in all aspects of sports and recreation since the



German schoolboys exercising in the early twentieth century.

1970s. This trend toward the improvement of overall health and fitness continues to grow. As the search for health expands, a debate as to what optimal fitness really is continues.

Components of Fitness

Fitness, itself, is composed of four different elements: cardiorespiratory endurance, muscular fitness, flexibility, and body composition.

Cardiorespiratory endurance, or aerobic fitness, relates to the body's capacity to absorb, transport, and use oxygen during work or exercise. As the body is trained to endure a greater cardiovascular workload, the heart and lungs become stronger thereby increasing an individual's endurance. A marathon runner would be a prime example of an athlete with a high level of aerobic conditioning.

Muscular fitness can be best described as a balance of strength and endurance. Muscular strength is the body's ability to generate force at a given speed of movement. Muscular endurance refers to the ability of the body to repeat movements and resist muscular fatigue. A better way to distinguish between muscular strength and endurance would be to imagine lifting a fifty-pound weight just one time—strength—versus lifting a five-pound weight ten times—endurance.

Flexibility is often the most overlooked component of physical fitness. Flexibility is the range of motion around a joint or a group of joints. Range of motion is limited primarily by the amount of soft tissue, including muscle and the joint capsule, surrounding the joint. A

gymnast would rely on his or her flexibility as well as strength to complete a strenuous tumbling routine without injury.

Body composition is the fourth and final component of fitness. There are two distinct elements with body composition: fat mass and lean body mass. Fat mass, as it implies, is the percentage of fat, both essential and nonessential, that makes up an individual's

body. Essential fat can be found in bone marrow, nerve tissue and in various internal organs. Women have a significantly greater percentage of essential body fat, around 12 percent, than men, around 4 percent, due to the demands of child bearing. Nonessential fat can be found subcutaneously, or beneath the skin, and is primarily used for excess body fat storage. "Based on data from physically active young adults, it would be desirable . . . to strive for a body fat content of 15% for men (certainly less than 20%) and about 25% for women (less than 30%)" (McArdle et. al. 1996, 570). Lean mass, on the other hand, is comprised of everything in the human body other than fat, such as muscle mass, bone mass, and the weight of the internal organs. An ideal body composition, therefore, would be an individual possessing a healthy body fat percentage: 15–20 percent for men and 25–30 percent for women.

These four components are essential for maintaining optimal health and fitness while preventing injury and muscular imbalances. Imagine a long-distance runner who spends her training time running without any regard for strengthening or stretching. While her cardiorespiratory endurance and body composition are favorable, she neglects her muscular strength and flexibility and can possibly set herself up for serious injury in the future. Along similar lines, imagine an amateur bodybuilder who spends a large amount of time lifting weights and increasing muscle mass, but who neglects his cardiovascular health and flexibility. He, too, increases his chance of injury by ignoring two very important components of fitness.

The will to win is important, but the will to prepare is vital. ■ JOE PATERNO

While it is ideal to have a balance of cardiorespiratory endurance, muscular strength and endurance, flexibility, and a favorable body composition, it is not something that is easily attainable. Good health takes work, but it does not have to resemble work.

Sports and Influence on Culture

Sports have played a vital role in the development of culture, both in present and ancient societies. Fitness, however, did not come into mainstream culture as a way to improve health until the 1970s. The concept of fitness was abstract and was more a means to an end, or put more simply, fitness was a necessary component to becoming a better athlete. Consider the ancient Mayan civilization in Central America. The Mayan sport of choice was a precursor to basketball. One difference between the modern version of basketball and the Mayan version was that the winning team would lose

their lives. Whereas a winning team today would receive a trophy, the winning team in those times would be sacrificed as a tribute to the gods and would consider it an honor to be sacrificed.

Each society and each period in history will interpret the importance of sports and fitness differently. The post-Civil War era of the United States ushered in a time where sports and fitness were a primary source of socializing. Gymnasiums and playing fields were capable of bringing people together when traditional methods may not have been able. Gymnastics, calisthenics, baseball, football, track and field, rowing, boxing, tennis, and golf were not just seen as a way to improve an individual's health and fitness, rather, and more importantly, these were seen as ways for people to gather and exchange ideas. Similarly, the development of German society in the 1930s and 1940s used fitness and athletics as one way for people to gather, socialize, and



Fitness

Bathing in Ancient Rome

In the days of Martial and Juvenal, under Domitian, and still under Trajan, there was no formal prohibition of mixed bathing. Women who objected to this promiscuity could avoid the *thermae* and bathe in *balneae* provided for their exclusive use. But many women were attracted by the sports which preceded the bath in the *thermae*, and rather than renounce this pleasure preferred to compromise their reputation and bathe at the same time as the men. As the *thermae* grew in popularity, this custom produced an outcropping of scandals which could not leave the authorities undisturbed. To put an end to them, sometime between the years 117 and 138 Hadrian passed the decree mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* which separated the sexes in the baths: "*lavacra pro sexibus separavit.*" But since the plan of the *thermae* included only one *frigidarium*, one *tepidarium*, and one *cal-*

darium, it is clear that this separation could not be achieved in space, but only in time, by assigning different hours for the men's and women's baths. This was the solution enforced, at a great distance from Rome, it is true, but also under the reign of Hadrian, by the regulations of the procurators of the imperial mines at Vipasca in Lusitania. The instructions issued to the *conductor* or lessee of the *balnea* in this mining district included the duty of heating the furnaces for the women's baths from the beginning of the first to the end of the seventh hour, and for the men's from the beginning of the eighth hour of day to the end of the second hour of night. The dimension of the Roman *thermae* made impossible the lighting which an exactly similar division of times would have required.

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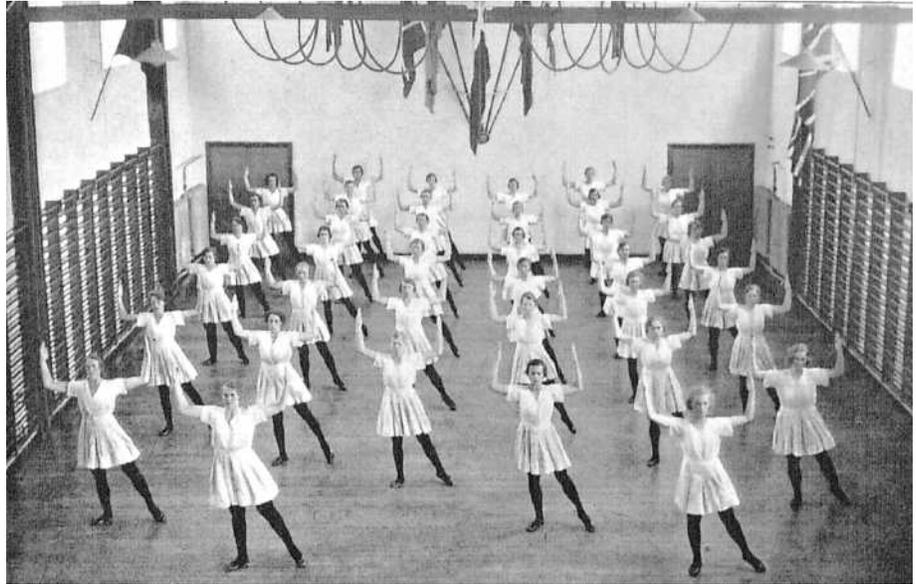
**German school girls
exercising in the early
twentieth century.**

share ideas. The Nazis used these gatherings as a way of spreading their idea throughout the country, proving that sports and fitness—when used for political ends—can be a powerful force in society. The long-reaching effects of both find their way into the culture of a nation and into their history.

***The Modern
Olympic Games***

The Olympic Games are the foremost sporting events in the world. They attract people from all countries to compete against each other in the spirit of competition and fellowship. Because of this the Olympics have an enormous impact on the continued development of society. For example, the first Olympic Games took a very different shape from the present modern Games. The primary difference was that the first games were only for men. Women were not allowed to witness the games, let alone compete, under penalty of death. Although much has changed, the birth of the modern Olympic movement in 1896 continued the tradition of only allowing men to compete. The thought at the time was that athletic competition was detrimental to a woman's health. Since then, that idea has been dispelled and as one of the results of the women's rights movement, women's events gradually have been added to the Games. However, it was not until 1984 that women were allowed to run Olympic distances greater than 1,500 meters. Much has changed, but the ideals that gave birth to the Games still prevail. Sportsmanship, athleticism, honor, and pride continue to form the backbone of the Olympics, and these traits translate into every language and into every culture.

The modern Olympic Games have the unique opportunity to showcase sports and fitness to the world. Ideally, the athletes participating in the Games exhibit the physical and moral excellence necessary to compete against the world's best athletes. The Olympics have become an inspiration to the young. They have also encouraged the nontraditional athlete. Picture an



Olympic athlete. Most often, a young man or woman, physically fit will come to mind. The Special Olympics have made it possible for athletes with varying physical and intellectual abilities to compete against each other with the same ideals as the traditional modern Olympic Games. There are also games for master's athletes, for those over the age of forty. Gone is the traditional image of the Olympic athlete. The ideals of the Olympic Games are far reaching and do much to demolish the notion that athletes fit into one mold. With these ideals the world of health and fitness becomes more mainstream, more accessible, and socially acceptable.

The Fitness Boom

While the worlds of sports and fitness are intertwined, it was not until the 1970s that popular culture was ready to accept fitness as eagerly as it had accepted sports. Fitness had not yet taken on its importance for improving health, and popular opinion likened fitness to work and manual labor. In the 1940s and 1950s, few participated in fitness willingly. Among those who did were Jack LaLanne, Victor Tanny, Joseph Gold, Joseph Weider, and Les and Abbye "Pudgy" Stockton. These fitness pioneers, among others, drew people to the beach in Santa Monica, California—the original Muscle Beach. Visitors came to watch their feats of strength and acrobatic displays. More and more viewers became participants, and these people, originally on the fringe, became a part of the cultural mainstream. Jack LaLanne, Vic Tanny, and Joe Gold all started gym chains with bodybuilding as their main focus. Due to

The winners in life treat their body as if it were a magnificent spacecraft that gives them the finest transportation and endurance for their lives. ■ DENIS WAITLEY

the influence of Abbye “Pudgy” Stockton, women were introduced to the muscularity and strength that came with bodybuilding. No longer reserved for just for “strongmen,” bodybuilding brought about a change in the mindsets of all those who visited Muscle Beach.

From the seeds planted at the Santa Monica came Venice Beach, the home to bodybuilding legends Arnold Schwarzenegger, Frank Zane, and many, many more. Venice Beach in the 1970s brought with it a fitness explosion across the globe. Not only did bodybuilding become mainstream, but the popular opinion of fitness changed dramatically. Americans in the 1970s would do anything to improve their health and fitness.

Sports and athletics grew in the 1970s as well. Women became increasingly more interest in participating in sports; however, very little funding was available for the development of woman’s athletics. A landmark law was passed in 1972. Part of a series of educational amendments, “Title IX,” legislated gender equity in athletics. Not only were women becoming more active and more physically fit, a law now existed that called for equal funding and equal opportunity for female athletes. On 21 September 1973, female tennis star Billie Jean King defeated Bobby Riggs in the first-ever winner-take-all “Battle of the Sexes” tennis match. The hoopla surrounding this event—and its outcome—provided even more incentive for women to become involved with sports and fitness. By 1977, a record 87.5 million U.S. adults over the age of eighteen claimed to be involved in some sort of athletic activity.

The fitness industry continued its growth into the 1980s. Gym owners tailored their facilities to attract customers and new gyms opened around the United States and around the world. A healthy lifestyle was becoming a part of popular culture. No longer was it unfashionable to be athletic, strong, or healthy. With the development of new technology, health and fitness were able to make their way into homes. Fitness tapes became available in the early 1980s and continue to encourage those to whom a gym or health facility may not be accessible. Innovators such as Jane Fonda and Richard Simmons were able to bring their exercise programs to a new population. Joe Weider became a sig-

nificant force in bringing health, fitness, and bodybuilding as close as the mailbox through his magazines and pamphlets. Because of fitness pioneers such as Weider, Gold, Fonda, and Simmons, fitness continues to play a significant role in modern society. The importance of being in good health and physically fit has made and continues to have an impact.

Current and Emerging Trends in Fitness

Fitness is a constantly changing field. There are always new machines, methods, and theories aimed at improving the quality of life. Fitness fads may come and go, but there have been several trends in fitness that have lasted several decades and continue to grow in popularity.

Aerobic exercise has always formed the backbone of the fitness industry. Running, step aerobics, dance-type aerobics, boxing, kickboxing, and spinning, an indoor cycling class set to music, have all emerged as mainstays in health and fitness facilities. Their popularity continues to grow.

Aquatic exercise has also increased in popularity. Water has the unique ability to allow cardiovascular and muscular improvements with little stress on the joints of the body. Aquatic exercise is no longer just swimming laps; almost every class that can be done on land is now being done in the water. Running, spinning, step aerobics, and even strengthening can all be done in the water.

With the improvement of health care and longer life spans, older adult exercise has expanded and has also become a necessity to maintain a positive quality of life. Not only are older adults engaging in exercise to maintain and improve health, they are taking part in competitive road races, cycling races, and bodybuilding competitions. Age barriers no longer exist and because of this, fitness classes geared toward the older population are widespread.

As grandparents and great-grandparents take part in sports and fitness, they set an example for younger generations. These younger generations have the benefit of improved technology and more abundant food, and



Fitness

Finding Motivation for Fitness

Many things motivate an individual to improve his or her fitness level. For some, it can be a personal best time and for others, it can be the chance to emulate their favorite professional athlete. Whatever the case, finding the motivation to exercise is pivotal in obtaining your desired fitness level. Setting a goal is one easy way to find the motivation to improve your fitness.

Deciding to lose weight can be a very powerful motivator. This is evident in the amount of money that is spent each year on weight loss products and fitness equipment. Upwards of \$50 billion is spent each year on health and fitness. That is motivation.

Other forms of motivation can take the form of admiration and imitation of professional athletes. Whole advertising campaigns are built around them. Pictures of athletes are put on cereal boxes. Athletes endorse clothing or product lines. More importantly, the training programs of these same athletes are used as the gold standard for physical fitness in their par-

ticular sport. Chris Carmichael, Lance Armstrong's cycling coach since 1990, has marketed his training programs to encourage new and seasoned riders to improve themselves. Motivation for some can be to ride like Lance.

Motivation can also be a personal and private thing. There are individuals who look at a sport and say, "I can do that." This internal motivation has encouraged the growth of competitive, nonprofessional athletes or, as they may be called, "Weekend Warriors." These athletes have nothing to prove to anyone else; they are proving over and over again to themselves that they are capable and strong enough to do their sport and to improve themselves. These athletes are the ones at the starting line of a marathon, of a triathlon, or of their own personal Tour de France. These athletes are the ones who are motivating their family and friends so that they can also say, "I can do that."

Annette C. Nack

with these things—and a more sedentary lifestyle—come the increased chance that they will live a less healthy lifestyle than their active older family members. The fitness field combats this possibility of unhealthy living with sports and fitness programs geared toward children and young adults. This fitness trend is now faced with the challenge of improving the health of future generations and has the opportunity to encourage a lifetime of healthy habits.

But the greatest transformation in the fitness field has been the growth of the mind-and-body exercises. There has been a shift toward gentler, more introspective exercises that also contribute to improving cardiovascular health while increasing flexibility and muscular strength. Yoga and pilates would fall into this category of exercise. Yoga has its roots in ancient India (from around 2800 BCE) and focuses on breathing and mindfulness during a practice of held poses. Pilates, on the other hand, was developed by Joseph H. Pilates (1880–1967) around 1926. Pilates' method involved a unique

series of stretching and strengthening exercises. Both yoga and pilates use an individual's breath and self-awareness as the focus of exercise. Aside from the obvious strength and flexibility benefits, these mind and body exercises are popular for their stress relieving qualities.

The Future

Sports and fitness have taken on many different forms through the ages and will continue to do so until every human has reached his or her optimal health and fitness level. Until then, fitness will continue to evolve and will continue to exert its influence over society and culture. "Play"-specific fitness is becoming more common as people are putting more focus into their free time as their work schedules become more hectic. For example, a man interested in tennis is getting involved with tennis-specific workouts along with playing tennis. Fitness is becoming sport-specific and more common in an everyday commercial gym.

There is also the dramatic increase in adults becoming involved in marathons, triathlons, biathlons, and century rides. Those sports that were once reserved for elite athletes are now just one item on a list of lifetime goals.

Annette C. Nack

See also Diet and Weight Loss; Fitness Industry; Nutrition; Performance

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Fitness Industry

Fitness means more than just being fit. Fitness has become a huge and successful industry. Some of the ideologies and promises that are attached to fitness have a long tradition, but it is still a growing market with an expanding variety of manifestations. What kind of product is fitness, and how did some of the early practices of aerobic and muscular fitness evolve?

Fitness: Commercial Product or (“Induced”) Sport?

“Fitness” refers both to biological and social adaptive-ness. Fitness usually means striving for and achieving a good physical condition. Fitness means having enough energy. A person who is fit is able to carry out daily tasks without limitations; for example, being able to walk the stairs without becoming exhausted. Fitness may refer to a variety of physical capacities, such as agility, balance, power, speed, a healthy heart and lungs, good flexibility, muscular strength, and endurance. It is about muscle size, body contour, body composition (how much muscle and fat you have), and body symmetry. To summarize, we may distinguish three definitions of fitness:

- *Muscular fitness*, generally by means of strength training (weight lifting), mainly directed to enlarging, building, and reinforcing the muscles
- *Aerobic fitness* (or cardiovascular/respiratory fitness), primarily to develop the circulation of oxygen through the body, and which conditions the heart and lungs
- *Flexibility* through gymnastics and stretching (calisthenics) to increase the suppleness of muscles and joints

These different types of fitness also correspond to the origin and emergence of different kinds of exercises.



Later on we will discuss the specific origins and histories of muscular and aerobic fitness.

Several historians who have studied fitness dealt with their subject in a wide sense. Whorton (1982), Green (1988), and Goldstein (1992) discuss in their books on the history of fitness such subjects as dieting, smoking, alcohol use, vegetarianism, fletcherism (systematic chewing), nudism, tourism, spa resorts, massage, scouting, town development, and even furniture design. In their work, fitness refers to the general individual quest for physical and mental well-being. Around each of these manifestations of fitness a whole branch of industry has developed. In this article we discuss fitness in a more narrow sense, primarily as physical exercises.

“INDUCED SPORTS”

Physical education and fitness have been described as “induced sports.” In other words, they are generally organized by state organizations and are intended to reinforce the strength and health of the state’s population. Health policies are being developed to reduce diseases such as high blood pressure, coronary artery disease, and diabetes. These are considered typically modern diseases of developed countries. This attention to lack of exercise and related health risks is, however, not just a modern phenomenon. In 1725 the Scottish physician George Cheyne (1671–1743) published *An Essay on Health and Long Life*. According to Cheyne, the upper classes, in particular “the Rich, the Lazy, the Luxurious, and the Unactive,” were threatened by a lack of exercise, a surplus of food, intoxicating drinks, and urban lifestyles. Cheyne may be considered a pioneer of “induced sport,” using sport for purposes of health and weight loss. Cheyne (who at one time weighed more than 470 pounds himself) gave advice on a healthy diet and on the best way of keeping fit.

A MODERN SUCCESS STORY

The quest for well-being through physical exercise has increased dramatically since the 1970s. Ample available food, a decrease in heavy physical labor, and the motorization of transport have resulted in sedentary lifestyles and the fattening of the population in wealthy

countries. At the same time a slender body and a healthy, toned appearance have become assets in the competition for jobs and sexual partners. The social pressure for self-control concerning food and physical activity has increased while the cultural tolerance for body fat has decreased.

These cultural changes have helped revolutionize the fitness industry. Through a combination of sophisticated marketing, its omnipresence in cities worldwide, and the use of highly technologized equipment (with parameters that tell you how “fit” you are), the industry has transformed itself into a successful modern marketing product. With the flexibility and adaptability to be introduced into a variety of contexts, including working environments, fitness puts the individual participant into the position of a consumer in the market for sport goods and services.

Origins of “Muscular Fitness”

Ancient Greeks used weights and resistance exercises to build the human body. Their equipment can be considered the forerunners of modern halters and dumbbells. In the early nineteenth century Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths and “Turnvater” Friedrich Ludwig Jahn incorporated resistance training into physical-education programs in school. In 1840 Hippolyte Triat opened the largest gym in the world in Brussels and a decade later opened an enormous gymnasium in Paris. Many of Paris’s most distinguished citizens signed up for classes (Todd 1995). Other important fitness educators of that time were Dudley Allen Sargent and Gustav Zander. They were pioneers in creating systematic methods for mechanized physical training. The machines they built were also used as preventive measures against the threats of a sedentary life. At the same time, these machines contributed to “a subtle redefinition of masculinity” (Thomas de la Peña 2002).

ADVENT OF STRONG MEN

Bodybuilding became popular in the late nineteenth century. From the second half of the nineteenth century onward, “strong men” were able not only to promote themselves on stage but also to market strength courses,

sport institutes, food, clothing, and equipment that carried their name. These strength courses and equipment had much in common with practices in the related fields of physical education and physiotherapy. Internationally, the earliest successful “strong man” and founder of a fitness business was Eugen Sandow (1867–1925). Other well-known people who succeeded him were Bernarr Macfadden (1868–1955), Charles Atlas (1893–1972) and Bob Hoffman (1898–1985).

The promotion tour that Eugen Sandow made through Europe in the 1880s, for example, led to the founding of many clubs for strength sports. Sandow established a chain of Institutes of Physical Culture in London and Boston and developed and marketed equipment for strength training, including a chest expander and a spring-grip dumbbell, a light halter to train the grip as well as the biceps.

Another typical story of the time concerns the method of muscle training called Maxalding. Max Sick, born in Germany in 1882, was also a pioneer in bodybuilding. Sick was a very small, sickly boy, who tried to compensate for his physical insecurities by extreme attention to his body. In 1909 he moved to London and changed his name in Maxick. In 1911 he published the book, *How to become a Great Athlete*, in which he put down his methods for a “natural training of the body” without the use of instruments. Sick was able to control each muscle of his body independently and without the use of equipment. The way in which these training methods spread through Europe was typical for this period. Important also was the role of advertisements in journals like *Health & Strength*, *The Strand Magazine*, and Bernarr Macfadden’s journal *Physical Culture*.

Macfadden was Sandow’s most successful successor. He became inspired to build his own body after having seen Sandow perform. His magazine *Physical Culture* had more than 100,000 subscribers in 1900 (one year after its introduction) and more than 340,000 by the 1930s. Macfadden became one of the largest publishers in the United States; during his lifetime he wrote close to 150 books. His magnum opus was *Macfadden’s Encyclopedia of Physical Culture* (1911).

Sandow and Macfadden were also the organizers and promoters of the first large-scale bodybuilding competitions. In 1901 Sandow’s Great Competition took place in the overcrowded Royal Albert Hall in London. This event was followed in 1903 by Macfadden’s contest for “The World’s Most Perfectly Developed Man” in New York, with a prize of \$1,000 for the winner—won by Charles Atlas. In talent for marketing, however, Sandow and Macfadden were surpassed by Atlas and his business partner, Charles P. Roman. Atlas acquired fame after winning Macfadden’s “The World’s Most Handsome Man” contest twice, in 1921 and 1922, and went on to use these titles to market his Total Health and Fitness Program, which still thrives today.

Bob Hoffman is considered the most influential figure for the adoption of weight training in sports other than weightlifting and bodybuilding. In 1935 Hoffman bought the Milo Barbell Company that had been founded in 1902 by Allen Calvert. This company was the first to develop adjustable barbell sets with plates of different weights. With the help of his magazine *Strength and Health*, Hoffman was successful in selling barbells and “High-Proteen” tablets.

Striving for Respectability

Charles Atlas and other “strength seekers” strived for a respectable place in society. The association of bodybuilding and strength training with the Californian beach culture (“Muscle Beach”) was an important step in achieving social respectability. And respectability meant an enormous growth of the market for products and services. The first modern fitness chains originated around Muscle Beach. The first founder of a major chain was bodybuilder Vic Tanny, who opened his first gym near Muscle Beach at the end of the 1930s. In 1950 he owned forty-five gyms in Southern California, and by 1960 he had eighty-four gyms with 300,000 members. At that point he was spending \$2 million a year just for advertising.

The most well-known person in the milieu of Muscle Beach was Jack La Lanne, also called “The Godfather of Fitness,” who was born in 1914 and turned 90 in 2004,



Exercise equipment at a fitness club. Source: istockphoto/wolv.

still going strong. In 1936 he opened what he called the nation's first modern health studio and experimented with primitive forms of strength-training equipment. In 1951 he was offered an opportunity to do daily morning gymnastics shows on local television in San Francisco, and from 1958 to 1985 this show was broadcast on national television. He used his name to establish a business empire of institutes, foods and drinks (with his Jack La Lanne Power Juicer), and books.

THE INFLUENCE OF EXERCISE MACHINES

Sport schools for strength training acquired their modern form with the introduction of innovative strength machines. One important breakthrough during the 1980s was the computerization of exercising machines. With these one can now monitor the intensity of the exercises on computer screens and observe the effects on the body and heart rate. In recent years the increasing popularity of exercise machines has contributed to a convergence of the profession of physiotherapy and the sport-school business. More people can be "treated" at

the same time, in the same place, and on identical machines. The work of the fitness trainer and physiotherapist is very much alike in terms of making schedules and explaining the technology of fitness machines.

Origins of "Aerobic Fitness"

Running and "aerobic dancing" developed a little later as the propagation of "muscular fitness." Dr. Kenneth Cooper, the author of *Aerobics* (1968), can be considered one of the main catalysts of these forms of physical exercise. Before he published his best seller, running was mainly practiced as a sport in track and field. Few people ran on public roads, and those who did were predominantly training for marathons, in which at that time were small-scale events, often with no more than a hundred participants.

Cooper's book had just been published when the adverse effects of being overweight were defined as a general threat to the health of the population. Running became a solution for "manager's disease," or the adverse effects of a sedentary white-collar worker's lifestyle.

Durability is part of what makes a great athlete. ■ BILL RUSSELL

Cooper's name is still connected to the famous "Cooper test," in which an individual's fitness and endurance are evaluated based on a twelve-minute run, with distance covered and age factored in.

Aerobics as a way to achieve fitness was successfully claimed by women entrepreneurs, who offered courses in the form of dance steps to the rhythm of modern music. In this way they were able to create the same aerobic effects as Cooper had associated with running but in a more appealing way of exercising than running along public roads. One of the first of these women entrepreneurs was Jacky Sorensen, who in 1969 established an international franchise chain of aerobic classes. Others, such as Kathy Smith, Richard Simmons, and Jane Fonda soon followed her example. In 1972, Judi Sheppard Missett claimed the term "Jazzercise" as an official trademark, and by 2002 she had 5,300 instructors in thirty-eight countries active under her trademark. In that year her company earned \$63 million.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUNNING INDUSTRY

The running and aerobics industry developed along two main lines: marketing of running shoes and publishing of magazines devoted to running. One company that played a major role in developing and marketing running shoes was Nike. During the 1970s and 1980s Nike associated itself with the famous middle-distance runner Steve Prefontaine (1951–1975), who, because of his alternative looks and antisport-establishment activities, inspired many people to run and to buy Nike shoes. Of course, other shoe companies also entered the runners' market or, like Adidas and Puma, were forced to defend their place in that market. Gradually, these companies diversified from the shoe business into the general sport-clothing business; they also supported the development of running magazines with their advertising.

Commercially, magazines with a focus on the runner's world are able to exist and thrive because of the abundance of advertisements by the sport-shoe industry and other sport-related businesses—for example, those who offer special drinks, clothing, treatments for in-

juries, and computerized measuring equipment for heart rate. *Runner's World* is one of the most prominent of these magazines. Modern running has developed largely outside the established sport organizations, so the organization of long-distance races is often orchestrated through these magazines. At the same time these magazines are also connected with organizations that offer travel and lodging arrangements for races all over the globe.

Fitness as Ideology

Many of the modern claims about health and exercise actually have a long tradition. Quite new, however, is the huge scale of the industry and the moral imperatives that are attached to the contemporary health-and-fitness movement. Fitness and slimness have become associated not only with energy, drive, and vitality but also with worthiness as a person; a fit and healthy body is taken as a sign of self-control. Being fit has become a civic duty.

The ideology of "healthism" also places heavy emphasis on personal responsibility. Fitness is not just a matter of individual health choices; it has become a matter of social status. It is a tool for distinction and individual comparison. Fitness helps to construct an identity. Fitness represents a dream of absolute health. "The body has become a system of differentiation. The body has become its own garment. The fashion is called fitness" (de Wachter 1984). The fitness industry has been successful in combining elements of traditional sport and cosmetic industries; it successfully blends the pursuit of flexibility and good health with moral, aesthetic, and commercial imperatives.

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Floorball

Floorball—also called “unihockey,” “plasticbandy,” “floorbandy,” “salibandy,” and “softbandy”—evolved from a combination of floor hockey and innebandy (indoor bandy—a game similar to hockey). Each team has a maximum of twenty members, with five players on the floor with sticks and a goalie with no stick. The game is played indoors.

History

The heyday of floor hockey was the late 1950s and early 1960s, especially in the United States. Floor hockey, adapted from the basic rules of ice hockey, included body checking and used a taped blade of a

hockey stick but was played on an indoor surface, usually a basketball court. Floor hockey should not be confused with street hockey, which is played outdoors. Many schools incorporated floor hockey as a game for physical education classes at all levels in North America and around the world. At the college level for the past thirty years floor hockey has had a strong representation in the United States at the club level. In other countries such as Canada a number of recreational teams and clubs exist.

Floor hockey was adapted for school children in the Netherlands during the 1960s. The Cosom Corporation, a U.S. stick manufacturer, marketed its product for children as an alternative to indoor field hockey sticks. This game, known as “innebandy,” did not allow physical contact; the sticks and ball were changed to lighter materials, and the focus was on skill building. The game was imported to Sweden through Carl Ahlqvist’s brother, who sent Carl twelve sticks as a present. Carl Ahlqvist brought the sticks to his handball club for a pickup game, and soon people were more interested in playing this stick game than handball. Ahlqvist was so inspired by the enthusiasm that he contacted Cosom and bought one thousand sticks, which he sent to teachers at other handball clubs. He established a joint venture with a company, and the game quickly spread in Sweden and neighboring countries. In 1986 Sweden (unnebandy), Finland (salibandy), and Switzerland (unihockey) agreed that the sport should be called floorball and created the International Floorball Federation. The popularity and interest in the sport continued to spread throughout the world. Currently thirty-two countries are represented in the IFF, with more than 215,000 registered players.

Nature of the Sport

Floorball combines the speed and skill of hockey with influences from bandy, soccer, and field and ice hockey. The IFF game regulations stipulate a five-on-five game, but on smaller courts the game can be played as four on four or even three on three. Penalty benches are used

for each team, with a “secretariat” (scorekeeper-penalty keeper) between the benches. The secretariat is responsible for keeping time and making announcements. Holding, checking, blocking, or tripping an opponent is illegal. A player cannot hit, block, lift, push down, or kick an opponent’s stick, nor can a player lift the stick higher than the waist or touch the ball with a hand (the goalie is an exception), jump to reach the ball, kick the ball twice, or hit the ball with the stick or foot when the ball is above knee level. At the youth level one cannot lift the stick higher than the knee.

Two referees are responsible for inspecting the rink as well as enforcing the rules.

Facilities and Equipment

The rink is rectangular with a minimum length and width of 36 meters by 18 meters and maximum length and width of 44 meters by 2 meters. The rink is encircled by a board about 50 centimeters in height with rounded corners. Two rectangular goal creases—one measuring 1 by 2.5 meters and one measuring 1.6 meters—are located in front; only the goalie can be in these, the goalie cannot leave the goalkeeper’s area, which measures 4 by 5 meters. A substitution zone runs 0.5 meters from the center line down 10 meters, including in front of each bench. The width cannot exceed 3 meters from the board.

In 1999 the IFF established certification criteria for all national and international league games that apply to “sticks, balls, goals (goal cages), rinks and face mask for goal keepers.” The Swedish National Testing and Research Institute was contracted to “operate and manage the certification system” so that all equipment that passes the subscribed tests will receive the IFF approval symbol.

The goalie wears protective equipment that includes helmet, shinguards, protective trousers, or at least kneepads. The goalie is not allowed to use a stick. All other players use a stick that is made of hollow plastic, must not be longer than 95 centimeters and not heavier than 350 grams. The ball weighs 23 grams, is made of white plastic, is hollow, and has twenty-six holes.

Competition at the Top

The European Cup, begun in 1993, is played annually. In 1994 the first European Championships for Men were played, with the first European Championships for Women played a year later. The World Championships, begun in 1996, are played on even years for men and women under nineteen years of age, and on odd years for women and men under nineteen years of age. By 1997 nineteen countries belonged to the IFF. In 2000 the General Association of International Sports Federations (GAISF) granted provisional membership to the IFF and in May of 2004 granted “ordinary” membership, which provides voting status. Proponents hope that this elevation in status will assist in the IFF’s petition to the International Olympic Committee to be considered on the Olympic program.

Mila C. Su

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Flying

Powered flight is not usually considered a competitive sporting activity, but in its heyday, between 1909 and 1939, aviation exploits captured considerable media interest and public attention. This included exhibitions of aeronautical maneuvers, air races between nominated locations, and efforts to fly over mountains, continents, and oceans. Pilots and navigators pitted their skills against the forces of nature, but many were tempted by a seemingly irresistible spirit of adventure—and by the lure of prize money and a hope of fame—to stretch aerial performances far beyond

I owned the world that hour as I rode over it, free of the earth, free of the mountains, free of the clouds, but how inseparably I was bound to them. ■ CHARLES LINDBERGH

previous limits. Although technical and mechanical innovations during World War I helped to improve the practical performances of aircraft, these very advances prompted civilian “racing” pilots to fly faster, higher, and further. This was not simply about risk-taking in sport; it was also an enterprise underpinned by technology and business. Pilots used new models of aircraft and the latest engines in an effort to capture a performance edge over race rivals. In these respects, then, flying became a sporting endeavor during the first half of the twentieth century.

Flights of Fancy

In 1903, the American brothers Orville and Wilbur Wright were the first pilots to make an independently controlled, practical flight in a powered aircraft. By this time, aeronautics had devotees in Britain and Europe, so experiments with flying were an international concern. But a key question remained: Could aircraft maintain the speed, altitude, direction, and mechanical reliability to cover long distances effectively? In 1909, the British newspaper *Daily Mail* stimulated public interest in this question by offering a prize of £1000 to any pilot who successfully flew the English Channel—won by the Frenchman Louis Blériot who crossed the channel by air in late July 1909—a considerable feat given that powered flight was barely six years old. Great excitement about aviation followed this achievement, and one month later, an air meet was held at Reims, France, where endurance, altitude, and speed records were set. Similar international air meets were held in 1910 at Los Angeles, Boston, and Long Island, New York—the last of which culminated in a race to the Statue of Liberty. Air races were being organized in various parts of the world: The first had been the London to Manchester Air Race of April 1910, in which the winner—Frenchman Louis Paulhan—collected a prize of £10,000 offered by the *Daily Mail*. Further contests were staged in Europe—increasingly over long distances—including the Paris–Rome Air Race of May 1911 and the International Circuit Race (Paris–

Brussels–London–Amiens–Paris) of June–July 1911. These public demonstrations of powered flight seemed to suggest that aeronautical technology was at the apex of modernity, poised to play an inevitably progressive role in human society.

However, thirty-two accidental deaths were recorded among pilots in 1910 alone—including several of the famous pioneer aviators. Some aircraft crashes occurred because pilots were attempting to stretch aerial performances far beyond previous limits. Specifically, the proposed length of some early long-distance flying contests far exceeded the capacity of powered aircraft to meet them. Thus, some of the early distance-flying events lacked credibility as sporting contests: Race rules were ad hoc, competition was not conducted under the auspices of a sports governing body, and the events themselves were staged as publicity stunts for backers and sponsors.

Technology and Tenacity

The pressing need to use airplanes for military purposes in Britain and Europe propelled research and development in aviation as well as large-scale manufacture of aircraft. World War I transformed the dominion of powered flight from a curious pastime for pilots, known colloquially as “birdmen,” to a more systematic and scientific enterprise under the auspices of various national air forces and civilian aero clubs. By this time, the broader social and economic implications of “dependable” air travel were being pursued with earnest.

In 1919, the first major intercontinental flights were attempted. Two transatlantic crossings were achieved: the first in stages from New York to Plymouth, the second a nonstop flight from Newfoundland to Ireland—both of which were accomplished by highly experienced former Royal Air Force pilots. These successes signaled the beginning of an era of epic long-distance flights, with airplanes reaching far-off destinations in a fraction of the time taken by sea vessels. The aerial performance stakes had thus been raised again, with considerable pressures and rewards for pilots to win air races or to break existing records. A result was that in the interwar

period, every ocean in the world was traversed by air, and several pilots had flown from one side of the globe to the other. Some of these flyers captured international attention and became household names:

- The American Charles Lindbergh became the first pilot to fly the Atlantic Ocean solo.
- The Australians Charles Kingsford Smith and Charles Ulm became the first aviators to traverse the Pacific Ocean.

In contrast with to their marginal position in other sports, women were at the forefront of air racing:

- The Englishwoman Amy Johnson and the New Zealander Jean Batten each flew from England to Australia.
- The American Amelia Earhart flew the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans solo.

Several star pilots passed into aviation folklore all too quickly, however, falling victim to fatal accidents or incidents.

End of an Era

The heyday of the competitive long-distance flyer was ephemeral. By the late 1930s, practical aviation over great distances was becoming more common, and journeys were completed in days rather than weeks. These flights no longer seemed “epic” or “marathon” achievements, and they began to lose the financial support of race sponsors. Without an element of suspense and imminent danger, it was difficult for promoters to sell the wonder of long-distance flying. Moreover, without regular air races, it was difficult to generate the kind of competitive rivalries that sustained spectator enthusiasm in other sporting endeavors. Improvements in international civil aviation thus spelled the demise of long-distance flying as a sporting contest. For enthusiasts, airplanes were still the subject of sport, such as in Formula 1 Racing of “midget” craft in America. There was also a lingering fascination with aircraft speed and altitude records. But none of this matched the prominence and profile of air racing, and in particular long-

distance aviation, during the first half of the twentieth century.

Daryl Adair

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Folk Sports

Folk sports are a diverse group of sports and games whose common element is being popular or related to folk culture. Folk sports include traditional, ethnic, or indigenous sports and games but also new activities that are based on traditional practices. Pub games, non-competitive *volkswalks* (folk walks), mass gymnastics, spontaneous sports of the working classes, and games and sports associated with festivals all may be termed “folk.” Folk sports stand in opposition to specialized modern sports and are more related to recreational “sport for all.” They are based on festivity and community rather than disciplinary rules and the production of results and often occur at carnivals and other local public events—contexts where the culture's rules are temporarily challenged.

What Are Folk Sports?

Folk sports are neither one sport nor a well-defined group of sports, and thus they have no single, linear his-

tory. They are as distinct in different countries as the words for “folk” in different languages: *volk* (Flemish, German), *narod* (Russian), *peuple* (French), *folk* (Danish, Swedish, English), and *popolo* (Italian). The concept is European, but games around the world are often labeled “folk sports.” Folk sports and the term *folk* may be attached to a particular ideology, whether right-wing (*volkisches Turnen*—German folk gymnastics) or left-wing (*sport popolare*—popular sport), but in most cases folk sports are neutral in relation to political ideas.

PREMODERN FOLK GAMES AND FESTIVITIES

Folk sports as a concept did not exist before the industrial age because neither the notion of “sport” in the modern sense nor the notion of “folk” with its modern connotations of a collective cultural identity existed. In earlier times “sport” meant pastimes (hunting, falconry, fishing) of the upper classes, mainly the nobility and gentry, who distinguished themselves from the “folk.” In addition, aristocratic tournaments and later noble exercises were exclusive, both by gender and class. Meanwhile, the common people, both rural and urban, had their own culture of festivity and recreation. Games and competitions of strength and agility were combined with dances, music, and ritual to form a rich array of activities at festivals and celebrations. These events were connected with religious and seasonal events—often Christianized forms of pagan celebrations—such as Christmas (Jul), the May tree, Shrovetide (the period, usually of three days, immediately preceding Ash Wednesday) and carnival, midsummer dance (Valborg, St. John), harvest festivals, local

fairs, a saint’s day or church festival (*kermis*), marriages, revels, ale festivals, and wakes. Games brought suspense and excitement into a world of routine and allowed flirting and physical contact between men and women. That is why the erotic and gender relations of traditional folk sports deserve special attention. Their diversity mirrors the inner tensions and distinctions within the folk.

Many premodern folk sports were reserved for men. When such sports were competitions based on strength, such as wrestling, stone lifting, caber tossing, and finger drawing, the “strong man,” not the “strong woman,” was the admired image. In Scotland the “stone of manhood” (*claich cuid fir*), placed beside the house of a chieftain, was used as a test of strength by the young men who had to lift it to prove their masculinity. Games of skill such as the bat-and-ball game *tsan*, played in the valley of Aosta in Italy, were also traditionally reserved

for men. In *tsan* a batter hits the ball as far as possible into a field where it is caught by the other team. Participation in *tsan* by women since the 1990s represents the recent transformation of the game into a modern “traditional sport.”

However, even such “typical male” sports as wrestling could be practiced by women in premodern times. Japanese women engaged in sumo wrestling, *onna-zumo*, as early as the eighteenth century, and although they were forbidden from taking part during the Meiji period (1868–1912), they began participating again at the end of the nineteenth century. In Brittany, France, women participated in belt wrestling (*gouren*).

Folk competitions especially for women also were held. Women’s foot races or “smock races” were a typical feature of local events in



Stilt racing, as shown here in eighteenth-century Britain, is a popular folk activity around the world.

England and Scotland from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. People held races for “respectable” women and races for women from the lower social classes, including Gypsies, immigrant Irish women, and itinerant traders. The corresponding competitions for men were usually wrestling, cudgeling, stick matches, sack racing, and others rather than foot races. Despite the popularity of women’s races between 1790 and 1830, they disappeared and did not become the forerunners of modern women’s track and field. Women’s folk racing has survived in Wurttemberg, Germany, in the form of a race among shepherdesses that dates to the fifteenth century. In this modern folk event the competitors have maintained the tradition of preventing each other from winning, thus causing much stumbling and laughing, traits that were characteristic of European folk culture.

Certain ball and pin games were also played by or even reserved for women. For example, in England, Shrovetide football pitted married women against unmarried women, and Shrovetide *stoolball* was a women’s sport that resembled modern cricket or baseball. In Aragon, Spain, women played and still play a special form of skittle known as *birlas de mulles*, or “women’s skittle.”

Native American men and women played many ball games, which were similar to each other but had gender modifications. Women also held their own foot races and even horse races. Pima and Papago women raced while tossing sticks ahead. Among the Tarahumara in Mexico women ran hoop races, and in eastern Brazil women took part in log running, although this sport normally was regarded as young men’s test for marriage.

Whereas men’s folk sports could have connotations of warrior training, women’s folk sports were nearer to ritual practices—including female shamanism—on one hand and joking with the human dimension of bodily prowess on the other hand. Anthropological interpretations of such activities as fertility rites should be regarded with critical reservation because such interpretations mirror the one-sided view of women from the Western nineteenth century.

DIFFERENCE, TOGETHERNESS, PARODY

A fundamental feature of folk sports was the marking of differences. Just as folk competitions marked marital status differences by placing teams of married men against teams of bachelors, they also marked the status differences between men and women. For example, among the Sorbs of Germany men engaged in ritual riding (*Stollenreiten*), whereas women competed in egg races (*Eierlaufen*) and other games of agility. Among the Inuit of Greenland the drum dance (*qilaatersorneq*) of both women and men was an important ritual. Although men and women danced to the same music, women and men used different rhythms and movements.

While marking differences inside the community, folk sports also contributed to social cohesion and a sense of togetherness—among women and men, old and young, and different professions. However, considerable variation existed across cultures in the extent that men and women competed together. In Swedish folk sports women competed only against men, not against women. On the island of Gotland (off the coast of Sweden) people held a special type of festival (*vag*) during which teams challenged each other from parish to parish, with both men’s sports and boys-and-girls competitions. In the latter girls were normally given certain advantages. A girl could, for instance, use both hands in the pulling competition (*dra hank*), whereas a boy used one hand only. These Swedish folk sports contrasted with the English smock races, where competitions between women and men were rare.

Some folk sports were invented to promote togetherness. In Shrovetide races in Denmark one boy had to compete against from four to twelve girls who used a handkerchief in a sort of relay. The result of the race was not important for participants because the prize (money or goods) would be given to the joint feast, regardless of whether the boy or the girls won. More important was the sexual joking that took place as the girls flirted with the boy to distract him and cause him to stumble.

Flirtation was an important element of folk festivals. Along with dances, folk sports contributed to the playful encounter between boys and girls, between men



Folk Sports

Volkswalking as a Family Sport

In the extract below, Janet Sessions explains the joys of “volkswalking,” an ever-popular volkssport.

Volkswalking in each of the 50 states and in 12 foreign countries has been an exciting experience, but a walk I did this past August was a red letter volkswalk for me. I took two of my grandchildren, Erik, age 13, and Karil, age 10, down “memory lane.” In the small town of Evanston, WY, where I grew up, there have been many changes over the years since I have lived there, but still enough of the familiar places that I could show them. For example the place where I went to a movie every Saturday afternoon, and the park where band concerts were held on summer

evenings. I also pointed out the library, where I loved to spend time, and the location of the 10 cent store. The walk route did not go by the schools I had attended, but we took a drive around town after the walk and I showed them the school locations. The kids found out that Grandma had a long way to walk to school with the snow “up to her knees.” It was a very special day for me to share my childhood scenes with my grandchildren and also to share the sport of volkswalking. I am now looking forward to taking my younger grand children on this walk when they are old enough.

Source: Sessions, J. (1998, June/July). Volkswalking across time: A family affair. *The American Wanderer*, 22, 3.

and women. In societies where rigid segregation of the sexes was the norm, folk sports made flirtation possible by allowing participants to take a time-out from the norm and to run and capture, to touch, or even kiss members of the opposite sex. Many folk games and dances in northern Europe had a strong erotic component, including Shrovetide pageants, Easter fire (which included dancing around or jumping over a fire—often in couples—and flirtatious joking), Maypole festivals, Sankt Hans (midsummer night bonfire), and New Year’s fun. Folk sports were often arranged by so-called youth guilds or game rooms (*Lichtstuben*), which placed possible marriage partners together. Such activities also occurred in central Asia, where Kazakh youths played the white bone game (*ak suiek*) on warm summer nights. Two teams of young people—boys and girls—tried to find a bone that a referee had thrown as far as possible into the darkness. While the two teams were searching and fighting for the bone, some pairs of boys and girls searched for erotic experiences and temporarily disappeared in the vast steppe (the vast, usually level and treeless tracts in southeastern Europe or Asia).

Folk sports, however, not only affirmed gender identity, but also mocked it in the form of parody. In dance and game, pantomime, and scene play, men could appear as women and women as men. Wearing the cloth-

ing of the opposite sex and using body movements that fit the stereotype of the opposite sex appealed to the spectators’ sense of humor. When the European ruling classes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tried to suppress the popular games as part of the ruling classes’ attack on folk culture in general, they used the games’ sexual content as moral arguments for the games’ elimination.

SEPARATION AND SAMENESS

Modern sport, as it developed in the Western world beginning in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was to some extent based on folk sports but at the same time marginalized them. Modern sport brought a new sense of discipline and a new set of rules for social relations. What were folk sports before now became highly organized in strictly separated disciplines that aimed at systemizing results and maintaining records. Festivity was replaced by specialization, and many folk sports were abandoned or relegated to folklore.

Alongside mainstream sports some folk sports persisted or reappeared in different forms. The circus and freak shows at fairs served as one arena for such sports. Workers’ sport movements were another. In Danish workers’ festivities domestic servants raced with buckets



Hungarian soldiers dancing at a festival in the early 1800s.

a literary, artistic, and philosophical movement originating during the eighteenth century) revival that emerged in early nineteenth-century Europe. Whereas the term *folk* had carried derogatory undertones of plebs and *Pobel*—the low and vulgar people—a new positive understanding of the term spread over Europe. Johann Gottfried Herder (1774–1803), a German literary and cultural critic, inspired people to reevaluate and reappropriate folk traditions. The new fascination with “folk” and “popular” culture merged with ideas of democracy, the idea of people’s rights, and the quest for national identities, as in German *Turnen*, the Slavic *Sokol* (Falcon) gymnastic movements, and the Danish *folkelig* gymnastics, which were based on Swedish gymnastics. In some of these patriotic gymnastic movements, folk sports and games (*Volksturnen*) were revived to contrast against English sport. In Ire-

land during the 1880s the Gaelic Athletic Association promoted folk hurling as a sport of liberation from British rule and was closely connected with Irish republican nationalism. Icelandic *glima* wrestling gained similar significance as “national sport.”

The second stage in the development of modern folk sports began about 1900 and involved “back-to-nature” movements and progressive youth movements, some of whose activities were labeled “folk.” Woodcraft Indians, originally from the United States, and groups of Woodcraft Folk turned to nature and used names, ceremonies, and practices of the Native Americans while also advocating peace and social community. The Boy Scouts contrasted with this approach by the use of a more

MODERN FOLK SPORTS: WALKING, GAMES, AND FESTIVALS

Modern folk sports emerged as a reaction against the specialization of sports and against the disappearance of the festival atmosphere from sporting events. In addition, people sought to resist the anonymity of modern life by engaging in physical activities in community.

Modern folk sports developed in three main stages. The first stage was linked to the Romantic (relating to

The essence of sports is that while you're doing it, nothing else matters, but after you stop, there is a place, generally not very important, where you would put it. ■ ROGER BANNISTER

military model. The German *Naturfreunde* (friends of nature) movement began as a workers' tourist movement, wandering and building shelters for *volkswalkers* across the country. The German youth movement *Wandervogel* (hiker's movement) developed outdoor activities in small, self-administered groups of boys and girls. Their members walked, sang, folk danced, competed, and played in the outdoors.

After 1945 German and Austrian *Volkswandern* (folk wandering) was discovered by soldiers of the occupation forces, who took it back to the United States. The American Volkssport Association promotes noncompetitive *volkswalk*, *volksbike*, *volksski*, and *volksswim*, typically as family activities, under the umbrella of the International Federation of Popular Sports.

The third stage in the development of modern folk sports began during the 1970s. It was initially linked to New Games, consisting of newly invented play practice and games festivals, and the "new movement culture," which began in California. In connection with hippie culture and the movement against the war in Vietnam, young people engaged in noncompetitive play and game.

At about the same time in several European countries an interest in reviving and preserving traditional folk sports arose. From the 1970s onward folk sports were organized in national and regional festivals. Among the first to organize was the Belgian Flemish *volkssport* (typically urban games organized by local clubs), Spanish Basque competitions of force, and French Breton folk games. The Danish traditional games movement began during the 1980s with links to the *folkelig* gymnastics movement. The International Sport and Culture Association serves as an umbrella organization for folk sports, popular gymnastics, and festivals in about fifty countries.

Also new was the spread of folk sports from Third World countries to Western metropolises—and influences in the opposite direction. Capoeira, a traditional Afro-Brazilian sport, became popular among young people in European cities such as Amsterdam, Berlin, and Paris. Tai chi and wushu—based on Chinese war-

rior training and magic folk practices—are now practiced worldwide. The Indonesian martial art *pencak silat* became a Western sport, and even Japanese sumo wrestling has appeared in Western countries. Immigrant cultures (re)invented new movement forms such as the *bhangra* dance of south Asians in Britain.

On the one hand, by these diffusions folk sports were often transformed into Western specialized sports of achievement with tournaments, bureaucratic organization, and controlled production of results. On the other hand, the diffusions of "exotic" folk sports have also created new practices that are alternative to modern sports in the Western world. In addition, new activities developed that cannot be placed in traditional categories of sport. Bungee jumping is one such activity, based on the Melanesian (relating to the islands in the Pacific north-east of Australia and south of Micronesia) folk ritual of "land diving."

Conversely, Western practices have given birth to new folk practices in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Trobriand (relating to islands in the southwest Pacific) cricket is the best-known example, transforming a colonial sport into a Melanesian folk festivity of dance, sport, carnival, and gift exchange. Disco dance appeared in China as *disike* (old people's disco), which became especially popular among elderly women. Danish sports development aid supported local folk culture of dance and festivity (*ngoma*) in Tanzanian villages, while Tanzanian Sukuma drumming appeared in Danish youth culture.

Some political implications of modern folk sports showed when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1989 under the pressure of democratic movements and ethnic nationalism. Folk sports, which had been repressed during the Soviet era, were revived in many parts of the former empire. The Kazakh New Year's festivity *nauryz* reappeared with its dances and games. Mongolians returned to ancient festivities with nomadic equestrianism, belt wrestling, and bow-and-arrow events. Tatars again held their springtime holiday *sabantuy*, with belt wrestling (*korash*) in its center. The Baltic peoples assembled at large song festivals. Inuit people from



Folk Sports

Folk Sports and New Games

In the extract below, the Polish sociologist Andrzej Wohl notes similarities between folk sports and “New Games”:

New trends have made their appearance in the past few years in physical culture—New Games. . . . To some extent it resembles games and play in small medieval towns when the townsfolk was not yet differentiated regarding wealth and prestige. Such game and entertainment on holidays was noisy and merry and the entire urban population took part in them. But this is only apparently a return to the past. It is rather a look at the future world, once again integrated, though on a new and different basis than in the past.

Source: Wohl, A. (1989). *The scientific study of physical education and sport* (p. 56). Slagelse, Denmark: Gerlev Idrætsforsk.

Siberia and Alaska met in drum dance and the winter festivity *kivgiq*.

In Spain after the rule of General Francisco Franco, folk sports accompanied the process of democratic federalization. In Basque country, Catalonia, and the Canary Islands, folk sports became factors in the marking of regional identity. In 1992 the Olympic Games in Barcelona featured a festival of Spanish folk sports showing forty activities of force, throwing, wrestling, and the ball game pelota. The European Traditional Sport and Games Association was founded in 2001 as an umbrella organization for folk sports with a regional perspective.

Nature of Folk Sports

Folk sports are based not on specialized disciplines and bureaucratically defined rules, but rather on meeting in an atmosphere of festivity. The aim of folk sports is not to produce winners but rather to foster togetherness and to celebrate diversity and distinction. In contrast to the rigid standardization of modern Olympic sport,

folk sports highlight both the variations among groups and the solidarity within groups. In contrast to the display of sameness and hierarchy, folk sports make otherness visible.

However, modern folk sports are not independent from mainstream tendencies. They are often subjected to instrumental use, whether sporting, educational, folkloric, or touristic. Tendencies inside folk sports are working for the integration of folk sports into systems of competitive sports. Among the so-called non-Olympic sports, which hold their own competitions, especially in China and Russia, are many folk sports. Some of their organizations—such as the Tug of War International Federation (TWIF)—strive for Olympic recognition by transforming classic folk sports such as tug-of-war into standardized sports of achievement. (Tug-of-war was, in fact, on the Olympic program from 1900 to 1920.) The Olympic sports system also uses folk sports for the cultural framing of competitive events.

On the margins of mainstream sport “sport-for-all” movements use folk sports to promote a healthy lifestyle. Large folk sports festivals have been arranged by the Trim & Fitness International Sport for All Association.

Other groups try to integrate folk sports into school education. Folk sports are regarded as a soft form of educational sport or as tools for expressing regional identity in education. As educational instruments, however, folk sports tend to lose their connection with people’s lives and self-organization.

Furthermore, people have incorporated aspects of folklore into folk sports, turning living folk practices into regulated, musical, and “original” presentations. Folkloristic sports and demonstration folk sports are exhibited in connection with music and festivals, as under the auspices of Conseil International des Organisations de Festivals de Folklore et d’Arts Traditionnels (The International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Art). Folklore tends to transform folk sports into a sort of living museum. This transformation can favor the promotion of tourism but weakens the



connection with people's social lives. Last but not least, the media are more and more interested in showing folkloristic games. Folk sports serve as colorful elements of "postmodern" event culture.

Henning Eichberg

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Footbag

Footbag sports include cooperative and competitive games played with a small round ball filled with loose material, usually plastic pellets or sand. Also known by the product name Hacky Sack®, footbags are made by many manufacturers and hand sewn by various artisans. People of all ages and backgrounds play this modern sport throughout the world, both recreationally and competitively. Due to the footbag's small size and low cost, footbag is a sport that is accessible to everyone.

History

Footbag was invented in 1972 in Oregon City, Oregon, when John Stalberger met Mike Marshall, who had been kicking around a handmade beanbag. John joined Marshall in kicking the "sack" and they called the game Hack the Sack. From this game they developed the trademarked product and created a generic term for the sport itself: footbag.

Tragically, Mike Marshall died of a heart attack in 1975, at only twenty-eight years of age. Stalberger continued on with their vision. In 1979 a patent was granted and Stalberger later sold the rights for the Hacky Sack® footbag to Kransco (operating under the Wham-O label). John continued to promote footbag in both the United States and Europe and is known around the world as "Mr. Hacky Sack."

In the years following the creation of footbag, many enthusiasts began sprouting up, and a sport was born. As the competitive forms of the sport grew, John Stalberger formed the National Hacky Sack Association (NHSA) in 1977. The NHSA promoted the sport with touring teams and held the first National Footbag Championships in Portland, Oregon, in 1980.

From the roots of the National Hacky Sack Association, Bruce Guettich and Greg Cortopassi started the World Footbag Association (WFA) in 1983. The World Footbag Association was largely responsible for the



Athletes battle in Footbag Net at the 2004 IFPA World Footbag Championships in Montreal, Canada. *Source: Jamie Lepley.*

growth of footbag through the 1980s and 1990s and continues to promote the sport. As footbag grew, more players, manufacturers, and artisans began sewing and marketing footbags of varying designs.

The growth of footbag exploded in the 1990s with the advent of the Internet. The Footbag WorldWide Information Service website (www.footbag.org) provided the impetus for footbag's growth throughout the world. Players and clubs register, post information, and communicate with footbag players around the world through the website. The increased availability and exchange of videotapes has also contributed to the growth of footbag.

What Is Footbag?

The cooperative "circle" game is perhaps the most widely recognized form of footbag play. The object of the circle game is for every player in the circle to kick the footbag at least once before it hits the ground. The official rules include Consecutives, Golf, Footbag Freestyle, and Footbag Net and can be found online at

www.footbag.org. The variety of footbag games is limited only by the imagination of the players. The most popular competitive footbag sports are Footbag Net and Footbag Freestyle.

Footbag Net is a singles or doubles court game, like tennis or volleyball, where players use only their feet to kick the footbag over a five-foot-high net. Footbag Net is played on a badminton-sized court, usually outdoors. The rules for doubles net are similar to volleyball; players are allowed three kicks per side, and must alternate kicks between players. In singles, players are only allowed two kicks per side. The footbag (usually a harder vinyl and/or leather ball) may not contact a player's body above the knee. Footbag Net players frequently employ a varied arsenal of spikes and blocks. These often result in amazing airborne foot-to-foot battles over the net.

Footbag Freestyle is the artistic form of the sport. The number of various tricks and moves continues to grow. Credit for the creation of many freestyle moves belongs to Kenny Shults, a top player in both Footbag Freestyle

and Footbag Net. In traditional freestyle competition, players choreograph routines to music and are judged on various elements. The difficulty and subjective nature of judging freestyle (similar to ice-skating or gymnastics) led to the creation of additional freestyle “shred” events that emphasize difficulty of tricks. Each move or trick has a determinable difficulty rating and the players are rated on the difficulty of tricks performed and linked in a short period of time. Freestyle judging remains one of the more controversial aspects of footbag competition.

Competition at the Top

There are many footbag tournaments and events held throughout the world. The most enduring and prestigious is the World Footbag Championships. The first National Championships were held by the NHSA in Oregon in 1980–1983. The WFA held its first national event in Portland, Oregon, in 1983.

In 1984 the WFA National Footbag Championships moved to Boulder, Colorado. The WFA then continued the championships in Golden, Colorado, from 1985 to 1993. The name was officially changed to the World Footbag Championships in 1986. The tournament is now known as the IFPA (see below) World Footbag Championships and moves to a different host city each year. In recognition of the increased involvement of footbag clubs worldwide, the first IFPA World Championships outside of North America took place in Prague, Czech Republic, in 2003.

Governing Body

The governing body for the sport of footbag is the International Footbag Players’ Association (IFPA), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, initially founded in 1994. The IFPA was granted nonprofit status in July of 2001 and has members across the globe. The IFPA funds the World Footbag Championships, maintains the WorldWide Footbag Information Service (www.footbag.org), publishes the Rules of Footbag Sports, and sanctions 20–30 major footbag competitions around the world every year.

Key Organizations

In addition to the IFPA and the numerous websites, clubs, and international organizations involved in footbag, key organizations include the World Footbag Association (WFA) and the Footbag Hall of Fame Historical Society.

The World Footbag Association continues its educational and promotional efforts throughout the world and remains a membership organization. The WFA’s location in Steamboat Springs, Colorado, is also home to the Footbag Museum (housing the World’s largest footbag collection).

The Footbag Hall of Fame Historical Society recognizes the accomplishments of footbag pioneers, promoters, and outstanding footbag players. The first members were inducted into the Footbag Hall of Fame on 10 August 1997 in Portland, Oregon. The WFA is currently the physical location of the Hall of Fame and its cyber home is www.footbagcanada.com/hall_of_fame.asp.

The Future

As footbag continues to grow throughout the world it is expected that there will be more elite level competition. At the same time footbag continues to be recognized as a fun and recreational sport for all ages.

Tina Lewis

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Football

American football had its origins in English rugby football. The game was adapted from rugby during the period from the 1870s to the early 1900s, and the game first became popular in the elite colleges of the East after Harvard University refused to play soccer (association football). Led by Yale University's Walter Camp (1859–1925), players changed rugby football rules to reflect the desire in the United States for a more scientific, rational game. Only after football became the most prominent college sport, based on a desire for a manly game, did football become professionalized, and the professional game did not challenge the dominance of college football until the 1960s, when television coverage of the National Football League (NFL) became popular. By that time African American players had become prominent in both college and professional football. With increased revenues, professional players formed a labor union and demanded a higher portion of the profits being made by team owners. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, colleges continued to be “feeders” for the professional leagues, and college and professional teams prospered.

Origins

Rugby football evolved at Rugby School, one of England's elite private secondary schools known as “public schools.” Two distinct forms of football had developed in Britain: association football (soccer) and rugby, a contest emphasizing running more than kicking. The English Football Association codified the rules of soccer in 1863, when it was founded by elite ex-public school and Oxford and Cambridge University players working in London. The Football Association had hoped to create one game of the various school and college games but was unable to convince the rugby players of the need for one unified game of football. The Rugby Football Union was formed in 1871 to promote the running game with one set of codified rules. During the 1860s and early 1870s many U.S. collegians were playing

forms of soccer, whereas Harvard students had created a game more akin to English rugby than soccer.

On most U.S. campuses football, of the soccer type, had evolved as part of class battles. The sophomores would challenge the freshmen to a kicking game in which the kicking of opponents appeared to be as common as kicking the ball. These games were part of the traditional indoctrination process found on all college campuses where cocky sophomores initiated freshmen through hazing. At Harvard the first day of school in the autumn was concluded annually with what was known as “Bloody Monday,” when the sophomores generally beat the freshmen into submission. Other matches throughout the year might include the freshmen combining with the juniors to battle the sophomores and seniors. These matches became so brutal, especially the Bloody Monday matches, that Harvard authorities banned football in 1860.

Most other colleges, however, continued to play football, including two New Jersey institutions—Princeton and Rutgers—which were located only about 32 kilometers apart. A year after the Civil War, when baseball was expanding greatly throughout the United States, Princeton had beaten Rutgers in their first intercollegiate baseball contest 40–2. Three years later Rutgers challenged Princeton to a two-out-of-three football contest. On 6 November 1869, the first intercollegiate football game was played on the Rutgers campus with teams of twenty-five on a side. The agreed-upon rules resembled those of soccer, but the players could bat the inflated rubber ball with hands or fists as well as with feet. The goal posts were eight paces apart and were located at the ends of a 69-meter field. Rutgers accumulated six goals first and won 6–4 before a crowd that included a small number of Princeton partisans, who took the train to New Brunswick. They and the Rutgers fans saw a contest featuring “headlong running, wild shouting, and frantic kicking” and a Princeton player who forgot which end was his and sent the ball to his own goal. The game was followed by a gastronomic and convivial evening that included a roast game dinner, impromptu speeches, and the singing of college

Football combines two of the worst things in American life. It is violence punctuated by committee meetings. ■ GEORGE WILL

songs. A week later Rutgers visited Princeton, playing under Princeton's usual rules that allowed the free kick, whereby a player could catch the ball in the air or on first bounce and kick it without hindrance. Princeton's 8–0 victory called for a third and decisive game, but it was not played, possibly because of institutional interference but more likely because the two institutions were not able to agree on common rules.

Although most colleges were playing a variation of association football, the soccer-like game was short-lived despite the rules being codified on several campuses. Harvard was the only major school not playing a form of soccer. The Harvard men called their pastime “the Boston game,” in which a player could catch or pick up the ball and then kick it or even run with it. The opportunity to run with the ball was key in the development of a nonsoccer game in the United States. The game resembled rugby, not played by any other college. Yale, Harvard's chief rival in crew and baseball during the early 1870s, played its first intercollegiate soccer contest when it beat Columbia in 1872. The Yale victory began what would become the most successful college program during the first century of intercollegiate football. The next year, a “western” school, Michigan, challenged Cornell to a football game, but Cornell's president, Andrew D. White (1882–1918), banned it when he made his classic comment: I will not permit 30 men to travel 400 miles merely to agitate a bag of wind.” With interest expanding, Yale called a convention to write common rules for league play in 1873 (Peckham 1967).

Harvard absented itself from the convention, protesting the soccer game as inferior to its own, and its action drastically changed the history of American football. While Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and Rutgers agreed to common rules, Harvard kept its own. This stance led Harvard to two matches in May 1874 with McGill University from Montreal, Canada. The first game between the most elite institutions in each country was played under Harvard rules and the second under McGill's rugby rules. Harvard men enjoyed the rugby game and in the spring of 1875 played nearby Tufts College in the first intercollegiate rugby game between colleges in the

United States. Soon Yale asked Harvard to play a football game, but Harvard would agree only if rugby rules were the basis. Yale, to save face, agreed to “concessionary” rules, but they were really those of rugby. Some Princeton men traveled to New England to see the game. Wanting to play the more prestigious Yale and Harvard in the future, Princeton had to change to the rugby game.

After Princeton accepted rugby, a convention was called in which the future “Big Three” and Columbia met to adopt standard rugby rules and form the Intercollegiate Football Association (IFA) in the autumn of 1876. Yale was reluctant to accept fifteen men on a team rather than its favored eleven. Nevertheless, the IFA decided to initiate a Thanksgiving Day championship contest between the two leading teams of the previous year. Yale and Princeton were chosen for the first of the traditional Thanksgiving Day games, and the two schools continued to dominate the game for the next two decades. By the 1890s the contest kicked off New York City elite's social season, giving added social significance to the contest. As many as forty thousand viewed the contest in the Polo Grounds or at Manhattan Field. The Thanksgiving Day tradition spread across the United States; in 1893 the *New York Herald* called it “a holiday granted by the State and the nation to see a game of football.”

Development

The eastern elite schools Americanized the rugby rules that the rest of the schools accepted as their own. Walter Camp, the “father” of U.S. football, had played for Yale in the first Thanksgiving Day championship game. Camp, more than any other person, created the U.S. version of football. Camp began attending football rules meetings in 1877 as a sophomore and continued for the next forty-eight years. In 1880 he suggested possibly the most radical rule in football history, one giving continuous possession of the ball to one team after a player was tackled. In rugby, when a player was downed, the ball would be placed in a “scrummage.” The ball might go forward or backward, with possession in doubt.



A muddy football player watches from the sideline. *Source: istockphoto/nrtn.*

To Camp, this rule was not rational. Camp proposed a “scrimmage” in which the team in original possession would snap (center) the ball back to a quarterback who would hand it to another back in a logical play. One team could control the ball for as much as an entire half unless the ball was fumbled away or was kicked to the opponents. Camp, by the early 1880s, suggested incorporating the notion of “downs,” in which one team was given three attempts (downs) to advance 5 yards (4.5 meters) or lose possession of the ball. The 5-yard chalk lines created a “gridiron” effect and a new nick-

name for the game. The consequence of the short distance to be gained in three attempts created the need for exacting plays, the development of signals for calling the plays, and the introduction of players running interference for the ball carrier, another modification of rugby.

Mass plays led to the charge of brutality during the late nineteenth century. The change from the more open running of the original rugby game to tight line smashes resulted from a rule to allow tackling below the waist in 1887. The low tackle did much to reduce the effectiveness of open field running and contributed to the unfolding of various wedge formations, including the famous “flying wedge.” Wedges were V-shaped formations that “snowplowed” a particular position in the defense. In the flying wedge players began about 25 yards (23 meters) behind the scrimmage line and progressed at full speed from two angles to form a “V” formation just before the ball was passed to the runner behind the “V.” The play was so brutal to the defensive player at whom it was aimed that it existed for only one season before it was outlawed. Plays such as the flying wedge and other mass plays eventually led to the forward pass, a radical change legislated in 1906 to open up the game.

The game’s brutality was evidenced at a time when U.S. society was urbanizing and thought to be losing many qualities found on the frontier. College students had often been the symbol of the effete, pale, and dyspeptic scholars, persons lacking the virile element considered to be an important aspect of U.S. society. Football could counteract this negative, demasculinized image and give college life the picture of vitality and manliness. As the century waned, Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919), more than any other person, stood for the strenuous life needed for U.S. leadership in the world. Roosevelt believed that football, if played fairly, could add to the vigor of the nation. “Hit the line hard: don’t foul and don’t shirk, but hit the line hard” was to Roosevelt and many other people a metaphor worth pursuing in life as in football.

*What's the worst thing that can happen to a quarterback?
He loses his confidence.* ■ TERRY BRADSHAW

College and Professional Football

College football was a U.S. symbol of virility before the first identified contest in which players were known to be paid. The professional game has been traced to the payment of Walter “Pudge” Heffelfinger (1867–1954), the acknowledged greatest college player of the nineteenth century. Heffelfinger was on Walter Camp’s first all-American team in 1889 as well as the next two years. In the autumn after his graduation from Yale, he was playing for the Chicago Athletic Club, as was Ben “Sport” Donnelly, formerly of Princeton. When the club concluded a tour of the eastern United States, Heffelfinger and Donnelly did not return to Chicago. The Allegheny Athletic Association, located near Pittsburgh, saw an opportunity to defeat the rival Pittsburgh Athletic Club with the help of outsiders and recruited Heffelfinger and Donnelly to play for them. Heffelfinger received the enormous sum of \$500, approximately a worker’s yearly wage, plus travel expenses, and Donnelly received \$250 plus expenses. In a contest with high betting stakes, Heffelfinger picked up a fumble and ran for the game’s only touchdown.

Other “amateur” teams began paying their players in western Pennsylvania, upper New York, and especially Ohio. Most of the better players were collegians, who at times played on Saturdays for college teams and competed under assumed names for pro teams on Sundays. Some of the players were professional baseball players as well as collegians. Christy Mathewson (1880–1925), a Bucknell University player and later a star pitcher for the New York Giants, played for Pittsburgh Pirate owner Barney Dreyfuss (1865–1932), who fielded a football team in 1898. The strongest teams early in the twentieth century were formed in Ohio, where Akron, Canton, Columbus, Dayton, and Massillon created unparalleled rivalries, particularly the Canton Bulldogs and Massillon Tigers of towns a buggy ride apart. A scandal emanating from a bribe offer disrupted continuous play, but pro-football in the area was renewed in 1912. By then the game resembled the modern one with the legalization of the forward pass, touchdowns counting six

points and field goals three, and four downs to gain 10 yards (9.1 meters).

Ohio again led the way in the professional game. Collegians such as Knute Rockne (1888–1931) of Notre Dame and the great African-American stars—Paul Robeson (1898–1976) of Rutgers and Fritz Pollard (1894–1986) of Brown—played in Ohio. Rockne once played for six different teams in a two-month period. Massillon hired forty-five top players for one game to ensure that the opponent would not hire any of them. Jim Thorpe (1888–1953), the star of the Carlisle Indian School around 1910, was paid \$250 a game in 1915 to play for the Canton Bulldogs. When Thorpe, the “greatest athlete” of the first half of the twentieth century, made his debut at Canton, eight thousand spectators saw him lead the Bulldogs to a victory over the hated Massillon Tigers. Although the crowds at professional games did not compare with those at the best college games, interest in football was increasing when World War I, momentarily, halted the game.

Two of the most important pro franchises were a result of industry-sponsored teams—the Green Bay Packers and the Chicago Bears. In Wisconsin in 1919, Curly Lambeau (1898–1965), a Notre Dame dropout, received \$500 from the Indian Packing Company of Green Bay to organize a team, the Green Bay Packers. After a 10–1 season playing regional teams, each player was paid \$16.75. The following year George Halas (1895–1983), a former University of Illinois player, organized a team with money from the Staley Starch Company of Decatur, Illinois. Players on Halas’s Decatur Staleys were hired by the company and paid \$50 a week, with two hours off each day to practice football. After a ten-win, one-loss, and two-tie season, the average payment for playing was \$125 a game. Halas, with the blessing of the Staley company, moved his team to Chicago, where he renamed it the “Bears” because it shared Wrigley Field with the Chicago Cubs baseball team. In 1920 he joined a group that was the forerunner of the National Football League. The NFL was formed as the American Professional Football Association in 1920 and renamed the

*Something goes wrong, I yell at them—Fix it—whether it's their fault or not.
You can only really yell at the players you trust.* ■ BILL PARCELLS

National Football League in 1922. Green Bay and Chicago, along with the New York Giants and the Washington Redskins, came to dominate the NFL until the end of World War II.

The relationship between the professional game and the intercollegiate game has been a long one and close in many ways. The star players of the early professional teams were mostly collegians from the time of Hefelfinger in the 1890s. Nearly as important, many college coaches had played professional football, including such renowned coaches as Knute Rockne of Notre Dame, Hugo Bezdek (1884–1952) of Penn State, Bert Ingwerson (1898–1969) of Illinois, and Jimmy Conzelman (1898–1970) of St. Louis. Coaches, too, shifted between college teams and pro teams. Examples included Arnold Horween (1898–1985), who moved from the Chicago Cardinals pro team in the 1920s to head Harvard University's team, and Jock Sutherland (1889–1948), who took over the Brooklyn professional team after a successful career at the University of Pittsburgh. The midwestern Big 10 Conference and the Ivy League in the East were so concerned about pro-football during the mid-1920s that they legislated that all employees of athletic departments who took part in professional football games as players or officials were disqualified from employment in athletics at conference institutions. The case of Harold "Red" Grange (1903–1991), a star halfback at the University of Illinois, led to an outcry by colleges against the pros for signing a player before he graduated from college. During his senior year Grange signed a football contract with the Chicago Bears within a week of playing his last college game against Ohio State in 1925. The reaction was so negative that the NFL decided to make an agreement with the colleges not to sign any football player before his eligibility was completed or his class had graduated. The so-called Red Grange Rule lasted for more than a half-century, when the agreement could no longer stand up under federal antitrust law because it violated the freedom of people to sign contracts, a conspiracy in restraint of trade.

Pro-football received a degree of national attention when Red Grange joined the Chicago Bears and went on an eastern and then southern and western tour, at one point playing seven games in eleven days. Clearly, having the pros feed off the colleges was more important than having the colleges benefit from the pros. Pro-football gained stature because its teams increasingly used the colleges as "farm teams." In an attempt to ensure an equitable distribution of college players within the professional ranks, the annual draft of college players was devised in 1936. When Jay Berwanger (b. 1914) of the University of Chicago (the first Heisman Trophy winner) was chosen by the worst team in the NFL, the Philadelphia Eagles, it was an attempt to give weaker teams an opportunity to improve their teams immediately. That Berwanger chose to enter business and not the NFL was a reflection of the lack of esteem accorded professional football during the 1930s. Some other star college players, however, were drafted and joined pro teams, including Byron "Whizzer" White (1917–2002) of the University of Colorado, who was paid the NFL's highest salary of \$15,800 to join the Pittsburgh Steelers in 1938. White became a U.S. Supreme Court justice.

College coaches and other college athletic officials feared the growth of professional football. At about the time the NFL came into existence, college coaches formed the Football Coaches Association (FCA). According to a *New York Times* report in 1921, one of the association's first actions that year was to unanimously resolve that "professional football was detrimental to the best interests of American football and American youth and that football coaches [should] lend their influence to discourage the professional game." The fear that pro-football would hurt the college game continued through the century. That fear was seen early in creation of the Red Grange Rule, and it continued with such actions during the 1960s as forbidding the mention of pro-football in college football telecasts and lobbying to pass federal legislation to prohibit pro-football from televising games on Saturdays, when college football is



Football

A Sporting Sonnet on Football, 1923

“After the Ball” by Jim Nasium (with apologies to an old song):

Bright lights are flashing before the halfback’s eyes;
 The quarterback and fullback are nursing busted thighs.
 The tackle tried to buck the line, while offering up a prayer,
 And in a mass of human fragments he has climbed the Golden Stair.
 The center rode a mass play through the Pearly Gates;
 The surgeons in the hospital are mending broken pates.
 Somebody gouged my eye out, a nose was seen to fall
 While scrambling over the goal line, after the ball.

Chorus:

After the ball is over; after the field is clear;
 What did you do with my eyebrow? Where is the rest of my ear?
 Somebody has my ulna bone as a souvenir of the brawl,
 And I lost a lung on the five-yard line, after the ball.

The captain took the kickoff and was carted from the game;
 The fullback tried a cross-buck, and he’ll never look the same.
 The right end smeared a forward pass, in a quivering mass of remains,
 One had an armful of arms and legs, another a handful of brains.
 The quarterback has vanished into the Sweet Bye and Bye;
 The left end’s in the garbage can searching for his eye.
 The season now is over—the din, and shout, and all.
 But some of the boys are not all here, after the ball.

Chorus:

After the ball is over; after the field was cleared;
 Somebody’s got my knee-cap, my scalp has disappeared.
 The boys are in the study room, the cheering squad and all,
 But some of their principal parts were lost while after the ball.

Source: Nasium, J. (1923, January). After the ball. *Sporting Life*, p. 35

traditionally played. The fear of the pros was a major stimulus in the 1960s decision to allow unlimited substitutions (two-platoon football) to increase fan interest, which was being lost to the more exciting pro game. The fear of professional competition almost led to the creation of a playoff system for college football during the 1960s, but the previous development of “bowl” games at the end of each season made the playoff prob-

lematical and less attractive. In a similar way the success of the Pro Football Hall of Fame in Canton, Ohio, put pressure on colleges to create their own hall of fame. As with the playoff system, the colleges did not financially support the hall of fame idea, and development of a college football hall of fame has languished for decades.

College football far outstripped professional football until the 1960s. The college game took advantage of

claiming to be amateur, with athletes playing for the honor of their alma mater. British amateurism's upper-class notions of participating in sport purely for enjoyment, not financial benefits, applied to college football in the United States as well. Even though the college game had been developed on a commercial model with huge stadiums, highly paid coaches, and subsidized athletes (either overtly or covertly), people generally believed that the athletes were amateurs. The positive virtue of "amateurism" added to the luster of football traditions of homecoming, pep rallies, "tailgating," cheerleaders, and marching bands. Season-ending bowl games added to the interest. The Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California, began in 1902 and has been continually played since 1916. During the Depression of the 1930s, several communities, principally in the South, decided that they could help the local economy by hosting bowl games. The Orange Bowl in Miami and the Sugar Bowl in New Orleans started the rush to season-ending contests and were followed by the Cotton Bowl in Dallas and a host of new bowls after World War II.

College teams and professional teams lacked a large number of African-American players during the first half of the twentieth century. Southern institutions of higher learning refused to admit blacks until forced to do so by desegregation during the 1960s, and only a few institutions in the North had black students until after World War II. Outstanding players such as Fritz Pollard of Brown and Paul Robeson of Rutgers in the 1910s, Duke Slater (1898–1966) of Iowa and Joe Lillard (b. 1918) of Oregon in the 1920s, Wilmeth Sidat-Singh (1917–1943) of Syracuse and Kenny Washington (1918–1971) of UCLA in the 1930s, and Buddy Young (1926–1983) of Illinois and Marion Motley (b. 1920) of Nevada in the 1940s were exceptions to the rule. Professional football's first black player was Charles Follis (1879–1919), who in 1904 played for the Shelby Athletic Club in Ohio. Fritz Pollard played pro-football after his Brown experience, becoming the first African-American head football coach in 1919 when he coached the Akron Pros. Blacks played in the NFL until the "color line" was drawn in 1933. Football remained

segregated until the end of World War II, when the Los Angeles Rams of the National Football League and the Cleveland Browns of the All-American Football Conference added black players shortly before Jackie Robinson (1917–1972) desegregated professional baseball.

Television and Football

The introduction of television dramatically affected college and pro-football after World War II. Football games were first telecast in the autumn of 1939, but another decade passed before the cable required to carry signals spread from the East Coast as far west as Chicago. By about 1950 the growth of television made commercial telecasts of sport contests profitable. Colleges were concerned that telecasts would have a negative impact on attendance at stadiums, and in 1951 members of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) decided to control the number of telecasts of their football games. From 1951 to 1984 the NCAA plan provided for national and regional telecasts each Saturday during the season. This monopoly existed first to limit games on TV and to preserve gate receipts. Later, when the NCAA contract with television networks was worth more than \$65 million per year, receiving television revenues became more important to big-time colleges than preserving stadium attendance. A power struggle erupted between the smaller NCAA institutions and those that had regular game telecasts. The smaller institutions, demanding a greater percentage of television funds, helped spur the creation of the College Football Association (CFA). The CFA was created in 1976 to promote big-time football. Within five years the CFA helped sponsor a legal suit against the NCAA by the University of Oklahoma and University of Georgia to break up the NCAA football TV monopoly. A 1984 U.S. Supreme Court decision went against the NCAA, and colleges were thereafter free to create their own television plans. The result was an oversupply of games and lower revenues to most institutions.

The professional National Football League had different results from television. The league's popularity rose greatly after its championship game in 1958, when

You need to play with supreme confidence, or else you'll lose again, and then losing becomes a habit. ■ JOE PATERNO

the Baltimore Colts defeated the New York Giants in a dramatic overtime contest seen by millions on television. During that decade the NFL solution to protect stadium attendance was to prevent televising within a radius of 75 miles without permission of the home team. The NFL also decided to pool television money, dividing the TV revenues equally among all the teams. This brilliant decision allowed smaller-market teams, such as the Green Bay Packers and the Pittsburgh Steelers, to remain financially competitive.

Competition from a new league also had an impact on professional football. Lamar Hunt (b. 1932), disgruntled at being unable to purchase an NFL franchise, in 1960 decided to form the American Football League (AFL), which soon received a multimillion-dollar television contract from the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). With the signing of star college players such as Joe Namath (b. 1943) of Alabama, the AFL received recognition, and in 1966 the NFL, which fought the AFL, accepted a merger of the two leagues. The merger, under the NFL name, became official as a twenty-six-team league in 1970. A playoff between the NFL and AFL beginning in 1967 added excitement and created greater wealth. The championship was called the "Super Bowl," and Green Bay won the first two contests. The Super Bowl, a kind of U.S. holiday, has had some of the highest ratings in television history, easily surpassing baseball's World Series in popularity. The NFL introduced *Monday Night Football* to supplement the traditional Sunday games beginning in 1970. "Prime-time" evening football was the creation of the NFL's commissioner, Pete Rozelle, and the innovative Roone Arledge of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). For two decades *Monday Night Football* surpassed all regular televised sporting events in popularity.

Professional football's increase in wealth from television has spurred both new labor disputes and competing leagues. Players formed the National Football League Players Association in 1956, but the union was not recognized by NFL owners until 1968. A desire for a larger share of the profits eventually led to several

players' strikes between 1968 and the mid-1980s. New football leagues, also looking at the growing wealth in the professional game, were formed. The World Football League lasted only one season in the mid-1970s. Eight years later the United States Football League (USFL) began as a spring sport in 1983. The March-to-July schedule did not conflict with that of the stronger NFL for a television audience, but the USFL survived for only three years because of low television ratings. Three years later the NFL established the World League of American Football (WLAF) with teams in Europe and North America. The WLAF acts like a farm system for the NFL and expanded the college football feeder system that has existed for much of the century.

Since the nineteenth century football has developed differently in the United States than in the rest of the world, where soccer football is the dominant sport. The game was thriving in colleges well before the professional game took hold. It has remained a game played almost exclusively by boys and men, unlike other popular team sports such as baseball, for which women formed a professional league in the 1940s and 1950s, and basketball, which girls and women made the most popular sport in schools and colleges for most of the twentieth century.

Ronald A. Smith

See also Super Bowl

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Football, Canadian

As with some other aspects of Canadian culture, Canadian football is a mix of Canadian, British, and American influences. It began as rugby that was imported from England in the 1860s. The Montreal Football Club was formed in 1868 and from there rugby spread to McGill University. By 1874, McGill had its own hybrid version of the rules codified for its own use. In that year, Captain David Rodgers challenged Harvard University to two games, one in Cambridge in May, the other to be played in Montreal in the autumn. The one game at Cambridge turned out to be two. The teams agreed to play two games, one under each other's set of rules. Harvard was so impressed by McGill's rules

that it began playing rugby the next year and persuaded some of its northeastern school neighbors to adopt the new game. American and Canadian versions of football continued to influence each other as the years went by.

Rugby continued its transformation to Canadian football. By 1882, the traditional English scrummage was removed with the Canadians heeling it, that is, the center put the ball into play by tapping it with his heel to the quarterback. On either side of the center was a "scrim support" to protect the center and delay any rush from the opposition. The rule change also meant that possession took precedence over spontaneity.

By 1892, a reorganized Canadian Rugby Union was formed and governed the sport and was responsible for a national championship contest. The field was set at a length of 110 yards (100 meters) with a 25-yard (22.9-meter) goal area and a width of 65 yards (59.5 meters). There were 15 players on a side, and a game consisted of two 45-minute halves. A team was awarded six points for a goal from a try, five from a drop kick, four from a flying or free kick and a try, two from a safety touch, and one from a rouge. The only two values remaining in Canadian football today are the safety touch and the rouge or single point given when a kick is not returned from the end zone. The field dimensions are the same with one exception. Since 1986 the Canadian Football League changed its end zone to 20 yards (18 meters). Today, teams must gain 10 yards in three downs or lose possession.

Prior to World War I there were a number of Unions or leagues including the Quebec Rugby Football Union (1882), the Ontario Rugby Football Union (1883), the Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union (1898), the Interprovincial Rugby Football Union (1907) and the Western Canada Rugby Football Union (1911). In 1909 the title was symbolized by a trophy donated by the Governor General of Canada, Lord Earl Grey (1851–1917). The Grey Cup continues to be trophy given to the team winning the Canadian Football League (CFL) championship.

By 1909, the game had evolved further and there were 14 players; the ball was still being heeled out, and



there was no interference and no forward passing. By 1921 teams were reduced to 12 to a side as they are today, and the ball could be snapped back, although the quarterback had to stay 5 yards behind the snapper. That year the Dominion Championship, or the Grey Cup Game as it was increasingly called, became an East-West competition.

The forward pass was approved for all leagues in 1931 and regular recruitment of American players and coaches began that year as well. To halt the flow of American talent and develop the Canadian talent pool, the Canadian Rugby Football Union imposed a residence rule requirement for 1936. Players had to live in the community they represented for one year prior to the season.

In 1946, the Canadian Rugby Football Union allowed teams to carry five American imports, and the residence rule of 1936 was abolished. Not all teams rushed to embrace the new reality: The Toronto Argonauts preferred to play with an all-Canadian roster and won the Grey Cup in 1945, 1946, and 1947. The 1947 game was a watershed of sorts. The following year, 1948, saw the Calgary Stampeders defeat the Montreal Alouettes to win the Grey Cup and turn the game into a national festival with its array of cowboys, chuck wagons, pancake breakfasts, horses, and boisterous fans who arrived by the train load in Toronto, the site of the game, for a week-long celebration.

The popularity of the game increased, as did the dependence on American talent. The term *rugby* disappeared as a descriptor, replaced by *football* since it was more easily understood by American prospects. In 1956, the touchdown was increased in value from five to six points, and the following year the American names for the positions of center, guard, tackle and end replaced the Canadian snap, inside wing, middle wing, and outside wing. The twelfth position was retained, but its name was changed from flying wing to wingback, and later to slot back, flanker, or wide out.

Meanwhile, the two dominant leagues in the country from the West and the East formed the Canadian Football Council in 1956, which was renamed the Canadian

Football League (CFL) in 1958. The Canadian Rugby Football Union turned over the trusteeship of the Grey Cup to the CFL in 1966 and became the Canadian Amateur Football Association (CAFA). In 1986, it changed its name to Football Canada and oversees play-offs of developmental football outside the university system and manages coaching certifications. The universities had already formed their own national playoffs beginning in 1965. The Vanier Cup, named for Governor General Georges Vanier (1888–1967), is presented annually to the university team winning the national championship.

Since 1965, the CFL has described its players as *imports* (those who played football outside Canada prior to their seventeenth birthday) and *nonimports* (those who had not played football outside Canada prior to their seventeenth birthday). For all intents and purposes, imports were Americans and nonimports Canadians. This legislation meant that naturalized Canadians would continue to be classified as imports and therefore not increase the cost of the Canadian side of the budget. The legislation was responsible for the formation of the Canadian Football League Players Association (CFLPA).

In the 1960s and 1970s, CFL football grew in popularity until a series of actions minimized its acceptance. A contentious Designated Import Rule passed in 1970 allowed two American quarterbacks to substitute freely and virtually guaranteed that a Canadian would not play at that position. In the 1980s, a lucrative television contract was canceled, leaving teams in the CFL to scramble to make up the shortfall in revenue. The league found itself competing with Major League Baseball and other entertainment options for the public's favor and money. By 1993, the league expanded into the United States when it added the Sacramento Gold Miners. The following year, teams from Las Vegas, Shreveport, and Baltimore joined, and in 1995, Memphis, Tennessee, and Birmingham, Alabama, became members of the CFL.

In 1995, the CFL moved to North–South divisions that would play for the Grey Cup. Rosters per game were set at thirty-seven: The North could carry fourteen

imports, three quarterbacks, and twenty nonimports; the South was allowed to carry whomever it wished. A \$2.5 million (Canadian) salary cap was in place.

Baltimore, now known as the Stallions, won the Grey Cup in 1995. It was the first American team to do so but the American teams withdrew from the league and the CFL reverted to an all-Canadian city format in 1996.

The CFL game today differs from the American version chiefly in its size of field, no fair catch, unlimited motion by the backs, three downs to make 10 yards, 20 seconds to put the ball into play, and a single point awarded for a punt or missed field goal when the returning player is tackled in or the ball is kicked out of the goal area. By 2005 the CFL had nine teams in two divisions. In the Western Division are the British Columbia Lions, Calgary Stampeders, Edmonton Eskimos, Saskatchewan Roughriders, and the Winnipeg Blue Bombers. In the Eastern Division are the Montreal Alouettes, Ottawa Renegades, Toronto Argonauts, and the Hamilton Tiger-Cats. The league is also trying to create greater interest in the Atlantic provinces and toward that end has scheduled a game between the Toronto Argonauts and the Hamilton Tiger-Cats in Halifax, Nova Scotia in June 2005.

Frank Cosentino, with update by David Levinson

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ers must pull a flag attached to a belt worn by the ball carrier rather than tackle or touch the carrier. People have played flag football since the 1950s, but no single organization has emerged to govern the development of rules and standards. As a result, players have developed many styles of play, and rules vary greatly from league to league.

People play flag football in public schools, colleges, and recreational leagues throughout the world. Many students are introduced to football by playing a non-contact flag version of the game in physical education classes. Campus recreation services at many colleges offer intramural leagues with men's, women's, and co-ed divisions. In fact, teams from U.S. colleges can compete in a national championship held at a professional football stadium in conjunction with a National Football League (NFL) game. In the main, recreational leagues are offered by local recreation councils. Local teams or leagues may then affiliate with a national organization, adopting the regulations of that governing body.

The oldest national governing body is the National Touch and Flag League (NTFL) in the United States. The NTFL, founded in 1960, offers touch and flag football for men and women at various levels of competition through leagues, tournaments, and a national championship. A rival organization is the United States Flag and Touch Football League (USFTL), founded in 1988 in response to the many flag football styles and rules practiced in the United States. The USFTL, in addition to providing leagues and tournaments for men, women, and children, trains and certifies officials and produces educational aids for flag football players. Each league is self-contained. Opportunities exist, however, for teams to compete against teams in other leagues at annual tournaments.

Football, Flag

Flag football, like touch football, is an adaptation of the full-contact version of U.S. football (sometimes called "gridiron football"). Stopping play in flag football is more difficult than in touch football because defend-

History

Scholars generally believe that flag football originated in the U.S. military during World War II. In fact, the U.S. Army's Fort Meade, Maryland, has the first recorded history of flag football and is widely regarded as the birthplace of the sport. Now people all over the

A game of flag football between friends. Notice the white material hanging from the players' waists.

world play flag football. Germany, Canada, France, Israel, Japan, and Sweden have formal leagues, and other countries have informal leagues. The U.S. military was largely responsible for taking U.S.-style flag football to the rest of the world. In many cases U.S. soldiers played football informally at military bases overseas, and this play led to the creation of touch and flag leagues. The flag version of U.S. football was a low-cost form of the game that gave players in other countries an inexpensive way to experience a sport that many had watched on television.

Rules and Play

The equipment of flag football is minimal: a football and one flag belt per player. Flag belts differ in the number of flags (strips of fabric) attached and in the manner in which those flags adhere to a belt. To stop play, an opposing player needs to pull just one of the flags. All belts have at least two flags—one placed on each hip. However, some belts have a third flag attached at the rear of the belt. Initially the flags were simply tucked into the belt, but the advent of Velcro allowed players to attach flags more firmly and helped eliminate the problem of flags falling off without being touched. However, dirt and other debris were easily embedded in Velcro's hook-and-loop system, and this situation created a new problem in keeping the flags attached. To solve the problem, most leagues and tournaments have adopted one of two styles. The first style is a more secure two-flag belt that features a ball-and-socket flag attachment that pops loudly when pulled and makes the flag difficult to be knocked off inadvertently. The second style is a three-flag belt to which flags are attached permanently. In this style the belt is secured with an alligator clip (a small spring-loaded clip that resembles the jaws of an alligator). When a defender grips the flag, the entire belt, rather than just the flag itself, is detached. As with other styles of flag belts, the defender needs to pull only one flag to stop play.



No standard rules and regulations for flag football exist, but the majority of leagues across the world begin with the rules and regulations of the U.S. football code. Games are played on a rectangular field that measures either 100 or 80 yards (90 or 72 meters) long. The number of players per side varies from four to nine, but most leagues consist of teams that have seven to nine players per side. During play each team is given four chances (downs) to move the ball 10 yards (9 meters). Some leagues mark the field in 20-yard (18-meter) increments and require a team to move the ball to the next yard marker to be awarded a new set of downs. Scoring is similar to that for full-contact football: six points for a touchdown, three points for a field goal, two points for a safety, and either one or two points for a point after touchdown.

Not all flag football leagues include opportunities for players to kick field goals or extra points—an arrangement that allows the game to be played in areas that lack goal posts. In this version of the game, teams can still choose to try for either a one- or two-point conversion: A one-point conversion begins from the 3-yard line (2.7 meters), a two-point conversion typically begins from the 10-, 15-, or 20-yard line (9, 14, or 18 meters).

Although they do not follow uniform rules and regulations, the majority of leagues can be characterized by one of three styles of play: all eligible flag football, ineligible lineman flag football, or screen flag football. Both all eligible and ineligible lineman flag football allow full-contact blocking anywhere on the field. As a

We know what we are, but know not what we may be. ■ WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

result, these styles of play encourage teams to incorporate a strong running component in their offensive strategies. The main difference between all eligible and ineligible lineman flag football is, as the terms imply, the capacity of linemen to receive a pass and advance the ball. Again, this situation creates a different style of play, with different physical requirements for those playing the line. That is, a guard or a center in a flag league would typically be slightly smaller and more mobile than an ineligible lineman. The third style, screen flag football, prohibits blocking. Players instead screen defenders from the ball carrier or quarterback without using their hands (similar to defending in basketball). This style of play encourages a strong passing game. Coed leagues usually play screen flag football.

Growth of Flag Football

Women have competed in flag football since the 1950s, although until creation of the International Women's Flag Football Association in 1997, the diffusion of flag football resulted mainly in the expansion of opportunities for men to play the sport. Public schools, colleges, and recreational leagues now offer flag football leagues for women, but these leagues represent a small proportion of league offerings. For example, the USFTL offers seven national championship events for men's teams, one for coed teams, and one for women's teams. The NTFL's Super Bowl does not include any events for women. The National Women's Flag Football Association (NWFFA), created in 1995, was the first organization devoted to the enhancement of women's flag football. Diane Beruldsen founded the NWFFA to link women's leagues, teams, players, and officials to promote women's flag football. The NWFFA is run by women who want to make flag football a professional sport for women. The NWFFA sponsors the largest women's flag football tournament in the world—the Key West Women's Flag Football League/FLAG-A-TAG National Kickoff in Key West, Florida—as well as regional tournaments in the United States.

The NWFFA's success motivated the same women to found the International Women's Flag Football Associ-

ation (IWFFA). The IWFFA's mission is to give young girls and women opportunities to enjoy healthy competition and develop teamwork and leadership skills through sportsmanship and fair play. The IWFFA strives to increase the understanding of football theory while promoting good health through physical play and building confidence and self-esteem through execution and play calling. The association created women's teams in Denmark, Norway, and Holland and sponsors clinics for girls and women throughout North America.

The international interest in flag football is not limited to the women's game. The International Federation of Flag Football (IFFF) was founded in 2000. Its mission is to become the international governing body of flag football and to work for the integration of flag football as an Olympic sport. The IFFF has hosted the annual World Cup of Flag Football since its inception in 2000. The World Cup and its qualifying tournaments provide competitions for men, women, and children. Forty-eight teams from nine countries competed in the 2004 World Cup.

Youth flag football, historically limited to physical education classes, has emerged as a league sport in its own right. In addition to local recreation leagues, the NFL sanctions flag leagues for boys and girls, six to fourteen years old, across the United States.

Outlook

Flag football is a growing sport for men, women, and children in countries across the globe. The fractured nature of the governance of the sport, and the resulting diversity in its rules may, albeit intentionally, facilitate the development and popularity of the sport. The number of players required (four-a-side up to nine-a-side) allows the sport to be played in areas with few eligible participants. It also allows the sport to grow—beginning with small numbers of interested players, while being easily adapted for high interest areas. The various contact rules also speak well of the flexibility of the sport. Youth can learn and develop football skills without the risk of injury inherent in full contact football. Men and women of all ages can choose the form

of the game relevant to their taste and fitness level. In this way, flag football can be played across the lifespan.

B. Christine Green

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Football, Gaelic

Gaelic football is a variation of football in which players carry, kick, or punch the ball to reach the opposing team's goal. It is the fastest growing sport in Ireland among both women and men and has historically been closely linked through its organizing body, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), with Irish nationalism and identity.

Gaelic football traces its roots generally back to the seventh century, when other variants of football also emerged. Various forms of folk or mob football existed in Ireland until the mid-nineteenth century, and the staging of such games was closely associated with religious holidays and fair days. Given the dislocation caused by the Irish Famine of the mid-nineteenth century, all forms of sport, and especially football, suffered. While there is evidence that different types of football were played in the postfamine years, it was not until the 1880s that the game was formally organized. Prior to that, in 1854, the Irish Rugby Football Union was formed, and this was followed in 1880 by the establishment of the Irish Football Association. Both these games, while popular, were considered part of the re-

lentless British influence on Irish life and were rejected by many Irish nationalists. The specifically Gaelic version of football was the last game to emerge in Ireland and is one of the few games in the world to be overtly political in its origins.

In 1884 the GAA was founded in Thurles, Ireland, as part of the Irish independence movement. The founders developed several games, including Gaelic football, in a deliberate effort to counter the influence of the British games that then dominated. The first men's rules for Gaelic football were drawn up that same year. The idea for the establishment of the GAA came from Michael Cusack, who was supported by the legendary Irish athlete Pat Davin. The aim of the association was to promote specifically Irish games and resist the spread of British habits and pastimes among the Irish people. After gaining support for the association from Archbishop Croke of Cashel, the GAA was able to call on the Catholic Church in assisting the spread of the game. All Catholic parishes were encouraged to set up a club, and Cusack was able to claim that the game had, by the end of 1885, spread like a prairie fire.

The Early Years

The game of Gaelic football was so successful in its early years because Cusack and Davin, building on British models of sporting organization, codified the game and carefully monitored its rules from the start. This meant that the playing and watching public were able to embrace a well-thought-out and exciting game. From 1887 the All-Ireland Championships in Gaelic football were organized and ran as an annual event. In the first competition, only eight of the thirty-two counties of Ireland entered, but that number grew year after year. The fact that the GAA as a whole, and the game of Gaelic football in particular, was imbued with the spirit of Irish nationalism was an added attraction. The political dimension of the game did cause problems. In the late 1880s and into the 1890s, there was a long-running struggle for the control of the association between the Catholic Church and members of the advanced nationalist Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB)

who wanted to use the game to promote their political beliefs. The IRB won the struggle and took control in 1887. In 1888 the association banned all members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, the Irish police force, from taking any part in the games, and later banned its own members from playing or watching any “foreign” games: cricket, association football, rugby union, and hockey. This rule stayed in force until it was repealed in 1971. The easy identification of the GAA with the forces of political nationalism led to a Gaelic football match at Croke Park being attacked by British forces during the Anglo-Irish War of 1919–1921. On 21 November 1920, Tipperary and Dublin had agreed to meet in a challenge match. A crowd of 10,000 attended the game. In response to an IRA attack on British forces earlier that day, a reprisal attack was mounted on Croke Park. British troops fired into the crowd and at the players on the pitch. By the end of the day, thirteen people, including the Tipperary player Michael Hogan, were dead. Hogan was immortalized when a stand at the ground was named after him.

After the end of the Irish Civil War in 1923, the GAA played a key role in reuniting the country. From 1925 on, ten percent of all gate receipts were reserved for ground development across the country, and the association rapidly built up a network of the best facilities in the country. In 1926 a Gaelic football match became the first-ever sporting event to be broadcast live on the radio through national broadcaster 2RN. This marked the beginning of an important relationship between the game and the Irish media that has allowed Gaelic football to flourish. The growing popularity of the game was evidenced by the first-ever crowd of 40,000 for a match between Kildare and Kerry in 1929.

Although the game has remained strictly amateur at the playing level, the game of Gaelic football has attracted a wealth of corporate sponsorship, including such leading firms as the Bank of Ireland, Allianz, and Guinness. The current stars of the game are highly visible in advertising campaigns, and their success continues to underpin the growth of the game at schoolboy level.

Rules of Play

The Gaelic football pitch is from 140 to 160 yards long and from 84 to 100 yards wide. These are the basic dimensions, and some pitches, like that at Dublin’s Croke Park, are at the upper limit, while that of Westmeath’s Cusack Park would be at the lower end of the scale. At each end of the pitch, is an H-shaped post, similar to that in rugby union. The lower half of the post is netted in the style of a soccer goal. When a team propels the ball over the bar, they score one point, while a goal, worth three points, is scored when the ball goes into the net. The team with the highest score is the winners. Each team has fifteen players, including a goalkeeper, and is allowed three substitutions during the game. The game is played over two halves of thirty-five minutes each. Players can kick, punch, and carry the ball, although they must bounce the ball off the turf after every four steps. The game is incredibly physical, and shoulder barging is allowed. The striking of a player is banned, however, and Gaelic football has some of the most severe penalties for players found guilty of violent conduct, with players often being disallowed from representing their teams for a period of months.

Gaelic football is organized around the geography of Ireland. The basic unit is the parish club, based around the Catholic Church parishes of the country. For such teams there are annual local and national cup and league competitions. The highest level that a player can compete at is for the county. There are thirty-two counties in Ireland, and each one has a Gaelic football team. The players for each county are drawn from the best parish club players under the county’s jurisdiction. During the winter the counties play in a two-league, four-division championship, with relegation and promotion for two teams from each league. While now heavily sponsored and promoted on the Irish-language television station TG4, the league is seen as the secondary competition. The most important competition every year is the All-Ireland Championship that runs every year from May to September. The thirty-two counties, plus teams representing New York and London, play preliminary rounds at the provincial level (there are

There is no "I" in team. ■ ANONYMOUS

four provinces in the country: Ulster, Connaught, Munster, and Leinster). The four provincial champions then meet in semifinals, before the last two teams battle out the All-Ireland final for the championship title and the Sam Maguire Trophy at Croke Park, Dublin, in front of a capacity crowd of 85,000.

The Game Overseas

The Irish have been one of the most mobile nationalities and have, since forced to leave their country because of the ravages of the mid-nineteenth century, always emigrated in large numbers. On leaving Ireland they have taken their games with them. Naturally, GAA clubs, and Gaelic football in particular, can be found in most countries with a significant Irish immigrant population, namely Australia, Britain, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and the United States. The GAA club became a home away from home for many emigrants, and while the game of Gaelic football never broke through and won over the indigenous population, it has always had a popular following among the Irish diaspora. Gaelic football was also popular in Argentina in the first half of the nineteenth century due to the Irish migration, and in recent years it has been played in areas of new migration connected with international business, namely Hong Kong and Dubai.

Attempts have been made by the GAA to popularize the game abroad. In 1947, for instance, the All-Ireland final between Cavan and Kerry was played at the Polo Grounds in New York in front of a crowd of 34,000. In 1967 the All-Ireland champions Meath met a team made up of Australian Rules footballers in a game of compromise rules drawn from both codes. Since that date, various attempts have been made to create an annual test series between Gaelic footballers and Australian Rules players. In the 1980s representative teams from Ireland and Australia met in a series of games, played in both countries, but they were financially unsuccessful. Since 1998 a renewed series of International Rules, sponsored by Coca-Cola, has been played on an annual home-and-away basis and has proved to be a great success. Crowds in both Australia and Ireland

have been large, and it seems that the series offers Gaelic football a solid and regular international outlet.

Women's Gaelic Football

Gaelic football remained a men's game for almost one hundred years. Then, the Ladies Gaelic Football Association was founded in 1974, and it has had at the center of its mission statement as a goal to involve as many young girls and women in this Irish sport. The women's association has been successful since its inception. In the schools Gaelic football for girls is a popular alternative to the women's version of hurling, camogie (the Irish women's national game, also founded by the GAA).

The game is an exact copy of the men's game with no rule changes or concessions made because the competitors are women, as happened with the creation of camogie. Women's Gaelic football is a contest between two sides of fifteen players each. The pitch is from 129 to 147 meters (140 to 160 yards) long and from 79.5 to 92 meters (84 to 100 yards) wide. The goal at each end of the pitch is H-shaped, similar to that used in rugby union with the lower part of the post netted in the same way as a soccer goal. Players score one point for kicking the ball over the uprights and three points for propelling the ball into the goal net. The winning side is the one with the greatest number of points. Players are allowed to handle and kick the ball, although they are prohibited from running with the ball farther than four steps.

Of the thirty-two Irish counties, twelve compete at the senior level, while an additional nineteen also have junior teams. The widespread support for the game at the junior level and the game's popularity in the school system as an alternative to camogie means that the game's future is secure.

In the formative years of women's Gaelic football, its main stronghold was in the province of Munster in the southwest of Ireland, as evidenced by Kerry's winning the All-Ireland Championship nine consecutive times in the 1980s. In the 1990s the game spread across Ireland, and winners of the All-Ireland now come from all

over the nation. The growth of the sport is spectacular. It is estimated that in excess of 30,000 Irish women are regularly playing Gaelic football. In cities in other countries with large Irish immigrant populations, Gaelic football is being taken up as a sport for the women of the diaspora. The Ladies Gaelic Football Association is not officially affiliated with the GAA, but it is recognized by the larger organization.

As sport and as a recent organization, the Ladies Gaelic Football Association does not appear to have as close links with political nationalism as does the GAA, but the popularity of the sport does illustrate how important traditionally Irish forms of sport are within the nation. Its rapid spread outside Ireland suggests that it has a secure future.

The Future

The game of Gaelic football is undoubtedly the most popular sport in Ireland. There are more competitors playing the game, and the spectator figures, both live and those for television viewing, were higher in 2003 than even for international soccer. In recent years many of the country's Gaelic football grounds, including the headquarters, Croke Park, in Dublin, have been modernized and facilities improved. The game is a great success as it ties together local community pride at the parish level, with support for an original and exciting Irish phenomenon. While the game remains strictly amateur at the playing level, the GAA as an organization has become highly professional in its approach to managing Gaelic football. As a result it is a thoroughly modern sport with excellent media coverage, high levels of sponsorship and support, and nationwide community programs. While it may be a game that no one else in the world plays, the future of Gaelic games is bright.

Mike Cronin

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Foro Italico

The Foro Italico (Italian Forum) sports complex is located in Rome. The Fascist Academy for Physical Education was established in the forum, then named the “Foro Mussolini,” and was progressively extended until World War II. After the liberation of Italy, the forum hosted large sports events such as the 1960 Olympic Games and the 1990 soccer World Cup.

History

The fascist youth organization Organizzazione Nazionale Balilla (ONB) was founded in 1926 to educate Italian youth physically and morally. The question of the need for an organization of physical education was finally raised in a country that had no great tradition of sports or gymnastics. In 1926 the ONB began to consider creating a school to train physical education teachers, and Renato Ricci, ONB president, began construction of the Fascist Academy for Physical Education to educate teachers who would later teach the children of the whole of Italy. Ricci placed the architect Enrico Del Debbio in charge of designing the buildings for the academy. The foundation stone was laid on 5 February 1928. The Fascist Academia of Physical Education, the Marble Stadium, the Cypress Stadium, and an obelisk were then completed. After 1928 new buildings were completed before World War II: a hotel to the south (1933), the Sphere Fountain (1933), several tennis courts (1933–1934), a hotel to the north (1935–1936), a weapons room (1935–1936), two indoor



swimming pools (1936–1937), a private gymnasium for the Italian premier Benito Mussolini (1937), the Empire Square (1937), and so forth.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORO MUSSOLINI

With the transformation of the ONB into the Italian Youth of the Lictor (Gioventu Italiana del Littorio—GIL) in 1937, the youth organization moved to the direct leadership of the Fascist National Party (PNF), and Ricci left his post. The architect Luigi Moretti succeeded Del Debbio and created a new general plan for the forum. During the mid-1930s the goal of presenting Rome as a candidate city to host the 1940 Olympic Games led to the development of the Foro Mussolini. With this goal in mind the Cypress Stadium was extended after 1937 and was more often called the “Olympic Stadium” (Stadio Olimpionico) or the “Hundred Thousand Stadium” (Stadio dei Centomila).

With the radicalization of fascism, monumentalism gained ground, and the general plan of 1936 consisted of a parade ground that could hold 400,000 people and that would be located at the foot of a 100-meter-high statue of Mussolini giving a Roman salute. This project was not carried out, and Achille Starace, secretary of the PNF, took advantage of the situation to make a gift of the ground to the PNF, which built the Palazzo Littorio (1938–1943), which today is the seat of the minister of foreign affairs (1956–1960). At the beginning of the 1940s Moretti drew up a last general plan (1941), which provided for other monumental installations.

FASCIST SPORTS FACILITIES

The Foro Mussolini was not only one of the most important fascist constructions, but also one of the biggest sports complexes of the period. Ricci’s strong political commitment and his typically fascist willingness to allow young Italians to build the “new Italy” marked the history of the Foro. The myth of youth expressed itself in Ricci’s choice to hire only young professionals (architects, engineers, sculptors, artists, etc.), often between twenty and thirty years of age. A fervent defender of physical education as an essential complement to fascist

moral education, Ricci wanted above all to build a sports complex where the “fascist way of life” would be taught. He therefore favored athletics that allow full exercising of the body, and he was critical of soccer and its passive spectators. Soccer could not be played in the Marble Stadium, and the Cypress Stadium was deliberately of a reduced size so that the spectacle aspect could not take priority over the educational aspect.

The fascists were proud of the architectural and artistic style of the Foro Mussolini. The progressive construction, carried out by several designers, could not guarantee a unity of styles; nevertheless, a great harmony of the whole emerges. The Foro has both antique and modern elements, illustrating the eclectic nature of architecture during the fascist period. The Greco-Roman style is present in the sixty statues that surround the Marble Stadium (donations from several Italian provinces), in the marble or bronze statues that decorate the Foro in several places, and in the numerous mosaics. The Roman style is also present in the landscape of the Mario hill in the background, in the almost five thousand trees—Mediterranean for the most part—that were planted, and even in the name *Foro*. Under fascism the buildings were colored in Pompeian red, an obvious reference to the city at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, and the white of the statues, frames, and side walls show the contrast and the complementary nature of traditional colors. Marble is everywhere. Moreover, modernity is expressed in the techniques of construction, the building materials (reinforced concrete), and the style of several buildings (the obelisk, the weapons room, the Sphere Fountain, Mussolini’s gymnasium, etc.).

Venue Today

After World War II the administration of the complex was dispersed. With the difficult management of its fascist past, the forum now is used for big sports events such as the Rome international tennis championships or the world championships. The weapons room was transformed into an armor-plated hall for major trials.

In order to host the 1960 Olympic Games, the Olympic Stadium was enlarged (1952), and an Olympic

water sports stadium (1956–1960), a training ground, and the International Student House (1958–1960) were built.

After the Olympic Games the Foro Italico hosted the world swimming championships, the world athletics championships, and the 1990 soccer World Cup. The Italian National Olympic Committee (CONI) moved into the buildings of the old academy, and the Higher Institute for Physical Education (ISEF) and then the University Institute for Motor Sciences (IUSM) of Rome took up residence in the thermals baths.

Daphne Bolz

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Foxhunting

Foxhunting is a field sport in which a group of riders and dogs pursue a fox—if one appears—cross-country until the fox escapes or is killed. It is recreational, not competitive, and is as much a ritual as it is an actual hunt. Traditionally the practice of the wealthy, foxhunting remains an expensive sport. It was also primarily a male sport until the nineteenth century, but today men and women participate in approximately equal numbers.

History

Hunting foxes with hounds during winter months emerged in England during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as other game animals became scarcer. By the early nineteenth century it had become formalized, mainly due to the influence of Hugo Meynell (1735–?), who introduced the “scientific” breeding of hounds and established codes of etiquette in the Quorn hunt in Leicestershire. His influence was soon felt throughout the country, and by the end of the

nineteenth century there were two hundred packs of hounds, the structural base of any hunt; the numbers have remained more or less constant since that time. Hunt clubs divided the United Kingdom into informally agreed “territories” for this quintessential rural sport, one whose basis was defined as involving a contest with nature and animals. Most hunts practice for three days a week during the season. Farming landscapes were often designed to meet the needs of local hunts, whose leading members were usually aristocrats with a considerable influence in their areas. Although most hunting took place on horseback there were mountainous and marshy areas where the hounds were followed on foot. Each hunt developed a distinctive uniform: the leading officials and servants usually wear scarlet coats, known colloquially as “pink,” with distinctive buttons; others wear black, or tweed jackets. Before World War I the sport’s value for men was often justified as offering training for cavalry officers.

Unlike many modern sports, foxhunting has made little use of formal rules and national organizations because the sport is noncompetitive (theoretically) and locally based. In Britain associations of Masters of Fox Hounds and Hunt Secretaries have been the main regulatory bodies but much has depended on self-imposed codes of etiquette. These are usually transmitted by word of mouth, although some have appeared in guides to behavior for the socially ambitious. The latter became increasingly important in the later nineteenth century as the costs of hunting meant that many packs were now supported by members’ subscriptions instead of aristocratic benevolence. The sport’s popularity was due mostly to two factors—it became one avenue by which the aspiring newly rich could be introduced to and reinforce existing rural elites, and it offered entertainment for all social classes, as the deferential lower classes watched the rich at play. Claims that it is a “democratic” sport need to be treated with care; inclusiveness would be a better description. Foxhunting appeared in other parts of the world, especially throughout the British Empire and its former colonies; in countries such as the United States and Australia, variations were adopted

*If you chase two rabbits,
both will escape.* ■ ANONYMOUS

that were suited to local conditions. There were also some hunts in Italy and Spain. Other offshoots have included point-to-point racing, “national hunt” horse racing, and equestrian competitions involving hurdles.

Gender Balance

In its early years foxhunting was almost entirely a masculine activity, largely because of its associations with aggression, heavy drinking, and the speed of the chase. Men have dominated the developments and much of the literary popularization, through the writings of Anthony Trollope and Siegfried Sassoon. Women had, however, participated occasionally in earlier forms of hunting on horseback such as hawking and stag hunting; Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) had been a formidable rider in the earlier years of her reign. The Marchioness of Salisbury (d. 1835) ran her own pack of hounds in the 1790s.

The great increase in female participation came in the later nineteenth century. Convention (as well as flowing gowns) had dictated that women could only ride sidesaddle instead of astride, and this limited their ability to join in the chase at speed. Around the 1850s new developments in saddlery, and the addition of a pommel, made the use of sidesaddles more secure, and it eventually became acceptable for women to wear riding breeches and boots, provided that they were concealed by a false skirt front that enveloped the rider’s legs. Only after World War I did younger women discard their skirts along with the old inhibitions and begin to sit astride their horses.

Within the limits posed by changing attitudes to women’s athleticism and the practical physiological implications of menstruation, pregnancy, and so on, some active horsewomen became as daring, even as reckless, on the hunting field as many men. The convention that they went through gates opened specially for them gave way by the late Victorian period to their leaping hedges and fences together with male riders. Even so, there was some debate as to whether active hunting made for stronger breeding mothers, or if the aggressive riding inhibited pelvic development if the girl began too young.

Most women hunted wearing female versions of male headgear (top and bowler hats) worn over hair nets and veils designed to protect delicate complexions from overexposure to a frequently harsh climate. A tanned face is now more acceptable but hair nets still appear frequently. Like men, most women now wear light-weight protective helmets, after some serious accidents in the later twentieth century prompted a greater concern with safety. Even so, few hunting seasons pass without some broken bones after falls at hedges and fences.

Social and Moral Issues

When women began to hunt regularly in the 1870s, questions of social acceptability became paramount. It was normal for women to reflect the social status of their fathers or husbands and to assess the social credentials of newcomers. Fringe events such as hunt breakfasts and balls were useful vehicles for this task. But tensions arose because the subscriptions of new members were essential to maintain the sport in periods of agricultural recession, and this financial need was at odds with the selection and elimination process often organized by the women hunters. Significant problems also arose when established women hunters tried to act as moral arbiters. Male hunting groups had often existed on the fringes of sexual license and the occasional appearance of mistresses and courtesans sometimes led to social ostracism. A well-known example illustrates the difficulties this could cause. The most famous courtesan of mid-Victorian England was “Skittles,” Catherine Walters (1839–1920), who rose from humble origins to wealth through the beds of aristocratic admirers, and who proved to be a courageous and active rider with a quasi-religious enthusiasm for hunting. Her other legacy has been that the hunting field has remained one of the trysting grounds both for legitimate romance and illicit affairs. In the late twentieth century, Prince Charles’s (b. 1948) companion, Camilla Parker-Bowles (b. 1947), attracted considerable media attention when riding to hounds, in sharp contrast with Diana, Princess of Wales (1961–1997), who reportedly disliked riding.



A red fox.

Source: istockphoto/celtic-art.

were often called “Dianas,” referring to the goddess of hunting.) Even so these women relied frequently on their husbands’ positions and wealth and often combined joint mastership with their spouses. This development marked a partnership in maintaining established local status rather than a new independence or domination by the female Masters. Slowly, as foxhunting became a respectable, even essential, part of the ruling classes’ female life cycle, the claim died out that women who participated in the sport were defeminized. Women could exhibit, within limits, some of the aggression that had previously been a male preserve.

Gender Integration

Although most masters of packs have been men, the twentieth century saw a steady increase in the role of women taking such responsibilities. In some cases it was claimed that hunts were kept in existence during World War I solely by women. There were many instances in the 1920s and 1930s where women outnumbered male riders. In cultures increasingly dependent on mechanized transport, the recreational use of horses grew rapidly, especially among women, and hunting benefited from this enthusiasm. Since the 1790s there had been hunt “patronesses” who had presided over the social events that reinforced hunting seasons. Women had been in charge of such related sports as otter hunting and beagling before 1914, and the postwar period saw others becoming Masters (never “Mistresses”) of Fox Hounds, the titular and organizational head of each hunt, as well as the leading riders on any day out and the final arbiters of etiquette. (They

Perhaps the most bizarre manifestation of women’s new level of involvement was the role that hunting mothers took in the sporting initiation rites of their children, male or female. This was the “blooding”; the blood of a newly killed fox was smeared on the child’s face using the severed tail or “brush” to do the painting. By contrast, lower-class women appeared largely as spectators, but the later twentieth century saw a small growth in their numbers among the humbler hunting staff, as grooms and kennel maids. Only rarely did they work with the key huntsmen and whippers-in, the professional servants who manage the packs and the apparatus of a day’s hunting.

This gender integration is in sharp contrast with practice in the United States, where there are some working-class foot hunts in which men use dogs to chase gray foxes. In the New Jersey pine barrens, for instance, women may appear as distant spectators or drivers of the pickup vehicles, but local social conventions ban

them from the actual hunting itself. Gender segregation remains much stronger where other social and sporting activities are similarly divided. In the growing anti-hunting movement that has emerged in the United Kingdom since the 1980s women and men play equal parts, both as hunt saboteurs and in public political campaigns. The appeal is always to consciences over animal welfare rather than using the older claims that fox-hunting was defeminizing, but there has also been a strong element of class antagonism. The moral argument is couched in strictly egalitarian gender terms. In 2002 the Scottish Parliament was persuaded to ban hunting foxes with hounds and the English Parliament was expected to do likewise in 2004. A fierce debate led to mass protest by hunt supporters, including violent clashes with the police and the invasion of the House of Commons as well as arguments about the relative powers of the two Houses of Parliament, Commons and Lords. The future of the sport remains uncertain, with the possibility of illegal activity and its eventual replacement by “drag hunting,” in which a scented trail replaces the fox as the quarry. In November 2004, the British Parliament outlawed the hunting and killing of mammals using dogs. Despite attempts to block the legislation through the courts, the ban became effective in February 2005. Hunts are still allowed to chase foxes with dogs but can only kill them by shooting. Many may do this, or shift to following human and artificial scents for a day’s sport. The overall effect of the legislation will take some considerable time to become clear.

Picture and Print

The iconography of foxhunting has concentrated largely on men, either in groups or as individuals, whose portraits on horseback adorned many country houses. By far the best known of these artists was Sir Alfred Munnings (1878–1959). Women were usually regarded as subordinate subjects, included in group scenes. The exceptions appeared in Victorian and other periodicals, where engravings and photographs were used to emphasize the desirable exclusiveness of the hunting field—the Empress Elizabeth of Austria was a favorite sub-

ject. Modern country magazines aimed at the socially aspiring continue to photograph elite women for the same purpose—in Britain, Princess Anne, the Princess Royal (b. 1950) and a former Olympic competitor, has proved a favorite subject.

Whilst men have also dominated hunting literature, women have made a major contribution. A trio of men, Robert Smith Surtees (1805–1864), the inventor of Jor-rocks, an honest and jolly squire, Anthony Trollope (1815–1882), who put hunting into many of his forty-seven novels, and Siegfried Sassoon (1886–1917), who made foxhunting part of a nostalgia for Edwardian England, were read by many who did not hunt. At the end of the twentieth century the English philosopher Roger Scruton produced a lyrical apologia for the sport at a time when it was increasingly threatened. As far as women were concerned, Skittles’s hunting exploits occupied part of a mediocre novel during her lifetime: *Skittles: A Biography of a Fascinating Woman* (1864), by W. S. Hayward. One of the most important contributions to the sport’s modern popularity came in the novels written jointly by two Irish women. Beginning with *The Silver Fox* in 1879, Edith Oenone Somerville (1858–1949) and Florence Martin (1862–1915) wrote, as “Somerville and Ross,” fiction set in the Irish countryside. Action, love, and social conscience went hand in hand to portray foxhunting as an essential part of a romanticized rural order in which hunting women played a key role. In 2004 the *London Times* contributor Jane Shilling produced a lyrical account of her introduction to the sport as an adult and a justification for its being allowed to continue.

John Lowerson

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I will always be someone who wants to do better than others. I love competition. ■ JEAN-CLAUDE KILLY

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France

France is a European country with a population of 62 million people. It has been a republic since 1870, except for a short period during World War II. Although decentralization laws were introduced during the 1980s, France is still characterized by a centralist tradition inherited from the Napoleonic period in economic, cultural, political, and administrative domains. This has given Paris, the capital, exceptional significance on a national scale. The development of sports in France during the twentieth century grew out of gymnastics traditions that date back to the nineteenth century.

History

Following the 1789 French Revolution and throughout the nineteenth century, the country's long military tradition combined with a growing hygienic trend to favor the development of private gymnasiums. Its defeat by Prussia in 1870 resulted in France's painful loss of the Alsace-Lorraine region. It also gave rise to an unusual development of highly structured clubs devoted to gymnastics practices. These became federated in 1873, producing an extremely influential association called the Union des Sociétés de Gymnastique de France. The association, which enjoyed the support of the military and civil authorities until World War I, promoted

republican-inspired, patriotic group activities that gathered together workers, artisans, and people from the lower middle class. The values and practices of these clubs were different from those of the aristocracy, which preferred fencing, horseback riding, dancing, or tennis, and from those of the new urban middle class, which preferred other sports.

The first sports clubs appeared in France in the 1870s, often at the initiative of British residents. The student areas of Paris and a few other large cities turned out to be particularly fertile environments for these clubs. In 1889 a multisports organization called the Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques (USFSA) was created, which gradually made a name for itself as a reference institution for most sports in France. Despite considerable resistance from political and educational circles, both of which preferred gymnastics practices, the sports movement spread. Not the activity of Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Games, nor the organization of the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris, nor even the 1901 law pertaining to the freedom to create associations appeared to have played any major role in this development. However, the USFSA fell victim to growing pains and to the rising conservatism of its directors in the face of the social transformations that were affecting sports adepts. It split in 1920 into a series of federations by sports category.

Post-World War I society in France was able to turn its attention to leisure. Mass sport and sports entertainment were able to develop for a number of reasons: (1) a boom in the specialized press (for example, the publication of *La Vie au Grand Air* and *L'Auto*); (2) the collapse of nationalist gymnastics practices and the success of a number of symbolic events such as the 1919 Interallied Games, the 1924 Paris Olympic Games, and the Tour de France (initiated in 1901); (3) the construction of sports stadiums; and (4) the rise of professional football in 1930. Mass sport and sports entertainment continued to progress slowly, supported by the action of France's Popular Front government in 1936 in favor of leisure activities and then by the

growth of associations during the German Occupation (1939–1944).

Due to the difficult economic situation in the post-World War II years, it was not until the rise of France's Fifth Republic in 1959 and the advent of profound changes to French society that sport began to experience exponential growth. Under the impetus of Charles de Gaulle, the government made sport a public service during the 1960s. This encouraged building necessary infrastructures and supervising or even introducing more sportsmanship into physical education programs. Thanks to a number of factors—the rising standard of living, the greater participation of women in economic life, the spread of television, and the success of the main sporting publication, *L'Equipe*—25 percent of the French population were practicing a sport by 1967.

The 1970s were marked by a rage for outdoor sports, the appearance of a sports-for-all ideal, and a relative loss of momentum for sports policy. During the 1980s, sports continued to grow steadily and in 2000, 83 percent of the population aged 15 to 75 declared that they practiced a sport, compared to 75 percent in 1987. More people practiced nonfederated sports than traditional sports.

The relationship between the government and the sports association environment, which was defined quite specifically in a series of statute laws in 1945, 1975, 1984, and 2000, has remained steady, with the allocation for sport at around 0.5 percent of the national budget. As a result of the public and private subsidies allocated to elite sports, France ranked about eighth among sporting nations in the early twenty-first century.

Participant and Spectator Sports

In addition to the highly popular entertainment provided each year by the Tour de France bicycle race, the Five-Nations (now the Six-Nations) Rugby Tournament, the Roland Garros tennis tournament, and the French football championships, the latter part of the twentieth century was marked by a few major events, such as the Winter Olympic Games at Grenoble in 1968 and then



France

Pascal on Diversions

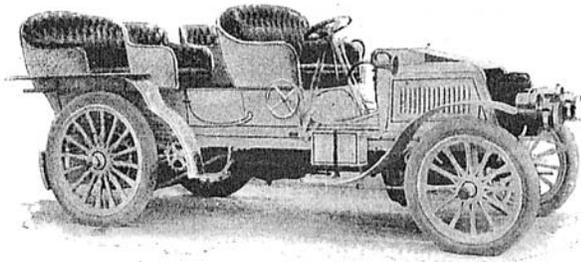
The French mathematician and thinker Blaise Pascal weighs in on what motivates people to choose certain activities in this extract from his essay, "What Our Diversions Reveal About Us" (1670):

Thus so wretched is man that he would weary even without any cause for weariness from the peculiar state of his disposition; and so frivolous is he that, though full of a thousand reasons for weariness, the least thing, such as playing billiards or hitting a ball, is sufficient to amuse him.

But will you say what object has he in all this? The pleasure of bragging tomorrow among his friends that he has played better than another. So others sweat in their own rooms to show to the learned that they have solved a problem in algebra, which no one had hitherto been able to solve. Many more expose themselves to extreme perils, in my opinion as foolishly, in order to boast afterwards that they have captured a town. Lastly, others wear themselves out in studying all these things, not in order to become wiser, but only in order to prove that they know them; and these are the most senseless of the band, since they are so knowingly, whereas one may suppose of the others that, if they knew it, they would no longer be foolish.

at Albertville in 1992, and the World Football Cup in 1998. Football remained the most popular sport, not only as a spectator sport, but also as the most practiced sport (with more than 2 million registered federation members).

Since the 1980s, the strong growth of televised sports entertainment, the competition among public and private channels, and the scramble for audience have all widened the gap between popular sports and others. During the period from 1993 to 1997, 67.5 percent of sport-televised hours were devoted to only nine



Baron de Zuylen's six-seated 20 hp Panhard and Levassor car, which ran in the tourist section of the Paris–Berlin race of 1901.

disciplines (listed from most televised to least): football, auto racing, tennis, cycling, rugby, basketball, athletics, boxing, and golf. Differences in media coverage alone can't explain the French hierarchy in sports, however, since the federations with more than 200,000 members are for the following sports (listed from the largest to the smallest): football, tennis, judo, pétanque (a lawn game), basketball, rugby, skiing, golf, sailing, handball, and karate. Golf, sailing, and judo, which have fewer registered federation members, have had the highest growth rates since the 1980s. The culture of traditional practices is so widespread that bowls and pétanque draw in more than 700,000 members, making that federation one of France's largest.

The French are regularly outstanding at the international level in cycling (especially track cycling), judo, fencing, horseback riding, rugby, and canoeing-kayaking, for reasons that are also linked to the country's historical legacy. They also perform at high levels in skiing, athletics, boxing, football, volleyball, handball, and tennis, although sporadically.

Women and Sport

Besides a few early exceptions in mountain climbing, gymnastics, and swimming, women didn't really appear in sports in France until after 1900, with the establishment of clubs like the Ondine de Paris in 1906, Fémina Sport in 1912, and Academia in 1915. Because men's sports and gymnastics federations refused to let them participate, women founded their own federations, but they were unable to reach an agreement on just what "women's sport" should be. The Union Française de Gymnastique Féminine, created in 1912, defended a conservative, hygienic concept of women's

sport that contrasted with that of the Fédération des Sociétés Sportives Féminines, created in 1916 and presided over by Alice Milliat, a tireless advocate of women in sports.

Alice Milliat also disagreed with the international federations and with Pierre de Coubertin on women's participation in the Olympic Games. In reaction, she founded the Women's International Sport Federation and, in April 1921, launched the first "Women Olympic Games" in Monte Carlo.

Shaken up by the change of attitude taking place at the international level after 1928, French sports federations gradually began to accept women as members. As a result, the two rival women's federations disappeared. French society was deeply patriarchal, however (women obtained the right to vote only in 1945), and the cycling, rugby, and boxing federations, among others, refused to change their statutes to allow women members until the 1980s. Generally speaking, the popular image of women as wives and mothers slowed the development of women's sport in France; until the 1960s women were channeled into activities that conformed more closely to feminine standards, such as gymnastics, swimming, and basketball.

More women began to participate in sports after 1960, as women became more involved in the country's economic life. The 1970s movement in favor of gender equality, followed by the slow maturing of French attitudes during the 1980s and 1990s, helped to boost the proportion of women practicing a sport—from under 10 percent in 1968, to 32 percent in 1983, and then to 64 percent in 1994 (when 72 percent of men were practicing a sport). The type of sport activity was still highly correlated with gender—25 percent of French women were doing various types of fitness exercise, ranging from aerobics to sophrology (a relaxation technique), 23 percent were swimming, and 22 percent were walking and hiking. Men were devoting themselves to cycling, tennis, and football. Certain sports have never attracted many women, in particular football, rugby, boxing, and cycling.

Since the 1970s, women have been practicing sports

A solo cyclist nearing the top of the awesome Mt. Ventoux in France. The tower is a military radar installation.

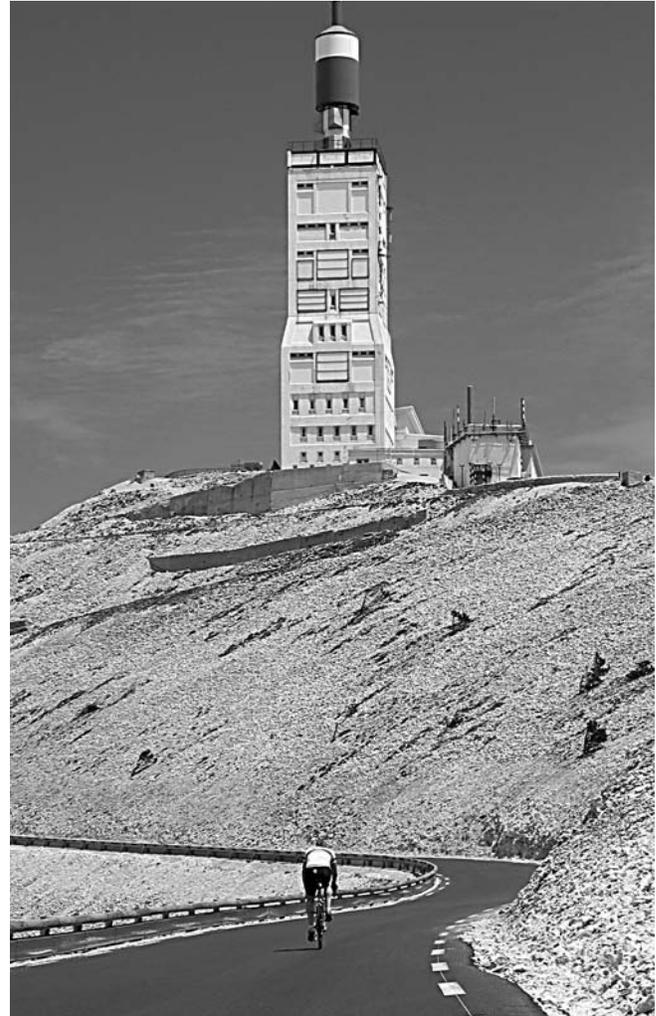
Source: istockphoto/Newsue.

more, but the increase appears to have especially benefited noncompetitive and noninstitutionalized activities. While 4 million women were registered in sports federations in 1992, by 2003 only 33 percent of registered women were members of Olympic federations. Despite the remarkable international success in tennis (Amélie Mauresmo), fencing (Laura Flessel), swimming (Laure Manaudou), and cycling (Jeannie Longo), for example, only 6 percent of French women currently compete in sports, compared to 17 percent of men—and the gap widens as age increases. There are also not many women on the steering committees of sports federations. On average, they represent under 13 percent, which is far below expressed parity objectives.

Youth Sports

In 2000 more than 90 percent of young people aged 14 to 17 practiced a sport outside the school system. In school, between the mandatory physical education and optional sports practiced within a school sports association, nearly 100 percent did. And yet the very idea of youth sports is new in France, and so there is no concerted policy with respect to it. Since the 1982 decentralization laws, the government itself depends heavily on local governments (communes, departments, and regions), which finance about a third of sports activities in the country, including a significant part for promoting sports to young people. During the 1980s, for example, the communes set up sports activities in sensitive neighborhoods in the suburbs of large cities as a response to urban violence and juvenile delinquency.

During the 1990s, enthusiasm was generated for such activities by creating social programs that were financed nationally through a city policy that received contributions from all the ministries involved (National Education, Youth and Sports, and the Interior). Following the sweeping laws on socio-educational and sports facilities of the 1960s, which were focused on youth sports practiced within federations, other more recent programs are still concentrating on infrastructure, but with a vision that is better adapted to the changing youth culture. In 1991, “J Sports,” a nationwide pro-



gram that was eventually taken over by the communes, enabled the creation of 1,500 local sports facilities.

In addition to these public programs, many organizations that contain a sports component also target young people’s activities. These include, for example, the country’s 150,000 sports associations, youth and cultural centers, and youth organizations like the scouts, municipal day camps, summer camps (municipal, corporate, or leisure centers), and youth hostels.

Organizations

The French sport system is based on linking up public and private structures. Besides the national federations for individual sports, both Olympic and non-Olympic, like the Fédération Française de Football (Soccer) and the Fédération Française de Natation (swimming), there are also what are called multisport “fédérations affinitaires” whose statutes provide for a political,



France

Key Events in France Sports History

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|--|---|
| <p>1873 The Union des Sociétés de Gymnastique de France is established.</p> <p>1889 The Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques is founded.</p> <p>1894 The first automobile race in the world is held in France.</p> <p>1900 The Olympics are held in Paris.</p> <p>1901 The first Tour de France bicycle race is held.</p> <p>1906 The women's sport association, Ondine de Paris, is founded.</p> <p>1912 The Union Française de Gymnastique Féminine is founded.</p> <p>1916 The Fédération des Sociétés Sportives Féminines is founded.</p> <p>1919 The Interallied Games are held in Paris.</p> | <p>1921 The "Women's Olympic Games" in Monte Carlo is tagged by Alice Milliat and the Women's International Sport Federation.</p> <p>1923 The first Le Mans auto race is held.</p> <p>1924 The Olympics are held Paris.</p> <p>1930 Professional soccer becomes popular.</p> <p>1968 The Winter Olympics are held at Grenoble. Regional and local governments take a greater role in supporting sports.</p> <p>1991 The "J Sports" program leads to the building of many sports facilities.</p> <p>1992 The Winter Olympics are held at Albertville.</p> <p>1998 France hosts and wins the World Football Cup.</p> <p>1998 The "Festina Affair" indicates that doping is common among Tour de France riders.</p> |
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educational, or religious commitment (for example, the socialist Fédération Gymnique et Sportive du Travail, the educational Union Nationale du Sport Scolaire, or the Catholic Fédération Sportive et Culturelle de France). These federations are accredited by the state so that they can obtain funding and exercise a public service function as long as they respect certain administrative, technical, financial, and ethical principles (sports clubs are prohibited from being listed on the stock exchange, for example). As a result, all federations are organized around the same government-defined master statutes.

The Youth and Sports Ministry is in charge of the government's national policy on developing sports and high-level sports. Beyond its own budget, it can count on a National Sport Development Fund (the FNDS), which is drawn from the revenue of various national lotteries. Its objectives are carried out by ministerial offices at the regional and departmental levels throughout the country. Each federation also has regional and departmental headquarters; each one is a member of the Comité National Olympique et Sportif Français (CNOSF), which coordinates both the federations and

the national Olympic committee. The CNOSF also has regional counterparts. At the local level, there are administrative units for sport that implement municipal policies, and municipal sport services that represent the local sports movement and are members of a national municipal sports federation (FNOMS).

Sports in Society

Sports have an ambiguous status in French society. The public authorities consider them an educational tool, providing that they are protected from society's "dangers." They are very popular as spectacles, yet generally not considered an essential part of French life. Still, government assistance does exist for high-level athletes, in the form of financial contributions, training programs, and aids for integrating the work environment. The Institut National du Sport et de l'Éducation Physique (INSEP) is the public organization that helps to prepare the national teams.

National identity is occasionally—but rarely—an issue in sports events. During the 1998 elections, for example, the extreme right was making a lot of news. The World Cup victory of France's mixed-race football

France Olympics Results*2002 Winter Olympics: 4 Gold, 5 Silver, 2 Bronze**2004 Summer Olympics: 11 Gold, 9 Silver, 13 Bronze*

team, led by its captain Zinedine Zidane, provided an opportunity to counter that by rallying the French population to join together in spite of individual differences in opinion. The occasion received a lot of media coverage, and the power of sport as a means of social integration was taken up politically.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, French sporting news was shaken up by several widely publicized cases. One such case arose from the construction of the Stade de France, a stadium in the suburbs of Paris that had been on the agenda since 1938 and which was finally completed for the 1998 World Football Cup. The project was highly polemical and involved a number of sensitive financial trade-offs. In another, football's image was tarnished by revelations of the corrupt dealings of well-known entrepreneur Bernard Tapie, a former minister of urban affairs and the owner of the Olympique de Marseille, France's best football team of the 1980s. First accused of rigging a match against the Valenciennes team, he was swept away by a wave of scandals and eventually served a prison sentence. France was upset by another scandal in 1998, the "Festina Affair," in which it came out that doping practices were commonplace among Tour de France riders. Following the case, some particularly strict legislation was passed in France, which has ruffled some international sports authorities. Finally, stadium violence—never an issue in France until the mid-1980s—emerged as a major problem, although without reaching the levels of the hooliganism seen in England or Italy.

The Future

The close relationship in France between the government and the sports movement has become a problem in the European context of free circulation of goods and individuals (the 1995 Bosman ruling). This could cause public authorities to withdraw their involvement; on the other hand, they are likely to refocus on elite performance and on combating doping practices and violence in sport. No longer certain of the integrative and educational virtues of sport, local governments are adopting a wide range of strategies; these are creating a

greater inequality nationwide in support. Over the medium term, resorting to the use of private partners to help mass sports survive will only serve to reinforce the impact of popular spectator sports, to the detriment of other sports.

*Thierry Terret**See also* Le Mans; Tour de France**Further Reading**

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Franchise Relocation

Many sports franchises throughout the world have established loyal fan followings in their respective communities. In some cases, teams have maintained continuous operations for well over a century, creating stability within their host cities. However, one characteristic of the professional sports industry in North America, where the vast majority of franchises are privately owned, is the relocation of teams to new communities. Often, relocating teams have left fans feeling betrayed. These feelings have been exacerbated when it became apparent that many recent relocations were driven more by a desire of the owners to increase profits than a lack of support from fans within the established community.

Understanding Why Teams Relocate

The relocation of franchises has occurred frequently within the North American professional sports context, where teams have been traditionally controlled by owners willing to uproot their clubs to seek out more lucrative alternatives in other cities. This has been happening since the emergence of sport leagues in the late nineteenth century, but a resurgence has occurred in recent years as the presence of teams has emerged as a status symbol for communities seeking “big-league” standing. This has resulted in intercity competition to attract professional sports franchises and in the allotment of billions of dollars in public funds to construct facilities for housing franchises. Leagues generally frown on franchises relocating, as they view long-term stability among their members as a key to the overall success of leagues as a whole. As a result, teams must receive approval from their parent leagues in order to relocate.

In the early years of sport-league operations, team relocations were done to ensure the survival of the franchise; typically, a team would be struggling to maintain financial solvency, and relocation would be undertaken as a last-ditch effort to keep the team alive. This was generally witnessed in the instability of sport leagues during their formative years, when franchise relocations have occurred more frequently and many teams folded or merged with other clubs. However, the movement of franchises in some professional sport leagues during the 1990s frequently saw teams moving from good situations to even better ones, as franchises were lured with promises of guaranteed revenues and new, state-of-the-art facilities. And though it would appear that there has been more resistance at the municipal level to fund sport stadiums to facilitate relocation in this century, the threat of relocation remains an important negotiating tool for teams with their respective communities.

League Relocation Histories

Cities and teams have played what some observers have described as “the stadium game,” in which scarce public resources have been allocated to fund sport facilities for professional teams. This process has been in place

since communities began building publicly funded sport facilities for use by private franchises. However, one particular incident in the early 1980s set a precedent that opened the door for the relocation of a number of National Football League (NFL) franchises during the 1980s and 1990s.

NATIONAL FOOTBALL LEAGUE

In 1980, the Los Angeles Rams relocated from their home at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum to nearby Anaheim. Because of the proximity of the two cities, the NFL did not consider the move to be a relocation, as it was still within the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area. However, the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Commission (LAMCC) was left without a major tenant and commenced negotiations with the owner of the Oakland Raiders, Al Davis, about the possibility of relocating to Los Angeles. The team in Oakland was not in any financial distress, but the LAMCC’s offer was too good for Davis to pass up.

In 1980, Davis announced that the Raiders would be moving to Los Angeles from Oakland. However, according to the NFL’s constitution and bylaws, any franchise move would need the approval of at least three-quarters of the league’s owners. The league voted 22–0 (with five abstentions) to block the move. The NFL considered the fact that the Raiders were well supported in Oakland and that the league could retain the option to place an expansion franchise in the stadium vacated by the Rams when they moved to Anaheim. A defiant Davis chose to relocate anyway and sued the NFL, charging that its franchise-relocation rules were anticompetitive according to US antitrust laws. Davis received a \$14.58 million award (which, according to US antitrust laws, was trebled) and relocated his team to Los Angeles for the 1982 season. Due to the precedent set by Davis, NFL teams realized that they could relocate freely if other cities offered more attractive packages to teams and chose to challenge the NFL’s authority to stop the move. If the NFL tried to block a move, individual teams could potentially sue the league on the grounds that it was violating antitrust laws. With this in mind, the Baltimore Colts moved to Indianapo-



lis is 1984, the St. Louis Cardinals to Phoenix in 1998, the Los Angeles Rams to St. Louis in 1995, the Raiders back to Oakland in 1995, the Cleveland Browns to Baltimore in 1996, and the Houston Oilers to Nashville in 1997, all with the approval of the NFL.

MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL

Major League Baseball (MLB) franchises have not relocated as frequently as NFL franchises in recent decades, although teams have also used the threat of relocating in order to exact new stadiums and more lucrative lease agreements. Perhaps the most noteworthy relocations for baseball occurred in 1958, when the Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Giants relocated to Los Angeles and San Francisco, respectively, making Major League Baseball truly a nationwide league. Other notable relocations during the 1960s and early 1970s included the Washington Senators to Minnesota (as the Twins), the Milwaukee Braves to Atlanta, the Philadelphia Athletics to Oakland, and the Seattle Pilots to Milwaukee (as the Brewers). Finally, a revived Washington Senators franchise moved to Arlington, Texas, to become the Texas Rangers in 1972. In all of these cases, the desire to relocate was motivated by the possibility of greater fan support in the new market. This was followed by over thirty years of franchise stability in baseball, which lasted until the Montreal Expos, suffering miserably from poor fan support, announced that they would relocate for the 2005 season.

Threat of Relocation as a Bargaining Stance

Underneath such apparent stability, MLB teams have been able to use the threat of relocation to gain new stadiums and more lucrative lease arrangements with their host communities. A catalyst for this process was the aggressive pursuit of MLB franchises by several cities during the 1990s, including that by St. Petersburg, Florida. That city built a publicly funded facility suitable for hosting a baseball team and then set out to obtain a franchise. Leveraging the threat of moving to Florida, several major-league teams, including the Chicago White Sox, were able to receive new stadiums in their home communities.

NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATION

The National Basketball Association (NBA) has also witnessed franchise relocations, although teams from this league have not aggressively pursued other cities in order to improve their financial situations in their home markets. Instead, many franchises have seen their teams relocate multiple times to multiple cities in order to remain financially viable. For example, the Atlanta Hawks' franchise started in 1949 as the Tri-Cities Blackhawks, moving to Milwaukee in 1951 and becoming the Hawks. The team then relocated to St. Louis in 1957 before finally settling in Atlanta in 1968. Similarly, the Washington Wizards commenced operations as the Chicago Packers in 1961, relocating to Baltimore in 1963 as the Bullets. In 1973 the team moved to suburban Washington D.C. and finally, in 1998, changed its name to the Wizards and moved into a downtown Washington arena.

Other current teams also have had nomadic existences. The Los Angeles Clippers started as the Buffalo Braves, moving to San Diego in 1977 before finally arriving in Los Angeles in 1984. The Sacramento Kings had previous incarnations as the Rochester Royals (1945–1957), Cincinnati Royals (1957–1972), Kansas City–Omaha Kings (1972–1975), and Kansas City Kings (1975–1985) before moving to Sacramento in 1985. Other teams that began operating in cities other than their current ones include the Detroit Pistons (who moved from Fort Wayne in 1957), the Philadelphia 76ers (who were the Syracuse Nationals until 1963), the Houston Rockets (who played four years in San Diego before relocating in 1971), and the San Antonio Spurs (who played as the Dallas Chaparrals in the American Basketball Association until 1973).

An interesting feature of NBA franchise movement has been the legacy of team names that have little association with their new communities. For example the aptly named New Orleans Jazz operated from 1974 through 1979, before relocating to Utah in 1979. The team kept its original name, despite the fact that Salt Lake City is not known for its jazz music. Similarly, the Minneapolis Lakers, playing in the “Land of Ten Thousand Lakes,” moved to Los Angeles in 1960. The team

Business is a combination of war and sport. ■ ANDRE MAUROIS

kept the name despite the dearth of lakes in the Los Angeles area.

More recently, the Vancouver Grizzlies moved to Memphis in 2001, while the Charlotte Hornets relocated to New Orleans in 2002. These two moves (along with most of the moves previously mentioned), were undertaken primarily to maintain the financial stability of the teams, as due to various reasons the teams were not receiving adequate support in their original markets. The fact that teams moved so frequently before 1985 is a reflection of the lack of stability of the NBA as a whole, which did not see its rise in popularity until the late 1980s.

NATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE

The National Hockey League has also seen franchise relocations due to the financial struggles of teams in their home markets. The 1970s through the early 1990s saw several teams move to new cities, including the Kansas City Scouts, who moved to Colorado (as the Rockies) in 1976 and later to New Jersey in 1982, where they were renamed the Devils. In 1980 the Flames moved to Calgary, after eight seasons in Atlanta, while the Minnesota North Stars became the Dallas Stars in 1993. More recent relocations have involved several of the franchises that were absorbed by the NHL after the World Hockey Association (WHA) ceased operations in 1979. Of the four teams in the WHA—Hartford, Quebec City, Winnipeg, and Edmonton—only Edmonton remains. In 1995 the Quebec Nordiques were sold and relocated to Denver, becoming the Colorado Avalanche; the Winnipeg Jets moved to Phoenix, Arizona, in 1996 and were renamed the Coyotes. Finally, the Hartford Whalers moved to Raleigh-Durham to become the Carolina Hurricanes.

The “Stadium Game”

Moves by NBA and NHL teams would suggest an attempt by team owners to attain some stability for their franchises. However, moves by NFL teams and the threat of a move by MLB teams in the 1990s would indicate that teams were actively involved in the “stadium

game” in order to exact more profits for their teams. Teams were able to achieve this by using the threat of relocation to entice better offers from local and prospective communities, many of whom were willing to finance new, state-of-the-art facilities for use by teams.

So what was it that made professional sports teams so enticing for local communities, which were willing to dedicate hundreds of millions of dollars of public monies to lure or retain teams? The answer lies in two major changes in the competitiveness of major urban centers in North America, and particularly in the United States, that created an environment for the frequency of franchise relocations. The first was a decrease in government funding that forced local communities to become more entrepreneurial vis-à-vis major decisions regarding city image and infrastructure development. The second was a changing economic climate that saw the decline of traditional industries, which led to hardships for several major US centers. As a result, cities were forced to reinvent themselves, and teams and their new facilities emerged as anchors for larger downtown urban-revitalization projects that sought to draw tourism and other spending back into downtown cores decimated by the flight to the suburbs that had occurred in previous decades.

In addition, the notion that having a major-league franchise bestowed a certain degree of legitimacy on a city led several cities to actively pursue franchises during the 1980s and 1990s. For example, several multibillion-dollar urban-redevelopment projects, including Baltimore’s Inner Harbor, have prominently featured new sport facilities. In Baltimore’s case, a new baseball facility was constructed for the Orioles, and a new football stadium was built to lure the NFL’s Cleveland Browns team (renamed the Ravens) to Baltimore in 1996.

Thus, the result of this was a period during which teams and cities played “the stadium game,” as teams sought new concessions for their existing communities using the threat of moving to new, more lucrative climes. This bargaining leverage led teams to obtain unprecedented control of revenue streams from their fa-

cilities and saw a movement from the multipurpose facilities built with public funds during the 1970s to new single-sport facilities with new opportunities for revenue generation like luxury suites, luxury seating, personal seat licenses, and other amenities. In the case of some leagues, virtually all team movements during this period saw teams going from strong financial positions to even stronger ones. Nevertheless, it has been the teams that have not relocated (but threatened to) that have benefited the most from the rash of relocations that have occurred over the past fifteen years.

However, in the long run, the possibility of team relocation may erode fan support, and teams may find it difficult to establish ties to their new communities that equal those with their original communities. In most cases, franchises relocate to markets that have larger metropolitan statistics areas and thus have the potential to draw more fans and ultimately more money for team owners. However, there is a risk to doing this, as the new market often does not have an established base of fans to draw upon. As a result, teams may struggle to establish a loyal fan base similar to that of the market they have just vacated. In the long run, it is in the best interests of fans, teams, and their parent leagues to keep teams in communities that have shown a history of supporting their local franchises.

Daniel S. Mason

See also Fan Loyalty

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Free Agency

Free agency—the ability of players to shop their services to the team of their choice—is an important issue in professional sports labor markets. It has long been a source of discontent between players and team owners and a source of frustration and confusion to sports fans. Team owners express concern that free agency causes increases in salaries for star players; such increases might reduce the competitiveness of some, if not most, teams in the league and might make solvency more difficult for small-market teams. League officials express concern that free agency might reduce competitive balance, which is in the financial interest of the league. In a similar vein fans often express concern that their favorite players might move from team to team after free agency is introduced, reducing the loyalty that fans have for particular teams.

Although these concerns are often expressed in the popular media and are the basis for policies artificially

limiting player movement in professional labor markets, sports economists have generally found that although salaries increase with free agency, competitive balance tends to be unaffected and that no team in the four major U.S. professional sports has been bankrupted by free agency. Although free agency might increase the incentive for good players to move from teams in small cities to teams in large cities, free agency does not seem to have substantially increased the movement of players over time. Finally, concerns over fan apathy are not supported by evidence in the aggregate: Free agency has not reduced attendance or television viewership.

In the United States various levels of free agency were introduced in Major League Baseball (MLB) in 1976, the National Football League (NFL) in 1992, the National Hockey League (NHL) in 1995, and the National Basketball Association (NBA) in 1996. Because free agency was instituted first in Major League Baseball, and therefore more years of data exist with which to test the impact of free agency on several variables of interest, the majority of economics research on the impact of free agency focuses on professional baseball.

Free agency is typically structured so that players who meet certain criteria, most often a minimum amount of professional experience, are allowed to shop their services to the team of their choice. Thus, free agents choose where they will play and have a direct role in the negotiation of their salary. In Major League Baseball, players with six years of big league experience qualify as free agents. In other leagues somewhat different age and experience restrictions are placed on free agency; yet, these differences do not change the nature of the concerns enumerated earlier. Although players can shop their services to all teams, free agents do not necessarily take the highest salary bid; compensating differentials, such as being close to home or having a chance to win a championship, might induce a player to accept less than the maximum bid for his services.

Free agency differs from the so-called reserve system, in which teams hold the exclusive rights to a player's

services from year to year until the team sells, trades, or releases the player. The reserve clause in baseball was often literally the last line on a player's annual contract and stipulated that the player could not play with another team without permission or release. The reserve clause was a common source of labor strife between players and team owners during the twentieth century. In 1970 Curt Flood of the St. Louis Cardinals sued Major League Baseball, claiming that the reserve clause violated the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution; however, the U.S. Supreme Court dismissed the case in 1972. In 1975 Andy Messersmith and Dave McNally won an arbitration hearing that allowed them to file for free agency starting in 1976. Soon after baseball team owners came to terms with the baseball players' union about the actual structure of free agency.

Average Salaries

After free agency was introduced in professional baseball, average salaries began to increase. In 1976 the average salary in professional baseball was \$51,000 (\$170,000 in 2004 dollars). In 1980 the first million-dollar free-agent contract was signed between Nolan Ryan and the Houston Astros. By 2004 the average salary had increased to \$2.48 million, with the three highest annual salaries earned by Manny Ramirez of the Boston Red Sox (\$22.5 million), Alex Rodriguez of the New York Yankees (\$25 million), and Carlos Delgado of the Toronto Blue Jays (\$19.7 million). Salaries are expected to continue to increase as long as team owners earn more revenue.

In nonfree agency environments team owners exert considerable control over player salaries; this control tends to depress salaries and allows team owners to retain more of the revenue generated by players. Free agents typically receive a salary closer to the revenue they generate for team owners. Free agents who sign for considerable salaries are high quality players for which fans are willing to pay to watch. Team owners generate revenue through ticket sales and media contracts, which are primarily influenced by the quality of the team.

Show me a guy who's afraid to look bad, and I'll show you a guy you can beat every time. ■ LOU BROCK

High quality players are expected to increase team revenues, and free agency allows players to negotiate for a larger share of these increased revenues.

Regardless of whether free agency exists, team owners (especially in larger markets) earn considerable revenues from hiring high quality players. If a team owner retains the property rights to a player's services (contract), then the team owner stands to gain from selling the player's services (contract) to a team that would generate more revenue from hiring the player. In free-agent markets the player receives the returns that would have gone to the team owner sans free agency; hence the natural conflict between owners and players over free agency. The key difference between free agency and the reserve system is from whom the player's services are purchased, not necessarily the dollar value of the purchase. In either system the player will ultimately play for the team that values him the most; the only difference is who gets the proceeds from selling the player's services.

To operationalize this logic, assume that a player provides \$1 million of value to Team A and \$2 million of value to Team B and that the player currently plays for Team A for a salary less than or equal to \$1 million. The revenue that a player provides a team is the maximum salary that he will be paid by that team. Because Team B values the player more than Team A does, the owner of Team B is naturally inclined to negotiate for the player's services. Without free agency the two team owners negotiate a trade for the player, perhaps involving a cash payment to the owner of Team A to compensate for losing the player. For example, the two owners may agree to keep the player's salary the same and split the \$1 million (or more) difference between the value of the player to Team A and the value of the player to Team B.

Negotiation

In free agency the situation is somewhat different. Now the owner of Team B negotiates with the player (or his agent). The player rightly believes that he is more valu-

able to Team B than to Team A but might not know exactly how much he is worth. Many times free agents look to players with similar performance statistics who have also been free agents. The salary of comparable players is often used as a guideline for negotiation. The free agent's salary is expected to increase, but the team that ultimately hires the player is no different with free agency.

Although without free agency the owner of Team A may decline to trade or sell the player's services to Team B (perhaps for strategic reasons, e.g., Team A and Team B are divisional rivals), experts generally believe that team owners are profit maximizers. In the absence of free agency the owner of Team A will sell the player's contract to Team B if the sale is profit enhancing. The implication is that player movement may be only somewhat limited by the lack of free agency and only somewhat enhanced after free agency; that is, player movement is expected to be basically the same regardless of whether free agency exists.

In economics this logic is embodied in the Coase theorem, which has been applied to a variety of problems. Although the Coase theorem is by no means universally accepted it seems particularly appropriate for professional sports labor markets. Specifically, the Coase theorem predicts that free agency will increase player salaries but will not affect the ultimate allocation of players across teams. Therefore, fears that competitive balance will be permanently skewed by free agency may be misplaced. Notwithstanding the perception that free agency increases the probability that wealthy, large-market teams will monopolize high quality (and expensive) talent, the Coase theorem (and common sense) suggests that the wealthiest teams will purchase the best players with or without free agency.

How has the Coase theorem withstood empirical tests in professional sports? Numerous studies have focused on three implications of the Coase theorem: player salaries, player movement, and competitive balance. Overall, the results tend to support the Coase theorem and are here outlined briefly.

The first implication is player salaries. Rottenberg (1956) was the first economist to systematically analyze the economics of an open market for baseball players. Cassing and Douglas (1980), Sommers and Quinton (1982), and Quirk and Fort (1992) all show that player salaries increased after the advent of free agency and that the salaries paid to free agents approach the true value of the players to their teams. Subsequent studies have generally confirmed that free agents tend to be paid more than nonfree agents, everything else being equal, but that players are rarely paid more than the revenue they generate for their teams (season-ending injuries are the most common exceptions).

The second implication is player movement. The Coase theorem says player movement should not be significantly affected by free agency, a fact that has been called the “invariance principle.” Most studies find that player mobility was at least as common, if not more common, during the era before free agency. For example, Cymrot (1983) shows that players often leave a winning team in a small city for a lower-quality team in cities with rapidly growing populations. A contrarian view is taken by Hylan, Lage, and Treglia (1996), who argue against the invariance principle. They find that older pitchers, better pitchers, pitchers in big cities, and pitchers on better teams are less likely to move after free agency.

Competitive Balance

The third implication is competitive balance. The Coase theorem says competitive balance should be unaffected by free agency. *Competitive balance* is typically defined as “a greater number of teams having a legitimate chance to contend for a playoff spot and therefore a championship.” Numerous studies in professional baseball suggest that the competitive balance in Major League Baseball has not been significantly reduced by free agency.

Another concern is that free agency alienates fans and that fans therefore attend or view a sport’s events less often after free agency is introduced. That is, re-

gardless of what the actual data suggest, fans may perceive free agency as a mechanism of skewing success toward a relatively small number of teams and away from the majority. This perception might cause a reduction in attendance and television viewership as fans feel the sport is less competitive; this feeling in turn reduces the financial well-being of a league’s teams. If this situation were the case, league officials and team owners might wish to restrict player mobility in the financial interest of the league and its teams, although such a restriction would introduce distortions in the labor market. Unfortunately, no studies have directly investigated the impact of free agency on attendance. Some evidence indicates that roster turnover can cause a decline in attendance to MLB games, but aggregate attendance changes do not seem to have been affected by free agency.

Overall, the evidence suggests that the impacts of free agency are consistent with the implications of the Coase theorem: fears that free agency increases player mobility, skews competitive balance, and reduces the attractiveness of the sport seem to be misplaced. Of the expressed concerns, only the increase in player salaries seems justified but is not surprising because team owners must directly pay the free agent.

Another concern affiliated with salary increases “caused” by free agency is that ticket prices increase in response to salary increases, making the sport less affordable and pricing some fans out of the market for live sporting events. Although we might reasonably assume that higher salaries cause price increases, this assumption actually confuses causation and correlation. Salaries are, for the most part, determined before the beginning of the season and are not affected by the number of tickets sold or the number of people who watch the games on television. If team owners seek to maximize profits, ticket prices are determined by the interaction between demand for live events and variable costs, those that change with the number of tickets sold. If salaries do not influence variable costs, they cannot influence ticket prices. However, ticket prices might in-

crease after a team signs a high-salaried free agent if the demand for the team's games increases. In 2000 the Texas Rangers signed Alex Rodriguez for an average salary of \$25 million per year. That year the Rangers increased ticket prices, not because of the higher payroll but because more Rangers fans attended Rangers baseball games. Increases in attendance are not caused by high salaries but rather by the quality of the players who are paid high salaries.

The Future

Free agency will likely continue to be a source of friction between team owners and players and a possible source of frustration and confusion to sports fans. The idea that players making millions of dollars seek to increase their salaries, often at the expense of their current team's quality, seems to many people to contradict the spirit of sports and reduces fans' vicarious enjoyment derived through their favorite team's success. The 1994 MLB player's strike, the lockout of NBA players in 1998, and the lockout in the NHL after the 2004 season all had free agency as a primary point of contention. Ultimately, the debate over free agency centers on how owners and players divide the league's revenues (between profits and wages) and seems to have little direct effect on team and league performance or on how fans value the sport as an entertainment event.

Craig A. Depken II

See also Collective Bargaining; Unionism

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**Games of the
New Emerging Forces
(GANEFO)**

Gay Games

Gender Equity

Gender Verification

Germany

Globalization

Goalball

Golf

Greece

Greece, Ancient

Growth and Development

Gymnastics, Apparatus

Gymnastics, Rhythmic



See Horse Racing; Internet

Gambling

Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO)

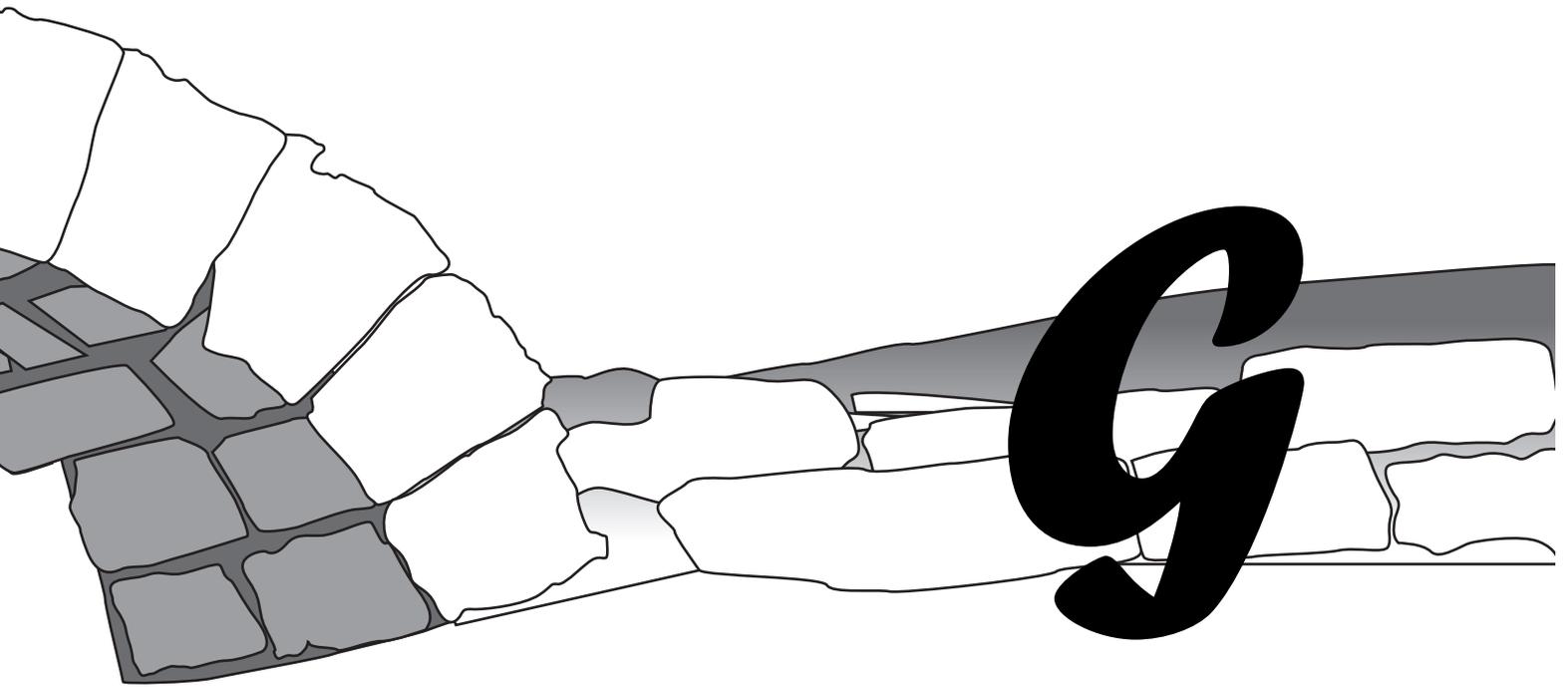
The Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) grew from a complex post–World War II political environment, with the fledgling independent nation of Indonesia and its dynamic leader Ahmed Sukarno at the center.

Sukarno observed international relations among the United States, the USSR, China, and Taiwan; the Arab nations and Israel; and the new independent states in Africa, Asia and South America and developed political theories that categorized nations as Old Established Forces and New Emerging Forces.

Sukarno's Strategy

On these theories Sukarno constructed a strategy to place Indonesia, and hence him, as president, as leaders of a movement that would catapult the New Emerging Forces to dominance over the Old Established Forces.

While Sukarno was solidifying these theories, Indonesia was awarded, in May of 1958, the 1962 Asian



Games. The decision was met with skepticism by many who were not convinced that Indonesia had the organizational or economic power to run the games.

Part of the Sukarno strategy was a position of supposed neutrality while concurrently soliciting aid from the Old Established Forces. He approached the United States for assistance with Asian Games preparations in the fall of 1958, but the United States did not respond. The Soviet Union, when asked for assistance, responded immediately, providing a loan enabling Indonesia to build the main sport complex for the games, including a 100,000-seat stadium, and several other venues. Japan loaned money for a major hotel project.

POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

By 1962 facilities were nearly complete, but there was concern from several nations that preparations were delayed because the official games invitations had not been issued. Indonesia's Department of Foreign Affairs refused to issue visas for athletes from Taiwan and Israel, thus delaying the invitations.

Indonesia invited all members of the Asian Games Federation to Jakarta in April of 1962 to confirm their state of readiness. During the visit, flags of Taiwan and Israel were prominently displayed with the flags of the other nations. This satisfied Taiwan and Israel but agitated several Arab nations and China.

One month prior to the opening of the games, Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-Lai officially warned Indonesia that there would be repercussions if Taiwan were allowed to compete. Taiwan asked other nations to join in a boycott if Taiwan were refused entry to the games.

Nevertheless, the games opened in August with neither Israel nor Taiwan allowed to compete. This threw the games into a political frenzy, with international sport officials meeting on a near-daily basis to seek a resolution.

India's International Olympic Committee (IOC) representative Guru Dutt Sondhi held that Asian Games Federation rules were being broken and the Federation should immediately remove its sanction from the games and the games should be called the "Jakarta Games." This announcement caused the international federations of basketball and weightlifting to withdraw their approval from the games, and those sports were cancelled. The International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) and Federation Internationale de Natation (FINA, the international swimming federation) issued similar warnings for the sports of athletics and swimming, but those sports were not cancelled.

Sondhi was eventually run out of Jakarta by a mob on the last day of the games, escaping on a plane back to India. A few months later, he led the IOC effort to place sanctions on Indonesia.

The Creation of GANEFO

In November 1962 President Sukarno gave a speech proposing that Indonesia host the Games of the New Emerging Forces of the World (GANEFO), which would be for countries from Asia, Africa, South America, and the socialist countries. Sukarno stated that "sport has some relation to politics. Indonesia proposes now to mix sport and politics."

In April 1963 a preparatory conference was held.

Organizers announced that the GANEFO games would be held every four years and were to be based on Olympic ideals and the spirit of the Asia-Africa Conference at Bandung in 1955. Another goal was to break the imperialist monopoly in sports.

The first games were held from 10 to 22 November 1963, with forty-eight nations attending. China had the largest contingent of the games and won the most medals, taking advantage of their first opportunity to participate in a large international competition for the first time in several years; they had withdrawn from the Olympic movement after the 1952 Olympic Games over the issue of Taiwan's participation.

Organizers announced that five world records had been set during the games. The IAAF refused to ratify times by North Korea's Sim Kim Dan in the 400- and 800-meter athletics events, as the IAAF had not sanctioned the event.

SUSPENSION AND SANCTION CONFUSION

The international federations threatened to pass out suspensions for any athletes that had participated in the GANEFO games, barring them from Olympic participation, but backed away after this turned out to be impractical; for instance, athletes from Japan, the host of the upcoming 1964 Olympics, had participated. Turmoil over suspensions and sanctions lingered, however; the IOC suspended Indonesia from membership, then reinstated them after Indonesia agreed to follow IOC rules. Due to the confusion, however, Indonesia and North Korea did not compete in the 1964 Olympic Games, and Iraq's National Olympic Committee boycotted in solidarity with Indonesia.

ATTEMPTS AT STRUCTURE AND LEGITIMACY

Immediately after the 1963 GANEFO games, a GANEFO Congress was held in Jakarta, which authorized that GANEFO continental committees and national GANEFO committees be established, mirroring the structure of the International Olympic Committee.

The head of China's GANEFO delegation, Jung Kaotang, noting the games' slogan, "Onward! No Retreat!"

wrote after the games that GANEFO "marks the end of the imperialist monopoly and manipulation of international sports activities" and is "a powerful current in international sports, which cannot be checked by anyone on earth.

"The GANEFO torch, once lit, will shine forever," he concluded.

GANEFO Seen as Destructive

IOC press attaché Frederic Schlatter, writing in the *Olympic Review* in May 1964, stated that "the 'GANEF0' Games were a typical illustration of an infiltration into sport of destructive political elements" and that the "International Olympic Committee has no greater nor more urgent a problem than to consider this particular one during the 4-year Olympiad which begins in 1964."

The 1967 GANEFO games were scheduled to be held in Cairo, but a volatile political landscape led to several realignments, including Indonesia's new government's reestablishing of ties with Taiwan, and the games were canceled.

A smaller, fifteen-nation Asian GANEFO was held in Cambodia in 1966, but the organization dissolved thereafter.

Speaking to the seventy-third IOC congress in Munich in 1972, IOC President Avery Brundage noted that the IOC response to the games had eventually been successful. He said, "As an international athletic competition it was a farce, and it has not been repeated since."

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Gaming

See Internet

Gay Games

Former Olympic decathlete Dr. Tom Wadell realized a dream by staging the first Gay Games in San Francisco in 1982. His goal was to organize an inclusive, safe sport and cultural event for gays and lesbians—without excluding heterosexuals—as an alternative sports event free of the homophobia existing within mainstream sports. (Homophobia can best be described as the irrational fear and hatred of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people, manifested through prejudice, discrimination, harassment, physical violence, and the like.) Combating stereotypes about gays and lesbians in sports, empowering individuals, and building bridges between mainstream and “queer” communities are central goals of the Federation of Gay Games (FGG), the international governing body of the Gay Games. Since its foundation in 1989, the federation has been responsible for “safeguarding the spirit, integrity and quality of the Gay Games” by selecting, supporting, and controlling their host organizations.

The Gay Games have been staged every four years since 1982 and have grown into one of the largest international sport and cultural events. With more than ten thousand participants in about thirty different sports, it exceeds the Olympic Games in terms of sheer numbers. Furthermore, several thousand people participate in cultural events (e.g., choir and band perform-

ances) during the Gay Games. The organization is run by thousand of workers, mainly volunteers, and Gay Games events are attended by up to a million spectators. Gay Games VII will take place in Chicago in 2006, returning to the North American continent, after the fifth and sixth editions were held in Europe (Amsterdam) and Australia (Sydney), respectively. Over the past two decades, the Gay Games have grown into an enormous popular and successful international, multimillion dollar, queer rainbow event. However, this success has been tempered to some extent by financial problems, management crises, and internal and external criticism.

What Is “Olympic” about the Gay Games?

Waddell founded San Francisco Arts and Athletics, which organized the first “Gay Olympics” in 1982. The use of the name “Olympics,” however, was successfully opposed by the International Olympic Committee, through a court injunction, shortly before the games started (*International Olympic Committee v. San Francisco Arts and Athletics*). The refusal of the IOC to “lend” “Olympic” to the Gay Games has often been referred to as discrimination against gays and lesbians within GLBT (gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender) communities. But since 1910, numerous other events (e.g., Deaf Olympics, Military Olympics, Senior Olympics) have been legally refused use of the word *Olympic* or Olympic symbols, the Special Olympics, a sport event for people with cognitive impairments, being the only exception. Moreover, only events sanctioned by the FGG are allowed to use the name “Gay Games” and the related symbols.

The spectacular official opening and closing ceremonies of the Gay Games, including a parade of all participants, distinguished by country, do to some extent resemble those of the Olympic Games. The most important difference with the Olympic Games or other international competitive sport events for specific groups (e.g., the Universiade for students) is that there are no qualifying criteria to compete in the Gay Games. Everyone is welcome to participate within a sport, the only

selection criterion being the order of registration. In most sports a maximum number of teams or participants is allowed. The traditional Olympic motto “participating is more important than winning” is mirrored by Gay Games’ “doing one’s personal best.” Nevertheless, many participants are very seriously competing for a medal or to “win the gold.”

Gay Games participants vary enormously in age and sporting abilities. Therefore, individual sport events like swimming and track and field are organized by age classifications (according to the standards of the international swimming and track and field federations), and team sport events are often divided into categories based on skill. This means that there are many medals to be won. Also, each participant of the Gay Games can collect a general medal of participation.

Developments Through the Years

The first Gay Games (*Challenge 1982*) were held in San Francisco, on a budget of \$350,000. This event saw 1,350 athletes from twelve countries competing in seventeen different sports. When the next games (*Triumph 1986*) were also hosted by San Francisco four years later, the number of sport participants had risen to 3,500. (Founder Tom Waddell died of AIDS shortly after these games.) In 1989 the local organization, San Francisco Arts and Athletics, became the international governing body, the Federation of Gay Games.

Gay Games III (*Celebration 1990*) took place in the Canadian city of Vancouver, welcoming nearly 7,500 athletes in twenty-three sports and 1,500 cultural participants (up from 400 in the first games). For the first time world records in the master age class (in swimming) were broken and were officially recognized, and the organization was confronted with financial losses, although the local economy had profited enormously. New York City was the home of Gay Games IV (*Unity 1994*), where the number of sport participants had again increased to 11,000 from forty-five countries. The games were organized to coincide with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the GLBT festival, commemorating the city’s Stonewall riots of 1969.

In 1998 the Gay Games were held outside the North American continent for the first time. *Friendship 1998* was hosted by “the gay capital of Europe”: Amsterdam. These sixth Gay Games had a budget of \$7 million and welcomed a record number of nearly 14,500 sports participants. Shortly before the games started, it became clear that financial mismanagement threatened the full staging of the Gay Games program, which was guaranteed by extra subsidies granted by the city of Amsterdam.

Gay Games VI (*Under New Skies 2002*) were held in the Southern hemisphere, in Australia. Several of the Olympic venues of the 2000 Sydney Games were used by 11,000 athletes and 1,000 cultural participants from more than seventy countries. As in the other Gay Games, the most popular sports in Sydney were swimming, track and field, marathon, volleyball, and tennis. Again, the organization was confronted with a large financial deficit, partly due to overly optimistic expectations concerning ticket sales for several official program events.

Along with repeated financial mismanagement by the host organizations, there has been another challenge to the unity and solidarity of the international GLBT sporting community. An unresolved conflict between the assigned host of Gay Games VII in 2006, Montreal, and the FGG resulted in withdrawal of official assignment. Chicago became the new official Gay Games destination. Since the Montreal organization continues its preparations for an international queer sports event, two separate international gay/lesbian sport and cultural events will be held in 2006. Moreover, the European sister organization, the EGLSF (European Gay and Lesbian Sport Federation), has withdrawn their membership from the FGG. Since 1992, the EGLSF has organized the EuroGames in the years without a Gay Games. The “large-scale edition” of the EuroGames, which is held every four years, has also grown into a big queer sport and cultural event, with Munich 2004, welcoming over 55,000 participants in twenty-six different sports.

To combat the financial and managerial problems

that have accompanied the Gay Games since 1990, the federation wrote a strategic plan in 2003 with stricter rules for future host cities. Twenty “core sports” were identified, covering a range of team and individual sports for men and women of different ages. Depending on the country and region of the host city (national culture and natural environment), extra sports can be added to the program. In Sydney, for example, a sailing event took place. The federation wants to limit extra official cultural events, outreach programs, and parties that are not securely financially covered or based on reliable ticket sales expectations.

Processes of globalization and commercialism have accompanied the original idealistic goals of the Gay Games. In spite of the existing financial perils, the Gay Games have developed as a result of a perfect fit between growing sport tourism and gay tourism industries and can be identified as the biggest celebration of queer subculture.

Inclusiveness?

As was mentioned earlier, with respect to sporting abilities the Gay Games are very inclusive, because there are no qualifying criteria to participate. But what about other aspects of inclusion?

Although the event is regarded as separatist and most participants are indeed gay men and lesbian women, the vision of the FGJ is to be sexually inclusive, and therefore straight men and women are also welcome to participate. In Sydney, 95 percent of the participants identified themselves as homosexual, 3 percent as bisexual, and 1 percent as heterosexual. Over the last years the games tended to be more inclusive to transgender people as well, although as in mainstream sport, most sport events are strictly structured by gender and do not include mixed gender or separate transgender categories. On registration forms, however, participants have more possibilities than only “male” or “female” to describe their gender. (One percent of Sydney 2002 participants identified themselves as transgender.)

In some editions of the Gay Games, the organization was rather successful in pursuing an equal gender ratio



Gay Games

“Oath of the Athletes”

I, [name], on behalf of all the athletes in this stadium
 Pledge to fully participate in the Gay Games by honoring the Spirit of their origins.
 I pledge to celebrate the uniqueness of these Games in their purest realm of sportsmanship
 Where there is no shame of failure
 Only glory in achievement and the shared fulfillment of each personal best.
 In these Games I have no rivals;
 Only comrades in Unity.

among participants. In San Francisco and Amsterdam, more than 40 percent of all participants were women. In Sydney, as in some other Gay Games, men clearly outnumbered women. Gender equality and inclusiveness are important to the federation, as witnessed, for example, by the coed presidency of the executive committee and in the development of outreach programs for women and non-Western participants by host organizations.

Since the event has grown enormously in its relatively short history, as well as becoming more professional and commercial, the integrative philosophy mainly holds true for the increasing cooperation between gay/lesbian sport organizations (from informal groups to clubs and international federations) and mainstream institutionalized sport. Many volunteers and most of the officials are heterosexual. Since most sport events during the Gay Games are sanctioned by international sporting bodies, there are more possibilities for elite athletes to compete and for new national and world records (mainly in the master age classes) to be recognized.

In contrast to many international mainstream sport events, young athletes are largely underrepresented. The majority of the participants are between 30 and 49 years of age. In Sydney, 20–29 year olds made up 7 percent of the total group, and 14 percent fell in the age category of 50 and over. Explanations for the senior

character of the event are twofold. First, many young gays and lesbians are still participating in mainstream sport and are not members of the gay/lesbian sport clubs that provide the majority of participants in the Gay Games. Second, many young gays and lesbians are still studying and therefore have less income, which is a major impediment for participating in the Gay Games. Apart from travel and accommodations costs, registration fees and tickets to official Gay Games events and parties are rather expensive, which has led critics to characterize the event as the “Pay Games.” The Gay Games are therefore certainly not inclusive to all people, regardless of income.

Furthermore, the majority of the participants is highly educated and “white”: among the Sydney participants 43 percent received a college or university degree and only 9 percent identified themselves as persons of color (including members of tribal and indigenous groups).

The underrepresentation and exclusion of lower income groups and nonwhite people are partly compensated, however, by special outreach programs for people from GLBT communities in countries in Eastern Europe, Pan American, South Asia, and Africa. For many of the participants from these countries, it is extremely difficult to lead an openly gay/lesbian lifestyle at home; the sense of “freedom to be who you are” and of international solidarity and community is probably even more empowering for them than it is for other participants.

Integration or Separation?

The central vision of the FGG and the respective host organizations is formulated in terms of their contribution to emancipation and integration. Their aim, to contribute to a better world through international sport events, is not unique to the Gay Games; it is similar to Olympic ambitions of “fraternization” and “peace.” The games certainly can benefit processes leading to personal empowerment, identity development, and temporary feelings of recognition and security instead of the marginalization, fear, and/or violence that many gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people still experi-

ence in their daily lives. But it would be somewhat naïve to expect international sporting events to make the world a better place. For many participants the Gay Games are mainly a gay/lesbian sport and cultural event and a celebration of subculture, during which they strive for their personal best, a medal, friendships, one-night stands, or to meet a steady partner. Many don’t identify with or believe in the wider political or ideological impacts of the Gay Games (although they may be eager to buy official souvenirs with the respective Gay Games logos and mottos, like *Triumph, Unity, or Friendship*).

There is not only support for, but often also criticism of the Gay Games from individuals and organizations within GLBT communities, as well as other persons in public life, journalists, and “common people.” The most important question for both gay/lesbian and straight people is, Why is it necessary to have separate games when gays/lesbians want to integrate into mainstream society? People might give different answers to this question: visibility, emancipation, empowerment, resistance, celebration, freedom, integration. Maybe the best answer to this question is a return question: Why are gay/lesbian events like the Gay Games more often “attacked” for being separatist than, for example, male-only professional sport events like football or rugby championships, sport events for students or certain branches of the military, Jewish Games, or any multicultural sport and cultural festival?

Contested Sports Spaces

Visible (separate) sport participation by lesbians and gays can certainly challenge, but simultaneously confirm, stereotypical images of gay and lesbian people. The more challenging Gay Games events include same-sex (ice) dancing competitions and gay male competition in hard contact sports, whereas male cheerleaders and tough lesbian football or ice hockey players may confirm existing stereotypes of sporting gays and lesbians. Since most of the public at large read or hear about and see these events through mainstream newspapers and television, and since the mass media often

look for stereotypical “queer signs,” it is not plausible that the Gay Games only contribute to images of cultural integration.

GLBT sport events possess possibilities for “queer resistance” to the mainstream sports culture and “integration of sexual difference,” but their existence and visibility does not automatically lead to greater acceptance of sexual diversity by the public.

Agnes Elling

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Gender Equity

Equity in sport is about fairness. But experiencing fairness in sport has been, and is, problematic for girls and women because sport traditionally has been defined as a masculine activity, and women historically have been excluded. Sport was developed by and for men and is also ruled, for the most part, by men. The

values that are dominant in most sports are also closely connected to a traditional definition of masculinity, which praises toughness, competitiveness, and aggressiveness. In this connection it is important to remember that masculinities and femininities are social constructions. They refer to what are acceptable behaviors for women and men.

According to Patricia Flor (1998), the former chairperson of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, the topic of women and sport belongs in the human-rights context. At the Second World Conference on Women and Sport in Namibia in 1998, she stated that, “Over two decades, the international community confirmed time and again explicitly in U.N. documents that the principle of non-discrimination encompasses the right of all women and girls to engage in sport, physical and recreational activity on an equal basis with men and boys” (Flor, 1998). The year 1995 was a very important one for organizations working toward equal rights for women in sport.

The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, which took place in Beijing for the first time in history, devoted space in its final document to the question of women’s active physical lives. It is mentioned in three places in the document. Under Chapter IV, Women and Health, for example, it is written that the following actions should be taken: “Create and support programs in the educational system, in the workplace and in the community to make opportunities to participate in sport, physical activity and recreation available to girls and women of all ages on the same basis as they are made available to men and boys.” To fulfill these fairness goals of gender equity in sport, it is necessary to have equality of access, recognizing inequalities and taking steps to address them. Since equality in sport still does not exist, it is also about changing the culture and structure of sport to ensure that it becomes equally accessible to everyone in society (Sport England, 2000).

Equality and Equity

In an article called “Human Rights in Sports,” Kidd and Donnelly (2000, 139) point out that in a Canadian



A female sumo competitor in a ritual position.

boys and men could not get the same access to the soccer fields that they had because the time and fields available now had to be divided between the two genders.

As mentioned above, equity in sport is about equality of access and recognizing inequalities. But let us look at women's and men's access to the Olympic Games, to media representation, and to coaching and leadership roles.

context those seeking to improve opportunities for girls and women in sport have changed their focus from equality to equity. Equality is defined as "treating persons the same" and equity as "giving all persons fair access to social resources, while recognizing that they may well have different needs and interests." This is particularly important for gender equity in sport because girls and boys, women and men often have different needs and interests in sport and physical activity due to their socialization and background.

According to Coakley and Donnelly (2004), equity would involve taking steps to make up for the years of underfunding and underservicing often experienced by girls' and women's sport. One example mentioned is the women-only hours in pools and weight rooms, which may create a comfort level for many women who have had negative experiences in a male environment or who may have never dared to exercise in a place dominated by males.

Difficulty of Fairness to Both Genders

It should also be mentioned that, though many people support fairness as a principle, it becomes problematic when fairness to both genders has to be put into practice. Many people do not want to give up what they already have to achieve fairness. Access to sport facilities can be used as an example here. When girls in Norway in 1975 were allowed to play soccer, it meant that some

Access to Participation

Today women compete in sports that they did not have access to a few years ago, such as wrestling and boxing. Though women compete in many of the same sports as men, they sometimes play according to different rules and do not always compete in the same events. For example, in cross-country skiing, the longest distance for men is 50 km, while the longest for women is 30 km. The reason for this difference is the erroneous idea, based on supposed physiological gender differences, that women are the weaker sex. Some people will also argue that the goal should not be that women and men participate in exactly the same events, but that no one should be banned from a sport or event because of his or her gender. In apparatus gymnastics, for example, we don't see men on the balance bar or women in the rings, but of course both women and men can perform on these apparatuses. There are, however, a few sports in which men are not allowed to compete, such as rhythmic sport gymnastics and synchronized swimming.

Differences around the World

There are large differences around the world concerning girls' and women's participation in sport. In most countries men are more actively involved than women, particularly when it comes to competitive sport. In the Scandinavian countries almost as many adult women as men participate in recreational sport and leisure-time

physical activity. In some countries women do participate more in exercise and sport than ever before, but this does not mean that all women have the same access to physical education, to recreation, to sport facilities, or to competitive sport. From a worldwide perspective, exercise and sport may be irrelevant for women whose primary concern is getting enough food, water, and shelter.

Effects of Feminism

The reasons for the increasing number of physically active women are, of course, due to a number of factors. This increase can be partly explained as a result of a liberal feminist agenda, which has aided equal-rights legislation for the situation of women in society at large. The influence of this feminist agenda and its consequences for women's sport, however, differs between nations, because gender ideologies will vary both between cultures and within a culture. A more radical feminist perspective will question the development that has taken place in the Western world. It may be looked upon as a "sport on men's premises" (liberal feminism). Many sociologists have argued that real gender equity can never be achieved in sport activities and organizations exclusively shaped by the values and experiences of men (Fasting, 1997) and that gender equity in sport implies a change in the culture of sport.

Women's Access to the Olympics

Women's access to the Olympic Games has increased dramatically since the first women participated in the Games in modern times. The first of the "modern Olympics" was held in 1896, with no female participants. Four years later nineteen women, 1.6 percent of all participants, competed, in three events. When the first Winter Olympic Games were organized in 1924, 5 percent of the participants were women; the thirteen women were allowed to compete in only two events. In the 2002 Olympic Winter Games in Salt Lake City, women competed in thirty-seven events and accounted for 36.9 percent of the participants.

Table 1 focuses on the Summer Olympic Games and shows that the number of events have increased paral-

Table 1.

Women's participation in the Summer Olympic Games

Year	Events	Participants	% of all participants
1908	3	36	1.8
1928	14	290	9.6
1952	25	518	10.5
1968	39	781	14.2
1984	62	1567	23.0
2000	132	4063	38.2

el with the number of female participants. The sports that have been added to the women's competitions in the Summer Olympic Games since 1996 are soccer, softball, weightlifting, taekwondo, triathlon, and wrestling. The latest sports included in the Winter Olympic Games are curling, ice hockey, pentathlon and bobsleigh (International Olympic Committee, 2004).

This positive development concerning gender equity can partly be explained by the decision of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) that all sports seeking inclusion in the program must include women's events (Stivachtis 1998).

There are huge differences in rate of participation among different countries. Some have even had more female than male participants; this was the situation for Norway at the Olympic Games in Atlanta in 1996. But there are also countries that don't have any female participants at all. The reason might be that they have no female athletes who qualify, but it might also be due to discrimination and religious restrictions. In Atlanta in 1996, twenty-six nations did not have any female participants. Four years later this number had decreased to six. A women's-rights activist body, "Atlanta Plus," has demanded that countries that do not allow women to take part in sport should not themselves be allowed to participate in the Games and that the IOC is contravening its own Olympic Charter by letting these countries participate. Atlanta Plus has, therefore, with reference to human rights, demanded an Olympic ban on those countries in the Atlanta, Sydney, and Athens Games. They have compared the situation to the former ban of South Africa and named it "gender apartheid." The IOC, however, has never agreed to their demands, in spite of the fact that Atlanta Plus has received support from major organizations and groups such as the Women's Sports Foundation of the USA, the United



Gender Equity

Hardly Equity in 1884

The following is an account of one man's disastrous attempt to organize a women's baseball team.

Baltimore, Md., July 7.—[Special.]—The 4th of July a man brought to this city from Philadelphia nine blondes and nine brunets, and put them to playing ball at Oriole Park—the grounds of the American association team, which is now in the West. The audience was very small, not large enough to pay expenses, and the playing was very bad. Saturday the same females played at Monumental Park before an audience of thirty-two people. The manager left Saturday night, and has not been seen since. The result is the female base-ball players are stranded here without a cent in their pockets, and with no means of returning to their homes in Philadelphia. Today they applied to the Mayor for passes to Philadelphia, but he could not grant them. They are half starved and in a sad plight.

Source: Female ball-players stranded. (1884, July 8). *Chicago Tribune*, p. 6.

Nations, and the Parliamentary Council of Europe (Hargreaves 2000).

Inequality in Prize Money

Another area for elite-level female athletes where the inequality between the two genders is striking is in prize money. A few years ago at the Manitoba Tennis Open in Canada, the Tuxedo Tennis Club offered a \$2,000 first prize for the men's championships, which were held on a Sunday on the club's center court. The prize money for the women's final was \$125, and it was held on a Friday on a side court (<http://www.caaws.ca>). At Wimbledon in 2002, the women's top prize was increased to £486,000, while the equivalent men's prize still was higher, £525,000 (news.bbc.co.uk). Ladies Professional Golf Association 1998 Player of the Year Annika Sorenstam won four tournaments and earned a record \$1,092,748 in 1998. If she had been on the

men's PGA tour, that would have put her in 24th place for earnings. In some sports and in some competitions, the prize money is the same for women and men, but this is still more an exception than a rule.

Media Representations

Many studies show that female athletes are both underrepresented in media coverage and portrayed in a gender-stereotypical way. Their lack of visibility in media compared to male athletes may have a negative influence on their opportunities to obtain sponsors, so this may for some sports and some women become a catch-22—in which one factor negatively affects another and is in turn itself affected. As an example of underrepresentation, the following study from Germany illustrates the point. A content analysis of four daily German newspapers in 1979 found that only 5 percent of all coverage dealt with women's sport, although women accounted for 34 percent of the membership in the German sports clubs. Twenty years later, in 1999, the same study was done, and the results showed that the female membership had increased to 39 percent, but coverage of women's sports had risen to only 10 percent (Hartmann-Tews and Rulofs 2001).

One factor is the amount of women's sport in the media; another important area is how the female athlete is depicted or portrayed. A study examined media treatment of female athletes throughout CBS's sixteen-day telecast of the 1992 Winter Olympics in Albertville, France. The findings revealed that although women were depicted in physically challenging events that defy stereotypical notions of femininity, such as mogul skiing and luge, the sport media reinforced "a masculine sports hegemony through strategies of marginalization" (Daddario 1994, 275). It was found that the television commentators were condescending in their descriptors, which trivialized the achievements of the female athletes. There was a strong tendency to blame female athletes for their failures, while excuses were made for the failures of the male athletes. There was also a diminishing of the women by casting them as "little girls." And there was the consensus that female athletes were

A student and sensei working on aikido technique.

typically cooperative while the men were typically competitive.

Coaching and Administrative Roles

Over the last twenty to thirty years we have seen an enormous increase in the participation of girls and women in physical activity and sport. This evolution, however, has not been reflected in the development of female leadership. Acosta and Carpenter (2004) have conducted a longitudinal study of women in U.S. intercollegiate sport (from 1977 to 2004). Though sport is organized differently in the United States, compared to many other places in the world, the study findings are interesting. Concerning coaching, it shows that only 44.1 percent of all women's teams in 2004 were coached by women. However, in 1972 (the year Title IX was enacted) more than 90 percent of women's teams were coached by a woman. Acosta and Carpenter suggest that some of the factors that may explain this development may be market based, others may be based on discrimination and disparate recruitment, and others on an expansion of the career goals of women.

Having few female coaches seems also to be an international phenomenon. There is also a trend showing that the higher the performance level of the female athletes, the larger is the chance that they will have a male coach. This means that relatively few top-level female athletes are coached by women, but almost no elite male athletes are coached by a woman. A study from Britain (Brackenridge 1987) found that between 6 and 8 percent of full-salaried coaches were women, while Canada reported that one out of five high-performance coaches were women (Laberge 1992).

Studies have shown that in addition to there being few female coaches, they have less status, lower salaries, and less power than their male counterparts (Knoopers 1989; Laberge, 1992). The same phenomenon has been found in sport administration. Why is it still like



this, in spite of the fact that sport politicians all over the world seem to agree that female leadership in sport must be increased?

Barriers to Leadership for Women

The largest barrier for women's involvement in leadership roles in sport seems to be that sport organizations are dominated by a male culture that either excludes women or does not attract nor accommodate large groups of women (Fasting 1997). Job-search committees or election committees, which usually consist of all men, also often use subjective evaluative criteria, which means that women often will be seen as less qualified than men. In practice this means that men have used their male network to help them during job searching and hiring processes or during the election procedure of coaching and administrative positions.

Sexual harassment is more likely to be anticipated and also experienced by women, and women coaches and administrators often feel they are judged by more demanding standards than men (Coakley and Donnelly 2004). Being an officer in a voluntary sport-governing body requires a heavy investment of time and energy plus a flexible home and work life. The structures of the sport organizations themselves and the way they operate are not very often questioned. This is, however, as mentioned before, the key point in gender equity; that is, recognizing that women and men may have different needs and interests.

People in the States used to think that if girls were good at sports their sexuality would be affected. Being feminine meant being a cheerleader, not being an athlete. The image of women is

Outlook

It seems that gender equity or fairness in sport is difficult to achieve in practice, in spite of the fact that most people will agree upon the principle whether it is from a fairness or a human-rights perspective. The European Union, and many other European countries, have during the last ten years committed themselves to gender mainstreaming as a “new” strategy for developing gender equality in a society at large. This is based on the fact that other legal-opportunity approaches like “equal treatment” and “positive action” have not been successful enough. The same can be said for sport organizations.

Effectiveness of Gender Mainstreaming

The question is whether gender mainstreaming in sport will be more successful than other strategies. By “gender mainstreaming” is meant the integration of a gender focus in the mainstream of an organization’s processes and work. It can be defined as follows: “Gender mainstreaming is the systematic integration of gender equality into all systems and structures; policies, programs, processes and projects; into cultures and their organizations, into ways of seeing and doing” (Rees 2002, 2). According to Rees, mainstreaming turns attention away from individuals and their rights, or their deficiencies and disadvantages, and focuses instead on those systems and structures that produce those deficiencies and disadvantages in the first place. It seeks to integrate equality into those systems and structures.

But she also states that gender mainstreaming is a highly effective long-term strategy that complements the effect of equal treatment and positive action. Gender mainstreaming seeks to identify the ways in which existing systems and structures are “institutionally sexist.” It seeks to neutralize the gender bias, and it is an approach to produce policies and processes that seek to benefit men and women equally. The overall aim of gender mainstreaming is that something should be changed, primarily the culture of an organization, and that one needs statistics and research to do that. To achieve gender equity in sport, we therefore must see a

change in the sport culture as a prerequisite to gaining equality for women and men in sport.

Kari Fasting

See also Body Image; Coeducational Sport; Disordered Eating; Feminist Perspective; Gender Verification; Injury Risk in Women’s Sport; Lesbianism; Psychology of Gender Differences; Sexual Harassment; Sexuality; Women’s Sports, Media Coverage of

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changing now. You don't have to be pretty for people to come and see you play. At the same time, if you're a good athlete, it doesn't mean you're not a woman. ■ MARTINA NAVRATILOVA

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Gender Verification

In a patriarchal society men and women relate on unequal terms, and sports are but one aspect of a society in which masculine power is constructed and maintained. In sports people in superordinate roles see forceful, strong, able, independent women as a menace; thus, for these people maintaining and reproducing a myth of female frailty is a top priority, and they have reinforced this myth by “verifying” the sex of the world's top women athletes. The body is directly involved in a political field, and its manifestations in sports spill over into social life and vice versa.

Prohibition of Women's Sports

During the past century discourses surrounding gender and sports have certainly changed. Powerful male alliances in the medical establishment once ruled, and doctors were able to construct female physiological deficiencies and prohibit numerous physical activities for women. Today male control of the sports industry and its trivializing or obscuring media practices, combined with definitions of femininity linked to (hetero)sexual attractiveness and reproductive functions, propagates female subjugation and perpetuates women's exclusion from “masculine” sports domains.

The “knowledge” historically espoused by the (male) medical profession was informed by the ascribed social positions of women and led to representations of their bodies as inferior, deficient, and incapable compared with those of men. Subsequently, the ideology of women's sports became imbued with prohibitions and inhibitions. When women began to compete seriously

in sports, people had concerns about the acceptability of certain sports because of women's unique reproductive capacity. Throughout history middle-class women bore the responsibility of ensuring not only their own health but also the health of the ensuing generations. Women's exercise regimes have been decided by doctors and prescribed to women with distinct class and ethnic biases. Although reproductive health was of paramount importance, doctors viewed the reproductive capacity of Anglo-Saxon, middle-class women as a more valuable commodity than that of their working-class, immigrant counterparts; the idea that some of these women might prefer to remain childless was unpardonable, and the fact that labor performed by working-class women might be just as demanding as sports was ignored. People have expressed concern, never substantiated, that sports, particularly of the vigorous, competitive variety, would “masculinize” women physically, behaviorally, and psychologically. Sports were considered to waste women's vital force and to disable them from completing the requisite reproductive and domestic duties associated with their gender. A curious emphasis on the incompatibility between sports and women's breasts, which are thought to prevent women from making appropriate movements, is bound in medical control over women's reproduction and sexuality.

The gradual increase in women's opportunities to participate in sports and other physical activity has been tempered by precise constraints that set the boundaries beyond which young women should not attempt to move, thereby reaffirming a dainty, delicate, docile femininity, the legacy of which is still a constraint on women's experiences of their bodies.

Sex, Gender, and Sexual Orientation

People often confuse and use inconsistently the terms *sex*, *gender*, and *sexual orientation*. The term *sex* usually refers to the dichotomous distinctions between male and female based on genetically determined physiological characteristics. *Gender* usually defines the psychological and cultural dimensions of masculine and



feminine. *Sexual orientation* delineates one's sexual attraction: heterosexual, bisexual, or homosexual. The process variously called "gender verification" or "sex testing" attempts to reveal an athlete's sex; however, gender or sexual orientation ambiguity is the underlying reason. The sex of a petite figure skater, gymnast, or synchronized swimmer married to her (male) coach is rarely questioned. Women who excel at "power" sports are often considered masculine, lesbian, or not really women at all.

Sex testing is based on a simple gender logic that classifies all people as one of two sex categories: male or female. These categories are seen in biological terms, and they are conceptualized to highlight difference and opposition; in fact, they are called "opposite sexes." Dedication and hard work are required to maintain a simple binary classification system because it is inconsistent with evidence showing that anatomy, hormones, chromosomes, and secondary sex characteristics vary in complex ways and cannot be divided into two simple categories. However, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and other sports governing bodies have been willing to spare no effort to maintain a two-category system, which in effect maintains male supremacy and control over female bodies.

The participation of girls and women in sports has always presented a threat to the preservation of traditional gender logic. Because men are presumed to have an advantage in most sports, some people suspect that female athletes who do well may be men in disguise and present a threat to men's domination. Consequently, girls and women have been excluded from playing many sports or are encouraged to play only sports that emphasize grace, beauty, and coordination.

Women are now allowed (by men) to participate fully in some traditionally male sports such as basketball and soccer and Olympic events in which athletes demonstrate speed and power; however, their femininity is often called into question, and forty years ago international sporting federations actually began "testing" women athletes to ensure their status as women. Al-

though the practice was recently abandoned (1999), the most successful women athletes continue to have their sex, gender, or sexual orientation questioned.

Ancient Olympics—A Male-Only Club

The first Olympic sex test took place in ancient Greece and was instituted to keep women from disguising themselves as men. Athletes and trainers had to pass naked as they arrived at the ancient Olympics lest any women sneak in to watch or participate. The founder of the modern games, Baron Pierre de Coubertin of France, actually wanted the Olympics to remain a male-only "club"; however, women slowly gained more and more rights to participation. Nineteen women participated in the 1900 games, and fifty-seven in the 1912 games. The number of women competing in the games has steadily grown along with the competitiveness of the women's events. Of course, as the women competitors became fitter and/or more skilled, their performances became more "manly." To cite a few examples, the 1988 Olympic record in the women's 400-meter freestyle swimming event would have surpassed all men's performances prior to 1972; the 15-kilometer women's cross-country skiing standard in 1994 would have beaten all men's marks before 1992; and the winning women's 30-kilometer time in 1992 outstripped everything that men competitors had accomplished previously.

As women's performance standards improved markedly, questions began to arise concerning the actual "femininity" of many of the supposedly women Olympic competitors. In fact, the IOC was chagrined to learn that three track and field champions who competed as women in the pre-World War II games eventually underwent reconstructive surgery to remove external, male reproductive structures. The IOC also had to retrieve the medals of a Polish sprinter who competed as a woman when it learned that she had male reproductive organs. After World War II, when the former Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries fielded rather formidable women's Olympic teams

(both in terms of performance and appearance), the IOC became concerned about widespread rumors that at least some of the “females” on the teams were actually male and began strict sex testing of all competitors.

External Examinations

In 1966 the IOC introduced sex testing; this testing continued to be controversial until its discontinuation thirty-three years later. The Olympic Charter (1983) stated that all competitors registered as women had to report to the femininity control head office. Initially, at every major championship, women lined up in the female medical officer’s waiting room. In turn each woman walked, passport in hand, into the examining room and dropped her towel, and examiners performed an external gynecological exam in order to issue the “femininity certificate” that allowed her to compete. Those competitors who failed to report could not take part in the games. Women competitors with a femininity certificate were exempted from another examination upon presenting that certificate to the femininity control head office. The certificate operated much like South Africa’s pass card during apartheid (racial segregation), which communicated the message to blacks that they are an underclass so suspicious that they require surveillance. Because women don’t need a special card in other walks of life, a sex test obliquely tells women that their success in sports is worrying, suspicious, or even unnatural. Many athletes found the external examinations invasive and offensive, and, in fact, the examinations proved to be ineffective. As technology advanced and women’s performances continually improved, the IOC moved on to other methods of sex testing.

Sex Chromatin Test

The sex chromatin test, which relies on the biological fact that cells of most females contain two X chromosomes, whereas cells of males contain one X and one Y chromosome, was first used at the Mexico Olympic Games (1968). The test consists of a simple cheek swab in which oral-cavity cells are painlessly scraped from the

inside of an athlete’s cheek and then examined for the presence of the XX chromosomal constitution. This test was used from 1968 through 1992 despite its significant problems. It was unreliable, allowing some athletes with distinct “male” advantages because of their abnormal XXY chromosomal pattern to compete as women while basking in the benefits of increased strength and power afforded by their Y chromosome and subsequent high levels of testosterone. In the *Journal of the American Medical Association* geneticist Dr. Albert de la Chappelle reported that one in five thousand women has a hormonal imbalance called “adrenal hyperplasia,” which gives them the shape and muscular strength of a man despite their female genitalia and XX chromosomes. On the other hand, women who are ostensibly female were disqualified. Dr. de la Chappelle also recognized that six women in one thousand look like women, think they are women, have a body composition and musculature that seem entirely female, but “fail” the test because of their Y chromosomes. A condition called “androgen resistance” makes some XY women immune to the sexual-developing and strength-promoting qualities of testosterone and leaves them physiologically female despite the absence of the XX chromosomal constitution.

DNA Testing

Finally recognizing that such problems existed, the IOC in 1992 decided to move on to more sophisticated tests that look even more closely at the genetic makeup of the Y chromosome with methods based on deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA). These tests were also a poor choice because, as mentioned, some XY persons are essentially female. Nonetheless, the 1996 games in Atlanta, Georgia, incorporated a complicated, expensive, and time-consuming process of “SRY sex identification,” which included screening of athlete DNA, confirmation of testing, and counseling of “detected” athletes.

The SRY sex-identification process still did not eliminate all the issues surrounding the accuracy of the tests, and at the 1996 Atlanta games officials reverted to the

cheek-swab method. About one in four hundred females at the Atlanta games tested positive for male chromosomal material, but all tests were eventually ruled “false positives.” Eight women were permitted to compete because seven of them had androgen insensitivity, and the other had an enzyme deficiency, which effectively neutralized male sex hormones.

Men “Caught” Masquerading as Females

In a few cases men have disguised themselves as females; however, more often than not hermaphrodites or genetic males who have believed (or wished) they were females have been ruled against. German high jumper Dora Ratjen, who set a world record of 1.7 meters at the 1936 Olympics, was found in 1938 to have both male and female sexual organs. She was banned, and although she had lived as a woman previously she changed her name to “Hermann” and lived the rest of her life as a man. Two Frenchwomen on the 1946 European silver medal-winning relay team later were found to be living as Frenchmen. Claire Bresolles had become Pierre; Lean Caula had become Leon. Erika Schinegger of the Australian national ski team, who won the 1966 downhill ski title, was also “caught” with male chromosomes. Supposedly her male sexual organs had been hidden inside her body since birth. Later she changed her name to “Eric,” competed in cycling and skiing as a male while undergoing four genital surgeries, and is said to have married and become a father.

Women who have been “caught” as males often didn’t know about their Y chromosome and have suffered psychologically from the trauma of being disqualified from competition and having their medals revoked and success in sports discounted. Polish sprinter Eva Klobukowska passed a 1966 gynecological examination at the Budapest European Championships. After the introduction of sex chromatin testing, in Kiev at the 1967 European Cup, she was found to have extra chromosomes. Despite having a rare condition that gave her no advantage over other athletes, she

was forced to return her Olympic and other medals and retired from competition surrounded by controversy. To avoid this development, it was proposed that any athlete who failed the sex test be rushed to the isolation ward of a hospital and that the news media be told that she had developed a highly contagious disease. Some women who “failed” the test were instructed to feign injury or actually were fitted with casts.

Abandonment of Sex Testing

In 1990 the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF), the governing organization for track and field, called for the abandonment of gender verification and convened a working group of international experts, including ethicists, sports governors, physicians, and women athletes, in support of such abandonment. The group concluded that women with birth defects of the sex chromosomes do not possess an unfair advantage and should be permitted to compete as females. People who have been both legally and psychosocially female since childhood should be eligible for women’s competition regardless of their chromosomal constitution. The IAAF discontinued routine gender verification in 1992.

On the other hand, for an additional nine years, the IOC continued to ignore the compelling evidence that sex testing is discriminatory and traumatic for athletes with sex chromosomal disorders regardless of the method of analysis employed. Finally, because of the high frequency of “false positives” (eight out of eight women at the Atlanta games) and pressure from the IOC’s Athlete’s Commission, the American Medical Association, the American College of Physicians, the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology, the Endocrine Society, and the American Society of Human Genetics, among others, the practice was abandoned for the 2004 summer games in Sydney, Australia, on a “trial basis.”

The IOC hasn’t completely eliminated its interest in the sexual anatomy of women athletes. The decision to suspend gender verification depended in part on the

opportunity for officials to gain a peek at athletes' genitals during doping testing, which requires freshly voided urine. Gonadectomized (relating to surgical removal of the testes) males would pass superficial examination, of course, but such persons—as long as they were not doping themselves with steroids—would not be in a position to benefit from testosterone because the hormone would essentially vanish along with their testes.

Implications

A woman who excels in sports, although no longer subjected to sex tests, may still have her sex, gender, or sexual orientation questioned. With so much concern over which competitors are “real women,” the possibility that a woman athlete could masquerade as a male competitor and take home an Olympic medal has been completely ignored. Women may pretend to be men to gain status, safety on the street, the right to earn a living, and even the right to participate in sports. The rhetoric of women “failing” their femininity tests and being “caught” masquerading as males is embedded in a strict gender logic and masculine sporting hegemony (influence) that should be questioned.

Janelle Joseph

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Germany

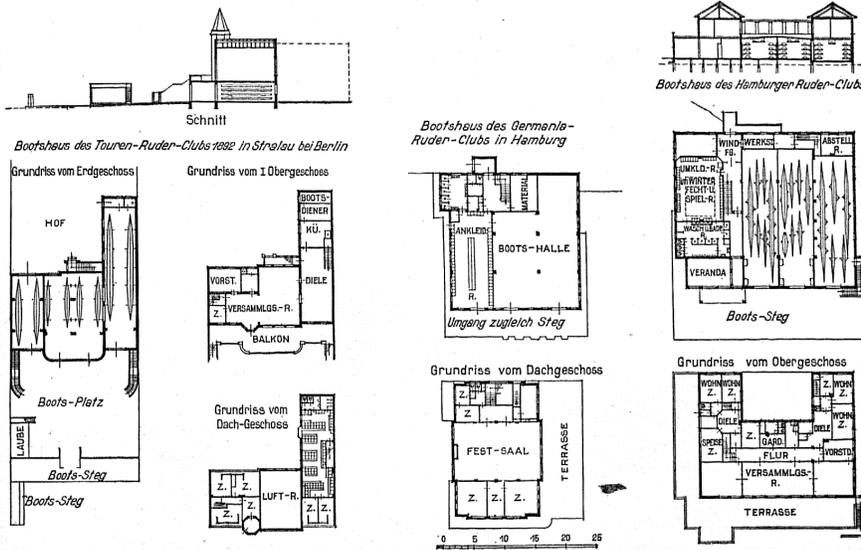
Germany is a federal republic in central Europe with sixteen states and a population of about 82 million people. The democratic constitution emphasizes individual liberty and the division of powers. Germany is a welfare state with a social market system, which leads to a high degree of social security and high levels in the areas of education, technological development, and economic productivity. The reunification of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic in 1990 led to considerable socioeconomic changes, partly because it was necessary to increase the standard of living and build up the inadequate infrastructure in the eastern part of the country. Today Germany suffers from high unemployment, a recession, and economic problems that have caused a restructuring of the welfare system.

History

Germany has a rich sporting tradition, and today sports are an integrated part of German culture and physical activities are a valued part of the German lifestyle.

THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

At the end of the eighteenth century, in accordance with the ideals of the Enlightenment, Johann Friedrich GutsMuths (1759–1839), a Saxon educator, developed a teaching concept that included physical education as a precondition for mental development and intellectual learning. In his 1793 book, *Gymnastics for Youth*, GutsMuths introduced a large collection of exercises and games, from climbing and balancing to running, jumping, and throwing, from swimming, ice skating, and hiking to exercises for improving the senses. This led to the introduction of gymnastics and other directed, quantifiable physical activities into the educational curriculum of several *Philantropine*, (boarding schools established by philanthropists); the aim was to



Plans for rowing club facilities in Berlin and Hamburg in the 1890s.

Their work found many adherents, partly because they emphasized exercises for beauty and grace, which reflected nineteenth-century ideals of femininity.

THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

With the industrialization and modernization of society at the end of the nineteenth century, various reform movements changed

educate useful citizens, but GutsMuths's vision excluded girls and women.

The gymnastics of GutsMuths served as a model for *Turnen*, a comprehensive concept of games, exercises, and physical activities—ranging from climbing and balancing to running, jumping, and throwing, and from wrestling to playing games—initiated by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852), commonly known as the father of gymnastics. Jahn's goals were to liberate Germany from French occupation, to overthrow the feudal order, and to form a German nation state. The principles of *Turnen* differed fundamentally from the sporting ideas developed in England in the same period. *Turnen* did not, for example, attach any importance to records and abstract performance; instead, it used a person's height as the criterion for judging a high jump. All-around exercising of the body was preferred to specialization, and the *Turnen* movement strove to improve the nation's strength rather than individual performance. With the foundation of the second German Empire in 1871, the movement's dream of a united Germany came true.

Although *Turnen* was initially exclusively a male activity, since the 1830s, physical education was available for the small group of girls whose parents could pay for it. In the course of the nineteenth century, there was increasing concern about the effects of industrialization and urbanization on the health of girls and women. Among the first champions of physical education for girls and women were Phokion Heinrich Clias (1782–1854) and Johann Adolf Ludwig Werner (1794–1866).

the physical activities of the German population. A games movement propagated games and outdoor exercises and fought for the establishment of playing grounds; a hiking movement addressed German youth; a gymnastic and dance movement, which focused on health and aesthetics, became the women's domain. In 1893, the Workers Gymnastic Association (*Arbeiter-Turnerbund*, ATB), which became a serious rival of the bourgeois *Turnen* and sport movement, was founded. By 1924, the Deutsche Turnerschaft (German Turners Federation) had 11,000 clubs with 1,750,000 members, and the ATB had 6,373 clubs with 653,000 members. In both organizations the female membership was around 20 percent.

The workers sport movement encouraged the health and fitness of male and female workers. Yet, in many ways, with regard to training and competition as well as to the organization of events, including the proletarian Olympic Games, the workers sport movement did not differ very much from its bourgeois rivals. In the beginning, it rejected competition, but soon yielded to the fascination of elite performances. Since the end of the nineteenth century, modern sport with its orientation toward competition and record-keeping soon spread from its country of origin, Great Britain, to Germany. In Germany, modern sport followed the example of *Turnen* and was organized into clubs and federations.

After the turn of the century, women were allowed to participate in *Turnen* and in some of the new sports, especially those which authorities believed did not

endanger health, beauty, or morals. On the tennis courts or the ski slopes, women had to play their traditional role as decoration. However, a few unconventional women tried many types of sport, from parachuting to ski jumping.

Before World War I, public interest focused not on the Olympic Games, which were nearly invisible, but on horse racing (because of the betting) and cycling. In 1909, Germans admired the first motored flight on a drill ground in Berlin. In the following years, curiosity and a craving for sensation enticed tens of thousands of spectators to visit flight shows.

WEIMAR REPUBLIC

In the wake of the profound political, economic, and social changes that followed World War I, sport experienced an enormous upswing. Indicators of the growing importance of sport included an increase in the percentage of people participating in sport activities, an increasing number of competitions and sport events, and increasing sport coverage in the mass media, which created sport stars like the boxer Max Schmeling and the automobile racer Bernd Rosemeyer. Sport became fashionable and attracted large audiences. For example, up to half a million spectators watched the car races on the AVUS in Berlin, the first freeway (*Autobahn*) in the world and for a long time one of the most important ones.

Girls and women were also infected by the sport fever. Corsets, long skirts, and narrow blouses were replaced by trousers and sweaters. The sport girl with long legs, slim hips, and short hair, became the new ideal for many women.

In Germany and throughout Europe, a variety of gymnastic systems were propagated, some emphasizing health and hygiene, some more intent on the aesthetics of human movement. The proponents of gymnastics strongly criticized modern sports and their obsession with quantified achievement. They were concerned principally with the quality of the movement, the form and shape of the body, and the harmonious development of the whole person. Although the gymnastics movement advocated a rather traditional image of womanhood, it



Germany

Key Events in Germany Sports History

- 1793** *Gymnastics for Youth* by GutsMuths is published.
- 1800s** The *Turnen* movement takes hold in Germany.
- 1830s** Physical education is open to young women of wealthy families.
- 1893** The Workers Gymnastic Association is founded.
- 1913** The German Sport Award is established.
- 1936** The Olympics take place in Berlin.
- 1950** The German Sport Confederation is founded.
- 1970s** The “Sport for All” campaign is launched.
- 1986** Government support for top-level athletes is increased.

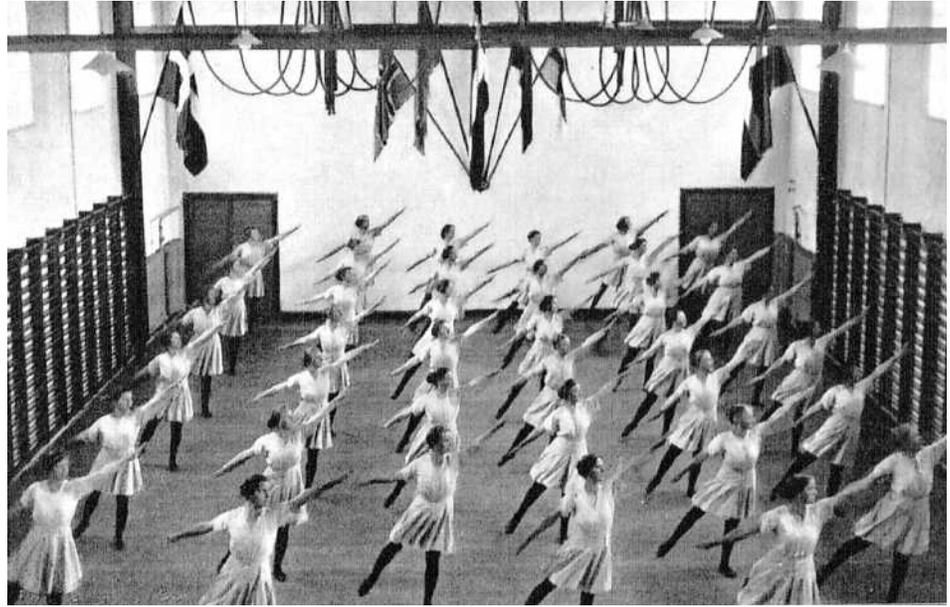
spoke to many who liked the idea of an essentially feminine movement culture free from men’s interference and control.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM

In National Socialist (Nazi) ideology, biological and racist ideas led to a partial redefinition of sport and the shaping of a new centralized sport system. The Nazis had the same aims and used the same strategies here as they did in other areas. On the one hand, sport organizations that did not fit into the National Socialist sport system, like the workers’ sport association and later the Jewish sport organizations, were dissolved; on the other hand, physical education became a central pillar in the schools and—at least on paper—in the structure of the Nazi state. Physical education was supposed to prepare men for their predetermined biological role as fighters and women for their role as mothers. Clubs and federations of the bourgeois *Turnen* movement were reorganized and forced to adopt the Nazi ideology. Jews were thrown out of the sport clubs.

Young women in a physical education class in the early twentieth century.

Although top-level sport and the Olympic Games did not readily fit into the National Socialist ideology of “fitness for Führer and fatherland,” the new rulers realized their propaganda advantages and supported the 1936 Olympic Games, which took place in Berlin. At these Games, Germany was a successful nation. National Socialist myths and ideals were even embodied in the architecture and the sculptures of the Olympic station, which were designed following the ideas of Adolf Hitler.



AFTER WORLD WAR II

After the devastation and deprivation of World War II, the German population turned back to sport, in part because they represented a more attractive world than the ubiquitous ruins of their defeated nation. But within the context of the Cold War, sport became increasingly important as a symbol of power and dominance. Athletes were looked upon as diplomats in track suits. The astonishing success of East Germany’s athletes, especially the female athletes, sprang from a number of inter-related factors: the centralized search for athletic talent, which began with the systematic recruitment of children; scientific research designed to maximize performance; the concentration of economic resources on sport; the high prestige, social security, and other material rewards (such as trips abroad) granted to successful athletes; and medical manipulation through drugs.

The focus on elite athletes came at the expense of recreational sports. Among other things, the facilities available to ordinary citizens were few and poor. After the reunification of Germany, the sport structures in the new German states were modeled, more or less, on West Germany’s less-centralized structures.

Sport Today

In the last decade, German sport experienced an enormous differentiation process. On the one hand, top-level sport won increasing importance and public attention, and on the other hand, more and more sport activities that were not competition- and performance-oriented, from yoga to roller skating, became popular. This “de-sportification” process motivated new groups—women, senior citizens, and disabled persons, among others—to take up sport, and a whole new sport market developed that decisively changed the face of sport.

At present there is a broad spectrum of sports, with different aims, purposes, rules, rituals, and practices. The spectrum ranges from top-level competitive sports to mass sport and recreational activities, and from sports for health to team games. Sports may be played informally or organized by different providers in different settings. Private firms have joined municipalities and even informal groups as providers of sport courses or facilities, from tennis courts to fitness studios.

In Germany, physical education is obligatory in all schools and classes. And top-level sport, competition sport, and sport for all are organized into a central sport system with ninety-thousand sport clubs.

Organizations

The federal structure of Germany is reflected in the structure, organization, and division of responsibilities

Germany Olympics Results

2002 Winter Olympics: 12 Gold, 16 Silver, 7 Bronze

2004 Summer Olympics: 14 Gold, 16 Silver, 18 Bronze

in the field of sport. Sixteen sport federations, which are responsible for sporting activities in the sixteen German states, exist beside fifty-eight sport federations for the various types of sport. The umbrella organization is the German Sport Confederation (*Deutscher Sportbund*, DSB), founded in 1950. Because the DSB coordinates all sport in Germany, it is engaged in elite as well as mass sport and conducts numerous initiatives and campaigns.

One of the most successful activities of the DSB is the German Sport Award (*Deutsches Sportabzeichen*), founded in 1913, which is given to those who have reached a certain performance level in certain sports. The conditions of the test vary according to age and sex. Since 1913, around 25 million Sport Awards have been given.

Another successful activity of the DSB was the “Sport for All” campaign in the 1970s. Slogans such as “Make yourself fit by doing sport” or “A clever person improves his endurance” or “Movement is the best medicine” were coined and propagated; jogging meetings were organized. As a result of this campaign, jogging, cycling, and, later, roller skating and Nordic walking, inside and outside of the sport clubs, gained more and more adherents. The popularity of jogging and roller skating is shown by the numbers of participants in a recent event—thirty-five thousand runners and skaters participated in the Berlin Marathon in 2003.

Sport organizations, from the clubs to the federations and the DSB, are based on the principles of democracy, autonomy, volunteering, and reciprocity. The leaders of sport organizations are volunteers, and many of the coaches and instructors are compensated only for their expenses or given a small amount of money as recognition of their work. The principle of reciprocity means that the engagement of volunteers is compensated by the engagement of others. Thus, the public relation official in a club, for example, writes reports for the press without getting paid, but he need not pay to use a trainer.

Today the professionalization of sport organizations

is a much-discussed and contested issue. Many of the bigger clubs and the national federations, which started at the end of the 1990s, employ at least some paid persons, who are mostly responsible for coordination, but also help with training. In many clubs and federations, however, paid and volunteer personnel work well together.

The federal government and local authorities provide legal and material support for sports organizations in those cases where the latter’s staffing and financial resources are insufficient. However, the relationship of the state and organized sport is always characterized as partnership and cooperation.

The German constitution has no regulations referring to sport. However, in accordance with the constitutional division of responsibilities, public promotion and support of sport clubs and federations are primarily a responsibility of the states. The federal government is mainly concerned with sport issues of national or supra-national importance. Therefore, it provides financial support to top level sport and top level athletes. The resources come from several places, including a lottery.

Competition at the Top

Top-level sport was reorganized in 1986 to encourage the systematic training of athletes, and around thirty-five hundred athletes are currently training in centers that are supported mainly by the federal ministry of inner affairs. These centers provide medical advice and care and coordinate education and training for athletes and their trainers. This federal ministry also supports thirty-eight schools that place a special emphasis on sport. In these schools, there are no conflicts between school and training, and it is possible for students to earn an education in spite of their engagement in top-level sport. It is even possible for some (older) athletes employed by state institutions to earn a living and practice their sport. Under certain conditions, athletes are also supported by an organization called German Sport Aid, which gets its money through the selling of sports postage stamps, a lottery, and other activities.

Sport Clubs

The main sponsors of sport are clubs. All sport clubs are nonprofit organizations, but they are very different with regard to their size, their philosophies, and their values and cultures. Small clubs that have only one sport exist beside huge sport associations with several thousand members who have not only numerous sports in their clubs, but also fitness rooms, swimming pools, and restaurants. Around 35 percent of the 90,000 sport clubs have fewer than 100 members, 34 percent have 101 to 300 members, and 31 percent have over 2,300 members. Up to 70 percent of the cost of clubs is financed by membership fees and events or activities; the rest comes from sponsors and from the states or communities.

Noncompetitive Sports

Research shows that more than 50 percent of Germans are active in sports, but that most of those who claim to be active participate in sports irregularly or with a low intensity. More than 30 percent of Germans belong to a sport club, and 38 percent of the members of these sport clubs are female. The involvement of women in sports depends more on age, class, and ethnic origin than does the involvement of men. In German clubs, girls typically begin to withdraw from sports participation when they reached the age of fourteen, while boys stay active until they are at least eighteen. Men and women of higher social status are more likely than the less affluent to be athletically active, but the effect of this variable is greater for women than for men. The participation of ethnic minorities is marginal in German sport. This is especially true for girls and women from an Islamic background.

The most popular sports in Germany are physical activities that can be easily integrated into everyday life, like hiking, cycling, swimming, jogging, and gymnastics, which attract mostly women. Number one among the organized sports is soccer—the soccer federation has more than 6 million members and 10 percent of them are women. The second-largest federation is the German Gymnastics Federation with 5 million members;

When I go out on the ice, I just think about my skating. I forget it is a competition. ■ KATARINA WITT

girls and women are in the majority with 70 percent of members. Then follows the German Tennis Federation (1,840,311 members), the German Shooting Federation (1,550,580 members), the German Track-and Field Federation (866,197 members), and the German Handball Federation (827,905 members).

Team handball was developed at the end of World War I by members of the *Turnen* movement for women who were excluded from other team games like soccer. But it soon became a fast and aggressive game that attracted more and more men. Team handball is also popular in Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, and South America.

The Future

Germany is a country where sport plays a very important role and where the number of participants has continuously increased. One reason for this is the engagement of new sectors of the population, like senior men or women who use sport for health and fitness. Another reason is that the increase in the commitment of sport-minded people and the introduction of new sports have roused the interest of formerly sport-abstinent people. The current favorite sports are street ball with boys, Nordic walking with seniors, and roller skating with female and males of all ages.

Gertrud Pfister

See also East Germany; Eiger North Face; Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936

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Globalization

Modern sport is bound up with an interdependent global network that is marked by global flows and uneven power relations. For example, people across the globe regularly view satellite broadcasts of English Premier League and European Champions League matches. In these games the best players drawn from Europe, South America, and Africa perform using equipment—boots, balls, uniforms, and so on—that is designed in the West, financed by multinational corporations such as Adidas and Nike, and hand-stitched, in the case of soccer balls, in Asia using child labor. This equipment is then sold, at significant profit, to a mass market in the towns and cities of North America and Europe. In the production and consumption phases of global soccer, several transnational corporations are involved—some corporations both own the media companies and have, as in the case of Sky TV, shareholdings in the soccer clubs they screen, creating part of what sociologists term the “global media-sports complex.”

The global flows that pattern world sport have several dimensions. These include the international movement of people such as tourists, migrants, exiles, and guest workers; a technology dimension created by the flow between countries of the machinery and equipment produced by corporations and government agencies; an economic dimension centering on the rapid flow of money and its equivalents around the world; a media dimension in which the flow of images and information between countries is produced and distributed by newspapers, magazines, radio, film, television, video, satellite, cable, and the World Wide Web; and finally, an ideological dimension linked to the flow of val-

ues centrally associated with state or counterstate ideologies and movements. All five dimensions can be detected in late twentieth-century sports development.

The global migration of sports personnel has been a pronounced feature of recent decades and appears likely to continue in the future. The flow across the globe of goods, equipment, and “landscapes” such as sports complexes and golf courses has developed into a multibillion-dollar business in recent years and represents another transnational development in the sport sphere. The flow of finance in the global sport arena centers not only on the international trade in personnel, prize money, and endorsements, but also on the marketing of sport along specific lines. The transformation of sports such as American football, basketball, golf, and soccer into global sports is part of this process.

Closely connected to these flows have been media-led developments. The media-sports complex projects images of individual sports, leisure forms, and specific cultural messages to large global audiences—for example, the worldwide audience for the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. The power of this media-sports complex has forced a range of sports to align themselves with this global model, which emphasizes spectacle, personality, and excitement. At the level of ideology, global sports festivals such as the Olympics have come to serve as vehicles for the expression of ideologies that are transnational in character. For example, the opening and closing ceremonies of the Athens Games were designed to project images of and messages about Greece both to its own people and to a global audience.

Understanding Global Sport Processes

Three approaches can help make sense of these global sport processes. First, sports have to be studied in the context of the societies in which they are played, and the interconnected political, economic, cultural, and social patterns that shape modern sport must be emphasized. Attention also has to be given to how these patterns both enable and constrain people’s actions—there are “winners” and “losers” in this global game.

*No one goes there anymore—
it's too crowded.* ■ YOGI BERRA

Societies are no longer—and except in very rare cases were never—sealed off from other societies. Ties of trade, warfare, migration, and culture are long-standing in human history—for instance, elaborate connections were made throughout Renaissance Europe. More recent globalization processes have constructed new sets of “interdependency chains,” networks that connect people from distant parts of the globe. It is in this context of global power networks that the practice and consumption of elite modern sport can be best understood.

Second, a long-term perspective can help to trace, describe, and analyze the global sport process. A historical and comparative approach can explain how the present pattern of global sport emerged out of the past and how it is connected to a range of “civilizational struggles.”

The third helpful approach is through an understanding of the concept of *globalization*. The concept

refers to the growing network of interdependencies—political, economic, cultural, and social—that bind human beings together, for better and for worse. These globalization processes are not of recent origin nor do they occur evenly across all areas of the globe. The processes that involve an increasing intensification of global interconnectedness are by their nature long-term, but during the twentieth century the rate of change gathered momentum. Despite the unevenness of these processes, it is difficult to understand local or national experiences without reference to these global flows. In fact, our living conditions, beliefs, knowledge, and actions are intertwined with unfolding globalization processes, which include the emergence of a global economy, a transnational cosmopolitan culture, and a range of international social movements.

A multitude of transnational or global economic and technological exchanges, communication networks, and



Globalization

English and Continental Figure Skating

In Europe there are two distinct schools of figure skating, and two only, though both schools have slight local variations. These are the English and the Continental. Skating, that is to say, straight-ahead skating, seems to have been made fashionable in England by the Royalist exiles returning from Holland at the restoration. Pepys in 1662 notices it, but it was many years before any attempt was made to skate on an edge. In 1772 one Robert Jones described the inside and outside edges, the forward roll, the outside forward 3, and other figures. His treatise is so advanced, however, that he must have had many keen forerunners, of whose practice he made use. On the Continent we find elementary works on figure skating at about the same date, but the art does not seem to have flourished to any great extent until the visit

of the American, Jackson Haines, to Germany and Austria in 1864–5. Thanks to the wonderful performances of this skater, a new interest was awakened. In Germany, Austria, Scandinavia, and Russia he produced a great impression, but not so in England, and he does not seem to have introduced any new movements in the form of rockers, counters, or brackets; these were of later birth. Since the time of Jackson Haines, figure skating has been developed on separate and distinct lines by the English on the one hand, and by the central Europeans on the other; the movements and figures performed are the same in each case, but the methods adopted are entirely distinct, and even opposed to one another.

Source: Wood, G. (1900, March). European figure skating. *Outing*, 6, 687.



An old basket with the bottom knocked out, set up as a basketball hoop on a brick wall, shows the little equipment needed to play basketball. This makes it appealing around the world. *Source: istockphoto/dgilder.*

migratory patterns characterize this interconnected world pattern. As a result, people experience spatial and temporal dimensions differently. There is a “speeding up” of time and a “shrinking” of space. Modern technologies enable people, images, ideas, and money to cross the globe with great rapidity. These processes lead to a greater degree of interdependence, but also to an increased awareness of a sense of the world as a whole. People become more attuned to the notion that their lives and where they live are part of a single social space—the globe.

Globalization processes, then, involve multidirectional movements of people, practices, customs, and ideas that include a series of power balances, yet have neither the hidden hand of progress nor some all-pervasive, overarching conspiracy guiding them. Although the globe can be understood as an interdependent whole, in different areas of social life, established and outsider groups and nation states are constantly vying with each other for dominant positions. This growth in the multiplicity of

linkages and networks that transcend nation-states suggests that we may be at the earliest stages of the development of a “transnational culture” or “global culture,” of which sport is a part. This entails a shift from ethnic or national cultures to supranational forms based upon the culture either of a superpower or of cosmopolitan communication and migrant networks. In this connection there is considerable debate as to whether global sport is leading to a form of homogenized body culture—specifically along Western, or American, lines. There is some evidence to support this notion, yet global flows are simultaneously increasing the varieties of body cultures and identities available to people in local cultures.

Global sport, then, seems to be leading to both a reduction in contrasts between societies and a growth of new varieties of body cultures and identities. Several of the more recent features of globalization include an increase in the number of international agencies and in global forms of communication; the development of global competitions and prizes; and the development



Globalization

Cricket Replaces Wrestling in West Africa

They [the Akan people] are not at all limited in their means of enjoyment. They have games of all sorts: the boys have organized swimming and shooting parties, and the girls have parties for collecting firewood and picking snails. At the riverside they have sports of peculiar kinds, chief among which is what is called in the Akan language Avensin, or Aguma. Two opponents meet to wrestle arm to arm, leg to leg, and body against body, in a rather violent but artful manner. Until one of them succeeds in conquering the other by sending him down or getting his opponent exhausted, the contest is a draw. This game is somewhat similar to the Japanese “Ju-jitsu,” at least in principle.

Our regret, however, is that with the growth of English schools, this healthy and muscle-developing pastime is being gradually given up for the more at-

tractive games of cricket and football. Cricket and football are good games; nobody doubts that. The fear is not that we are discarding the good for the bad, but that we are dispensing with the essential for the convenient. Our national character as a race of people having endurance and capable of prolonged exertion involving determination to see a thing through to its end, stands the risk of being modified, and in time altogether lost, if we give up our national games, pastimes, and customary practices. Cricket and football games help to make good sportsmen, good soldiers, good administrators, as well as good conservatives. But if the Akans have to acquire or enrich these qualities, should they do so at the risk of losing their national character?

Source: Danquah, J. B. (1928). *Gold Coast: Akan laws and customs and the Akim Abuakwa constitution* (pp. 229). London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.

of notions of rights and citizenship that are increasingly standardized internationally. The emergence and diffusion of sport in the nineteenth century is clearly interwoven with this overall process. The development of national and international sports organizations, the growth of competition between national teams, the worldwide acceptance of rules governing specific—that is, Western—sport forms, and the establishment of global competitions such as the Olympic Games and the men’s and women’s soccer World Cups all indicate the increasing globalization in the sports world.

If consideration is given to the issue of international sport success in the late twentieth century and in the early part of this new century, it is clear that this success involves a contest between systems located within a global context. Sport success depends on several elements: the availability and identification of human resources, methods of coaching and training, the efficiency of the sport organization, and the depth of knowledge of sports medicine and sport sciences. However, these elements are a necessary but not sufficient explanation of international sport success. In addition to these ele-

ments, sport development within a particular society also depends on the status of that nation in the sports international rank order. Less developed nations tend to underutilize their talent and performers or lose them to more powerful nations in the global sports process. Global sport processes can thus lead to an underdevelopment or a dependent development of a nation’s talent.

TALENT MIGRATION

The migration of performers, coaches, administrators, and sport scientists within and between nations and within and between continents and hemispheres is also a pronounced feature of late twentieth-century sport. Migration of this elite talent has become a decisive feature that structures the experience of sport in different societies. The movement of technology and the manufacture of clothing, footwear, and equipment is a worldwide industry that wealthier nations are able to access to a far greater degree than their poorer counterparts, and the implications of this global sports industry for sustainable sport systems are not clear. In addition to

these global flows, the images of sport stars and tournaments flow round the globe via the media sport complex. The interconnected web of media and corporate interests structures, though it does not completely determine, the sports experience for performers and consumers alike.

NATIONAL PRIDE AND SPORT

Global sporting success not only reflects national sport systems but also reinforces national esteem. Global sport involves a form of patriot games in which images and stories are told to us about ourselves and others; elite-level achievement in sport also tells us something about what it is to be human. With its emphasis on rational and efficient performance, specialization, scientization, competition, and professionalization, achievement sport reinforces the myth of the superman. This myth is sustained by the ideology and findings of the sport sciences, which tend to be concerned with identifying the conditions necessary to produce the ultimate performance.

The global sport system accordingly involves the mechanisms of production, experience, and consumption. Achievement sport demands the identification and development of talent, its production on a global stage in a single or multisport event, and its consumption by direct spectators or, through the media complex, a global mass audience. Over time there is a tendency toward the creation of a global achievement-sport monoculture—a culture in which administrators, coaches, and teachers promote and foster achievement-sport values and ideologies and where competitions and tournaments are structured along highly commodified and rationalized lines. Within the global sport system, not only are nations rank-ordered internationally, they are also grouped, more or less, along political, economic, and cultural lines into core, semiperipheral, and peripheral blocs.

Western Domination and Eastern Challenges

At the core of most team- and individual-based sports lie the countries of Western Europe, North America—

excluding Mexico—and former “white” Commonwealth countries such as Australia. Semiperipheral countries tend to involve former socialist countries and some emerging nations such as South Korea. Peripheral countries include most Islamic nations, the majority of African countries, and most South Asian countries. Whereas the West may be challenged on the field of play by noncore countries, control over the content, ideology, and economic resources associated with sport still tends to lie with the West. Yet through state policy noncore countries can use major sport festivals to solidify internal national identification and enhance international recognition and prestige.

However, both in terms of hosting events and making relevant decisions, the West dominates in international recognition, respectability, status, and prestige. The more high-tech and commodified the sport, the more dependent success is on the elements of the global sport process identified earlier. As a result, the West tends to win out. Indeed, the last decade has seen not only the recruitment by Western nations of sport scientists and coaches from the former Soviet bloc, but also the drain of athletic talent from Africa and South America in sports such as soccer to the economically more powerful clubs of Europe. Noncore leagues remain in a dependent relationship with the dominant European core. In other sports such as track and field and baseball, this drain of talent flows to the United States. The West also remains dominant in terms of the design, production, and marketing of sports equipment. Innovations emerge in the West, sport federations tend to be controlled by Western officials, and global sport tournaments are usually located in the West.

In the past decade or so there have, however, been challenges to the achievement-sport ideology and to Western domination. Though no longer in existence, the Soviet bloc mounted a sustained challenge to the West for some forty years, though it too was incorporated into the ideology of achievement sport. Despite the ideological differences between Castro’s Cuba and the capitalist West, Cubans participate in the Olympics, and by some measures outperform the core capitalist

countries. The recent Chinese success in the Olympics will only accelerate with the holding of the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing. Non-Western success on the field of play, in specific sports such as badminton and middle- and long-distance athletics, is beginning to be matched by the involvement of non-Western personnel as coaches, officials, administrators, producers of sports goods and media outlets, and as hosts of major tournaments.

Though England was the cradle of modern sport, the relative decline of Great Britain on the sports field—despite the improved, if overhyped success in the Sydney Olympic Games—is matched by its fading influence in the corridors of power of global-sport politics. This could indicate how things might develop in this century for Europeans and perhaps for Westerners more generally. One main source of potential dispute may well be the Olympic Games. As yet, however, the West is the winner in the global-sport contest, and hegemonic control remains with Westerners.

Global sport has not, however, led to complete homogenization: The consumption of nonindigenous cultural wares by different national groups is both active and heterogeneous, and there is a continuing resistance to global sport processes. Yet the political economy at work in the production and consumption of global sport and leisure products can lead to the relative ascendancy of a narrow selection of capitalist and Western sport cultures.

Global sport processes can therefore be understood in terms of the attempts by more established white, male groups to control and regulate access to global flows and also in terms of how indigenous peoples both resist these processes and recycle their own cultural products. We are currently witnessing simultaneously the homogenization of specific body cultures—through achievement sports, the Olympic movement, and sports science programs—and an increase in the diversity of sports and body cultures.

It is possible, however, to overstate the extent to which the West has triumphed in terms of global sports structures, organizations, ideologies, and performances.

Non-Western cultures, as noted, resist and reinterpret Western sports and maintain, foster, and promote, on a global scale, their own indigenous recreational pursuits—for example, Kabbadi, an ancient Indian game that now has an international World Cup. Clearly, the speed, scale, and volume of sports development are interwoven with the broader global flows of people, technology, finance, images, and ideologies that are controlled by the West, in particular by Western men. In the longer term, however, it is possible to detect signs that the disjunctions and nonisomorphic patterns that characterize global processes are leading to the diminution of Western power in a variety of contexts. Sport may be no exception.

Joseph Maguire

See also International Politics; Internet; Sports Politics; Sport Tourism; Sport and National Identity

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Goalball

Goalball is a team sport, an indoor court game, designed specifically for athletes with visual impairments and is currently played throughout the world from grassroots levels to the Paralympics. The game was devised after World War II to assist newly blinded veterans with an activity that would not only help them become active again, but one that would assist in learning better sound localization.

History

Goalball has its roots in Europe following World War II. The original version was played on a much smaller court with a larger ball and was played only by men. It



was in 1976 at the Games for the Disabled (later called Paralympics) in Toronto, Ontario, that those representing the United States first heard about the game. The track and swimming athletes in attendance combined forces to become our first goalball team, learning about the game in the aisle of the bus on the way to the gymnasium. Needless to say, the U.S. team did not fare very well that day, coming in ninth out of the nine teams participating. Most European teams had been competing for many years. Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana, hosted the 1982 World Goal Ball Championships, which were the first world championships for the blind to be held in the United States. (Goal ball was originally two words but over time has become goalball.)

One major rule change of interest had to do with penalties. The three team members on the court are both offense and defense. Originally, when a player caused a penalty, he was taken off the court and the remaining two players had to defend a throw from the other team. Currently, the person making the penalty must defend the throw alone on the court. The one causing the penalty now has the chance to redeem his or her error.

Goalball is played worldwide and is the only team sport for those with visual impairments played at the elite Paralympic level. In the September 2004 games in Athens, the U.S. women won silver behind Canada's gold and the U.S. men won bronze behind Denmark's gold and Sweden's silver. Regional and national competitions throughout the year keep athletes in shape for international competitions.

Major controversies are often the reason for rule changes. In goalball the only required piece of equipment is a blindfold so those that qualify by level of visual impairment still will be playing completely in the dark. Most controversies have centered around whether players can see anything that would give them an advantage in orientation. Eyeshades have changed over the years from airline-type sleep shades to ski goggles taped inside and out to players now patched (gauze pad taped over the eye) prior to putting the goggle in place at the Paralympic level.

What Is Goalball?

Goalball is played on a court about the size of a volleyball court with two end zones where three team players from opposing teams are contained. Court lines are taped with string underneath so players can feel where they are for orientation. The ball has bells inside, which assist in locating the ball for defense. All players must wear a blindfold so the game is completely tactile and auditory.

The objective of the game of goalball is to score on the opposing team by sending the ball across their end-line. A score is worth one point. The game as far as ball, court, and rules is the same for men and women. However, the men's game is usually a faster game. Players stand to throw the ball as if they were bowling. Defense begins in a squat position with a center and two wings each covering major sections of the court. As the ball approaches and the players anticipate where the ball will be, they dive out on their sides much as a soccer goalie might to defend the goal, which is the entire end line. Once the ball touches a player, the team has ten seconds to make the offensive throw to the other team. Players alternate fast and slow as well as down-the-line and cross-court shots to keep the defense on their toes.

While the only required piece of equipment is a blindfold, players wear padding and protective gear based on their style of sliding to defend. Equipment restrictions have to do with inappropriate materials for gymnasium flooring and padding extending too far from the body.

Goalball participants are typically adults for most competitions. Players need good knees, a keen sense of hearing, and great athletic ability. The center should be able to cover the entire width of the court with wings backing up the center. Wings are typically the throwers although all are permitted and encouraged to throw since the rule states that only two consecutive throws per player are permitted before a penalty is called. Since the eye gear is the only required piece of equipment, it is a great game for reverse inclusion (including the able-bodied population with those with disabilities).

Competition at the Top

Each October through June, the United States Association for Blind Athletes hosts regional championships that include goalball culminating in a national championship in June. Internationally, there are several invitational meets yearly as well as World Games and the Paralympics every four years (two weeks after the Olympics at the same site). Nineteen seventy-six was the first time goalball was played in a Paralympic-type competition. The United States entered a quality men's team in the 1980 games in the Netherlands. Men and women representing the United States have competed in every Paralympic Games since 1984.

Eugenia S. Scott

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Golf

Golf is a *ball-and-stick game*, the chief aim of which is hitting a small, hard ball into small holes placed at prescribed intervals around a grassy course. Today, golf reaches out to people of all ages and has become one of the premier world sports recreationally and professionally. The International Golf Federation (IGF) recently requested recognition from the International Olympic Committee for the 2008 games, citing world participation of more than sixty million men and women. In the early years of the modern Olympic games, golf was one of the events staged.

Scottish Claims

Scotland has long claimed to have founded the game of golf, and its headquarters for golf rules housed within the Royal and Ancient Golf Club (R&A) at St. An-

draws, Fife, has been at the center of golf's recorded history. However, pictures and records from many other nations depict a sport resembling the ancient ball-and-stick target game.

- A Roman game called *paganica* was introduced to France and Germany and then to the Netherlands.
- *Chole*, a derivative of hockey, played in Belgium as early as 1353, may have provided the most direct link to Scotland.
- Reportedly, a Scottish regiment aiding the French against the English in 1421 became entranced by the sport and, when the regiment returned home, members played a modified version that became golf as we know it today.

Golf became so popular that the Scottish parliament of James II banned golf in 1457 because it interfered with military training for the wars against the English. The ban continued through the parliaments of James III (1470) and King James IV (1491). In 1502, with the Treaty of Glasgow between England and Scotland, James IV lifted the ban and was the first recorded purchaser of golf equipment—a set of clubs. In 1553, the Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews granted the local population the right to play on the St. Andrews links, and the game took root as Scotland's own sport.

Mary, Queen of Scots, was the first recorded female golfer, and according to legend, that partly led to her demise. She was seen playing golf shortly after the death of her first husband, Lord Darnley. Such behavior was considered unfit for a woman in mourning and, presumably, contributed to her being convicted and beheaded in 1587. Her indelible mark on golf history remains her introduction of caddies, in reference to the cadets she brought along to carry her equipment.

Despite being banned on Sundays, initially for interference with military archery training and the nation's defense and later for stealing attendance from church, golf's evolution continued:

- 1618: the "feathery ball" was introduced.
- 1642: John Dickson was officially licensed as the ball-maker for Aberdeen, Scotland.

An advertisement from the 1920s for a variety of Spalding golf products.

- 1659: Records from the American colonies show that golf was banned from the streets in Albany, New York.
- 1744: The Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers formed and honored its annual champion with a silver chalice.
- 1754: The St. Andrews Golfers Club, later named the Royal and Ancient Club (R&A), formed and published the first rules of the game.

Soon, other clubs sprang up, including Royal Burgess of Edinburgh (1773), Royal Aberdeen (1780), and, in the United States, the South Carolina Golf Club in Charleston (1786). In each of these clubs, membership was restricted to mostly noblemen and gentlemen, who engaged in interclub fall and spring matches involving hefty wagers.

Rules Development

Before the published rules of the St. Andrews golfers, golf had been played at a variety of venues, on courses with differing numbers of holes. The “Old Course” at St. Andrews was originally eleven holes leading out from the club/university grounds to the water. The golfers then played the same holes in reverse—twenty-two holes total. The first rule established by the St. Andrews golfers, to speed up play and standardize distance, was that the ball was to be teed within one club of the last hole. In 1764, the members converted the first four holes to two holes each because they were too short and slowed play, which left an eighteen-hole venue—nine holes out from the clubhouse, and nine coming back in. This standardized future courses. The front nine score is still referred to as the “out” score, and the back nine as the “in” score, referencing the revised St. Andrews layout.

For years, golf was governed separately—in the United States by the United States Golf Association (USGA), and in the United Kingdom by the British Golf Association (BGA) and the R&A—and lacked standardization of equipment and rulings. In 1952, the first world code of rules was established between the R&A and USGA. In an effort to standardize play for professionals and amateurs in all major competitions,

SPALDING'S GOLF GOODS

Rubber Grips



Made of purest Para rubber Will fit any golf club, and insures a firm and perfect grip. Highly commended by expert golfers.

No. 5. Plain Rubber Grip Each, **25c.**
No. 6. Pin Check Grip " **50c.**

Initial Letters for Caddy Bags



White metal, highly polished. Quickly and permanently fastened to any style bag. In two sizes.

No. 1. Letters, 1-inch. Each, **25c.**
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Wheeler Golf Club Cover



A Waterproof Hood for protection of Golf Clubs.

No. 18. Each, **50c.**

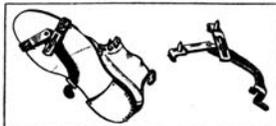
Club Polisher

**E. FABER'S
KADY POLISH.
FOR GOLF CLUBS.
No 1040. U S A**

Made in about same size as the ordinary desk eraser. Will clean and polish iron clubs better and quicker than anything yet introduced. Cut exact size of article.

No. 1040. Each, **10c.**

Peck & Snyder's Adjustable Golf Spikes



Quickly and securely fastened to sole. May be instantly removed when desired. When once set, always in adjustment for immediate use.

No. 19. Per pair, **50c.**

Rubber Discs for Golf and Outing Shoes



Quickly attached to any shoe and absolutely prevents slipping.

No. 9. Each, **5c.**

Golfing Gloves



Fine Soft Tanned Chamos, open knuckles, perforated back and palms.

No. C2. Per pair, **\$2.00**

Fingerless glove, palms reinforced, perforated backs.

No. C3. Per pair, **\$1.00**

Fingerless glove, for left hand only.

No. C4. Each, **50c.**

Complete Catalogue of Athletic Sports Mailed Free.

A. G. SPALDING & BROS.,

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the USGA assumed control of the U.S. Women's Open in 1953. This paralleled the organization and alignment of the British Women's Open with the R&A and helped promote tournament play for professionals and amateurs alike. In 1958, further organization of amateur standards came from the formation of the World Amateur Golf Council, in collaboration with the USGA and organizations from thirty-two other countries. A new system for *handicapping* was implemented, in which each golfer had a single USGA handicap instead of various other versions. This allowed men and women and golfers of varying skill levels to participate equitably. The R&A and USGA joined the IGF in 2000 and affiliated with associations worldwide to establish and maintain standardized rules for an equitable playing field. Scoring systems, equipment, rules for play, length of holes for “par” from tee to green, amateur status, and player etiquette are all governed by IGF rules.

Even with standardization, competitive golf provides scoring options. In *medal* play, players keep an aggregate score across all eighteen holes and compete against the course, their personal records, or other golfers on



Golf

“His Drive”

He's not a business wizard,
Socially he does not shine,
And for a place in politics
His name is not in line.
In fact, for all these honors
He never seems to strive,
But hear that “foursome” murmur:
“Gosh, how that man can drive!”

Perhaps he lacks ambition,
Or perhaps he doesn't care
To climb success's ladder,
Though all his friends are there.
Mayhap “Reward of Virtue”
In some measure he derives
From a muttered exclamation,—
“Great Scott, how that man drives!”

So when his life is over,
Not one will say of him,
“He made his name in business”
Or “Left a fortune, trim.”
But the tot'ring old-time golfers
Who still are quite alive
Will whisper at his passing,
“Law, how that man could drive!”

Source: Street, L. H. (1923). *Sporting Life*, 71(8), 27.

the same or different rounds and days. This is the format most commonly broadcast on television and played by leisure golfers and those on the professional tours—the *medalist* is the golfer with the lowest stroke total. Golfers who play regularly are encouraged to honestly and accurately record all rounds to establish a handicap. Under USGA rules, handicaps are derived by the difference or partial difference between their best twenty-round average subtracted from *par* (normally 72). Par is derived by the distance on each hole—and the number of strokes an expert golfer should need from tee to green, plus two putting strokes. Golfers who consistently play *par* golf are called *scratch golfers*

and have a handicap of 0. A professional golfer competing in a handicapped tournament might even have a negative handicap and have to add strokes to his or her score at the end, or on a hole. In medal play, the golfer's handicap is subtracted from the *gross* (total) eighteen-hole score to arrive at a *net* score. Many leagues and tournaments award prizes on both gross and net scores.

In *match play*, opponents compete hole by hole, with a point scored for the winner of each hole. Using handicaps in match play, the score per hole is adjusted according to the handicap, before the point is awarded. Match play is still the most common scoring system for collegiate golf and many amateur championships—a tradition established at the matches at St. Andrews. The handicapping system has made golf an attractive leisure sport for golfers of all levels—it rewards individuals for playing at their best and allows players with different skill levels to compete equitably.

Newer courses have different teeing grounds (tee boxes) on each hole, designed so that golfers of differing ability, age, strength, handicap, or gender would use a similar length shot or club in their approach shot to the green. This provides golfers an equitable chance to achieve a “net” par on a hole. A *course rating* system has also been designed to identify difficulty, according to length (rating) and topography (slope) for each course.

Equipment Creates Professional Golf

The first golfing equipment was a handmade ball of feathers tightly wound around a center of either stone or other material that could be molded into a round shape and clubs constructed of whatever wood was indigenous to the countryside. The title “The World's First Golf Professional” was given to Allan Robertson, a feather ball maker from St. Andrews, who developed a new club with a slender wooden shaft and an iron head. Robertson continually built clubs that were lighter and more flexible than those of his contemporaries. The change in clubs led to a fundamental change in the golf swing.

The amateur golfers wore crested wool jackets that represented their clubs but also limited their arm move-

It took me seventeen years to get three thousand hits in baseball. I did it in one afternoon on the golf course. ■ HANK AARON

ments to about 180 degrees and a wristy swing. This created a low, flat, and often rolling shot—good initially in the Scottish winds, but not resembling the swing taught today. Robertson, not of the “gentlemen’s” class, was not so restricted. He and the other caddies turned professional golfers sported sweaters and were able to experiment with different swings.

Other professionals were merchants who made clubs, designed and laid out courses, and made golf apparel for the club members. The caddies and other professionals would assist with the morning matches between the gentleman members but would gather later for their own rounds while the members socialized in the clubhouse. As the gentlemen’s matches (match play format) became more established, many clubs began employing club professionals to manage their courses and operations, and to teach the game. In 1854, the R&A invited each of the twelve clubs in existence to send two golfers for a “Grand Tournament,” which was played over several days. The last day the professionals played and recorded their round—Robertson’s 80 was about 25 strokes less than that of the amateurs participating in the club match play. Thus, the challenge of the professionals was born. As word spread about the professional challenges, some of the amateurs joined, leading to the term *open play*. Today, “open tournaments” are still played with amateur and professional golfers competing against one another.

The establishment of rules, equipment development, and professional golf have always been intertwined. As numbers of competitors increased worldwide, equipment changed to gain the competitive edge. The “guttie,” or gutta-percha ball (made of a natural balata-like substance) was introduced in 1848 and, by the mid 1850s, had replaced the feathery ball. The guttie was machine produced, cheaper, and produced a consistent ball flight. Professionals began experimenting with new swings to curve shots and impart backspin to reduce the roll on the hard greens. Tom Kidd, winner of the 1873 Open, built irons with metal spines across the faces—producing backspin far beyond that of the flat-surfaced irons. Although the R&A banned the protrusions, oth-

ers took up the challenge to find a swing and new irons that could so dramatically change their games. In 1890, the brassie club was introduced—a brass plate was added to the sole of the wooden club. Harry Vardon invented the modern upright swing and a grip that controlled the longer swing path—one that interlocked the little finger on one hand with the index and middle fingers on the other. Today, 95 percent of touring professionals use the Vardon grip. Vardon won the British Open six times between 1896 and 1914 and was hired by Spaulding Company, of the United States, in 1900 to teach and tour with Spaulding’s equipment. While in the United States, Vardon won the 1900 U.S. Open and inspired Americans to adopt his grip and swing.

Over the next few decades, several equipment and rule changes affected golf:

- The rubber core ball, patented by Coburn Haskell in 1898, enabled the ball to travel further.
- Grooved-faced irons were invented in 1902.
- The mass production of golf clubs developed from 1900 to 1920, and clubs were numbered and standardized.
- William Taylor introduced the dimpled-pattern ball cover in England in 1905.
- The Goodrich Company introduced a golf ball with a rubber core filled with compressed air in 1906.
- The R&A banned the center-shafted putter in 1910, but the USGA kept it legal.
- Arthur F. Knight patented steel shafts, also in 1910. The USGA allowed them in tournaments in 1926, and the R&A followed suit in 1929.
- One of the last rules to be standardized worldwide was the size of the golf ball when, in 1990, the R&A adopted the 1.68-inch diameter golf ball (previously 1.62-inches) standardized by the USGA.

The industry continues to experiment with and develop balls with different dimple patterns, covers, or core composition to entice golfers to purchase new equipment and gain a competitive edge.

Manufacturers hired professional golfers to tour at various clubs, give clinics, and promote equipment for

their new sporting goods industry. The first female professional, Mrs. Gordon Robertson, was hired at Princess Ladies Golf Club, in 1908. Professional golfers were skillful players, but others were employed by clubs and seldom had time to perfect their games. Vardon's playing success in the United States led to an exodus of Scottish, Irish, and English professionals across the Atlantic, where Americans had the money to pay for lessons and equipment. Among the Scots who joined the immigrant movement was Donald Ross, who moved to North Carolina and built dozens of courses.

As these pros toured the United States, they gave lessons, held exhibition matches, and played events like the U.S. Open. The Professional Golfers Association of America (PGA) was formed in 1916 and held its first championship with a prize of \$500 to the winner. Among the best-known pros were Walter Hagen and Gene Sarazan. In 1935, Helen Hicks was one of the first women hired by Wilson Sporting Goods to promote women's golf through exhibitions and clinics and to advise the company about golf club design for women. Mildred "Babe" Didrikson Zaharias, 1932 Olympic track and field medalist, also turned to golf. In 1935, declared a professional by the USGA, she played professionally until 1946. Reinstated as an amateur in 1946, she won seventeen amateur titles in two years, including the 1947 British Women's Open Championship—the first U.S. golfer to do so. Her personality and international fame attracted spectators and brought attention to women's professional golf. She ushered in a new style of clothing, shedding long, tight skirts and other restrictive garments for knickers and slacks, which gave more freedom to swing for distance and increased comfort. This interest sparked the industry to pay more attention to women as clients. The Women's Professional Golf Association (WPGA) was chartered in 1944 but disbanded in early 1949 because of financial stress.

Following World War II, steel-shafted clubs were introduced as factories transitioned from war to peacetime productions. Professionals began playing with these cheaper clubs that would not warp when wet,

and didn't whip and twist as the hickory shafts did. The shafts maintained a better swing pattern throughout the down swing, so the professionals learned to keep their wrists cocked longer and swing harder, releasing the wrists at the end to increase clubhead speed and shot distance. Byron Nelson, who won eleven tournaments in a row in 1945, adopted the new swing and taught many of the great players of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Also developing the upright swing to perfection was female golfer Mickey Wright, who won eight-two tournaments between 1955 and 1973—her swing is considered the best swing of all time, male or female.

Participation for All

Although professional golf receives much media coverage, amateur golf continues to flourish throughout the world and across the ages. The National Golf Foundation (NGF) reports that in the United States

- 26.2 million golfers aged eighteen and older played at least one regulation round of golf in the previous twelve months,
- 36.7 million Americans five years or older played a round of golf or visited a golf practice facility,
- 6.1 million junior golfers ages five to seventeen have either played a round of golf or visited a golf practice facility,
- 45 percent of golfers (11.9 million) are aged eighteen to thirty-nine,
- 33 percent of golfers are seniors (ages 50+),
- 22 percent (5.76 million) are female golfers.

The ratios are similar in other Western countries, and participation in Asian countries is growing as well. Public golf courses have developed to the point that the sport is much less limited by cost—the median price of a round of golf at an eighteen-hole municipal or daily fee course in the United States is \$36 to \$40 including cart and green fee. Most courses also have provisions for individuals with mobility impairments. The NGF estimates that roughly 10 percent (2.4 million) of today's U.S. golfers represent a racial minority:



A golfer hits from the fairway.

Source: istockphoto/Skashkin.

- 882,000 are African-Americans
- 1,400,000 are Hispanic
- 851,000 are Asian/Pacific Islanders
- 712,000 are self-identified by survey respondents as “other,” which includes Native Americans and mixed races

Breaking Down Barriers: Women and Minorities in Golf

Although golf today reaches out to a diverse population, clubs did not readily open their doors to women or to persons of color or diverse backgrounds for many decades. The gender barrier began breaking down with the earliest recorded reference to a women’s competition in 1810, at Musselburgh, Scotland. The North Berwick Club in Scotland included women in its activities in 1832. The Ladies’ Golf Club at St. Andrews (1867) was the first official golf club for women, and on 19 April 1893, Issette Person convened a meeting of dedicated women golfers in London, forming the Ladies Golf Union (LGU). In addition to promoting general interest in the women’s game, its goals were to develop a

“handicapping” system, provide uniform rules, and fund an annual championship tournament for women. Later that year, the first Women’s British Amateur Championship had thirty-three contestants at the nine-hole course at Royal Lytham and St. Anne’s Golf Club.

The Amateur Golf Association of America (later renamed the USGA) organized in 1894 and held its first U.S. Amateur Championship in Newport, Rhode Island; one year later, its first women’s U.S. Amateur was held at the Meadow Brook Club on Long Island, New York. By 1900, U.S. men and women were winning golf medals at the Olympic games. The USGA and LGU agreed to hold biennial amateur competitions between the United States and Britain in 1932. The first official Curtis Cup was held in May at England’s Wentworth Golf Club, witnessed by 15,000 spectators, and won by the U.S. team (led by Marion Hollins) over the British team (led by Joyce Wethered). Wethered’s matches with Glenna Collett Vare became so legendary that towns closed up shop and gave workers the day off to watch the matches, which were credited with permanently raising the standards of women in golf. Robert Tyre (Bobby) Jones, U.S. golfing legend of the 1920s and 1930s and the only player to win the Grand Slam of men’s golf, reportedly called Wethered the “greatest golfer of all time, man or woman.” In 1950, during the U.S. Women’s Open Championship, the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) certificate of incorporation was signed, and the women’s golf tour consisted of eleven events and a total purse of \$50,000.

Today, international competition for women is as extensive as that for men:

- The 1990s brought the Solheim Cup sponsored by Karsten Manufacturing, which created biennial professional match-play competition between the LPGA and European Women’s Professional Golfers Tour (WPGET).
- Since 1988, LPGA Rookie-of-the-Year winners have heralded from Sweden, Scotland, England, Japan, Australia, and South Korea.



Golf

The Origins of Some Golf Terms

“Fore!” is Scottish in origin, and is a shortened version of the word “before” or “afore.” The old Scottish warning, essentially meaning “look out ahead,” is believed adopted from military circles, where it was used by artillery men as a warning to troops in forward positions. Golfers as early as the 18th century simply adopted this military warning cry for use on the links.

“Links” is a term that refers to tracts of low-lying, seaside land—characteristically sandy, treeless, and undulating, often with lines of dunes or dune ridges, and covered by bent grass and gorse found in Scotland. From the Middle Ages onward, linksland (generally speaking, poor land for farming) were common grounds used for sports, including archery, bowls and golf.

“For the Birds?” The term “birdie” originated in the

United States in 1899. H.B. Martin’s “Fifty Years of American Golf” contains an account of a foursomes match played at the Atlantic City (N.J.) CC. One of the players, Ab Smith relates: “my ball . . . came to rest within six inches of the cup. I said ‘That was a bird of a shot . . . I suggest that when one of us plays a hole in one under par he receives double compensation.’ The other two agreed and we began right away, just as soon as the next one came, to call it a ‘birdie.’” In 19th century American slang, “bird” referred to anyone or anything excellent or wonderful. The term “eagle” soon became common to refer to a score one better than a “bird.” Also by analogy, the term “albatross” for double eagle—an even bigger eagle!

Source: Adapted from the Golf History FAQ on the USGA website. Retrieved February 22, 2005, from http://www.usga.org/questions/faqs/usga_history.asp

- In 1988, Mercury LPGA Series was instituted as the first television series for women’s golf and Betsy King (U.S.) became the first player ever to receive \$6 million in career earnings.

International competition for men was already firmly entrenched. The game of golf spread early to South Africa (1885) and Japan, where, in 1914 at Komozawa, the Tokyo Club was founded, triggering the golf boom in that nation. The race and class barriers were not so easily erased, however. In South Africa, for example, clubs banned persons of color from playing on their courses, and today many clubs still restrict memberships and play to males and to those “voted” acceptable.

The rich history of golf included prominent African-Americans long before the U.S. Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, however:

- John M. Shippen was actually the first African-American professional golfer and played in the U.S. Open at the age of sixteen in 1896—the officials and golfers believed that he was half Shinnecock Indian.

- George F. Grant, a dentist and one of the first African-American golfers following the Civil War, patented the golf tee.
- Joseph M. Bartholomew, a caddie from the age of seven, constructed a golf course in 1922, in New Orleans, that is still in play today, and is named after him.
- Ben Spiller competed equally with the likes of Ben Hogan in the mid 1940s. Spiller and Ted Rhodes finished in the top twenty-five of a PGA tour event in 1948 in Los Angeles.

Not until 1955 and a lawsuit by Alfred (Tup) Holmes, however, were public golf courses in Atlanta, Georgia, and other parts of the nation opened to people of color. The PGA didn’t remove the Caucasian-only clause of its constitution officially until 1961. PGA professionals still boycotted South Africa in the 1980s because of exclusion of black players. The female color barrier was overcome largely because of such athletes as two-time Wimbledon (tennis) champion Althea Gibson, who joined the LPGA tour in 1963. That same

Golf is a good walk spoiled. ■ MARK TWAIN

year, the final round of the U.S. Women's Open was televised and helped to expose young girls, regardless of race, to the possibilities of golf for leisure or career. Four years later, African-American Renee Powell became a regular player on the LPGA tour, and the women in golf became champions of equal rights for women everywhere: They refused to hold the tournament at any venue where Gibson or Powell were not allowed into a clubhouse or faced other discrimination.

Today, the international and diverse representation in golf is evident, with young players of all races taking top honors on both men's and women's tours. Worldwide, competition for women is found in North America, Asia, and in Europe. Asian women's golf started with the Thailand Ladies Amateur Open Golf and Inter-Club Team Championships (1978), and in 1979, the Nichirei International U.S.–Japan Team Championships were inaugurated. For men, there are professional golf tours in Australia, Africa, Asia, Europe, South America, and North America. Although some private clubs still hold to prejudicial constraints by race and gender, other clubs and organizations are being developed to cater only to women or golfers from minority populations. Many clubs have accommodations for persons who are blind or physically challenged, some have special mobility provisions, and wheelchair golf has worldwide competitions.

Golf also has expanded to youth, through efforts of professional associations. In 1987, Judy Bell became the first woman elected to the USGA executive committee, and two years later, reflecting the growing appeal of the game to younger girls, the LPGA began sponsoring the PGA Urban Youth Golf Program and the LPGA Girls Golf Club. This club has expanded its outreach throughout the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, in partnership with the USGA and the Girl Scouts of the USA. International competition for juniors includes the Junior Ryder Cup, and the International Golf Federation sponsors clinics and junior tournaments around the globe. The PGA, LPGA, R&A, and national professional associations sponsor youth clinics, sponsor teaching schools, and donate

equipment to schools and community associations to attract youth to the sport.

Recognition of Champions

In 1998, the World Golf Foundation (www.wgv.com/hof/organizations.html) was established in St. Augustine, Florida, to represent all major golf organizations throughout the world, to honor the history of golf and achievements of its greatest individuals, and to teach both golfers and the general public about the game and its positive values. The website lists all major golf organizations as partners and has representatives from each on its advisory board. The USGA (www.usga.org) and R&A (www.randa.org) also have web links to museums and archives worldwide for information on golfing heroes, pioneers, golf history, evolution of equipment and the rules.

Growing Participation

Golf has won a prominent place as a leisure pursuit, a competitive sport, and a corporate lifestyle, and it continues to grow. Participants around the world will find a wide array of opportunities to enjoy and celebrate golf as a sport for all age groups, and for amateurs and professionals alike.

Debra Ann Ballinger

See also British Open; Masters; Pebble Beach; Ryder Cup; St. Andrews

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Greece Olympics Results*2004 Summer Olympics: 6 Gold, 6 Silver, 4 Bronze*

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Greece

Greece occupies 131,940 square kilometers in southern Europe, jutting into the Mediterranean Sea and sharing its northern border with Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Nearly 4 million of Greece's 10.6 million people live in Athens, the capital and largest city. Terrain, climate, narcissism, and competitiveness have shaped Greek sports, which include soccer, weightlifting, skiing, snowboarding, mountaineering, hang gliding, windsurfing, and beach volleyball.

History

The Greeks adopted the Olympic Games in the eighth century BCE, weightlifting in the sixth century BCE, and the marathon in the fifth century BCE. These contests did not continue uninterrupted into modernity, perhaps because a succession of empires conquered Greece. Independent again since 1829, Greece rekindled its enthusiasm for sports. In 1913 Christos Kakalos, along with two Swiss climbers, became the first to climb Mount Olympus, Greece's tallest mountain at 2,917 meters. In 1924 Turkish refugees founded in Athens the Athletic Union of Constantinople, and in 1926 soccer teams in Athens, Piraeus, and Thessalonica coalesced into the Hellenic Football Federation. In 1993 Mount Parnassos hosted the first snowboard race in Greece, and since 2002 Greek resorts have hosted beach volleyball tournaments for women and juniors.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Fans in Greece display the same passion for soccer that fans in the United States display for football, with the

Greek Cup analogous to the Super Bowl. The Athletic Union of Constantinople leads Greek teams with thirteen Greek Cups, its first in 1931 and its most recent in 2002. Mountaineering rivals soccer in popularity and has a religious mysticism that soccer lacks. Those people who climb Mount Olympus and Mount Athos pass Orthodox monasteries, symbols of the belief that in ascending a mountain a climber approaches God. The Greek mainland, Crete, and the Ionian and Aegean islands all boast mountains that challenge novice and veteran alike. Between December and April these mountains also attract skiers and snowboarders. The most popular, Mount Parnassos, has twenty slopes that span 14 kilometers and range between 1.6 and 2.3 kilometers in elevation. Since 1994 Mount Parnassos has hosted the Panhellenic Giant Slalom Race. Greek beaches and resorts mix sun, water, and sports. Golden Beach on Paros Island attracts athletes and tourists to beach volleyball, windsurfing, water skiing, snorkeling, scuba diving, and bicycling.

Women and Sports

In May 1993 women athletes and academics at the first International Conference in Sports Sciences formed the Hellenic Union for Promoting Women in Sports and Physical Education. The union acknowledges that women occupy an ambiguous status in Greek sports. Nike, the goddess of victory, is a woman; but only 25 percent of Greek women ages eighteen to sixty participate in competitive or recreational sports. Soccer clinics routinely attract more boys and men as spectators than girls as participants. Some men assert that women lack the strength and stamina to compete in sports, claiming, for example, that the female foot is too small and delicate to withstand the rigors of soccer. Despite these attitudes Greek women have made progress, notably in beach volleyball. Since 2002 Rhodes Island has hosted the Hellas Open, a tournament on the Federation Internationale de Volleyball (FIVB) Beach Volleyball World Tour. The 2004 open attracted seventy-four women's pairs from Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, and



A city sidewalk is rebuilt for the 2004 Olympics.

the two-headed eagle of the Byzantine Empire, faces east and west to unite symbolically the two halves of the Roman Empire. Another local club, the Greek Mountaineering Association of Aharnon (www.center.gr/climb/mountain), runs a school six weekends every December and January, culminating in an ascent of Mount Olympus.

Sports in Society

Historians view narcissism and competitiveness as being at the core

of Greek character. In this view sports are not an end but rather a means of drawing attention to one's physique. Muscle tone and suntan mark the Greek athlete's preoccupation with self. Competition functions as drama. Champions distinguish themselves from opponents as do protagonists from the chorus. In both sports and drama the spectators impart meaning to the spectacle because athlete and actor crave their adulation. In both sports and drama emotional intensity unites athlete and spectator. Greeks tend to romanticize sports, contrasting their passion against what they view as the corporate mentality toward sports in the United States. In this view sports assume a moral dimension, with Greek athletes the bulwark against sports as capitalist enterprise devoid of suspense and emotion.

the Americas and four thousand spectators, although no Greek pair finished higher than seventeenth.

Youth Sports

Greek youth gravitate to soccer much as U.S. youth gravitate to football and baseball. The Hellenic Football Federation sponsors the Greek Youth Championship, an annual event analogous to baseball's Little League World Series in the United States. Each June and July the city of Kalamata hosts the Zeus Cup International Youth Soccer Tournament. Like U.S. football and baseball, soccer attracts more Greek boys than girls, whereas beach volleyball attracts more girls than boys. Since 2002 the Greek resort of Xylokastron has hosted the FIVB Under-18 Beach Volleyball World Championship.

Organizations

The General Secretariat for Sports (www.sport.gov.gr) is a government ministry. Beneath it are fifteen national federations. The largest, the Hellenic Football Federation (www.epo.gr), boasts 2 million members and 5,773 soccer clubs. Other federations include the Hellenic Weightlifting Federation (www.weightlifting.gr) and the Hellenic Beach Volleyball Association (www.beachvolleyball.gr). Beneath the national federations are local clubs, of which the Athletic Union of Constantinople (www.aek.com) is an example. Its emblem,

of Greek character. In this view sports are not an end but rather a means of drawing attention to one's physique. Muscle tone and suntan mark the Greek athlete's preoccupation with self. Competition functions as drama. Champions distinguish themselves from opponents as do protagonists from the chorus. In both sports and drama the spectators impart meaning to the spectacle because athlete and actor crave their adulation. In both sports and drama emotional intensity unites athlete and spectator. Greeks tend to romanticize sports, contrasting their passion against what they view as the corporate mentality toward sports in the United States. In this view sports assume a moral dimension, with Greek athletes the bulwark against sports as capitalist enterprise devoid of suspense and emotion.

The Future

The Greek idyllic view of sports may have to change with the scrutiny of the twenty-first century. In 2000 Greek sprinters Kostas Kenteris and Katerina Thanou staged a motorcycle accident to avoid a drug test. In 2004 the Greek National Organization of Medicines seized anabolic steroids and diuretics from the warehouse of track coach Christos Tsekos. That year the International Olympic Committee stripped Greek weightlifter Leonidas Sampanis of a bronze medal for having too much testosterone in his urine. These



Greece

Key Events in Greece Sports History

- 776 BCE** The Olympics are first held at Olympia.
- 394 CE** The Olympics end.
- 1766** The Englishman Richard Chandler discovers the site of Olympia.
- 1896** The first modern Olympics are held in Athens.
- 1906** The Olympics are held in Athens.
- 1924** Turkish refugees found the Athletic Union of Constantinople in Athens.
- 1926** The Hellenic Football Federation is established.
- 1993** The 1993 Hellenic Union for Promoting Women in Sports and Physical Education is founded.
- 2002** The Hellas Open beach volleyball tournament begins on Rhodes.
- 2004** The Summer Olympics are held in Athens.

controversies may signal the retreat of traditional sports in Greece. The future may belong to beach volleyball, windsurfing, and their ilk—sports that combine sun and sex appeal.

Christopher Cumo

See also Olympics, 2004

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Greece, Ancient

In ancient Greece sports had a cultural significance that was unequalled anywhere else in the world before the rise of modern sports.

Homeric Age

The poems of the ancient Greek Homer, written no later than the eighth or seventh century BCE, show that the Greeks conducted athletic contests before 776 BCE (when the quadrennial games at Olympia began). Secular and religious motives mingle in history's first extensive "sports report," found in Book XXIII of Homer's *Iliad* in the form of funeral games for the dead Greek hero Patroclus before the walls of Troy. The sports at the funeral games included chariot racing, boxing, wrestling, foot racing, and discus and javelin throwing. The *Iliad* also offers evidence that funeral games at the death of heroes and kings were common in Greece. The contests in Homer's *Odyssey*, on the other hand, were essentially secular: Odysseus was challenged by the Phaeacians to demonstrate his prowess as an athlete. A Phaeacian tells Odysseus, "Thou art no athlete." This passage is perhaps the first use of the word *athlete*, deriving from *athlos* (contest), in Greek literature.

Olympic Games

In general, ancient Greek culture included both cult sports and secular contests. The most famous association of sports and religion was certainly the Olympic Games that began in 776 BCE. Through time the Earth goddess Gaea, originally worshiped at Olympia, was supplanted in importance by the sky god Zeus, in whose honor priestly officials conducted quadrennial

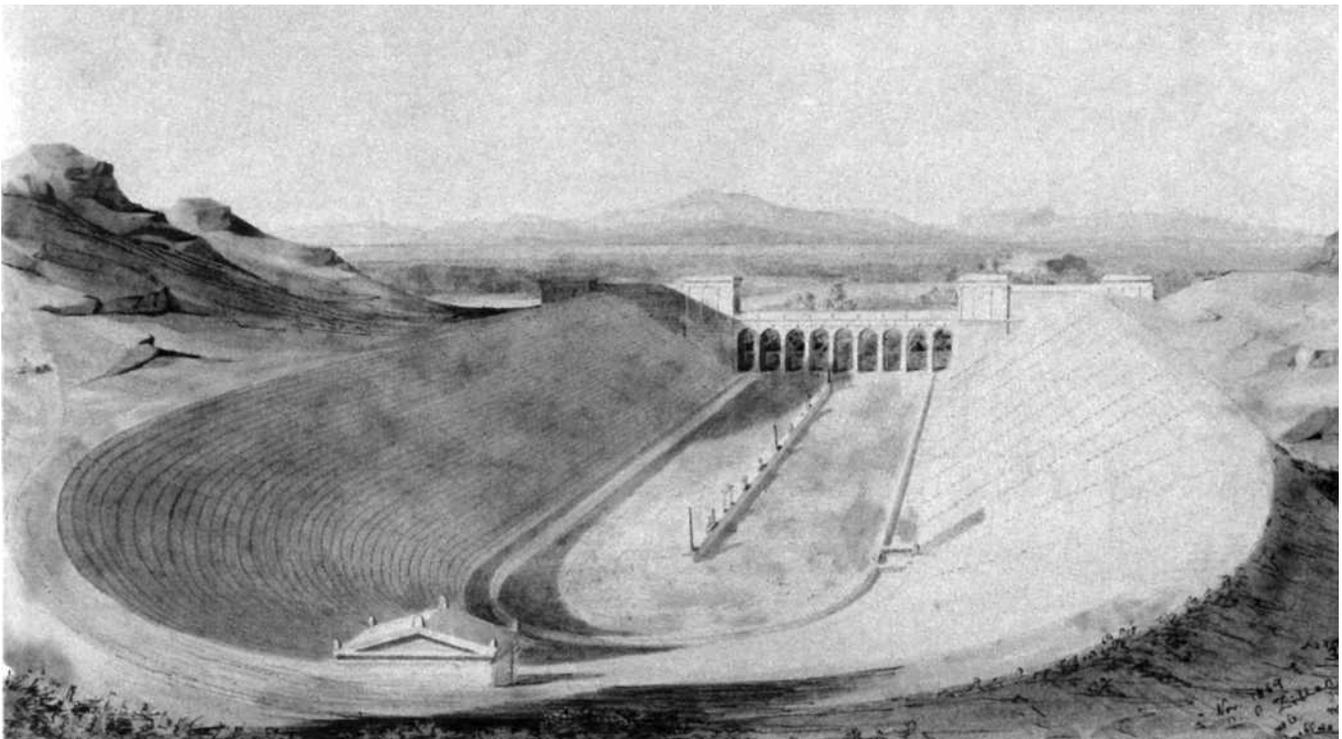
The bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding, go out to meet it. ■ THUCYDIDES

athletic contests. The importance of the Olympic Games is evidenced by the fact that a “sacred truce” was signed by the kings of Elis and Pisa, who disputed control of the area, to ensure the safety of the competing athletes. This truce also covered the period of travel to and from the games. Strict observance of the truce ensured the peaceful observance of the games until an edict ended them in 392 CE. (The modern Olympic Games have not enjoyed such protection, being suspended in 1916, 1940, and 1944 because of war.)

Periodos

By the sixth century BCE only citizens of the Greek city-states were permitted to compete in the games, and all were expected to exercise this privilege. During the years after the Persian Wars (fifth century BCE) the Olympic Games reached their greatest popularity. Other Panhellenic (relating to Greece) festivals were

started at Delphi (in honor of Apollo) and Corinth in 582 BCE and at Nemea in 573 BCE. These four events were known as the *periodos*, and great athletes, such as Theagenes of Thasos, prided themselves on victories at all four sites. The prestige accorded athletic triumphs brought with it not only literary accolades (as in the odes of the poet Pindar) and visual commemoration (in the form of statues of the victors) but also material benefits, contrary to the amateur myth propagated by nineteenth-century philhellenists (admirers of Greek culture). Because the Greeks were devoted to secular sports as well as to sacred games, no city-state was considered a proper community if it lacked a gymnasium where, as the word *gymnos* indicates, naked male athletes trained and competed. Except in militaristic Sparta, Greek women rarely participated in sports of any kind. Except for the priestess of the goddess Demeter, women were excluded from the Olympic Games even as spectators.



The Antikes Panathenaisches Stadium.



Greece, Ancient

Extract from Homer's *The Odyssey*, c. 850 BCE

BOOK VIII.

Ulysses speaks:

“Aldermen and town councillors of the Phaeacians, we have had enough now, both of the feast, and of the minstrelsy that is its due accompaniment; let us proceed therefore to the athletic sports, so that our guest on his return home may be able to tell his friends how much we surpass all other nations as boxers, wrestlers, jumpers, and runners.”

[...]

The foot races came first. The course was set out for them from the starting post, and they raised a dust upon the plain as they all flew forward at the same moment. Clytoneus came in first by a long way;

he left every one else behind him by the length of the furrow that a couple of mules can plough in a fallow field. They then turned to the painful art of wrestling, and here Euryalus proved to be the best man. Amphialus excelled all the others in jumping, while at throwing the disc there was no one who could approach Elatreus. Alcinous's son Laodamas was the best boxer, and he it was who presently said, when they had all been diverted with the games, “Let us ask the stranger whether he excels in any of these sports; he seems very powerfully built; his thighs, calves, hands, and neck are of prodigious strength, nor is he at all old, but he has suffered much lately, and there is nothing like the sea for making havoc with a man, no matter how strong he is.”

Pausanias, the second-century CE traveler, wrote of races for girls at Olympia, but these races in honor of the goddess Hera were of minor importance.

Contests in the Olympic Games

Contests in the ancient Olympic Games included:

Foot races. People held foot races as independent events as well as part of the pentathlon, which consisted of five parts: running, jumping, throwing the discus, throwing the javelin, and wrestling. The length of a foot race was determined by the length of the stadium. One length of the stadium was equal to a *stade*, a distance of about 182 meters. The three types of foot races were the *stade* or short race, the *diaulos* or two-*stade* race, and the long race (*dolichos*) of seven to twenty-four *stadestades*. Different races were held for different age classifications. The runners assumed a more upright position than the modern crouching stance, but otherwise their form was similar to that of the present day. In the short races the contestants ran in heats, and the winner of each heat ran in the finals to determine the victor.

The pentathlon was not introduced until the eighteenth Olympics. It resulted from the evolutionary process of selecting the various events that could pro-

duce the best all-around athlete. The pentathlete was a representative of the Greek ideals of harmony and balance as opposed to specialized and one-sided development.

Jump. The rules of the jump were similar to those of modern contests except that the athletes used hand weights made of stone or metal, called *halteres*, to assist their momentum. The broad jump or long jump was the only type of jump that had any place in the games. Unlike the modern broad jumper who employs a long run prior to the takeoff, the Greeks employed a few short, springy steps, like the modern high jumper, to prepare for the takeoff. During the approach to the takeoff, *halteres* were scarcely swung. Immediately before the takeoff, the jumper momentarily checked his run and utilized the upward and downward swing of the arms with the *halteres* to coincide with the spring of the legs. The use of the weights added to the distance of the jump.

Discus throwing. Discus throwing, like jumping, existed only as an event in the pentathlon. The discus was made of polished stone or metal. The standard pentathlon discus was circular in form with an average diameter of a little less than 30 centimeters and a

Hoplites in full armor at the ancient Olympia.

weight of 1.8–2.2 kilograms. Unlike the modern method of hurling after making two or three complete turns, the Greeks employed a relatively fixed position. Artists found the perfectly proportioned body of the discus thrower a favorite subject.

Javelin throwing. The athletic javelin was from 2.4 to 3 meters long, lightweight, and had a blunt point. The athlete threw it by means of a fixed thong, attached near the center of gravity, which gave the javelin a rotary motion in flight. In comparison with discus throwing, javelin throwing was a test of skill rather than of strength.

Wrestling. Wrestling, the last event in the pentathlon, was perhaps the most popular and universal of all Greek exercises. It was part of the pentathlon as well as a separate event in the Olympic Games. Wrestling had two modes: standing and ground. The former mode was the most common and popular. The contestants stood upright, face to face, and each tried to throw his opponent to the ground without falling himself. Three falls constituted a victory. In ground wrestling the object was to throw the opponent to the ground, and then the struggle continued until the opponent admitted defeat.

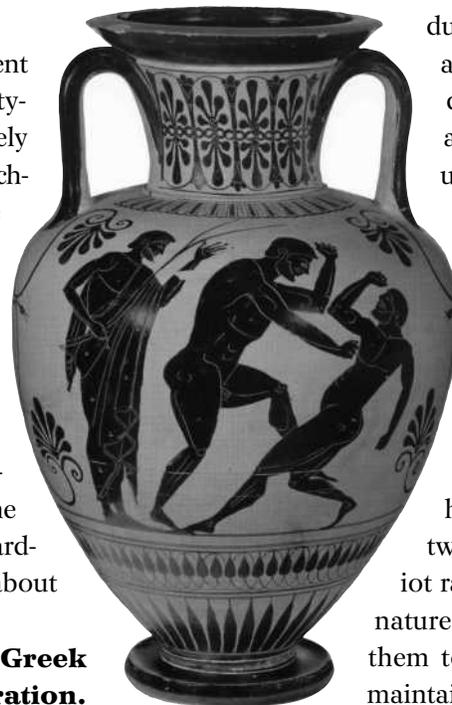
Boxing. Boxing, as an independent event, was introduced in the twenty-third Olympics. Greek boxers closely resembled modern boxers in their techniques. Their blows and parries were similar to those of today. Differences did exist, however, because Greek boxers confined their blows almost entirely to the head; body blows were not practiced and may have been prohibited by rules. Apparently no regulations existed to prevent hitting a man who was down. The Greeks wound thin thongs of dry, hardened leather about 3 meters long about



their palms instead of using gloves. Greek boxing had no rounds; the combatants continued uninterrupted until one was knocked unconscious or was compelled by wounds or fatigue to accept defeat. No weight classifications existed, so boxing eventually became a sport of the heavyweights.

Pankratium. The pankratium was introduced in the thirty-third Olympics. It was a primitive, rough-and-tumble activity combining many elements of boxing and wrestling. Despite its seemingly undisciplined qualities, it was governed by definite rules to eliminate brutality. Biting, gouging, and strangling were prohibited. Victory was achieved when the opponent admitted defeat.

Chariot racing and horse racing. Chariot racing and horse racing were popular. Generally the racing program comprised events for full-grown horses, colts, four-horse chariots, and two-horse chariots. The two-horse chariot race was probably the oldest event. The nature of these sports more or less limited them to men who were wealthy enough to maintain stables.



A classic symbol of ancient Greek sports, the Amphore Pankration.



Greece, Ancient

The Achievements of Three Sisters (41–47 CE)

Hermesianax, son of Dionysius, of Tralles Caesarea, but also a citizen of Athens and Delphi, makes this dedication to Pythian Apollo for his daughters who likewise obtained the same citizenships:

Tryphosa, who won the stade races [one length of the stadium] at the Pythian games [in Delphi] when they were directed by Antigonos and when they were directed by Cleomachidas, and at the next Isthmian games [in Corinth] directed by Juventius Proclus. She came in first among the girls.

Hedea, who won the chariot race in armor at the Isthmian games when they were directed by Cornelius Pulcher, and the stade race at the Nemean games directed by Antigonos and again at the Sicyonian games directed by Menoetas. . . .

And Dionysia, who won the stade race at the Isthmian games directed by Antigonos, and again at the Asclepieia in holy Epidaurus under the direction of Nicoteles.

Source: Moretti, L. (1955). *Iscrizioni agonistiche Greche* (pp. 163–164). Rome: Angelo Signorelli. In R. S. Robinson (Ed.), *Sources for the history of Greek athletics*. Chicago: Ares. 163–164.

Decline

Athletic ideals at Olympia were high; contestants swore by the gods to obey the rules and to conduct themselves in an honorable manner. However, from the late fifth century BCE the games began to decline. The Greek ideal of the all-around athlete was lost as more and more champions began to specialize. The Roman conquest of Greece in 146 BCE brought about a further decline in the Olympic Games. During the early centuries of the Christian era, only at Olympia did people attempt to keep alive the classic Greek ideal of physical excellence as part of citizenship. Some of the professional athletes respected the sanctity of these games. However, after a period of increasing scandal and com-

mercialism, the Olympic Games ended in 394 CE, not to be renewed for more than fifteen hundred years—in 1896 at the first modern Olympic Games.

Alberto Jori

See also Olympia

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Growth and Development

Growth, maturation, and development are three concepts that are often used together and sometimes considered as synonymous. Growth starts at conception and continues until the late teens or even the early twenties for a number of individuals. Growth refers to the increase in size of the body as a whole or the size attained by the specific parts of the body. The changes in size are outcomes of (a) an increase in cell number or hyperplasia, (b) an increase in cell size or cell hypertrophy, and (c) an increase in intercellular material, or accretion. These processes occur during growth but the



predominance of one or another process varies with age. For example, the number of muscle cells is already established shortly after birth. The growth of the whole body is traditionally assessed by the changes in stature measured in a standing position, or for infants, in supine position (recumbent length). To assess the growth of specific parts of the body, appropriate anthropometric techniques have been described (Lohman et al. 1988).

MATURATION

Maturation refers to the process of becoming fully mature. It gives an indication of the distance that is traveled along the road to adulthood. In other words the tempo and timing in the progress toward the mature biological state. Biological maturation varies with the biological system that is considered. Most often the following biological systems are examined: sexual maturation, morphological maturation, dental maturation, and skeletal maturation. Sexual maturation refers to the process of becoming fully sexual mature, that is, functional reproductive capability. Morphological maturation can be estimated through the percentage of adult stature that is already attained at a given age. Skeletal and dental maturation refer respectively to a fully ossified adult skeleton or dentition (Tanner 1962, 1989; Malina, Bouchard, and Bar-Or 2004).

DEVELOPMENT

Development is a broader concept, encompassing growth, maturation, learning, and experience (training). It relates to becoming competent in a variety of tasks. Thus one can speak of cognitive development, motor development, and emotional development as the child's personality emerges within the context of the particular culture in which the child was born and reared. Motor development is the process by which the child acquires movement patterns and skills. It is characterized by a continuous modification based upon neuromuscular maturation, growth and maturation of the body, residual effects of prior experience, and new motor experiences *per se* (Malina, Bouchard, and Bar-Or 2004). The

postnatal motor development is characterized by a shift from primitive reflex mechanisms toward postural reflexes and definite motor actions. It further refers to the acquisition of independent walking and competence in a variety of manipulative tasks and fundamental motor skills such as running, skipping, throwing, catching, jumping, climbing, and hopping (Keogh and Sugden 1985). From school age onward the focus shifts toward the development of physical performance capacities traditionally studied in the context of physical fitness or motor fitness projects. Motor fitness includes cardiorespiratory endurance, anaerobic power, muscular strength and power, local muscular endurance (sometimes called functional strength), speed, flexibility, and balance (Pate and Shephard 1989).

Studies Over Time

According to Tanner (1981) the earliest surviving statement about human growth appears in a Greek elegy of the sixth century BCE. Solon the Athenian divided the growth period in hebdomads, that is, successive periods of seven years each. The infant (literally, while unable to speak) acquires deciduous teeth and sheds them before the age of seven, at the end of the next hebdomad the boy shows the signs of puberty (beginning of pubic hair), and in the last period the body enlarges and the skin becomes bearded (Tanner 1981, 1). Anthropometry was not born of medicine or science but of the arts. Painters and sculptors needed instructions about the relative proportions of legs and trunks, shoulders and hips, eyes and forehead, and other parts of the body. The inventor of the term anthropometry was a German physician, Johan Sigismund Elshotz (1623–1688). It is noteworthy that at this time there was not very much attention given to absolute size but much more to proportions.

The first published longitudinal growth study of which we have record was made by Count Philibert de Montbeillard (1720–1785) on request of his close friend Buffon (Tanner 1981). The growth and the growth velocity curves of Montbeillard's son are probably the best known curves in auxology (study of human

The series of drawings on the following pages show different exercises used to encourage normal physical development.

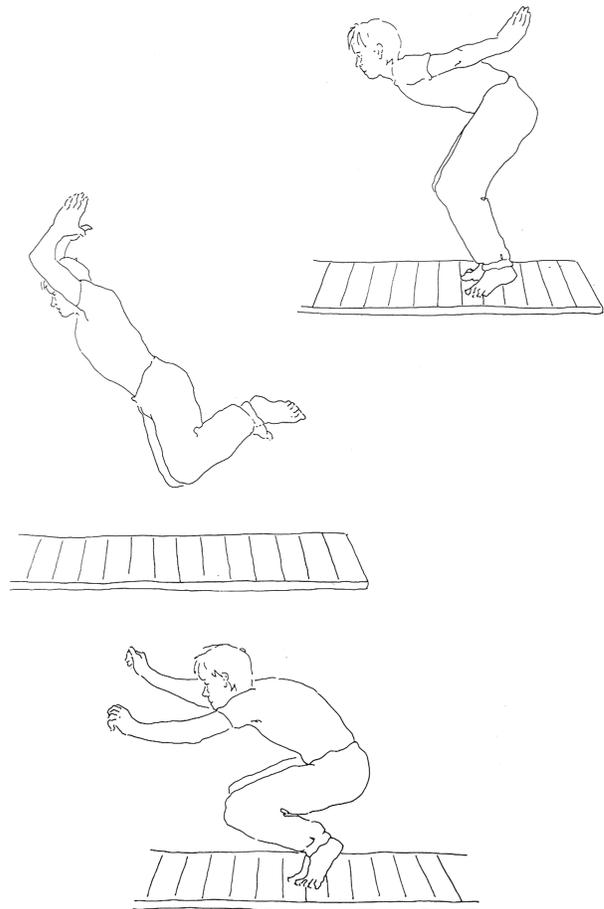
growth); they describe the growth and its velocity from birth to adulthood which have been widely studied since then in various populations (see, for example, Eveleth and Tanner 1990). Growth velocity refers to the growth over a period of time. It is frequently used to indicate changes in stature over a period of one year.

Another significant impetus in the study of growth was given by the Belgian mathematician Adolphe Quetelet (1796–1874). He was in many ways the founder of modern statistics and was instrumental in the foundation of the Statistical Society of London. Quetelet collected data on height and weight and fitted a curve to the succession of means. According to this mathematical function, the growth velocity declines from birth to maturity and shows no adolescent growth spurt. This confused a number of investigators until the 1940s (Tanner 1981, 134). At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was an increased interest in the growing child due to the appalling conditions of the poor and their children. A new direction was given by the anthropologist Franz Boas (1858–1942). He was the first to realize the individual variation in tempo of growth and was responsible for the introduction of the concept of physiological age or biological maturation. A number of longitudinal studies were then initiated in the 1920s in the United States and later in Europe. These studies served largely as the basis of our present knowledge on physical growth and maturation (Tanner 1981; Malina, Bouchard, and Bar-Or 2004).

Physical Fitness

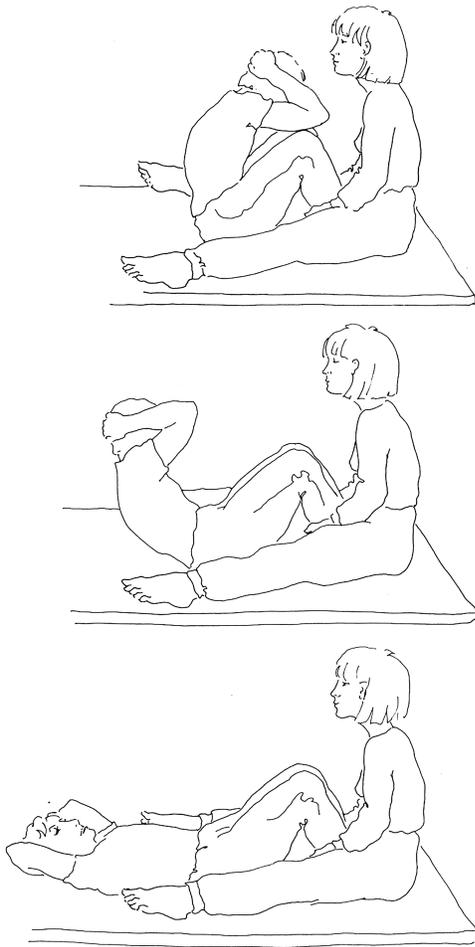
In several nations there is great interest in developing and maintaining the physical fitness levels of the citizens of all age levels, but special concern goes to the fitness of youth. Physical fitness has been defined in many ways. The American Academy of Physical Education adopted the following definition: “Physical fitness is the ability to carry out daily tasks with vigor and alertness, without undue fatigue and with ample energy to engage in leisure time pursuits and to meet the above average physical stresses encountered in emergency situations”

Standing Broad Jump (SBJ)

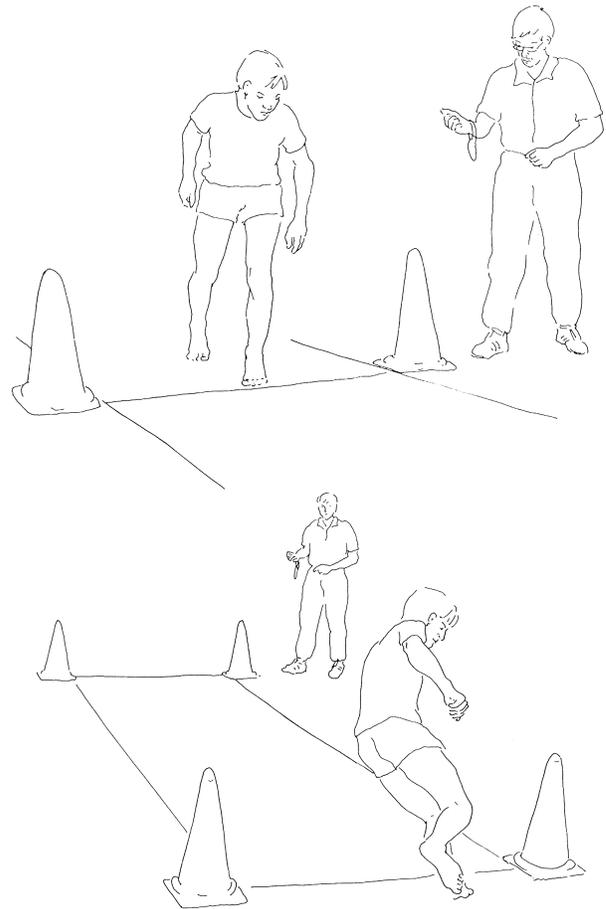


(Clarke 1979, 1). Often the distinction is made between an organic component and a motor component. The organic component is defined as the capacity to adapt to and recover from strenuous exercise, it relates to energy production and work output performance. The motor component relates to development and performance of gross motor abilities. Since the beginning of the 1980s the distinction between health-related and performance-related physical fitness has come into common use. Health-related fitness is then viewed as a state characterized by an ability to perform daily activities with vigor, and traits and capacities that are associated with low risk of premature development of the hypokinetic diseases (i.e., those associated with physical inactivity) (Pate and Shephard 1989, 4). Health-related physical fitness includes cardiorespiratory endurance, body composition, muscular strength, and flexibility. Performance-related fitness refers to the abilities associated with

Sit-Ups



Shuttle Run, 10x5 metres

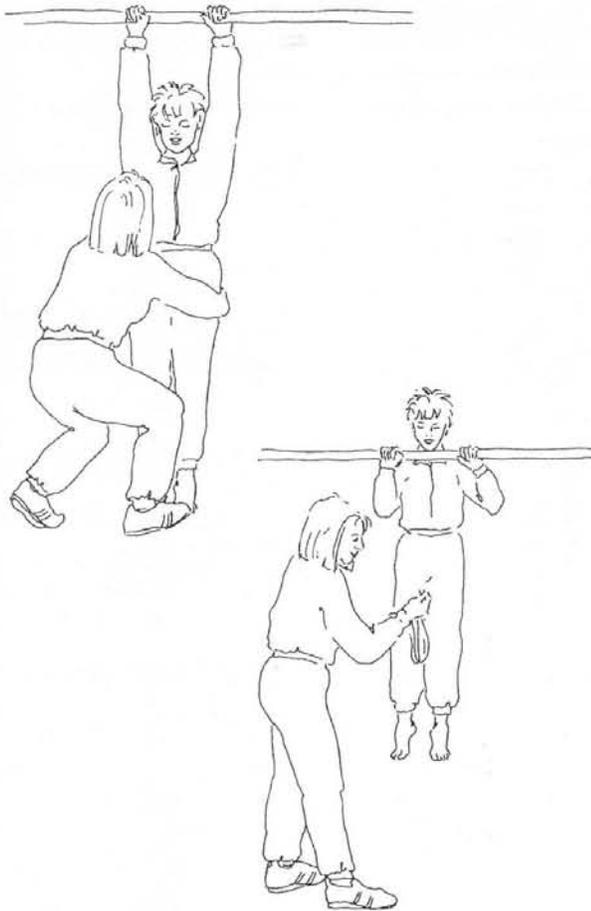


adequate athletic performance, and encompasses components such as isometric strength, power, speed-agility, balance and arm-eye coordination.

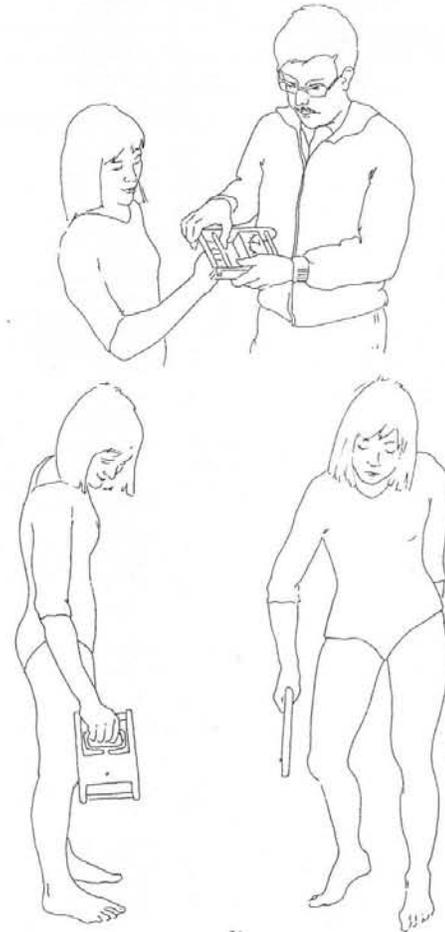
Since D. A. Sargent proposed the vertical jump as a physical performance test for men in 1921, considerable change has taken place both in our thinking about physical performance, physical fitness and about its measurement. In the early days the expression "general motor ability" was used to indicate one's "general" skill. The term was similar to the general intelligence factor used at that time. Primarily under the influence of Brace (1927) and McCloy (1934), a fairly large number of studies have been undertaken and a multiple motor ability concept replaced the general ability concept. There is now considerable agreement among authors and experts that the fitness concept is multidimensional and several abilities can be identified. An ability refers to a more general trait of the individual, which can be

inferred from response consistencies on a number of related tasks whereas skill refers to the level of proficiency on a specific task or limited group of tasks. A child possesses isometric strength since he or she performs well on a variety of isometric strength tests. Considerable attention has been devoted to fitness testing and research in the United States and Canada. The President's Council on Youth Fitness, the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance (AAHPER) and the Canadian sister organization (CAHPER) have done an outstanding job in constructing and promoting fitness testing in schools. Internationally the fundamental works of Fleishman (1964), and of the International Committee for the Standardization of Physical Fitness Tests, now the International Council for Physical Activity and Fitness Research (Larson 1974), have received considerable attention and served, for example, as the basis for nationwide studies in Belgium.

Bent Arm Hang



Handgrip (HGR)



Standards of Normal Growth

In the following sections standards of normal growth, biological maturity status, and evaluation of physical fitness will be outlined.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Growth data may be used in three distinct ways: (1) to serve as a screening device in order to identify individuals who might benefit from special medical or educational care; (2) to serve as control in the treatment of ill children (the pediatric use); and (3) as an index of the general health and nutritional status of the population or subpopulation (Tanner 1989). Standards of normal growth usually include reference data for attained stature or any other anthropometric dimension and, where available, also reference values for growth velocity. Reference values for attained stature are useful for assessing the present status, in other words to answer

the question: "Is the child's growth normal for his/her age and sex?" Growth velocity reference values are constructed to verify the growth process.

Reference charts of attained height, usually referred to as growth standards or curves, are constructed on the basis of cross-sectional studies. In such studies representative samples of girls and boys stemming from different birth cohorts and consequently of different age groups are measured once.

Major standardizing studies use samples of about 1,000 subjects in each sex and age group but 500 subjects normally produce useful centiles (Eveleth and Tanner 1990).

Growth velocity standards or reference values can be obtained only from longitudinal studies. In a longitudinal study a representative sample of boys and/or girls from one birth cohort is measured repeatedly at regular intervals. The frequency of the measurements de-

Flamingo balance test (FLB)

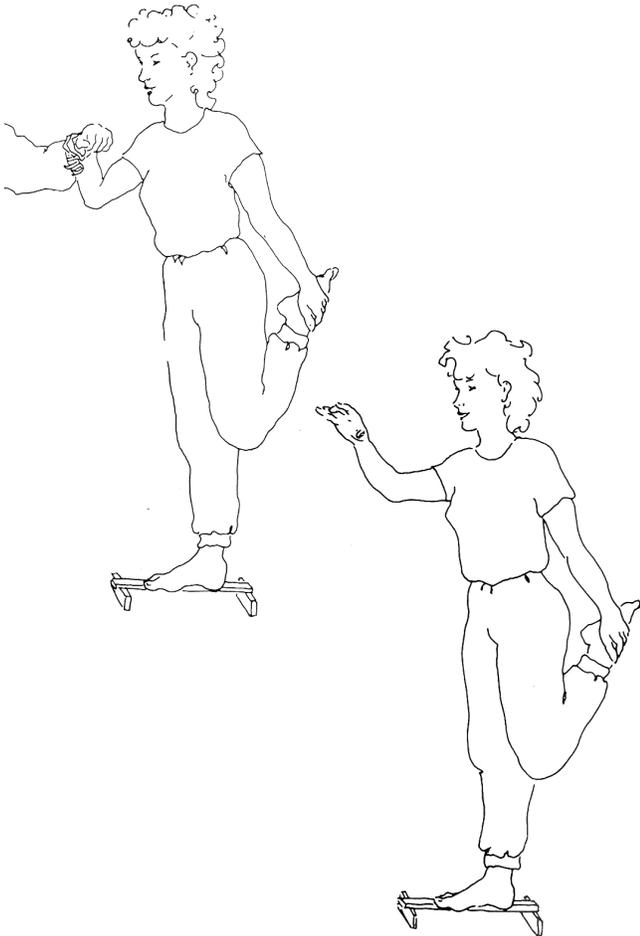
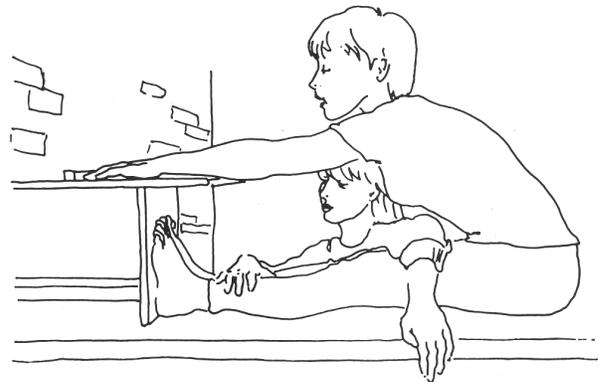


Plate Tapping (PLT)



Sit and Reach (SAR)



depends on the growth velocity and also on the measurement error. During periods of rapid growth it is necessary to increase the frequency of the measurements. For stature, for example, it is recommended to carry out monthly measurements during the first year of life and to measure every three months during the adolescent growth spurt. Although some recent evidence (Lampl et al. 1992) suggests that there is much more variation in growth velocity, with periods of rapid change (stepwise or saltatory increase) followed by periods of no change (stasis) when growth is monitored over very short periods of time (days or weeks).

Cross-sectional standards for growth are most often presented as growth charts. Such charts are constructed from the means and standard deviations or from the centiles of the different sex and age groups. Conventionally, the 3rd, 10th, 25th, 50th, 75th, 90th, and 97th percentiles are displayed. The 3rd and 97th percentiles delineate the outer borders of what is considered as

“normal” growth. This does not imply that on a single measurement one can decide about the “abnormality” of the growth process. Children with statures outside the 3rd and 97th percentiles need to be examined further.

Longitudinal growth velocity reference values are obtained from the analysis of individual growth data. Individual growth curves are fitted to the serial measurements of each child. For many purposes graphical

fits are sufficient, but mathematical curves may also be employed. Most mathematical curves or models presently in use are developed for growth in stature. Some models have also been applied for a few body dimensions, such as body mass and diameters.

A number of structural models have also been proposed to describe the whole growth period from birth to adulthood (such as those by Preece and Baines in 1978, and Bock and Thissen in 1980).

For most growth studies cross-sectional standards have been published. Tanner (1989) has argued that “tempo-conditional” standards, meaning standards that allow for differences in the tempo of growth between children, are much finer instruments to evaluate the normality of growth. Such conditional standards combine information from longitudinal and cross-sectional studies. Other conditional standards can be used such as standards for height that allow for height of parents (Tanner 1989).

GROWTH IN SOMATIC DIMENSIONS

From birth to maturity the growth in length and body mass follows a so-called general growth pattern (Tanner 1989, Malina, Bouchard, and Bar-Or 2004): rapid gain during the first years of life (20 cm/year in the first year and 10 cm/yr in the second year), a rather steady gain (5 cm to 6 cm/year) during middle childhood (5 to 6 years until the onset of puberty), again a rapid increase, or growth spurt during puberty (about 10 cm/year at about 14 years, i.e., the age of reaching the maximum velocity in boys and 8 to 9 cm/year at about 12 years in girls), and subsequently a slow increase until adulthood when the growth velocity decreases to 0 cm/yr. During this time the length increases from about 50 cm at birth to 178 cm in U.S. boys and 163.5 in U.S. girls.

On average, girls are slightly smaller than boys until they reach the onset of the pubertal growth spurt at the age of about ten years. At that time girls start to grow taller than boys. Boys catch up again and grow, on the average 12 to 13 cm taller than girls at adulthood. Body mass, body segments (arms, legs, trunk) breadths, and circumferences all follow a similar growth pattern.

Subcutaneous fat or adiposity and dimensions of the head and face follow another pattern.

Biological Maturation

The assessment of biological maturity is thus a very important indicator of the growing child. It is therefore a valuable tool in the hands of experienced kinanthropometrists and all other professionals involved in the evaluation of the growth and development of children.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As mentioned already, several biological systems can be used to assess biological maturity status. In assessing sexual maturation the criteria described by Reynolds and Wines (1948, 1951) synthesized and popularized by Tanner (1962) are most often used. They should not be referred to as Tanner’s stages since they were in use long before Tanner described them in *Growth at Adolescence*. Furthermore, there is considerable difference in the stages for pubic hair, breast, or genital development. For breast, pubic hair, and genital development, five discrete stages are described (Tanner 1962). These stages must be assigned by visual inspection of the nude subject or from somatotype photographs from which the specific areas are enlarged. Given the invasiveness of the technique, self inspection has been proposed as an alternative but more information is needed on its reliability and validity before it can be used in epidemiological research.

Age at menarche, defined as the first menstrual flow, can be obtained retrospectively by interrogating a representative sample of sexually mature women. Note, however, the influence of error of recall. The recall data are reasonably accurate for group comparisons.

The information obtained in longitudinal or prospective studies is of course much more accurate but here other problems inherent to longitudinal studies interfere. In the status quo technique representative samples of girls expected to experience menarche are interrogated. The investigator records whether or not menstrual periods have started at the time of investigation. Reference standards can be constructed using pro-

*The greatest oak was once a little nut
who held its ground.* ■ ANONYMOUS

bits or logits for which the percentage of menstruating girls at each age level is plotted against chronological age (CA), whereafter a probit or logit is fitted through the observed data. Morphological age can be assessed by means of the age at peak height velocity, that is, the age at which the maximum growth velocity in height occurs. This requires a longitudinal study. An alternative to define morphological age is to use percentage of predicted height. The actual height is then expressed as a percentage of adult height. The problem here is to define adult height. Several techniques have been developed for the prediction of adult height. The techniques developed by Bayley (1946), Roche et al. (1975a) and Tanner et al. (1983) seem to be the most accurate and most commonly used. The predictors in these techniques are actual height, chronological age, skeletal age, and, in some techniques, parental height and/or age at menarche for girls. Until now no practical useful technique has been developed to assess "shape age" as another indicator of morphological maturity.

Dental maturity can be estimated from the age of eruption of deciduous or permanent teeth or from the number of teeth present at a certain age (Demirjian 1978). Eruption is, however, only one event in the ossification process and has no real biological meaning. For this reason, Demirjian et al. (1973) constructed scales for the assessment of dental maturity, based on the principles developed by Tanner et al. (1983) for the estimation of skeletal age.

Skeletal maturity is the most commonly used indicator of biological maturation. It is widely recognized as the best single biological maturity indicator (Tanner 1962). Three main techniques are presently in use: the atlas technique, first introduced by Todd (1937) and later revised by Greulich and Pyle (1950, 1959), the bone-specific approach developed by Tanner et al. (1983, 2001), the bone-specific approach developed by Roche et al. for the knee (1975b), and for the hand (1988).

The bones of the hand and wrist provide the primary basis for assessing skeletal maturation, which is based upon changes in the developing skeleton that

can be easily viewed and evaluated on a standardized radiograph. Traditionally, the left hand and wrist is used. It is placed flat on the X-ray plate with the fingers slightly apart. Hence, when a film is viewed, the hand-wrist skeleton is observed from the dorsal (posterior) as opposed to the palmar (anterior) surface.

The changes that each bone goes through from initial ossification to adult morphology are fairly uniform and provide the basis for assessing skeletal maturation. These are referred to as maturity indicators, specific features of individual bones that can be noted on a hand-wrist X-ray and that occur regularly and in a definite, irreversible order (Greulich and Pyle 1959).

GREULICH-PYLE METHOD (GP)

The GP method is based on the original work of Todd (1937) and is sometimes called the atlas or inspectional method. It entails the matching of a hand-wrist X-ray of a specific child as closely as possible with a series of standard X-ray plates, which correspond to successive levels of skeletal maturation at specific CAs. The method is most often used as follows. The age identified as typical of the standard plate with which a given child's film coincides, represents the child's skeletal age (SA). Thus, if the hand-wrist X-ray of a seven-year-old child matches the standard plate for eight-year-old children, the child's SA is eight years. However, the method was intended to and should be applied by rating the skeletal maturity of each individual bone. Each bone is matched to the standard plates in the atlas in the same manner as above, and the one with which the individual bone most closely coincides is noted. The SA of the standard plate is the assigned SA of the bone in question. The process is repeated for all bones that are present in the hand and wrist, and the child's SA is the median of the SAs of each individually rated bone.

TANNER-WHITEHOUSE METHOD (TW)

The TW method, sometimes called the bone-specific approach, entails matching features of twenty individual bones to a series of written criteria for stages through which each bone passes from initial appearance on a

*You have to expect things of yourself
before you can do them.* ■ MICHAEL JORDAN

radiograph to the mature state. The twenty bones include seven carpals (excluding the pisiform) and thirteen long bones (radius, ulna, and metacarpals and phalanges of the first, third, and fifth digits). Each stage is assigned a specific point score and the scores are summed to give a skeletal maturity score. The maturity score can be converted to an SA, which is referred to as the 20-bone SA. The revised TW method (TWII) provides a carpal SA based on the seven carpals and a radius, ulna and short bone (RUS) SA, in addition to the 20-bone SA. Most recently new reference data have been published, together with some modifications of the system (Tanner et al. 2001).

FELS METHOD

The Fels method is based on the same twenty bones as the TW method plus the pisiform and adductor sesamoid. The authors defined their own maturity indicators and specific criteria for each. They are based on a variety of shape changes and several ratios between linear measurements of the long bones of the hand and wrist. Grades are assigned to the indicators for each bone by matching the film being assessed to the described criteria. The assigned grades and ratios are then entered into a microcomputer, which calculates an SA and a standard error of the estimation.

SKELETAL AGE

All of the methods for the estimation of skeletal maturity yield an SA that corresponds to the level of skeletal maturity attained by a child relative to the reference sample. In the GP method, the reference sample is American children in the Cleveland, Ohio, area studied between 1931 and 1942; in the TW method, the reference sample is British children from several areas of the country studied between 1946 and 1972 (Beunen et al. 1990; Tanner et al. 2001 have reported more recent TWIII reference data); in the Fels-method, the reference sample is the Fels longitudinal study which includes American children from southern Ohio studied between 1932 and 1972. Given the differences in the methods as well as in the reference sam-

ples for each, the skeletal maturity status of a child rated by all three methods may be quite different. It is important that the method used to estimate SA be specified.

SA assessment is a method to estimate the level of maturity which a child has attained at a given point in time relative to reference data for healthy children. The three methods for assessing skeletal maturity have their strengths and limitations. It is important to note, however, that SAs derived from the GP, TW, and Fels methods are not equivalent. The methods differ in criteria, scoring, and the reference samples upon which they are based. There are, in addition, apparent population differences in skeletal maturation. For example, skeletal maturation is somewhat advanced in American black compared to American white girls (see Malina, Bouchard, and Bar-Or, 2004). The changes that each bone goes through from initial formation to epiphyseal union or adult morphology, however, are the same; the rate at which the process progresses varies among populations.

AGES AT ATTAINING STAGES OF SEXUAL MATURATION

The ages at which individual children attain various stages of pubic hair, breast, and genital development and attain menarche are ordinarily derived prospectively from longitudinal studies in which children are examined at close intervals during adolescence, usually every three months. The time of appearance of each stage and the duration of each stage of secondary sex characteristic development, that is, how long the individual spends during a particular stage, can be estimated with a reasonable degree of accuracy. In the case of menarche, the girl is interviewed as to whether it has occurred and when. Given that the interval between examinations in most longitudinal studies is relatively short, age at menarche so derived is quite reliable.

Sample sizes in longitudinal studies, however, are not ordinarily large enough to derive population estimates and may not reflect the normal range of variation. Hence, a different method, the status quo method,

is used to estimate ages at the attainment of specific secondary sex characteristic stages and of menarche. The resulting estimates apply only to the population and do not apply to individuals. A large sample of boys or girls, which spans the ages at which the particular developmental stage normally occurs, is surveyed. It is most often performed for menarche, but can be performed for the different stages of development of secondary sex characteristics.

Selected percentiles for ages at which specific stages of secondary sex characteristics are attained in a national sample of Dutch youths, based on status quo estimates, are given in Table 1. Median ages at menarche in several samples of North American and European girls are summarized in Table 2. The menarcheal data

Table 1.

Selected Percentiles for Ages at Which Stages of Secondary Sex Characteristics Are Attained in a National Sample of Dutch Youth

	Sex characteristics stage	PERCENTILES		
		10	50	90
Females				
Breast	B2	9.1	10.5	12.3
	B3	10.2	11.7	13.1
	B4	11.4	12.9	14.5
		12.5	14.2	—
Pubic hair	PH2	9.0	10.8	12.6
	PH3	10.2	11.7	13.1
	PH4	11.3	12.6	14.0
	PH5	12.2	14.0	16.4
Menarche		11.7	13.3	14.9
Males				
Genital	G2	9.3	11.3	13.3
	G3	11.6	13.1	14.5
	G4	12.7	14.0	15.6
	G5	13.5	15.3	18.6
Pubic hair	PH2	9.0	11.7	13.5
	PH3	11.7	13.1	14.5
	PH4	12.9	14.0	15.5
	PH5	13.5	15.0	18.4

B = breast; G = genitals; PH = pubic hair

Source: Adapted from Roede and Van Wieringen (1985).

are derived primarily from status quo surveys, but several ages from prospective (longitudinal) studies are also included.

In contrast to the status quo method for estimating the age at menarche, many studies use the retrospective method, which requires the girl to recall the age at which she attained menarche. With careful interview methods reasonably accurate estimates can be obtained.

Table 2.

Median Ages at Menarche in Several Samples of North American and European Girls

Location	Median age
North America	
Canada, Quebec	12.9
US, national	12.4
white	12.6
black	12.1
Europe	
Belgium, national, Flemish	13.2
Federal Republic of Germany, Bremen	13.3
German Democratic Republic, Gorkitz	13.0
France, Paris, national	12.8
Greece, national	12.6
Hungary	
Szeged	12.8
County Szeged	12.8
Italy, different regions	12.4 to 12.8
Netherlands, national	13.3
Poland	
Warsaw	12.7
Cities	13.0
Russia, Moscow	13.0
Sweden	12.7 to 13.0
Switzerland, Zürich	13.4
UK, Northumberland	13.3
Newcastle	13.4
Yugoslavia, Zagreb	12.7

Source: Adapted from Malina, Bouchard, and Bar-Or (2004).



Physical Fitness

As mentioned in the introduction, the physical fitness concept and its measurement have evolved over the years and recently the distinction between health- and performance-related fitness has been introduced.

KEY PHYSICAL FITNESS TEST BATTERIES

Since 1958, a number of physical fitness test batteries have been used in the United States, Canada, and Europe. These include the AAHPER youth fitness test (1958, 1965), CAHPER (1965), Fleishman (1964), Simons et al. (1969), ICPFT (Larson 1974), Fitnessgram (1987), NCYFS II (Ross and Pate 1987), AAHPERD Physical Best (1988), and EUROFIT (Adam et al. 1988).

In most batteries the same components are included and quite often the same tests are proposed. For example for evaluating health-related fitness, a 660-yard or 1-minute run-walk is used to test cardiorespiratory endurance; pull-ups or a flexed arm-hang is used for testing upper body muscular endurance and strength. In evaluating performance, a standing long jump and/or softball throw is frequently the test for strength and power, and running speed is tested with a 50-yard/50-meter dash or shuttle run. With increasing awareness about safety and risks involved in testing, some testing procedures have been adapted; for example, sit-ups were originally tested with straight legs and hands crossed behind the neck whereas in more recent procedures the arms are crossed over the chest, the knees are bent and the subject curls to a position in which the elbows touch the knees or thighs. In the latter procedure there is less risk of causing low back pain.

PHYSICAL PERFORMANCE

Information on attained levels of physical performance during preschool years are limited. Performances in several motor tasks (agility, jumping, running, throwing, and catching) is almost linear between 3 and 6 years. At this age boys consistently show better results than girls, except for balance.

Between 5 and 8 years children show considerable increase in running speed, and a steady, more gradual increase in other fitness items (strength and muscular endurance). Performances of girls show an almost linear increase between 6 and 14 years, and thereafter a slight increase or a plateau. For strength characteristics (isometric strength, explosive strength, and muscular endurance) boys show an adolescent growth spurt about 6 months after the growth spurt in length (Beunen et al. 1988, Malina, Bouchard, and Bar-Or 2004).

Interrelationships and Young Athletes

Growth and maturation are confounded in their effect on performance. The associations become more apparent during the adolescent growth spurt. Boys and girls who are advanced in their maturity status are taller and heavier, and generally have larger body dimensions than average or early maturing peers. Especially in boys around the adolescent growth spurt (average 14 years) early maturing boys outperform the average and late maturing boys in most performance characteristics (Beunen 1989).

Child and adolescent athletes grow in a manner similar to nonathletes. Many samples of athletes in different sports have heights that fluctuate above and below the reference median. Gymnastics is the only sport that consistently presents a profile of short stature in both sexes. Moreover, female gymnasts trend to be slow maturers. However, there is not compelling evidence to support the notion that regular athletic training and competition beginning at relatively young ages appears to accelerate or decelerate growth and biological maturation. But as researchers point out (for example, Malina, Bouchard, and Bar-Or 2004), systematic training for sport is a significant factor affecting body composition and performance characteristics of young athletes.

G. Beunen

See also Exercise and Health; Nutrition; Youth Sports

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Gymnastics, Apparatus

People have performed some form of gymnastics since the earliest known sports activity. Modern apparatus and modern gymnastics began to appear early during the nineteenth century and have continued to evolve. Gymnastics, once nearly exclusively a European sport, has become universally practiced, although its development still lags in Africa and much of Asia and

Other people may not have had high expectations for me . . . but I had high expectations for myself. ■ SHANNON MILLER

Latin America. Since 1952 men and women of the former Soviet Union, Japanese men, and Romanian women have dominated international competition in artistic gymnastics. Gymnasts from Germany, Czechoslovakia, and other European countries and more recently from the United States and China have also performed well.

Origins

People performed balancing and tumbling activities in Egypt and China before 2000 BCE. During the second millennium BCE Minoan athletes on the island of Crete in the Mediterranean not only balanced and tumbled, but also grasped the horns of a charging bull and vaulted with a front handspring to a landing on the bull's back. As part of their training in skills needed in warfare, the ancient Romans used wooden horses to practice mounting and dismounting. This apparatus evolved into the vaulting and pommel horses of gymnastics. Early models were built to resemble horses with saddles or had at least one end curved upward like the neck of a horse. The three sections of the gymnastics horse still retain the names *neck*, *saddle*, and *croup* (rump).

Acrobats during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance worked as court entertainers, but not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did a modern form of gymnastics begin to develop. About that time many pieces of gymnastics apparatus were invented, mostly by Germans such as Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852) and Johann Friedrich Guts Muths (1759–1839). Swiss, Danish, and Italian educators also promoted gymnastics activity. Important contributions to gymnastics originated in Sweden, and gymnastics activity began in the United States during the early nineteenth century.

Swiss and German immigrants in the United States founded turner (gymnast) clubs, and Czechoslovakian immigrants founded American Sokol (falcon) clubs that emphasized physical fitness and gymnastics. The turners promoted the introduction of physical education classes in U.S. schools, and most early school physical education activity involved gymnastics.

Gymnastics festivals featuring huge numbers of athletes of all ages are a remarkable European tradition. The emphasis is on participation rather than competition. In *gymnaestradas* thousands of gymnasts from turner clubs and Sokol clubs participate in mass demonstrations, team and individual competitions, and workshops involving artistic and rhythmic gymnastics, folk dancing, acrobatics, and related activities.

Many U.S. schools during the late 1800s favored Swedish gymnastics, a highly structured system of exercises that used specialized apparatus and was said to have healthful benefits. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) has also promoted gymnastics for men and women. The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) held its first national gymnastics championships in 1888 and controlled the sport for the next half-century until conflicts with the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and other considerations led to formation of the U.S. Gymnastics Federation in 1962.

Emergence of Female Gymnasts

The United States deemphasized gymnastics about the turn of the twentieth century as people responded to educators' preference for team sports to develop democratic and social skills and physical symmetry and grace. The rise of physical education professionals' control over women's athletics led to the deemphasis of competitive sports for women. Girls and college women participated in "play days" in place of their former competitions. Play days emphasized participation for all rather than hard competition between the most talented. The theory behind such deemphasis argued that competitive sports are adverse to the health interests of women athletes, and physical education professionals—largely women themselves—controlled women's sports until the 1960s.

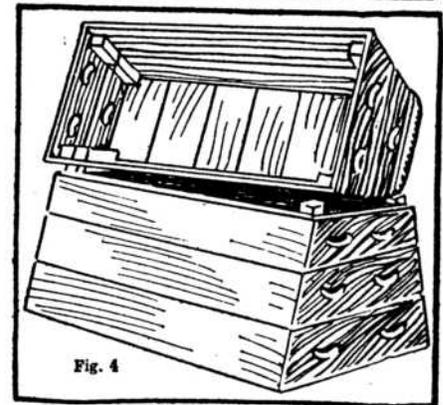
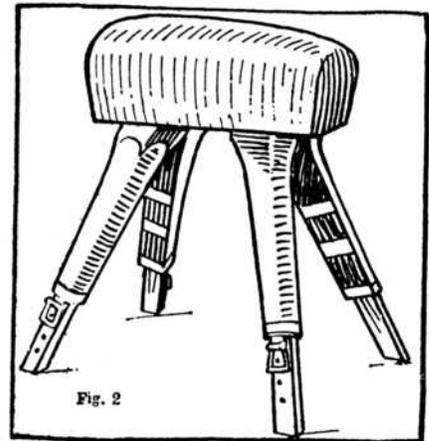
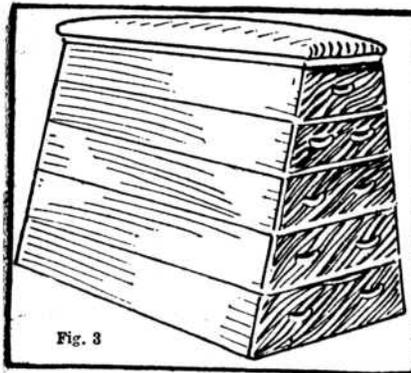
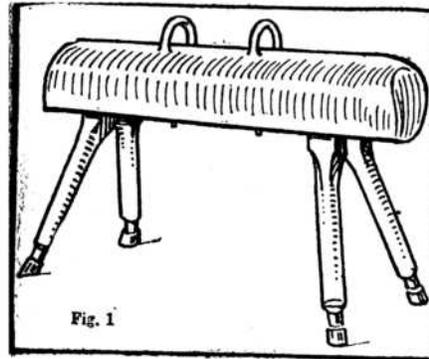
World Cup and World Gymnastics Championships offer international competitions at the highest level, as do U.S. and European championships and multisport competitions such as the Olympics, Goodwill, Commonwealth, World University, Pan American, Central American, and Caribbean Games. With the rise of

Three types of vaulting horse from the 1920s.

international gymnastics competition after World War II, gymnastics officials felt a great need for rules standards and better judging. The International Gymnastics Federation formulated the first *Code of Points* in 1949 to have guidelines for the 1950 World Gymnastics Championships. Before then little consistency existed in judging practices from country to country. At the Olympic Games in 1948 considerable differences among judges' scores had led to noticeably inaccurate judging. Later editions of the code defined difficulty levels of skills and added more specific rules.

Since World War II, and especially since the early 1960s, gymnastics has grown greatly in the United States. Much of this growth has been caused by the increased coverage of gymnastics on television, and especially by coverage of the Olympic performances of Olga Korbut of the Soviet Union in 1972 and Nadia Comaneci of Romania in 1976. Korbut was the first of a new breed of young women gymnasts who caught the public's imagination. When Korbut fell at the end of an event, her tear-streaked face not only tugged at viewer's heartstrings, but also put a human face on Communist athletes, popularly held to be little more than automata by most people on the other side of the Cold War's ideological divide. Comaneci continued in Korbut's mold, becoming the sweetheart of Olympic viewers, and scored the first perfect 10 in Olympic gymnastics history at the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal, Canada. Korbut's and Comaneci's youth and diminutive size set the standard for women gymnasts, who became increasingly younger and smaller during the 1970s.

In the United States growth of women's gymnastics has been especially great since 1974, with most of the growth occurring in private clubs and in the participation of these clubs in the Junior Olympic program. Increasing



support of gymnastics was closely related to the poor showing by the United States in international gymnastics competition, especially in comparison with the Soviet Union. The American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation's Division for Girls and Women's Sport sponsored the first national gymnastics championship for women in 1969, and the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women sponsored championships for women from 1971 until 1982, when the NCAA gained control of this competition.

Gymnasts such as Comaneci and Korbut captured the public imagination and inspired generations of girls, both in the United States and worldwide, but public policy changes also contributed to the rapid growth of gymnastics for women in the United States. Title IX of the 1972 Civil Rights Act mandated that athletic opportunities be provided for girls in high school and college. Under Title IX, and in subsequent interpretations mandating a rough proportionality in the number of sports offered to males and females, gymnastics has become widespread as a sport in colleges. However, although Title IX has benefited women's gymnastics programs, some people have blamed it for the decline



Gymnastics, Apparatus

Margaret Streicher on Gymnastics and Gender

The extract below is a quote from Margaret Streicher, an Australian physical education teacher who influenced German students through much of the twentieth century:

The truly masculine in men's gymnastics and the truly feminine in women's gymnastics are expressions of male and female nature and cannot be willed into existence. To seek femininity consciously is to produce only a distortion of it. Everyone agrees that men's gymnastics are a matter for men. With equal justice, women's gymnastics should be a matter for women. Useful scientific information can come from a man as well from a woman, but neither men's gymnastics nor women's are simply matters of scientific information. Each is a whole, and like every whole, each must grow. Neither can be fabricated.

Source: Pfister, G. (Ed.). (1980). *Frau und sport* (A. Guttman, Trans.). Frankfurt, Germany: Fischer.

in the number of men's programs as schools have chosen to cut programs in order to be in compliance.

U.S. women's gymnastics also benefited in 1981 when Comaneci's coach, Bela Karolyi, defected and began training gymnasts in the United States. Two of his most famous students were Mary Lou Retton, who won five medals at the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles, and Kerri Strug, whose performance despite an injured ankle helped the United States win its first team gymnastics championship at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia.

The trend toward smaller and younger gymnasts has led many people to worry that the desire to achieve the ideal causes problems for many participants. Many girls develop eating disorders such as bulimia or anorexia nervosa in order to fit into the pattern that Comaneci and Korbut began. Gymnastics training at an early age

Gymnastics is my entire life. ■ SVETLANA BOGUINSKAIA

also can lead to long-term problems such as osteoporosis, which can be made more probable by the late onset of menarche (the beginning of the menstrual function), a common side effect of athletic training at a young age. Critics also have used Strugg's valiant second vault in Atlanta to point out that women's sports have adopted the "gotta play hurt" mentality of men's sports, with possibly serious consequences for young athletes.

Men's Events

Men's apparatus gymnastics events include the horizontal bar (high bar), rings (still rings), floor exercise (free calisthenics), parallel bars, pommel horse (side horse), and vault (long horse).

HORIZONTAL BAR (HIGH BAR)

The horizontal bar is a flexible steel bar, measuring about 2.8 centimeters in diameter and 2.4 meters in length, mounted approximately 2.6 meters above the floor. Gymnastics skills consist of swinging and vaulting types of movements. Swinging movements are done either with the trunk and legs close to the bar (in-bar moves) or with the body fully extended from the hands (giant swings). Competitive routines should have no stops; body parts other than the hands or soles of the feet are rarely in more than momentary contact with the bar; releases of one and both hands from the bar are common; and dismounts often consist of multiple somersaults (triples have been executed), sometimes with one or more twists.

RINGS (STILL RINGS)

The rings are wooden and are spaced 50 centimeters apart and suspended from a height of about 5.6 meters. The lowest part of the rings is about 2.6 meters above the floor. Ring activities include swinging movements, held positions, and slow movements that emphasize strength.

FLOOR EXERCISE (FREE CALISTHENICS)

The floor exercise uses a square floor area measuring 12 meters on each side and is performed on a mat

Instructions for raising and lowering on the horizontal bars from J. A. Beaujeu's *A Treatise on Gymnastic Exercises* (1828).

3.2 centimeters thick. Tumbling skills are combined with balance and positions and movements emphasizing strength and flexibility.

PARALLEL BARS

The parallel bars are flexible wooden rails measuring 3.5 meters in length. Their height and width are adjustable, but for competition the height is set at about 1.7 meters above the floor. Movements consist of vaults, swings, balance positions (held for two seconds), and slow movements that emphasize strength (e.g., presses to handstands). The gymnast releases and regrips the bars with one hand at a time or with both hands simultaneously while being above or below the bars.

POMMEL HORSE (SIDE HORSE)

The pommel horse is a cylinder that measures 35.5 centimeters in diameter and 162.5 centimeters in length and is covered with leather or fabric. The pommels are set 40 to 45 centimeters apart, and the height of the horse is 1.25 meters to the top of the pommels. All movements on the horse are swinging movements (no stops or slow movements employing obvious strength are permitted). Only the hands should touch the horse.

VAULT (LONG HORSE)

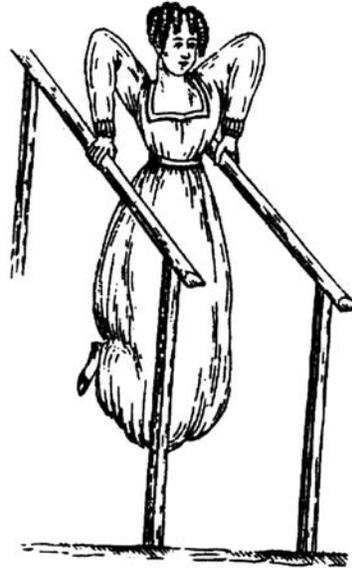
The vaulting horse is the same apparatus as the pommel horse, with the pommels removed. The height to the top of the horse is 1.35 meters. The horse is vaulted along its length, with an approach run of up to 25 meters.

Women's Events

Women's apparatus gymnastics events include the floor exercise, vault (side horse vault), uneven bars (uneven parallel bars), and balance beam.

FLOOR EXERCISE

Women gymnasts use the floor area and mat of the men's event. Movements are continuous and involve tumbling, dance, and gymnastic movements, as well as momentary balance positions. Music (taped orchestra



or piano) is used, and the movements should conform to the tempo, rhythm, and spirit of the music.

VAULT (SIDE HORSE VAULT)

The vaulting horse for women is the same apparatus that men use. However, the vaults are performed across the short dimension of the horse, and its height is set at 1.2 meters.

UNEVEN BARS (UNEVEN PARALLEL BARS)

The uneven bars originally were an adaptation of the men's parallel bars, and thus the bars were identical to the men's bars but with one bar set higher than the other.

BALANCE BEAM

Originally the balance beam was wooden, measuring 5 meters in length and 10 centimeters in width. The beam height is set at 1.2 meters. Competitive routines consist of tumbling, balance, and gymnastic movements.

Competition at the Top

Western European countries dominated international gymnastics competition before World War II. In the Olympic Games of 1896 through 1948 Finland, Switzerland, and Italy each won team medals four times; France, the United States, and Hungary each won twice; and eight other countries (all European) each won once. Italy won the team gold medal four times, and the United States, Germany, Switzerland,

Rhythmic gymnastics makes football look easy. ■ UNKNOWN

Finland, and Sweden each won the team gold medal once. In 1952, with the entrance of the Soviet Union into Olympic competition and the rise of Japan as a gymnastics power, the situation changed greatly. In the eleven Olympic Games staged between 1952 and 1992 Japan and the Soviet Union won the men's team gold medal five times each, and the United States won once.

At the 2004 Olympics in Athens, Greece, in artistic gymnastics Romania finished first, followed by the United States, Japan, and China. In the men's team competition Japan won gold, the United States won silver, and Romania won bronze. In the women's team competition Romania won gold, the United States won silver, and Russia won bronze.

Paul Hamm of the United States won gold in the men's individual all-around competition; Carly Patterson of the United States won gold in the women's individual all-around competition. Other gold medals were won by Kyle Shewfelt of Canada, men's floor; Catalina Ponor of Romania, women's floor; Gervasio Deferr of Spain, men's vault; Monica Rosu of Romania, women's vault; Haibin Teng of China, men's pommel horse; Dimosthenis Tampakos of Greece, men's rings; Catalina Ponor of Romania, women's balance beam; Emilie Lepennec of France, women's asymmetric bars; Valeri Goncharov of Ukraine, men's parallel bars; and Igor Cassina of Italy, men's horizontal bar.

Governing Bodies

A national federation administers competitive gymnastics in most countries. In the United States gymnastics has been organized on different levels by several organizations. The U.S. Turner Clubs, American Sokol clubs, and the YMCA have long histories of staging competitions for members, and for many years the AAU sponsored most open gymnastics competitions. The NCAA controls collegiate competitions, and many state athletic associations stage interschool competitions at the high school level. Private gymnastics schools stage interclub competitions, especially for young women. USA Gymnastics (www.usa-gymnastics.org), formerly known as the "U.S. Gymnastics Federation" (USGF), is the parent organization for all U.S. gymnastics competition and is

responsible for U.S. participation in international competitions. In turn, national federations belong to the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG, www.fig-gymnastics.com), which was founded in 1881 as the governing body of international gymnastics.

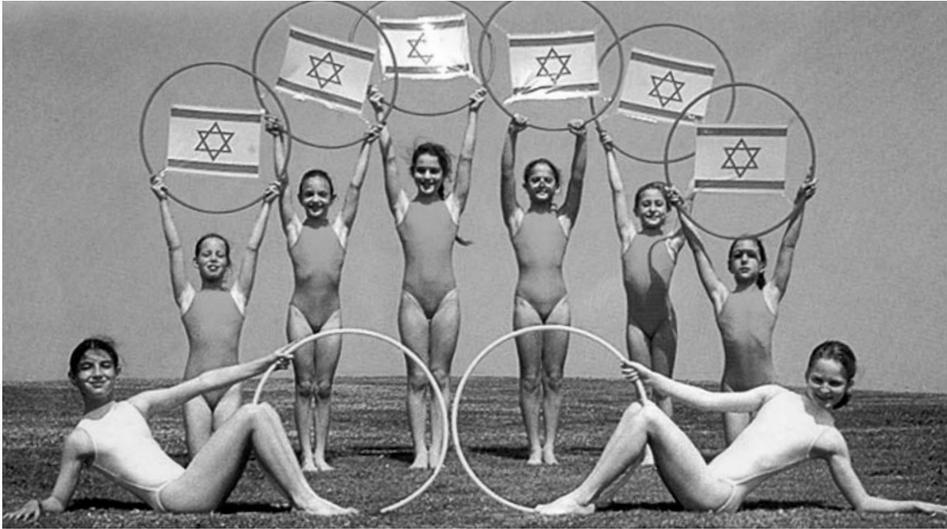
Richard V. McGehee and Russ Crawford

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Gymnastics, Rhythmic

Although athletes in ancient Greece performed exercises that combined flexibility, strength, and movement with aesthetic appeal and grace, rhythmic gymnastics as athletes practice it today is a product of



Israeli rhythmic gymnasts.

Rhythmic gymnasts perform choreographed tumbling and dance routines to music on a floor mat and use apparatus—clubs, ball, rope, ribbon, and hoop—in their routines. Depending on the apparatus, a gymnast might move around, over, or under it; balance on or with it; toss and catch it; spin or twirl it;

the physical education and sports culture of twentieth-century northern Europe. Although men practice rhythmic gymnastics, it is mainly a women's sport, and only women compete in the Olympics.

Rhythmic gymnastics developed out of a German reform movement in gymnastics and physical education during the early twentieth century. The movement emphasized appreciation of the human body and natural body movement in performance and exercise. In 1946 rhythmic gymnastics became a sport when the Soviet Union defined it as a sport separate from apparatus gymnastics—which uses equipment such as the pommel horse, horizontal bar, and balance beam—and began to train girls and young women. At first rhythmic gymnastics was confined to nations of the Soviet bloc, and only the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria competed in the first “international” competition in 1961. The International Gymnastics Federation (FIG, www.fig-gymnastics.com) recognized the sport in 1962 and became the governing body. In 1963 the first world championships were held. By the mid-1970s rhythmic gymnastics had spread to North America, and by 2005 120 nations were participating. The individual all-around competition became an Olympic event in 1984, and the team competition was added in 1996.

At the 2004 Olympics in Athens, Greece, Russia finished first; Italy finished second; Bulgaria and Ukraine tied for third. Russia won the group all-around competition; Alina Kabaeva of Russia won the individual all-around competition.

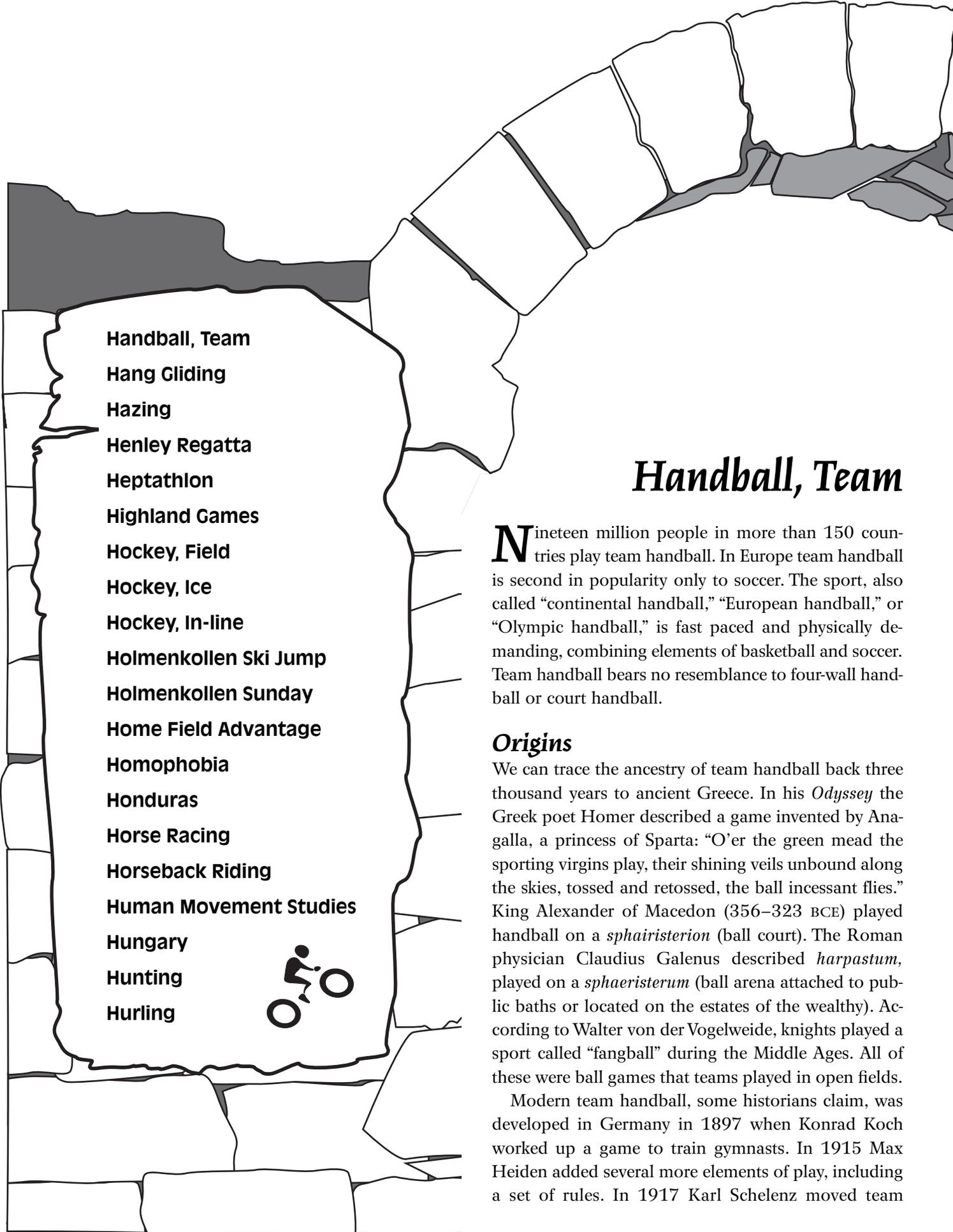
swing it; roll it; jump over it; and so forth. The goal is to perform a routine that demonstrates flexibility and agility, is in time with the music, shows a creative use of the apparatus, and is pleasing to the observer. The team competition or group exercise brings four or five team members onto the mat together; each member performs the same routine using the same or different apparatus. Team members also exchange apparatus and must display the same level of movement as in individual performance. The individual routine lasts 90 seconds; the group routine lasts 150 seconds. Judges rate performances on degree of difficulty, harmony of the movement and the music, flexibility, appearance, and ability to follow rules such as staying on the mat and wearing an appropriately colored leotard.

Despite its being an Olympic sport since 1984, critics of rhythmic gymnastics continue to question whether it is really a sport, given the somewhat subjective nature of the judging process, the use of music, and the emphasis on appealing body movement and control. Although popular with enthusiasts, rhythmic gymnastics has not yet rivaled apparatus gymnastics in popular appeal.

David Levinson

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Handball, Team
Hang Gliding
Hazing
Henley Regatta
Heptathlon
Highland Games
Hockey, Field
Hockey, Ice
Hockey, In-line
Holmenkollen Ski Jump
Holmenkollen Sunday
Home Field Advantage
Homophobia
Honduras
Horse Racing
Horseback Riding
Human Movement Studies
Hungary
Hunting
Hurling



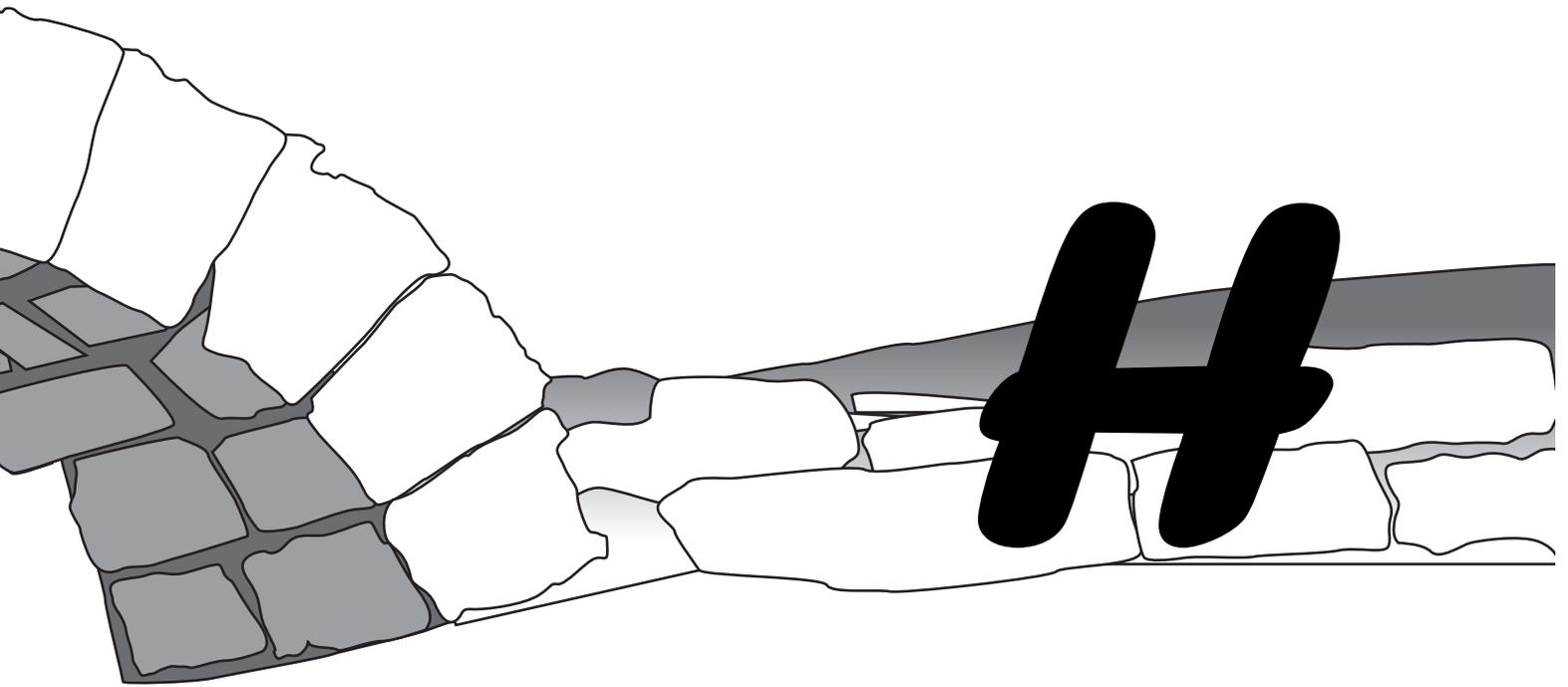
Handball, Team

Nineteen million people in more than 150 countries play team handball. In Europe team handball is second in popularity only to soccer. The sport, also called “continental handball,” “European handball,” or “Olympic handball,” is fast paced and physically demanding, combining elements of basketball and soccer. Team handball bears no resemblance to four-wall handball or court handball.

Origins

We can trace the ancestry of team handball back three thousand years to ancient Greece. In his *Odyssey* the Greek poet Homer described a game invented by Anagalla, a princess of Sparta: “O’er the green mead the sporting virgins play, their shining veils unbound along the skies, tossed and retossed, the ball incessant flies.” King Alexander of Macedon (356–323 BCE) played handball on a *sphairisterion* (ball court). The Roman physician Claudius Galenus described *harpastum*, played on a *sphaeristerum* (ball arena attached to public baths or located on the estates of the wealthy). According to Walter von der Vogelweide, knights played a sport called “fangball” during the Middle Ages. All of these were ball games that teams played in open fields.

Modern team handball, some historians claim, was developed in Germany in 1897 when Konrad Koch worked up a game to train gymnasts. In 1915 Max Heiden added several more elements of play, including a set of rules. In 1917 Karl Schelenz moved team



handball with eleven players on a team from the gymnasium to a large soccer-like field.

However, other historians claim that modern team handball evolved in Scandinavia early in the twentieth century. Swedish sources refer to seven-player handball being played in 1907. Historians who support a Danish origin believe that the Dane Fredrik Knudsen codified the seven-player sport in 1911. Because of the colder climate, Scandinavians played more on modern-looking, smaller indoor courts than on large outdoor fields.

In Europe team handball developed further under the auspices of association football (soccer). In 1926 the International Amateur Athletic Federation appointed a committee representing the eleven countries where handball was played to develop a set of standardized rules. The International Amateur Handball Federation (IAHF) was founded during the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam, Netherlands. Avery Brundage (later president of the International Olympic Committee) was its first president. Twenty-five countries belonged to the federation by 1934. Germany, as host of the 1936 Olympics, added men's team handball to the Olympic Games in Berlin. This sport was the outdoor, European version with eleven players on each team. The German team defeated five other teams to win the gold medal. The 1940 and 1944 Olympic Games were canceled because of World War II, but this hiatus did not stop the spread of team handball.

In 1937 Norway recognized team handball as a women's sport. Prisoners of war at Camp Borden, Ontario, Canada, introduced the sport to Canada during

the 1940s. French immigrants teaching in Canadian secondary schools, especially in Quebec, taught the sport. Eastern Europeans supported team handball in large numbers, surpassing Scandinavians in participation. The International Handball Federation replaced the IAHF in 1946. However, when the Olympic Games resumed in 1948, team handball was not on the program.

European immigrants living in the metropolitan areas of New York and New Jersey introduced the indoor version of team handball to the United States about 1959. Dr. Peter Buehning, a promoter of the sport, organized the United States Team Handball Federation. The U.S. Army popularized team handball as a camp sport in many areas. College and high school students, looking for new indoor activities, also began playing team handball. The sport became even more popular when Germany announced that it would again feature men's team handball (the indoor variation with seven players on each team) at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. Yugoslavia won the gold medal. Women's team handball was included in the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal. The Soviet men's and women's teams won the gold medals.

In 1980 the men's team from East Germany and the women's team from the Soviet Union won gold medals at the Moscow Olympic Games, which some Western nations boycotted. In 1984 Yugoslavia won both men's and women's gold medals at the Los Angeles Olympic Games, which some Communist nations boycotted. Most nations were represented at the Olympics in Seoul, South Korea, in 1988, when the men's team from the Soviet Union and the women's team from

South Korea won. In 1992 the men's Unified Team (former Soviet players) won the gold at the Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain, as did the women's team from South Korea. In 1996 at the Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia, the Danish women's team and the Croatian men's team won the gold. In 2004, at the Olympic Games in Athens, Greece, the Danish women's team and the Croatian men's team won the gold.

Practice

In Europe team handball is still played outdoors, on open fields similar to soccer fields, with eleven players on each team. However, the last sanctioned championship of eleven-player outdoor team handball was held in 1966. The seven-player indoor version is more popular. People play indoor team handball on courts that measure 40 by 20 meters—35 percent larger than basketball courts. A team has six court players and a goalie. The object is to throw a hard leather ball (18 centimeters in diameter) into the opponents' goal net (2 meters high by 3 meters wide) while defending one's own goal net.

Players may throw the ball with their hands, propel the ball with any part of the body above the knee (they may not kick the ball), and advance the ball by dribbling it an unlimited distance like a basketball. However, after players stop with the ball, they must shoot or pass within three seconds. Players may not carry the ball more than three steps or kick it.

Team handball is played in two thirty-minute halves with no time-outs. Halftime is a ten-minute rest period. The sport demands strength, skill, speed, stamina, strategy, quick reactions, and agility. The offensive attacks and defensive strategies occur at either end of the court within 6 to 9 meters of the goal. Little play occurs in the center of the court. Theoretically, team handball is a noncontact sport. However, the fast breaks, quick maneuvers to pass or block, and leaps and dives to penetrate and shoot make contact inevitable. Team handball can be an elegant statement of individual and team achievement.

A. Gilbert Belles

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Hang Gliding

Hang gliding is a sport in which people soar using a hang glider—a wing made of an aluminum or carbon fiber frame and a synthetic sail and a triangular-shaped structure below the wing that allows a pilot to carry and maneuver the glider. The pilot wears a harness that is hooked to the glider and takes off on foot on a slope or is towed aloft by a vehicle on flatlands. Hang gliding allows a pilot to admire fantastic views in the company of soaring birds with only the rush of the wind to break the silence.

Hang gliding pilots find rising air currents and use them to climb, stay aloft, and fly over the landscape. With the right weather pattern hang gliders can travel long distances—the world record (regularly broken) stands at 703 kilometers (437 miles), flown by Mike Barber in 2002 in Texas. Pilots can reach altitudes of more than 6,000 meters (countries set their own legal altitude limits).

History

Hang gliding is a relatively new sport that began during the early 1970s, but its development had a long evolution. Legends, including that of Icarus in Greek mythology, show that people dreamed to fly even during ancient times. The Italian Renaissance artist and inventor, Leonardo da Vinci, studied flight, as did many inventors during the nineteenth century: Otto Lilienthal of Germany, Sir George Cayley of England, and John Mont-

A hang glider soars high over the northern beaches of Sydney, Australia.

Source: istockphoto.com/ mattscherf.

gomery of the United States built successful motorless flying machines. The development of powered flight by Wilbur and Orville Wright of the United States during the early 1900s started with nonpowered soaring flights from the dunes of North Carolina. The pursuit of powered flight put soaring on the sidelines, and it resurfaced in Germany only after World War I. In the United States during the 1960s National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) engineer Francis Rogallo and his wife, Gertrude, developed a triangular wing designed as a reentry device for spacecraft. By the early 1970s the design was adapted to launching on foot and spread throughout the United States and Europe. The sport of hang gliding was born.

Instructors use two main methods to teach hang gliding: training-hill sessions and tandem flying. Most schools use a combination of both. The development of safe towing practices using a winch or an ultralight (a light recreational aircraft typically for one person and powered by a small gasoline engine) has promoted tandem flying, which is less physically demanding and appeals more to women. Tandem flying is done on a larger hang glider that is designed for two persons: a pilot (or instructor) and a passenger (or student). This arrangement allows a student to learn skills with hands-on experience under the supervision of an instructor.

Women in Hang Gliding

Women historically have been a minority in hang gliding (5–10 percent of participants). However, the development of smaller and lighter gliders and the evolution



of teaching techniques during recent years have promoted the participation of women. With new technology and materials the equipment is better adapted to lighter-weight pilots. Some participants believe that hang gliding is popular among women because it is aesthetically appealing and requires finesse in control. The glider is controlled by weight shift, which requires upper body motions but not excessive strength.

The hang gliding world distance record for women is held by Kari Castle of the United States. In 2001 she flew 350 kilometers (217.5 miles) from Zapata, Texas. Judy Leden of England holds the *Guinness World Records* altitude record (for men and women): On 25 October 1994, she took off at 11,856 meters (38,898 feet) from a balloon over Wadi Rum, Jordan, and flew back to Earth.

Competition at the Top

With the exception of the Women's World Meet held every other year, men and women compete together in hang gliding competitions. Hang gliding has three forms of competition: aerobatics, speed gliding, and cross-country. Aerobatics (or freestyle) is a routine of aesthetically pleasing maneuvers judged on precision, technique, and elegance. Speed gliding, the newest form, is a short race close to the ground between pylons.

Cross-country, the most common form of competition, is a long race along a course that is determined by turnpoints (reference points such as the takeoff and landing spot) and a goal. Cross-country competitions typically last one to two weeks. A different task is set for competitors every day. Each task may be on a course that is from 80 to 240 kilometers in length and may last from two to six hours. The course may be a straight line to the goal, a series of doglegs, an out-and-return course, or a triangular course. Competitors prove that they have flown the task along the course by taking aerial photographs of the turnpoints or by recording their flight path with a GPS (Global Positioning System). To complete the course competitors must find rising air currents along their way and plan their flight so that they achieve the fastest time. Accomplishing this requires a knowledge of weather conditions on the large scale and small scale and honed soaring skills. (The terms soaring and gliding are often used interchangeably; however, soaring refers particularly to using air currents to stay aloft.)

The two main types of soaring are ridge soaring and thermal soaring. Ridge soaring takes place when wind strikes a slope and is deflected upward. A pilot can ride

this upward wind and stay up above the ridge. Thermal soaring uses rising columns of warm air known as "thermals." Thermals develop over dry, darker, or rocky terrain that absorbs and then radiates heat from the sun. A pilot uses a thermal by circling and climbing in it. To aid in soaring pilots use altimeters (to measure altitude) and variometers (to measure the rate of climb or descent).

The Future

Hang gliding, like any other type of aviation, is constantly evolving as new technologies and materials cause the gliders to change form. Through the years gliders have become safer and more efficient, their rates of descent becoming slower and their speeds faster. These changes improve performance while soaring and traveling distances.

Claire Pagen

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Hazing

In recent years law enforcement agencies, school officials, parent groups, and community leaders have become more aware of the negative effects of hazing on athletes. Hazing is a challenge that athletes encounter everywhere in the world. However, hazing is not re-

stricted to athletes, but rather surfaces in the workplace, fraternities and sororities, the military, and in many other organizations where membership is sought and where the approval of the group is deemed important by those seeking admission.

Hazing in sports offers vivid pictures of human experience that run the gamut from the amusing and the affectionate to the abusive and the abominable. One might think that a single word could not bear such contradiction. Yet, *hazing* is an all-purpose word that lends itself to a qualifier, as seen in a *Sports Illustrated for Kids* interview with children between the ages of fourteen and seventeen who were asked, “Do you think there is good hazing and bad hazing?” They replied, “Yes.” As a framework for capturing the essence of hazing, a consideration of the good, the bad, and the ugly offers an appropriate starting point.

We have few succinct ways to describe what some people consider “good” forms of hazing: swimmers bonding over breakfast in their pajamas after teammates awaken them in the middle of the night; football players singing their college fight songs to audiences of well-meaning, although tunefully impaired, professional athletes and coaches; good-natured contests designed to build camaraderie and esprit d’corps are thought of as routine team-building exercises. People consider these to be harmless gestures that encourage athletes to get to know and support one another.

In contrast, the practice of hazing has also produced a vocabulary of its own, reflective of a far less benign form of behavior. Athletes and nonathletes, and the culture in general, have more than passing familiarity with beatdowns, forced drinking, public humiliation, shaved heads, simulated sex acts, swirlies, tea bagging, and threats of physical and mental harm. Activities played out under the guise of bringing athletes together divide the athletes into victims and perpetrators.

History

College campuses during the 1800s were, in some respects, much different than those of today. Most of the institutions of higher education were single-gender, and

of that group most were men’s colleges. The “football rush,” an annual interclass football game staged between freshmen and sophomores, conveys a feeling for the atmosphere in schools of the day. To avoid the interference of professors, students scheduled the game to coincide with Monday afternoon faculty meetings. On “bloody Monday” the brutal hazing of freshmen would take place on the football field at the hands of the once lowly sophomores now moved up in the class power structure.

In 1923 the beating of Hobart freshman Lloyd Hyde resulted in two senior football players being expelled and three other senior athletes receiving lesser punishments for their involvement in the beating. The athletes who assaulted Hyde may have been members of the same fraternity. This would not have been uncommon during the 1920s, a decade when college fraternity hazing had become rampant. In February 1932 the editors of the *Law Journal* urged higher education authorities to ban all forms of hazing because “it does not make for education, but for barbarism.” Another seventy years passed before many public policy makers and educators recognized that the brutality associated with hazing constitutes criminal conduct and took steps to pass legislation barring it. Between 1990 and 2002 the number of anti-hazing statutes in the United States increased from twenty-five to forty-three.

Prevalence of Hazing among Athletes

Despite the long history of negative hazing among athletes, people have done little research on the topic in general. The first baseline study of hazing was undertaken at the direction of Edward R. Koll, president of Alfred University, after an incident on that campus. Of the 2,027 athletes who responded to a national survey, 80 percent were subjected to what the researchers called “questionable” (humiliating or degrading) or “unacceptable” (high probability of causing physical injury and/or being illegal) activities as part of their initiation into a college sports team. More than 50 percent were involved in some kind of alcohol-related activity, and 35 percent participated in a drinking contest.



Hazing

Definitions of Hazing

The legal definitions of hazing vary considerably from state to state.

In Minnesota, for example, hazing is defined as a means of “committing an act against a student, or coercing a student into committing an act, that creates a substantial risk of harm to a person in order for the student to be initiated into or affiliated with a student organization” (Minnesota State Code 127.465).

In contrast, the state of Florida uses this definition when determining if hazing as occurred: “As used in this section, ‘hazing’ means any action or situation which recklessly or intentionally endangers the mental or physical health or safety of a student for the purpose of initiation or admission into or affiliation with any organization operating under the sanction

of a postsecondary institution. Such term includes, but is not limited to, any brutality of a physical nature, such as whipping, beating, branding, forced calisthenics, exposure to the elements, forced consumption of any food, liquor, drug, or other substance, or other forced physical activity which could adversely affect the physical health or safety of the student, and also includes any activity which would subject the student to extreme mental stress, such as sleep deprivation, forced exclusion from social contact, forced conduct which could result in extreme embarrassment, or other forced activity which could adversely affect the mental health or dignity of the student” (Florida State Code 240.1325).

Since that initial study others have followed. Based on the findings across these studies, several trends are emerging. Specifically, although the frequency of hazing does vary by sport, athletes may be hazed regardless of the sports they play. Men athletes are more likely to have physical harm done to them during hazing, whereas women athletes are more likely to experience humiliating or embarrassing forms of hazing. Additionally, significant numbers of athletes are unable to correctly define hazing while believing that being subjected to these kinds of experiences as a condition of joining a team is worth it. In effect, athletes who have been hazed and who haze have difficulty distinguishing between what they call “fun” and “hazing.”

Challenges

In September 2004 Garrett Watterson, a first-year football player at Sandwich High School in Massachusetts, was the target of a “beatdown” by nine of his teammates. One of the blows he received resulted in a ruptured spleen. Initially, he told his family that he suffered the injury when tackled at practice. While Watterson was undergoing surgery, local prosecutors charged with felony assault and battery two of the players accused of

instigating the beatdown and causing the injury, while the remaining players were charged with misdemeanor hazing.

This example provides insight into the patterns that contribute to the difficulty that athletes have in distinguishing hazing that constitutes criminal conduct and/or socially deviant behavior from benign hazing. Consistent with other types of interpersonal violence, denials on the part of both victims and perpetrators occur while strong codes of silence are enforced. At the same time, community members often rely on explanations or rationales to minimize the behavior. In this case, some students at the high school believed the incident was “blown out of proportion” and that the criminal charges were “excessive.” To demonstrate their support for the instigators, students wore T-shirts calling attention to the unfair treatment that the alleged perpetrators were receiving.

This lack of sensitivity for the victims, coupled with the secretive nature of the practice, contributes to its potency as a socializing agent and the willingness of so many people to ignore the trauma caused to the victims. Hank Nuwer, an expert in the subject, points out recent trends in entertainment contribute in a negative way to

the social mores that influence hazing. He notes, “The media standards have changed in terms of embarrassing somebody. We humiliate. We vote people off. Kids are very aware that you laugh at these things” (Wahl and Wertheim 2003, 68). When considered from the standpoint that hazing occurs among the young and is tied to a belief system that justifies this behavior as a necessary price of acceptance, the task of intervening is challenging.

The Future

As more states have adopted antihazing laws, and as educational institutions have been called upon to develop student conduct codes that address hazing, systemic mechanisms to educate athletes about hazing are slowly being put into place. Perhaps in time these measures will result in more athletes being able to discern the difference between team-building exercises and forms of interpersonal violence. However, given the cycle of violence that exists in hazing, more education and education of the right kind are needed.

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See also Anti-Jock Movement; Youth Culture and Sports

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Henley Regatta

Established on 26 March 1839, the Henley Regatta has been held at Henley-on-Thames, England, for more than 160 years amid world wars and issues of amateurism, foreign competitors, and participation by women. The regatta remains the world’s grandest spectacle in rowing, with the flair of the Victorian era preserved by its dress, protocol, Pimm’s (a liqueur), lemonade, and cucumber sandwiches in the Steward’s Area but juxtaposed against state-of-the-art rowing shells cutting through the calm surface of the Thames River. The regatta brings the British traditions of rowing and the modern complexity of the realm of crew into harmony for one week each June as contestants vie for prizes called the “Lady’s Plate,” the “Grand,” and the “Diamond Challenge Sculls.”

The regatta originated after twenty thousand people were drawn to the banks of the river when Oxford and Cambridge crews in search of neutral water raced at Henley just outside London. The regatta began as the brainstorm of W. P. Williams-Freeman and Captain E. Gardiner, who sought to bring an event to the ancient river city. A regatta seemed a logical way to attract commerce and even a rail line. The regatta committee formed a board of stewards to host events that would draw competitors, spectators, and commerce.

Seeking to attract as many types of boats and styles of rowing as possible, during its first ten years the regatta hosted only seven events, mainly singles, doubles, and fours events based on rivermen’s skills that had developed through the centuries into the amateur art of rowing. Getting crews of eight athletes—the eight being



Vivian and Guy Nickalls, a successful team in the early twentieth century.

the premier rowing event—to participate was difficult because of the difficulties of transporting the rowing shells, which are about 18 meters long.

The Henley course is considered to be hallowed ground. Along its banks Temple Island boasts the Etruscan-style Fawley Court Temple, built in 1771 by James Wyatt. This landmark is held in such high regard as part of the regatta tradition that it was purchased by the board of stewards and is typically referred to by the race announcers—when the shells race by it—as simply “Fawley time.” In 1850 the Henley race became a royal regatta when the town council, hoping to draw entries, sought the patronage of Prince Albert, who accepted. The royal family has graced the Steward’s Area ever since.

Not-So-Calm Waters

The issue of foreign crews, in particular those of the U.S. laboring class, participating in the regatta and the issue of professional coaches coming to Henley and breaking the amateur code of the British gentleman athlete wreaked havoc among the regatta organizers as early as 1872, when a U.S. sculler (one who propels a boat by oars called “sculls”) raced for the Diamond Sculls prize. The issue seemed to become more poignant depending on who was winning or losing, especially when the British were beaten by the U.S., Belgian, and Canadian entrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Crews of the London Rowing Club, Cambridge, Oxford, and Leander—Britain’s oldest boat club, tracing its origin to 1818—considered rowing to be their sport and Henley to be their coveted

prize. Early incidents, such as in 1895 when the Cornell University eight rowed on in the Grand race, leaving Leander sitting at the start when a regatta official failed to hear the Leander club state that it was not ready to row, had British newspapers labeling U.S. entrants as poor sportsmen. The Vesper boat club of Philadelphia was banned from early regattas because of what the British saw as a violation of amateur status.

Among the sporting figures to add to the issue of amateur status at Henley was U.S. racer Jack Kelly—father of Princess Grace of Monaco—who was reputed to have been refused entry to the Diamond Sculls race in 1920 because he had laid bricks one summer. Kelly went on the next month to win the Olympic gold medal at Antwerp, Belgium. Perhaps the greatest single competitor at Henley was Sean Drea of Ireland, who won the Diamond Sculls race three times in 1973, 1974, and 1975.

World War I decimated the numbers of available British rowers, and the regatta fell upon hard times until 1919, when the Henley course was used for the Peace Regatta by Allied nations’ crews. Henley was the Olympic regatta course in 1908 and 1948. The regatta began to receive a flood of applications by foreign crews after World War II. From then on the regatta became a world-class event, equivalent to Olympic competition, although different in structure. Modern Olympic rowing competition takes place on a currentless course that is six lanes wide. Henley is raced two lanes at a time on a true river course in single elimination style—with the winner progressing.

Today, as one hundred years ago, the course is laid out along the river with wooden posts and booms. The posts and booms make a canal out of the river, allowing other boat traffic to proceed by. After the regatta the posts and booms are dismantled and stored at regatta headquarters until the next year. Originally the course had a slight dog-leg, giving one crew an advantage; however, the modern course is a straight, fair, course for both crews.

Classes and Levels

The rowing events can be classed as sweep rowing and sculling by eights, fours, pairs, and singles. At the top level are six open events for men and—added in the late twentieth century—three open events for women. Below the top level participants are regulated by age and racing experience in order to keep more experienced rowers, for instance, from mixing in with less talented rowers. At the intermediate level are three events for men who are considered the best of the club and student crews. The next level offers five men's events for the majority of club and student oarsmen. Finally, two events are held for junior boys, who must be under the age of nineteen on regatta day.

The events for open men are Grand Challenge Cup (8+), Stewards' Challenge Cup (4-), Queen Mother Challenge Cup (4×), Silver Goblets & Nickalls' Challenge Cup (2-), Double Sculls Challenge Cup (2×), and Diamond Challenge Sculls (1×). The events for open women are Remenham Challenge Cup (8+), Princess Grace Challenge Cup (4×), and Princess Royal Challenge Cup (1×). The events for intermediate men are Ladies' Challenge Plate (8+), Visitors' Challenge Cup (4-), and Men's Quadruple Sculls (4×). The events for junior boys are Princess Elizabeth Challenge Cup (8+) and Fawley Challenge Cup (4×). The events for club men are Thames Challenge Cup (8+), Wyfold Challenge Cup (4-), and Britannia Challenge Cup (4+). The events for student men are Temple Challenge Cup (8+) and Men's Student Coxed Fours (4+).

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Heptathlon

The heptathlon, which consists of seven track-and-field events staged on two days, is the women's counterpart of the men's ten-event decathlon. The heptathlon was introduced in 1981 to replace the five-event pentathlon, which had been the major multiple-event competition for women.

On the first day of a heptathlon athletes compete in high jump, shot put, 100-meter hurdles, and a 200-meter race. On the second day athletes compete in javelin, long jump, and a 800-meter race. That the women's event increased from five to seven events is an acknowledgment of women's athletic ability and improving performances. That women do not yet compete in a decathlon indicates the continuing belief that women are not physically able to meet the demands of a ten-event competition.

Origins

Before the early twentieth century either women did not participate in multiple-event competitions or their competitions were unrecorded. Thus, tracing the development of the heptathlon is a matter of tracing the growth of multiple-event competitions more generally. That growth has involved continuous revision of the number and type of events involved and of the scoring systems used to compare performances.

Early multiple-event competitions were for men only and seem to have been linked with ideals of masculinity. In 708 BCE, for example, the Greeks introduced a pentathlon to their Olympic program. It incorporated



running, discus, javelin, long jump, and wrestling. The pentathlon became the central event of the Olympics because Hellenism (devotion to or imitation of ancient Greek thought, customs, or styles) valued versatility. In modern times the opposite has become the case, with versatility viewed more as feminine and specialization more as masculine. The symbolism of the pentathlon as it relates to gender is complex. During the nineteenth century all-around competitions were held for men in Ireland, but the United States introduced them to formal athletics programs. The Amateur Athletics Union (AAU) championships in 1884 featured a ten-event competition that incorporated a 1-mile run, a 100-yard race, 120-yard hurdles, 880-yard walk, shot put, high jump, hammer throw, pole vault, 56-pound weight lift, and long jump. These events were completed in one day.

Several versions of multiple-event competitions have been held around the world since that early competition. Some countries hold a one-hour decathlon. The best known, however, are the decathlon, a track and field event for men; the modern pentathlon, which involves fencing, shooting, horseback riding, swimming, and cross-country running; the triathlon, which involves cycling, running, and swimming; and the women's heptathlon.

Development

The women's pentathlon is the earliest known multiple-event competition for women. National and international competitions began early during the twentieth century. They consisted of long jump, shot put, 100-meter race, high jump, and javelin and took place during two days. One can view the introduction of the women's pentathlon as the beginning of acceptance of athletic competition as a valid part of femininity. However, that the women's pentathlon was not part of the Olympic program until 1964 indicates the limitations of such acceptance. After World War II the pentathlon program changed: Shot put, high jump, and the 200-meter race took place on the first day and the long jump and 80-meter hurdles on the second day. The program was altered again in 1961, with the 80-meter hurdles moved to the first day and the 200-meter race to

the second. The distance for hurdles was changed to 100 meters in 1969. After 1977 all events took place on one day, the order being 100-meter hurdles, shot put, high jump, long jump, and 800-meter race. The heptathlon was introduced in 1981.

During the early twentieth century women's pentathlon events were taking place at the amateur level long before they were introduced to the Olympics. An increasing number of heptathlon competitions have been held since 1981 at elite and nonelite levels in the United States, Europe, Africa, and Asia. College-level competitions also are held in the United States. However, the heptathlon remains a minority sport for women.

Competition at the Top

Although the pentathlon and the heptathlon retain minority status, both have had notable women competitors and closely fought contests. Comparing women's performances across time is difficult because of the changing nature of the event and the different scoring systems used. In 1938 the record for the pentathlon was held by Gisela Mauermayer of Germany, who scored 418 points. Her performance, which took place in Stuttgart, Germany, included a 13.07-meter shot put, a 5.62-meter long jump, a time of 12.4 seconds in the 100-meter hurdles, a 1.56-meter high jump, and a 36.90-meter javelin throw. Mauermayer was the top woman athlete of the prewar period. She also held world records in the shot put (Warsaw, 1934) and the discus (Berlin, 1936) and ran on the relay team that broke the record at the 4 × 100-meter race in the Berlin Olympics in 1936. Indeed, top heptathletes have often held records in other individual events.

Fanny Blankers-Koen of the Netherlands was the first record holder in the postwar version of the pentathlon. Blankers-Koen scored a total of 4,692 points with a 11.50-meter shot put, a 1.60-meter high jump, 24.4 seconds in the 200-meter run, 11.4 seconds in the 80-meter hurdles, and a 5.88-meter long jump. Irena Press of the Soviet Union was an elite performer of the post-1961 pentathlon with 10.7 seconds in the 80-meter hurdles, 17.16 meters in the shot put, 1.63 meters in the high jump, 6.24 meters in the long jump, and



24.7 seconds in the 200-meter run. After the hurdles distance was changed to 100 meters in 1969, Burglinde Pollak of East Germany turned in a great performance at Erfurt, Germany, in 1970 with 13.3 seconds in the 100-meter hurdles, 15.57 meters in the shot put, 1.75 meters in the high jump, 6.20 meters in the long jump, and 23.8 seconds in the 200-meter run.

At the 1972 Olympics in Munich, Germany, Heide Rosendahl of West Germany and Mary Peters of Great Britain both broke the world record, with Peters winning marginally by ten points in the last event, which was a 200-meter race in which Rosendahl actually finished ahead of Peters. An even closer contest occurred at the Montreal Olympics in 1976 when Siegrun Siegl and Christine Laser, both of East Germany, finished with the same score. Judges decided to award the victory on the basis of which athlete had performed better than the other in the most events: Siegl had outperformed Laser in three of five events.

Although Ramona Neubert of East Germany was the first world record holder in the heptathlon, Jackie Joyner-Kersey has been the best-known heptathlete. At the 1986 Goodwill Games in Moscow Joyner-Kersey became the first woman to score more than seven thousand points (7,184). The records she set in the event are indicative of women's growing achievement in the heptathlon: 12.85 seconds in the 100-meter hurdles, 1.88 meters in the high jump, 14.76 meters in the shot put, 23.00 seconds in the 200-meter run, 7.01 meters in the long jump, 49.86 meters in the javelin, and 2 minutes, 10.02 seconds in the 800-meter race. In the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, South Korea, Joyner-Kersey scored 7,291 points—394 points ahead of her nearest rival. She dropped out of the Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1996 because of injury and retired in 1998 after winning her fourth Goodwill Games heptathlon. She has held the heptathlon world record since 1986.

The gold medal winner at Atlanta was Ghada Shouaa, who became Syria's first gold medal winner. She also won the gold medal at the 1995 world championships. That Shouaa is a Christian and also the first gold medal winner from Syria—a Muslim country—shows how gender, culture, and sport interact.

Scoring

The heptathlon scoring system is based on the idea that different skills can be measured in such a way that comparison among athletes is possible. Although the heptathlon is based on the idea that participants display their all-around athleticism, excellence in one or two events often may determine the victor. The events are assigned scores whose primary purpose is to rank competitors, not to weigh the absolute and relative value of performances in all events. Nevertheless, controversy has surrounded the adequacy of different scoring systems. As a consequence, they have changed over time.

The Future

One might argue that women's equality in multiple-event competitions will not be achieved until a women's decathlon is created. However, as the following anonymous poem suggests, for many people the heptathlon is the ultimate in sporting participation.

The magnificent seven, the perfect score
Two days, seven trials, and chances to soar
Towards heaven the luck magnificent seven

Andrea Abbas

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Highland Games

The Highland Games are competitive gatherings held throughout the world to celebrate the heritage of Scotland's Highlanders. The games are particularly popular in Scotland, Canada, and the United States but take place wherever a large population of Scots lives. Scottish "clans," somewhat complex extended family groups, gather at these meetings to watch and participate in games on the local, national, and international levels.

Among her most noted accomplishments, Cynthia Morrison was the first woman to compete in the Scotland Highland Games “heavy athletics” contest in 1994.

The events held at games vary, but three main competitive event categories exist at most games: athletics, piping, and dancing. Other events include tug-of-war, wrestling, and fiddling. Competition is open to persons of any background, not just those of Scottish heritage. Professional and amateur sections exist for competition, and the athletic competitions have women’s, men’s, and masters’ divisions.

Origins

Precursors of the games had been held for hundreds of years. Highlander clans would often relax after a successful hunt by testing each other’s prowess at sports or by proving who had the mightiest warriors. More formally, the Braemar Gathering dates back to the reign of King Malcolm III of Scotland (1057–1093), and the Ceres Games in Fife, Scotland, claim to date back to 1314.

The modern revival of the games is linked to the status of Highlanders in Great Britain. Highlanders were separated from the rest of Scotland not only by mountains but also by language (Gaelic) and culture. After the last Jacobite (a partisan of James II of England or of the Stuarts after the revolution of 1688) rising the English attempted to quell further rebellion by passing the 1747 Act of Proscription, preventing Scottish Highlanders from playing the pipes, wearing their native kilt, or doing anything linked with Highland tradition. Eventually the importance of celebrating Scottish Highland traditions grew out of this suppression. The first Highland Society Gathering was held in 1781 at Falkirk Tryst, and the Act of Proscription was repealed in 1782. Annual Highland Games were supported by the St. Filian’s Society by 1819.

A turning point in Highland Games history occurred when Queen Victoria of England attended the Braemar Gathering in 1848. With her interest in Highlander culture and purchase of an estate in the area, everything connected with the Highlands became fashionable. Royalty continues to support the games by appearing at the Braemar Gathering.

In the United States the First Sportive Meeting of the



Highland Society of New York was held in 1836. Canada’s oldest games (1863) are still held by the Antigonish Highland Society.

Athletics

Athletics at the games include “heavy events” and “light events” (running and jumping events). The main heavy events are the caber toss, stone throw, weight throw, weight toss, hammer throw, and the sheaf toss. The implements used often vary in size and weight, making record keeping nearly impossible from year to year in the Highland Games.

The caber toss is perhaps the most famous event. The caber, a trimmed tree trunk tapered at one end, is usually 4.8–6.7 meters long and 40–59 kilograms in weight. A competitor lifts it, runs with it in any direction, and then attempts to flip it so it lands in the

People understand contests. You take a bunch of kids throwing rocks at random and people look askance, but if you go and hold a rock-throwing contest—people understand that. ■ DON MURRAY

ground straight up with the top side down (considered “twelve o’clock”). Each competitor gets three attempts, and the winner is the competitor who turned the caber closest to twelve o’clock, with every landing from nine o’clock to three o’clock being judged a valid toss. If no one makes a valid toss, the caber is trimmed to a shorter length until at least one competitor can flip it within the acceptable range. This event originated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as forestry workers of the Highlands pitched logs into rivers.

The stone throw originated from the “stone of strength” (*clachneart*) that was often found outside of the homes of Highland clan chieftains. Visitors to a home were encouraged to test their strength by throwing this stone. Today’s stone weighs 7.2–14.5 kilograms (3.6–5.4 kilograms for women), is thrown for distance, and usually taken from a local stream.

The weight used in the weight throw (12.7–25.4 kilograms for men, 6.3–12.7 kilograms for women) is attached to a handle or ring by a chain measuring not more than 45 centimeters. The weight is squared off or spherical and is thrown for distance with one hand.

The hammer used in the hammer throw is a metal ball weighing 7.5–9.9 kilograms (5.4–7.2 kilograms for women). It is attached to a handle made of wood or cane and thrown for distance. The competitor swings the hammer around his head a few times before release.

In the weight toss and the sheaf toss a competitor throws an implement (weight toss: 25.4 kilograms for men, 12.7 kilograms for women; sheaf toss: a 7.2- to 9 kilogram bag of hay or sticks for men, a 4.5- to 5.4-kilogram bag of hay or sticks for women) over a crossbar without dislodging it, with three attempts at each height before the crossbar is raised. In the weight toss a competitor must stand directly under the crossbar, throwing the weight over the bar in an arc.

Piping

Piping is a Scottish tradition dating back to 100 CE; bagpipes became popular during the eleventh century. Pipers compete as individuals or as part of a pipe and drum band. Pipers use the Highland bagpipe, which

has a scale that differs from pipes of other countries. Judges score the events, with pipe bands being judged 60 percent on piping, 20 percent on drumming, and 20 percent on members’ work together. Specific types of music, such as the march, the *strathspey*, the reel, the hornpipe, the jig, and the *piobaireachd*, are used in the different levels of competition.

Dancing

Highland dancing is competitive and strenuous. Men and women compete in different costumes: men in a kilt, doublet (jacket), sporran (pouch worn at the waist, often covered in fur), and hat; women in “Aboyne dress”: vested white blouse, plaid over the shoulder, and a full, graceful skirt. Dancers are judged 80 percent on technique, 10 percent on general deportment, and 10 percent on timing. Usually a piper provides music. Dance competitions include the Highland fling, the sword dance (*gille chaluim*), *seann triubhas*, and the reel. Competitors belong to one of five classifications, the highest being “open.”

The Future

The Highland Games continue to attract thousands of spectators and are one of Scotland’s main tourist attractions. Today nearly one hundred games a year are held in Scotland, about three hundred across the United States and Canada, and many other annual gatherings around the world as people find family togetherness through the Scottish clans and kinship of the Highland Games.

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Hockey, Field

Field hockey evolved as a stick-and-ball game with a heavy British influence—from the creation of the rules of the game to its being played throughout the world. Originally referred to as “hockey,” it is now called “field hockey” to make the distinction from ice hockey.

Early History of the Game

Field hockey is one of the oldest “stick-and-ball” games. It flourished as far back as the early part of the Middle Kingdom dynasty of Egypt (2000–1786 BCE), as depicted in tomb paintings. Similar forms of the game were also cited or depicted in the antiquity of Ethiopia, Greece, Rome, and even by the Aztecs in South America. Related stick and ball games of earlier times include *hocquet* (French for a shepherds’ crook) referring to the shape of the stick, hurley (Ireland), bandy (England) and shinty (Scotland). The modern history of field hockey began in England where the game was introduced to the elite colleges and public schools—comparable to America’s Ivy League and private schools. The sport was quickly embraced and spread to other countries. In most other countries the men have very high visibility, except in North America, where although men do play the game, there is a general perception that it is a women’s sport.

The Game Develops

The early modern history of field hockey is fragmentary for both men and women. The first documented rules for men were from England for the Blackheath Hockey Club in 1861 and for Eaton College in 1868. By the early 1900s men’s field hockey had spread to the

United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and several other countries by the turn of the century. Men’s hockey was spread throughout the Continent and then the world, mostly through Britain’s military presence in many countries including India and Pakistan, who would become two of the dominate countries in this sport. Men’s field hockey developed quite differently from the women’s game and each game existed separately until the 1970s.

Field hockey became an Olympic event for men in 1908 with England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales as well as France and Germany competing for the first gold medal. For the following decades, hockey would appear in the Olympics at irregular intervals until 1928 when it became a permanent event. One of the critical changes that provided consistency and stability was the establishment of a world governing body. In 1924, Paul Léautey, a Frenchman, invited hockey officials from Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Spain, and Switzerland to a meeting to discuss the need to unify field hockey development. With their support he created the Fédération Internationale de Hockey sur Gazon to serve as the official organization for field hockey. Other countries that have added teams in the past decades include the Netherlands, South Africa, Hong Kong, Japan, Egypt, Trinidad and Tobago, and most recently the United Arab Emirates. The top ten teams based on the 8 December 2003 rankings are Germany, Netherlands, Australia, Korea, Pakistan, India, Argentina, England, Spain, and Malaysia. One of the extraordinary records in field hockey is the “golden era” of India’s Olympic teams. From 1928 to 1956, India won six consecutive gold medals with a stellar record of 28 straight victories, scoring 178 goals and allowing only 7.

Some of the major rule changes include the introduction of the penalty corner in 1908, calling different types of stick interferences in 1938, and changing from two substitutions to unlimited (rolling) substitutions. With the unlimited substitutions, the game has increased in flexibility and in the evolution of specialty players especially on the short corner.

Games played with the ball, and others of that nature, are too violent for the body and stamp no character on the mind. ■ THOMAS JEFFERSON

The Women's Game

In 1887 the Molesey Ladies Hockey Club was credited for adapting hockey for the enjoyment of women. Field hockey was quickly incorporated into the programs of several public schools in Scotland and England and clubs, both college and recreational, were also formed by the late 1880s. From 1889 onward, associations in the north and south territories of England, Wales, and Scotland had been established. The first women's hockey publication, *The Hockey Field*, was started in England by Edith Thompson in 1901. Although sources credit hockey being played at Goucher College as early as 1897, the establishment of women's field hockey in the United States has been primarily associated with Constance M. K. Applebee (1873–1981), who introduced the sport in 1901. In January 1922, the United States Field Hockey Association (USFHA) was created.

The sport for women had expanded in the southern hemisphere by 1903 with the establishment of the Australian Women's Hockey Club in Sydney. Five years later, New Zealand formed their own association. Japan and Korea were competing by the 1930s. Worldwide expansion notwithstanding, women's European teams have always had an advantage in opportunities for competition over other teams in other parts of the world since Europe had the greatest concentration of women players in the smallest geographical area. The first post-war request for women's field hockey to be added to the Olympic program was made in 1946. The International Olympic Committee's (IOC) rejection prompted the FIH to propose a World Festival of Women's Hockey in May 1948 in Amsterdam.

The 1960s saw changes in attitudes that began to infiltrate the associations as politics began to influence the development of the sport. The IFWHA was faced with a decision on whether or not to hold the 1971 tournament in South Africa. Acutely aware of apartheid, IFWHA made an unprecedented boycott and moved the host location to New Zealand. At the same time the organization was experiencing financial pressures. In order to obtain government funding of national sport

teams, the IFWHA relinquished its non-competitive policies and ranked its member teams, so at the tournament unofficial rankings as well as a winner were announced. The tournament in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1975 was the first World Championship for Women sanctioned by the IFWHA. For its part, every two years since 1970, the FIH had been holding a sponsored competition, known after 1974 as the FIH Women's World Cup. Individual countries began to establish their team's training and competition schedules around these international events. As increasing commitments of time and energy were required of players, countries were forced to think of new ways to sustain and compensate them.

The discussion of inclusion of women's field hockey in the Olympics underwent serious consideration by the International Olympic Committee in the 1970s. A 1974 membership poll of 34 member associations revealed 17 in favor, 6 opposed, and 2 undecided. Even within the group that supported consideration, there was concern that the high ideals of the IFWHA might be compromised by a transfer to the Olympics. While the debate on inclusion in the Olympics continued in the February 1975 meeting, the IFWHA received a letter from the FIH that the IOC had notified the FIH that the women's event had been approved. In 1976, the IOC announced that women's field hockey would be included in the 1980 Olympics.

An example of addressing a venue for player development at elite level was made in 1977 when the first FIH junior cup for girls was held. With the Olympics on the horizon, women's hockey appeared in the Soviet Union in 1977 with teams formed in the southern Ukraine and Uzbekistan. Women were also integrated into the Soviet field hockey association and the national women's teams began to compete in 1979. China appeared on the women's scene in 1994 and since 2000 the team has secured international status ranked in the top five teams.

Currently there are 114 countries represented through national associations that are members of the FIH. Playing opportunities range from country to country.



An English woman playing field hockey around 1900. The All England Women's Hockey Association was formed in 1895.

Development opportunities may include players under 15, 16, 18, and 21. Sometimes there are opportunities for veterans or Master level players. Club teams can include recreational, competitive, local, and college.

Major Controversies in the Sport.

For both men and women, the selection process of national governing bodies as well as the FIH continues to appear in the media, especially for elite competitions such as the Olympics. Each association has its own selection criteria for each competition, sometimes through player rankings along with other types of evaluations. There is also an appeal process that is available for dissatisfied players and coaches to use. Sometimes player and coach personalities conflict, as well as those of fellow players, beyond a workable level. Therefore, although the player might be the most talented and skilled player, there is such a negative contribution to the team's composition that they are not selected. Recent examples include the exclusion and subsequent discussion on whether or not Dhanaraj Pillay should be a member of India's Olympic team in 2004. On occasion organizational politics arise in selection of players and coaches to the dissatisfaction of other players or officials such as the appointment and resulting resignation of Tracey Belbin in 2003 as the women's coach of the United States.

Another controversial issue has been the merger between men's and women's associations and governing bodies. The Fédération Internationale de Hockey sur

Gazon (FIH) was founded in 1924 by Mr. Paul Léautey representing both men and women. In 1927 the International Federation of Women's Hockey Association (IFWHA) was formed. The major objectives of the IFWHA were to "standardize and popularize the game of field hockey among women of all nations." The founding members of the IFWHA were Australia, Denmark, England, Ireland, Scotland, South Africa, the United States, and Wales. With the establishment of the IFWHA, there were now two hockey federations: one focused on women and one included both sexes. A love-hate relationship between the two federations arose and persisted for close to half a century. The major conflicts between the FIH and the IFWHA revolved around membership in regards to participation in the matches and the rules. As IFWHA membership expanded, the issue of how to handle the teams that were associated with the FIH arose. In 1953 a joint consultative committee between IFWHA and FIH was formed to promote exchanges of information and cooperation between both Federations and ultimately secure uniformity in the rules and regulations and sensitive issue of participation in international matches.

Besides its own set of rules, the IFWHA required that its games be officiated by women officials while FIH matches permitted male officials. FIH also required that any rules of play had to be established by an independent rules-making body just like the International Hockey Rules Board (IHRB); a formal organization, comparable rules-making process, established committee membership, and actual rules of play. Talks stalled because FIH would not agree to recognize any decisions made by the IFWHA Rules and Umpiring sub-committee until an independent rules-making body was established. In September 1966, a constitution for the proposed independent rules-making body was accepted and in January 1967, the Women's International Hockey Rules Board was established by unanimous vote and would work in close cooperation with IHRB.

The ongoing conflict between these two organizations was one reason that field hockey for women was

not included in the Olympics until 1980. Unable to mediate between the two, the IOC had continuously recognized the FIH as the official organization for men's and women's field hockey. In 1979, the officers of the IFWHA began negotiations with the FIH. As the positioning and posturing continued, it seemed that the FIH was maintaining control of power and not attempting to provide an equitable transition for the IFWHA. Finally in 1981, the IFWHA was absorbed into the FIH. Since then all national organizations have gradually merged to one governing body that is responsible for all members. One of the concerns that had been expressed within the IFWHA before the merger was finding ways to increase female interest in coaching and officiating at all levels and that with the number of male coaches in FIH, a merger would lessen opportunities for females.

One of the ironic controversies for males in the United States is that with limited opportunities to play at all levels in male league; males try to get on female teams to gain playing experience. Field hockey in the United States is considered a women's sport reflected in the history and control of the development and evolution of the sport. Men formed the Field Hockey Association of America (FHAA) in 1928, four years after the women, spearheaded by Henry Greer, and since then have struggled to develop a program for boys and men. Conversely, the merging of FHAA to the United States Field Hockey Association (USFHA) helped provide financial support and some structure to enhance male participation. Field hockey has become one of the few sports where males have tried to use Title IX and related legal cases to argue a case to allow males to participate on female teams at various levels. There are mixed emotions and reactions to this situation as many believe boys would intimidate girls through physical advantages as well as skew the game from its philosophical construction towards females.

The political decision of several countries to boycott the Olympics in 1980, the first year for women to compete at that level, has for some, disadvantaged the de-

velopment of women's programs as it delayed their competitive presence at the global level.

Nature of the Sport

Eleven players including a goaltender make up a team and there are many variations on how players may be arranged on the field depending on the coaches and the skill and talent of the players. Positions fall into three categories; attack, midfield (playing both attack and defense), and defenders. The point of the game is to score more goals than the other team.

Players wear a uniform of shirt, skirts or shorts, mouth and shin guards. The goalie wears protective equipment that includes a helmet with facemask, gloves, leg pads, booties, and many wear mouth and neck guards as well as chest protectors.

EQUIPMENT

Players use a stick 35 inches (90cm) long made of wood or specific synthetic materials which tapers to the bottom of the stick to a short hook curved (rounded) at the bottom to hit the ball which is 2.75 inches (7 cm) in diameter. The shaft of the stick to the "head" is flattened on one side so the ball can be easily hit.

The playing field is 100 yards long (91.4 m) and 60 yards wide (55 m) with flags placed at each corner of the field. There is a scoring circle, which is really an arch, in front of each goal of which the radius measures 16 yards (14.63 m). Goals are rectangular 6.8 feet (2.1 meters) high and 12 feet (3.7 meters) wide, measured by goal posts and crossbar, white in color, 2 inches wide (50 mm) and 3 inches (75 mm) deep. There are two side boards 4 feet (1.22m) long and 18 inches (460 mm) high and a backboard of the same height and a 12 foot (3.66m) long line at the base of the goal with a net behind them. The net hangs loosely to prevent the ball from rebounding after a shot. Goals are placed at the center of the goal line also referred to as the back line.

There are two officials or umpires, who make calls for off-sides, player offenses, as well as check equipment including sticks, goals, field, uniforms and lineups.

Field hockey uses what is called a “mandatory experiment” to test for a time a proposed change that the Hockey Rules Board has included in the Rules of Hockey. Until it becomes an official rule, all members of all hockey federations must play by this rule. Two mandatory experiments currently under review are allowing a defender to use the stick to stop or deflect a shot at goal at any height and not requiring the ball to be stopped before a shot at the goal at a penalty corner.

To learn about the many other rules in field hockey go to www.fihockey.org and click on rules.

Competition at the Top

Hockey became an Olympic event for men in 1908 with a sporadic existence until 1928. Women played in their own international competitions until 1980 when approval for Olympic participation was given by the IOC. The method of world ranking recently established by the FIH includes the following major tournaments over a four-year period. Olympic Games (including qualifying events), World Cup (including qualifying events), Champions Trophy, Champions Challenge, and the Continental Federation Championships as well as their qualifying events. Other competitions include European championships, Asian Games, Pan American Games, African Games, Commonwealth Games (every 4 years), and the Junior World Cup (every 4 years).

There have been many honored athletes and coaches in field hockey including: Beth Anders, (United States, player and coach), Ric Charlesworth (Australia women’s coach), Carsten Fisher (Germany), Marieke van Dorn (Netherlands), Katrina Masotta (Argentina), Marina vander Merwe (Canadian Women’s coach), Balbir Singh (India) and Dhyan Chand (India).

Governing Body

The Fédération Internationale de Hockey sur Gazon (FIH) was founded in 1924 as the world governing body and in 1979, incorporated the International Federation of Women’s Hockey Association (IFWHA). One can locate information on other federations and associations at the website (www.fihockey.org). Hockey

Rules Board functions as the body for the creation, revision, deletion, and testing of rules to benefit the game and maintain the safety of the players. Information on the Board is located in the rules sections of the FIH website.

Indoor Hockey

Not to be confused with street hockey, floor hockey, or floorball, indoor hockey is field hockey moved inside. It has been in existence at least forty years serving as a way for players to continue and maintain their momentum over the winter months. The FIH published its first indoors rule book in 1966; prior to that time, the German Hockey Association produced the rules. Two years later, the FIH formally recognized the indoor game and included indoor hockey as part of hockey in their Constitution revision. In 1988, rule responsibilities were transferred to the Hockey Rules Board. Competition started in Europe in 1974 with the European Indoor Cup for men and women and would be held every three years. The first Pan American Cup was held 17 March 2002 in the U.S., where it was decided which teams would be participating in the first international world competition that would be held in Leipzig, Germany in 2003. One of the concerns about the tournament was the number of scheduling conflicts and tapping of the player pools, that not necessarily the best teams or players would be present. The rules are adapted to the smaller and shorter field. There are six players including the goalkeeper. Two umpires with a playing time of 20 minutes in a half each have 5 minutes half time. Other specifics of the rules can be found in the rules section of the FIH website.

The Future

Field hockey has had several challenges in the last few decades, a critical one being the possible elimination from the Olympics. The FIH is working on ways to maintain interest and support of the sport as membership continues to remain fairly consistent. Providing international rankings, and testing rule changes to help improve the game for both players and spectators are

A good hockey player plays where the puck is. A great hockey player plays where the puck is going to be. ■ WAYNE GRETZKY

hopefully steps to help maintain the status of the sport. However, as other national governing bodies also have to address the many issues for their members including organizational structure and financial stability, there will need to be discussion on all levels with all those who are invested in the continuation of the sport to contribute their insights, suggestions, and concerns for its success.

Mila C. Su

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Hockey, Ice

Ice hockey is a winter sport played on an ice rink. Two teams of players wearing skates and utilizing long sticks with a curved blade at the end attempt to put a hard rubber puck into their opponent's net. Ice hockey requires players to be able to skate, stickhandle the puck, pass the puck, and shoot on goal. It is often called the fastest game on earth. Ice hockey can be played both indoors and outdoors, but it is primarily played indoors at an organized level. There are numerous other versions of hockey including in-line, street, ball, and floor hockey.

Since the first modern game of hockey was played indoors in Canada in 1875, the game has developed ex-

tensively in Canada and the United States but it also very popular in Sweden, Finland, the Czech Republic, Russia, and most of the countries that formed after the demise of the USSR. These countries with cold winters have dominated the sport of ice hockey at the international level. The game has recently begun to attract participants from countries with warmer climates, such as Brazil and Mexico. The number of countries belonging to the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF), the international governing body of ice hockey, now exceeds fifty, including the most recent members, Macedonia and Liechtenstein, who joined in 2001.

History

Many scholars of the game believe that early versions of ice hockey were played by ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs. In more recent history a number of sports have been recognized as early forms of the modern game of ice hockey. The sport of Irish hurling featured a stick that resembled a hockey stick. The English game of field hockey has distinct similarities but is played on grass. The Native American game of baggat-away, which developed into the modern game of lacrosse, also had distinct similarities to the early game of ice hockey. Games that even more closely resembled hockey were played in Canada, Britain, Holland, and many other countries where it was cold enough for rivers, ponds, or lakes to freeze. It is generally accepted, although conflicting accounts exist, that British soldiers stationed in Canada created the modern version of the game in the 1850s. Despite the difficulty of articulating the exact historical origins of the game of ice hockey, there is little dispute that the first modern indoor ice hockey game was played on 3 March 1875, at the Victoria Skating Rink in Montreal, Canada.

The Stanley Cup, which is considered one of the most prestigious trophies in ice hockey, was created in 1893, when Lord Stanley of Preston, governor general of Canada, decided that the leading hockey club in Canada each year should be awarded. It is the oldest professional team sport trophy. The first North American league was the very short-lived International Hockey

League (IHL). It was followed by the National Hockey Association (NHA) in 1910 and the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA) in 1911. Teams from these two leagues eventually played for the Stanley Cup trophy until 1917. The NHA folded in 1917, and it immediately reemerged as the National Hockey League (NHL). The PCHA folded in 1926, leaving the NHL as the only professional league in Canada and the United States. The NHL eventually settled as a six-team league until the growing popularity of the game led to expansion in the late 1960s and 1970s that continued through the 1990s. The NHL currently has thirty teams, twenty-five in the United States and five in Canada and is considered the best professional ice hockey league in the world.

The International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF) was created in 1908 to govern, develop, and promote ice hockey throughout the world. It was originally called the Ligue Internationale de Hockey sur Glace (LIHG) and was based in Europe. The founding member countries were France, Bohemia, Great Britain, Switzerland, and Belgium. The first European Championships were held in 1910 in conjunction with the congress of the LIHG. Many of the LIHG teams competed in the first Olympic ice hockey tournament in the 1920 Summer Olympic Games in Antwerp. Canada and the United States were added to the organization shortly after the first Olympic tournament and were the first non-European countries admitted to the LIHG. The 1924 Chamonix Winter Olympic Games were the first Winter Olympics, and the hockey event was also considered the world championship. In 1928 the Olympics, World, and European Championships were all held at the same time. The leaders of the LIHG decided to hold world championships every year beginning in 1930.

Canada dominated early international competition, winning six of the first seven Olympic gold medals. But Canada was replaced on top of the ice hockey podium by the USSR. Between 1952 and the breakup of the USSR, it was a dominant force in international competition. The result of the breakup of the USSR has been a degree of parity in international ice hockey competition.

Ice hockey is growing in popularity worldwide. The IIHF now has over fifty member federations. There has been continuous growth in the game of hockey as it has spread across the globe. In the 1990s national hockey federations from Iceland, Andorra, Ireland, Israel, Turkey, Singapore, Argentina, and Namibia joined the IIHF. Hockey is regarded as the fastest growing sport for women and girls in Canada, and the entrance of women's hockey in the Olympics, with the 1998 Nagano Games, helped to promote the game for girls and women worldwide. The National Hockey League has expanded to include teams in many warm-climate cities, such as Dallas and Tampa. Despite this expansion the NHL has struggled in the United States to compete with basketball, football and baseball and remains a distant fourth to the big three in terms of spectator support.

Nature of the Game

Indoor ice hockey is played on a patch of ice commonly referred to as a rink. A rink in Canada or the United States is typically 200 feet long and 85 feet wide. In Europe a rink is slightly longer than 200 feet but significantly wider than North American rinks at 98.5 feet. The rink is generally rectangular in shape but the corners are rounded. The ice surface is surrounded by boards that have Plexiglass and netting on top to keep the puck from going into the stands and injuring spectators. The playing surface is divided into three zones marked by lines painted on the ice. A red line runs across the width of the ice and splits the surface into two equal halves. Two blue lines are placed approximately forty feet on each side of the red centerline. The area between the two blue lines is called the neutral zone. There are also two thin red goal lines placed approximately ten feet from the end of the boards. The goals are placed on these lines. The area between the goal line and blue line is referred to as the end zone or as the defending and attacking zones. In addition to these five lines there are five face off circles painted on a rink. Two face-off circles are located in each end zone and one at center ice. Face-offs can be taken within any of these face-off circles or at four other face-off spots



Hockey, Ice

Competition for Players in the 1890s

As the number of teams grew, so did competition for players. The following account of the Ontario Hockey Association Meeting in 1895 outlines this and other issues affecting ice hockey's early development into a professional sport.

On Saturday afternoon when the annual parliament of the Ontario Hockey Association was convened at the Queen's Hotel nearly 50 delegates were present, representing about 20 clubs, an increase over the last yearly gathering of 30 delegates. Last year there was an appreciable decrease in the interest in the game taken in Toronto, which could be ascribed to the lack of a first-class representative city team, but legislation towards the formation of such a seven was enacted by the hockeyists on Saturday, both the local and outside delegates combining in furthering the scheme.

Many telling arguments were used by Vice-President McFadden in favor of establishing an intermediate series, which would embrace all the clubs that have proved themselves to be too strong for the junior and too weak for the senior, but it was thought by a goodly proportion of the members that the time was hardly ripe enough for so radical a change, and the matter was left in abeyance. . . .

The first business transacted was the admittance of Norwood, Lindsay and the Victorias of Kingston to the full privileges of the full privileges of the association. The latter club takes the place vacated by the

Athletics, but does not assume their liabilities. President Brown in opening the proceedings spoke glowingly of the progress of the association, which he thought was largely due to the energetic efforts of the Secretary. . . . The large attendance he thought spoke well for the future of the game. The sub-committee's report . . . expressed the opinion that the number of clubs in the senior series in Toronto and elsewhere was too great and the matches too many. It was pointed out that the Canadian Hockey Association is a five club league, and that a city the size of Ottawa was allowed only one team in the senior series.

Treasurer A.R. Creelman's statement . . . showed that the affairs of the association financially were all that could be desired, there being a balance of \$191.49. . . .

McFadden wanted the rules altered so that a player could not play for more than one club during one season. This would shut out Bank League players from participation in the O.H.A. cup matches, and it seemed to be the general opinion that the league was the chief factor in the surfeit of hockey that Toronto had last year. After getting this expression McFadden withdrew his motion. An endeavor will be made to get the city clubs together for the organization of a representative Toronto team fit to hold its own with Queen's or any of the other eastern clubs. . . .

Source: Too many teams. (1895, December 9). *Toronto Globe*, p. 8.

with the neutral zone. The only players allowed inside the face-off circles are the two players taking the face-off.

Each player must be equipped with a stick and substantial protective equipment, including a helmet with a cage or shield, shoulder pads, elbow pads, hockey gloves, padded hockey pants, shin guards, and skates. The players must also have hockey socks that cover the shin guards and a hockey jersey that is worn on top of the shoulder and elbow pads. The puck is a very hard black rubber disc that is 1 inch thick and 3 inches in diameter with the top and bottom flat surfaces being very smooth to allow the puck to slide easily across the ice.

How the Game Is Played

The game of ice hockey is played with six players on the ice at one time. The six players include three forwards, two defensive players, and a goalie. The three forwards consist of a right wing, a left wing, and the center. The center plays in between the two wingers and controls the flow of play. The two defensive players play side by side. Despite being labeled forwards and defense, all players on the ice have both offensive and defensive responsibilities—with the exception of the goalie. The goalie's primary job is to keep the puck out of the net and as part of that job to communicate with



A hockey player skating towards the puck. *Source: istockphoto/jamirae.*

the other players on the ice. The three forwards are considered a line. There are usually several lines of forwards and several defensive pairings on each team. A line plays a shift that is approximately one minute in length although this varies by the level of hockey being played, the speed of the game, and the position of the players. Games that are played at a higher level and faster speed require players to take shorter shifts. Defensive players tend to take slightly longer shifts than forwards and centers. Defensive players may also be considered a part of a line or separately as a defensive pair. Players can change on the fly in hockey—while the game continues—or when play stops. Changing on the fly often requires a player to jump over the boards instead of using one of the doors at either end of the team bench. Forwards and defensive players often change at separate times to avoid being caught in a bad line change.

Ice hockey games are divided into three equal periods of play. Professional and international games are played in three twenty-minute periods of stop time; that is, each time the puck is out of play the clock stops. Recreational games are often played with running-time periods or stop-time periods of ten or fifteen minutes or

some combination, with the last three to ten minutes of the last period being stop time. The game is started with all players on their side of the center line. The puck is dropped between the two centers in a face off, and each player attempts to win possession of the puck.

The goal of ice hockey is to score more goals than the opponent. A goal is scored when the puck crosses completely over the opponent's goal line. A player attempts to put the puck in the net with his or her stick. A puck that is unintentionally deflected off of any part of the hockey player's body into the net is considered a goal. But a puck may not be intentionally kicked, blocked, or deflected into the net by any part of the body. The decision on whether or not the deflection was intentional is up to the discretion of the referee. At higher levels of ice hockey, a goal judge behind the goal determines whether or not the puck entered the goal, and in the National Hockey League, officials may make use of video replay to review a goal judge's decision.

Possession of the puck changes quickly in hockey. Once a defending team gains possession of the puck in the defensive zone, they work to move the puck into the neutral zone while maintaining possession of the puck. This process is referred to as a breakout. The defensive

I had all my own teeth and I wanted to keep it that way. ■ TOM GLAVINE

players move the puck up to the forwards in set patterns. Once the puck is controlled in the neutral zone, the defensive team is now on the offensive and attempts to establish possession of the puck in the offensive zone. Two primary tactics are used to do this: The first is by carrying the puck into the zone and past the defenders, setting up deep in the offensive zone close to the goal. The other tactic is “forechecking,” or dumping the puck into the offensive zone—shooting it past the defensive players and off the boards—and having the forwards rush in, control the puck, and put intense pressure on the defensive players. The defensive team uses a number of tactics to respond to the attacking team. The defensive players can attempt to stand the offensive players up on the blue line and not allow them to establish possession in the offensive zone. The defense may also allow the offensive team to gain possession in the zone by backing up with them and waiting for the offensive player to make a mistake and give up possession of the puck. One player may stall his opponent until a teammate who is coming back into the zone attempts to steal the puck from the offensive player. This tactic is called back-checking. Some teams also utilize the neutral zone trap with all five of the players on defense located between the center line and the defensive blue line making it very difficult for the offensive team to move the puck into the offensive zone and often resulting in the offensive team dumping the puck in and giving up possession.

There are a number of rules in ice hockey that impact the game. Two violations of the rules that do not result in penalties are icing and offside. Icing is called when the puck is played from the defensive side of the centerline across the end line. Offside is called when a player crosses into the offensive zone ahead of the puck. Both of these rules attempt to eliminate the opportunity for teams to score easy goals by having a player stay in the offensive zone, behind the defensive team or ahead of the puck. There are a number of other rule violations that result in penalties to players. Minor penalties are assessed for a wide range of infractions, including tripping, slashing, and hooking, that do not result in injury

to that player. Minor penalties require the offending player to spend two minutes in the penalty box while his or her team plays with only five players on the ice. If a goal is scored before the end of the two minutes, the penalty ends. Major penalties are assessed for more serious infractions of the rules, such as punching another player or causing a minor injury to an opponent. Major penalties result in a five-minute removal from the ice. A goal being scored during a major penalty does not end the penalty as it does for a minor penalty. The players must stay in the penalty box for the entire five minutes.

The major significant difference in the women’s and youth game is the absence of body checking. Women, girls, and boys under a certain age are not allowed to bodycheck in the game of ice hockey. Many recreational men’s leagues also prohibit the use of body checking. Most women’s, youth, and collegiate hockey leagues require players to wear a full cage on their helmets to protect the face and head. All ice hockey games are played on the full-size hockey rink, although rink size varies between Europe and North America.

There is also a version of ice hockey that was developed for athletes with a disability. Sledge hockey is played on a regulation ice hockey rink and incorporates many of the rules of ice hockey. It is played on an aluminum sled that has two skate blades attached to the bottom. The players use two very short fiberglass sticks with picks on the end to pass, shoot, and maneuver their sleds. Sledge hockey is very popular in North America, but it is also played in such countries as Norway and Sweden. The Canadian National Sledge Hockey Team is the current world champion, but it finished fourth at the 2002 Winter Paralympics in Salt Lake City.

White upper-class men dominated the first few decades of the development of modern ice hockey. The last three decades have resulted in many changes within the sport. The costs of the equipment and ice rental have continued to limit participation, but programs now exist that provide opportunities for some children to play hockey who otherwise could not afford it. The passage of Title IX in 1972 has facilitated the growth of

How organized are you? Could your life be called a ballet or is it a hockey game (or a pin-ball machine)? However, even in a hockey game, good hockey players learn to skate to where the puck WILL BE. ■ UNKNOWN

women's collegiate sport in the United States and has resulted in more opportunities for women to play ice hockey at the high school and collegiate level.

Competition at the Top

The IIHF is responsible for most of the major international ice hockey competitions. The IIHF controls Olympic competitions for both men and women, the World Championships for men, the World Championships for women, the World Under 20 and Under 18 Championships for young men, and the Club Championships, which include the European Champions Cup, the Continental Cup, and the European Women Champions Cup.

A number of other international competitions exist that are not under the auspices of the IIHF. The World Cup for men, competitions for Under 22 Women's National teams, and the Under 18 Junior World Cup for boys are not controlled by the IIHF. The World Cup of Hockey began as the Canada Cup in 1976 and was held five times until it was replaced in 1996 with World Cup competition.

Other regional ice hockey competitions or leagues include the Eastern European Hockey League (EEHL), which has top teams from Latvia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. The International Ice Hockey League (IIHL) was formed in 1999, featuring teams from Slovenia, Hungary, Croatia, Yugoslavia, and Slovakia. The Euro Hockey Tour includes a series of events featuring teams from Russia, Czech Republic, Sweden, and Finland.

Major national competitions exist in Canada, the United States, Russia, Sweden, and Finland. All of these countries have a number of hockey leagues and one league that is considered the top league. In Canada and the United States, the top league is the National Hockey League, in Sweden the top league is Elitserien Info, and in Finland the top league is the SM-Liiga Info.

There have been many great hockey players in the history of the sport of ice hockey. But arguably the greatest player to lace up ice hockey skates was Canadian Wayne Gretzky. Gretzky won four Stanley Cups while with the Edmonton Oilers. He continues to hold the

NHL records for goals (92), assists (163), and points (215) in the regular season. Gretzky scored at least 100 points fourteen times, and he had at least 200 points four times in his NHL career. He scored at least 50 goals in nine separate seasons and had at least 60 goals in five other seasons. He had two phenomenal career seasons where he scored more than 80 goals.

Governing Bodies

Overseeing organizations include: Hockey Canada (www.hockeycanada.ca); International Ice Hockey Federation (www.iihf.com); National Hockey League (www.nhl.com); and USA Hockey (www.usahockey.com).

Laura Frances Chase

See also Lake Placid; Maple Leaf Gardens; Stanley Cup

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Hockey, In-Line

In-line hockey, based on the rules of ice hockey, is played on skates designed with their wheels in a line, unlike traditional four-wheel roller skates or “quads,” which have a pair of wheels in the front and another in the rear. Other names for the sport include roller hockey, street hockey, and skater hockey. In-line hockey's hotbeds are North America and Europe, with increasing growth in Australia, South America, Asia, and Africa.

History

Roller skating became very popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and quad-skate roller hockey quickly developed as a sport. In-line hockey, however, has a much more recent history and has been played with ever-increasing sophistication since the mid-1980s. In 1979 Scott Olson of Minneapolis, Minnesota, found an old pair of in-line skates, improved on the design, and marketed the skate as an off-season training device for ice hockey players. In 1984 Minneapolis businessman Bob Naegele Jr. purchased Olson's fledgling company, named it Rollerblade, Inc., and effectively marketed the skates to the general public.

With in-line hockey taking off, entrepreneurs saw a potential moneymaker. In 1992 Joe Mireault founded the National Inline Hockey Association (NIHA) along with Bob Naegele III, whose father had created Rollerblade. That fall, Roller Hockey International (RHI), an aspiring professional league, had its first exhibition, with Team USA playing Team Canada.

In 1993 David McLane created the World Roller Hockey League (WRHL), which played all of its games at Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida; *Roller Hockey Magazine*, the first glossy publication to cover the fledgling sport nationally, debuted; and RHI concluded its first twelve-team season—the Anaheim Bullfrogs defeated the Oakland Skates to win the Murphy Cup, named after one of RHI's founders, Dennis Murphy.

Also in 1993 Paul Chapey, a longtime quad roller hockey player, created the Koho California Cup, a regional in-line hockey series for amateurs. The following summer, in St. Louis, Missouri, Chapey and his partners produced the first North American Roller Hockey Championships. Nicknamed “NARCh,” the event grew into the world's premier amateur in-line hockey tournament.

About this time the United States Amateur Confederation of Roller Skating (USAC/RS) became aware of the in-line craze. Long having administered quad roller hockey, USAC/RS felt that it was the obvious organization to lead the sport. USA Hockey (which eventually purchased the assets of the NIHA) and its in-line offshoot USA Hockey InLine, disagreed. Complicating matters, there were also international governing bodies—the Federation Internationale de Roller Skating and the International Ice Hockey Federation, which both created world championship events in the mid-1990s.

In 1998 Bill Raue created Major League Roller Hockey (MLRH) to take advantage of Roller Hockey International's one-year hiatus, and after joining the league, the Anaheim Bullfrogs won its third championship.

When in-line hockey first began, the players were almost all men, but many more women now play. In 1998, according to the Sporting Goods Manufacturing

Association, the sport's participant numbers (3.8 million) surpassed those of ice hockey in North America. Those numbers have since decreased, but there are still about 2.7 million in-line hockey players in the United States and Canada. That reversal in growth was caused by the demise of the professional leagues RHI and MLRH, the focus on elite players by tournament operators, the lack of cooperation between competing tournament organizations and governing bodies, and the overproduction of equipment by manufacturers. Since many sporting goods stores found themselves with significant surpluses in inventory for in-line hockey after the downturn of the sport, many stores were caught "holding the bag" and were forced to dump inventory, thus losing interest in reordering any in-line products at all.

In-line hockey has seen few controversies or scandals; however, at the 1999 Pan American Games, Steve Vezina, the goaltender for Team Canada, tested positive for several banned substances and Canada was stripped of its gold medal.

Nature of the Sport

In-line hockey is played four on four, plus goalies, unlike ice hockey, which is played with five skaters on a side. The object is to put the puck or ball past the other team's goaltender. With two (total) fewer skaters on the playing surface, there is more room to maneuver. Puck control is very important; if you have possession of the puck, the other team cannot score. With an emphasis on offense, shutouts are rare, and goalies rate their play more on wins than on goals-against average.

While the basic rules of in-line hockey are similar wherever it is played, there are variations. Leagues split the game into two halves, three periods, or four quarters. Amateur leagues prohibit checking and have a no-tolerance attitude toward fighting, while semipro leagues permit both. Another major difference between in-line hockey and ice hockey is the elimination of ice hockey's blue lines. Ice hockey has three established zones: defensive, neutral, and offensive, defined by two blue lines and a red line at center ice. In-line hockey only uses two zones, separated by a center red line. While ice hockey has an offsides rule, where the puck must pre-

cede the attacking player into the offensive zone, most in-line hockey leagues do not call offsides, thus opening up the game for more scoring and excitement.

Many of in-line hockey's first facilities were recreational roller hockey and/or ice hockey rinks converted for the purpose by melting the ice and playing on the concrete subsurface. A polyurethane substance called Roll-On often was painted on concrete to facilitate wheel grip and stopping ability. As the game moved indoors, companies like Sport Court and Ice Court created smooth plastic surfaces, and pucks were specially designed for those surfaces. Other important pieces of equipment include skate frames (chassis), which moved in design from steel to plastic to high-quality lightweight aluminum; better wheels (designed for grip and durability); and new composite and one-piece sticks.

A player's size is not as important a factor in the amateur game because of the open space on the playing surface, the prohibition against checking, and the speed and ability of many smaller players. As a result skating, stick handling, and passing and receiving the puck are paramount, making in-line hockey a great game for smaller players, including girls and women.

In-line hockey has never been an Olympic sport, and its path to any potential Olympic glory is a doubtful one, because there is not one established world governing body to represent the interests of the sport and because the International Olympic Committee is trimming sports from the Olympic program.

The Future

In-line hockey's skyrocketing growth reached a plateau in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. While the RHI and MLRH pro leagues failed in the late 1990s, semipro leagues continued to attract top players such as Gerry St. Cyr, Rob Laurie, and C. J. Yoder. This development of new "stars" offers hope that in-line hockey will grow in the future.

Governing Bodies

International governing organizations are: Federation Internationale de Roller Skating (FIRS, www.roller-sports.org) and International Ice Hockey Federation



(IIHF) Inline (www.iihf.com/inline.htm). North American governing bodies include USA Hockey InLine (USAHIL, www.usahockey.com/inline/main/home), USA Roller Sports (USARS, www.usarollersports.org), Canada Inline Hockey (CIH, www.canadianhockeyinline.com).

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Holmenkollen Ski Jump

The Holmenkollen Ski Jump, located at Holmenkollen, in Oslo, Norway, is the oldest and perhaps still the most esteemed jumping hill used for modern ski jumping. It is an arena rich in winter sport traditions. Since 1892 the hill has been a venue for the winter season's ski jumping competitions. Holmenkollen never was the biggest of hills, but the site has an aura of skiing history as well as a well-known ambience. The yearly contests ["Holmenkollen Sunday"] attract tens of thousands of spectators. At the Olympic competitions that took place here in 1952, more than 120,000 spectators were said to have been present.

History of the Hill

The hill was a product of the Norwegian interest in skiing and ski jumping, especially. The location of skiing's most important hill in Norway's capital, Oslo, and Holmenkollen's position as the center of Norwegian ski sport was also a result of the urban middle classes taking control of the originally rural sport. After having started on a smaller nearby hill called Husebybakken in

1879, the local skiing club initiated a move to an area situated higher above the city of Oslo in 1892, giving them access to a larger hill and more favorable conditions, and ensuring more snow for a longer period of time. The longest jumps from the first Holmenkollen hill, however, did not measure more than 21.5 meters. But from then on, a continuous expansion involving all areas of the hill has been going on. The landing slope has been dug deeper, and the in-run to the jump has been made much longer and higher, making the whole hill larger and steeper. Today's record for the longest standing jump is 132.5 meters.

The discussion that took place concerning the enlargement of the hill is illustrative of the way ski jumping as a sport has been regarded. When the first scaffolds were built to make the in-run steeper, they were met with outcries of contempt. The scaffolds were called "the tower of Babel," and it was said that their presence turned the noble sport of skiing into an acrobatic competition, not a challenge of how to meet and master natural obstacles in the winter terrain. However, the scaffolds were there to stay. They were refurbished and enlarged on several occasions. The hill today is part of a combined winter sports area, with modern facilities for cross-country skiing and biathlon as well facilities as for spectators and media representatives.

The development of the site has been a steady process. However, the modernization of the hill has been focused on the big international events that have taken place there. The Winter Olympic Games of 1952 had Holmenkollen as a major venue. Although the hill is privately owned by the *Foreningen til Skiidrettens Fremme* (Association for the Promotion of Skiing), it was the Oslo city council that granted funding for the renewal. Later renovations were also funded by the Norwegian state. In 1952 it was the architect Frode Rinnan's functionalistic inspirations that were brought to the ski jumping hill. Pure, simplistic, and functional forms were to be the characteristics of the modernized venue.

The World Cups in Nordic Skiing of 1966 and 1982 also took place here. From the beginning the Holmenkollen Ski Festival gathered enormous interest and

was a popular end-of-season event both among spectators and athletes. The jump's status as something special in Norwegian and international skiing history is demonstrated by the fact that up until recent years, the hill could, except for these major events, be used for the annual races only. No training was allowed on the hill. There was also an element of fair play involved: It was felt that local and national skiers should not have any advantages when the big competitions were held there. In other words the jump was more a monument than a facility for everyday use, "elevating" the hill to a very special status as a ski jumping hill. Only as late as the 1990s were floodlights installed, making jump training on dark winter evenings possible.

The venue also has attractions in the off-season. Inside the jump is a restaurant, built in 1952, and attached to this is the famous Holmenkollen ski museum, started in 1923, now one of the leading museums of its kind. These attractions have made the jump one of Oslo's main tourist attractions year-round. Modern ski jumping hills are usually, because of their size, subject to nature's changing conditions. Holmenkollen has experienced this too. In February and March when the annual races usually take place the weather can be quite nice, but it can also be quite foggy. However, since its start in 1892, the competition has been cancelled only twice.

Holmenkollen Today

Holmenkollen hill is a national symbol. King Olav jumped here as a young prince in 1922 and 1923, something that added immensely to the Danish-born prince's image as true Norwegian royalty. The day of the annual competitions have been called "Norway's second national day." Its hold on the Norwegian people was illustrated in 1946 when more than 100,000 men, women, and children turned up to watch the first competitions on the hill after World War II. The races had then been cancelled since the winter of 1940 due to the reluctance of Norwegian skiers to compete with local Nazi and German occupation forces. But after the war, people by their presence supported the image of the

venue as a special symbol of Norwegian and international ski jumping.

Although the hill is not among the biggest or most modern, it is still a symbol of ski jumping, and the competitions held here create an atmosphere that makes the yearly contests into a national festival and a multicultural public rejoicing.

The Future

The size of the hill makes the venue's future uncertain. Expansion of the site seems to have reached its bearable limits. According to engineers and other experts, it is not possible to extend the hill, whether to heighten the tower and the in-run or to make the landing area deeper. As the development of competitive ski jumping seems to demand ever bigger hills, the solution could be to build a completely new hill in another place. The challenge for the future would then be to keep the name and transfer the atmosphere and the skiing traditions to the new venue. The debate about how to do this has just begun.

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Holmenkollen Sunday

Holmenkollen Sunday is the highlight of the Holmenkollen Ski Festival held each March at the Holmenkollen Ski Jump in Oslo, Norway. The day is a party for all kinds of people, from the Norwegian king and royal family to sports-loving citizens to the world's best skiers. It has been compared with a Derby Day at

Epsom in England or a Grand Prix Sunday in Bois de Boulogne in France.

The presence of the royal family has been a feature of the day since Norway's independence from Sweden in 1905. The new royal family vowed to attend the ski-jumping competition at Holmenkollen every year. The crown prince, Olay, twice jumped Holmenkollen hill, adding to his identity as Norwegian royalty and to his popularity. He never won the competition, but his mastering the hill and greeting the crowd pleased spectators.

Although the first Holmenkollen competition in 1892 took place on a Sunday, the competition has not always been held on a Sunday. From 1893 until 1925 the competition took place on a Monday. Even though it was staged on a working day the ski-jumping competition remained popular. Spectators arrived by foot, by horse carriages, and by the new Holmenkoll-bane, a tram that transported people from the city center to the heights of Holmenkollen. The organizers seem to have hoped to institutionalize the day as a holiday to celebrate the Norwegian national sport, and some employers were more or less forced to give their employees the day off for the occasion. However, as hopes of establishing a national holiday gradually vanished, organizers concluded that compelling employees to miss a day of work to witness something as ideal as a sport—especially the national sport—was wrong.

After 1926 the Holmenkollen competition was moved back to a Sunday. However, this move also caused a problem because the local priesthood objected to what it saw as a breach of church holiday peace. The operator of the local tram company also objected. These objections, however, could not prevent Holmenkollen Sunday from being a success. A record number of spectators flocked to the competition that year.

Postwar Celebration

Since 1926 Holmenkollen Sunday has been something special for ski jumping and for winter culture. Huge crowds of spectators have attended, especially in 1946, when more than 100,000 attended. After five years of war and occupation the event was labeled the "Peace

Race." The king of Norway, Haakon VII, by then an even more elevated national symbol after having symbolized five years of resistance to German occupiers during World War II, returned to the hill that he and his people had been prevented from visiting since 1940, making the competition that year even more special.

During most of the post-World War II era Holmenkollen Sunday has remained an important event. The number of spectators has varied between thirty thousand and seventy thousand, depending on weather and the quality of Norwegian skiers participating. The postwar Holmenkollen Sunday for many decades was part of a Holmenkollen week or sometimes half-week. By the end of the twentieth century, because the development of international skiing left less time on the international racing agenda, the week was reduced to a Holmenkollen weekend. On this weekend Saturday's traditional cross-country race of 50 kilometers through the forests of Oslo plays a vital part, both as a sports event and as a popular social event.

From the beginning of the skiing competitions at Holmenkollen ski jumping attracted the most interest among spectators. Ski jumping was an integral part of the Nordic combined events. This combination meant that skiers had to finish the cross-country race to be allowed to jump the hill. One tradition that followed the combined competition was the presentation of the Ladies' Cup to the best jumper in the combined class—the skier who best combined the will to struggle through the cross-country course with flair and grace in the air. However, as ski jumping has developed, giving more emphasis to length than to flair and grace, the Ladies' Cup has lost some of its importance.

The Future

Holmenkollen Sunday organizers have experimented with adding competitions to the ski jumping that traditionally has been the principal competition. Both mass skiing races and elite cross-country races have been staged. Holmenkollen Sunday remains a vibrant event at which people watch elite ski jumpers and experience a gala social event, often dressed in what have

An ardent supporter of the home town team should go to a game prepared to take offense, no matter what happens. ■ ROBERT BENCHLEY

become traditional Norwegian sports costumes: woolen sweaters, frieze (a heavy, coarse wool and shoddy fabric with a rough surface) trousers, rucksacks, and little flags. The meaning of Holmenkollen Sunday thus seems to have changed little during the last hundred years.

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Home Field Advantage

In sports such as basketball, the home team is victorious in over half the contests. In individual sports, for example, golf, athletes perform slightly better on their home “turf.” International competitors show a similar preference for familiar territory: Olympic athletes and World Cup soccer players perform better than expected in front of the home crowd. All these phenomena are grouped under the heading of “The Home Field Advantage,” or more generally “The Home Advantage.”

While the home advantage has been studied for over twenty-five years, the reasons for it remain elusive. A full range of explanations has been offered and each receives some empirical support. As a consequence, the home advantage turns out to be a rich arena for developing the social science of sport.

The Magnitude of the Home Advantage

A range of values for the home advantage has been reported. For professional sports the home team wins between 61 percent and 76 percent of the contests in soccer, with lesser levels for hockey (56 percent–64 percent), basketball (64 percent–65 percent), and football (54 percent–63 percent). Professional baseball shows the lowest levels of home advantage (53 per-

cent–59 percent, though this can rise to 75 percent for “special” games like opening day). At the collegiate level, research finds home advantages in men’s basketball (58 percent–78 percent), football (59 percent–60 percent), field hockey (56.5 percent), and softball (56 percent), and women’s basketball (57 percent). Scholastic teams in cross-country (54 percent), wrestling (54 percent), basketball (51 percent–62 percent), and football (52 percent–58 percent) also are more likely to win at home, as are athletes playing club cricket (53 percent–57 percent). There is no consistent explanation for why the size of the home advantage varies by sport.

It is difficult to determine levels of the home advantage because the quality of the teams matters: Good teams playing weaker ones are unlikely to need the edge of the home crowd (or the boost the crowd provides the weaker home team is unlikely to result in a victory), and it is difficult to attribute a win solely to the factors thought to produce the home advantage. Research to date suggests that the home advantage may be most consequential when teams are equally matched or when the home team is slightly weaker than the visiting team.

Some studies cast the level of advantage in terms of an increased *probability* that the home team wins. Such studies find that, beyond variables influencing game outcomes, being the home team has a very small positive effect on the chance that the home team will win. Alternatively, a home advantage is defined by how an athlete (or team) performs relative to some baseline expectation, such as a world ranking, golf strokes in earlier rounds, or goals scored at away games. Here too the size of the home advantage is found to be small, but in the correct direction: Home teams or athletes in individual sports perform better than they otherwise might, even if they don’t win the event.

Sociological Explanations

Many explanations start with the presumed influence of the crowd. The crowd provides social support for athletes and spurs them on to better performance. Research suggests that crowd effects are greater for team sports than individual sports and at indoor venues com-

pared with outdoor arenas. Crowd noise can increase the home advantage by interrupting opponent's on-field communications, influencing the perceptions and decisions of referees, altering game strategies, and enhancing the home team's performance via the greater support of a loud, partisan crowd.

Social solidarity and the rituals surrounding sports are also linked to the home advantage. Athletes can be representatives of the local community, creating a bond between team and fans: The home advantage is greater when teams and athletes are seen as representing collectives like colleges, cities, or nations. Rituals and ceremonies (e.g., opening day or senior night) can also boost the play of home athletes. The sociological bases for the home advantage are summed up in the oft-cited influence of local tradition, identification, and pride.

Social Psychological Factors

A home advantage arises in part from the subjective decisions made by officials. Studies find that referees in college and professional basketball, professional soccer, and hockey may be more likely to make calls favorable to a home team. Judges in sports like figure skating and ski jumping may show a bias toward athletes performing in front of a home audience.

Some decisions do appear to be influenced by the crowd. When spectators engage in behaviors like booing, officials may call more fouls against the visiting team. The visiting team may also engage in more aggressive behavior that leads officials to call violations. The simple presence of crowd noise may make observers more likely to award fouls to the visitors.

Psychological Explanations

A mixture of psychological processes and states contributes to the home advantage. Athletes think they play better in front of a home crowd, suggesting that a greater confidence, motivation, or self-efficacy is present. The arousal of the home athlete may positively raise performance, while visiting teams may be overly aggressive and thus commit more fouls. Learning the contours of the home court or field is another psycho-



Home Field Advantage

How to Ensure Home Field Advantage

Trenton, N.J., Oct. 13.—[Special.]—The Princeton Faculty has declared that after Jan. 1, 1885, no game shall be played with any colleges on grounds other than those of the contesting colleges. This order will probably encounter considerable opposition among the alumni students, who regard the Thanksgiving and Decoration-Day games in New York as time-honored and legitimate institutions.

Source: A Princeton edict. (1884, October 14). *Chicago Tribune*, p. 7.

logical explanation, as is the claim that home athletes protect their "turf" in a manner similar to the territoriality displayed by animals.

Some argue that playing in front of home crowds may actually *lower* athletic performance. Apprehension of performing for an audience may create anxiety. Several studies find a "championship choke," where the home team has a greater chance of losing the deciding game of a play-off series or a reduced home advantage at "crucial stages of the competition." The extent of these home disadvantages continues to be debated.

Physiological Effects

One early explanation for the home advantage—fatigue due to travel—incorporates physiological reasons for the home team's better performance. Athletes, especially professionals, may be "worn down" from the constant travel required by their sport. Such expectations are not well supported by the evidence. The home team often has to travel to the venue as well, and the home advantage does not seem to get larger as seasons progress and travel increasingly takes its toll. Travel would seem to wear equally on competitors in individual sports. Still, the influence of travel has exceedingly small, but significant, effects on the home advantage, with more marked influences found as athletes (or teams) travel across larger numbers of time zones.



Home Field Advantage

Root, Root, Root for the Home Team

The great Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw offered this opinion about fans:

What is both surprising and delightful is that spectators are allowed, and even expected, to join in the vocal part of the game . . . There is no reason why the field should not try to put the batsman off his stroke at the critical moment by neatly timed disparagements of his wife's fidelity and his mother's respectability.

Recent research into the physiological bases of the home advantage investigates hormonal and other biological changes prior to sporting events. Athletes, especially those playing on their home court, do show slight increases in some chemicals (e.g., testosterone) that may improve performance. Increased aggression has been found for some athletes facing well-established rivals. However, as with most findings, the evidence is not consistent.

Future Home Advantage Research

As research develops, a greater variety of sports, leagues, geographic locations, and levels of competition will be added to where a home advantage occurs. The list of factors contributing to the advantage will be similarly broadened. One particularly promising line of inquiry looks at *changes* in levels of the home advantage over time. Studies find the home advantage increases as athletes learn the contours of a new stadium, decreases as leagues market to a nationwide audience, and fluctuates from moment to moment during the course of the athletic event itself. The temporal dynamics of the home advantage are just beginning to be understood.

We know more about the “what” of the home advantage than its “why”: What produces the home advantage in sport is not one thing, but many things. The outcome of any given contest may hinge on one of the factors listed earlier, but it is highly unlikely that all in-

fluence the results of a given game. The home advantage is the result of many little effects leading to a better performance by athletes playing in front of a supportive crowd.

D. Randall Smith

See also Fan Loyalty

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Homophobia

Homophobia is a fear or hatred of homosexuals. Despite the fact that sport provides a wonderful venue for positive and healthy experiences, homophobia exists in sport and is one of a number of reasons that participants in sport are discriminated against on the basis of sexual orientation. Sport is a gendered experience, and the sporting context is filled with intimate linkages between sport and masculinity, femininity, and gender exploration. Over the past two decades, many authors have embedded discussion about homophobia in their writings on gender and sexuality in sport. Best known perhaps for identifying homophobia as one of the pressing issues of our time are the following authors: Messner (1992), Tomlinson and Yorganci (1997), Lenskyj (1992), Guttmann (1996), Hargreaves (2000), Pronger, (1990), Griffin et. al. (2002), and Griffin (1998).

Homophobia takes a number of forms. It can be a prejudice or negative prejudgment about those who are

homosexual or thought to be homosexual. It can take the form of a stereotype, where an individual or group is thought to have characteristics assumed to be indicative of homosexuality. It can also be a discriminatory behavior toward a person or group being treated differently, usually negatively, on the basis of sexual orientation. Elimination of homophobia is seen by many as an important step in making sport an equitable and safe place for participants.

Homophobia has also been located on the continuum of sexual harassment and abuse in the sporting context (Brackenridge and Kirby 1997). On one end of the continuum, the authors locate discriminations on the bases of, for example, gender, sex, sexuality, and sexual orientation, and on the other end of the continuum are sexual abuses such as assault and sexual violence. Much like the sexual harassment and abuse that participants might experience in other social institutions, victims of homophobia describe it as debilitating, shaming, isolating, and traumatic (Kirby, Greaves, and Hankivsky 2000).

What is homophobia and how does it affect girls and women and boys and men in sport? Rowe (1995, 123) writes that there is an intimate linkage between sport and maleness and that it is women's increasing involvement in sport that has contributed to a destabilization of social categories of relationships and identities. In the sport world, this means that hegemonic masculinity dominates femininity, and heterosexuality remains the organizing discourse rather than homosexuality or any other forms of sexuality. Further, the principle referent in sport is the heterosexual male, followed closely by the heterosexual female and only afterwards, perhaps, by the gay male or lesbian respectively. Heterosexuality is assumed, and persons who are not heterosexual experience active (because they are individually and collectively unable to participate fully in sport) or passive discrimination (because they are made to feel invisible).

However, since sport is so intrinsically male defined and male dominated, it is virtually impossible to write about homophobia without also writing about gender boundaries in sport, hegemonic masculinity, compul-

sory heterosexuality, heteronormativity, homoeroticism, the gay gaze, and homonegativity. Perhaps this makes homophobia look more complex, but it is essential to understanding the particular discrimination dynamic.

What Is Homophobia?

Here are a few useful definitions:

- *Sexual orientation or sexual orientation identity* (S.O.I.) is one's sexual attraction to another and how one identifies oneself as a result of that attraction (Devor 1989).
- *Homosexuality* is a sexual orientation or sexual attraction towards a person of the same sex. "Gay" means men who are sexually attracted to men. "Lesbian" means women who are sexually attracted to women.
- *Bisexuality* is a sexual orientation or sexual attraction towards people of both sexes.
- *Heterosexuality* is a sexual orientation or sexual attraction toward those of the other sex. The assumption of heterosexuality, or normative heterosexuality, determines the experience of most athletes in sport, including gay men and lesbians, as it does in society generally. This means that athletes may need to declare their sexual orientation if they do not want to be assumed to be heterosexual (Anderson, et al. 2001).
- *Sexual discrimination* is behavior that is discriminatory towards a person or group based on their perceived or actual gender identity or sexual orientation. This includes a general intolerance toward difference (the "chilly climate"), harassing behaviors, and sexual abuse.
- The *chilly climate* in sport is characterized by a thriving sexist environment (Kirby et al. 2000, 46), in which athletes and other participants feel less than safe. The homophobic chilly climate is characterized by verbal abuse that goes unchecked, sexual jokes, showing of pornographic materials, sexual allusions about one's sexual orientation, use of vulgar language, sexual comments about one's apparel, tolerance of heterosexist or homophobic attitudes in

coaches (even coaches from other teams or other nations), unwanted sexual comments, tolerance of sexual discrimination, and tolerance of sexual harassment or abuse. A chilly climate is sustained by those who tolerate and thus are complicit in such behaviors.

- *Homophobia* is harassment when intolerant attitudes and behaviors are expressed toward individuals or groups who are assumed to be homosexual and for whom the behavior is unwelcome. Note that harassment is not what the originator intends with an expressed attitude or behavior, but rather how another, on the receiving end, experiences these attitudes and behaviors. In the sport environment, harassing or abusing behavior includes taunting or belittling of others, threatening them, making hurtful comments or jokes about them, physically hurting or harming them or assaulting them (including sexually assaulting them).

TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION

Homophobia is expressed in direct and indirect ways. *Direct discrimination* is the treating of oneself (internalized homophobia) or others in less favorable ways because of homophobic attitudes. It includes keeping one's sexual orientation secret, taunting self or others for their "homosexual manners," excluding oneself or others from sport participation, creating reasons for exclusion of self or others that have nothing to do with performance but do have something to do with sexual orientation, refusing to hire someone because of his or her sexual orientation, and abusing self or others for being homosexual.

Indirect discrimination happens when organizational systems (rules, policies, and practices) negatively impact those of one group (e.g., homosexuals) more so than those of other groups (e.g., heterosexuals). It includes having rules that differentially and negatively affect gay or lesbian athletes or same-sex couples; for example, family membership criteria in clubs where families are defined in traditional ways, lack of access to spousal pensions and benefits because of homosexual

Be bold. If you're going to make an error, make a doozy, and don't be afraid to hit the ball. ■ BILLIE JEAN KING

orientation, or scheduling of social events which appeal only to those who are heterosexual. Messner (1992, 371) wrote that "homophobia and misogyny were the key bonding agents among male athletes, serving to construct a masculine personality that disparaged anything considered 'feminine' in women, in other men, or in oneself."

Negative Undercurrents

So boys and men in sport are encouraged to develop homonegativity or negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviors towards nonheterosexuals. For girls and women, homophobia takes on many different forms including internalized homophobia (fear or hatred of one's own homosexuality) and a disparaging of the "masculine" in women or in oneself.

So too, eroticism, and in particular, homoeroticism, are part of sport. While we can admire the athletic body, sport also gives us the opportunity to admire the sexual body. Rowe (1995) also suggests that lesbianism in sport attracts much more media attention, and negative attention at that, than does homosexuality among men.

The research on imperatives in sport by Kirby, Greaves, and Hankivsky (2000) provides a useful, though perhaps quite-difficult-to-read, starting place, with a description of homophobic attitudes and discriminatory behaviors of athletes in sport. They write that the pattern of enforced secrecy (or "dome of silence") over athletes on this issue suggests that the quality of sport experience for all participants suffers because of an environment of intolerance.

ROLE OF HETEROSEXISM

Of the seven negative undercurrents in modern sport that may contaminate the experience for some participants, identified by Kirby, Greaves, and Hankivsky (2000), heterosexism/hypersexuality is the one that has particular importance in understanding homophobia. Kirby et al. (2000) report that modern sport reflects, in its organization and functions, the patriarchal nuclear family model, including its norms and values. These include heterosexism (and its accompanying feature of

compulsory heterosexuality [Rich 1980]) and hypersexuality. They regard sport as a gendered experience in which participants learn “appropriate” gender roles but also where forms of sexism (in particular, heterosexism) are tolerated.

Heterosexism is discrimination based on heterosexual privilege, where heterosexuality is seen as the social and sexual norm for all sport participants and sport participants are directed into heterosexuality. This applies equally to women and to men and can take overt and covert forms. Overtly, heterosexism can be seen as officially sanctioned discrimination. For example, where sexualization of sporting events occurs, sport is glamorous but in a heterosexual way (see figure-skating pairs competition or ice dancing). Female and male athletes compete together in a form of ritualized heterosexuality displayed to the judges and the audience. The athletes are evaluated according to gender-specific and heterosexually appropriate yardsticks. So too, sport cultivates “feminine” and “masculine” positive (read heterosexual) images through careful orchestration of performance requirements and marketing. As Kirby et. al. (2000, 114) state:

It is the androgynous woman or lesbian, the “not quite masculine enough man” or gay who provide obvious contradiction to the heterosexual imperative (Brackenridge, 1993). For example, strategic marketing seeks to ensure that successful male athletes, often with a pretty young woman on their arm, are portrayed as masculine, heterosexual stars who are competitive, tough minded and can be counted on when the going gets tough. Successful female athletes are often portrayed as “the girl next door” or with a boyfriend or husband, an assurance to the public of the heterosexuality of these athletes.

HYPERSEXUALITY

Hypersexuality is present primarily in sport for males. It is a phenomenon in which the ideal image of a successful male athlete presumes also characteristics of great virility and superactive sexual (and heterosexual) appetite. There is abundant sex and, by assumption,

promiscuity and a tendency to sexual violence of some athletes. It may be that some coaches actively contribute to a sporting environment that is supportive of the hypersexuality of younger athletes when these coaches provide stories of their own experiences, condone and sometimes participate in initiation and hazing rituals, and encourage sex talk among male, and sometimes female, athletes (Kirby et. al. 2000). While the existence of such imperatives may be difficult to accept for those of us who participate in sport, many are well aware of the negative and homophobic undercurrents that taint sport. It is through confronting these that we can reduce or eliminate their effects. Sport will then be able to guarantee a positive and healthful experience for all.

In sport, if we discriminate against one group of marginalized people, then we are not offering an equal chance for all, and the promise of sport is so much greater than the “chilly” version we have been offering up to now. The challenge is to offer nonhomophobic sport.

Sandra Kirby

See also AIDS and HIV; Gay Games; Lesbianism

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Honduras

Honduras, the second-largest Central American Republic, has a long Caribbean coastline and borders Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. The capital city, Tegucigalpa (and its twin city, Comayagüela), is located in the south-central part of the country. The nation's commercial center is San Pedro Sula, in the northwest corner. The national population in 2002 was 6,828,000.

History

The prehistoric Mesoamerican ball game reached as far south as western Honduras, where one of the best-known ball courts forms a prominent position in the archeological site of Copán. This court features the classic layout but lacks stone rings.

Honduras is one of the poorest countries in the Central American and Caribbean region and has a relatively weak sport tradition. It participated in the 1921 Centennial games in Guatemala City, but for much of the twentieth century, sport development in the country lagged behind development in other Central American republics.

Participant and Spectator Sports

The most popular amateur sport in Honduras—and the only professional sport—is soccer. In 2004, eleven teams formed the first division of the professional

league. Honduran national soccer teams are also active in international tournaments.

CENTRAL AMERICAN GAMES

Honduras participated in the first and third Central American Games in Guatemala City (1973 and 1986), and hosted the fourth Games in Tegucigalpa (1990) and the sixth Games in San Pedro Sula (1997). In 1973, Honduras sent only fifteen athletes; they participated in men's track and field and cycling, winning one gold medal (50-kilometer walk) and two silver medals (20-kilometer walk and marathon). Honduras did not attend the second Games in El Salvador, but in 1986, 151 men and 46 women participated in twenty sports, winning three gold medals (track and field, boxing, and judo), twelve silver medals (track and field, bowling, boxing, soccer, judo, wrestling, and swimming), and twenty-one bronze medals (basketball, baseball, bowling, boxing, fencing, judo, weight lifting, wrestling, swimming, softball, and tennis).

As host nation for the fourth Games, Honduras presented the largest delegation and built a new sports complex that included three gymnasiums, stadiums for baseball and track and field, tennis courts, a swimming pool, and housing for visiting athletes and officials. Private facilities were volunteered for other events, and shooting was held in Guatemala. Ana Fortín, a Honduran, won five gold, two silver, and one bronze medal in swimming, setting several records.

Four years later, Claudia Fortín set a new Central American Games record in swimming. For the sixth Games in San Pedro Sula, new sports facilities were constructed and the Games were dedicated to peace.

CENTRAL AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN GAMES (CA&C)

Although it sent twenty-two athletes to the second Games in 1930, for the next sixty years Honduras participated in only a few Central American and Caribbean Games. In the 1930 Games in Cuba, Honduras won third place in soccer and second place in shot put. In

1935 in El Salvador, Honduras sent forty-three male athletes who participated in track and field, basketball, baseball, and soccer. After missing the next two Games, Honduras sent seventy-seven men and twenty-three women to the sixth Games in Guatemala, winning third place in soccer and women's basketball, and participating in discus, baseball, bowling, and men's basketball. Honduras missed all the following Games until the 1974 competition in the Dominican Republic, where it sent a small group of athletes and won no medals. Twelve years later, Honduras sent twenty-four men and two women, including a marathoner, to the Dominican Republic and won the silver medal in soccer.

In Mexico in 1990, Honduras participated in women's basketball, men's judo (one bronze), taekwondo, table tennis, and volleyball, and men's and women's bowling, racquetball, and swimming (Ana Fortín: silver in the 100- and 200-meter backstroke; Claudia Fortín: bronze in the 400-meter medley), as well as equestrian sport (two women; two silver medals). Through 1990, Hondurans had won six silver and five bronze CA&C medals. In 1993 Claudia Fortín won Honduras' first gold medal in the CA&C Games. In 2002, Honduras won a gold medal in men's freestyle wrestling; one bronze medal each in men's and women's judo; two bronze medals in women's karate; and four bronze medals in women's rowing.

PAN AMERICAN GAMES

Honduras began to participate in the Pan American Games in 1975, finishing in eighth place in the 10,000-meter walk and sixth place in the 20-kilometer walk. In 1979 Honduras took eighth place in the women's 3,000-meter walk and fourth place in the 20-kilometer walk. In 1983, Honduras placed seventh in the 20-kilometer walk, and in 1987 it placed sixth in the same event. The same athlete achieved all four of the race-walk places. In 1991, Hondurans placed eighth in hammer throw and fourth in soccer. The first Pan American Games medals for the country came in 1995 (bronze in boxing, women's judo, and men's soccer). In 1999



Honduras

Key Events in Honduras Sports History

- 1921** Honduras participates in the Centennial games in Guatemala City.
- 1956** The National Olympic Committee is established.
- 1973** Honduras participates in the first Central American Games.
- 1975** Honduras participates in the Pan American Games for the first time.
- 1990** Honduras hosts the fourth Central American Games.
- 1995** Honduras wins its first medals at the Pan American Games.
- 1997** Honduras hosts the sixth Central American Games.
- 2004** The first National Student Games take place.

Honduras won the silver medal in men's soccer, losing the gold to Mexico. Honduras won one bronze medal in the 2003 Pan American Games.

OLYMPIC GAMES

Honduras has participated very little in the Olympic Games. Six male track-and-field athletes first participated in the Mexico City Games in 1968. Six Honduran swimmers competed in the 1984 Olympics. Swimmer Ana Fortín carried Honduras' flag and competed in the 1988 and 1992 Olympics. Two male swimmers also competed in 1988, and Claudia Fortín and two male swimmers competed in 1992. In 2004 a Honduran man competed in the 400-meter race.

Women and Sport

In Tegucigalpa, recreational play and amateur leagues exist for women in basketball and softball. Girls are admitted to children's baseball leagues, and in 1989, the star pitcher for the Honduran team that defeated Costa



Rica in an international competition for ten- to twelve-year-olds was a girl, Kenia Sánchez.

Youth Sports

All over the country boys are involved in recreational soccer play. Streets and any open area, no matter its small size or its inconvenient location (for instance, next to a steep valley slope) serve as playing grounds; rocks often mark the goals. However, league play in youth soccer and baseball are available only in the larger cities.

Sports have not been developed in public schools, but a few private schools have sports facilities such as playing fields, courts, and gymnasiums. On 4 June 2004, the first National Student Games, organized by the Office of Culture and Sport of the Ministry of Education, were inaugurated. Student athletes at this event represented most of the country's provinces.

Organizations

Honduras' National Olympic Committee was established in 1956. However, the nation's lack of resources for the support of international sport competition limited its participation in the Olympic Games. The National Soccer Federation (Federación Nacional de Fútbol de Honduras; FENAFUTH) administers the country's most popular sport.

Future

Sport developments in Honduras will continue to be limited by competing demands for scarce resources in areas of social need such as education and health services. In 2004, the National Soccer Federation recognized the support of President Ricardo Maduro, whose government is backing a bank loan of \$4 million to initiate "seedbeds for the future," a plan to build eighty first-class soccer fields for amateurs, two in each province in the country, to establish four pilot centers for soccer development, to conduct training programs for officials, coaches, and sports managers, and to purchase equipment. Maduro believed that by promoting sports the country will increase the number of citizens com-

mitted to facing challenges, working in teams, and serving as examples for future generations. He said that "in spite of the needs of Honduras' people, sport is an important part of my administration, because it builds support for Honduras by encouraging national pride." Maduro also assured his support for national basketball.

Richard V. McGehee

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Horse Racing

Racing on horseback, as opposed to riding horses for travel, probably began about 6,500 years ago among nomadic peoples of Central Asia. It seems to reflect a human propensity to race—on foot—and by other means that spans a good bit of human history and appears in various forms across cultures. People will apparently race on whatever animals will carry or pull them—reindeer in Siberia, elephants in Southeast Asia, camels in the Middle East, to name but a few. Horse racing and chariot racing were events in the ancient Olympics and became even more popular across the Roman empire 2,000 years ago.

Modern horse tracing began in England in the twelfth century, fueled by swift Arabian horses brought back by returning crusaders from the Middle East. Thoroughbred racing remains the most popular form of horse racing today. Other major forms are harness racing, steeplechase racing, and quarter-horse racing. Horse racing is popular worldwide and major racing nations include Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, France, South Africa, Japan, and Argentina. Harness racing is especially popular in

North America and steeplechase in Britain. Horse racing is a multibillion-dollar global business involving a broad range of industries and people including owners (nowadays often syndicates), breeders, trainers, jockeys, grooms, veterinarians, and others. Television coverage has made several trainers and jockeys wealthy celebrities. However, for most owners, racing is an expensive and exciting hobby rather than an economic venture.

Thoroughbred Racing

Modern horse racing began in the twelfth century in England when swift Arabian horses were brought to the island by returning crusaders. Over the next centuries Arabian stallions were bred with English mares to produce horses that were swift and hearty and ideal for racing. In the early eighteenth century horse racing emerged in England as a major spectator sport for the nobility, with betting a major enticement to the track. A proliferation of race courses and the growth of breeding industry led to the formation of the Jockey Club in 1750, which continues to control the rules, race courses, and regulation of breeding in Britain.

Although thoroughbred racing is not the prerogative of the elite, during its formative years in Britain the sport did depend on upper-class patronage to provide racing stock. Prize money also came mainly from these upper-class patrons, along with contributions from those people, such as publicans and politicians, who stood to gain money or praise from their local race meetings. This style of racing, associated with heats, matches, and long-distance events, was transported to British colonies throughout the world. Until railways revolutionized transport for both horses and people in the mid-nineteenth century racing remained a local or, at best, a regional sport.

Spectators did not have to pay to view thoroughbred racing until courses became enclosed during the late nineteenth century, at which time entry fees helped swell the purses. Moreover, the structure of racing was changed to attract a paying crowd, and sprints and handicaps replaced long-distance, stamina-testing events.

EXETER AUTUMN MEETING.

STEWARDS.—R. F. BOWLES, ESQ., J. A. BROUGHTON, ESQ.
SECRETARY.—H. C. GLANVILLE, ESQ.
CLERK OF THE COURSE.—H. RANKEN, ESQ. JUDGE.—MR. RANDALL.

The Welcome Sweepstakes, of a quarter of a mile :—

Mr. Page	Mr. Wyatt
„ Broughton	„ Winwood
„ Collins	„ Marshall
„ Glanville	„ Cheales
„ Bowles	„ Knight
„ Cole	„ Nicholls
„ Johnstone	„ Aitken

The Bancalari Sweepstakes, 300 yards and a distance. Heats :—

Mr. Broughton	Mr. Winwood
„ Page	„ Aitken
„ Glanville	„ Marshall
„ Bowles	„ Manley
„ Wyatt	„ Terry

The Jonathan Sweepstakes, 100 yards :—

Mr. Broughton	Mr. Paul	Mr. Stubbs
„ Bowles	„ Todd	„ Aitken 2
„ Chapman	„ Medley	„ Venables
„ Collins	„ Wyatt	„ Stent
„ North	„ Knight	„ Gresson
„ Johnstone	„ Yonge	„ Wingfield
„ Cheales		

A Hurdle Race, over 10 flights, at 10 yards apart, 140 yards :—

Mr. Chapman	Mr. Venables
„ Bowles	„ Stent
„ Knight	„ Wilson
„ Broughton	„ Norman
„ Wyatt	„ Aitken
„ Cheales	

The Scurry Stakes, 150 yards, to name and close on the day of the races.

The Aristocratic Stakes, of 60 yards, to name and close on the day of the races.

The Consolation Stakes, for beaten horses, 100 yards.

The program for an Exeter Autumn Meeting.

The greatest financial stimulus to thoroughbred racing during the twentieth century was the totalizator (tote). The totalizator is a machine for registering bets and computing payoffs in pari-mutuel betting. Under the pari-mutuel system the aggregate pool of bets on all horses is divided among those people who bet on the winning horse, less deductions to cover operating costs and to make contributions to the racing industry.

Gate money courses signaled the widespread commercialization of racing in which courses competed both for spectators and horses, and, in turn, increased prize money impinged on those directly involved in satisfying the demands of the owners—the jockeys, trainers, and breeders.



Horse Racing

Man O' War

The extract below tells the tale of the great racing horse, Man o' War:

This is the time of year when the leaves are falling, the frost is on the pumpkin and the turf men gather round the hot stoves in their stables and spin yarns.

This year the chief topic is Man o' War, the Riddle colt, of whom the stable owner followers never tire of talking.

"I've seen 'em all," said "Brown Dick" as he poked the fire at Churchill Downs, "and this Riddle hoss has 'em all beat to a frazzle.

"Freeland, Boundless, Rey el Santa Anita, Like Blackburn, Alan-a-Dale, Miss Woodford, Domino, Look Out and the bunch—dawgs, I tell you, all dawgs compared to dis Riddle colt."

And to prove the truth of his statement, "Brown Dick" points to the wonderful record of Man o' War this year and last.

Man o' War, sure enough, is just now the king of the turf, and Cleopatra is the Queen.

The great Riddle colt has won \$166,140 this season. This exceeds by more than \$100,000 the amount won by any other horse, colt, filly or gelding.

Cleopatra finished second on the winning list with \$45,511, just nipping out Exterminator, who won \$45,265.

Leonardo headed the list of 2-year-old colts with \$36,078, but Step Lightly, by her victory in the Futurity, stopped him with \$49,221. Step Lightly heads the list of winners of the 2-year-olds of the season.

Man o' War had an unbroken string of eleven victories. This is the best showing made by any horse of any time. All the other horses, with the exception of Leonardo II. And Tryster, which have clean scores of four and five victories, respectively, were beaten at some period during the season.

Cleopatra won six races, was second five times, third twice and unplaced once out of fourteen starts.

Source: Spink, A. (1921). *One thousand sport stories* (Vol. 2, pp. 110–111). Chicago: The Martin Company.

Even before the enclosed course, thoroughbred racing had begun to change as long-distance heats were generally abandoned, races for heavyweight jockeys were increasingly rare, more two-year-olds were being raced, and sweepstakes (in which each of many owners paid a stake into the prize fund to enter his or her horses) were replacing matches (in which two horses raced in a head-to-head contest for a money wager between their owners) and races for plates and other non-monetary awards provided by a race committee. All of these changes can be explained by a growing commercial attitude on the part of owners.

Britain introduced thoroughbred racing to all its colonies. The first organized race meeting in the United States was held in 1665 in New York State. By the eve of the American Revolution 150 thoroughbred stallions had been imported from England. Another one hundred followed by 1800, including Diomed, winner

of the first Epsom Derby in 1780, whose success at stud did much to improve U.S. racehorses. Horse racing became the first truly nationwide sports spectacle in the United States, particularly when a few meetings pitted horses from the North against champions from the South even before the Civil War.

U.S. thoroughbred racing lagged behind Britain in development, partly because no overarching administrative and legislative body existed comparable to the Jockey Club, founded in 1750 and virtually in charge of British racing by the mid-nineteenth century. However, turf abuses in the form of race fixing and drug use during the 1890s brought the imposition of repressive state legislation that forced U.S. racing to clean itself up and restructure administratively. The United States Jockey Club was established in 1894, but, in comparison with the power of its European counterparts, it has been weakened by the independence of state racing commis-

sions, and its main function has been to maintain the *American Stud Book*, the official record of thoroughbred breeding in the United States and Canada.

One distinctive U.S. innovation was the monkey-on-a-stick style of riding in which the saddle was pushed forward and the stirrups and reins shortened so that the jockey rode with knees bent, crouching along the horse's neck. When U.S. riders invaded British turf during the last decade of the nineteenth century, their success quickly led to an abandonment of the English style of riding, modeled on the erect seat of the hunting field. Another U.S. innovation has been dirt tracks, often much smaller than tracks in Britain, thus offering spectators a better view.

In Asia most international racing attention focuses on Japan, where the past two decades have brought vast investment in bloodstock and in racing itself. The Japan Cup, a weight-for-age event, was inaugurated in 1981 as the richest race in the world. Run at Tokyo's Fuchu racecourse on the last Sunday in October, it attracts high-quality horses from all over the racing world.

With the exception of France, racing in Europe remained relatively unintegrated until well into the era of European economic unity. In Paris, however, the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe began in 1920 to attract the best horses in Europe. The main stimulus to rendering European racing more cosmopolitan was the adoption of an integrated pattern system in 1971 by Britain, Ireland, France, and Italy, followed by Germany two years later. Essentially this system classifies races according to their degree of importance and allows international comparisons to be made as to the racing ability and breeding potential of bloodstock.

Today, the thoroughbred racehorse is little more than a mechanism for gambling. Indeed, racing cannot exist without gambling. When the South Australian government banned betting during the 1880s, the local racing industry collapsed. In most countries betting has provided a lifeline for racing in that a portion of the totalizer takings has been injected into the sport. This has been the case nowhere more than in Japan, where subsidized admission reduces the cost of entry to less than

seventy-five cents; subsidized prize money means that up to fourteen races will be on the program; and augmented club profits ensure excellent viewing and betting facilities.

Harness Racing

Harness racing began in rural America during the early 1800s as people faced one another in horse-drawn carriages along country roads, village main streets, and even wide city avenues. However, not until the nineteenth century did people in the United States begin to think of it as a sport. People began to use the term *harness racing* at the end of the nineteenth century; until then it was called "trotting," a term applied to trotters and pacers alike.

The standardbred harness horse either trots or paces. A trotter moves its legs in diagonal pairs—front right and rear left together, front left and rear right together. A pacer performs the opposite action: The right front and right rear legs move at the same time, followed by the left front and left rear legs. The trot or the pace are inherited by most standardbreds. Training makes them able to maintain the gaits at high speed over long distances. Trotters come in two varieties: line gaited and passing gaited. Viewed from the front or rear, a line-gaited trotter's front and hind feet are in a direct line with each other when the horse is in motion. A passing-gaited trotter's hind feet land outside the front feet.

A pacer is readily identified by its side-swaying motion. Whereas a trotter's body is usually balanced in the center, a pacer is constantly shifting its weight from side to side, which creates the rocking motion that inspired the nickname "side-wheelers." Most pacers racing today wear hobbles (or hobbles). A pacer that races without them is said to be "free legged." Trotters and pacers originally were ridden to saddle. However, their gaits lent themselves to being hitched to wagons and racing carts known as "sulkies." A sulky is a light two-wheeled carriage constructed for a single person. During most of the nineteenth century sulkies were made with high wheels. When bike-wheel sulkies were introduced in 1892, high-wheelers immediately fell into disuse.

Pacer's harness and rigging.
Notice the position of the legs.

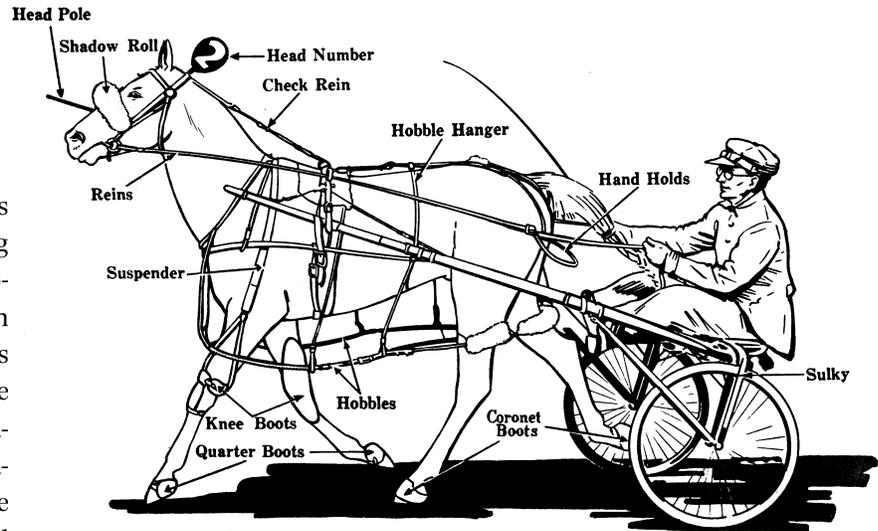
Through the years major improvements have been made in the sulky, including a single-shaft design created by aeronautical engineer Joe King. His design featured an arched shaft over the horse's back connected to the back pad of the harness. Both the U.S. Trotting Association and the Canadian Trotting Association banned the single-shaft design. Joe King went back to his drawing board and designed the modified sulky, which was more traditional and less controversial than its predecessor. Its new features appealed to many trainers, and the modified sulky, with variations, has been the standard.

Unlike thoroughbred racing jockeys, harness drivers are usually full-size adults and often 40 years of age or older. Driving a horse in a harness race is not only for professionals; owners also may participate. The Harness Racing Museum and Hall of Fame is located in Goshen, New York. This town, known as the "cradle of the trotter," is also home of Historic Track, the first sporting site in the United States to be designated a registered National Historic Landmark. The major harness races are the Hambletonian and that Little Brown Jug.

Steeplechase

Steeplechase developed from foxhunting in England. Steeplechase is especially popular in Britain, less so in the United States. Steeplechase racing takes place on grass, and it involves jumping over barriers. Steeplechase began as informal races between fox hunters and later became an event between foxhunting seasons. Gradually these races became events independent of foxhunting and took the forms of timber racing, hurdle racing, and point-to-point races. In the early 1800s they became permanent features of British sport, with the Grand National Steeplechase at Aintree first competed in 1839 or earlier. Aintree was built to replicate the obstacles encountered during the hunt and allow spectators to see the start as well as the finish.

In the United States races have been held since the



PACER'S HARNESS AND RIGGING

1830s but did not emerge as generally popular until the late 1860s and has never been as widely popular as either thoroughbred or harness racing. Steeplechases in the United States are classified as timber or hurdle races. Steeplechase also is popular in Australia and New Zealand, Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and France. The Sport of Kings Challenge is held at several sites, including Morven Park (Virginia), Callaway Gardens (Georgia), Cheltenham (England), and Leopardstown (Ireland). Other major races are the Grand National, Cheltenham Gold Cup, and the Champion Hurdle.

Horse Racing and Society

Horse racing is a leisure activity which provides the means for people to express what is apparently the universal need to gamble. Horse racing also expresses a tie in many societies to an earlier, rural way of life. Horse racing represents the rural/urban dichotomy in many nations; breeding and the development of race horses is a rural activity while actual racing more often takes place at tracks in or near urban areas. Horse racing is a major contributor to the economies in nations such as the United States, England, Ireland, Australia, and Japan. It can be an important source of income for successful owners, trainers, jockeys, and bettors, although most owners and bettors lose rather than win on their investments. A survey by the Barents Group LLC in the United States titled *The National Impact of the Horse Industry* in the 1990s, which covers both racing and breeding, indicates the enormous economic impact of

racing. It provides nearly 500,000 jobs, has a \$34 billion impact on the economy, and pays about \$500 million in taxes to state and local governments. Major issues for owners include increasing the size of purses and reducing taxes on the industry. Expansion of betting opportunities through simulcasting of races at other tracks, phone betting, and internet betting are all issues for track owners and horse owners and trainers. Supporters of more income opportunities for owners point to the number of jobs and support for many other establishments such as restaurants near race tracks. Racing remains a major draw at many rural fairs. Horse racing is, perhaps most importantly, a major source of revenue for states and nations who take a percentage of the betting pool. The control of racing varies from nation to nation. In Britain, the Jockey Club is the central authority. In the United States, the Jockey Club mainly governs breeding while control of racing and facilities rests with state racing boards. In Australia, too, the state boards have much authority.

WOMEN IN HORSE RACING

Horse racing is largely a man's sport, although there have been notable female owners and jockeys. Nonetheless, the story of women in horse racing has been one of struggle against male control and, paradoxically, of resistance to women's participation by owners and other women influential in turf affairs.

Races between women during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a novelty. The only event in which women competed regularly against men was point-to-point steeplechasing in nineteenth century Britain. It was an amateur version of steeplechase organized by foxhunt clubs. In 1929 the Master of Hounds Committee ruled women ineligible to point-to-point race except in races confined to women. Since then parallel races for men and women have been the norm, with only a few races open to both.

Legal action and equal opportunity legislation has opened horse racing to women. The United States was the first to drop the barrier after Kathy Kusner, an Olympic equestrian, took court action in 1968 in Mary-



Horse Racing

"Hat Pins and Hunches": An Old English Song

Ye lads who love a steeplechase and danger
freely court, sirs,
Hark forward all to Liverpool to join the
gallant sport, sirs,
The English and the Irish nags are ready for
the fray, sirs,
And which may lose and which may win, 'tis
very hard to say, sirs.

land to secure her riding license. The United States had more than sixty registered women jockeys by the early 1970s. In England the Jockey Club did not allow women to race on the flat until 1972 or to compete against male amateurs until 1974 or against male professionals until 1976, when it was forced to do so by the Sex Discrimination Act. In Australia federal legislation forced all of the country's racing authorities to accept women riders in 1979.

The first woman in modern racing to ride against men was the U.S. rider Diane Crump at Hialeah Park in Florida in 1969. The first woman to win—possibly the first woman to beat men in a professional sports event—was Barbara Jo Rubin aboard the horse Cohesion at Charles Town, West Virginia, in 1969. In 1971 Cheryl White became the first African-American woman jockey to win a thoroughbred race at Waterford Park, West Virginia. Harness driver Bea Farber was the first woman to win a title at a major track and the first to break the thousand-win barrier.

Only a few women riders have won the respect of their male competitors. Leading U.S. male jockey Angel Cordero concedes that Julie Krone, winner of nearly two thousand races during her first decade as a professional, "don't ride like a girl, . . . she can ride with any jockey in the country."

CONTROVERSIES

Horse racing has also come in for its share of criticism beyond charges of sexism. Because of the gambling



Horse Racing

Reindeer Racing among the Chukchee of Siberia

Their greatest amusement in winter and spring is racing with reindeer. One single man may arrange a race for which he offers one or more prizes, or several living in the same camp may join forces. Among our nearest neighbors there were fifteen races during the winter. A race is announced a long time ahead, for instance: "When the next moon is full, there will be a race at N. N." As the time draws nearer, every visitor who comes along is asked when the race is to be held at N. N., and at last the answer is "tomorrow." Most of the guests who live far away arrive a day before the race and some even bring their reindeer several days ahead, so they will be well rested and in good condition for the big day. Every Chukchi has at least one pair of swift racers. [. . .]

And all morning sled after sled whirls into the camp, bringing the nearest neighbors, men and women, old and young, and soon the place is filled with fur-clad, happy and chattering people, sleds and reindeer.

At last, towards noon or after noon, the race can start. Only men take part, boys of sixteen to old men of sixty. They all get their sleds in order and line up anywhere. At the call, "ta-ham!", they start with the one who is giving the race in the lead, but otherwise without order. Some sit calmly waiting and let one after another pass them by, but if it should happen that a reindeer balks they all return and wait for the driver to gain control. The start of the race is most disorderly and congenial, there is no order of starting and no time keeper, but the one who reaches home first wins the race, no matter whether he was off first or last. [. . .]

Before the racers are out of sight, the "tines," those flexible wooden rods with a walrus peg, whine through the air, the reindeer break into a full gallop, and the whole row of sleds, sometimes five or six, other times up to twenty-five, disappear among the trees. While you wait for their return you talk and smoke and talk some more, until some one shouts, "They're coming, they're coming," and everyone runs

out—women, children and old folks. Three or four sleds are in the lead, the reindeer are straining to the utmost, urged on to further effort by the drivers, who with arms high in the air, are using the reins as a whip on the right reindeer and the "tine" on both reindeer. The racing is almost as hard on the driver as on the reindeer. Soaked with perspiration and with frost in hair and eyebrows, the driver is entirely unprotected from the spray of snow from the hoofs. Snow flies about his ears and many a lump of hard snow hits his face. He can barely keep his eyes open and sees little beyond the hind legs of his reindeer. He is all covered with snow, but there are many helpful hands to brush off the winner—the others have to take care of themselves. [. . .]

The Chukchi are very proud of the honor of taking first place, and a couple of swift reindeer are highly prized. At the races that winter a few men were always among the winners, and others participated hopefully and faithfully and took turns at being the last. One man was especially good at breaking his sled, and repeatedly coming in last on a wreck.

It sometimes happens that things do not run off as smoothly as they should because some one may come in as winner by taking a short-cut. No fuss is made right away so the man takes his prize but he may not be allowed to keep it. The rightful winner talks to some of the older men, explains what happened, and asks them to look into the matter. Yes, he is right, everything did not go off straight, they will think it over. They talk back and forth and after a couple of days they make a trip to the one who cheated and tell him he had better give his prize to the next man. I have twice seen such advice followed without protests, but in both cases the ones who cheated were younger men than the winners, and that makes quite a difference. Had the case been reversed, I do not think it would have been any use for the younger man to complain.

Source: Sverdrup, H. U. (1938). *With the people of the Tundra* (pp. 79–82). Oslo, Norway: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag.

When you're riding, only the race in which you're riding is important. ■ WILLIE SHOEMAKER

element, the possibility of cheating through fixing races or enhancing performance through drug use has long been a problem and has led to numerous scandals. Major efforts at reform—usually by putting racing under a government board—has been the usual response to scandals. Since the 1960s drug use has been a regular concern. Controversies continue over the use of Lasix, a drug which controls bleeding in the lungs and is legal in some states; Bute, which masks pain; and pain killers such as morphine. The most recent controversy concerns the use of “milkshakes,” a bicarbonate of soda mix that gives horse more stamina. Efforts to control drug use include the random testing of horses and the use of detention barns for twenty-four or forty-eight hours before races to keep horses apart from personnel who might administer the drugs. Critics of racing charge that owners and trainers are not supportive enough of these measures. Horse racing is also criticized by animal rights advocates who see the entire industry as exploitative of animals and specifically criticize the use of pain-masking drugs, neglect of horses, and the killing of healthy horses who are no longer useful for racing or breeding.

Nonetheless, the appeal of horses and horse racing goes well beyond the track and stable and is part of the national folklore of several nations. Especially popular are several legendary racehorses with some, such as Man o'War, Secretariat, Citation, Seabiscuit, Nijinsky, Nijinsky II, and Phar Lap, memorialized in literature, sports writing, and film.

The Future

Horse racing has always had periods of growth and decline. It declined in popularity in Britain in the 1980s and then rebounded in the 1990s. In the 1990s, it declined in the United States as a spectator sport and as a venue for gambling. This is due in part to the easy availability of other forms of gambling including off-track betting, casinos and state-sanctioned lotteries of various kinds. Many small tracks closed as the supply of lower-level horses suitable for racing diminished. Others in states such as Pennsylvania and Delaware sur-

vived by turning themselves with government approval into year-round betting establishments, with slot machines a key element of the formula. And there were complaints that the quality of racing at some larger tracks was less than it had been in the past. At the same time, major thoroughbred stakes races continued to flourish, offering ever larger purses, often with corporate sponsorship. Some experts predict a future of far fewer tracks and races but much larger purses at major races.

Governing Bodies

Key governing organizations in horse racing include the American Quarter Horse Association (www.aqha.com); Australian Racing Board (www.australian-racing.net.au); Canadian Trotting Association (www.trotcanada.ca); Harness Tracks of America, Inc. (www.harnesstracks.com); National Hunt Committee (<http://www.thoroughbredbreedersassociation.co.uk/nationalhunt.htm>); National Thoroughbred Racing Association (www.ntra.com); The Jockey Club (U.S., www.jockeyclub.com; U.K., www.thejockeyclub.co.uk); Thoroughbred Racing Association of North America, Inc. (www.tra-online.com); and United States Trotting Association (www.ustrotting.com).

David Levinson, based in part on work by Ralph B. Ballou Jr., Joyce Kay, Philip A. Pines, and Wray Vamplew

See also Ascot

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Horseback Riding

Horseback riding refers to a number of related sports, the most popular being show jumping, dressage, and eventing, all three of which are Olympic sports. Other equestrian sports are hunter seat, western seat, saddle seat, sidesaddle, endurance, and gymkhana. Riding sports emerged as activities for the general public in Europe and the United States around the turn of the twentieth century. They have become enormously popular, both as recreational activities and as competitive sports, especially with girls and women. It is estimated that about 80 percent of riders are women, who compete with men as equals. The sport involves not just riding but also the purchase, sale, and care of the horses, and includes stabling, training, and relationships with the associated equipment and clothing in-

dustries. Riders must be physically fit and must therefore devote time to personal fitness training.

Horseback riding is an amateur sport, and given the high cost of the horse and its care and training and the time the rider and horse must devote to training, most participants are relatively affluent. Riding sports are governed by strict rules and are often highly ritualized, with stringent clothing and behavior requirements. Horseback riding has remained a largely European and North American sport, but there is growing interest in it in South America, New Zealand, and Australia. At the 2004 Olympics the nine team medals went to seven countries: two each to Germany and the United States, and one medal each to the Netherlands, Spain, France, Britain, and Sweden. Riding has been criticized by animal rights groups, but with far less vehemence than has been directed at horse racing and rodeo.

Show Jumping

Show jumping is a sport of speed, power, and precision. Riders guide their horse around a course of turns and jumps in a specified time period. The event takes two rounds: Those who complete the first round “clean”—without time or jumping faults—compete in the second round on a shorter course that requires more speed. The horse and rider with the fastest time and fewest penalties win the event. Show jumping developed in western Europe and the United States and remains most popular there. Jumping classes range from a preliminary level up to the Grand Prix.

Dressage

Dressage, French for “training,” is the discipline of developing the horse’s three natural gaits of walk, trot, and canter through years of rigorous day-by-day training and coaching. It is considered the ballet of horse riding. In competition, horse and rider follow a prescribed test in an enclosed arena. The test measures the degree of training observable in movements such as extension of the stride or lateral movements. Horses progress through a series of levels, including four Federation



This drawing from Hungary shows assembled cavalry attending a joust.

Equestre Internationale (FEI) levels. Grand Prix, the highest level, is contested at major competitions, including the Olympics. The Grand Prix contest is judged in two parts, the eight-minute Grand Prix test and the freestyle, or *Kur*, which is choreographed by each competitor and set to music.

Three-Day Eventing

Three-day eventing, also known as combined training, is the most complete test of horse and rider. It began as a test of the United States Army cavalry, which needed to gallop long distances, negotiate the natural obstacles found on cross-country trips, and perform demanding parade movements. The modern three-day event tests the ability of riders to control their mounts and have quick reflexes. Horses are expected to display bravery, fitness, obedience, agility, speed, and endurance.

Day one is for dressage, where requirements are lower than in Grand Prix dressage. Day two is the four-phase endurance test—two sets of trotting and slow cantering, with steeplechase; and then the grueling cross-country event to test endurance and jumping abil-

ity. Day three is for stadium jumping. The jumps are lower than in show jumping and the goal is to test the horse's fitness, which can easily be measured following the preceding full day of riding.

Three-day events are organized by level and use a star system to indicate difficulty: one star (*) indicates a preliminary three-day event, two-stars (**) indicate intermediate difficulty, and three-stars (***) indicate an advanced event. Four-star (****) events are for internationally experienced and successful combinations of horses and riders and are limited to the Olympics and the World Equestrian Games. The major equine competitions are the Olympics; the World Equestrian Games; Burghley, Blenheim, and Badminton in the United Kingdom; and Essex, Fair Hill, and Radnor in the United States.

Endurance

The equestrian discipline of endurance challenges competitors to complete a long and arduous trail ride within a set amount of time. The inauguration of endurance riding as an organized equestrian sport may be traced



Horseback Riding

Extract from Anthony Trollope's "The Lady Who Rides to Hounds" (1865)

Women who ride, as a rule, ride better than men. They, the women, have always been instructed; whereas men have usually come to ride without any instruction. They are put upon ponies when they are all boys, and put themselves upon their fathers' horses as they become hobbledheys: and thus they obtain the power of sticking on to the animal while he gallops and jumps, and even while he kicks and shies; and, so progressing, they achieve an amount of horsemanship which answers the purposes of life. But they do not acquire the art of riding with exactness, as women do, and rarely have such hands as a woman has on a horse's mouth. The consequence of this is that women fall less often than men, and the field is not often thrown into the horror which would arise were a lady known to be in a ditch with a horse lying on her.

I own that I like to see three or four ladies out in a field, and I like it the better if I am happy enough to count one or more of them among my own acquaintances. Their presence tends to take off from hunting that character of horseyness, of both fast horseyness and slow horseyness, which has become,

not unnaturally, attached to it, and to bring it within the category of gentle sports. There used to prevail an idea that the hunting man was of necessity loud and rough, given to strong drinks, ill adapted for the poetries of life, and perhaps a little prone to make money out of his softer friend. It may now be said that this idea is going out of vogue, and that hunting men are supposed to have that same feeling with regard to their horses, the same and no more, which ladies have for their carriage or soldiers for their swords. Horses are valued simply for the services that they can render, and are only valued highly when they are known to be good servants. That a man may hunt without drinking or swearing, and may possess a nag or two without any propensity to sell it or them for double their value, is now beginning to be understood. The oftener that women are to be seen "out," the more will such improved feelings prevail as to hunting, and the pleasanter will be the field to men who are not horsey, but who may nevertheless be good horsemen.

Source: Trollope, A. (1865). *The lady who rides to hounds. Hunting sketches*. London: Chapman and Hall.

to 1955 and the first Travis Cup, the Western States Trail Ride. From the United States the sport spread to Europe and elsewhere. The first international competition was held in Rome in 1986 with eleven nations competing. Races are generally twenty-five, fifty, or one hundred miles long with careful veterinary supervision at required stops along the course. Riders must be fit and must carefully gauge their horse's fitness and set a pace that will allow them to finish. Each horse's condition is carefully monitored at specific checkpoints, and horses appearing in any way unfit to go on are removed from competition.

Awards are given both for finishing first and for the most fit horse, based on a physical examination. Arabian horses, which are valued for their hardiness and

stamina, are the most popular breed for endurance competitions. Endurance riding has become popular in part because of the allure of being outdoors on horseback and the nostalgic appeal of an earlier, simpler rural way of life. Riders often develop a deep bond with their horse and with other riders who share the outdoor experience.

Sidesaddle

Sidesaddle riding, which was the preferred style for European women for at least three hundred years, essentially disappeared in the 1930s when women resumed riding astride. It began to make a comeback in the 1970s as part of an interest in American history that was spurred by the U.S. bicentennial. Old saddle styles

were redesigned to fit modern sensibilities and make it easier for women riding sidesaddle to engage in jumping and cross-country events. The modern sport was born with the founding of the World Sidesaddle Federation in 1980. The basic riding position is similar to the astride seat except that the right thigh is pressed against the upright pommel to maintain a secure seat. The sidesaddle has some significant advantages for those who have injuries and physical limitations.

The modern sidesaddle rider competes in special sidesaddle classes or in open classes against astride riders. While a majority of the sidesaddle riders show in pleasure classes, some riders compete in jumping, contest classes, trail classes, and even team penning. Another favorite class of sidesaddle riders is the costume class.

Hunter Seat Riding

Hunter seat riding, based on the hunting traditions of Europe, poses a whole new set of challenges for horse and rider. The goal for success is not being the fastest or jumping the highest, but rather displaying correct form, balance, control, and seamless transitions, both jumping and “on the flat.”

Stock Seat (Western)

A style of horsemanship developed to meet the needs of Western frontiersmen and cattle ranchers, stock seat riding has nonetheless grown to be an acceptable and popular sport for women.

Saddle Seat

Riders of American Saddlebreds and Morgans compete in saddle seat riding and equitation contests. They ride on a small, flat saddle and keep their stirrups very long as they guide their horses through patterns and gait changes, including special gaits unique to the American Saddlebred breed.

Gymkhana

Gymkhana is usually a series of contests with ponies rather than horses. Such competitions are used to in-

roduce young people to riding sports. Gymkhana comes from the Hindi *gend-khana*, meaning “racket court.” The Hindi derivation of the name is probably due to the fact that many of these activities were developed by members of the British army while they were stationed in colonial India during the nineteenth century.

Gymkhana may involve a wide variety of events and the rules are far simpler than for other riding events. The most common competition has riders complete a straight, meandering, or circular obstacle course. Other gymkhana events include best-groomed horse, most smartly dressed rider, handkerchief catching, egg balancing, musical chairs, musical rides, and wrestling on horseback. Winning is less important than giving young riders the opportunity to become comfortable around horses.

Gymkhana has gone hand in hand with the rise of pony clubs. Today pony clubs, which are open to young people up to the age of twenty-one, have three primary goals: (1) to encourage young people to ride, (2) to provide them with an all-around education about horsemanship, and (3) to inculcate values regarding sportsmanship and correct behavior. The great charm of gymkhana is that the framework of the competition and the contests themselves generate high levels of enjoyment.

Women and Horseback Riding

With the exceptions of horse racing, polo, and rodeo, horseback riding is mainly a women’s sport. Women account for more than 80 percent of those involved in equestrian sports and they win a sizeable percentage of medals at major competitions. It was not always this way. When horses were used primarily for farming and other work, transportation, and to carry cavalry troops into battle, riding was a male activity. Although there are some famous women riders in history—Boadicea, the widow of the king of East Anglia, Anne of Bohemia, Catherine de Medici, Joan of Arc, and Queen Elizabeth I of England—they have been the royal and aristocratic exceptions.



Opportunity opened for women in general only when the horse became economically and militarily obsolete with the appearance of the automobile and other means of fossil-fuel transportation in the early twentieth century. Horseback riding then became a recreational activity and a sport. In horseback riding, age, skill, and experience determine at what level of the sport women compete, and not their gender.

Women's success should not be a surprise, because women possess several advantages over men in riding horses. Women enjoy greater stability in the saddle due to their wider hips and lower center of gravity. With less physical strength, women must rely on important riding techniques that require balance and finesse. Most importantly, women communicate better with horses than do most men. As pack animals, horses respond better to a softer touch, gentle manner, and soothing voice, and effective communication with one's horse is considered a vital component of success in riding.

A key event in women's riding history was the introduction of the sidesaddle in Europe in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It is not clear who first introduced the sidesaddle, but Elizabeth I of England (1533–1603) gets credit for making it the only accepted riding style for upper-class women (peasant women continued to ride astride). Soon after this, hunting and cross-country riding came to be seen as unsafe and not appropriate for respectable women. The major innovation in the sidesaddle came about 1830 with the invention of the leaping horn, which made it safer to ride face forward and to jump.

By the late 1800s in the United States, ranch life on the Western frontier necessitated that women ride astride, and the new style spread to Europe, although it took time to be generally accepted. However, by 1938 nearly all women were riding astride and the sidesaddle seemed to be history. But renewed interest in the United States associated with preparation for the 1976 bicentennial led to the founding of the U.S. Sidesaddle Association in 1974 followed by the World Sidesaddle Federation in 1980. Today many of the major horse

shows in America and Europe offer both flat and jumping classes for sidesaddle competitors.

Female participation in hunting, racing, and Olympic competition, which began in 1912, was slow to develop. The first female equestrian was dressage rider Marjorie Haines of the United States, who competed in the 1952 Olympics.

Governing Bodies

Horseback riding is governed by numerous national organizations. The primary international organization is the Federation Equestre Internationale (www.aherra.com). Major American and British organizations include the following: the American Endurance Ride Conference (www.aerc.org), the American Horse Shows Association (www.equestrian.org), the British Equestrian Federation (www.bef.org), the United States Dressage Federation (www.usdf.org), the United States Equestrian Federation (www.usef.org), the United States Eventing Association (www.eventingusa.com), and the World Sidesaddle Federation (www.sidesaddle.org).

David Levinson, based in part on material by Mary Conti, Linda Bowlby, and Scott Crawford

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Human Movement Studies

The term *Human Movement Studies* is one of several now used by higher-education units that once were called departments, schools, or colleges of physical education. Other current designations include, but are not limited to, human performance; exercise science; sport and exercise sciences; kinesiology; health, physical education, and recreation. The largest percentage of institutions presently using the designation *Human Movement Studies* seems to be in Australia. *Sportwissenschaft* (sport science) appears to be the preferred term in German-speaking countries. The title of the twenty-fifth-anniversary conference of the International Association of Higher Schools of Physical Education, held in Lisbon in 1987, was “Human Kinetics—Movement Humain.”

Human Movement (the term is often capitalized) also is considered to be a field of study that seeks to bring together numerous and diverse research specializations and interests and to integrate and apply the knowledge that is gained for the betterment of humankind. Brooke and Whiting's *Human Movement—A Field of Study* was published in 1973. The inaugural issue of the *Journal of Human Movement Studies*, which appeared in March 1975, declared: “Research findings are inevitably fractionated . . . and it is seldom meaningful to apply such

findings until they have been *integrated* into some conceptual whole.” Four years earlier the new journal *Sportwissenschaft* had expressed hope that “sport science” might somehow become an integrative science.

The *Journal of Human Movement Studies* aspired to encourage and make available research by people operating in many disciplines, professions, and occupations. These included physiological contexts of human behavior, the development of movement behavior, movement in a societal context, personality and movement behavior, movement in communication, aesthetic evaluation in movement, techniques for the analysis of movement, and comparative studies of movement. Within a year seven hundred subscriptions from thirty countries had been received.

What Does Human Movement Include?

Proponents have repeatedly pointed out that Human Movement is concerned with purposeful, or intentional, activity, not “involuntary sensory responses.” Therefore, its study cannot be restricted to molecular biology and physiology. Psychological, social, aesthetic, and other matters need to be involved. The *Journal* stated that animal studies would be accepted only if they had implications for the study of human movement.

ROOTS IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Although some insisted that Human Movement was a new field of endeavor, others maintained that this was substantially a new term for what historically had been known as “physical education,” which during the 1960s had begun to establish itself as an academic discipline. Declarations were made in the 1970s that Human Movement Studies constituted an important area of academic inquiry that offered significant potential for both research workers and practitioners; these declarations resonate with Franklin Henry's assertion, published in the *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* in 1964, that, “There is a scholarly field of knowledge basic to physical education . . . constituted of

*I always know what's happening on the court.
I see a situation occur, and I respond.* ■ LARRY BIRD

certain portions of such diverse fields as anatomy, physics and physiology, cultural anthropology, history and sociology, as well as psychology.” As the *Journal of Human Movement Studies* and numerous individuals would do a decade later, Henry also had declared, “The focus of attention is on the study of man as an individual, engaging in motor performances required in daily life and in other motor performances yielding aesthetic values or serving as expressions of his physical and competitive nature.”

EMERGENCE OF THE TERM *MOVEMENT*

Movement, “either by itself or in composite terms such as ‘basic movement,’ ‘movement training,’ ‘human movement studies’ or ‘art of movement,’” Peter McIntosh (1981, 222) points out, emerged in connection with British physical education following World War II. Traditionally, children in government schools had been exposed to exercise through gymnastics. (At Rugby, other elite “public” schools, and those grammar schools that sought to emulate them, games and sports predominated.)

GYMNASTICS SYSTEMS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

The Swedish “system” of gymnastics, which consisted of specific movements executed to command (and which had a strong therapeutic dimension), had been introduced in England in the mid-1800s. The work was popularized by Martina Bergman-Osterberg, who began giving classes to female teachers in 1881. Her school, which moved to Dartford in 1895, was the country’s first residential college for training teachers of physical education. By 1914 there were five other training colleges for women. The quality of physical education for boys would remain limited until male teachers began to be trained at their own specialized colleges in the 1930s.

Visits by Niels Bukh and his associates brought Danish gymnastics, which featured continuity of movement and rhythmic qualities, to the attention of English teachers in the late 1920s. During the 1930s “natural” and “rhythmic” gymnastics, then popular in various European countries, as well as modern dance, attracted the

attention of a growing number of female physical educators. Participants at the 1941 conference on modern dance held by the Ling Physical Education Association (founded in 1899 to bring together women who had studied at Bergman-Osterberg’s school or Stockholm’s Central Gymnastic Institute) were favorably impressed with presentations given by Lisa Ullman (who had come from Essen to Dartington Hall in 1934) and Rudolph von Laban (who recently had found refuge in England) and persuaded the board of education to promote modern dance in English schools.

GROWTH OF MODERN DANCE

The Physical Education Act of 1944 moved physical education from the control of the chief medical officer for health to the Ministry of Education—a change that reflected broader tendencies within education to emphasize social and psychological matters. In physical education this redirected the earlier physiological/health orientation, notably among female physical educators. The uniqueness of each individual, problem solving, and creative approaches to learning received considerable attention during the 1950s, a period during which interest in modern dance continued to grow.

Laban’s theory of “modern educational dance” (the title of his often-reprinted small 1948 book) featured creativity, not stylized movements. *Effort* (“the strivings of the body and mind”) was the common denominator of all movement; its four elements were weight, space, time, and flow. In 1946 Ruth Morison, a tutor at I. M. Marsh College of Physical Education, began applying Laban’s principles of movement to gymnastics, with the intent of developing children’s “body awareness.” Her small booklet *Educational Gymnastics* (1956) became the basis for her more extensive *A Movement Approach to Educational Gymnastics* (1969) and the “new gymnastics,” as it sometimes was called, which encouraged children to solve a problem by moving in their own way and their own rhythm to tasks set by the teacher. To enhance opportunities for creativity, teachers used ropes, bars, ladders, boxes, and other equipment that could be moved into various configurations. By the

1960s “movement education” permeated the curriculum at women’s physical-training colleges.

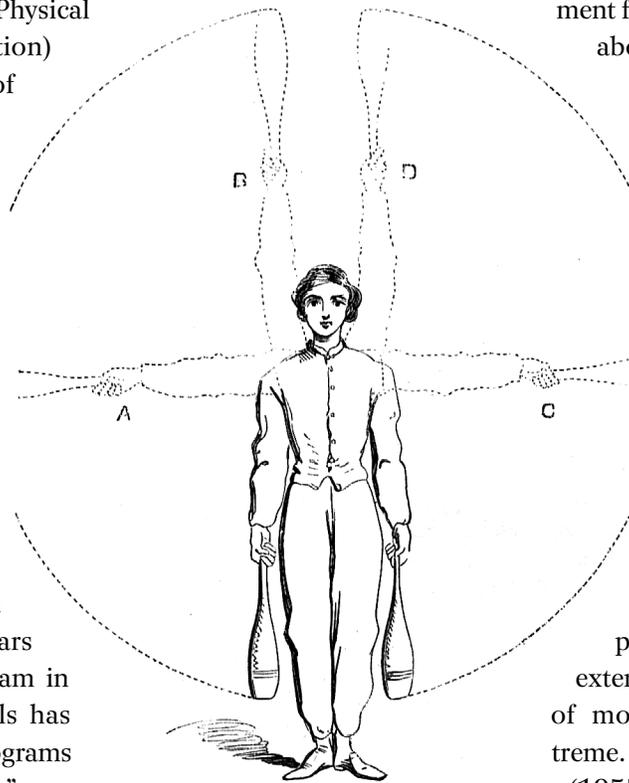
Movement Education in America

American female physical educators learned about “movement education” through contacts with English colleagues. The theme of the March 1964 issue of *Quest*, the journal of the National Association for Physical Education of College Women and National College Physical Education Association for Men (now the National Association for Physical Education in Higher Education) was “The Art and Science of Human Movement.” There are “few ideas related to physical education,” the editors observed, that have had as much impact on professional discussions in recent years. Ideas were quickly incorporated into programs for children. In *Movement Experiences: Curriculum and Methods for Elementary School Physical Education* (1967), Evelyn Schurr stated, “In recent years the physical-education program in American elementary schools has been greatly influenced by programs of English physical educators.”

A receptive atmosphere already existed. The playground movement and the formation of the Playground Association of America in 1906 (leading members of the physical-education profession were involved) encouraged freer types of activities than did gymnastics, which remained the foundation of the curriculum during the early 1900s. Developmental aspects of play, games, and sports were given considerable attention within the physical-education curriculum by the 1920s.

In 1926 Margaret H'Doubler, who created the country's first dance major at the University of Wisconsin, conducted a workshop dealing with fundamentals of movement in relation to dance, sports, and other activities. In addition, as movement education was coming into being, modern dance was a well-established part of the curriculum at many colleges and universities. An article in the October 1956 issue of the *Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation* endorsed the impor-

tance of creative dance and rhythmic movement for children and spoke favorably about the British Ministry of Education's publication *Moving and Growing* (1952), which featured the new developments. (Interestingly, during the late 1950s and the 1960s American physical educators also gave extensive attention to regulated forms of “fitness” exercise.)



An exercise routine from nineteenth-century Europe.

assumptions. In chapters dealing with mobility, strength, endurance, and skill exercises, Munrow included relevant information from Schneider and Karpovich's *The Physiology of Muscular Exercise* (1948); Bovard, Cozens, and Hagman's *Tests and Measurements in Physical Education* (1949); and other sources derived from experimental studies. Munrow also referred

Criticisms of Movement Education

Some female and most male physical educators found the extensive and unsupported claims of movement education to be extreme. *Pure and Applied Gymnastics* (1955) by A. D. Munrow, director of gymnastics at the University of Birmingham, raised a number of questions regarding its unverified

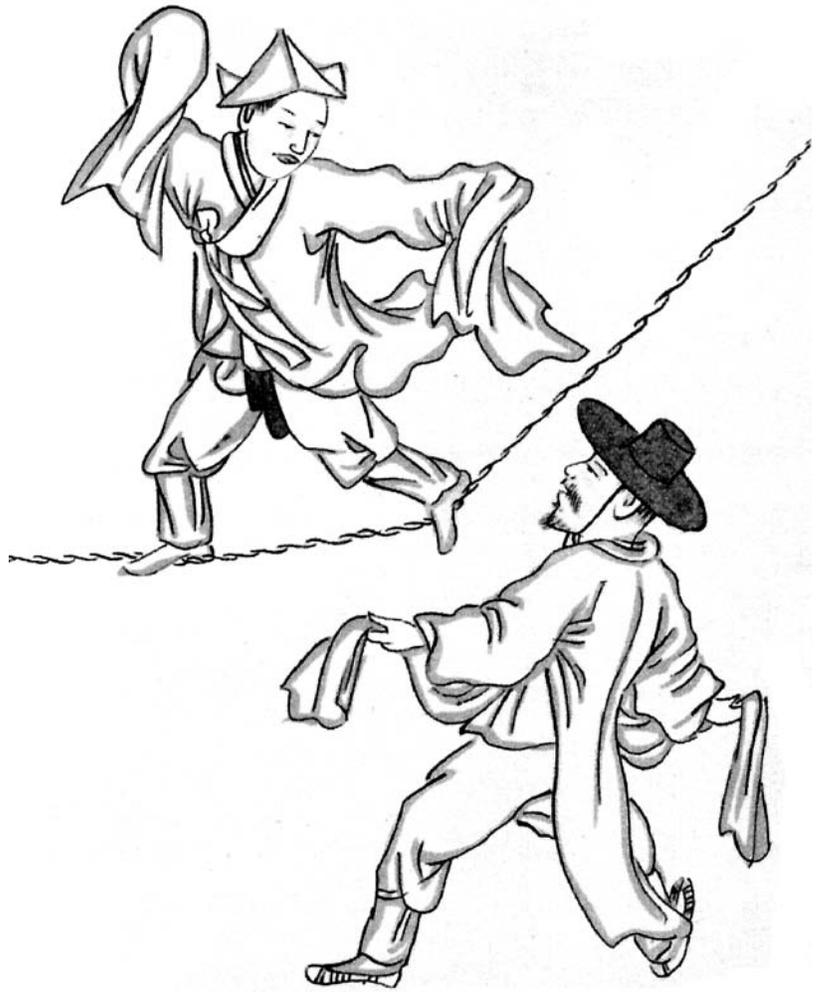
Korean rope walking.

to “circuit training,” the exercise program that instructors at the University of Leeds recently had created to motivate male students to carry out individualized exercise programs.

Among those who were skeptical of what were seen as extreme and diffuse claims was David Best, who had been on the faculty at Chelsea College of Physical Education. In *Expression in Movement and the Arts: A Philosophical Inquiry* (1974) and a series of articles in the *Journal of Human Movement Studies*, he pointed to the often unacknowledged “confusion in the use of the term ‘movement’ . . . a slide from a very general sense of the term to an implicitly more restricted sense,” and other inconsistencies.

INFLUENCES IN THE 1970s

Physical education is one of those fields that are highly susceptible to broader social and political events and ideologies. The spectacular images of athletes, especially female gymnasts, at the 1972 Olympic games focused attention on high-level performance, which requires specific and rigorous training. In the United States such tendencies were intensified by the enactment of the 1972 Education Act (Title IX), which mandated equity for females in intercollegiate and interscholastic athletics. In spite of what was sometimes claimed, there was no evidence that the approaches endorsed by “movement education” developed any of the specific skills needed to succeed in basketball, field hockey, or any other sport. The Olympic games and a growing number of other international competitions prompted more extensive studies of biomechanical, physiological, and psychological parameters of performance. The increasing volume of such research was one of several factors that contributed to reorienting many departments heavily toward the biological sciences during the 1980s.



OPPORTUNITIES FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATORS

Since the late 1800s, a small number of physicians, physiologists, and other investigators had been studying various parameters of human performance. So had a few individuals whose field was physical education. Opportunities for the latter were more extensive in the United States, where by the 1920s departments of physical education with four-year bachelor's-degree programs had been established at universities and colleges. By 1942 fifty-four institutions also offered graduate degrees. One-third of the contributors to the influential *Science and Medicine of Exercise and Sport* (1960) were physical educators. The intention of this book was to bring together authoritative evidence across disciplines dealing with physical activity and the human organism; it opened with the statement, “in recent years great progress has been made in the scientific study of exercise and sports.”

Researchers whose faculty appointments were in a department of physical education (or one of the new names these would adopt) grew by remarkable proportions over the next four decades. Increasing numbers of physical educators also joined the American College of Sports Medicine, which from its inception in 1954 had been open to individuals in many fields. Sports medicine organizations in most other countries tended to be limited to physicians and perhaps researchers in certain physiological sciences.

The growth of professional sports franchises, fitness centers, and other for-profit ventures; the advent of exercise stress testing for cardiac patients; and other health, sport, and exercise undertakings expanded employment opportunities, led to the development of new areas like sports management, and resulted in greater specialization within faculties as well as in the undergraduate curriculum. This prompted the creation of organizations like the International Society of Biomechanics in Sports, founded in 1967. Between 1968 and 1985, in North America alone, at least seven organizations dedicated to one of the areas traditionally included within physical education were created (e.g., North American Society for the Sociology of Sport, 1978). Most quickly established their own journals. These events fostered more—and better—research in the various “subdisciplines” and at the same time increased the fractioning (or “fragmentation,” a word that was used frequently in the United States) of knowledge that the *Journal of Human Movement Studies* had hoped to help remedy. Similar events that were occurring elsewhere have been discussed by Renson (1989) and by Haag, Grupe, & Kirsch (1992).

Increase in Status

An article that appeared in 1968 in *Physical Education* (the journal of the Physical Education Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), while citing Henry’s 1964 article, stated that the establishment of university B. Ed. degree programs might be the first step in giving greater status to physical education in Britain. Following the James Report of 1972 (a British govern-

ment study on teacher preparation), which declared that teacher training should be preceded by completion of study in an academic area, traditional three-year teacher-training colleges began to amalgamate with local polytechnics and universities. For example, Anstey College of Physical Education, which offered a three-year course in movement studies and education, became a part of Birmingham Polytechnic in 1975. Dartford College of Physical Training merged with Thames Polytechnic and became part of the School of Movement and Recreation Studies. Following amalgamation with Brighton Polytechnic, Chelsea College of Physical Education became known as The Chelsea School of Human Movement and looked forward to offering a BS Honors degree in sports science as well as a BA in Human Movement. In 1975 Liverpool Polytechnic launched its Honors BS degree in sports science within the Faculty of Science, not in association with physical education.

Debate on Nomenclature

Perhaps nowhere were debates about what term best represented a newly configured department more intense than in the United States. In 1990 Karl Newell reported sixty-nine different names currently in use. These included Physical Education, Recreation, and Human Performance; Human Movement Program; Human Movement Studies; Health and Human Performance; Sport and Movement Studies; Kinesiology; Exercise Science. The last two were the most frequently adopted. Newell also noted that this “chaos” had come at a time “when societal interest in physical activity is at an all-time high” and made the perceptive observation that, “To some degree this chaos has been created and sustained by the prevalence of indifferent and inconsistent nomenclature in the field of physical activity and the inability to articulate clearly and consistently the academic programmatic themes”—the same criticism that several individuals in Europe and Canada were making.

The Future

Within academia the word “science” has more prestige than does “studies.” And theoretical work has more

status than do applied and practical matters. The international journal *Human Movement Science* was initiated in 1982 to provide “a multidisciplinary forum for the presentation and discussion of experimental, methodological and theoretical studies of human movement . . . with special focus on motor control, motor learning and coordination.” The intent was to achieve both integration of scientific knowledge and integration of theory and practice. Experimental psychology and biomechanics have been the subject of perhaps the greatest number of articles; contributions dealing with neurophysiology and neural network modeling also have appeared. In some fields the application of research to the world in which human beings live is of very considerable importance. Medicine is one; so is that which traditionally had been known as “physical education.” It seems of no small significance, therefore, to note that the editors of *Human Movement Science* have stated that there exists “a strong need in applied areas.”

Roberta J. Park

See also Biomechanics; Kinesiology; Physical Education

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Hungary

The origins of Hungarian sports date back to the settling of the nomadic Hungarian tribes during the ninth century. These Magyar tribes came to Europe from Russia and roamed on horseback while improving their riding, archery, hunting, and falconry skills. These skills weren't just a part of everyday life; they played an important role in a tribe's religious practices and beliefs. When Hungary adopted Christianity in 1000 (after unification by King Stephen I), the Christian culture was part of the newly created kingdom both politically and economically.

After King Stephen I's House of Arpad died out in 1301, the House of Anjou assumed the Hungarian throne. During the years of Anjou reign foreign knights arrived at the royal court, creating a Western-style culture. They held lavish jousting tournaments at the recently constructed castles and forts (such as Buda, Visegrad, and Esztergom). King Matyas (Matthias Corvinus), who ruled Hungary from 1458 to 1490, supported the influences of the Italian Renaissance. This era was the glorious time of Hungarian history, when economic prosperity and stable governance endured almost a lifetime. Mansions and castles (Buda, Visegrad, and Tata) were rebuilt to resemble those in Italy; Matyas also founded baths, libraries, and publishing facilities. After his death the country declined for decades. After its defeat by the Ottomans at the Battle of Mohacs (1526), Hungary broke into three parts, the largest part being ruled by the victorious Ottomans, who remained there for 150 years.

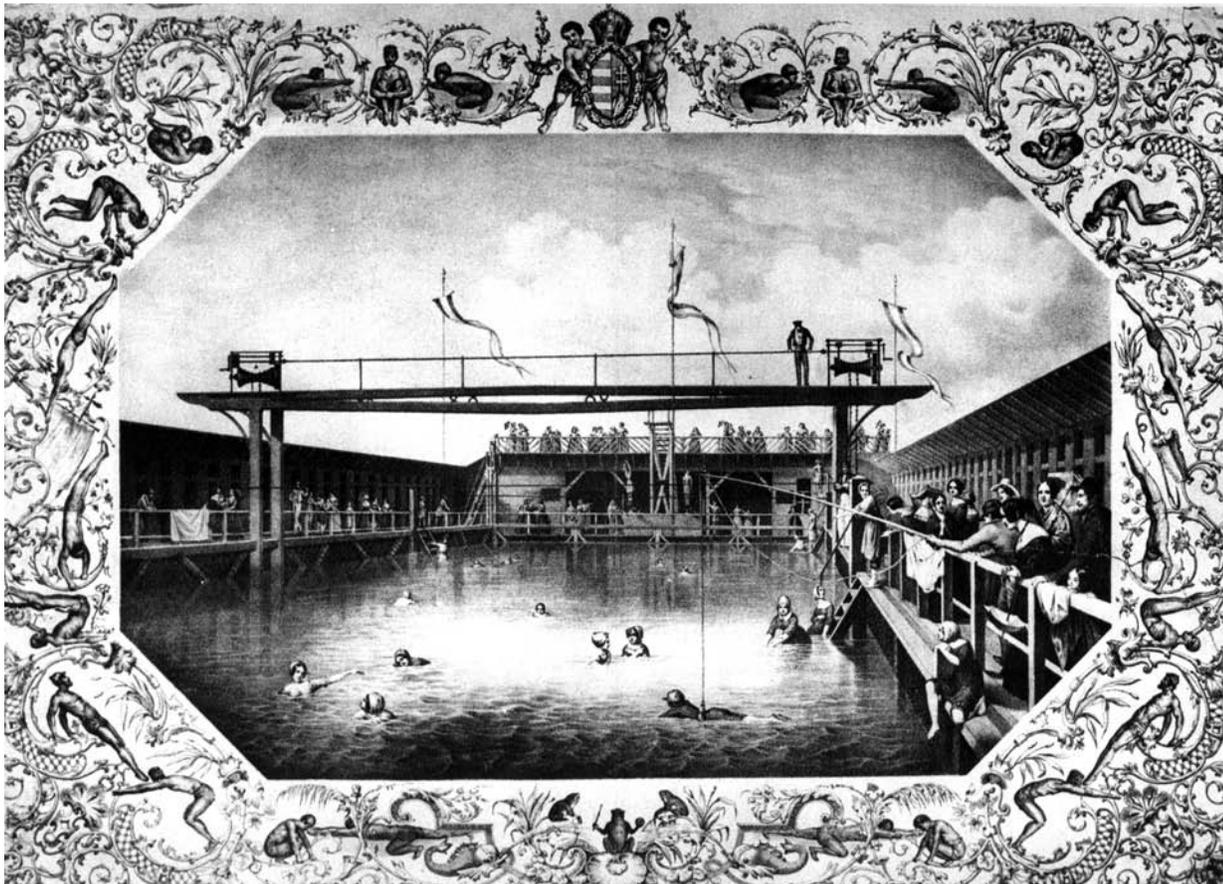
The western part of Hungary came under the rule of the Hapsburgs (who dominated the politics of the country until 1921). During the early sixteenth century the

*Hungary Olympics Results**2004 Summer Olympics: 8 Gold, 6 Silver, 3 Bronze*

Reformation (a religious movement marked by rejection or modification of some Roman Catholic doctrine and practice and establishment of Protestant churches) was the biggest influence on physical culture. The Reformation had the most followers in the third part of Hungary—Transylvania—which retained the national language and culture lacking in the parts held by the Ottomans and the Hapsburgs. Protestants founded schools, where they taught new subjects in the local language. John Comenius, the Czech-Moravian educator, wrote his pedagogic work *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* around 1650–1654 in Sarospatak in northeastern Hungary. In it he described the importance of physical education and the role of pedagogy (the art of teaching) in protecting health.

Enlightenment and Education

During the second half of the eighteenth century the ideals of enlightenment spread over the country. The conservative Hapsburgs tried to slow this spread, but in Queen Maria Theresa's education decree *Ratio Educationis* (1777), physical education was included as an optional subject. The first writings about modern sports came from western Europe. Wealthy aristocrats (such as Istvan Szechenyi and Miklos Wesselenyi) who traveled through England, France, and the German principalities and scientists and doctors promoted the introduction of new sports in Hungary. Szechenyi supported horseracing, swimming, rowing, and sailing and constructed a ballroom. Wesselenyi advocated hunting and fencing.



The first national swimming pool in Pest, Hungary, in 1844.

Source: Hungarian Museum for Sport and Physical Education.



A mounted Hungarian (Magyar) warrior in the early sixteenth century.

Both men set an example of the new European “gentleman” in the country. The small number of urban middle-class people, whose number rose significantly during the nineteenth century, favored gymnastics, swimming, and skating.

Beginning in the 1860s Hungarian sports progressed rapidly. In 1867 the government enacted compulsory physical education in schools. After the 1860s new sports such as tennis, cycling, wrestling, and boxing gained popularity. Modern sports clubs (Nemzeti Torna Egylet, 1867; Magyar Athletikai Club, 1875) opened, followed by federations such as Magyar Labdarugo Szovetseg (Hungarian Football Federation) in 1901. Several sports began to hold national championships. At the first tennis championship in 1896 both male and female players were allowed to compete. The winner was Countess Paulina Palffy. Around the turn of the century sports periodicals such as *Hercules* were established.

As part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Hungary participated in numerous international competitions, particularly in other parts of the empire (Vienna, Prague) and in Germany. In the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, Greece, in 1896, Hungary participated with thirteen athletes. Alfred Hajos won two gold medals in swimming. The Hungarian team was led by Ferenc Kemeny, who had been elected to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894.

During the twentieth century, especially after 1945,

Hungarian sports were heavily influenced by politics. Through the last quarter of the century the market and mass media also played an ever-increasing role.

After World War I Hungary became independent after nearly four hundred years but lost two-thirds of its territory. More than 3 million Hungarians found themselves living in neighboring countries (Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia). That’s why during the 1920s many athletes who had begun their career in Hungary represented Romania, Czechoslovakia, or Yugoslavia at international competitions.

Olympic Games

Between the two world wars the Olympic Games were especially important in Hungary. However, in 1920 Hungary wasn’t invited to participate in the Olympics in Antwerp, Belgium, but rejoined the Olympic movement in 1924. Through the 1920s table tennis was the most successful Hungarian sport internationally. At the Olympics in Berlin, Germany, in 1936 Hungary won ten gold, two silver, and two bronze medals.

After World War II the Soviet Union occupied Hungary. The Soviet model was enforced on every aspect of life, including sports. During the Soviet era sports were used as propaganda to demonstrate the success of socialism. During the 1950s a generation of well-trained athletes took part in Hungarian sports. At the Olympics in Helsinki, Finland, in 1952 Hungary won sixteen gold medals. Hungary also performed well in soccer during the 1950s, winning victories at the 1954 World Championship, but lost in the final against Germany.

During the period from the 1960s to the 1990s the government supported mass sports only if they served a political purpose. The government helped finance professional sports to raise their level of support among the people. During the 1980s athletes were allowed to sign contracts with Western clubs. New sports such as baseball and Asian martial arts came to Hungary, imported by students studying abroad. During the early 1990s aerobics were not for just “Western imitators” anymore. After the political changes of 1989–1990 the govern-



Hungarian women competing at archery in 1889.

ment largely stopped financing sports and left no adequate system of financing in its place. Tax breaks and subsidies for foundations and civil organizations dedicated to sports might be the solution, but sports policies are ever-changing.

Because of the media, the attention is again mainly on professional sports. The most successful sports are still the Olympic sports such fencing, swimming, wrestling, and kayak-canoeing, but the most popular is soccer. The most prominent body in Hungarian sports is the Hungarian Olympic Committee, whose president, Pal Schmitt, and general secretary, Tamas Ajan, are IOC members.

Katalin Szikora

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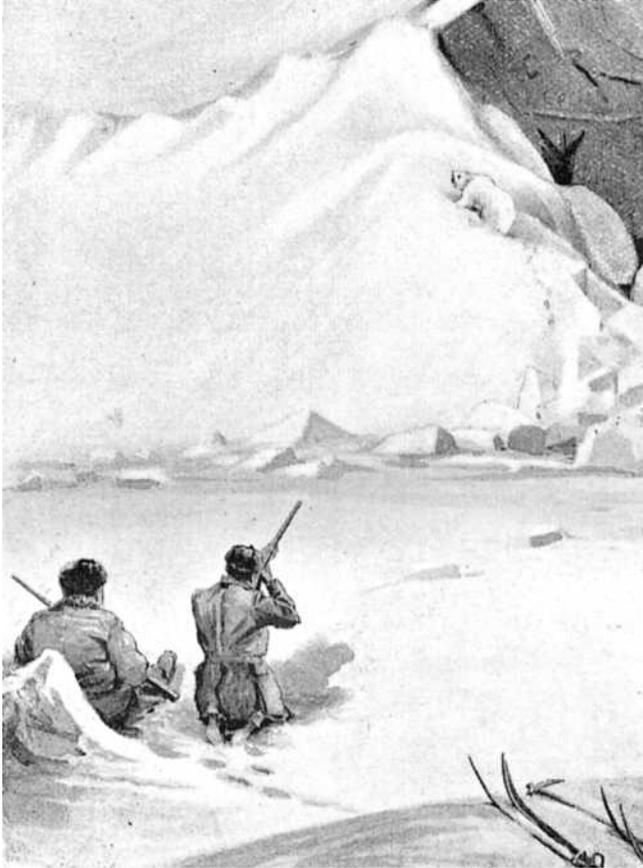
Hunting

Hunting is the pursuit and killing of animals for subsistence, for the ritual of war, and for sport. The sportsman-hunter did not emancipate himself from the subsistence-hunter and the warrior-hunter until the nineteenth century.

The Rise of Hunting as Sport

Humans or something akin to them have hunted game for more than 1 million years. The use of fire and the presence of stone tools suitable for dismembering a carcass and of animal bones at sites inhabited by *Homo erectus* identify him as the first hunter. The first hunters stalked game for food not sport. The domestication of plants and animals some 10,000 years ago made possible the accumulation of a food surplus. Humans could now hunt by choice rather than necessity, a prerequisite of sport. But the hunter was not yet pure sportsman for he was also a warrior and the hunt proxy for war. In China the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) classified hunting within the Ministry of War. In Egypt the pharaoh was the alpha warrior-hunter. Amenophis III (1411?–1375 BCE) slaughtered 102 lions, 96 bulls and innumerable other animals in a series of hunts. Tutmosis III (reigned c. 1500 BCE) killed 120 elephants in a single outing. Babylonian king Ashurbanipal (seventh century BCE) styled himself the “hunting king.”

So long as the aristocracy held power and prestige, the hunt retained a nebulous status between war and sport. Hunting began to tilt toward sport with the waning of the nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The English Civil War of the mid-1600s, the formation of the United States during the late 1700s into a nation without an aristocracy, and the French Revolution (1789) signaled the eclipse of the nobility. At the same time the ideal of the citizen-soldier of the French Revolution gave way to the professional soldier and officer cadre of Prussia. War no longer needed the hunt. Free from its role as provisioner for



Hunting polar bear in Alaska.

hunter-gatherers and dress rehearsal for warriors, hunting became a sport in the nineteenth century.

Literature traces the evolution of the hunter from warrior to sportsman. The protagonists Theseus from antiquity and Siegfried from the Middle Ages were warrior-hunters. In pursuit of Minotaur and dragon respectively, Theseus and Siegfried elevated themselves above the common man. They were nobles whose prestige entitled them to the hunt. By the 1800s, however, the warrior-hunter had receded from history and from the literary landscape. Natty Bumppo, the protagonist of James Fenimore Cooper's *Leather-Stocking Tales* (1823–1841), has none of the refinement and grace of the aristocrat. He is a woodsman, the product of a democracy in which anyone with pluck and initiative can hunt for sport.

Hunting Methods, Etiquette, and Safety

Hunting involves a range of methods to capture the prey. An animal will try to elude a hunter as it would any predator, compelling him to use stealth in reconnoitering an area for game. The patrol on foot is perhaps the oldest method of hunting. A hunter takes care to walk into the wind to prevent it from carrying his scent ahead of him, a circumstance that would alert animals in his path. Nesting birds—grouse for example—pose little problem. A hunter may approach a stand of trees, opening fire when the birds take flight. As an alternative a hunter may use a dog—a pointer is ideal—to identify a tree with birds, to position itself at the foot of a tree and to bark on command to startle birds aloft. Once a hunter has made a kill a dog is invaluable in retrieving it. The ease of bird hunting and the opportunity for several kills in an outing attract large numbers of hunters. The presence of several hunters in an area demands caution. A hunter should keep his gun perpendicular to the ground as he awaits the approach of a bird. Upon sighting a bird he may track it, being certain never to bring the gun below a 45-degree angle with the ground. This precaution is especially important given that bird hunters tend to use shotguns. Even at 45 degrees a shotgun may disperse shot with a horizontal rather than upward trajectory. If the hunt is on private property as is common in Europe, a host has every right to dismiss from his land a hunter who arcs his gun dangerously low. The presence of several hunters poses an additional problem. Two hunters may fire simultaneously at a bird, each being unsure whether one or both hit it. Etiquette dictates that the hunter with the greater number of kills award the bird to the hunter with fewer.

Big game, bear, and elk, for example, are another matter. Their keen nose and speed makes a kill difficult. A hunter should reconnoiter an area for lush vegetation that entices game to feed, approaching these spots at dawn or dusk when animals are likely to feed. A hunter does well to approach at dawn with daylight ahead. Bear, elk, and other large animals have small killing



Hunting

“Queen of the Chase”: Empress Elizabeth of Austria (1837–1898)

Born in 1837, Elizabeth (nicknamed “Sisi”), a Bavarian princess, married the Emperor of Austria, Franz Josef, in 1854. After the birth of their four children who were removed for a separate formal upbringing, she became increasingly discontented with the “golden fetters” of one of the most rigid royal courts in Europe and suffered often from depression. A keen horserider since childhood, she spent an increasing amount of time away from Austria in search of freedom and excitement, often traveling under a pseudonym to reduce formality. She was already a grandmother when she first encountered foxhunting in England in 1874. Two years later she moved to the British Isles for the hunting season and returned for several years. She hunted both in the English Midlands and in Ireland.

A bold, almost reckless rider, she was led through the fields by a pilot, Captain Bay Middleton, a handsome, enthusiastic cavalry officer ten years her junior. The empress found foxhunting a liberating experience after the rigid Vienna court life. Whatever the rumors about her relationship with male admirers away from the hunt, her position in one of the grandest European royal families protected her from ostracism. Instead, she became a model for other aristocratic women and the socially ambitious. The press published engravings of her hunting exploits, and she enjoyed being painted on horseback.

Her hunting career lasted less than a decade as family crises, ill health, and depression reduced her mobility. On 10 September 1898 she was assassinated in Geneva, Switzerland, by an Italian anarchist, Luigi Lucheni, who stabbed her to death with a homemade dagger. Sisi has remained a foxhunting legend and histories of the sport frequently reprint an anonymous piece of doggerel verse, written after an Irish hunt:

The Queen of the Chase!
 The Queen! Yes, the Empress!
 Look, look, how she flies,
 With a hand that never fails
 And a pluck that never dies.
 The best man in England can't lead her—
 he's down!
 “Bay” Middleton's back is done beautifully
 brown.

Hark horn and hark halloa!
 Come on for a place!
 He must ride who would follow
 The Queen of the Chase!

John Lowerson

zones, increasing the chance that a hunter will wound rather than kill an animal with the first shot. Etiquette (and often law) require a hunter to pursue a wounded animal until the kill has been made. At dusk, however, a hunter must postpone the pursuit until morning. When the object is big game, a wise hunter will fire only at a stationary animal to be sure of killing it outright. This precaution is vital in stalking bear for a wounded bear may turn on a hunter and kill in its fury. As an alternative to stalking big game on foot, a hunter may take a position above the ground in a seat, either free standing or in a tree. A hunter in a seat will have a bet-

ter view of an area than will one on the ground and will be in better position to fire safely. Given the perils of hunting a prudent hunter will sacrifice the benefit of camouflage to the need for safety by wearing a bright color, orange is ideal, to alert other hunters of his presence.

Hunting Weapons

The first hunters, driven by necessity rather than sport, used whatever was handy: stones, bones, sharpened sticks. Humans invented the spear 15,000 years ago and the bow and arrow 10,000 years ago, which had

Though I am an old horse, and have seen and heard a great deal, I never yet could make out why men are so fond of this sport; they often hurt themselves, often spoil good horses, and tear up the fields, and all for a hare, or a fox, or a stag, that they could get more easily some other way; but we are only horses, and don't know. ■ ANNA SEWELL, "BLACK BEAUTY"

by 3000 BCE spread to hunters throughout the world. Since the fourteenth century the gun has been the weapon of choice.

The type of game dictates the choice of gun. Hunters of birds and other small game use a shotgun. Unlike a rifle a shotgun radiates its projectiles through space in a cone that increases in size with the distance to a target. The dispersal of shot over an area increases the odds of hitting small, moving game. A shotgun obviates the need for precision. A hunter does not aspire to be a marksman with a shotgun. It is enough to shoot near a target to hit it. A hunter may use a double-barreled shotgun that fires two cartridges at a time, dispersing shot over an even wider area. Its drawback is the need to reload after each shot. Should a hunter miss, the quarry will escape before the hunter can reload. For this reason hunters who favor a fluid action and who do not worry about the accuracy of the first shot prefer repeating shotguns. These carry several cartridges, which a hunter fires one at a time until a kill has been made.

Although suitable for small game a shotgun is inadequate for large animals. The dispersion of shot increases the odds that a hunter will wound rather than kill big game, hitting it in several spots rather than penetrating the heart or brain with lethal force. For this reason the hunter of big game uses a rifle. The grooves in its barrel give a bullet a spin analogous to the spiral of a football, putting it on a straight trajectory. A hunter must be a marksman with a rifle. A shot near the heart may merely wound the quarry; a shot must penetrate the heart to kill the animal outright. The modern rifle can kill at 400 yards, a distance that allows no margin for error.

The Danger of the Hunt as Unrestricted Sport

Like other hunter-gathers the Amerindians hunted for subsistence, preserving the balance between human and animal populations. Europeans and their descendents upset this balance. The New World was a land of bounty they believed. They thought it foolish to limit

the hunt amid plenty. Moreover they rued what they perceived as tyranny in Europe. As a counterweight to absolutism Thomas Jefferson conceived of America as an experiment in liberty. This experiment played out in the context of English philosopher John Locke's notion of individual rights. The individual was capable of regulating his own conduct and needed neither aristocrats nor heavy-handed agents of government as interloper.

The concepts of individual rights and limited government put few checks on hunters, precipitating a crisis on the Great Plains. For millennia bison were the dominant fauna on the plains, but European Americans viewed them an impediment to progress. Bison grazed the grass ranchers coveted for their livestock and sustained Native Americans with their meat. In killing bison European Americans appropriated land for their livestock and crops and deprived the plains Indians of their livelihood. In the name of progress, hunters swarmed west of the Mississippi River, where they drove bison to their death from drowning in the Missouri River and shot them from trains that crisscrossed the West. Gunman Billy Tilghman killed 3,300 bison in seven months. Buffalo Bill Cody tallied 4,280. During the 1870s hunters killed as many as 250,000 bison a month. This savagery bled the population of bison from 60 million in the eighteenth century to little more than 1,000 in 1893. Naturalists counted only twenty bison in Yellowstone National Park in 1894, and the New York Zoological Gardens had only fifteen.

The Regulation of the Hunt

The massacre of bison coincided with the rise of land-grant universities, which graduated agriculturalists, foresters, and biologists sensitive to the need to protect game from slaughter. Many of them, particularly agriculturalists, affiliated with the Republican Party, emboldening its liberal wing and causing a schism between liberals and conservatives. Liberals advocated the passage of laws regulating hunting whereas conservatives defended the status quo that allowed hunters to do as they pleased. The result was stalemate. In 1871



On safari in Africa.

Congress debated but did not pass a bill that would have set a quota on the number of bison hunters could kill. Three years later Congress passed a bill to regulate bison hunting, which President Ulysses Grant vetoed. Only in 1894 with bison on the brink of extinction did Congress with the acquiescence of President Grover Cleveland outlaw hunting bison on federal land. Liberals registered a second triumph with the Game and Wild Birds Preservation and Disposition Act of 1900, which restricted the sale of feathers and skins and the interstate transport of illegally killed birds in hopes of ending the poaching birds in the West and their transit east for sale in the cities of the Midwest and eastern seaboard. The next year President William McKinley's assassination brought Theodore Roosevelt to the Oval Office. Conservationist, sportsman, naturalist, and historian, Roosevelt sought to balance the right of sportsmen to hunt with the duty of government to protect game for future generations of sportsmen and nature enthusiasts. His belief that sportsmen held the upper hand led him to ally with conservationists. In 1908 Roosevelt convened the White House Conference of Conservation and established the National Conserva-

tion Committee. By December 1909 forty-one states had followed suit with conservation committees of their own. The Federal Aid in Wildlife Restoration Act of 1937 affirmed the federal-state partnership, giving each state \$3 for each \$1 it contributed to protecting game and its habitat.

Deference to the states has created a patchwork of laws. Arizona permits a hunter to kill one bison—on state not federal land—during his life with applications backlogged for years. Maine limits hunters to four rabbits per day in season whereas Arizona allows ten. California has forty-one sets of regulations to govern deer hunting with each set applying to a region of the state. In 1989 Utah banned the hunting of elk more than one year old in three regions of the state, leaving hunters elsewhere free of this restriction. Arizona divides antelope season into thirds, allotting the first to hunters with shotguns and rifles, the second to those with muzzle-loaders and the third to sportsmen with bow and arrow. In 1990 California allowed the killing of only six bighorn sheep, awarding permits by lottery. Colorado, Michigan, and Maine all allot different durations for hunting raccoons.



Hunting

Hunting Clubs

Hunting clubs were established to address the issues of equipment cost and maintenance, as well as to provide an opportunity for socializing. The following is the constitution of the Fort Gibson Hunt Club, published in June 1835 in the American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine.

Having duly considered the subject for which we, at our last meeting, were appointed a committee, beg leave to offer the following as a constitution for the government of the Club.

ARTICLE 1. The Club shall be called the Fort Gibson Hunting Club.

ART 2. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, and a Secretary who shall also act as Treasurer.

ART 3. It shall be the duty of the President to attend all meetings of the Club and preside in all business transactions. He shall call a meeting of the Club whenever requested to do so by three or more members, and order the Secretary to give notice of such meeting the day previous thereto. In the absence of the President, the Vice President shall act as President. A majority of the members present at the post shall constitute a quorum to transact business.

ART 4. The officers of the Club shall be elected annually; those elected at this meeting shall serve until 31st Dec. 1835.

ART 5. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep a book in which he shall make a fair record of all the transactions of the Club, and furnish for publication, in the American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine, such accounts of all the interesting hunts, &c. as the Club may think proper from time to time to publish.

ART 6. There shall be a Committee of three appointed by ballot, who shall assess all fines under such By-Laws as may hereafter be adopted.

ART 7. The dogs shall be under the exclusive management of the President, who shall employ a suitable person to take charge of the kennel, and perform such duty in relation thereto as the President may,

from time to time, assign him. The kennel shall contain bear, wolf, deer, and fox dogs.

ART 8. All necessary expenses for the purchasing and feeding of the dogs, building kennel, hiring keeper, &c. &c. shall be borne at the joint expense of the Club, the Treasurer shall, on the order of the President, pay the accounts, and is authorized to draw upon the sutler for the necessary funds, for which the Club are pledged.

ART 9. On the withdrawing of a member from the Club, all his right, title, and interest in the dogs, kennel, &c. shall be vested in the Club, and no member shall, in any way, dispose of or transfer his interest to any person whatever.

ART 10. Members admitted to the Club, previous to the 1st January, 1836, shall pay their proportion of all expenses previously incurred; members admitted after that time shall upon admission pay.

ART 11. All persons wishing to become members shall be proposed by a member in proper person, or in writing addressed to the President, and the member proposed shall be balloted for at the next meeting of the Club; two black balls shall exclude him.

ART 12. Each member shall sign this Constitution and be governed by it and such By-Laws as may, from time to time, be adopted by the Club. This Constitution shall not be altered but by a majority of two-thirds of the members belonging to the post.

Major R.B. MASON, of Dragoons, President.

Lieut. F. BRITTON, 7th Infantry Secretary.

Resolved, That this Club subscribe for the American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine from its commencement, and its Editor be elected an honorary member.

Resolved further, That the formation of this Club, and the proceedings thus far be published in the American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine.

Source: Menna, L. K. (Vol. Ed.), (1995). *Sports in North America—A documentary history*. Vol. 2: *The origins of modern sports, 1820–1840* (pp. 291–292). Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press.

Women as Hunters

Historical records and artifacts identify a number of women of the aristocratic and royal classes who were hunters, going as far back as ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. In later centuries, Charlemagne's wife Hildergarde and their six daughters were hunters, who sought wild boar as prey. Elizabeth I of England (1533–1603), Mary Queen of Scots (1542–1587), France's Catherine de Medici, (1519–1589), and Sweden's Queen Christina (1626–1689) were all among the ranks of female hunters. And foxhunting has long been a sport engaged in by women in the upper classes of European society.

Hunting became more egalitarian—both in terms of gender and class—for women in North America. Pioneer and frontier women learned how to handle firearms as well as men, and true-life heroines like Annie Oakley and Martha Jane (“Calamity Jane”) Canary are legendary for their marksmanship in the “Wild West” of the late 1800s.

Around the time of World War II, hunting became much more of a male bastion in the United States, with girls and women discouraged from participating in the sport. However, that trend began to change in the later decades of the twentieth century, and in the 1990s, American women who were hunters grew in number from 1 million to more than 2 million.

The Future of Hunting

As a means of subsistence hunting has been important for millennia, though for an increasingly small fraction of humans. As a sport, hunting must grapple with a growth in human population that shows no sign of tapering. More than 6 billion people crowd earth, challenging its capacity to produce ever more abundant harvests. Even with improvements in crop yields farmers can feed more mouths only by increasing the acreage under tillage and by using insecticides and herbicides. An increase in farmland comes at the expense of uncultivated land and the game on it. Insecticides and herbicides can accumulate to toxicity in the fat of wildlife, reducing the game available to hunters. The

concentration of wealth in North America and Europe will likely keep farmers and hunters at loggerheads. Meat consumption rises with income, pressing ranchers to increase their pastureland and to graze that land intensively. Where will game feed?

At the same time agriculture will continue to shed workers for machines and chemicals. People who once farmed swell the world's cities, pressing them to devour habitat as they expand. The affluent exacerbate the problem of urban sprawl by ringing their cities with suburbs, shopping centers and parking lots, all at the expense of game.

As the amount of land suitable for hunting shrinks, and the number of game declines, competition among hunters should intensify. By its nature competition produces few winners and many losers. The few will be an elite, restoring to hunting a vestige of the elitism it had in antiquity and during the Middle Ages. Most if not all hunting may assume the character of safari, with affluent Americans and Europeans traveling the globe for game. Whether they will find enough to satiate their desire for sport remains open to question.

Governing Bodies

Governing organizations include Boone and Crockett Club (www.boone-crockett.org), International Professional Hunters Association (www.internationalprohunters.com); National Rifle Association (www.nra.org), and U.S. Sportsmen's Alliance (www.ussportsmen.org).

Christopher Cumo

See also Fishing

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Hurling

Hurling, which many people consider to be the fastest and fiercest of team sports, is the national field sport of Ireland. Two teams of fifteen players each use sticks (*hurleys* or *camans*) made of ash to hit a small, hard ball (*slitter* or *sliothar*) through H-shaped goalposts that are normally located 137 meters apart on a field 82 meters wide. The broad blade of a *hurley* allows the ball to be hit along the ground and overhead. The ball may be caught in the hand and kicked as well as struck, but it may not be lifted off the ground with the hand. One of the chief skills of hurling is the ability to carry the ball on the blade of the *hurley* by bouncing it up and down while running at full speed.

Fitness is vital for success in hurling because of the duration and pace, which allow minimal substitutions. Games are typically sixty minutes (two thirty-minute halves), although major provincial and All-Ireland games are eighty minutes (two forty-minute halves). Teams consist of a goalkeeper and fourteen field players arranged in combinations of midfielders, backs, and forwards. Substitutions are allowed during the game but generally only because of injury.

Hurling is governed by the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), which was founded in 1884 “to bring the hurling back to Ireland.” Whereas the Irish have played almost every sport in the world, Ireland’s own major national sports—hurling and Gaelic football—are played virtually exclusively by the Irish.

History

Hurling was first mentioned in the Irish Annals in a description of the Battle of Moytura (1272 BCE). The invaders first defeated the residents in a game of hurling and then did likewise in the battle for the lordship of Ireland. Hurling is also mentioned in the oldest known Irish legal code, the Brehon Laws, providing compensation for any player injured during a match.

Although today hurling is played largely in the south (and particularly the southeast) of Ireland, it has always

been an all-Ireland sport. Thus, the famous Ulster hero, Cuchullain, is said to have been an outstanding player. The idea of the Irish hero as a hurling hero continued in the tales that outlined the exploits of Finn MacCool and his Fianna during the second century CE. Furthermore, the centrality of hurling to the Irish could not be diminished by the raids of the Norsemen nor by the coming of Christianity and the influence of St. Patrick. England’s invasion of Ireland in 1169 may have resulted in hurling being imported to England because traces of such a sport survive in Cornwall and elsewhere.

Development

One might be tempted to speculate that all stick-and-ball games have common origins, and hurling, cricket, hockey, and *shinty* (Scotland’s national sport) possibly have a shared genesis but have developed according to context and climate. The context within which the modern sport of hurling developed most fully in the south, rather than the north, apparently has much to do with the anglicization of Ireland.

Modern Innovations

Whereas technological innovations have influenced the style of play in many modern sports, hurling has had few such innovations. The *camán (hurley)*, which is 1.07 meters long, and the *sliothar*, which weighs between 100 and 130 grams, are still made of traditional materials. Some players have adopted helmets for safety purposes, but such equipment is not compulsory.

With time the number of players per team has been reduced from twenty-one to fifteen. A team scores one point for hitting the *sliothar* over the cross bar and between the posts and three points for driving the *sliothar* under the cross bar into the goal. When the ball crosses the sideline, a free hit (puck) is given against the team who drove it out at the point where the ball crossed the line. If the ball is driven over the end line by an attacker, the defending team pucks it from the 4.6-meter goal area. If the ball goes off a defender over the end line, the attacking team pucks the ball 64 meters out from the goal at a point opposite where the ball crossed the end

line. The strongest players can puck the ball 90 meters or more.

Attackers may not “carry” the ball into their opponents’ goal area. If they do so, this act results in a puck from the goal area from which attackers must retreat 12.8 meters. If a defender fouls within the 19.2-meter line, a free stroke is awarded on that line at a point opposite where the foul took place. Although shoulder charging is permitted, pulling, tripping, pushing, or charging from in front or behind are penalized by a free hit.

Originally a goal was greater in value than any number of points, as was the case with “tries” in rugby’s football or “rouges” in Eton’s field game. Thus, results were expressed in the form of “Team A: 1–8, Team B 0–10,” indicating that team A, having scored one goal and eight points to team B’s no goals and ten points, was the winner. However, through time a goal has been reduced first to being equal to five points (1892) and fi-

nally to three points (1896), as it is today. Such changes have increased the spectator appeal of hurling.

Timothy J. L. Chandler

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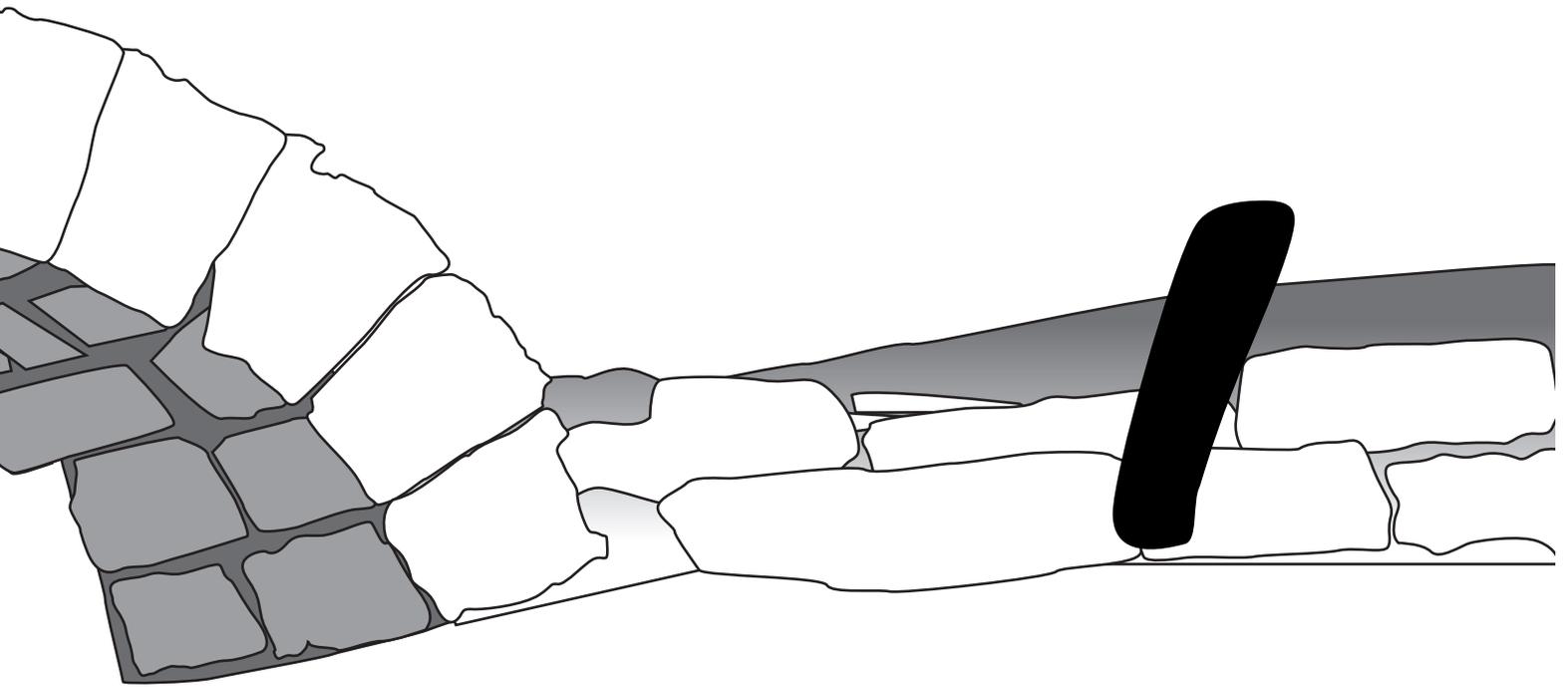
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Ireland
Ironman Triathlon
Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games
Israel
Italy

Iditarod

Dogsled racing, or “mushing,” is both a way of life and a sporting competition for participants, most of whom come from cold, snowy climates in North America and Europe. The Iditarod Trail sled dog race, commonly referred to as the “Itidarod” or “The Last Great Race on Earth,” is probably the best-known dogsled race in the world. On the first Saturday in March, mushers from across the world enter the Iditarod, starting in Anchorage, Alaska, and finishing about 1,100 miles later in Nome. The Iditarod is one of several sled dog races, which vary by location (for example, the Yukon Quest, a 1,000-mile race run each year between Whitehorse, Yukon, and Fairbanks, Alaska), by distance (for example, the Open North American Sled Dog Race Championship for sprint racing, held annually in Fairbanks since 1936), or by distance covered per day (for example, the multiday stage races occurring in North America and Europe that involve a defined distance per day, which are similar to the Tour de France in cycling).

History

Dogs, typically huskies and malamutes, have been used traditionally in northern parts of North America to help pull humans and their equipment over the rugged landscape. Competitive racing with dog teams commonly occurred in Native villages, and in 1908, a 408-mile all-Alaska sweepstakes race was begun in Nome, Alaska. But it was a 1925 diphtheria outbreak in Nome, which



required a serum delivery from a town 647 miles away (Nenana) by dog teams facing blizzard conditions, which caught the media's attention. It is this serum run that is commemorated by the modern Iditarod.

It was Dorothy G. Page (c. 1920–1989), the secretary of the Aurora Dog Mushers Association, chair of the Wasilla-Knik Centennial Committee, and mother of the Iditarod, who promoted the idea of holding a sled-dog race in 1967 on the Iditarod Trail as part of the one-hundredth anniversary of Alaska's purchase from Russia. This historic seven-hundred-mile trail had originally been used by dog teams to transport supplies, mail, and gold to the inland mining town of Iditarod. Page wanted to celebrate the history of the trail and the important place of sled dogs in Alaskan history. She worked with Joe Redington Sr. (1917–1999), a skillful musher from Oklahoma, often called the father of the Iditarod, to create a fifty-mile race along this trail. Redington, who had been using dog teams since he moved to Alaska in 1948, was concerned that dog teams were disappearing from native villages due to the increasing popularity of snow machines. After this race was successfully held a second time in 1969, Page suggested that the distance be increased to five hundred miles, finishing at the ghost town of Iditarod. Redington and others extended this idea into a thousand-mile race, past Iditarod to better-known Nome. This would also allow the race to commemorate the 1925 diphtheria-serum run.

The first Iditarod was run in 1973. Redington guaranteed a \$50,000 purse, an enormous amount for a dogsled race at that time. He ended up cosigning a

loan for \$30,000 of that amount with his home as collateral. Fundraising efforts kept him from competing in this first race, which was won twenty days later by Dick Wilmarth. Thirty-four teams started on a trail no one had used for forty-eight years. Spectators as well as mushers wondered if anyone could finish it, but twenty-two teams completed it. The last-place musher, John Shultz, took thirty-two days and was awarded the first Red Lantern, the prize always given to the last musher to complete the race. Redington entered the next nineteen races; he completed his last race at the age of 80 in 1997.

The race consists of two routes: the southern route, which is run in odd years, and the northern route, which is run in even years. The actual race distance varies with each route and the conditions that prevail that year, but it is approximately 1,100 miles. Race times have come down dramatically since the beginning of the Iditarod; the first 10-day Iditarod was completed by Martin Buser in 1992. The 2004 Iditarod was won by Mitch Seavey in a time of 9 days, 12 hours, and 20 minutes.

The race begins in downtown Anchorage at 10 a.m. on the first Saturday in March. The mushers first race twenty miles to Eagle River as part of a fundraiser called the Idita-Rider. Fans bid to ride in a musher's sled, and this money is used to pay as much as \$1,049 to mushers who finish from thirty-first place to last place. The teams are then trucked twenty-nine miles to Wasilla, where the race begins in earnest the next day. Teams leave at two-minute intervals, and the time difference is adjusted during the mandatory twenty-four-hour stop.

When a man wants to murder a tiger, he calls it sport; when the tiger wants to murder him, he calls it Ferocity. ■ GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Racers also have to take two eight-hour mandatory stops.

Numerous en route awards are provided in addition to the purses. For example, a seven-course gourmet meal is prepared for the first musher reaching the Yukon River, who also gets \$3,500 in \$1 bills. Another award, which includes a trophy and \$2,500 in gold nuggets, goes to the first musher to arrive in Unalakleet, on the coast. The Iditarod Hall of Fame was created in 1997 by the *Anchorage Daily News* to honor those who have contributed to this race, such as mushers, veterinarians, and trailbreakers.

Volunteers are an integral part of this event. For example, volunteer veterinarians from across North America come to monitor the dogs before and after the race and at each checkpoint. They also do random drug testing on the dogs. Other volunteers, including individuals from villages along the route, complete tasks needed to ensure the race runs successfully, such as breaking trails with snow machines and helping to move trail supplies to drop spots.

The Iditarod is one sporting event where women compete on a par with men. The first two women to run the Iditarod both completed the race in 1974. Libby Riddles became the first female champion in 1985. Susan Butcher is the most successful female champion, having won the Iditarod four times between 1986 and 1990. She ran the race seventeen times, and was the first woman to place in the money when she came in nineteenth in the 1978 race.

Significance

The Iditarod, and sled-dog racing in general, are among the most important sporting activities in Alaska. The Iditarod is Alaska's official sled-dog race, and at the turn of the millennium, several of Alaska's top-ten athletes of the century were dog mushers. Mushers, the media, and spectators from around the world contribute to the local economy. Volunteers—such as members of small communities along the trail, pilots who drop off supplies for the mushers and fly out injured dogs, and veterinarians who take time from their practices across North Amer-

ica to assist in this race—reinforce its importance through their ongoing involvement. Commonly portrayed as one of the last great sporting adventures, it is an important cultural event in the lives of Northerners and an exciting sporting competition for spectators.

Most importantly, it provides participants with a way of life that brings them meaning. The Iditarod may occur over a few weeks each March, but the dedicated athletes who compete—the mushers and their dogs—live this preferred way of life throughout the year.

Victoria Paraschak

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India

The seventh largest and second most populous nation of the world, India is formed by several states and territories; its capital, New Delhi, is located in the mid-north of the country. After more than two centuries of British colonial influence, India became independent in 1947. The homeland of many religions and welcoming to many others, India is overwhelmingly Hindu.



But in this country of more than a billion people, Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Christianity also have numerous adepts. Before 1947, India included what are now Pakistan and Bangladesh, both of which have a Muslim majority.

An Indian man hauls goods on a bicycle.

Importation of British Sports

Britain, the dominating power from 1755 and the imperial ruler from 1858, imported its own sports to India, a country that, like Britain itself, accepted male dominance and rigid division by social class. The *Encyclopedia of Sport*, published by the London journal *The Sportsman* in 1911, pictured India as the most attractive ground for hunting what is “big game.”

Indian nobles and princes welcomed polo. Two famous clubs, Royal Calcutta, founded in 1829, and Royal Bombay, formed in 1842, became popular places to play, and the Maharajah of Ratlam became a well-known player. Cricket was played first on Indian soil in 1728, but Indians did not join the game until 1892, when the Parsi minority began to play an annual match with the Britons. In 1907 Hindus entered the game and in 1912 Muslims also entered.

Lawn tennis spread through Indian territory due to the influence of British civilian and military officers. Yearly tournaments were established, including the Punjab Championship of Lahore (1885), the Bengal Championship of Calcutta (1887), and the All Indian Tournament of Allahabad (1910). Initially reserved for Britons, these tournaments eventually included Indi-



India

The Akhara

In the extract below, Ratan Patodi, who publishes a magazine on the art of Indian wrestling, describes the Indian akhara (gymnasium).

What is an *akhara*? It is a place of recreation for youth. It is a shrine of strength where earth is turned into gold. It is a sign of masculinity and the assembly hall of invigorated youth. Strength is measured against strength and moves and counter moves are born and develop. . . . An *akhara* is where one prays

and where offerings are given and distributed. Its earth is saluted and taken up to anoint one's shoulders and head. And then one wrestles and the sound of slapping thighs and pounding chests fills the air. Grunts and groans of exertion echo ominously. One trounces and in turn is trounced. Exercise is done. Laziness and procrastination are drowned in sweat.

Translated by Joseph S. Alter

India Olympics Results
2004 Summer Olympics: 1 Silver

ans, who won in 1915 for the first time. In 1905 an Indian entered the All England Championship of Wimbledon.

Before 1900 an Indian football association dominated by Britons managed a regular seasonal activity. But more attractive than football to the Indian middle class was field hockey, and in 1920, biennial interprovincial tournaments were started. Historians attribute two silver medals for the 1900 Paris Olympic Games to India, but the medaled athlete, Norman Pritchard, was a British resident, and neither track and field nor boxing met with enthusiasm among Indians. Long before the British arrived, India had a well-developed tradition of wrestling in which the wrestler could hook only the shoulder and trunk. A great Indian athlete of the early twentieth century was an undefeated wrestler named Gama. He toured Europe in 1910 but was avoided by many European champions.

Indian Sporting Independence

After Indian troops fought on the British side during World War I, the British government allowed Indians

greater autonomy in local and regional representations, and enlarged their electoral quota. India's standing in the world also increased as a result of the nonviolent resistance to British rule led by Mohandas Gandhi, the leader of the Congress Party. In sports, too, India acquired international recognition. It took part unofficially in the Olympic Games in Antwerp in 1920 and, after the foundation of an Olympic committee in 1926, entered the Amsterdam games of 1928 officially. In Amsterdam, India won in field hockey, the first of six straight, and eight total, triumphs. These remain India's only gold Olympic medals.

After India defeated an unofficial British team in 1928, the English Hockey Association withdrew its entry to the Olympics; fearing to be beaten by a colony, it refused to play with India until the 1948 Olympics. However, England assumed a different attitude toward cricket and lawn tennis. The Board of Control for Cricket was formed in India in 1929, and three years later England played its first official test match against India. In lawn tennis, formally organized in 1920, India competed for the Davis Cup. During the 1930s, the



India

Key Events in India Sports History

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1829 The Royal Calcutta polo club is founded.</p> <p>1842 The Royal Bombay polo club is founded.</p> <p>1892 Indians play cricket against the British for the first time.</p> <p>1885 The tennis Punjab Championship of Lahore is held for the first time.</p> <p>1910 The Indian wrestler Gama tours Europe.</p> <p>1915 An Indian wins an official tennis tournament in India for the first time.</p> <p>1920 Biennial interprovincial field hockey tournaments begin.</p> | <p>1920 India competes unofficially in the Olympic Games.</p> <p>1926 The Indian Olympic Committee is formed.</p> <p>1928 India competes in the Olympics and wins its first gold medal, in field hockey.</p> <p>1929 The Board of Control for Cricket is was formed.</p> <p>1951 The first Asian Games are held in New Delhi.</p> <p>1974 India reaches the Davis Cup but refuses refused to play against South Africa in protest against its apartheid regime.</p> <p>1983 India wins the cricket World Cup.</p> |
|--|--|



An early Indian cricket team with trophy.

Jaipur polo team was reputed to be one of the best in the world.

Before its final field hockey match against Germany in the Berlin Olympics in 1936, the Indian team paid tribute to Gandhi and the Congress Party. After the match, the Nazi dictator Hitler congratulated Dhyan Chand, the greatest Indian player ever, and invited him to socialize with his officers. Chand politely refused.

Sports in Independent India

India acted as a catalyst for Asian sports. It launched a proposal for Asian Games in 1949, and the games began in 1951 in New Delhi. The government of Jawaharlal Nehru opened gradually to the presence of women in sports. In the 1930s, Parsis and Jews allowed women to play volleyball, but the fruits of the new access to sports for women took many years to mature. In 1964, P.T. Usha reached the finals in the Olympic 400 hurdles in Tokyo; in the 2003 world championship meet in Paris, Anju Bobby George took the bronze medal in the long jump; the women's national field hockey team won the Commonwealth Games in 2002.

In cricket, India won the 1983 World Cup, while in lawn tennis it reached the Davis Cup finals in 1974, when it refused to play against South Africa in protest

against its apartheid regime, and again in 1987. In recent years, men's doubles and mixed doubles led by Leander Paes won nine Great Slam Tournaments; Paes also took the bronze medal in singles in the 1996 Olympics.

Indian Sports Today

In the 2004 Olympics in Athens, India entered a small delegation. Poverty affects a majority of the population, and the culture is more oriented to philosophy and con-

templation than to sports. The demanding athleticism of contemporary sports is also not appealing to most Indians.

Gherardo Bonini

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Indianapolis 500

In 1906 Carl Fisher and his partners Jim Allison, Frank Wheeler, and Arthur Newby purchased 132 hectares of land northwest of Indianapolis, Indiana, to develop an enclosed course that could be used both for automotive testing and occasional racing. They constructed a 4-kilometer-long rectangular track paved with macadam. The first race held at the track on 19 August

Most people never run far enough on their first wind to find out they've got a second. ■ WILLIAM JAMES

1909, was disastrous. The track surface disintegrated, resulting in crashes that killed two drivers, two mechanics, and two spectators, and the race was stopped before its completion. The track was then resurfaced with paving bricks and reopened in 1910. The first Indianapolis 500 race took place at the so-called Brickyard on Memorial Day 1911, although not without controversy. Ray Harroun is listed as the official winner, although some people believe that Ralph Mulford actually crossed the finish line first but was denied the victory because of errors by lap counters. Harroun averaged 119 kilometers per hour in his win.

In 1916 the race was shortened to 482 kilometers, and, because of World War I, only twenty-one cars entered. The race was suspended in 1917 and 1918 because the United States had entered the war. Howdy Wilcox won the 1919 race with an average of 160 kilometers per hour, becoming the first driver to reach that speed.

The World War I U.S. flying ace Eddie Rickenbacker and a group of associates purchased the track in 1927. Rickenbacker sold the track to Tony Hulman in November 1945 for \$750,000. Hulman had it refurbished for racing, including repaving all but a yard of the brick surface with asphalt, for the Memorial Day weekend of 1946.

The Race

Thirty-three cars compete in the Indianapolis 500 at the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. For the rolling start, the cars are arranged in eleven rows of three cars, with their positions determined by qualifying speed. Unlike qualifying at most races, where the fastest qualifier always starts at the front, or pole, position, qualifying at Indianapolis takes place on four days on two weekends in mid-May. The fastest qualifier on the first day gets the pole position despite the possibility that other cars could qualify at even faster speeds on subsequent days. Indeed, Arie Luyendyk's record for the fastest qualifying speed at Indianapolis, set in 1996 with a four-lap average of 379 kilometers per hour, was good for only twentieth place because he did not qualify on the first day. Scott Goodyear's pole-qualifying speed was more

than 4.8 kilometers per hour slower than Luyendyk's. Luyendyk also holds the winning race record, 297 kilometers per hour, set in 1990.

The first few of the two hundred laps of the race are hotly contested as the fastest cars and drivers make their ways to the front. Mishaps during the race usually bring out yellow caution flags, and drivers then dive into the pits for fuel and fresh tires. Quick pit work by crews is critical to keep their cars from losing positions.

Given the relative equality of the cars and drivers, most races are closely contested. In the closest finish on record, Al Unser Jr. won over Scott Goodyear by .043 seconds in 1992. In addition, an accident or mechanical failure can occur at any time and drastically change situations. In 1912 Ralph DePalma was in the lead on lap 198 when engine failure ended his day, and in 1999 Robby Gordon had to make a pit stop for fuel on lap 199, losing the lead and the race to Kenny Brack.

Indianapolis 500 Race Cars

Cars used in early Indianapolis 500 races were largely of European manufacture, but by the early 1920s U.S. manufacturers began building cars especially for the race. Indianapolis race cars have always been of open-wheel design. The famous "Indy car," a single-seat vehicle powered by a front-mounted four-cylinder Offenhauser motor with rear-wheel drive, was developed during the 1930s and reigned supreme for nearly three decades. Then, in 1961 veteran Formula 1 driver Jack Brabham drove an underpowered rear-engine, rear-wheel-drive Cooper to a ninth-place finish. In 1963 another Formula 1 star, Jimmy Clark, finished second in a rear-engined Lotus-Ford behind Parnelli Jones's traditional roadster. Like the initial 500, the finish of this race was controversial because Jones's car was leaking oil badly in the final laps of the race and, had a European driver in a radical European-designed car not been in second place, Jones likely would have been black-flagged, giving the race to Clark. All Indianapolis 500 race cars now utilize the rear-engine, rear-wheel-drive layout.

Mechanical failures, tire failures, or the slightest error by drivers can result in horrendous crashes, and numerous drivers, as well as some mechanics and specta-

tors, have lost their lives at the track. Both qualifying and race speeds have generally increased through the years, although race-sanctioning bodies, such as Championship Auto Racing Teams (CART) and the Indy Racing League (IRL), have occasionally attempted to slow the cars with rules changes, largely for safety purposes. However, technology, particularly in terms of engine design, tires, and aerodynamics, advances so rapidly that speeds have not diminished greatly despite efforts to slow the cars. Buddy Rice's 2004 pole-position qualifying speed was 357 kilometers per hour, for example. Fortunately, racing at Indianapolis Motor Speedway has been made much safer by the phenomenal handling and braking of modern Indy cars and by driver protection afforded by the composite materials used to construct the cars, helmets designed to withstand severe blows, and flame-retardant driving suits.

Drivers

The Indianapolis 500 has been the pinnacle of auto racing in the United States since its inception, and many drivers, such as A. J. Foyt, Mario Andretti, and Rick Mears, became household names. Several families have figured prominently in the Indianapolis 500. Brothers, such as Bobby and Al Unser, and fathers and sons, including Mario and Michael Andretti, have raced successfully at the 500.

In 1977 Janet Guthrie became the first woman to drive in the Indianapolis 500. Since then several other women have entered the race, and Sarah Fisher, who qualified for her fifth Indianapolis 500 in 2004, has the talent to finish at or near the front. Willy T. Ribbs became the first African-American driver at Indianapolis in 1991.

Prospects

The Indianapolis 500 is one of the world's major sporting events, drawing more than 500,000 enthusiasts each year. Despite changes in cars, drivers, and sanctioning bodies and despite challenges from stock car racing, the Indianapolis 500 should remain "the greatest spectacle in racing" for years to come.

Garry Chick

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Injuries, Youth

Sports-related injuries are usually defined as immediate (acute) or long-term (chronic) traumas resulting from sports participation that require medical attention or that force an athlete to discontinue participation for some time. Sports for youth are presumably intended to positively affect their health and well-being, so the prospect of injuries is a perennial concern. The sheer frequency of injuries, however, requires those who supervise sports to prepare for their occurrence and prevent them as much as possible. The regularity of sports injuries also, importantly, suggests that youth in the process of becoming athletes are socialized to accept injury risks and the possibility of pain and disability. Among the most important youth sports-injuries questions are related to the following:

- The frequency and severity of sports injuries
- The unique affects on youth
- The sports in which injuries most commonly occur
- The causes of sports injuries
- How injuries can be prevented
- Whether current trends point to a more or less injurious sports environment for youth
- The role of adults and the medical community in sports-injury issues

Youth Sports Injuries

Sports participation is the number one leisure pursuit of children worldwide. Far more youth than any other age group participate in sports, so research on injuries is



critical in ensuring healthy and safe sports experiences. Research on sports injuries is conducted both to improve injury treatment and to prevent injuries from occurring, with studies ranging in size from one athlete (case study) to entire populations. *Epidemiology* is the study of rates of injuries (or diseases) in populations for developing prevention efforts. Most epidemiological studies of sports injuries have been conducted within the last thirty years. These studies have used a variety of methods, age groupings, time periods, and sports, so it is often difficult to draw firm conclusions. The most systematic research on the frequency and causes of sports injuries tends to focus on elite athletes. A relatively small amount of research exists on the psychology and sociology of sports injuries, although it has similarly emphasized elite performers. Some national and international organizations, such as the Centers for Disease Control in the United States and the European Home and Leisure Accident Surveillance System of the European Union, as well as sports organizations and private firms, conduct ongoing sports injury surveillance programs to track and respond to injury trends.

Despite the limitations of the research, some conclusions can be comfortably drawn. Epidemiological studies that track injuries arising from all sources show sports as consistently among the most common sources of injuries to youth, and that youth have higher sports-injury rates than adults do. Most studies also show boys sustaining injuries at higher rates than girls do. The most common traumas are to the musculoskeletal system and include such injuries as muscle bruises, ligament strains, and bone fractures. Some sports also involve repetitive motions or impacts that may result in overuse injuries to joints, such as the shoulders of baseball pitchers and the elbows of gymnasts. Athletes in these sports often learn to ignore chronic pain, and the consequences of their injuries are not fully realized until years of participation have passed. Injuries to the head, spine, and trunk are generally less common are disturbing because they involve vital organs.

Catastrophic injuries and fatalities, though rare, have unfortunately taken place in some youth sports and

have prompted recommendations for changes to training routines, rules, and equipment. Examples include heat stroke among football players, somersault accidents in gymnastics, and *commotio cordis*, a term used to describe sudden heart failure and death after an object hits the ballplayer's chest wall. The risk of heat stroke may be reduced by holding practices during cooler periods, ensuring proper water intake, and monitoring athletes. Although cases of catastrophic gymnastics accidents differ, some athletes are evidently overmatched by increasingly difficult gymnastics maneuvers. *Commotio cordis* cases in baseball, and other traumas related to baseball impacts, have resulted in the development and use of softer baseballs for youth.

Unique Group, Unique Circumstances

Youth participants in sport are vulnerable to certain types of trauma, because of their developmental characteristics and their dependency on adults to organize and conduct sports programs. Pre-participation examinations by physicians may identify potential risks. Many youth sports injuries, however, are the result of poor conditioning, undeveloped sport skills, the changing nature of young bodies, and elements of the social environments in which they practice and compete. The ends of long bones in youth ages four to ten are particularly prone to injury because they are weaker than the remaining bones and the sites of bone growth. During puberty, youth of the same age may differ significantly in height, weight and strength, yet may be grouped together for competition, creating risk to smaller, less mature athletes. Most youth sports also depend on parents and adult volunteers who, though perhaps well meaning, may be unaware of the developmental characteristics of children or may be overly devoted to competitive success. In some cases, the social and psychological environments created by adults may result in youth being encouraged to play while injured, or return to play before fully recovering from an injury. Burnout, depression, and eating disorders among young athletes have also been documented. Finally, adult leaders may not be fully versed in safety guidelines and equipment use and

Pain is only weakness leaving the body. ■ UNKNOWN

might not hold basic first aid knowledge and skills. Hence, they may not recognize unsafe conditions and may not be able to respond to emergencies in a skilled or timely manner.

The development of year-round training and specialization in youth sports, as well as the popularity of alternative sports that feature high-risk activities, represent new challenges in efforts to reduce youth sports injury. Even though most sports injuries are minor, the human and financial costs can be substantial. The financial costs of youth sports injuries have been estimated at \$1.8 billion annually, but perhaps the most common and significant human cost is an inactive and unhealthy life.

Stephan Walk

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Injury

Participation in physical activity has many benefits, including the physical responses to exercise that may reduce the risk of coronary heart disease, some forms of cancer, and obesity, along with psychosocial benefits of improved self-image, pleasure derived from

the activity, and social rewards of meeting people. However, in competitive sports, particularly at the elite level, the health costs can outweigh the health benefits, most notably in the increased incidence of injury.

Attempts to quantify the amount of injury that is caused by participation in sports are thwarted by the difficulty in defining what people mean by “injury.” For example, injuries are often recorded only if the athlete is hospitalized or submits an insurance claim. However, athletes also suffer injuries that do not require such action but that may still lead to a reduction in training and, often, to some medical treatment. Therefore, we can broadly define *injury* as “the outcome of some stress that causes damage to the body and that the body is unable to immediately adapt to.” Most regular participants in physical activity can expect to experience some kind of injury. The severity of the injury can be judged according to the duration or permanency of the damage, the time taken off sports and/or work, and the economic costs of treatment and any loss of earnings. Additionally, social costs can include having to suspend participation in an activity that is central to a person’s lifestyle.

We can classify sports-related injuries in two ways. First, injuries can be acute (traumatic) or chronic (overuse or recurrent). Acute injuries are the outcome of a specific traumatic event, whereas chronic injuries develop slowly by overuse or by training with a previous injury. The most common sports-related injuries are chronic in the form of contusions and sprains. However, these injuries are activity dependent, and in some sports, such as horse riding and skiing, acute injuries such as fractures are the most common. Second, injuries can be primary or secondary. Primary injuries are the result of a direct stress on a body part. However, sometimes a person receives a primary injury that goes unnoticed because the injured body part is particularly robust and able to mask the symptoms. The injury will not be noticed until a referred pathological response from a less robust body part occurs. This is a secondary injury. For example, a person may injure his or her back but will not notice the pain until some tightness from

the primary injury is carried down into the legs, which the person may experience as hamstring pain. The hamstring injury is secondary, the “real” injury is the primary injury to the back.

Causes and Prevalence

The main causes of injury incorporate both internal and external factors. Internal factors include a high body mass index placing strain on joints and muscles, anatomical imbalance predisposing the athlete to particular injuries, lack of flexibility, and muscles failing to contract and relax appropriately. If the athlete’s body has not been adequately prepared for the coming activity by gradually becoming fit in an appropriate training program and warming up before performance, the athlete increases the risk of becoming injured. Athletes may have more difficulty controlling for external factors because these originate outside their own body. These factors include a poor environment or adverse weather conditions, collision with another player or equipment, and the vulnerability to injury from training with poor technique or when fatigued.

Some injuries are caused by wearing inappropriate clothing, such as poorly designed or ill-fitting trainers and clothes or jewelry that might catch on equipment or by not wearing protective clothing such as shin pads or gum shields. Indeed, so-called improvements in some equipment include changes that are designed to improve the performance of the athlete but actually increase the risk of injury. For example, streamlined clothing enables skiers to travel faster but does not protect them if they crash at high speed, and padding enables players in contact sports to deliver harder tackles and blows to an opponent but will not necessarily protect their body from the impact of such contact. Injuries caused by such external factors are likely to be more severe than injuries caused by internal factors because the body is designed to restrict damage and so is better able to regulate internal injuries than those out of its control.

The prevalence of injury is dependent on the type of injury and the nature of the activity. The sports in which

chronic injuries are most likely to occur are endurance sports such as distance running and swimming or those requiring repetitive movement such as weightlifting and gymnastics. Acute injuries are most prevalent in contact sports, where the nature of the activity presents the possibility of traumatic damage. Where the environment is particularly unpredictable, the risk of fatal injuries is highest, such as in climbing and air sports. The highest actual numbers of injuries occur among young males, but these numbers are highest because young males are the population most likely to participate in physical activity. When injury incidence is calculated against the amount of participation, no difference exists in overall injury rates between male and female participants or between age groups.

Who Is Susceptible?

Although gender and age might not seem to be factors in the relative incidence of injury, males and females and children are prone to particular types of injuries. For example, males seem to experience more acute injury, whereas females experience more chronic injury, probably related to participation patterns. Children’s injuries are often attributable to undertaking at a young age training programs that are too strenuous for an immature body. In particular, during growth spurts bone length may increase much quicker than muscle development, creating a loss of flexibility. Simultaneously, the training program may mean that children’s muscles are strong relative to their bone strength, leaving them vulnerable to fractures. Young athletes may suffer permanently stunted growth if their growth plates are damaged.

Regardless of the gender or age of athletes, susceptibility to injury may also be the result of personality differences and the social context in which athletes perform their sport. Athletes who are more extroverted may become injured because they crave excitement and so take risks. They are also likely to have a high pain threshold, which means they may tolerate the “warning signs” that pain gives to indicate damage to a body part. In addition, they may become bored by rehabili-



An injured hockey player is attended to on the ice by the team doctor.

Source: istockphoto/jtomason.

tation if they do get injured and so may not complete their treatment. Introverts are likely to be more hesitant in performing their sport and more pessimistic if they are injured. This fact means that any injury may take on an inflated significance and will be perceived to have a negative effect on their lives.

Several other personality characteristics are likely to increase the chance of injury. These include being highly anxious and countering this anxiety with overly aggressive play or being a risk taker and displaying injury as a mark of courage and, particularly, masculinity. Additionally, athletes who lack self-confidence because of competitive failure may feel the need to punish themselves for their lack of success or to punish others for the pressures caused by their high expectations and do so in a way that risks injury. Other negative life stresses may also affect the athlete's risk of injury. These stresses include the death of a loved one, the break-up of a relationship, or simply daily hassles at home or work. Such stresses can distract the athlete's attention or cause fatigue, so increasing the possibility of injury. The effect of such stresses may be reduced if the athlete has a

strong support network of family and friends and good personal coping resources.

Social Context

Injury is socially constructed because the culture in which athletes perform and the interaction with other people may contribute to athletes' choice about whether to take risks and also to the experience of being injured and the recovery process.

The growing competitiveness of sports in recent decades has meant that athletes may train harder and adopt a "win at all costs" attitude. This attitude has created a culture in which taking risks and enduring pain and injury become an accepted aspect of participation in sports. As a result, health is sometimes sacrificed in the interests of athletic glory. Certainly those people most at risk of injury appear to be those who are involved in sports clubs because in this context participation tends to be competitive rather than recreational. Such trends may also explain why injury incidence is higher among middle-class athletes than working-class athletes because club membership tends to be higher in the middle class.



An injured bullfighter being helped from the ring.

When competitive sports take place in a professional context and when athletes' livelihoods are dependent on their sports participation, economic and commercial interests can take precedence over the well-being of athletes. The income of professional athletes is likely to be determined by the level of their performance, and so they may take risks and play with injuries in order to maintain their salary. When sports events are given media coverage, an athlete who takes such risks will be celebrated as an exemplar of appropriate behavior. For example, during the men's rugby union world cup in 2003, a photograph of the English player Neil Back, with a head wound and blood flowing down his face, appeared in a national newspaper under the headline "Bloody Marvellous." This trend has a twofold effect. First, the athletes themselves learn that other people expect them to tolerate pain and injury. Second, those viewing the media spectacle learn that injury is the price to be paid if they wish to participate at the same standard as the athletes they are watching.

The elite professional sports are not the only ones that perpetuate risk-taking behavior. In less popular sports, the fact that fewer people participate means that those who do have an increased chance of success. Athletes participating in such "minority" sports may, therefore, also take risks because they strive for athletic accomplishment.

Whether a sport is professional or amateur, elite or recreational, the performance likely takes place in interaction with other people. These people may put pressure on athletes to perform in such a way that they may become injured or feel that they should continue to

participate when they have an injury. Such pressure is most likely to come from coaches, whose own performance as coaches will be judged by the standard of their players, and so they will want their athletes to perform at the highest level, even if risking injury and playing hurt are the price to be paid. In some cases coaches deliberately inconvenience injured players to encourage them to return to play as quickly as possible. Tactics used include requiring injured athletes to spend more time at the club than is required of fit athletes, often not allowing injured athletes to leave until traffic has built up, necessitating a longer journey home, and isolating injured athletes from the rest of the team, for example, during meals. Athletes also may feel pressured by teammates to place the interests of the team above their personal bodily well-being. Sometimes even trainers and physical therapists may pressure athletes to return to play quickly after an injury, even if they are not fully rehabilitated, because this behavior is seen as evidence that trainers and therapists are able to provide effective treatment and so legitimates their own skills.

Implications

The importance of sports in many athletes' lives means that an injury and any subsequent need to take time out from sports create feelings of despondency, frustration, anger, and even guilt. As a result, athletes will often take extreme measures to maintain their athletic existence and identity. Most notably, these measures take the form of consuming pain-killing drugs to mask the pain of injury and to enable continued participation. The choice of continuing to participate while injured carries the likely consequence of the injury becoming more severe or permanently disabling or, in some cases, even causing death. Certainly in sports such as U.S. football players can expect a shortened life expectancy as a consequence of the stress placed on their body during their playing career. The costs of sports-related injuries can, therefore, include the financial burden of health care and the loss of income in either the short or long term, as well as potential loss of self-esteem and a sense of social isolation.

The legal profession has long intervened in sports to serve the interests of public health and to protect injured victims of sports-related violence. In 1993 the World Medical Assembly produced ethical guidelines to help physicians meet the needs of injured athletes. However, a cultural gap remains between the rules of sports and the laws of society, whereby some violent activities that are unlawful outside of sports are legitimated within sports, such as the harm that has been caused to many boxers. When a national law is broken, a person may face criminal prosecution, with a consequence of imprisonment and payment of damages or compensation. However, players who break the law of sports are likely to receive a lesser penalty, such as a suspension or fine, unless a civil prosecution is brought against them for assault. Additionally, medical professionals may be liable for prosecution for misdiagnosis or withholding of information about the true extent of a medical condition. Sometimes this situation arises because medical professionals find themselves in a position in which team managers, and even the players themselves, pressure them to declare fit an injured player when their medical opinion would suggest otherwise. As a result, coaches and other members of the sports network have also been confronted with charges of negligence.

The causes of sports-related injury are multifaceted, and the consequences for the injured athlete, the world of sports, and the broader society are far-reaching. In considering the evidence of the physical, psychological, and social aspects of the injury experience, this dimension of sports participation presents a challenge to the oft-proclaimed assumption that the relationship between exercise and health is wholly positive.

Elizabeth C. J. Pike

See also Medicine, Sports; Pain

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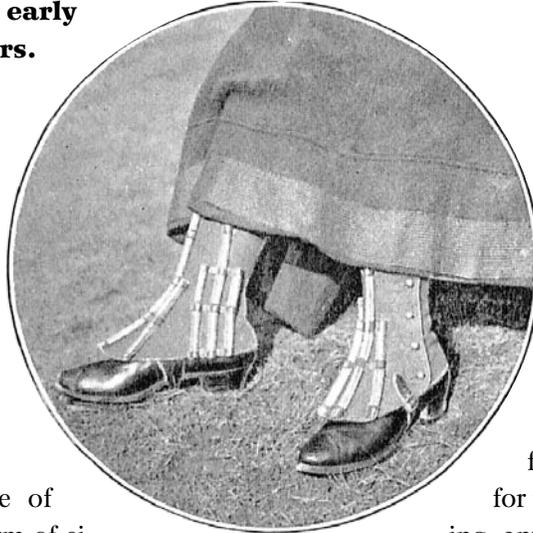
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Injury Risk in Women's Sport

The concept of *risk* is used to describe a situation in which a person engages in an activity whose outcome is uncertain. Sometimes the activity is pleasurable, since risk is experienced as exciting, challenging, and leading to self-improvement, particularly when taking the risk ends in gain. However, because risk taking has no certain result, it can also be a negative experience, resulting in fear and leading to harm. In sport, taking risk is often an integral part of the activity. Risk may result from doing sports in unpredictable environments where there is an element of personal danger, such as mountaineering; or from performing a "risky" move that may not work, such as trying for an ace in tennis, but risking a double fault. Risk in sport also takes the form of an athlete pushing the body to the limits of physical ability: for example, running faster, jumping higher, lifting heavier weights than ever before; tackling a bigger

Ankle guards worn by early women field hockey players.



player; or simply taking part in sport while feeling unwell or in pain. In these cases the athlete is taking a chance that he or she may achieve sporting success but, in the process, they risk injury, disability, and sometimes even death.

Where injury is the outcome of sporting activity, this takes the form of either an acute or a chronic, injury. Injury is demarcated from pain, since pain may be related to the exertion of engaging in physical activity, while injury is an indication that there is damage to the body, which may prevent continued participation in the sport. An acute injury tends to be more dramatic, most commonly in the form of fractures, concussion, and/or lacerations. Chronic injuries tend to be more long-term and are often related to overuse, in the form of sprains and inflammation. Male athletes have higher incidence of injury and, in particular, seem to be more subject to acute injuries, while female athletes seem to experience more chronic injury. This is likely to be related to the types of sport and style of play of male and female participants. Such patterns of participation have partly been determined by the history of men's and women's involvement in sport.

The History of Women's Sport

Women's sport has developed in the context of a struggle over what is considered "appropriate" behavior for females. In particular, ideologies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presumed that women were frail and vulnerable. As a result, sporting activities were differentiated into gender-appropriate categories. For example, women's events would cover shorter distances or have restricted movement compared with men's events. Women's sport has also tended toward more aesthetic activities, such as gymnastics and dance-based activities, rather than power and body contact sports. This diminished physicality served to minimize the challenge to a female athlete's femininity. However,

it also resulted in women's sport being seen as inferior compared with the men's.

The perceived superiority of male sport forms has meant that males are more active in sport than females, which is reflected in higher injury incidence for male athletes. In addition, in avoiding any association with female sport forms and their perceived inferiority, males have also tended to do sports in ways that pay less attention to self-preservation and so are conducive to injury risk. This tendency particularly involves participating in intensive training and body-contact sports such as football and rugby. However, when injury incidence is measured against participation rates, it becomes apparent that female athletes are just as likely to become injured as male athletes.

By way of explaining this trend, it seems that, for women to be taken seriously and gain legitimation for their sport, they have to participate on men's terms. This means that in more recent times women have become incorporated into a system that normalizes risk of injury. In particular taking bodily risks and playing in pain may be seen as indicators of commitment to their sport and their team.

Factors Contributing to Injury Risk

The tradition of channeling females into sports that are consistent with societal expectations of femininity does not eliminate any risk of injury. For example, gymnastics has an integral aesthetic element, consistent with feminine norms. However, in order to succeed in elite gymnastics, female competitors, unlike their male counterparts, are in a race against the biological clock. This is because the judging criteria means that they are most likely to be successful between the ages of twelve and eighteen, before their bodies have been fully affected by the developments related to puberty. There are two main implications to this. First, the training that these young athletes undertake is so intensive that they will

develop muscle at a faster pace than their bone is developing. This means that they are prone to such injuries as stress fractures, and they may damage their joints permanently, such that they will never grow to their full height. The intense training also means that puberty may be delayed, resulting in reduced bone density, premature osteoporosis, and curvature of the spine. Second, in starting their training at such a young age, these athletes learn that pain and injuries are normal, and that resting an injury is wasting the little time that is available to them to be at the peak of their careers.

Athletes who have ventured into sports that have traditionally been male domains continue to experience constraints related to their gender that contribute to the risk of injury. The grounding of some sports in a history of male-only participants means that the equipment that the women use is often that designed for men. For example, in rowing the shoes that are fitted to the boat are often in men's sizes, which means that female participants find that their feet are not securely fastened. This situation presents these competitors with a sporting environment that carries an inherent injury risk. In ice hockey females are often not taught to body-check since this sport, like many others, was adapted to be "appropriate" to women. The result of this is that body checking has been eliminated, at least in part, in some women's leagues. However, this has led players to adopt other tactics to compensate, and these tactics are sometimes both illegal and dangerous, creating a situation in which the potential injuries from body checking have been replaced by alternative injuries from adaptive, creative play. It is possible that these injuries may be avoided if players actually received training in "safe" body checking.

Women who participate in competitive sport often find themselves needing to expose themselves to physical risk and, if injured, to play hurt, in order to gain legitimation for their sport. In other words, to be treated as equal to male athletes means playing by normative male standards. It is, perhaps, something of a paradox that at the same time as women receive better training and improved material conditions in sport, they are si-



Injury Risk in Women's Sport

Training in Pain

This extract from an interview with Nicky, an elite female rower, reveals how she and other female rowers refuse to "give in to the pain," even if it means training with an injury:

I had all these men next to me . . . I was just determined that I was going to keep my score down and not give in to the pain . . . I think the only time really that the training does stop is if someone is actually physically ill or maybe if they had a serious enough injury to stop them training. It's not often the case that people will stop when they've got an injury if they think they can carry on with it . . . There is a girl down at the club who has problems with a stomach ulcer and she still trains with it . . . I've had one girl lying on the floor . . . dragging her by the arms trying to stretch her back out because she was in pain.

multaneously exposed to, and increasingly adopting, the masculine trait of viewing their bodies in instrumental ways. Thus, many female athletes accept that bodily sacrifice is the means to pursuing the end of competitive sporting success, mirroring their male counterparts. As a result, while it is often suggested that women are more concerned than men with preserving relationships with other athletes, and so are less likely to engage in behavior that may harm another player, female athletes are still subject to the legitimation of pain and injury in sport. They learn to take risks and play hurt to demonstrate character, consolidate group membership, and avoid being dropped from a team. It seems that this is particularly the case for women in higher socioeconomic groups. These women tend to be more actively involved in sport (due, at least in part, to having more available money and time free from domestic responsibilities), and they also have higher sport-related injury rates than women in lower socioeconomic groups.



In combination with this is the fact that there are generally fewer competitors in women's sports than in men's. This means that those who do participate have an increased chance of succeeding, and so any sacrifice may be deemed worthwhile. Indeed, the sporting success of the former Communist societies of the Soviet Union (USSR) and German Democratic Republic (GDR) has often been explained by suggesting that these countries recognized the potential for international sporting success due to the relative lack of competitors in women's events. We now know something of the long-term health damage that the female athletes competing under these regimes suffered as a result of the "win at all costs" attitude. For example, Olga Korbut, the former Soviet gymnast who won gold at the 1972 Munich Olympics, said that her strongest memories of her competitive days were of fatigue and pain,

A female athlete examines a shoulder injury.

Source: istockphoto/lovleah.

particularly related to lumbago in her back. Other female former athletes from Communist societies are known to have taken anabolic steroids (sometimes without knowing they were doing so, as a result of strategic coaching practices) and ended up with overtraining injuries and signs of virilism. However, it is not difficult to find female athletes with injury careers from other nations, one of the more famous examples being the USA track and field athlete, Mary Decker Slaney who, during the 1990s, had nineteen sport-related surgeries and lived in constant pain.

While elite athletes may normalize injury risk due to the financial and media status that high-level performance sport offers, it is less easy to understand why non-elite female athletes are prepared to accept injury risk. This acceptance may be explained by what would appear to be contradictory reasons for participating in the first place. For many women involvement in physical activity is to develop and maintain an ideal body shape, consistent with social norms of femininity (slender and toned). For others sport may be an environment in which a body that is inconsistent with femininity (large and muscular) can become its own success story, enabling sports performance. In both cases the sport becomes so central to maintaining the female athlete's identity that it is more important to continue to be involved in the sport than to discontinue participation as a result of pain or injury. Indeed, for many women, while injuries may be seen as unattractive according to feminine norms, they are actually often positively valued and displayed as a physical sign of their commitment to training.

Medical Care for Injured Female Athletes

In keeping with the trend of women's sport developing later than the men's counterparts and continuing to be taken less seriously, so it is also the case that female athletes often do not have access to the same level of medical support that male athletes do. The lack of medical care may be, in part, because it is not only women's sport, but also women's pain and injuries that are taken



less seriously. As indicated earlier, women tend to be prone to chronic, rather than acute, sport-related injuries. The very nature of such injuries is that they are less dramatic, and so are often regarded as less “interesting,” by medical practitioners, who prefer to deal with more acute injuries. Additionally, chronic injuries are often viewed as less serious injuries. This situation is exacerbated because women are more likely than men to display the emotions associated with pain, since emotional display is less consistent with masculinity. This means that when male athletes do complain about pain, they are taken seriously, whereas women’s injuries become normalized and even ignored. The end result of this is that women learn that their injuries, as with their sport, are less important than men’s and to play in pain, with the potential implications of long-term injury and even disability.

In addition, the lack of medical care means that female athletes have to find alternative sources of help with their injuries. Most commonly, women will turn to their coaches and/or their teammates for advice. This is clearly problematic, since they are seeking advice from the very people who benefit from an injured player returning quickly to sports participation. Indeed, most female athletes indicate that the greatest source of pressure to take risks and play while injured comes from other players and their coaches. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the people offering the medical advice will have the medical qualifications to enable them to offer informed help. The relative underdevelopment of women’s sport means that those in coaching positions are not always even qualified to coach and are certainly not qualified to offer medical support, particularly at amateur levels of participation.

Many female athletes have turned to complementary and alternative forms of medicine in order to gain help that takes their injuries seriously. In particular practices such as physiotherapy, osteopathy, chiropractic, and various forms of massage have become popular with those women able to afford such treatment. In their use of massage and fragrant oils, these treatments offer medical practice more consistent with femininity. In ad-

dition the treatments involve the client as a more active participant in their own recovery, rather than simply suggesting the “rest and pain killers advice” that are seen as staples of orthodox medicine. This practice is also consistent with an athlete’s need to maintain a sense of self as someone who is active, and so it reduces the threat an injury poses to the athletic identity.

Dilemmas and Future Developments

It is clear that as women’s sport has developed, so female athletes have learned that gaining equality means playing by the same standards as their male counterparts. This development, in turn, has created a culture in which performance sport carries the requirement that the risk of injury be accepted. As a result, in contemporary sport both male and female athletes learn to tolerate high levels of pain and disregard injury. Many athletes have normalized injury to such an extent that they go so far as to deny that their sport is risky. Most say that the pleasure in sports participation makes the pain worthwhile, and, on retiring from elite competition, that they miss their sport and would do it all again.

It is clear that these findings leave those working with female athletes with a dilemma: how to develop women’s sport without sacrificing the well-being of the individual performer for improved sporting achievements. Research is ongoing to review the pressures on athletes to continually improve standards and to consider whether it is possible in contemporary society to promote a more positive image of cooperative participation, rather than merely competitive performance. In addition investigations are being undertaken into how best to encourage and support injured performers to gain effective medical care. As women’s sport moves toward greater equality with men’s, further research needs to be conducted to understand more fully female athletes’ experiences of their sporting activities and to help inform appropriate health-care practices for injured athletes.

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Innebandy

Innebandy—arguably the most popular sport in Sweden—is almost unknown in the United States, even though it developed there from a game called “unihok” during the 1950s. *Innebandy* is similar to what North Americans know as “floor hockey,” but players use a whiffle ball instead of a puck, creating a faster game. As in floor hockey, *innebandy* players use sticks that are similar to ice hockey sticks. *Innebandy* is relatively easy

for new players to master, and the equipment is minimal, making it attractive for club and youth team sponsorship.

Whereas in North America floor hockey remains a recreational game primarily played in physical education classes, *innebandy* is played both at the recreational level and at the competitive level—including international competition between national teams throughout Scandinavia and the rest of Europe. In Finland the sport is called “*salibandy*,” and in Switzerland it is called “unihockey.” The International Floorball Federation, founded in 1986, regulates international play. The first national teams competition outside of Europe was played in 1999 in Singapore, where the Europeans were joined by teams from the host country and from Australia and Japan.

The history of *innebandy* crosses the oceans between Scandinavia, the rest of Europe, and North America several times; first references to the sport date back to the early 1500s. The original game perhaps was a game called “bandy” that people played on ice with sticks and a softball-sized ball. Bandy is still popular in Scandinavia and is thought to have led to the development of ice hockey in North America. Historians think floor hockey developed from ice hockey as a way for players to practice during the off season. People originally played floor hockey indoors with either a puck or a lightweight plastic ball. When the sport was adopted by Swedish visitors to the United States during the 1950s, a whiffle ball became standard (because Swedish bandy used a ball rather than a puck). Although people know the sport by a variety of names throughout Scandinavia and the rest of Europe, the name “floorball” achieved dominance with the founding of the International Floorball Federation.

Rules and Play

Because *innebandy* is a relatively new sport, the rules, equipment, and rink and goal sizes have changed several times. Today the international rink measures 40 by 20 meters with a goal on each end measuring 160 by



Men playing *innebandy*.

115 centimeters. In recreational play the rink dimensions vary, but they generally adhere to the rule that length equals two times width. A team has six players, one of whom is a goalkeeper. As in other similar sports, the object is to score more goals than the opposing team. *Innebandy* has three twenty-minute periods.

Perhaps a major difference between bandy, ice hockey, and floor hockey and *innebandy* is the level of participation by women. *Innebandy* is the only sport among these four that has supported national-level teams and international competition by women since its beginning. Women's and men's national teams followed similar paths of development, with the first major competition, the European Cup, held in 1993 in Finland for women and in Sweden for men. The first European championships were held for men in 1994, followed by the first women's European championship in 1995. The first world championship for men was held in 1996 in Sweden, and the first world championship for women was held in 1997 in Finland. The championships are held every year: in odd years for women and in even years for men.

Competition at the Top

According to the International Floorball Federation, Finland won the 2002 men's world university championship and the 2003 men's U19 world championship;

Sweden won the 2003 women's world championship, the 2004 men's world championship, and the 2004 U19 women's world championship.

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Inter-Allied Games

The Inter-Allied Games were organized in France out of an American initiative. They took place in Paris from 22 June to 6 July 1919, just a few months after the armistice of 11 November 1918. In these games (described by the press as "military Olympic games"), soldiers from the different Allied forces waiting to return to their home countries competed against one another. Eighteen delegations out of the thirty-one that had been invited participated in the games. With the exception of Great Britain, most of the great sporting nations were there. The program, similar to that of the

The minute you start talking about what you're going to do if you lose, you have lost. ■ GEORGE SHULTZ

Olympic Games, included a dozen different sports, with a total of seventy-six events. There were a few war-specific events, such as a hand grenade throw, however. The American and French delegations were by far the largest; when it came to sports results, the Americans came out well ahead of the French. Although the Inter-Allied Games were presented again in 1946 at a more modest level, the 1919 Inter-Allied Games did constitute a unique event, for a number of reasons.

History

The initiative for the Inter-Allied Games originated with Elwood S. Brown, a young chief athletic officer in the American Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), well known for its success in promoting sports in the Far East. General "Black Jack" Pershing, the American commander, was made aware of the proposal in November 1918, and placed Colonel Wait C. Johnson of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in charge of organizing the games, along with Brown and the YMCA, which also was the major financier for the event. The French authorities, anxious not to oppose the United States (which had just tipped the course of the war), agreed to have the games take place in France. Since there were no facilities available for the competitive events, the Americans built a stadium in the Paris suburbs, which was completed in three months. The stadium was officially presented to France during the closing ceremony to commemorate the entente between the two countries.

For the American soldiers, the games were a logical follow-up to the military training they had received before they entered the war in 1917 and continued to receive on the front, where they trained in camps or in the *Foyers du soldat*, run by the YMCA's French-American Union. The announcement of the Inter-Allied Games provided a further objective for AEF's athletic training. In spring 1918, 300 YMCA instructors were sent to France, and two million dollars was set aside to be invested as soon as an armistice went into effect. Within a few months, a full program of sports activities was proposed to the AEF. When the number of men in-

involved in the competitive events that took place in the months before the final games was tallied up, George Wythe (1919) was able to announce that there were 28 million participants in all (since each man participated a number of times), and at least that many spectators in the grandstands for all the mass events.

France seemed to be the only country ready to take up the American challenge, for reasons of prestige. Marshall Philippe Pétain, the French commander in chief, declared that "the Americans attach considerable importance to this meeting. France must be represented there with dignity."

Significance

Terret (2002) showed that the Inter-Allied Games can be analyzed through four different but complementary perspectives: military, cultural, political/diplomatic, and sports. From the military point of view, preparing for the games was a way to contribute to the men's physical and mental training during the last months of the war. The general view among the American military authorities was that sports could help to keep the morale of the Allied troops from eroding. The Inter-Allied Games themselves were presented as an example of fraternity among the Allied populations. As William Taft said in 1922, "They symbolized the ends for which the war itself was fought." The demobilization period was also considered to be fertile ground for all sorts of misconduct and temptation. The games addressed the fear provoked by the fact that the energy (notably sexual) of the millions of demobilized soldiers still in Europe was no longer being channeled.

From the cultural viewpoint, the Inter-Allied Games paved the way to promoting a sports culture—particularly through YMCA activities—in countries where modern sports were still in the early stages of introduction. It was thanks to the games that certain sports activities (basketball, for example) became well established in France and Italy. The YMCA also aimed to use sports to help spread certain models, not only of masculinity (boxing was the main vehicle for this, as Wakefield, 1997, showed), but also of education and

Christianity, in conformity with the vision of society already developed for the United States. The Americans in charge of the AEF were aware of the issues involved: “While America played, Europe, not forgetting how America had fought, watched” (Colver et al. 1919, 127). The Allies were just as aware, as the French publication *la Vie au Grand Air* indicated in its 15 June 1919 issue when it wrote that the Inter-Allied Games were “an admirable means of propaganda for the United States.”

From the political point of view, the Inter-Allied Games were inseparable from the concurrent proceedings around the peace conference. In that sense the games were an extension of the “Wilsonian” policy of interventionism in Europe being carried out by the United States. One aim was to reduce the role that France might be led to play in continental Europe after the fall of Germany. The political stakes help to explain why, during the Inter-Allied Games, the sports events setting Americans and French against one another were particularly rough. Speaking for the AEF, Newton Colver acknowledged this: “Contests in which American soldiers were competitors rarely attracted the same intense enthusiasm as those in which a Frenchman and an American scrapped it out. As soon as ‘La Guerre’ was ‘fini’ another ‘Guerre’ started, France against America” (Colver et al. 1919, 129).

From the sports viewpoint, the games helped to confirm, a year before the Summer Olympic Games at Antwerp, Belgium, that the Olympic machine could rise from the ashes of the canceled 1916 Berlin Games. Furthermore, a number of the athletes present later participated in the Antwerp Olympics, several winning medals (for example, Charles Paddock in track and field and Norman Ross in swimming). The disagreement between Pierre de Coubertin and Elwood Brown concerning the use of the term *Olympic* was rapidly settled. In 1920 Mr. Brown even was granted a status as representative of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in certain capacities, in addition to his YMCA responsibilities. The Inter-Allied Games also contributed to spread new forms of physical training and practice

that had been tested in the United States. As a matter of fact, a number of American specialists stayed in Europe after the games as technical advisors. And in countries like France, where political authorities still had a very low opinion of sports, the games had a veritable impact by raising public awareness of the diplomatic importance of sports.

Thierry Terret

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Intercollegiate Athletics

Intercollegiate athletics refers to varsity sport programs conducted at U.S. colleges and universities that are controlled and operated by college and university athletic departments. Many intercollegiate athletic team members, particularly on the Division I level (the highest level college athletic competition), receive athletically related financial aid from their institutions to participate in athletics. According to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), the governing body for many intercollegiate athletics for four-year colleges and universities, a student-athlete is “a student whose enrollment was solicited by a member of the athletics staff or other representative of athletics interest with a view toward the student’s ultimate participation in the intercollegiate athletics program” (2004, 70).

NCAA member institutions are separated into three separate divisions. According to the NCAA (2004):

- *Division I* institutions must sponsor at least seven sports for men and seven for women or six for men and eight for women. Division I institutions must also offer a minimal number of athletically related scholarships to sport participants.
- *Division II* institutions must also offer a minimal number of athletically related scholarships, but fewer than Division I institutions offer.
- *Division III* institutions are prohibited from offering athletically related financial aid to student-athletes. In addition, Division III athletic departments are funded as other university or college departments are. This concept is drastically different from the Division I philosophy, which requires that athletic departments raise most if not all of their own money from sources outside the institution.

Other non-NCAA institutions throughout the country also sponsor intercollegiate athletics; for example, the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) and the National Junior College Athletic Association (NJCAA) institutions sponsor college athletic programs. NAIA institutions espouse dedication to academic achievement of student-athletes above their athletic performances. Through its “Champions of Character” program, the NAIA “seeks to create an environment in which every student-athlete, coach, official, and spectator is committed to the true spirit of competition through five tenets: respect, integrity, responsibility, servant leadership, and sportsmanship” (NAIA 2004, 2). The NJCAA is the governing body of intercollegiate athletics for two-year institutions. Many student-athletes who compete on the junior college level seek to transfer to four-year institutions after completing degree requirements at their respective junior colleges.

Many influential individuals have been involved in intercollegiate athletics since its inception. Coaches such as Dean Smith (University of North Carolina), Eddie Robinson (Grambling State University), Paul “Bear” Bryant (University of Alabama), Mike Krzyzewski (Duke

University), John Thompson (Georgetown University), Bo Schembechler (University of Michigan), Joe Paterno (Penn State University), Nolan Richardson (University of Arkansas), and Pat Summitt (University of Tennessee) have become household names during the past few decades. Former college student-athletes such as Joe Montana (University of Notre Dame), Hershel Walker (University of Georgia), Grant Hill (Duke University), Michael Jordan (University of North Carolina), Earvin “Magic” Johnson (Michigan State University), Larry Bird (Indiana State University), Peyton Manning (University of Tennessee), Mia Hamm (University of North Carolina), Rebecca Lobo (University of Connecticut), and Dawn Staley (University of Virginia) helped give their respective alma maters national exposure.

Intercollegiate Athletics: The Early Period

Today’s intercollegiate athletic programs differ greatly from athletic programs of yesteryear. Early athletic programs on most college campuses were part of student-created extracurricular programs that developed as a reaction to the rigorous academic curricula of the time. Established at many institutions during the late 1800s, extracurricular programs included debate clubs, literary societies, fraternal systems, and athletics.

Before these programs, faculty members and campus administrators frowned on athletic activities. At the time, athletics was considered a major deterrent to student learning and achievement (a notion still popular). Despite opposition, the intercollegiate sports phenomena began to develop with the increased immigration of German-born citizens, who brought the concept of gymnasiums and the sport of gymnastics to the United States. According to Rudolph (1990), there were at least sixty German gymnastic clubs in American cities by 1853. Until the late 1870s, most intercollegiate sport activities were organized by students in athletic clubs that were similar to today’s intramural sports systems.

Gymnastics and intramural sports systems did much to change the minds of Americans regarding sports.



Tossing the ball to start a women's basketball game at Smith College in 1904.

Source: Smith College Archives.

Despite the increasing popularity of intercollegiate athletics during this time, however, nothing could match the overall impact of football on society and the American higher education system.

Birth of Football

After the Civil War, colleges saw only minimal increases in student enrollments. According to Chu:

Without guarantees of steady monies, faced with public indifference towards the value of higher education and uncertain of short-term enrollment trends, college leadership constantly searched for means to attract the funds, prestige, and enrollments that meant survival for their schools. (1989, 22)

To increase institutional funding, intercollegiate athletics soon became the program to which university and college presidents turned. Although the first "official" intercollegiate athletics contest took place in 1852 in the sport of crew, no sport contributed more to the financial growth experienced by American institutions of higher learning than football. "Few movements so captured the colleges and universities" (Rudolph 1990, 374). Born as an offspring of the English game of soccer, football officially arrived on college campuses in 1869 in a contest played between Princeton and Rutgers, although the game had existed in some form for thousands of years. "Team games involving round ob-

jects made of rubber or leather have been played since ancient Egypt" (Ashe 1988, 89). From the beginning, football quickly began to dominate both the American athletics scene and campus life. During the late 1800s, the game became so widely accepted that for the first time since the founding of Harvard College in 1636 (America's first institution of higher learning), colleges began to recognize the existence of intercollegiate athletics. Other college presidents and faculty members, however, opposed the relationship between higher academe and athletics.

Despite football's immense popularity, it was also very brutal and inhumane. The equipment was made of cloth padding instead of hard plastic, and leather helmets did little to protect against massive head injuries. Without established rules and regulations, career-ending injuries and even deaths occurred. During the 1905 season, the Harvard football team played in only two games in which concussions *did not* occur. In that same year, a total of eighteen football athletes were killed while playing the sport, prompting President Theodore Roosevelt (a devoted fan of the sport whose son played football at Harvard during the early 1900s) to summon college athletics leaders to the White House to discuss reforming rules and regulations governing the sport. Taking President Roosevelt's threat to abolish football in the United States seriously, coaches and physical education directors from Harvard, Yale, and Princeton were charged with getting "the game played on a thoroughly clean basis" (Morison, cited in Rudolph, 1990, 376).

Governing Bodies

The year 1905 also marked the formation of the Intercollegiate Athletics Association of the United States (IAAUS, and later, the NCAA), which became the official governing body of intercollegiate athletics. Students

When a team outgrows individual performance and learns team confidence, excellency becomes a reality. ■ JOE PATERNO

who had managed athletic programs were soon replaced by university administrators who assumed the responsibilities for hiring and paying coaches, arranging and financing contests, organizing team travel, building new stadiums, and promoting athletics in general. With these changes, intercollegiate athletics had officially “arrived.”

During its early stages, the NCAA had to persuade member institutions to join; however, by the 1920s, many schools were actively seeking membership. By 1930, the presidents at several prestigious universities including Michigan, Columbia, Princeton, and the College of New York had publicly defended college athletics. Many schools of the era were poorly endowed and received minimal, if any, foundation grant funding. Administrators also had little confidence in their ability to generate more income for their respective institutions. Therefore, many relied on athletics to generate funding for their universities and colleges. By 1945, the NCAA boasted 210 members.

Arrival of the African-American Student-Athlete

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, along with the changes to the sports programs themselves, the “face” of college athletics and American sports in general began to change as more African-Americans began to participate in organized sports and college athletics. Despite intercollegiate athletics becoming an important part of American society during the early period, African-American athletes played no major role in the growing sports phenomena. Discriminatory laws ensured that very few African-Americans attended predominantly white institutions (PWIs) during the late 1800s. Instead, most African-Americans attended historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). By 1892, however, students at HBCUs began competing in varsity athletic events. Biddle (now Johnson C. Smith) University and Livingstone College played in the first HBCU football game on 27 December 1892. Unlike PWI athletic programs of the era, however, funding for HBCU athletic programs was extremely deficient. According to

Ashe (1988), despite the passing of the second Morrill Act of 1890, which provided federal funding for historically black land grant schools (BLGs), the BLGs never received their fair share of the funding.

Very few African-Americans participated in varsity athletics during the late 1800s; however, that changed with the “birth” of American football. The first African-American athletes began participating in college athletics at PWIs about the same time as athletics became important at HBCUs. William Henry Lewis was perhaps the first accomplished, nationally known African-American football player at a PWI. Lewis played football at Amherst and Harvard and was named to the All-America team in both 1892 and 1893. Other great African-American student-athletes such as Paul Robeson, Fritz Pollard, Jesse Owens, Jerome “Brud” Holland, and Jackie Robinson followed Lewis. During the 1930s, many institutions had new stadiums to fill, thus, more African-Americans were recruited to play. After World War II, an even larger influx of African-Americans attended colleges under the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act (known as the GI Bill of Rights); from then on, the list of African-American student-athletes (AASAs) grew exponentially. According to a study conducted by Northeastern University’s Center for the Study of Sport in Society, during the 1998–1999 academic year, 56 percent of Division I men’s basketball players and 46 percent of football players were African-American. In many instances, AASAs make up an even larger percentage of starters (those who are on the field or on court when a contest commences) or major contributors to their teams.

Women’s Involvement in Intercollegiate Athletics

A milestone in women’s intercollegiate athletics was the first intercollegiate women’s basketball game between Stamford and the University of California in 1896. Although not embraced as quickly by the public as men’s sports programs, sports involving women advanced steadily over the following decades. However, such advances did not come easily.

The leaders of various women's college sports programs established the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) in 1971. Because of Title IX, a provision in the 1972 Education Amendments that mandated equal access and opportunities for women in education, institutions of higher learning experienced a massive increase in young women participating in sports. Although Title IX led to increased opportunities for women to participate in sports, the law also played a major role in the demise of the AIAW and the decrease in the number of women athletic coaches and administrators. Institutions were forced to create more opportunities for women athletes, so the NCAA sought to combine the AIAW with its membership. The NCAA was eventually successful in engulfing the AIAW, and as a result, men replaced many women coaches and athletic administrators.

NCAA institutions have moved slowly toward true gender equity since the passage of Title IX. Under the "effective accommodation test," which is more commonly known as the "three-prong test," established by the U.S. Department of Education, an institution will be found to comply with Title IX if it satisfies any one of the following criteria (Suggs 2003a):

1. The institution has the same proportion of women on sports teams as it has women in the student body.
2. The institution has demonstrated a history of and continued efforts toward program expansion for female student-athletes.
3. The institution has otherwise demonstrated that the school's current athletic program effectively accommodates the interests and abilities of the school's female student-athletes.

University and athletic administrators have learned that Title IX will not be easily ignored. Many women student-athletes have filed lawsuits against their alma maters because of discriminatory practices or lack of athletic opportunities. In addition, several men's student-athletes and coaches who have had their sports eliminated to create more opportunities for women

student-athletes have also brought lawsuits against their respective institutions for discrimination. Title IX will surely continue as a strong force in college athletics.

Trends and Controversies Surrounding College Athletics

From the time athletics was introduced to American institutions of higher learning, it has been challenged and criticized, often with good reason. Throughout its history, intercollegiate athletics has simultaneously served as both the pride and the ultimate embarrassment of institutions across the country. Forced into an inauspicious relationship, the marriage between academe and athletics has not always been healthy or stable. Some of the controversies related to today's college sports programs are the following:

- Student-athlete graduation rates
- Increased academic requirements for student-athletes
- Unethical behavior by athletic staff members, coaches, and student-athletes

STUDENT-ATHLETE GRADUATION RATES

Student retention and degree attainment have long been major topics of concern for many constituent groups. Students and their parents have an obvious interest in retention, because attending college is of little value in career development unless the student is able to persist through completion of some degree. College and university faculty and student affairs departments care about degree attainment because it signifies that their work with students has been successful. Legislators and policy makers are increasingly focused on an institution's graduation rate because they see it as a measure of institutional performance or accountability. Intercollegiate athletic departments are also feeling the increased demands of accountability placed on institutions of higher education. Thus, because of the increased attention and scrutiny placed on college athletic programs, graduation has evolved as the main measure of student-athlete success or failure for NCAA member institutions (Watt and Moore 2001).



Intercollegiate Athletics

Keeping it Pure

Keeping professionals out of college sports has always been a major interest of supporters of college sports. In the following statement, sports pioneer Amos Alonzo Stagg makes the case for amateurism.

The discussion of allowing members of college baseball teams to play baseball in the summer for money as brought out in various interviews of athletic directors, strikes me as having developed some shallow thinking. Most of the men interviewed seemed to make a distinction in favor of the baseball player.

I can see no logic in granting permission to students to play baseball for money and not extending the same privilege to men to play football, basketball, or any other sport through which a student can earn money. The inevitable result of granting such privileges to baseball men would be a legitimate demand for similar privileges to men in other sports who wished to capitalize on their skill. There can be no other logical result. All college athletics, therefore, would become totally professionalized.

While we now have lapses of adherence to the amateur rules because of men cheating by playing base-

ball for hire, unless we extended similar privileges to other sports, we should have vastly more cases of deception in other sports than we now have in baseball under the present rule. The reason why there have been as few lapses as there have been from amateurism is because of the rule against using one's skill in athletics for gain.

Once extend the privilege openly to baseball men to play for money, the foundations on which college athletics are built have been fatally weakened and the whole system has collapsed. There would then be numerous cases of professionalism in which events there already is a market for college athletes, and that market would multiply immeasurably. The inevitable logical result would be a compelling demand that all college athletes be extended the same privilege to use their athletic skill to make money. Our college sports would then be thoroughly professionalized, and we should have the spectacle of our colleges and universities lending the prestige of their name to Tom, Dick and Harry for advertising purposes.

Source: Spink, A. (1921). *One thousand sport stories* (Vol. 2, pp. 298–300), Chicago: The Martin Company.

Some experts warn of the dangers of comparing student-athlete graduation rates to the rates of student-athletes at other universities and believe that comparing one institution's student-athletes to its student body is a better test of how that institution is doing in educating its student-athletes than is comparing that institution to another one (Naughton 1996). The NCAA began tracking student-athlete graduation rates in 1983. NCAA graduation rates are based on a comparison of the number of students who enter a college or university and the number of those who graduate within six years. For example, if one hundred students enter college and sixty graduate within six years of initial enrollment, the graduation rate is 60 percent (NCAA 2000).

The NCAA published the first comprehensive study of student-athlete graduation rates in 1992. That study fo-

cused on graduation rates of all Division I college and university student-athletes. Benson (1996) later compared the graduation rates of student-athletes who attended public institutions and those who attended private institutions. The NCAA has also compared the graduation rates of student-athletes to the graduation rates of the general student body on their respective campuses and has formulated race-specific analyses that compare AASA graduation rates to African-American student graduation rates. Suggs (1999) indicates that in 1999 student-athlete graduation rates were at their lowest level in seven years for football and basketball players.

African-American football and basketball players consistently graduate at lower rates (often much lower rates) than do other students and student-athletes at their respective institutions. Thus, even though African-

American student-athletes make up the majority of Division I football and basketball players, their institutions continually fail to support them academically. Because of student-athlete academic underachievement, in 1991 the NCAA established a directive requiring all Division I institutions to establish academic support for student-athletes (known as Student-Athlete Support Programs or SASPs). Despite this, many still debate whether SASPs are viable components of American higher education and whether SASPs are truly effective. However, according to Underwood (1984), a well-designed, comprehensive academic support program can help student-athletes solve their personal problems, can lead to graduation, and can help unlock doors to future employment and personal success.

INCREASED ACADEMIC STANDARDS FOR STUDENT-ATHLETES

In 1983, the NCAA membership again passed new legislation to strengthen initial eligibility standards for incoming first year student-athletes. Proposition 48, which became effective in the fall of the 1986–1987 academic year, required the incoming prospective student-athlete to have a 2.0 grade point average, on a 4.0 scale, while taking at least eleven core subjects consisting of English, mathematics, social science, and physical or natural science. The prospect would also have to score either 700 on the combined verbal-mathematics Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) or 15 on the American College Test (ACT) to qualify for athletic aid and competition in his or her first year at the institution.

Despite its good intentions, Proposition 48 has been one of the most controversial and reviled pieces of legislation to be passed by the NCAA membership and has been branded as racist legislation that negatively affected a disproportionate number of African-American prospective student-athletes. Despite initial opposition to the rule, however, Proposition 48 has been credited with raising student-athlete graduation percentages.

In 1996, the NCAA membership adopted Proposition 16, which further strengthened the academic standards established with Proposition 48. Though not as

controversial as its predecessor, Proposition 16 was also opposed by those who felt that the previous legislation provided enough safeguards for student-athlete academic integrity. Proposition 16 specifies that incoming student-athletes must meet standards for high school GPA and standardized test scores on the Initial-Eligibility Index to be eligible to compete in college athletics during their first year.

UNETHICAL BEHAVIOR

American culture has created a “win at all costs” mentality among coaches, student-athletes, students, and sports fans alike. Unethical behavior such as illegal cash payments to student-athletes, improper student-athlete/professional sports agent relationships, and academic improprieties have plagued intercollegiate athletics for decades.

Intercollegiate athletic scandals are not new phenomena, however. Athletic improprieties led to both the 1929 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Carnegie Foundation) Report and the Sanity Code of 1948:

- The Carnegie Report concluded that popular college athletes were recruited through deception and dishonesty.
- The Sanity Code was viewed as an extension of the Carnegie Report and was the first national endeavor to require college control of intercollegiate athletics, a concept reinforced by the 1991 Knight Foundation’s report.

During the 1980s, newspapers and magazines published numerous stories about the serious abuses in the athletic programs at major universities, including Tulane, Virginia Tech, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Oklahoma State, Illinois, Minnesota, Southern Methodist, Georgia, Florida, Texas Christian, Clemson, and San Francisco. More recently, allegations of academic improprieties involving student-athletes have surfaced at the University of Minnesota and the University of Tennessee. At Minnesota from 1994 to 1998, a former secretary in the athletics academic counseling office was

involved in preparing approximately 400 pieces of course work for as many as eighteen men's basketball student-athletes. Unfortunately, allegations such as these are not uncommon occurrences.

Although scandals involving college student-athletes, coaches, and institutional staff members create national headlines, most college sport improprieties are unintentional, inadvertent, or minor in nature. The minor improprieties are referred to as secondary violations. Major violations, which occur far less frequently, make local and national headlines and center around such activities as the following:

- Gambling
- Academic fraud
- Illegal contact with professional sports agents or athletic boosters
- Recruiting improprieties

The Future

Intercollegiate athletics will continue to play a dominant role on college and university campuses. Many athletic administrators and coaches predict that several of the top-rated Division I-A athletic programs will break away from the NCAA and form their own "Super Conference." This mentality has already been displayed through the formation of the Bowl Championship Series (BCS), the system in which Division I-A "Big Six" college athletic conferences—the Atlantic Coast Conference, the Big East Conference, the Big Ten Conference, the Big Twelve Conference, the Pacific Ten Conference, and the Southeastern Conference—compete in multimillion-dollar-generating postseason football games. Although a portion of the funds generated by the BCS are distributed throughout the NCAA membership, Big Six conference institutions and their conference offices keep most of the funds. Those involved in intercollegiate athletics predict further separation between the "haves" and the "have-nots" in the future.

In addition, because of decreased state funding for colleges and universities across the country, athletic programs at smaller institutions will have to rely less on subsidies from the institution and concentrate more on

fund-raising. Such decreases in funding may ultimately lead to a decrease in the number of intercollegiate sports institutions sponsor in future years. Divisions I-AA and II athletic departments will be affected greatly by decreased institutional funding.

In what many feel was an attempt to shield itself from future lawsuits filed by minority students, the NCAA membership voted to extend the previous sliding scale established by Proposition 16, thus allowing prospective student-athletes who scores as low as 400 on the SAT or a sum score of 37 on the ACT to attend college and participate in varsity athletics during their first year. "Athletes now can score the equivalent of zero on the SAT or ACT as long as their high school grades are very high" (Suggs 2003b, A-35). Many fear that the new initial eligibility rules will lead to grade inflation on the high school level, thus increasing the number of marginal or less prepared prospective student-athletes admitted to colleges and universities.

Conversely, even though initial-eligibility standards for incoming athletes were weakened, continuing eligibility regulations were strengthened greatly, making it much more difficult for student-athletes to maintain academic eligibility in subsequent years after their initial enrollment. Other concerns are the following:

- The new rules pertaining to continuing eligibility will hamstring the student-athletes because they will not be able to change their majors as other students on campus do; thus, student-athletes may be placed in less difficult majors to preserve athletic eligibility.
- Student-athletes will simply not be able to meet the enhanced academic standards required to maintain academic eligibility while in college. Ultimately, lesser-prepared students will be admitted to institutions but they will be subjected to greatly increased academic standards once in college.
- Student-athlete support staff members who monitor student-athlete academic progress will be terminated if student-athlete academic failure rates increase.

Although intercollegiate athletics has been criticized throughout its history, one cannot ignore the positive factors associated with college sports. Traditionally, ath-

When you're are playing for the national championship, it's not a matter of life or death. Its more important than that. ■ DUFFY DAUGHERTY

letics has provided many student-athletes, who may not have otherwise attended college, an opportunity to further educate themselves. Many student-athletes receive athletically related financial aid, which allows them to pursue a college education. Winning programs often serve as a source of great pride for alumni, students, fans, and institutional staff members. Most importantly, student-athlete graduation rates are now at an all-time high. Despite the problems, many intercollegiate athletic programs have promising futures.

Derrick Gragg

See also Amateur vs. Professional Debate; College Athletes; Drake Group; Scholar-Baller; World University Games

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International Olympic Academy

The International Olympic Academy (IOA), the intellectual center of the Olympic Movement, emerged out of the concerns of eminent sports personalities in the international community. In the late 1920s, concern for the Olympic Movement led those who were inspired by the ideas of the French educator and sportsman Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937)—first Ioannis Chrysafis and then Carl Diem and Ioannis Ketseas—to develop a plan of operation for the IOA. The Hellenic Olympic Committee accepted this plan in 1938. In its forty-fourth session in 1949, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) approved the establishment of the IOA by the Hellenic Olympic Committee under IOC auspices. The Hellenic Olympic Committee undertook the operation and all the expenses of the IOA.

The aims of the IOA, as reported in article 3 of the Regulation for the Organisation and Operation of the IOA, are the following: (a) the foundation and operation of an international intellectual center in Ancient Olympia that will see to the preservation and propagation of the Olympic idea, (b) the study and application of the pedagogical and social principles of the Olympic



Movement, (c) the foundation and operation of national Olympic academies all over the world, and (d) the organization of international educational sessions and conferences to propagate the Olympic ideal.

Facilities and Programs

The IOA has pioneered Olympic education. In 1961 it began its educational activities in tents, and today its activities are carried out in modern facilities that include four conference halls, volleyball, basketball, and tennis courts, football fields, and a swimming pool. There is also a well-equipped library on the IOA premises with approximately fifteen thousand books and magazines and a wide range of videotapes about the Olympic Movement.

Every year approximately 2,500 persons participate in the international and national educational activities of the IOA. Eminent personalities specializing in letters, culture, and sports present study results and new ideas about the Olympic Movement. Since 1961 the following sessions have been organized on the IOA's premises in Ancient Olympia:

- Forty-four international sessions for young participants (1961–2004) with 7,745 participants from 169 countries.
- Nine international sessions for educators from institutes of physical education (1978–1991) in which approximately 505 university professors participated.
- Three international sessions for directors of physical education (1986–1990) in which 147 directors participated.
- Six joint international sessions for the staff of institutes of physical education (1993–2003) in which 566 persons from approximately 75 countries participated.
- Eight international sessions for the members and staff of national Olympic committees and international federations (1978–1991) in which 954 persons from 119 countries participated.
- Six international sessions for directors of national Olympic academies (1986–2003) in which 348 persons from 121 countries participated.

- Seven joint international sessions for directors of national Olympic academies, members and staff of national Olympic committees, and international federations (1992–2004) in which 806 officials of the International Olympic Movement participated.
- Twelve international seminars on Olympic studies for postgraduate students (1993–2004) in which 443 young academic scientists from 76 countries participated.
- Ten international seminars for sports journalists (1986–1999) in which 434 journalists of print and electronic press from all over the world participated.

Olympic Education

The IOA's Olympic education programs focus on four main areas:

1. Scientific academic training, which includes lectures, discussions, and presentations by Olympic medalists;
2. Artistic activities, which include painting, sculpture, dance, music, poetry, literature, and photo workshops;
3. Sport activities, which include men and women participating in common sports activities and traditional games;
4. Social activities, which include traditional dances, songs, and costumes from many different countries.

Through its educational and cultural programs, the IOA plants the seeds of international peace and promotes solidarity, mutual understanding, and tolerance. During the sessions, friendships and relationships are built that contribute to the formation of a more peaceful world. The IOA also collaborates with the International Center for the Olympic Truce, to which the IOA has symbolically assigned offices at the premises in Ancient Olympia.

Cultural Diversity and Gender Equality

One of the main goals of the IOA is furthering the ideal of gender equality. At the request of the IOA, Olympic Solidarity agreed to help cover the transportation cost

for participants in order to ensure that an equal number of young men and women participated in sessions. The rule of equality is also meticulously observed in the selection of the coordinators of the discussion groups and of the participants in the international seminar on Olympic studies for postgraduate students. The long-term goal is to increase the number of women serving as officials in the Olympic Movement.

There is also an emphasis on ensuring that lecturers come from all cultures and that both genders are equally represented. Since these students will eventually constitute the international scientific community specializing in Olympic issues, this education will ensure that gender differences will be gradually overcome.

Reports and Internet Dissemination

To promote scientific research on Olympic studies, the IOA publishes *Reports of the Sessions*, which are available at www.ioa.org.gr. By 2004 the IOA had published forty-three *Reports on the Sessions for Young Participants* and nine *Reports on the Special Sessions*. In 1995, on the initiative of IOA president Nikos Filaretos, the IOA published the handbook *Keep the Spirit Alive* (1995) under the auspices of the IOC Commission for the IOA and Olympic education. It also created an educational tool in the form of a small museum that can be used in schools.

The International Olympic Academy has made two changes that will allow more people to be informed about its activities and to have direct access to its scientific work: (1) On the website of the Academy (www.ioa.org.gr), there is a database where researchers have free access to twelve thousand pages of scientific books (the site is frequently visited by researchers from all over the world), and (2) for five consecutive years, IOA sessions have been transmitted directly through the Internet. About five thousand people each day follow the sessions lectures.

In collaboration with the Internet coordinator of the IOA, young people from different parts of the world also have the opportunity to question session lecturers directly. In the framework of the program on Olympic Education, the IOA also collaborated with the Athens

2004 Olympic Organising Committee and the Greek Ministry of Education on the development of a complete series of educational books for teachers and for pupils of all ages, from six to nine, nine to twelve, and twelve to fifteen.

Collaboration with National Olympic Academies and Universities

With the IOA's support, 126 national Olympic academies have been founded to diffuse the Olympic ideal. Members and officials of the 126 national Olympic academies have participated in educational seminars sponsored by the IOA to learn about issues in Olympic education, and many academies have developed their own Olympic education programs. In collaboration with these national academies, the IOA has also organized art competitions and Olympic literary competitions worldwide.

For the last fourteen years, the IOA has also collaborated with universities all over the world to organize postgraduate seminars, and seminar students now constitute a rich source of research and knowledge for the Olympic Movement and the Centers of Olympic Studies around the world.

The Future

During the last forty-four years, the IOA has completed a great amount of work in Olympic education, the results of which can be measured by the fact that the term "Olympic education" is now recognized on an international level and Olympic education is now part of educational curriculums in many different countries. The future seems auspicious.

Kostas Georgiadis

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International Politics

The Europeanization and universalization of sport were the remarkable features of the post–World War I world. This was a new phenomenon by its sheer magnitude and impact on the public.

Modern sport entered the twentieth century largely as the private fiefdom of the new social classes born of industrialization and urbanization. It was a social innovation, confined to national boundaries, that had its roots in the emergence of new forms of social activity. Engendered thus by private initiative, the new sports associations and clubs pursued goals that were essentially commercial and pleasurable. What it more, for the most part they excluded women, laborers, and certain ethnic minorities.

What was interesting about these early sports developments is that in all European countries (apart from Russia) and the United States, the state displayed a total lack of interest in the new movement. Modern sport in its institutionalized and competitive forms (the setting up of national and international federations, the organization of international competition between national teams, the reinvention of the Olympic Games) did not show any sign of their immediate utilization for political ends.

The defenders and promoters of sport could hardly have imagined that after the turn of the century sporting competition would have an impact on public opinion and become an instrument of international policy. Sport, “sportsmen,” sports associations and clubs up to that time hadn’t been seen as potential actors in social and cultural life, in politics and economics, in international affairs.

However, this hadn’t been the case with gymnastics and physical and military training. Gymnastics societies, for example, were the pedagogical and political instruments for building a national identity. To learn to put one’s body at the service of one’s country stems from a strategy of acculturation of the common people in the same way as was the learning of language and national culture.

After World War I, however, all this began to change. Particularly in Europe, there was an extraordinary upsurge in the sports phenomenon and, more especially, a constant rise in the number of international tournaments. Sport and sporting spectacle became a near-universal phenomenon. The press, both general and specialized, contributed powerfully to this expansion.

From the 1920s, sport was winning a national and international audience, and the relationship between sports and geopolitical events was posing an autonomy problem for the national and international sports movement, for its capacity to override petty prejudices and divergent ideologies. This growing internationalization and politicization of sport inevitably drew in broader issues, like religion, social class, women, and race. Sometimes these issues engendered a split in the movement, with various groups playing among themselves and developing new sporting values, and sometimes modes of playing suited to themselves (British games exported to the colonies, like cricket in the West Indies; worker non-competitive sports; specifically female sports and competitions, as examples).

As the century progressed, there was a mounting tension, especially in Europe, between amateur-elitist sport for rich, privileged males and commercial spectator sport for the mainly middle classes, with the latter finally winning out.

Initial Stages of Internationalization of Sport

The spread of sport internationally was the result of the following major developments:

Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting. ■ GEORGE ORWELL

- The creation of international federations ensured that sport rules would be consistent and respected the world over. Until 1914 there were only thirteen of these, which is evidence of how weak the growth of sport worldwide had been up to this point. After 1918 the number increased to twenty-one, eight new federations being set up between 1924 and 1932. However, often these organizations were set up without the knowledge or against the will of the British. A number of these federations were created through French initiative. Thus, the Federation Internationale de Gymnastique was founded with the support of Charles Cazalet, chairman of the Union des Societes de Gymnastique de France; similarly, the Federation Internationale de Ski was set up on the initiative of the Club Alpin Francais, and the Federation Internationale de Football Amateur in 1904 by Robert Guerin, despite England's opposition. Fencing and horse riding also had their international headquarters in France.
- Setting up major international competitions put sport in the public eye. As mentioned above, a number of these competitions were the result of French enterprise, in particular the modern Olympic Games, revived in 1892 by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, which took place for the first time in Athens in 1896, and later the Coupe du monde de football (the Football World Cup), which was founded by Jules Rimet in 1928, the first competition taking place in 1930 in Uruguay. Jules Rimet was chairman of the International Federation of Football at the time. Moreover, the World Cup was founded during the Amsterdam Olympic Games, where football featured among the events for the second time. It is true that in football, as in many other sports, the granting of autonomy to a World Cup resulted from an evident desire to avoid the restrictive protection of the Olympics. The Olympic Games were reserved for amateurs, whereas the World Cup allowed amateurs to compete against professionals. Most of the world championships were set up before 1939: ice skating in 1896, shooting in 1897, tennis in 1900, gym-

nastics in 1903. Then, after World War I, fencing and cycling had their federations in 1921, bobsledding and ice hockey in 1924, table tennis in 1927, wrestling in 1929, football in 1930, and skiing in 1937. Swimming and athletics world championships were not inaugurated until after World War II and were for a long time considered unnecessary because of the Olympic Games. The major national competitions whose participants came from all over the world are also worth noting. Many of these events were sponsored by the press, and they included such events as the Tour de France, which was created in 1903 by the French newspaper *L'Auto*, and the Tour d'Italie (the "Giro"), which was set up in 1909 by the Italian *Gazetta dello sport*, and was based on the Tour de France.

However, the spread of international sport did not automatically lead to events being organized between national teams; the first events were arranged between clubs. The idea of making up a team representative of an entire country could only happen if there was a sufficient number of clubs and sporting associations for each event. That was essential if playing and watching sport were to become mass phenomena. In this respect the British took the lead. The very first international event had been between the England rugby team and its Scottish counterpart on 27 March 1871, the match taking place in front of approximately three thousand spectators. In 1877 Ireland played against England, and in 1881 England played Wales.

By the early 1900s, national teams were competing against each other on a regular basis (leaving aside the Olympic Games). As far as the Olympics is concerned, the number of participating countries increased with each Olympics: 13 in the first modern games of 1896, 29 at the 1920 games, and 44 by the Paris Olympics of 1924. By the time of the Berlin Games of 1936, the number was 49. By 1920, the International Olympic Committee, founded in 1894, represented thirty-five different nationalities.

There were many factors that hampered the organization of sports events, one of which being the means of transportation available. The success of the national and then international championships was dependent on the expansion of communication links, most notably those of the railway system. Similarly, the lack of sports facilities seriously hindered the development of playing and watching sports. If sport was to become an expanding social phenomenon, it was at least partly dependent on the few enterprising towns and cities that built stadiums, swimming pools, and velodromes that could house both athletes and spectators. This expansion of facilities really took effect only after 1925.

The rapid growth of sports competitions also owes much to the advertising and business opportunities that they presented to constructors, manufacturers, and salespeople. This was especially the case for “merchandized” sports, such as cycling and car racing, as well as sports that required material accessories, such as tennis. As one example, the French newspaper *L'Auto* saw the promotional possibilities when it founded the Tour de France in 1903; other sports journals followed suit.

The Advent of Authoritarian Regimes

As the numbers of international sports competitions increased and became established, countries became aware of the extraordinary social, cultural, economic, and political scope of sport. The phenomenon only took on real significance after 1918. It was not until 1925 that journalists started keeping records of each country's total number of victories or medals in these competitions so as to compare their respective national sports policies. From that time on, it was no longer the British or the French or the Americans who were considered to be the paragons of virility and vitality, but the Italians (1922–1944), then the Germans (1933–1945), and later, after 1945, the Soviet Union (up to 1991), for whom sport—and sporting success internationally—was to become a reflection of their political regimes.

The following were the principal features of this new state-controlled sports system in which sport played a functional, utilitarian role:

- Sport was taken under first state, then party control, thereby eliminating all private clubs and organizations, whether religious (like Catholic or YMCA,) or traditional, like the German *Turnen* and worker sports groups in Germany, the pan-Slav *Sokol* in the Soviet Union, or bourgeois clubs and local associations in Italy. By linking sport ideologically and even organizationally with the ruling political party, the leadership and its agencies could better supervise, control, and “rationalize” the sporting and leisure-time activities of the population.
- State-controlled sport pursued certain utilitarian functions on behalf of the ruling party, above all to promote a togetherness, a “culture of consent,” involving all sections of the population (once “undesirables” had been removed—like Communists, Jews, Gypsies, the disabled, and homosexuals in Nazi Germany; and “enemies of the people” in the Soviet Union).
- The totalitarian state put great store by a “theatricalization” of sport, using ritual, symbol, and pageant played out in vast stadia (and, in Spain, in bullrings). Where possible, such rituals were attached to international sporting spectacles, like the Olympic Games (with the Nazi-introduced torch relay, heightened emphasis on the playing of national anthems, raising of flags, contingent marching into the stadium, etc.). In the Soviet case, this was epitomized before World War II in the spartakiads, and after the war in the Olympic Games, which the USSR set out (successfully) to dominate in the full glare of world publicity.
- A militarization of sport occurred, with military and paramilitary organizations providing sponsorship opportunities for full-time training. Authoritarian societies also introduced national fitness programs with a bias toward military training.
- After an initial period of uncertainty about competitive sport (in the Soviet Union, Italy, and Germany), the state realized its potential for diversion and unity at home and recognition and prestige abroad. It therefore established the most efficient state-controlled system of spotting, nurturing, and



International Politics

British Versus U.S. Sports

In the preface to a book about Olympic history by famed Olympic coach F. A. M. Webster, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle—author of the Sherlock Holmes mysteries—compares British versus American support for their respective athletes.

My dear Webster,

I read the proofs of your book with the greatest interest. You have certainly done more than any single man I know to preach enthusiasm, methodical enthusiasm, in the matter of national athletics. I sincerely hope that your efforts will bear fruit, and that we shall make a better showing in the future as compared with the best of other countries. We know that we have the material. There is no falling off there. I think the human machine is at its best in these Islands. But we have got into the way of doing things rather less thoroughly than they might be done, and that is the point that wants strengthening. It is a very deplorable thing that we were not able to raise the money which would have made athletics more democratic, and put the means of practicing them within the reach of the bulk of the people. We tried hard and

failed. The result is that we build on a much narrower base than the United States, which has twenty athletic clubs to our one, and widespread municipal facilities by which every man has a chance of finding out his own capacities. The country is full of great sprinters and shot-putters who never dream of their own powers, and have no possible chance of developing them. We sorely need also some methodical inspection of our public-school athletes, to put them on the right lines and save wasted or misapplied effort. I know how much you, Flaxman, and others have done in this direction; but no man who has his own work to do can spare the time which is needed for such a task. What you have done is, however, remarkable, and in 1916, when we shall have some national heart-searchings, your conscience at least will be at ease.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE

May 1914

Source Webster, F.A.M. (1914). *The evolution of the Olympic Games 1829 B.C.–1914 A.D.* London: Heath, Cranton, & Ouseley.

rewarding talent through a hierarchy of rankings, remuneration, sports schools, sports medicine, and science. This system also involved the elite athletes' sponsorship as "state amateurs," so that they could take part in international tournaments where student or amateur regulations barred professionals.

To illustrate the emphasis given to winning international tournaments for the greater prestige of the Fascist or Communist systems, Fascist Italy came second to the United States in the Los Angeles Olympics of 1932 and third behind Germany and the United States at the "Nazi" Olympics in Berlin in 1936. In 1934 Italy staged and won the football World Cup; this victory did more than anything else, before fanatical home supporters, to ensure Mussolini's popularity: He greeted the team, made speeches, and led the sporting parade in the Via

dei Trionfi. Four years later, Italy retained the World Cup. This success, allied to Italy's Olympic, boxing, and cycling achievements, attracted many visitors to Italy to study Italian sport, especially the sports academies where young athletes were trained more or less full-time.

Both before and after the Berlin Olympics, Nazi Germany used sport explicitly to break the country's cultural isolation. Between 1920 and 1930, Germany had taken part in fewer than twenty international sports meetings annually. In preparation for the 1936 Olympics (which it won), however, there were as many as seventy-eight in 1935 alone. As was the case with Italy, participation in international events ensured that Germans were appointed to leading posts in international sports federations. Small wonder that most federations supported participation in the Berlin Games



This cartoon from a 1923 issue of *Sport Life* points to the role played by sports in uniting the United States and Europe.

(only the United States and the Netherlands expressed strong reservations). While the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics were the first to attract a million spectators, Berlin could boast more than 3 million. Germany also played host to the Winter Olympics at Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1936. Both the Summer and the Winter Games had more participating nations, more athletes, and more journalists than ever before. Germany's unexpected victory at the Berlin Olympics demonstrated to the German people and the world what a strong unified Germany could achieve under National Socialism and Adolf Hitler.

While Franco's Spain was not strong enough to cultivate the wide range of Olympic sports, it was the suc-

cess of the football club Real Madrid that greatly contributed to Spain breaking its international isolation. Recognizing the value of football, the regime provided citizenship for foreign stars who came to play professional football in Spain (Di Stefano from Colombia, Gento from Brazil, Kopa from France, Puskas from Hungary), and they were amply remunerated. Real Madrid's success can be judged by its dominance of the European Champions Cup, which was introduced in 1955: Real won the Cup five years in a row, 1955 to 1960.

With the conclusion of World War II, the Soviet leadership set out to demonstrate the preeminence of sport in Soviet society. Success was intended to advertise the advantages of Soviet socialism and to win over Third

On Tuesday, September 5 [1972], the Olympics finally died in the blood of seventeen people. I would not have written that line that day, but now, some time after, it seems clearer and clearer that this is precisely what happened. . . ■ JOEL OPPENHEIMER

World countries in what was seen as the battle of the ideologies, capitalism versus socialism. In weightlifting, wrestling, and volleyball, Soviet teams quickly won world championships. But it was the Olympic Games that most vividly demonstrated Soviet sports success: From its debut in the Summer Games of 1952 until it competed as the “Unified Team” in Barcelona in 1992, the USSR “won” every Olympics, Summer and Winter, with the sole exception of 1968.

Posttotalitarian Developments

The approaches to sport under Fascism and Communism have been taken to new heights by many nations in the post-Fascist and post-Communist world: the preselection of talented athletes, their nurturing in special academies, the application of science and medicine for enhancing performance, extensive state support, the demise of amateurism and acceptance of full-time, well-remunerated professionals, the encouragement of women’s sport, even the widespread use of drugs. All these aspects of elite sport, which had occupied a central position in the sports systems pioneered by totalitarian states, are now common in the international politics of sport.

The use of sport as a symbol of vigor and for the sake of national representation certainly has not been absent from Britain, France, and the United States in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Nor has a culture of consent. These have been present, but the issue is one of degree. Under totalitarian regimes, the state-driven priority given to these objectives was infinitely higher. Yet, given the tentacular nature of today’s mass media, the pharmaceutical and genetic possibilities, and the commercial and professional principles that dominate sport in the modern world, the opportunities for exploiting sport for political and nationalistic purposes are vast and beyond the wildest dreams of any dictator. What is certain is that the globalization of sport and the role sport plays in international politics are greater today than they have ever been.

James Riordan

See also Sport Politics; Sports and National Identity

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Internet

The Internet is systematically changing the global face of sports. Whether through rendering the traditional sports pages obsolete, blurring the lines between fan and competitor, or offering a space to discuss sports with a friend from the other side of the world, the Internet is fueling a shifting relationship between fan and game as it further globalizes the world of sports. The Internet does not merely offer fans “courtside seats,” from the privacy of one’s home, but also the opportunity

to bet on those games, while you play those games via online gaming. Regardless of the specific manifestation, the Internet has forever altered the nature of sports in its media coverage, fan participation, and overall industry development.

Information and Dialogue

Newspapers provided information about the favorite team/player of those living in the 1950s, and ESPN's *SportsCenter* served the same purpose for a generation of sports fans in the 1980s and 1990s. Now, the Internet offers information and spaces of dialogue for sports fans in the twenty-first century. Stephen McDaniel and Christopher Sullivan argue the importance and popularity of sports websites on the Internet. In comparing *USA Today* and CBS SportsLine.com, McDaniel and Sullivan found far greater activity on the sports site:

- In March 1995, the online version of *USA Today* received 103,399 hits compared with 338,709 at CBS SportsLine.com.
- Four months later, traffic increased at both locations, with almost 270,000 hits at USA Today, compared with almost 750,000 at CBS SportsLine.com.

A website like soccer.net receives 100,000 hits on an average day, amassing 8,000,000 during peak events. Like most sports websites, soccer.net offers:

- The latest soccer news
- A soccer store
- Pages specific to the World Cup
- Analysis concerning professional leagues
- Indexes linking to home pages of national teams from countries ranging from Chile to the Netherlands

Other sites follow suit, sometimes offering access to pictures, audio, or video clips, including press conferences and postgame interviews, and actual game footage. Whether users seek information on a trade or an injury, the Internet is slowly rendering newspaper sports pages insignificant, given the quick, immediate availability of information.

On the Web, the live is much less important than the nearly live—the real value is the Monday morning syndrome, when you come into work and catch up with the goals you missed at the weekend. The secret, in my opinion, is a comprehensive and up-to-the minute news sports offering that gives you all the background and TV and radio can't give you what you want. (Rowe 2001, 169)

Sports websites dedicated to news and information are immensely popular. In 1998, David Rowe found that the Yahoo UK & Ireland search engine offered 4,271 categories and 14,591 sites devoted to sports. In 2004, a U.S. Google search found 165,000,000 sports websites.

The different types of websites range from traditional sports news sites to team pages and more niche-oriented pages. ESPN, *USA Today*, *Sports Illustrated*, CBS SportsLine.com, ABC, Fox Sports, and numerous other media outlets all use the Web as an extension of their efforts in print and television. All the major sports leagues host their own webpages, which provide statistics, standings, stories, tickets, merchandise, multimedia interviews with players, and game clips.

SEXUALITY AND CRIMINALITY

The Internet also contains fringe sites concerned with everything related to sports:

- Trade rumors
- Political activism of athletes
- Naked photos of athletes
- Criminality among athletes

The latter two types are crucial for understanding the full scope of sports and the Internet, in that the medium allows for greater sexualization of female athletes. Numerous unregulated sites focus on female athletes as little more than sexual objects. Some contain sexy pictures endorsed and promoted by players themselves, but many others feature underground photos, or those from athletic contestants that highlight “the assets” of female athletes. For every website facilitating information gathering or allowing fans to follow their

The only place where success comes before work is in the dictionary. ■ VIDAL SASSOON

team from any place in the world, an equal number are dedicated to the body parts and sexuality of Anna Kournikova, Lauren Jackson, Maria Sharapova (still a minor), Brandy Chastain, Amy Acuff, and numerous others. That comparable sites are not dedicated to male athletes is revealing, demonstrating the masculine orientation of sports and the Internet.

The Internet has also fueled almost an obsession with the criminality of athletes. A number of white nationalist websites are dedicated to uncovering the criminal activities of athletes, but the mainstream press, Internet commentators, and self-proclaimed feminists also use the Internet to give voice to the “dark side of sports.” Websites are dedicated to uncovering the supposed problem of overindulged athletes who lack discipline, and thus commit crimes without regard for anyone but themselves. The Associated Press, like other websites, recently sent out a wire story that merely listed athletes, all but one of whom were black, accused of various crimes. Not mentioned in the article is that five out of the seven were never charged with a crime or were found innocent. The tag line for *badjocks.com*, “when *Cops* meets *SportsCenter*,” reflects this ideological agenda. The focus of these websites is on the criminality of black athletes, replicating the practice of using the Internet as a space of the most transparent forms of American racism.

INTERACTIVE OPPORTUNITIES

Another significant dimension of Internet sports webpages is the chat room or discussion Listserv. Virtually every website offers fans the opportunity to converse about their favorite teams or players. Some sites even give fans the opportunity to communicate with players, coaches, and owners. On any given day at the National Basketball Association’s site (*NBA.com*), for example, fans debate the merits of a particular trade, usually offering an alternative that would have enhanced their team. Similar discussions are found throughout the Web, with topics ranging from whether college athletes should be paid and if professional athletes are overpaid, to the Kobe Bryant case and the Iranian Olympian’s re-

fusal to compete against an Israeli during the 2004 Olympics. Revealing the interactive nature of sports webpages, online discussions of sports encompass part sports commentary, part fan bravado, and part armchair managing, in which fans assert their knowledge about the problems and solutions associated with contemporary sports.

A related dimension to the sports website and chat room is the fantasy sports league. Throughout the Internet, fans accept the challenge of becoming a general manager, drafting their own team in preparation of the forthcoming season. With team in hand, players compete against one another via player statistics. The phenomenon of fantasy sports exists outside of virtual reality, yet its growth has been facilitated by the Internet as another medium that allows fans to become part of the action.

Globalization

In recent years, many discussions within sports literature have concerned the globalization of sports. From ESPN and *Sports Illustrated* to numerous academic texts, sports commentators ubiquitously celebrate the shrinking world of sports in the erasure of borders. Absent from these discussions is any recognition of the importance of the Internet in both generating interest in sports throughout the globe and in facilitating the movement of athletes around the world.

Regardless of location, fans can now follow a particular team or player for statistics, player movement, or any news related to the team. In the United States, the Internet allows fans to follow Real Madrid, David Beckham, cricket matches in India, and the next Nigerian basketball start—and actually watch contests via the Web. The Internet allows fans to experience athletic contests throughout the globe regardless of the availability of television coverage and has facilitated an increased popularity of

- Sports—such as basketball, extreme sports, football
- Teams—such as Los Angeles Lakers, New York Yankees, Manchester United

- Athletes—such as Yao Ming, Michael Jordan, Barry Bonds, Ichiro Suzuki, Patrick Sapp

It is no coincidence that the increased popularity of Michael Jordan around the globe—so much so that in the early 1990s he was determined to be the most recognized face throughout the globe—corresponded with the Internet’s growth. Whether through web advertising or sites dedicated to sports or webcasts, the popularity and profitability of the sports enterprise throughout the world is the result of Internet opportunities.

The Internet has been crucial in the scouting and recruiting of players from throughout the world, even the most remote locations. Before the Internet, NBA scouts or those from major league baseball faced difficult obstacles securing information about players in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. The NBA, basketball leagues around the world, the National Football League (NFL), professional soccer and baseball leagues, and even Ultimate Fighting in Asia now use the Internet to gather information about potential athletes as the basis of recruitment. The result is an increasing number of international athletes competing within the United States and a growing number of American athletes taking their skills to Europe, Asia, and Latin America. In 1999–2000, 11 percent of the NBA players were international players, mostly from Europe. The 2001–2002 NBA draft included seventeen players drafted from overseas. The Internet gives these players visibility to NBA teams and their fans, brings basketball to the rest of the globe, and is leading to a shift in the balance of power within the NBA.

A Fan or Competitor?

The Internet blurs lines between fan and athlete, the real and virtual world, by providing Internet users the opportunity to interact with the game more directly. Even though the increased availability of the Internet and greater number of sports websites has already affected the sports world—game playing and media coverage—future innovations will further expand the agency and power of fans. We are already seeing the beginning impact with the systematic shift of fans from passive on-

lookers to active participants. The Internet provides fans with instant information about a particular play or game, even offering fans game-time polls or spaces to voice anger or disgust about a referee’s call or a coach’s decision in the midst of a game.

The Internet, with online game broadcasting, provides access to otherwise unavailable sporting events and determines the nature of its coverage. Through the Web, fans can alter camera angles or points of focus, offering viewers the ability to produce individualized sports programming. A contributor to a men’s magazine captures this dynamic relationship, revealing the shifting relationship between fan, sports, and the media, as well as illustrating the specific links between Internet activity and sexualization within sports.

Imagine you’re watching one of your favorite sports, like female mud wrestling. With the Internet, you’ll be able to zoom in on a contestant, bring up her statistics (including bust size), and even monitor her pulse and body temperature (so you know just how hot she is) . . . But the biggest advantage the Internet will offer is viewer shot selection. While we already have things such as race cam, you’re at the mercy of program director as to when it’s shown.

With Internet broadcasting, however, you’ll be able to choose which camera you want to look through at any one time, meaning that when a car crashes and burns during the Grand Prix, you will be able to look through the race cam to watch the medics arrive.

If that doesn’t tickle your fancy, then there’s set to be another development within the not too distant future—athlete cam. Thanks to miniature cams strapped to the athlete’s body, you’ll finally get close enough to the action to almost smell the sweat.

And when virtual reality arrives, you’ll be able to feel the blows of a hard tackle in a rugby match, provided both you and the footballer wear virtually reality bodysuits. (Rowe, 2001, 169)

The Internet provides the tools to transgress or violate conventional mores inside and outside of sports. Soon, fans will be able to experience a 100-mph fastball from Eric Gagne, or a Jerome Ignalia slap shot through “athlete camera,” elucidating the powerful ways in



Internet

On Gaming

The advent of Internet gaming and gambling has worried many people who see it as a serious problem among college students. Although the cautionary words below were written in 1836 by William Alcott, a popular author of the time, the concerns expressed are still relevant.

Even Voltaire asserts that “every gambler is, has been, or will be a robber.” Few practices are more ancient, few more general, and few, if any, more pernicious than gaming. An English writer has ingeniously suggested that the Devil himself might have been the first player, and that he contrived the plan of introducing games among men, to afford them temporary amusement, and divert their attention from themselves. “What numberless disciples,” he adds, “of his sable majesty, might we not count in our own metropolis!”

Whether his satanic majesty has any very direct agency in this matter or not, one thing is certain; - gaming is opposed to the happiness of mankind, and ought, in every civilized country, to be suppressed by public opinion. By gaming, however, I here refer to those cases only in which property is at stake, to be won or lost . . .

Gaming is an evil, because, in the first place, it is

a practice which produces nothing. He who makes two blades of grass grow where but one grew before, has usually been admitted to be a public benefactor; for his a producer. So is he who combines or arranges these productions in a useful manner,— I mean the mechanic, manufacturer, & c. He is equally a public benefactor, too, who produces mental or moral wealth, as well as physical. In gaming, it is true, property is shifted from one individual to another, and here and there one probably gains more than one loses; but nothing is actually made, or produced. If the whole human family were all skilful gamblers, and should play constantly for a year, there would not be a dollar more in the world at the end of the year, than there was at its commencement. On the contrary, is it not obvious that there would be much less, besides even an immense loss of time? [Every man who enjoys the privileges of civilized society, owes it to that society to earn as much as he can; or, in other words, improve every minute of his time. He who loses an hour, or a minute, is the price of that hour debtor to the community. Moreover, it is a debt which he can never repay.]

Source: Alcott, W. A. (1836). On gaming. In *The young man's guide*. Boston: Perkins and Marvin.

which the Internet is blurring or otherwise destroying the division between fan and competitor. The expanded powers of Internet users, coupled with increasing realism of the Internet broadcasts, are slowly replacing both stadium visits and the television as a means for fans to watch sports. The Internet offers power and control unlike television, and privacy, close-ups, and interactive information not available during in-person sport watching. Because it is cheaper, easier, and provides means to become “part of the game,” the Internet will continue to alter the relationship between fan and game. Just as television and the satellite dish diminished the power and importance of radio broadcasts or attending games in person, the Internet is lessening the significance of newspaper sports pages and television,

as fans trade their lounge chairs and newspapers for keyboards and monitors that offer greater realism, arm-chair control, and access to virtually every sport, in every nation, and at any time.

Video Games

In addition to allowing users to compete against others (including professional athletes), the Internet has been crucial in the development of the sports video-games industry, which is the crown jewel of the video-games world:

- Video games are a one billion dollar per year industry.
- Sports games account for more than 30 percent of all video games sales.



- Since 1989, more than 19 million units of John Madden football have been sold.
- In 2002 alone, EA Sports sold 4.5 million units. (Ratliff, 2003, 96)

Virtually every game now offers an online component in which players can compete against one another via the Internet. Players can challenge opponents throughout the globe to a game of John Madden Football or NBA Live. The realism of these games is enhanced by the competitive, trash-talking elements associated with Internet-based sports games. The possibility of competing against actual athletes via the Internet, which ESPN has reported as increasingly common, reflects the power of this medium.

Beyond advertising (ESPN.com has an entire Web section dedicated to video games that functions as a source of advertisement), the Internet provides ample opportunities for fans to talk about sports video games through Listservs, chat rooms, and numerous websites. Almost all these websites are dedicated to providing statistics and information about the top video game players in addition to information about the games. The elevation of video game players to cyber athletes is but another signifier of the ambiguous relationship between the actual world of sports and the Internet-driven world of virtual sport. In 2004, *Sports Illustrated on Campus* published an article on college cyber athletes that began with the following description:

At 20, Jeremy Deberry surely is the best football player at Central Piedmont Community College in Charlotte, N.C. He practices six days a week, plays both ways and is generally regarded by his peers as among the nation's elite performers, having earned the moniker the Champ. Few address the sophomore as anything but. (*Sports Illustrated on Campus*, February 5, 2004, 17)

These accolades were not directed at a high school all-American or even a finalist for the John Wooden award, but at a video game player. Jeremy Deberry is one of many talented virtual athletes, cashing in on hand-eye success with fame and fortune. Donning jer-

seys, talking trash, and working from excessive levels of testosterone, these virtual sporting competitors use the Internet to elevate their celebrity or status within the sports gaming community. The creation of Cyber Athletic Professional Leagues, which use the Internet to organize tournaments and to advertise the prowess of their athletes (results, statistics, scores), is a testament to the relationship between the Internet, cyber gaming, and the world of sports.

Gambling

In 2004, gambling on sports within the United States was legal in only two states: Nevada and New Jersey. With the advent of the Internet, bets can now be placed from any state. Although it is illegal to run an Internet gambling operation within the United States, it is legal to operate an online gambling website in countries that permit it. Although it's illegal to solicit bettors from the United States, under the federal Wire Wager Act, the number of websites available from a quick Google search is a testament to the expansive online wagering industry. Taken from the back alley or a local bookie, offshore-bettor and online sports-gambling sites have ushered in a new era of sports gambling.

Similar to online video gaming, where spectators can become participants in cyber-athletic competition, online sports betting offers an opportunity for fans, otherwise passive participants in sports, a chance to play. Unlike sports video games, however, Internet sports betting can have tangible consequences to bettors. U.S. government officials and Internet industry insiders estimate that the financial losses of Americans to online gambling in 2003 were more than \$3 billion (Weir, 2003). Because the Internet is a relatively new media phenomenon, research centering online sports betting is still in its infancy. Preliminary evaluations in online gambling in general, and sports betting in particular, point toward several trends:

1. Most of the sites are officially headquartered in Central America and the Caribbean, where online sports betting is legal.

2. These sites are accessible to anyone in the world, despite the legality of online gambling in the bettor's country.
3. Most of these sites are owned or managed by Americans.
4. It is an increasingly popular industry among college students.

Internet sports books, as they are referred to by the U.S. Department of Justice, reach potential American gamblers through sports magazines and college newspapers. Because of the anonymity inherent on the Internet, proclamations of legality on Internet sports books "precludes meaningful control of gambling by minors, much less by persons who are intoxicated, or by persons with gambling addictions," said Joseph DeMarco, Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York (DeMarco, 2001). The ambiguity of online sports bettors, be they legal to gamble or not, coupled with the offshore locations of Internet sports book headquarters, poses a challenge to the enforcement of the Wire Wager Act within the United States.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association has emerged as an opponent of Internet sports book operations, and an ardent supporter of the Wire Wager Act and the Internet Gambling Prohibition Act of 1999 (Saum 1999). In testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism and Government Information, Bill Saum, Director of Agent and Gambling Activities for the NCAA, proclaimed his support for banning Internet sports gambling because of the rising numbers of students gambling, legally or otherwise, and called sports gambling a "potential danger" on college campuses (Saum 1999). Internet sports' betting is currently the foremost gambling problem among college students, and is likely to remain so: Most college residence halls across the country are wired for Internet access, and approximately 65 percent of undergraduate students have credit cards, and 20 percent own four or more. The anonymity and burgeoning popularity of Internet sports books, coupled with the risk and potential

payoff of gambling, has taken the relationship between sports and the Internet in a potentially hazardous direction.

The Future

Today, a sports fan can log onto the Internet to check the scores, read an article on the problems of college sports, examine the latest rumors of the Kobe Bryant case, and enter into a chat room to discuss the most recent Los Angeles Lakers' or Manchester United trade. These fans can order a New York Yankees hat and a London Monarchs' T-shirt as they search for tickets for the French Open. Before turning off this hub of sports information and activities, the fan can place a bet on *Monday Night Football*, compete in the online version of NASCAR 2005, and watch a web broadcast of a women's beach volleyball match in Brazil and a cricket match in India, controlling camera angles while soliciting the desired information about each competitor. Offering an endless range of possibilities, the Internet is altering the face of sports by bringing the best and worst of sports into homes throughout the world. The Internet is simultaneously shifting (or altering) the meanings of sports media, game, and fan as it allows unlimited information, access, and power to all those with any means to log online.

David Leonard

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Interpretive Sociology

Interpretive sociology has produced a number of striking insights that further our understanding of the relationships between sports and society. Insights into phenomena such as identity and character; masculinity, femininity, and gender relations; athletes' careers and career contingencies; and group dynamics in sports have resulted from interpretive sociology.

Of course, the processes of interpretation are fundamental to all sciences. The term *interpretive* is used in a more specific sense in sociology to refer to a particular group of sociologies that has as its basis the interpretations—meanings—of people's actions and the ways in which those meanings combine to produce society.

Interpretive sociology is one of what has been called the “two sociologies.” The first focuses on social structures and systems and is concerned primarily with the ways in which society constrains human behavior; the second focuses on social action and interpretation and is concerned primarily with the ways in which society is a product of human behavior. The “two sociologies” are sometimes called “macrosociology” and “microsociology” (with “microsociology” referring to interpretive sociology) and, with reference to preferred research methods, “quantitative sociology” and “qualitative sociology” (with “qualitative sociology” referring to interpretive sociology). Currently few approaches to sociology adhere exclusively to structure or to inter-

pretation. Scholars have a general recognition that society is something that both is produced by humans and serves to constrain human behavior.

Interpretive sociology includes what have been called the “sociologies of everyday life”—Blumer's symbolic interactionism, Goffman's dramaturgical sociology, Becker's labeling theory, Garfinkel's ethnomethodology, and the phenomenological sociology of Schutz and Berger and Luckmann. Implicit in these approaches is an answer to the fundamental question in sociology, “How is society possible?”—how do people limit their own selfish desires in order to form and maintain communities? Interpretive sociology provides a way of understanding the emergence of the “social self” and the dynamics of interaction between people.

Origins

The sociologies of everyday life were developed primarily in the United States. During the early 1920s Charles Cooley adapted the Scottish economist Adam Smith's notion of “the looking-glass self” to describe the way that a person's sense of self (the “social self”) depends on the perceptions and perceived responses of others. We understand ourselves, our behavior, and the situation by using the responses of others as a “mirror.” At around the same time W. I. Thomas developed his concept of “the definition of the situation,” a fundamental dictum of interpretive sociology—“if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences,” and George Herbert Mead began to adapt the looking-glass self into his concept of role-taking (“taking the role of the other”).

According to Mead, in order for us to interact, we must interpret the meanings and intentions of others. We do this by placing ourselves in the position of the person with whom we are interacting (role-taking). People achieve a sense of self as they continually engage in a process of role-taking, and this process is fundamental to human socialization. Mead identifies “play” and “games” as two stages of this socialization. In the play stage children role-play and role-take by playing both themselves and, for example, a parent or a teacher and

learning the difference between themselves and the parts they are playing. In the game stage Mead uses a team sports analogy to show the maturation process as children learn to see themselves as others see them. The team symbolizes the community (“the generalized other”) whereby people develop their social selves and learn to interact in more complex social settings. Through these processes of socialization and communication (symbolic interaction) people develop their self-consciousness as human beings and make society possible.

In a backlash against the more rigid and structural forms of sociology, interpretive sociologies began to flourish during the 1960s and 1970s. Herbert Blumer (1969) outlined the three tenets of symbolic interactionism:

1. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them.
2. The meanings arise out of social interaction.
3. Social action results from the fitting together of individual lines of action.

The works of Goffman (dramaturgy—use of theatre as an analogy for everyday life—‘performance,’ ‘role,’ etc.) and Garfinkel (ethnomethodology—focuses on the ‘methods’ people use to make sense of their social reality) were beginning to gain recognition. In 1967 Berger and Luckmann developed Thomas’s “definition of the situation” into the concept of “the social construction of reality” in order to better describe how people construct and reconstruct their social worlds.

Although the emergence of a distinct sociology of sports was coincident with the flourishing of interpretive sociology, few sports sociologists employed the perspective. Not until interpretive sociology combined with more critical sociologies into the field of cultural studies during the 1980s did any real development take place.

Methods and Limits

Most of the critiques of interpretive sociology concern research methods and the assumptions associated with

those methods. The exceptions are obvious theoretical critiques from the forms of sociology that take a social structures and systems approach rather than an interpretive approach. More serious are the critiques of critical sociologists who point out that interpretive sociologists fail to take into account the powerful structures within which people live their lives. People are not completely free agents in their ability to construct society—they are subject to limitations associated with characteristics such as gender and race, and they are also limited (or enabled) by the material conditions of their lives. This important limitation began to be resolved during the 1980s as interpretive and critical sociologies began to merge into fields such as cultural studies.

Many of the founders of interpretive sociology were associated with the University of Chicago, which developed a form of urban sociology that flourished between the two world wars. An important contribution of the Chicago School was the development of urban ethnographic fieldwork as a methodology. As in anthropology, this methodology involves observation and in-depth interviewing, which became the basic methodologies of the sociologies of everyday life.

The main methodological critique, again from the more traditional sociologies, is that the methods are nonscientific. Collecting data by systematic observations of human behavior (often when the observer is also a participant on, for example, a sports team or in an extreme sports subculture) and in-depth interviews with subjects led advocates of the scientific method to question why sociologists’ interpretations were any more valid than any other person’s interpretations. In addition, the research reports of interpretive sociologists were described as “journalistic,” of being no better than in-depth reporters’ accounts of the population under study. Because the research was time consuming and often involved only one researcher, the results were rarely replicated (a key standard of reliability in the scientific method). Researchers were often accused of “going native”—of losing their objectivity by empathizing with their subjects. Because interpretive sociologists

often emphasize the ways in which people construct and reconstruct their worlds, this emphasis creates a type of relativism in which those worlds might be understood only on the individual person's terms.

Although scholars still debate the issue of relativism, interpretive sociologists have confronted the other criticisms directly. For example, Anthony Giddens pointed out that sociology is not like the natural sciences; the standards of the scientific method do not apply because, unlike inert matter and chemicals, human subjects interact with researchers and are aware of and able to react to the results of research. Therefore, we must see sociology as a subjective or reflexive science. Researchers frequently declare their subjectivity and deal reflexively with the ways in which their own backgrounds and personal interests influence their interpretation of data. They also may openly acknowledge "going native" if engaged in research designed to affect social policy or draw attention to social injustice. Although acknowledging that similarities exist between in-depth journalistic accounts and the research reports of interpretive sociologists, such sociologists also recognize that important differences exist in terms of technique and in the ways in which theoretical and methodological assumptions are made explicit.

Interpretive Sociology in the Sociology of Sports

Sports studies employing interpretive sociology fall into two distinct, though overlapping, types: studies of socialization in sports—how people become involved, how they develop as athletes (their careers)—and the process of retirement; and descriptions and analyses of the distinct cultural worlds (subcultures) that develop around specific sports (including overlapping studies of careers in those sports).

Questions about who becomes involved in sports, how they become involved, and the effect that sports have on them have always been important in the sociology of sports. Early research was based on survey research and on structures and systems approaches to sociology. When interpretive sociologists became in-

involved, the questions changed slightly, and many rich insights were made into the process of becoming an athlete.

As noted in the discussion of Mead, socialization is an active process of social development, of becoming a "social self" by learning from interaction with others. As Coakley and Donnelly note: "We are *not* simply passive learners in the socialization process. We actively participate in our own socialization as we influence those who influence us. We actively interpret what we see and hear, and we accept, resist, or revise the messages we receive about who we are, about the world, and about what we should do as we make our way in the world" (2004, 84). Interpretive sociologists have also focused directly on the process, and many examples of these studies are presented in Coakley and Donnelly's (1999) book, *Inside Sports*.

Early involvement in sports and other physical activity has been examined in studies of school playgrounds, Little League baseball, and Pee Wee hockey. These studies go well beyond the actual processes of involvement to show how sports and other physical activity are major sites for the production and reproduction of traditional and stereotypical notions of gender. Other studies remind us that socialization is a two-way process when they show how children's participation affects their parents.

Socialization continues after people become involved in sports. Studies have shown how rookie athletes construct appropriate identities for themselves that are confirmed (or rejected) by established athletes in the subculture; how adolescents make the decision to continue or not continue sports participation; how international athletes began to focus on their particular sport; and the meaning of success and relationships in the lives of elite male athletes. Socialization continues to be a two-way process even when athletes become involved, as shown in a study of the way in which the involvement of husbands and children in tennis affects the lives of their wives and mothers.

Desocialization—retirement from sports—has also been the focus of research ranging from studies of burn-

*It may be that all games are silly.
But then, so are humans.* ■ ROBERT LYND

out among adolescent athletes to studies that have found both positive and negative outcomes of retirement from professional sports. Other studies have provided striking insights into the ways in which male and female athletes deal with sports injuries that lead to temporary or permanent retirement.

New methodologies are providing more in-depth data and further insights into the process of socialization. These methodologies include such biographical techniques such as case studies, life histories, and narrative sociology.

The Chicago School began to study subcultures, specifically youth subcultures, as part of an attempt to understand delinquency and deviance. Chicago School researchers found that subcultures emerged among youth who interacted because of their shared social circumstances and were a way for those youth to respond to their social environment. By the 1960s the techniques and interpretations developed to examine deviant subcultures and “careers” were adapted to the study of nondeviant subcultures and careers, including those in sports.

Between the early 1950s and the early 1970s researchers conducted subcultural studies of the careers of professional boxers, professional wrestlers, pool hustlers, professional ice hockey players, and the various careers associated with horse racing. This early period culminated in 1975 with the publication of Donald Ball and John Loy’s *Sport and Social Order*, which included theoretical work on occupational subcultures in sports, an analysis of the career patterns and career contingencies of professional baseball players, and two striking comparative studies: of hockey players and Hollywood musicians and of professional wrestlers and physicians.

Although subcultural research of this type continued after 1975 (e.g., a study of women professional golfers and a comparative study of women gymnasts and professional wrestlers), a subtle change occurred in the notion of “career.” A career in sports came to be thought of less as the work of a “professional” and more as a person’s period of involvement in sports. Thus, we could consider a youth’s involvement in community and/or

high school soccer as a career. Researchers also conducted studies of sports subcultures that did not focus on the analysis of careers (e.g., studies of youth ice hockey, rugby, surfing, rock climbing, and bicycle racing).

During the 1980s the study of sports subcultures changed again. Finally responding to the critique that interpretive sociology failed to take account of powerful forces in people’s lives, many interpretive sociologists made a “critical shift” to take account of such forces in their analyses. Subcultural studies of sports now show how some sports are involved in the reproduction of social inequalities, and others are radical and challenging attempts to transform those social inequalities. Research reflecting the influence of this change includes studies of British soccer hooligans, bodybuilders, baseball players in developing nations, U.S. high school football, U.S. university basketball players, women professional golfers, boxing, male locker rooms, women’s softball, women’s ice hockey, skateboarding, and aerobics.

Although most of these studies have been conducted in English-speaking countries, a slightly different school of critical subculture research (following the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu) emerged in France with studies of boxing, running, rock climbing and other “extreme” sports, rugby, martial arts, and tennis.

Perspectives

Interpretive sociology is concerned with the way in which the social world is not only something that is to be confronted by people but also something that is continually constructed and reinvented by people. Interpretive sociology also is concerned with meaning, and the sociology of sports is beginning to develop a sense of what sports mean and how sports take on those meanings in the lives of human beings.

Interpretive sociology also enriches our understanding of more traditional forms of data such as surveys. Thus, for example, we know from surveys that boys and men are more involved than girls and women in sports and other physical activity. Various speculative interpretations were offered, but not until interpretive sociology began to reveal how sports are implicated in

*Iran Olympics Results**2004 Summer Olympics: 2 Gold, 2 Silver, 2 Bronze*

gender socialization and how females and males make decisions about participation have we been able to better interpret the survey results.

Although studies using an interpretive sociology approach are time consuming, the commitment of researchers has paid off in the sociology of sports with a number of rewarding studies. In fact, a critical interpretive approach has now become the leading paradigm (framework) in the sociology of sports.

Peter Donnelly

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Iran

Also known as Persia, Iran is a predominantly Muslim country located in Southwest Asia, at the crossroads of the Near East, Central Asia, and the Indian subcontinent. Iran's sports culture results from the integration of national, regional, and Western traditions.

Polo and Wrestling

The royalty and aristocracy of pre-Islamic Iran (500 BCE–650 CE) valued physical education, but little is known about popular athletic practices from that period. The most enduring legacy of pre-Islamic Iran is the game of polo, which probably originated in the rough equestrian games of Central Asia and was turned into a refined game with a well-defined set of rules under the Parthian dynasty (250 BCE–226 CE), which was famous throughout the ancient world for its horsemanship.

With the influx of Central Asian Turks beginning around 1000 CE and the Mongol conquest of the 1250s, a new sport gained popularity: wrestling. Itinerant wrestlers, called *pahlavans*, took part in tournaments sponsored by local rulers. The tournaments covered a vast regional space from North Africa to India and Central Asia. Iranians revere the memory of one such wrestler, Purya Vali (d. 1322), a Central Asian who allowed himself to be thrown by a lesser Indian opponent whose family desperately needed the prize money, thus attaining a victory over his selfish impulses that is more valuable than a championship. Purya Vali embodies Iranian athletes' spiritual aspirations, and many sports halls, clubs, and tournaments are named after him.

Under the Safavids—the dynasty (1501–1722) that made Shiite Islam the official religion of Iran and created the Iranian state known today—both polo and wrestling flourished, but the two had very different social bases. Polo was an elite game enthusiastically played by the kings themselves. Wrestling, in contrast, was a popular entertainment, and wrestlers came mostly from the lower classes. They trained in the *zurkhaneh* (“House of Strength”), a building containing a pit about one meter deep and surrounded by spectator stalls. *Zurkhaneh* exercises were highly ritualized and imbued with the spirit of Shiism. At the end of each session, athletes would pair off and wrestle.

Sport in Modern Iran

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, many educated Iranians became aware of their country's backwardness compared with the West, and started to look for ways to reform the country. These modernists gained



Iran

Key Events in Iran Sports History

c. 250 BCE	Polo is established as an important sport.	1974	The national soccer league is founded.
c.1250 CE	Wrestling becomes popular and regional tournaments are held.	1979	The new, Islamic government repress sports.
1919	Physical education is made compulsory in the schools.	1987	Televised broadcasting of men's sports is permitted.
1920s	Women are allowed to participate in physical education and sports.	1989	A new soccer league is established.
1934	The National Organization for Physical Education is founded.	1993	A sports channel is established.
1939	The first national sports championships are held.	1993	The first Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games are held in Tehran, Iran.
1948	Iran competes in the Olympics for the first time.	1998	Iran qualifies for the World Cup.
1968	Famous wrestler Gholamreza Takhti, a critic of the Pahlavi dictatorship, either commits suicide or is killed by the government.		

control in the 1906 constitutional revolution that ended the traditional monarchy. Physical education played an important role in the modernists' reform plans because they believed that the nation's vigor depended on its members' physical fitness.

European games, particularly soccer, were introduced to Iran by Christian missionaries, European military officers working for the Iranian government, British oil company officials, and Iranians who had spent time in Europe. In 1919, physical education was made obligatory in public schools under the impetus of Mir Mehdi Varzandeh (d. 1970s), widely considered the father of modern sport in Iran. Varzandeh had studied physical education in Sweden, Belgium, and the Ottoman Empire. Religious traditionalists opposed the new disciplines for being frivolous and indecent, but the secularist dictatorship of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925–1979) silenced those voices. In the 1920s and 1930s, women were first allowed to engage in sport and physical education.

In 1934, the official National Organization for Physical Education's founding heralded heightened state attention to sport. Thomas R. Gibson, an American

graduate of Columbia University's Teachers' College, was invited to Iran to revitalize Iranian sports. Gibson, who stayed until 1938, set up varsity teams in soccer and other team sports in the schools of the capital Teheran and major provincial cities and organized an elaborate system of leagues. In 1939, the first national championships were held in several disciplines.

World War II ended most state sponsorship of varsity sports, but in 1948, Iran participated in Olympic games for the first time. Subsequently, Iranian athletes began winning international medals in two disciplines whose practitioners came out of the old *zurkhaneh* tradition: wrestling and weightlifting. The *zurkhaneh* survived into the contemporary era, but efforts to keep traditional wrestling alive as *pahlavani* wrestling met with only limited success. The most admired wrestler of twentieth century was Gholamreza Takhti (1930–1968), who won a number of Olympic and world medals in the 1950s and 1960s. An opponent of the Pahlavi dictatorship, he embodied the noble ideals of Purya Vali, and when he committed suicide in 1968, it was widely believed that he had been killed by the government's orders.



Iran

The Values of Purya Vali

The Central Asian wrestler Purya Vali (d. 1322) is a legendary figure in Iran, known for caring more for a fellow athlete's well-being than for winning a victory over his competitor. A quatrain attributed to him encapsulates traditional Iranian notions of chivalry and fair play:

If you can dominate your own self,
you're a man
If you don't find fault with others,
you're a man
It is not manly to kick one who is down
If you take the hand of the one who is
down, you're a man

Takhti's death portended the eclipse of freestyle wrestling as Iran's most popular sport and its replacement by soccer. The national league established in 1974 generated popular passions that regularly boiled over when the two perennial rivals, Persepolis and Taj (the "reds" and the "blues"), met in Teheran's stadiums. Soccer players were the only professional athletes in Iran. In 1978, Iran qualified for a soccer world cup for the first time, but in 1979, the Islamic revolution under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini dramatically changed the face of Iranian sports.

Sport in the Islamic Republic

The Iranian revolutionaries of 1979 had a puritanical streak that led them to dismiss prerevolutionary sport policies as manifestations of a Godless regime's attempts to corrupt the nation. Moreover, the war against Iraq (1980–1988) severely limited the state's ability to spend on sports. Soccer culture was interpreted as symptomatic of Western decadence. The soccer league was suspended.

Given the popularity of soccer throughout Iranian society (even Ayatollah Khomeini's son had played semi-professionally before the revolution), the Islamic republic could not completely eradicate it. Other sports fared less well: Tennis, bowling, and equestrian sports,

including polo, were deemed elitist and deprived of all support. Women's sports became the biggest victim of the revolution. Islamic law mandates that women cover their whole bodies with the exception of the face, hands, and feet in public, which made it impossible to hold women's sports competitions outdoors and in the presence of men.

Another major controversy erupted in the mid-1980s over television broadcasts of sports events. State television broadcast soccer and wrestling tournaments, but conservatives, who objected to women viewing the uncovered thighs and arms of male athletes, deemed even these unacceptable. Finally, in late 1987, Khomeini issued a *fatwa* authorizing television to broadcast men's sports provided viewers watched without lust. After this, coverage increased such that a special sports channel was set up in 1993, but swimming events and most women's sports are still not shown.

After Khomeini's death in 1989, President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (r. 1989–1997) adopted more pragmatic policies aimed at defusing mounting dissatisfaction with official puritanism. State support for sport increased, and Iran began sending teams to more international events. A new soccer league was set up in 1989. In 1990, the Iranian team won the gold medal in soccer at the Asian Games in Beijing. Television increased soccer broadcasts, the national Iranian team's performance gradually improved, and in 1998, Iran again qualified for the world cup. Most significantly, the president's energetic daughter, Faezeh Hashemi, took the initiative in reviving women's sports. Women were trained as referees, officials, and coaches, and all over the country, special facilities were set aside or newly built for women only, so that they could compete according to international norms but in the total absence of men. Faezeh Hashemi set up the international Muslim Women's Games in Teheran, from which all male spectators and officials are excluded. Women's participation in sports, both as athletes and as officials, is actually higher today than it was during the more permissive days of the Pahlavi shahs.

Despite the Islamic revolutionaries' attempts to com-

bat Western cultural influence and bring about a renaissance of traditional values, young Iranians continue to partake in global sports culture. Soccer remains popular both as a spectator and a participatory sport, and, even cricket and baseball have found a few adepts. Iranians have increasingly turned to East Asian martial arts, especially taekwondo, in which Iran began winning international medals in the 1990s.

H. E. Chehabi

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Ireland

The island of Ireland is split between the Republic of Ireland, which covers twenty-six southern counties, and Northern Ireland, which covers the six northeastern counties. The partition of Ireland took place as a result



Ireland

Key Events in Ireland Sports History

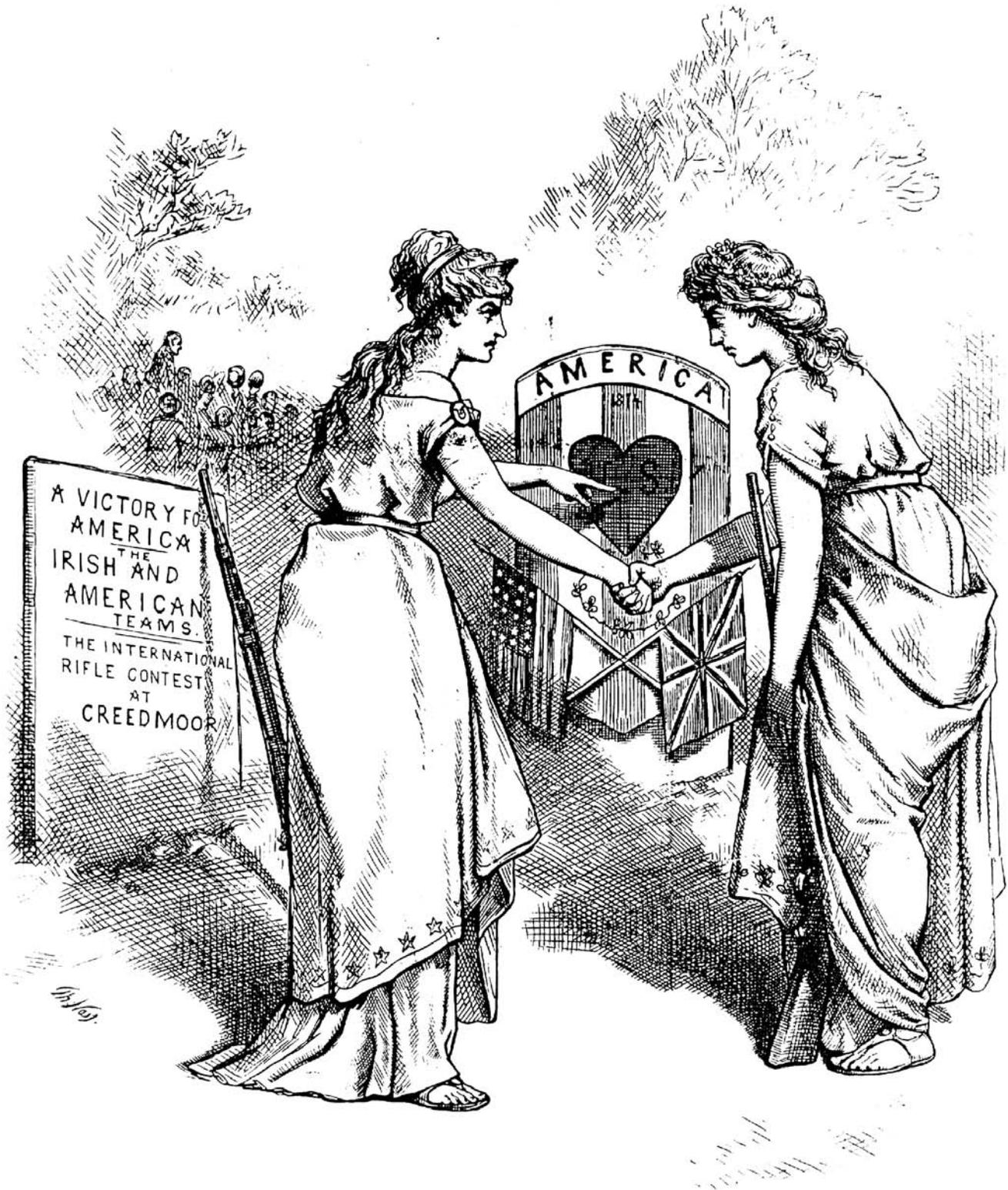
- 1854** The Irish Rugby Football Union is formed.
- 1880** The Irish Football Association is founded.
- 1884** The Gaelic Athletic Association is founded.
- 1905** The Cumann Camogaíochta (Camogie Association of Ireland) is founded.
- 1924** The Irish Republic competes as a separate nation at the Olympics for the first time. Patrick O’Callaghan wins a gold medal in the hammer throw.
- 1990** The Irish team reaches the quarter-finals in the World Cup.

of the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, which created the southern Irish Free State (subsequently becoming the Irish Republic in 1948) as a nation independent from the United Kingdom; Northern Ireland continued to be a part of the United Kingdom. The majority of the republic’s population is Catholic (97 percent), whereas Northern Ireland is divided between Protestants (60 percent) and Catholics (40 percent).

The nature of sectarian division and the history of partition in Ireland have led to an intense period of civil disobedience and violence since the late 1960s, costing more than three thousand lives in North Ireland, and few aspects of life have remained unaffected. Irish nationalism prompted the revival or creation of non-British sports, including *camogie*, the national game for women.

Sporting Past

The presence of conflict between the nationalist and unionist strands of belief has profoundly affected the sporting history of Ireland. During the period before Ireland’s great famine (prior to 1846), Irish sporting events were based around fairs and festivals held on saints’ days. At such events physical activities included



HIBERNIA'S SHOT.

"In return, we may assure you that the warm American heart is a target you could not miss. It is too big not to be hit by such honorable guests, no matter how long the range."—*New York Herald*.

This cover from the 17 October 1874 issue of *Harper's Weekly* uses a rifle competition to comment on the relationship between Ireland and the United States.

Ireland Olympics Results
2004 Summer Olympics: 1 Gold

folk football, a form of hurling, strength demonstrations, and dancing competitions. In accordance with the nature of Irish society at that time, the majority of people taking part in these events were men, although some evidence suggests that women participated. The famine of 1846–1851 led to the deaths of 2 million Irish people, and a similar number immigrated to distant shores, an important part of the Irish diaspora (scattering) that, among other things, spread Irish sport around the world. In the postfamine chaos, however, such activities as sport became unimportant. Sporting events were also seen as frivolous by the church and were often outlawed by the British authorities who occupied Ireland at that time.

After the mid-nineteenth century modern codified sports spread the short distance across the Irish Sea from Britain and found favor in Ireland among the social elites. The most popular sports were soccer, rugby, hockey, and cricket. The Irish Rugby Football Union was formed in 1854 and the Irish Football Association in 1880. As a result of their faithful following among members of the British army stationed in Ireland, Irish nationalists gave these sports the generic title “garrison games.” The nationalists resented the presence of the British in Ireland and opposed the detrimental influence that British pastimes had on Irish culture. In 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) was founded as part of a general reawakening of Irish nationalist sentiment. The GAA was responsible for promoting three main sports: hurling, Gaelic football, and handball.

The GAA was central in the success of political nationalism in Ireland, but more importantly, in the context of sport, the GAA was the key element in preserving an identifiable native culture. During its earliest years the GAA was interested solely in men’s sports. This narrow interest changed in 1905 with the foundation of Cumann Camogaíochta (Camogie Association of Ireland). Based on the men’s game of hurling, *camogie* is a fast and forceful ball-and-stick game played by two teams of fifteen players each. *Camogie* was the single most important women’s team sport in Ireland until the 1980s, when Gaelic football was developed as a women’s sport.

Twentieth Century

During most of the twentieth century the sports of the GAA were most popular in Ireland. The association had attached itself to the cause of nationalist separatism, and many of the sports that people identified with Britain developed slowly. After the partition of Ireland between Northern Ireland (as part of the United Kingdom) and the Irish Republic (as an independent state) in 1922, football split into two national associations for Northern Ireland and the Republic, whereas the GAA and rugby union continued to operate across both sides of the border treating Ireland as a single geographical entity. In addition to team field sports, Ireland has had a long and rich history in horseracing, show jumping, boxing, and golf, among others. Indeed, many people consider horses bred in Ireland to be among the best in the world, and the horseracing industry has been a major export industry.

After the partition athletes from the southern twenty-six counties, now the Irish Republic, competed as a separate nation at the Olympics, whereas athletes from the six counties of Northern Ireland competed as part of Great Britain. The southern team first attended the Olympics in 1924 and collected its first gold medal in 1928. This medal was won in hammer throwing by Patrick O’Callaghan, and he defended his title in 1928. Until the controversial four medals (three gold and one bronze) won by swimmer Michelle Smith at the Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1996 (Smith was eventually banned for tampering with a urine sample), O’Callaghan remained Ireland’s most successful Olympian.

During the 1980s Irish sport was galvanized by the success of the Irish football team at successive World Cup finals. The team, managed by Englishman Jack Charlton, reached the quarter-finals in Italy in 1990, and both the national team and the sport of football received a huge upsurge of support. The GAA has sought to meet the challenge of football by improving the quality of its stadiums, most notably the rebuilding of Croke Park in Dublin, now one of the finest stadiums in Europe, and promoting the sport through the media. The



Croke Park, Ireland's largest stadium. Source: istockphoto/maccers.

important difference between GAA sports and others is still the strict adherence to amateurism by the association. In an age of professionalism and the pursuit of high wages, which tempts many of the country's best athletes to leave the country, the GAA's successful support of amateurism remains the most important symbol of Ireland's sporting heritage.

Mike Cronin

See also Camogie; Hurling; Football, Gaelic

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Ironman Triathlon

An estimated fifty thousand athletes worldwide vie annually to be one of the fifteen hundred competitors in the Ironman Triathlon World Championship, which is billed as the toughest race in the world. Consisting of a 3.8-kilometer swimming race, a 180-kilometer bicycle race, and a 41-kilometer marathon race, all of which must be completed within seventeen hours, the Ironman Triathlon is held in October at the Hawaiian village of Kailua-Kona. The prize purse for 2004 totaled \$430,000, including a \$100,000 first prize for each male winner and each female winner.

Begun a quarter-century ago as an informal idea with an impromptu following, the Ironman Triathlon has grown into a well-established corporate institution promoted year around through Triathlon-branded products ranging from sports drinks and nutrition bars to running strollers, tires, and cars. The World Triathlon Corporation (WTC), based in Tampa Bay, Florida,



owns the Ironman Triathlon trademark, administers the championship race, and oversees qualifying races worldwide. Outside the qualifying races, in keeping with a pledge to include nonelite athletes, a lottery admits 150 U.S. contestants and 50 non-U.S. contestants, although they are required to provide a history of their triathlon activities over the previous year.

The idea for a three-part race emerged during the mid-1970s, and the Ironman Triathlon was introduced as a summer Olympics event at Sydney, Australia, in 1996 using distances of 1,500 meters for the swimming race, 40 kilometers for the bicycle race, and 10 kilometers for the foot race. The more grueling Ironman Triathlon variation is attributed to John Collins, who as a U.S. Navy commander stationed in Hawaii issued a challenge to settle an argument over whether bicyclists or runners are in better shape. The race he proposed combined the local Wakiki Rough Water Swim, a bicycle race around the island of Oahu, and the Honolulu Marathon.

The inaugural race in February 1978 drew fifteen men, of whom ten finished, including Collins; Gordon Haller, a taxi driver, won with a time of 11 hours, 46 minutes, 58 seconds. The first woman participant was Lyn Lemaire, who finished fifth in 1979 with a time of 12 hours, 55 minutes, and 38 seconds. Including Lemaire, only sixteen people took part that second year—the race had been postponed a day because of rough weather and lost some potential entrants to a golf game. In 1980 participation swelled to 106 people. When Collins was transferred, Valerie Silk kept the race going, moving it in 1982 from Oahu to the less-populated Kona, which meant less traffic but more difficult terrain and weather conditions. Having directed the Ironman Triathlon championship for a decade, Silk sold the name in 1990 to Jim Gills, who went on to found the WTC.

Out of Obscurity

The Ironman Triathlon's obscurity ended when ABC's *Wide World of Sports* program began covering it in

1980, and its reputation got a further boost in 1982 when TV viewers saw leading woman Julie Moss, a college student who had entered the race to gather information for a research paper, collapse from exhaustion and dehydration 18 meters short of the finish, then crawl on her knees to finish second. Kathleen McCartney's twenty-nine-second margin of victory remains the narrowest for the race. Winning times these days break nine hours. Luc Van Lierde, who holds the men's record of 8 hours, 4 minutes, and 8 seconds, became the first European Ironman Triathlon world champion in 1996 (the next year German men won the top three spots). Paula Newby-Fraser of South Africa—eight-time winner in Hawaii between 1986 and 1996—set the women's record of 8 hours, 55 minutes, and 24 seconds. Australia's John MacLean was the first official finisher in the physically challenged division in 1997, using a hand-cranked bicycle and a wheelchair. NBC Sports has covered the world championships since 1991, televising an edited version, and the Outdoor Life Network and ESPN International broadcast numerous U.S. and international qualifying events.

Various rituals precede the Ironman Triathlon championship in Hawaii, including a benefit race featuring athletes, both men and women, who wear only their underwear, and a "carbo-loading party" for competitors and fans. Race contestants are required to shave their legs, which is said to keep contestants cooler, allow them to don and doff wet suits for the swimming portion more easily, and facilitate care of any cuts, bruises, or rashes on the legs. Through the years medical protocols for the race have been refined, largely by physician Bob Laird, known to many as "Dr. Bob."

Tensions Surface

Occasionally tensions have surfaced between the Ironman Triathlon establishment and the international and U.S. governing bodies for the conventional triathlon, the International Triathlon Union (ITU) and USA Triathlon. During the mid-1990s WTC leaders objected to numerous ITU proposals for triathlon-rule changes

that WTC leaders thought would undermine the integrity and individualistic traditions of the sport, including the idea of allowing drafting (staying close behind another racer to take advantage of the reduced air pressure created by the leading racer) in the bicycling portion. Another rift was evident in *Triathlete Magazine's* founding of the Triathlon Hall of Fame in 1998, five years after the WTC had founded its Ironman Hall of Fame, which admits one inductee a year. Its first inductee, in 1993, was six-time Hawaii winner Dave Scott; Julie Moss was the second in 1994 for her few moments of struggle that drew such broad attention to the race; Collins, Silk, and Dr. Bob have been inducted as well.

WTC events are sometimes called the “long course” triathlon, with Olympic-distance ITU events being called the “short course”—although longer events not organized by WTC may be held under the name of “iron distance triathlon.” Although still associated with extreme endurance sports, Ironman Triathlon races also are recognized as tests of personal commitment and achievement, and their promoters insist that everyone who crosses the finish line is a champion. The races have given rise to a small group of elite professional men and women who make careers of the races and related coaching and lecturing.

Judy Polumbaum

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Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games

When examining the Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games and the question of how women's participation in sports is compatible with the teachings of Islam, one must remember that Islamic law (sharia) does not prohibit sports for men or women. Islamic sports scientists, both men and women, stress that health and fitness are important for men and women alike and should be sustained by sports. Scholars point out that the Prophet Muhammad, in the hadith (narrative record of the sayings or customs of Muhammad and his companions), advocated living a healthy life and recommended running, horseback riding, swimming, and archery.

Scholar Leila Sfeir and others also have concluded that Islam is positively inclined toward women's sports. According to such scholars the exclusion of girls and women from sports and other physical activities has to do not with Islam but rather with patriarchal values and traditions. However, whenever sports are played, in many Islamic countries Islamic precepts must be followed, which means above all that the body and the hair must be covered and that men and women must practice sports separately because according to Islam control over sexuality is not the result of internalized moral precepts but rather is the result of separating the sexes. In countries that are governed by the sharia (Islamic law), such as Iran, girls and women can participate in sports and other physical activities.

Women and Sports in Iran

The Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games are a result of the Iranian women's sports movement led by Faezeh Hashemi, daughter of former Iranian President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. She and other influential women motivated Iranian women to get “on

*Before you can win a game,
you have to not lose it.* ■ CHUCK NOLL

the move” and contribute to the public and official acceptance of women’s sports. The embassy of Iran states: “Sports play an important role in our social life because it helps women perform their maternal duty and nurture the new generation in the best manner within the sphere of the great Islamic system” (www.salamiran.org).

During the 1980s Iranian women became increasingly interested in physical activities, and thus a women’s committee within the Ministry of Education, a national sports association, and federations for numerous sports were established. Today several million Iranian women are active in sports, and thousands of women coach and referee. In countries such as Iran women have two ways of practicing sports: either in public, wearing the appropriate clothing, or in private areas to which men have no access.

Since the early 1990s Iranian women’s competitions have been organized in shooting, and leagues have also been set up for ball games such as volleyball, handball, basketball, table tennis, and, in 1998, even women’s football.

However, Hashemi and her fellow activists also advocated international sports meetings, pointing out that such meetings might demonstrate the superiority of Islam. Thus, Iranian women have been allowed to compete in international sports meetings, such as the Olympic Games, since the early 1990s but only in events in which Islamic regulations concerning dress can be complied with. Because women cannot compete in many competitive sports while wearing the *hijab*, the head-to-toe covering required of Iranian women, an alternative was developed—the Islamic Countries’ Women’s Sports Solidarity Games (Women’s Games), which were held in Tehran, Iran, in 1993, 1997, and 2001 and from which men were barred as spectators.

The games were developed by the Islamic Countries’ Women’s Sports Solidarity Council (ICWSSC), founded during the first Islamic Countries’ Sports Solidarity Congress for Women, which was an initiative of Hashemi in 1991. Hashemi became president of the council, and in 1993 she welcomed participants from eleven countries to the first Women’s Games in Tehran.

At these Women’s Games the athletes marched into the stadium wearing the *hijab* for the opening ceremony, watched also by male spectators. Afterward the women competed in events wearing the usual sports attire but not exposed to the view of men. The female judges, journalists, doctors, and coaches proved that such events can be successfully held without men present.

At the first Women’s Games competitors came from almost a dozen countries; however, those countries whose women athletes might have profited from a “women only” sports meeting, such as Saudi Arabia or the Gulf States, could not send teams to Tehran because those countries had no organized women’s sports. The majority of competitors came from countries of the former Soviet Union and so had never worn a *hijab*. Most of them had already competed in international competitions; these athletes won most of the medals. For the 122 women making up the Iranian team—with the exception of the sport shooters—this was their first international meeting, and they enjoyed being in the limelight and competing with women athletes from other countries.

In 1997 the second Women’s Games were to be hosted by Pakistan. Pakistanis, however, voiced strong opposition to the competition and to women’s participation in sports in general. Thus, the ICWSSC decided again to hold the second Women’s Games in Tehran. Competitors came from sixteen countries; eight Islamic countries failed to send any athletes.

2001 Games Again in Tehran

In 2001 the Women’s Games again were held in Tehran. Delegations from forty countries announced their participation, but after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in the United States and the war in Afghanistan the number of competing countries sank to twenty-seven. Nevertheless, more than six hundred women competed, including Muslim athletes from England. The women from Afghanistan, however, attracted the most attention.

The games began on 24 October with the running of a torch relay and the lighting of the flame, followed by

performances and the procession of the athletes into the stadium, all dressed in compliance with the regulations concerning Islamic dress. A performance by a woman singer was a novelty because until then women were allowed to sing only before a female audience. During the opening ceremony people also made an appeal for solidarity with the women of Afghanistan. In 2001, too, all the work of staging the competitions was done by women who had been trained in the run-up to the games. The program consisted of fifteen events, which included taekwondo, karate, and *futsal* (indoor five-a-side football). Special rules applied to gymnastics, in which equipment that is not internationally recognized was used, such as the side-horse and parallel bars. Partly on account of its superior numbers, the Iranian team of 159 athletes won the most medals.

The events were accompanied by meetings of the host organization, the Islamic Countries' Women's Sport Federation, including an annual general meeting of members, at which Hashemi was reelected president. The events were also accompanied by an international scientific conference.

Questions and Problems

Although people in Iran greeted the Women's Games as a great opportunity for women's sports and as an alternative to the Olympic Games, many athletes (and also many women and women's organizations in the West) pointed out that events of this kind would only legitimize the exclusion of women from the world of sports. According to them the Women's Games only reinforced the marginalization of women's sports. A great problem—and one that especially the athletes complain about—is the lack of spectators. The lack of interest in women's sports that is familiar in the West is worsened by the Islamic precept of covering the body, that is, women athletes can be shown in photos or on film only if they wear the *hijab*. As a result, the reports and photos of women's sports cannot compete with those of men's sports. Indeed, the only publication to report regularly about women in sports, and thus perhaps to motivate girls and women to take up sports, is

Zan (Woman), which is run by Hashemi. "Radio and television never report on women's sport . . . and this is a serious block to the development of women's sport," is the conclusion of a report on women's sports by an Iranian woman journalist.

Meanwhile, on the international front, the controversy over Muslim women's participation in international sports competition intensified in 1992 when two Frenchwomen, attorney Linda Weil-Curiel and women's rights activist Annie Sugier, discovered that thirty-five of the participating countries in the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games had no women in their delegations. Many of these countries were Muslim. These two women formed an organization, Atlanta Plus, to lobby the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to prohibit countries without women delegates from participating in the Atlanta Games in 1996.

Atlanta Plus petitioned the IOC to fight "gender apartheid" and to enforce its own Olympic Charter, which declares that "all forms of discrimination with respect to a country or a person, whether for reasons of race, religion, politics, sex or any other are incompatible with the Olympic Movement." Atlanta Plus emphasized that this issue was one of human rights, not simply "a cultural/religious issue nor a women's only issue." While pressing for the inclusion of Muslim women on previously male-only teams, Atlanta Plus also registered its disapproval of the notion of games for women only. However, the IOC appreciated the women-only games. IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch stated: "IOC and all its members admire the high values of this movement and will never forget it."

The Women's Games are closely connected with discourses about values and about approaches to cultural relativity and cultural universalism. One of the key issues is whether people must accept culture-specific values even if they contradict principles such as equality and democracy and whether universal human rights exist and, if so, who defines them. Suffice it to say that Iranian women athletes and coaches as well as girls and women in all sports are taking advantage of the current favorable conditions to demand more sports facil-

*Israel Olympics Results**2004 Summer Olympics: 1 Gold, 1 Bronze*

ities and more personal and material resources. To a high degree they decide women's sports issues autonomously. In addition, the Women's Games give athletes who observe Islamic principles as defined in the sharia their only chance to compete.

Gertrud Pfister

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Israel

Sports in Israel began in the early twentieth century during the new Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel. The Zionist movement aimed to create a new, strong, and muscular Jew to contrast with the image of the Diaspora Jew. Sports activities were one way to achieve this goal. However, most of the Jewish immigration to the Israel came from Eastern Europe where such sports awareness was less developed. As a result sports and body culture did not win a high place on the list of national priorities.

The majority of the competitive leagues and sports

unions were founded during the British Mandate (1920–1948), which preceded the establishment of the State of Israel. The Football Union, Sports Union, and the Land of Israel Olympic Committee were all established. At this time, the "Maccabia," the Jewish Olympic Games competition, was initiated as well. The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 did not bring about a dramatic change in sports and their institutions, other than their becoming state owned and sovereign.

The historical development of sports in Israel was influenced by several factors. The most significant are immigration and Israel's position in the international arena. The Jewish settlement grew mainly as a result of immigration waves that brought with them modern training methods (most recently in swimming) and exceptional athletes who have represented Israel in the various individual sports, especially track and field. The geopolitical stand of Israel and its hostile relations with neighboring Arab countries have resulted in the isolation of Israel within its region and have forced it to struggle for its position in Asia and Europe. (A salient expression of this was the murder of eleven Israeli athletes in the Munich Olympic Games in 1972.)

Participant and Spectator Sports

Israel's greatest successes in the international arena to date have been in judo and sailing, where it has won Olympic medals and has succeeded in both international and continental competitions. In the Barcelona Olympics, Yael Arad won a silver medal for judo and Oren Smadja a bronze one. In the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, Gal Friedman won a bronze medal for mistral surfing, and in the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, Michael Kalganov was awarded a bronze medal for kayaking. At the Olympic Games in Athens (2004) Gal Friedman, who participate in the sailing competition, won Israel's first Olympic gold medal, and Arik Zeevi, the judoist, won a silver medal.

Despite Israel's success in these branches of sports, football and basketball enjoy the greatest popularity. A football league has been in operation since 1932. Maccabi Tel Aviv, Hapoel Tel Aviv, Maccabi Haifa, and



The Coliseum at the ancient city of Caesarea, Israel. *Source: istockphoto/rlebow.*

Beitar Jerusalem are the leading teams in Israel. These teams have won the majority of the national championships and draw the largest number of spectators. Israel's national football team's highest achievement has been its participation in the *Mondial*, which took place in Mexico in 1970. In recent years Israeli teams have taken part in the various European championships and have made some impressive achievements, with the peak being Maccabi Haifa's participation in the Europe Cup finals in 2003. Basketball is the second most popular sport in Israel, but in terms of achievement it supersedes football. The Israeli National Team participates in the European Championship regularly and in 1978 won second place in the championship. Maccabi Tel-Aviv is the strongest basketball team in the country and has won virtually every national championship in the

last thirty years. This team is also considered one of the strongest teams in Europe and has won the Europe Cup four times thus far, while reaching the finals six other times.

Women in Sport

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, an ethos of the equality of women with men in all aspects of life was nurtured. This concept is more theoretical than real, and the "equality gap" between men and women in Israel is evident. The number of women who participate in competitive sports and in sports unions is low in comparison with their counterparts in the Western world. Although volleyball, handball, and water polo leagues, among others, do exist, the level of play is low and the leagues enjoy almost no media exposure. The

participation of women's national teams in international competitions is rare. The only women's game relatively successful is basketball. The Women's Basketball League enjoys both public and media exposure, and the level of the play in the league is higher than in other leagues, due to the many players from other countries who play in the league. Several Israeli women's basketball teams participate in European competitions as well.

In light of the dismal situation of women's sports in Israel, it is rather surprising that it is women who have made some of the most impressive achievements in the country: Yael Arad, the judoist mentioned earlier, and Esther Roth Shahamorov, the short distance runner and long jumper, have compiled a long list of achievements. Among other successes, Shahamorov was responsible for Israel's highest achievement in track and field when she reached sixth place in the 100-meter hurdle finals in the Montreal Olympics in 1976. Also noteworthy are the achievements of two women who emigrated to Israel after successful personal careers abroad and whose contributions have been especially important in the fields of training: Angelica Roseano from Romania, world champion in table-tennis, and Agnes Kelty from Hungary, world champion in Olympic gymnastics.

Sports Unions and Society

The society that first developed in Israel was sectarian and divided into different political camps. Each camp fought to influence the character of the society in formation. Each established its own institutions and unions. Correspondingly, the sports unions were political and reflected the political structure of Israeli society. The Hapoel (Workers) Union was founded as part of the socialist workers group in society. The Maccabi Union reflected the bourgeoisie; Elitzur, the religious camp; and Beitar, the national right.

The establishment of the state did not put an end to the organizational politicization of Israeli sports, which in turn influenced the structure of the various leagues, representation on the various national teams, the struc-



Israel

Key Events in Israel Sports History

- 1920–1948** Many sports competitions and associations are established during the British Mandate.
- 1932** A professional soccer league is formed.
- 1932** The first Maccabiah Games are held in Israel.
- 1952** Israel competes in the Olympics for the first time.
- 1972** Israeli athletes and coaches are killed by Palestinian terrorists at the Olympics in Munich.
- 1978** The Israeli basketball team wins the European Championship.
- 1994** The Sports Service establishes a unit for the Advancement of Women in Sports in Israel.
- 2004** Gal Friedman wins a gold medal in windsurfing at the 2004 Olympics.

ture of sports foundations, the distribution of resources, as well as fan groups.

In recent years these ideological differences have become less marked as Israeli society undergoes a process of privatization. The political centers of the past have not disappeared, yet they have lost their clear political identity, and many competitive sports, which were amateur and later became semiprofessional, are becoming more professional.

The Future

Israeli sports stand today at several turning points that will pave the way to important changes in the future. The declining power of political unions and the transition of competitive sports from amateur to professional have brought about a more professional approach, which will ultimately raise the level of Israeli sports. Nevertheless, this change has so far been witnessed in competitive teams that strengthen themselves with out-

side players, and less in the national teams. This more professional approach can also be seen in the distribution of additional resources to the Olympic Committee, which nurtures athletes more scientifically in preparation for the Olympics as part of a trend that began in the 1990s when Israel began winning Olympic medals.

In 1994 the Sports Service established a “Unit for the Advancement of Women in Sports in Israel,” with the purpose of closing the gap between men and women in sports (with regard to athletes and representation of women in sports organizations, media, etc.). Since the group’s establishment, the “inequality” gap has been gradually closing.

It is Israel’s hope that peace will be achieved in the Middle East. Among all the other advantages of peace, Israel will be able fully to integrate in its natural milieu, which will further advance the development of sports in the country.

Haim Kaufman

See also Maccabiah Games

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Italy

Italy, a country in Southern Europe, comprises a peninsula in the Mediterranean Sea, two large islands (Sardinia and Sicily), and several small islands and archipelagos, for a total of 301,000 square kilometers; 42 percent of it is hilly and 35 percent of it is mountainous. Italy borders France, Switzerland, Austria, and Slovenia. The population is about 58 million people, and the capital is Rome, which includes Vatican City. Most Italians adhere to Catholicism; other religions are practiced by only 0.4 percent of the population.

History

In foreign kingdoms and in the states that composed Italy before its unification in 1861, Italians were often considered masters of dueling, horse racing, and a kind of archery practiced with *balestra*. Some ritual games of the Middle Ages were played then (and are still played now)—for instance, the *Palio* (horse race) in Siena, Pisa’s *Gioco del Ponte* (a team fight that aims to eliminate opponents), and Florence’s *calcio storico* (a kind of football).

Horse racing and trotting were acclaimed sports in the Kingdom of Tuscany and in Lombardy when both states were under Austrian domination. The Kingdom of Piedmont, later the driving force that freed Italy from foreign dominance, introduced gymnastics for both sexes in 1836. Swimming appeared in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies in southern Italy in the late eighteenth century; in 1828 the Military Academy of Naples organized some competitions that followed the teaching of Oronzio De Bernardi, whose 1794 treaty *L’uomo galleggiante* (Floating man) was translated into many languages.

Other individuals who contributed to the development of sports in Italy were Gioacchino Otta, who taught physical education in Finland in the early nineteenth century, and Carlo Marchelli, who competed in London in the mid-nineteenth century. During this same

I really lack the words to compliment myself today. ■ ALBERTO TOMBA

period, the weight lifter Felice Napoli exhibited successfully abroad, and other weight lifters, especially Lazio and Emilia-Romagna, were very popular in Vatican City.

Sports in Unified Italy

With its capital at Turin, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed on March 17, 1861. In 1870, the state grew to include Rome, which quickly became the new capital. The government faced grave problems, such as illiteracy and a low standard of public services, and it struggled to industrialize and to reform. In 1878, the law ruled that physical education in schools was obligatory and must be open to both sexes. During this period, aristocrats were dedicated to horse racing, pigeon and target

shooting, hunting, and rowing, and the middle and lower classes preferred gymnastics, cycling, wrestling, and walking.

Sports were organized only gradually. The federation of target shooting came into being in 1862, a federation for gymnastics was formed in 1869, and governing bodies were also formed for yachting (1879), shooting (1882), cycling (1885), and rowing (1888). National gymnastics meets began in 1873 and more inclusive triennial festivals were inaugurated in 1889. In these competitions, national titles were awarded for running, jumping, throwing, gymnastics, weight lifting, and wrestling, and later for football and swimming.

At the end of the nineteenth century, many Italians emigrated from the impoverished south of the country



Canoeing down the Sesia River in Italy. Source: *istockphoto/binabina*.

seeking jobs and better conditions in the United States. Included in this group were a famous trio of strong men—Cosimo Molino, Giacomo Zafarana, and Luigi Borra. On March 28, 1891, in London, Zafarana took second place in the first world weightlifting championship, thus achieving Italy's first international honor.

During this period, two Italian scientists, Angelo Mosso and Paolo Mantegazza, successfully advocated modern sports for women, especially swimming. The first championship games for athletics and lawn tennis were held in 1897, and those for swimming and football in 1898. A lifesaving society was constituted in 1899. Rugby came to Italy in the 1910s through the influence of French players and coaches.

Until World War I, some Italian towns remained under Austrian domination, and local gymnastic societies acted as repositories of patriotic values. Having understood the importance of sports for the consolidation of national identity, the press emphasized them by welcoming the sporadic visits of sports teams from other countries. Following the success of the French staged road race, the Tour de France, the journal *Gazzetta dello Sport* initiated a corresponding event, the Giro d'Italia, in 1909, which contributed to the immense popularity of cycling in Italy. Sales of bicycles increased enormously from 1890 to 1910, leading to a boom in related industries—for instance, a company called Campagnolo patented a type of cycling gear.

Noblemen represented the nation abroad. The Marquis Lucchesi Palli and Count Carafa were cofounders of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894. The Count Capuccio chaired the international federation of rowing (FISA), which was organized in Turin in 1892. The Marquis Monticelli Obizzi founded the Italian federation for heavy athletics in 1902 and was the driving force behind an ephemeral international union from 1905 to 1907.

In Paris in 1900, Italy took its first Olympic medals, one gold and one silver in equestrian sports, but it had achieved its first unofficial European title in trotting in 1895 and an official one in rowing in 1901. Francesco Verri, triple winner at the Intercalated Games of Athens

Italy Olympics Results

2002 Winter Olympics: 4 Gold, 4 Silver, 4 Bronze

2004 Summer Olympics: 10 Gold, 11 Silver, 11 Bronze

in 1906, won the first world championship for Italy in track cycling that same year. The IOC chose Rome to host the Olympic Games in 1908, but after an initial acceptance, the capital refused the honor because of economic inadequacy. The Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano (CONI) was first organized in 1908.

The best Italian athlete of the prewar period was the gymnast Alberto Braglia, winner of the individual event in the Olympics in 1908 and again in 1912. A man of humble origins, he later became a popular actor in the circus.

Sports and Fascism

When World War I ended, Italy was in a very difficult state. The flu epidemic of 1918–1919 added 600,000 victims to the 650,000 who had fallen in the War. While industrial production increased, agriculture lost workers. Social tensions increased and in 1922 the King gave control of the country to Benito Mussolini, leader of the Fascist movement. Fascist squads eliminated political opponents, and by 1925 the process of dictatorship was complete. Remaining tensions with the Catholic Church were solved in 1929 with an agreement called “Concordato.” In 1938, Mussolini joined an alliance with Nazi Germany.

The Fascist government used sports to control the population, organizing the youth for military purposes and spreading a cult of strength. Mussolini presented himself as a good example, swimming in open water, driving automobiles, playing tennis, and attending sports events. Fascists organized the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (OND), which also managed volleyball, considered a minor sport and not under the direct control of CONI. In 1928, CONI's role as a superfederation governing all sports was strengthened.

Women were encouraged to play sports, but they were always reminded that their primary roles were dutiful spouse and tender mother. To appease the Church, the Fascist government agreed to the Church's request to forbid the participation of women athletes in the 1932 Olympics. The Fascists eventually relented: In the hurdles in the Berlin Olympics of 1936, Ondina Valla



Italy

Key Events in Italy Sports History

- | | | | |
|-------------|---|--------------|---|
| 1878 | Physical education is made compulsory in the schools and open to boys and girls. | 1909 | The Giro d'Italia cycling road race is held for the first time. |
| 1889 | Triennial festivals including sports competitions are started. | 1930s | Under the fascist government sports is politicized and promoted. |
| 1891 | Italy gains its first international sports honor when Giacomo Zafarana finish second in the world weightlifting championship in London. | 1933 | Primo Carnera wins the heavyweight boxing title. |
| 1892 | The International Federation of Rowing is founded in Turin. | 1950s | Soccer becomes the most popular sport. |
| 1900 | Italy competes in the Olympics for the first time and wins its first medals. | 1956 | Italy hosts the Winter Olympics. |
| 1908 | The Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano is founded. | 1960s | Ferrari becomes a major force in Formula 1 racing. |
| | | 1960 | Italy hosts the Summer Olympics in Rome. |
| | | 1965 | Foreign players are barred from the soccer league; the ban is lifted in 1980. |
| | | 1982 | Italy wins the soccer World Cup. |

won and Claudia Testoni, who came in fourth, broke the world record in 1938 and won the European title.

During the Fascist Era, Italian sports entered a Golden Age with their media-amplified triumphs in World Cup football (soccer) in 1934 and 1938, their second place in 1932, and their third place in 1936 at the Olympic Games. In 1933 Primo Carnera won the heavyweight title in professional boxing; he became an icon for Italian youth and inspired a cartoon character called Dick Fulmine. Another idol was Tazio Nuvolari, who is still viewed as one of the all-time greats in motor sports.

During this period, Augusto Turati, the leading Fascist exponent of a traditional team game called *volata*, tried and failed to make the game the Italian national sport. The Fascist regime then tried to use rugby to shape good soldiers, calling the game a repository of masculine virtues. However, "rugby" was misspelled as *rugbi*, which then came to be pronounced "roogbe."

Postwar Sports

Mussolini was shot on 25 April 1945, three days after the Allied victory in Italy, and on 2 June 1946, a ballot proclaimed the country a Republic and the king was dis-

credited as a Fascist collaborator. The government, led by Alcide De Gasperi until 1953, anchored Italy to the Western alliance led by the United States. Italy also benefited from the Marshall Plan, which helped to reconstruct the country, including the industrial sector, which boomed in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Popular symbols of this reconstruction period were two cyclists, Fausto Coppi and Gino Bartali. Their repeated victories in staged and one-day races fed the Italian ambition for a new self-image based on genuine achievement. These two cyclists represented the two faces of Italy: When Coppi was tried for his extramarital love affair, he evoked the sympathies of the anti-clerical, liberal part of the population. Bartali, on the other hand, was a fervid Catholic, and was several times received by the Pope. However, the two cyclists had a friendly relationship.

The government eventually withdrew its financial support for sports, and since 1947 CONI has financed Olympic sports with one-third of the income earned by a popular football forecasting game, which is managed by a private company. Football became the national sport and still keeps this role. In the 1950s, most Italian football clubs recruited foreigner players and offered

them luxurious contracts. Subsequently, some of those players, especially those from South America, were Italianized. However, both policies created problems, separating the rich clubs from the poor ones and weakening dedication to the nation. From 1965 to 1980 foreigner players were barred.

In 1956 Italy hosted the Winter Olympics at Cortina d'Ampezzo in the Dolomiti mountains, and in 1960 it hosted the Summer Games in Rome. Italy achieved a remarkable success with thirteen gold medals and thirty-six medals overall. In Tokyo, four years later, it confirmed its ranking, but in three successive Summer Games, the Italian teams did not do as well overall, notwithstanding good performances in fencing, that permanent reservoir of honors, and the triumphs of Klaus Dibiasi, the first diver to win three straight gold medals in platform diving. On the other hand, in Alpine skiing, the 1970s saw the magic moments of *valanga azzurra* ("blue avalanche"—blue is the color worn by all Italian teams). Gustav Thöni and Piero Gros, Olympic and World Cup winners, led other Italian skiers to dominate World Cup stages and standings.

In professional sports, Italy succeeded with several boxers—Nino Benvenuti, Bruno Arcari, Sandro Mazzinghi, and Carmelo Bossi, who were in 1970 simultaneously world champions in their categories—and with the motorcyclist Giacomo Agostini, who from 1966 to 1975 won fifteen world titles—still an unbeaten achievement. The automobile racing company Ferrari, led by a self-made engineer called Enzo, became legendary during these years as it won several world titles in Formula 1 racing.

In the 1970s and 1980s, perhaps because increasing numbers of Italians began to watch sports on television, track cycling, athletics, and rowing became less popular. Young people began to practice martial arts rather than boxing, and to play reduced forms of football, such as the *calcetto* (five-player football). Municipalities increased their expenditures for the promotion and diffusion of sports among youth, but children probably became interested in swimming and lawn tennis

because of some international achievements in these practices.

Italy won the World Cup in football 1982. Many people celebrated for many days, confirming and displaying Italy's new sense of national identity and unity. Alberto Tomba became the greatest idol of Italian sport, not only for his astounding triumphs in Alpine skiing, but also for his bizarre and outspoken behavior as a media star.

Women in Sports

The success of Italian women in the Winter and Summer Olympics of 1992 pushed Italy ahead in both Games. Deborah Compagnoni was the first skier to win three Olympic gold medals, Antonella Bellutti and Paola Pezzo won two Olympic gold medals, in track cycling and mountain biking, respectively. The fencers Valentina Vezzali and Giovanna Trillini still dominate their events. The rivalry in cross-country skiing between the two Olympic champions Stefania Belmondo and Manuela Di Centa was reminiscent of the competition between Bartali and Coppi.

These champions created a new image of women—self-confident, determined, reflective, and tastefully handsome—which is very far from the popular image of "vice boy," which marks the Italian male sporting star. Moreover, by winning top titles in team sports such as volleyball and water polo, Italian women demonstrated the results of the enormous improvement of sports culture among young women.

Current Situation

While winning important victories in the Olympics, most notably in fencing, Italy also leads the world in motor sports, with motorcyclist Valentino Rossi and the Ferrari company in Formula 1 racing. Italy further enjoys a worldwide reputation in sports manufacturing and fashion.

The main problem with Italian sports today is the economic crisis of football, which lost many spectators, as well as money and credit, because of team bank-

ruptcies and doping allegations. The battle for television rights between public clubs and private networks also impacted the budgets of clubs negatively, because they have to manage the player contracts. CONI fought hard against doping, and successfully brought charges against internationally famous medical teams.

Gherardo Bonini

See also Coliseum (Rome); Foro Italico; Rome, Ancient

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Jamaica

Japan

Japanese Martial Arts,
Traditional

Jogging

Jousting

Judo

Jujutsu



Jamaica

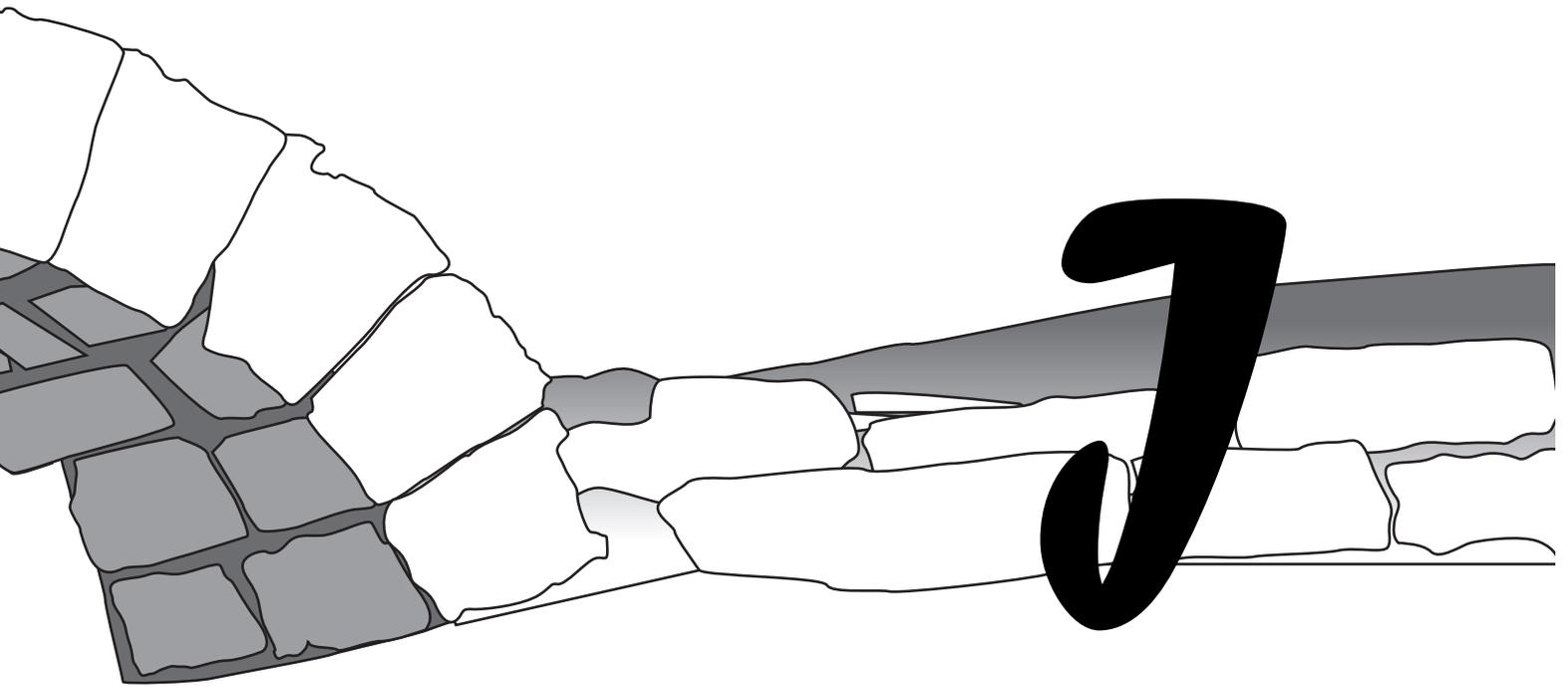
Jamaica, one of the larger West Indies islands, is about 160 kilometers south of eastern Cuba. The capital city, Kingston, is located on its southeast coast. The national population in 2002 was 2,621,000. With its prior status as a British colony (it gained independence in 1962) and its current membership in the British Commonwealth, Jamaica has developed a sport tradition that reflects that of Great Britain.

History

The indigenous Taino people of Jamaica and neighboring islands played a bat and ball game known as *batos*. In colonial Jamaica soccer and cricket were popular with white planters and city dwellers who organized private clubs and match play. Later, soccer and cricket became popular sports for all segments of society.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Participant sports in Jamaica include soccer, cricket, table tennis, netball, tennis, golf, swimming, and deep-sea fishing. Jamaican soccer teams have participated in international competitions since the early twentieth century, and the Reggae Boyz soccer team has achieved international recognition in recent years. Jamaican sport took a twist with the entry of a bobsled team in the 1998 Winter Olympics. Jamaica claims more success per capita in international track and field than any other country in the world; many of its athletes honed



their skills while attending universities in the United States.

CENTRAL AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN GAMES

Beginning with thirty-five athletes in the second Games in 1930, Jamaica has participated in all but one (1935) Central American and Caribbean Games. Kingston hosted the 1962 Games. In 1930 a Jamaican man won the silver medal in high jump, and since then Jamaican athletes have competed in track and field events, men's and women's badminton, baseball, boxing, cycling, men's and women's field hockey, weightlifting, water polo, swimming, tennis, table tennis, women's softball, men's volleyball, shooting, soccer, and yachting. For most editions of the Central American and Caribbean Games, Jamaica has sponsored from thirty to seventy male and female athletes, but as host country in 1962, one hundred fifty-eight men and twenty women participated.

Jamaicans have won medals in all sports they entered except for baseball, men's field hockey, men's volleyball, and soccer. Through 1990, most medals have been in men's and women's track and field (forty gold, thirty-two silver, and eighteen bronze), boxing (three gold, four silver, and six bronze), and weightlifting (two gold, seven silver, and three bronze). Jamaicans have also won gold medals in tennis, women's field hockey, cycling, shooting, water polo, and yachting. Through 1986, Jamaicans held the men's 400-meter record and a tie for the women's 80-meter hurdles record, two cycling records, and 3 percent of gold and 3 per-

cent of total medals (Jamaica is in seventh place in both categories).

PAN AMERICAN GAMES

Jamaica has participated in all Pan American Games since the first Games in 1951 in which Herb McKenley won bronze medals in the 100-meter, 200-meter, and 400-meter events. Through the 1999 Games, Jamaicans had competed in men's track and field (winning nine gold, twelve silver, and fifteen bronze medals), women's track and field (winning four gold, five silver, and fourteen bronze medals), boxing (winning two silver and seven bronze medals), cycling (winning one silver and two bronze medals), weightlifting (winning one silver and eight bronze medals), water polo (winning one silver medal), yachting (winning one bronze medal), shooting, men's field hockey, women's field hockey, men's soccer, men's swimming, women's swimming (winning three silver medals), men's badminton (winning one bronze medal), and mixed badminton (winning one bronze medal).

Outstanding performances include winning all three medals in the men's 400-meter event and gold in the 4×400-meter event in Chicago in 1959, Donald Quarrie's 100-meter and 200-meter gold medals and the gold medal in the women's 400-meter event in 1971. Also outstanding were the winning of gold medals in the men's 110-meter and 400-meter hurdles in 1987, in the women's 4×100-meter event and the long jump in 1991, and in the men's 400-meter and 4×400-meter events in 1999. In 2003 Jamaica won five gold, two



Jamaica

Key Events in Jamaica Sports History

- 1930** Jamaica participates in the first Central American and Caribbean Games.
- 1934** Jamaica participates in the Commonwealth Games for the first time.
- 1936** The National Olympic Committee is formed.
- 1948** Jamaica competes in the Olympics for the first time.
- 1951** Jamaica participates in the first Pan American Games.
- 1962** Jamaica hosts the Central American and Caribbean Games.
- 1966** Jamaica hosts the Commonwealth Games.
- 1966** The Women's Cricket Association is founded.
- 1970s** Jamaica is established as a major force in international track.
- 1980** Sprinter Merlene Ottey competes in her first of six Olympics for Jamaica.
- 1998** Jamaica enters a bobsled team in the Winter Olympics.

silver, and six bronze medals (putting the country in tenth place overall in gold medals and in total medals).

COMMONWEALTH GAMES

Jamaica has taken part in thirteen Commonwealth Games (first called British Empire Games), from the 1934 Games held in London through the 2002 Games, and Kingston hosted the Games in 1966. Powerhouses in track and field, Jamaicans enjoyed medal success in all the Games they entered. Overall, the country has won a total of eighty-three medals (thirty gold) across seven sports disciplines, including athletics, swimming, boxing, cycling, netball, shooting, and weightlifting.

The 2002 Games produced a record total of seventeen medals for Jamaica, including four gold. Commonwealth Games records held by Jamaicans include the women's 100-meter hurdles and the 200-meter and 400-meter events, and the men's 120-yard hurdles, the 400-meter event, and the 4×400-meter relay.

OLYMPIC GAMES

Jamaica first participated in the Olympic Games with nine men and four women in 1948. Arthur Wint and Herb McKenley won first and second place, respectively, in the 400-meter event, and Wint won second place in the 800-meter event. Since then, the country has sent mainly track and field athletes every year to the Games (it did not send any athletes to Rome in 1960). In 1952, McKenley won silver medals in the 100-meter and 400-meter events, Wint won the silver medal in the 800-meter event, and George Rhoden won the gold medal in the 400-meter event; the Jamaican team (McKenley, Leslie Laing, Rhoden, and Wint) won the 4×400-meter event. L. Miller won the silver medal in the 100-meter event in 1968 and the bronze medal in 1972. Four years later Donald Quarrie won the silver medal in the 100-meter event and the gold medal in the 200-meter event; in 1980 he won the bronze medal in the 100-meter event.

Merlene Ottey won the bronze medal in the women's 200-meter event in 1980. In 1984 Jamaican men won the silver medal in the 4×100-meter event, and Ottey won the bronze medal in the women's 100-meter and 200-meter events. Jamaican medals in 1988 included silver in the men's 4×400-meter relay and Grace Jackson's silver in the 200-meter event. In 1992 Jamaicans won silver medals in the women's 100-meter and 200-meter events (Juliet Cuthbert won both), the bronze medal in the women's 200-meter event (Ottey), and the silver medal in the men's 400-meter hurdles.

In the 1996 Olympics, Jamaican men won the silver medal in the long jump and the bronze medal in the 4×400-meter event; Deon Hemmings won gold in the women's 400-meter hurdles and Ottey won silver in the

Jamaica Olympics Results

2004 Summer Olympics: 2 Gold, 1 Silver, 2 Bronze

women's 100-meter and 200-meter events; women also won bronze in the 4×100-meter event. Medals won in 2000 include the bronze in the men's 400-meter and 4×400-meter events; silver in the women's 400-meter, 4×100-meter, 4×400-meter, and 400-meter hurdles (Hemming), and bronze in the women's 100-meter event.

In 2004, Jamaicans participated in several track events and won gold in the women's 200-meter event (Veronica Campbell) and the women's 4×100-meter event, silver in the men's 400-meter hurdles, and bronze in the women's 100-meter (Campbell) and 4×400-meter events. The nation tied for thirty-fourth overall in gold and for thirty-seventh overall in total medals; it was seventh in gold and tied for fifth place in total track and field medals. Jamaica's Prime Minister planned to offer financial incentives to winners of Olympic medals in 2004.

Professional Sport

Jamaican cricket includes professional players. Black cricketers became increasingly prominent in the sport during the twentieth century. Many Jamaicans have participated on West Indies teams in international competitions. Jamaica's best-known cricket ground is Sabina Park in Kingston.

Women and Sport

Track athlete Merlene Ottey has won more Olympic and International Amateur Athletic Association medals than any other Jamaican. Through 2000 she had participated in six Olympic Games. In 1966 Jamaican women established a Women's Cricket Association and were soon playing international matches. The Caribbean Women's Cricket Federation was formed in 1975, and Jamaican women played on the first West Indies team the following year.

Youth Sports

There are national Boys and Girls Championships for high school students. The Penn Relays High School

Division, established in 1895 in the United States, has included many winners from Jamaica.

Organizations

The Ministry of Local Government, Community Development and Sports, the Institute of Sport, and the National Council on Sports, chaired by the Prime Minister, are the main government entities responsible for sport. The National Olympic Committee, which was established in 1936 and formally recognized by the International Olympic Committee in 1962, oversees Jamaican participation in Olympic-type international competitions. The Jamaica Football Federation governs soccer competitions.

The Future

A 2004 ministerial speech stated that "the endeavors of sport will be oriented to goals of both social and economic development." Jamaica's government thus favors the strong future development of several sport disciplines, such as track and field, soccer, swimming, badminton, and netball.

Richard V. McGehee

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Japan

Made up of a number of islands, Japan is located off the east coasts of Russia, Korea, and China, with a population of 128.1 million (2005). Japan's blend of the traditional and the modern has influenced



Japan

Key Events in Japan Sports History

- | | |
|---|---|
| 821 CE Sumo tournaments are sponsored by the imperial court. | 1922 The first Women's Federal Athletic Meeting for Women's Higher Normal Schools is held. |
| 1868–1912 Many Western sports are introduced during the Meiji period. | 1924 The Japan Association of Women's Physical Education is formed. |
| 1872 Sports are added to the school curriculum as part of the Education Order of 1872. | 1925 The Ski Association of Japan is formed. |
| 1874 The first track and field meet is held in Tokyo. | 1925 The sumo association Dainihon Sumo Kyokai is established. |
| 1878 The first formal Japanese baseball team is formed. | 1926 The Japan Women's Sport Federation is founded. |
| 1878 The Taisodensyujo, the training institute for gymnastics, is established. | 1949 The All Nippon Kyudo (archery) Federation is formed. |
| 1882 A standard system for judo is established. | 1964 The Summer Olympics are held in Tokyo. |
| 1895 Greater Japan Society of Martial Virtue is founded. | 1972 The Winter Olympics are held in Sapporo. |
| 1911 The Japan Amateur Sports Association is formed. | 1991 The Japan Professional Soccer League is formed. |
| 1921 The Japan Football Association is established. | 1998 Japanese Association for Women in Sport is formed. |
| | 1998 The Winter Olympics are held in Nagano. |

its people's participation in traditional martial arts (*budo*) and in modern sports. Japanese participation in modern sports began during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, although not many women participated at first. Later, however, both men and women participated, especially after World War II. Professional spectator sports also draw large crowds to stadiums in Japan. The Japanese have been successful in many international sports and hosted the Summer Olympics at Tokyo (its capital) in 1964 and the Winter Olympics in Sapporo in 1972 and Nagano in 1998.

History

Foreign teachers, residents, and servicemen and Japanese intellectuals returning from study abroad introduced most Western sports to Japan during the Meiji period (1868–1912). The modern education system also was important in the development of Japanese sports. The formal Japanese education system was established by

the Education Order of 1872, and since then most sports in Japan have been developed at all levels of the education system.

BASEBALL

One of the modern sports that the Japanese became enthusiastic about during the early stages of the Meiji period was baseball (*yakyu*). In 1873 Horace Wilson, a U.S. teacher, introduced baseball at Kaisei Gakko (Tokyo University). Five years later Hiroshi Hiraoka, an engineer returning from Boston, assembled the first regular baseball team from members of the Shinbashi Athletic Club, formed for personnel of the Shinbashi Railroad.

Soon after, several college baseball teams were formed in Tokyo. *Yakyu*, however, was soon modified according to the Japanese way of playing team sports, which required a traditional ethos (distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or guiding beliefs) of

An ancient Japanese football game.

harsh training and self-sacrifice. After World War II professional baseball developed to the extent that it may be thought of as the national sport. Shigeo Nagashima is a national hero, and Sadaharu Oh, who is believed to have held the world record of 868 home runs, was awarded “the national honor prize.” In recent years Hideo Nomo (1995 rookie of the year from the Los Angeles Dodgers in U.S. Major League Baseball), Kazuhiro Sasaki (2000 rookie of the year from the Seattle Mariners), Ichiro Suzuki (2001 rookie of the year and Most Valuable Player from the Seattle Mariners), Hideki Matsui of the New York Yankees, and others have played as professionals in the United States.

GYMNASTICS

In 1878 the Japanese Ministry of Education established Taisodensyujo, the training institute for gymnastics. Dr. George Adams Leland (1850–1924), a U.S. citizen and medical doctor who graduated from Amherst College and studied medicine at Harvard University, taught gymnastics there to teachers selected from all over the country. Gymnastics taught at the institute seemed to have been influenced by Dio Lewis (1823–1886), who initiated the “new gymnastics” in U.S. physical education. More than 250 teachers finished the training course and diffused Western-style gymnastics to the local areas of Japan by the time the institute closed in 1886. During the Taisho period (1912–1926) Swedish gymnastics and games became widely practiced in most schools.

TENNIS AND SOFT TENNIS

Dr. Leland also taught tennis using rackets and balls imported from the United States. Sometime before 1909 a tennis club had been established at Doshisha University in Kyoto, and in 1913 Keio University in Tokyo began to use the standard ball and to follow international rules. Many other colleges followed suit. However, a type of tennis that uses a softer rubber ball also



became popular. Because an imported standard ball was expensive, Gendo Tsuboi (1852–1922), a teacher at Tokyo Higher Normal School, ordered a rubber company to produce a softer rubber ball for tennis in 1890. Tennis using the softer ball has developed and spread from Japan to other countries such as South Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, Venezuela, Brazil, Hong Kong, Zaire, and the United States (Hawaii).

SKIING

After 199 Japanese infantrymen were lost on snow-covered Mount Hakkoda in Aomori Prefecture (district) in 1902 the Japanese army began to consider the need for skiing skills. Theodor Von Lerch (1869–1945), an Austrian general, introduced skiing to the Japanese army at Takada in Niigata Prefecture in 1911 and taught skiing to civilians, too. The inhabitants of Takada soon formed a ski club. The Ski Association of Japan (SAJ) was formed in 1925 and joined the Federation Internationale de Ski (FIS) in 1926. Alpine skiing and Norwegian skiing were introduced, and skiing developed as one of the major winter sports in Japan.

ATHLETICS (TRACK AND FIELD)

Athletics (track and field) was introduced by Frederick William Strange (1853–1889), an English teacher at the Tokyo Daigaku Yobimon (an institution attached to the present Tokyo University). He also published *Outdoor*



School Gymnastics by Chikanobu Yoshu, 1886.

Games in 1883. This book, written in English, included explanations of children's games, hockey, football, lawn tennis, cricket, baseball, and track and field events such as races, high jump, long jump, hammer throw, and hurdles. An athletic meet was held at Tokyo University in 1883 when Strange's *Outdoor Games* was published. Track and field events had been introduced to Japan by the 1870s from England and the United States. The first meet had been held in 1874 at the Tsukiji Naval Academy in Tokyo.

ROWING

Foreigners living in Yokohama were participating in rowing by 1867 and formed the Yokohama Rowing Club during the early Meiji period. However, organized races were developed by the reinforcement of naval forces and Strange's coaching at Tokyo University. A boat club formed there was modeled on those at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. The club's team raced

against the foreigners of a sport's club called the Yokohama Athletic Club in 1885. The fixed match between the teams of Waseda University and Keio University began in 1905.

ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL (SOCCER)

Association football (soccer) was introduced in 1873 when Archibald Lucius Douglas, an English lieutenant commander, came to Tsukiji Naval Academy and taught students soccer with thirty-three officers of his subordinates. Rammel Jones, an English engineer teaching at the Kogakuryo School of Engineering (Faculty of Engineering, Tokyo University), introduced his students to soccer about 1873 or 1874. However, more than twenty years passed before people established a system for clubs, diffused the rules, and formed a Japanese association.

On 4 October 1903, the Shukyu (Football) Club of Tokyo Higher Normal School published a book entitled

A thousand days of training to develop, ten thousand days of training to polish. ■ MIYAMOTO MUSASHI

Association Football in Japanese (revised in 1908), and a match was held between the Shukyu Club and YCAC, the foreigners' soccer club in Yokohama, in February 1904. Not until 1907 did the Japanese teams (the Shukyu Club of Tokyo Higher Normal School and the club of Aoyama Normal School) meet. The national federation (Dainihon Shukyu Kyokai, the present Japan Football Association) was formed in 1921. The federation was admitted into the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA—the world governing body of soccer) in 1929.

RUGBY

E. B. Clark of Keio University, an English teacher who was born in Yokohama and studied at Cambridge University, introduced rugby in 1899. Ginnoyuke Tanaka, a Japanese student, returned from Cambridge and cooperated with Clark in his teaching of rugby. Ten years later Keio University published the first book on rugby. In 1910 a rugby team was formed at Daisankotogakko (Kyoto University) in Kyoto, and Doshisha University in Kyoto followed suit the next year. Keio University, Daisankotogakko, and Doshisha University held rugby matches in 1911. These matches became annual events and became the first national meetings for the championship of rugby, sponsored by the Osaka Mainichi newspaper company in 1918. On 30 November 1926, the governing body, the Japan Rugby Football Union, was established.

BADMINTON

The traditional shuttlecock game called “battledore and shuttlecock,” brought by the Dutch, had been played in Japan as early as the eighteenth century. The Japanese played modern badminton at least by 1918. In that year rackets were produced in Niigata Prefecture. Members of YCAC were playing badminton as a winter sport by the 1930s. The clubs in Kanagawa stimulated the establishment of the Kanagawa Prefecture Badminton Association in 1939. In 1947 the Nippon (Japanese) Badminton Association was set up, and all-Japan championship matches began in 1948.

BASKETBALL

Basketball is one of the sports that the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) helped to diffuse in Asia. In 1908 Hyozo Omori (1876–1913), a graduate of the YMCA Training School (Springfield College) in Massachusetts, returned to Tokyo and taught basketball at the Tokyo YMCA. He also taught in the Japan Women's University and trained Japanese athletes for the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm, Sweden, but died on the way home from this tour. The next year a Japanese teacher of English who had graduated from Wisconsin University introduced basketball at a secondary school in Kyoto in 1913. In 1911 a graduate of the YMCA Training School became an executive director of Kobe's YMCA. In 1913 the popularization of basketball in Kobe was reinforced by Franklin H. Brown, who had graduated from the YMCA George Williams College in Chicago, and the Japanese YMCA invited him to train the directors of physical education. Brown taught in Kyoto, Kobe, and Tokyo. Kyoto YMCA beat Kobe YMCA in the finals and participated in the third Far Eastern Games held in Tokyo in 1917. In the same year a modern gymnasium was constructed by Tokyo YMCA. Brown's instruction there made Tokyo YMCA's basketball teams superior to others. Students trained at the YMCA gradually formed teams at colleges during the 1920s, and the University Association was formed in Tokyo in 1923. College games thrived during the 1930s.

VOLLEYBALL

Hyozo Omori also brought volleyball from the YMCA Training School in 1913. However, volleyball was not popularized so quickly. A Japanese team participated in an international volleyball tournament and competed with teams from China and the Philippines at the third Far Eastern Games. However, the Japanese team was composed of soccer players, track and field athletes, and so forth.

A national association was formed in 1927 and unified local organizations. Afterward matches gradually developed to the international level.

*Winning is a habit. Unfortunately,
so is losing* ■ VINCE LOMBARDI

Modernized Indigenous Martial Arts

People in Japan practice many modernized indigenous martial arts, including judo, kendo, and *kyudo*.

JUDO

Judo is classified among the *budo*, the Japanese traditional martial arts. Its development, however, took place after the Meiji period (1868–1912). Kodokan judo was developed by Jigoro Kano (1860–1938). A *kodokan* is the gymnasium and school for judo. Kano improved *jujutsu*, one of the ancient martial arts techniques, and invented the rational system of judo in 1882. He devised a system of training, fostered many disciples, and established a free style of judo. With judo a smaller person can overcome a larger person by scientifically designed techniques. However, Kano's system is based not only on rationalization but also on ethical values and spiritual discipline.

KENDO

Kendo is derived from the Japanese traditional martial art of swordsmanship, *kenjutsu*, which had a long history among Japanese feudal lords. Schools of *kenjutsu* existed before the Edo period (1600/1603–1868), but modern kendo was developed after abolition of the bushido (relating to a feudal-military Japanese code of behavior valuing honor above life) class. Eventually the Tokyo Metropolitan Police and the Academy of Military Training helped to reorganize the different styles of swordsmanship into a standardized form. This process of standardization was reinforced by the Dai Nippon Butokukai (Greater Japan Society of Martial Virtue), established in 1895. The standard kendo kata (a set combination of positions and movements performed as an exercise), the formal attack and parrying exercise, was established by a committee of leading fencers in 1912.

KYUDO

Kyudo, Japanese archery, is one of the oldest sports in Japan. Japanese archery developed from ancient times through medieval aristocratic society and the culture of

the bushi class. In 1543 the gun was introduced to Japan, and when it replaced the bow, people used *kyujutsu*, the preceding arts of Japanese archery, to train both mind and body. Before archers can advance with deliberate steps to the shooting line and shoot at a target, a ceremony, which is partly influenced by Zen (relating to a Japanese sect of Mahayana Buddhism) practices, is held. This ceremony is treated as part of the form, on which *kyudo* places much emphasis. In modern times *kyudo* was reorganized by the Dai Nippon Butokukai. In 1949 the All Nippon *Kyudo* Federation (ANKF) was formed. The role of the federation is to promote *kyudo*, organize national and international competitions, and assess the titles and categories of archers.

Traditional Sports

Sumo wrestling and *kemari* (a ball game) are two important traditional sports still practiced today.

SUMO

Sumo is one of the popular spectator sports in Japan. Its origin is uncertain. However, from a historical-anthropological view, experts believe that it is similar to an earlier form of wrestling that existed in Asia and was performed at gala feasts to celebrate a good harvest or at funerals involving divinity. Sumo, with its traditional religious ceremony, may seem antiquated. However, it appeals to modern Japanese people who do not associate it with the original divine elements.

Sumo became professional about three hundred years ago during the early Edo period. Professional sumo wrestlers are governed by the Nihon Sumo Kyokai (Japan Sumo Association), established as Dainihon Sumo Kyokai in December 1925 and mostly composed of ex-wrestlers who have competed in twenty-four tournaments in the Juryo division or in a tournament in Makuuchi. Tournaments are held every other month in four cities: January, Tokyo; March, Osaka; May, Tokyo; July, Nagoya; September, Tokyo; and November, Fukuoka. The Kokugikan (National Sport Arena) in Tokyo is to a great degree the home of professional sumo.



The Bushido Ideal, 1899

In the Bushido ideal of woman, however, there is little mystery and only a seeming paradox. I have said that it was Amazonian, but that is only half the truth. Ideographically the Chinese represent wife by a woman holding a broom—certainly not to brandish it offensively or defensively against her conjugal ally, neither for witchcraft, but for the more harmless uses for which the besom was first invested—the idea involved being thus less homely than the etymological derivation of the English wife (weaver) and daughter (*duhitar*, milkmaid). Without confining the sphere of woman's activity to *Küche*, *Kirche*, *Kinder*, as the present German Kaiser is said to do, the Bushido ideal of womanhood was pre-eminently domestic. These seeming contradictions—domesticity and Amazonian traits—are not inconsistent with the Precepts of Knighthood, as we shall see.

Bushido being a teaching primarily intended for the masculine sex, the virtues it prized in woman were naturally far from being distinctly feminine. Winckelmann remarks that “the supreme beauty of Greek art is rather male than female,” and Lecky adds that it was true in the moral conception of their art. Bushido similarly praised those women most “who emancipated themselves from the frailty of their sex and displayed an heroic fortitude worthy of the strongest and bravest of men.” Young girls, therefore, were trained to repress their feelings, to indurate their nerves, to manipulate weapons,—especially the long-handled sword called *nagi-nata*, so as to be able to hold their own against unexpected odds. Yet the primary motive for exercise of this martial character was

not for use in the field; it was twofold—personal and domestic. Woman owning no suzerain of their own, formed her own bodyguard. With her weapon she guarded her personal sanctity with as much zeal as her husband did his master's. The domestic utility of her warlike training was in the education of her sons, as we shall see later.

Fencing and similar exercises, if rarely of practical use, were a wholesome counterbalance to the otherwise sedentary habits of women. But these exercises were not followed only for hygienic purposes. They could be turned into use in times of need. Girls, when they reached womanhood, were presented with dirks (*kai-ken*, pocket poniard), which might be directed to the bosom of their assailants, or, if advisable, to their own. The latter was very often the case; and yet I will not judge them severely. Even the Christian conscience with its horror of self-immolation, will not be harsh with them, seeing Pelagia and Dominina, two suicides, were canonized for their purity and piety. When a Japanese Virginia saw her chastity menaced, she did not wait for her father's dagger. Her own weapon lay always in her bosom. It was a disgrace to her not to know the proper way in which she had to perpetrate self-destruction. For example, little as she was taught in anatomy, she must know the exact spot to cut in her throat; she must know how to tie her lower limbs together with a belt so that, whatever the agonies of her death might be, her corpse be found in utmost modesty with the limbs properly composed.

Source: Nitobe, I. (1899). *Bushido: The soul of Japan*.

KEMARI

Kemari is a traditional ball game that has been continued by the Kemari Preservation Society. The earliest reference to people playing *kemari* at the imperial court dates from the mid-seventh century. However, no details of the method of play exist, and no evidence exists that

it had the same root as the game refined after the twelfth century and enjoyed by the nobility. The game is played by four, six, or eight people who form a circle and kick a ball that must not fall to the ground. Traditionally the *mariba* (playground) was marked out by a willow, a cherry, a pine, and a maple tree at each of the



Athletic Meeting of School Students in Tokyo, by the painter Ikuhide Kobayashi, 1888.

four corners, which signifies the points of the compass, which have symbolic meaning. The distance between the trees was from 6 meters to 7.5 meters, according to the *Naigesanjisyō*, a textbook written in 1291. Players, wearing leather shoes, kicked the *mari*, a deerskin ball about 20 centimeters in diameter and weighing 100 to 120 grams. Recent study reveals that *kemari* included rallying that was divided into stages. Each stage required a different skill. The ball was kicked up into a tree so that it could not come back into play easily.

Women and Sport

Since the Education Order of 1872, most women's sports in Japan have been developed at all levels of the education system. However, change came slowly and not without resistance. The Regulation Act for Women's Upper Secondary Schools was enacted in 1895, and gymnastics and games were included in the curriculum

in 1903. The games included the marching game, *hagoita* (a traditional girls' game played with a shuttlecock and flat boards), croquet, and lawn tennis. During the Taisho period education for women was encouraged, and women's gymnastics and games were more widely accepted. On 27 May 1922, the first Women's Federal Athletic Meeting for Women's Higher Normal Schools was held at the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School, which was supported by the Tokyo YMCA. In 1924 the Japan Association of Women's Physical Education was formed, followed by the Japan Women's Sport Federation (JWSF) in 1926. This federation was to become a member of the Federation Sportive Feminine Internationale (FSFI) by 1930. In 1924 the first meeting of the Women's Olympic Games of Japan was held in Osaka. Also held in 1924 was the Meijijingu Athletic Meeting, at which women competed in track and field, basketball, volleyball, and tennis.

Japan Olympics Results

2002 Winter Olympics: 1 Silver, 1 Bronze

2004 Summer Olympics: 16 Gold, 9 Silver, 12 Bronze

EARLY ELITE WOMEN ATHLETES

In 1926 Kinue Hitomi (1908–1931) participated in the International Women's Games in Goteborg, Sweden. She was the only Japanese woman at the games and the first to succeed in an international sports competition. She won gold medals in the long jump and the standing long jump and silver medals in the discus and the 100-yard sprint. In 1928 Hitomi also won a silver medal in the 800-meter race at the Olympic Games in Amsterdam, Netherlands. The swimmer Hideko Mae-hata (1914–1995) succeeded Hitomi as Japan's leading woman athlete, winning Olympic silver medals in the 200-meter breaststroke in Los Angeles in 1932 and in Berlin in 1936. Because of extensive media attention, she became a celebrity.

BUDO FOR WOMEN

Kyudo and naginata (Japanese halberd—a weapon consisting typically of a battle-ax and pike mounted on a handle) were added to the physical education curriculum in women's normal schools, upper secondary schools, and training schools, and kendo and judo were required for men in 1936.

POSTWAR DEVELOPMENTS

The Olympic Games were held in Tokyo in 1964, and by 1970 Japanese women were competing in rugby, ice hockey, bodybuilding, yacht sailing, boxing, and karate. In later years Japanese women won gold medals: Kyoko Iwasaki in the 200-meter breaststroke (Barcelona, Spain, 1992); Yoko Emoto in judo, 61 kilograms (Atlanta, Georgia, 1996); Tae Satoya in the freestyle mogul in skiing (Nagano, Japan, 1998); Ryoko Tamura in judo, 48 kilograms, and Naoko Takahashi in the marathon (Sydney, Australia, in 2000).

ORGANIZATION OF GENDER AND SPORT

The Japanese Association for Women in Sport was formed in 1998, and in 2001 the first Asian Conference on Women and Sport was held in Osaka. In the academic area the Japan Society for Sport and Gender Studies (JSSGS) was established in 2002.

The Future

Many amateur sports have developed in Japan (the Japan Amateur Sports Association was formed in 1911). In professional sports baseball and sumo have been two of the most popular. In 1991 the Japan Professional Soccer League was established under the chairmanship of Saburo Kawabuchi. Acquiring professional status symbolizes soccer's substantial increase in popularity as Japan discovers the value of regional sports.

Keiko Ikeda

See also Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional; Sumo; Sumo Grand Tournament Series

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Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional

Of the many Japanese martial arts, three continue to stand out today for their long, rich history. They are *kyudo* (longbow archery), *naginatado* (halberd), and *iaido* (drawing the long sword). In the twentieth century, sport styles of these traditional forms have developed, though the old styles—*koryu*—continue to be practiced. For many years, *kyudo*, *naginatado*, and *iaido* were rarely seen outside Japan; today, people practice them throughout the world.

History of the Traditional Arts

Kyudo, *naginata*, and *iaido* all have their origins as battlefield or combat weapons techniques.

KYUDO

It is unclear when the first bows arrived in Japan, whether they were introduced from China, made by indigenous people, or possibly both. Evidence of recurved, composite Japanese bows dates to the Jomon culture (10,000 to 250 BCE). Longer bows appeared about 1,000 years ago. It is clear, however, that the *yumi*, or Japanese longbow, is unique in design, with no equivalent to be found elsewhere in the world. The contemporary Japanese longbow is a recurved design made from a laminate of bamboo and other materials. Its unique characteristics include its length (seven feet long or longer) and that the grip is set in the lower half of the bow, rather than in the center as with most other bows. Archery, along with horsemanship and use of the spear,

was one of the original primary skills of the early Japanese warrior. Battlefield archery was strategically important from the perhaps the tenth century until the introduction of firearms in 1543. By the beginning of the Tokugawa era (1600–1868), archery, always popular for hunting, became primarily a gambling sport, with wagers being made on accurately shooting numbers of arrows at targets set at distances. This sporting aspect of Japanese archery paralleled, but did not necessarily contradict, its development as a practice undertaken for self-improvement, an idea that had its roots in ancient China. These parallel interests continued until the beginning of the twentieth century, when teachers promoted *kyudo* as good exercise, particularly for women. At the end of World War II, all martial arts practices were banned by the U.S. occupation. However, *kyudo* was allowed to resume in 1949, in advance of other martial practices, apparently because of the enthusiasm for archery expressed by some the members of the U.S. armed forces.

Today, *kyudo* is practiced as a competitive, target-shooting sport by both men and women under the auspices of the All-Japan *Kyudo* Federation and its international affiliates, while archers (called *kyudoka*) also pursue the more martial and spiritual aspects through the study of *koryu*, or “old school” practices.

NAGINATADO

Perhaps no other martial art has as varied a history as *naginata* (also known as *naginatado*). The *naginata* is a long pole, usually oval-shaped, with a long, curved blade attached to the end. Though some martial arts lore has referred to the *naginata* as a “broken sword,” *naginata* blades were specially, and individually, made. The length of the pole and blade varied according to use. Overall length could be eight feet or longer (a six-foot pole topped by a two-foot blade was one of many variations). The earliest *naginata* were battlefield weapons wielded in sweeping arcs by foot soldiers. The technique was intended to cut the legs from under a galloping horse in order to fell the rider, who could then be finished off by other means.

Many groups who practice iaido also practice partner forms (kenjutsu or kumitachi).

Source: Deborah Klens-Bigman.

At the end of the Warring States Period (c. 1467–1568), a smaller, lighter version of the naginata became a primary weapon of women of the samurai class. Women practiced for health and stamina and also to defend their homes and personal honor when necessary. At this point the blades and poles became shorter, perhaps to an overall length of seven feet. The weapons were also made more beautiful, with fancy inlays and patterns on the blades. A naginata was included in a samurai woman's dowry, and she was expected to understand its use. Koryu styles emphasize a naginata in combat against a sword. The practitioner (called a naginataka) has the advantage of length and leverage over the swordsman. Many of the *kata* (forms) in these styles end with the naginataka eviscerating the swordsman with the hooked end of the blade.

Atarashii (“New”) Naginata developed as a sport form in the 1950s, one primarily practiced by women. The sharp steel blade was replaced by a pair of curved bamboo staves, with protective armor similar to kendo gear worn for competitive practice. Today the All-Japan Naginata Federation and its international affiliates regulate matches for women (and, increasingly, men) around the world. Like kyudo, many groups also practice koryu styles, such as Tendo ryu (founded in the 1560s) and Jikishinkage ryu (developed in the 1860s). In contemporary practice, a one-piece combined shaft and blade of white oak has replaced the deadly steel blade and wooden shaft.

IAIDO

The earliest swords found in Japan were straight-bladed examples originally from China. Like the yumi, the Japanese long sword evolved in a way unknown elsewhere, a product of differential tempering that allows for a curve along the back, a flexible center, and a sharp,

hard edge. Though Japanese swords were worn on the battlefield, using them there was considered a tactic of last resort. Swordsmanship did not become prominent until the establishment of peace under the Tokugawa shoguns, beginning in 1600. Swords retained their curve, but became somewhat shorter, easier to use while walking. Swords were both a badge of honor for the samurai class and a way of keeping order and settling disputes.

At around the same time, however, Hayashizake Jinsuke Shigenobu (c. 1546–1621) conceived that swordsmanship could be practiced for spiritual self-improvement, and the idea for iaido was born. Hayashizake's school and its many descendants developed and practiced swordsmanship consisting of *kata* that began and ended with the sword seated in its sheath, as opposed to person-to person combat with swords already drawn (*kenjutsu*). Though hundreds of styles of iaido have been lost over time, many styles survive as new ones have evolved. The word *iaido* was first used to describe the art form in 1932.

Modern iaido consists primarily of solo forms performed with either a real sword (a *shinken* or *katana*) or an alloy blade specifically designed for practice (*iaito*). The basic pattern of movement is to simultaneously draw and cut an opponent, often, but not always, in reaction to a threat. The initial cut is followed by a larger, finishing cut. The sword is then ritually cleaned and returned to its sheath. Many schools also include partner forms, using wooden swords. Though modern





A group of kyudoka perform a kata together.

iaido is not a competitive or sporting style of martial arts, internationally recognized ranking is offered through the All-Japan Kendo (Fencing) Association and its affiliates worldwide, while independent schools have their own ranking systems. An iaidoka may enter a mixed martial arts tournament in the kata competition, and competitions among iaidoka in kata have taken place. There are also related competitions in cutting straw or bamboo targets, using real katana or Chinese-made katana-style swords.

Practicing the Traditional Arts

Basic dress for kyudo, naginata, and iaido is the same: a loose-fitting jacket (*keikogi*), pleated, wide-legged trousers (*hakama*), and a belt (*obi*). The colors and details of this basic outfit vary somewhat depending on the discipline and the style being studied. Kyudo, naginata, and iaido are all practiced right-handed, regardless of whether the participant is actually right-handed or left-handed. The rules for men and women are the same.

While the goal of iaido remains self-improvement and it is essentially noncompetitive except for individual kata competition, both kyudo and naginata have sporting aspects.

Kyudo competitions consist of shooting a certain number of arrows with the goal of striking the center of the target. In the old days, competitions were often de-

finied by who could fire the most arrows accurately at a target in a specified length of time, or how fast an archer could accurately fire a set number of arrows. Due to the growth of kyudo internationally, the rules for competition are not currently standardized, and there is an effort underway by the All-Japan Kyudo Federation to determine the number of shots and type of scoring needed to clarify international competition. In addition to the basic outfit described earlier, the kyudoka wears a

reinforced glove, generally made of soft deerskin, on the right hand. A groove in the glove allows the kyudoka to pull the string of the bow. The kyudoka also wears white *tabi*, traditional Japanese socks. Women often wear a flexible fabric or leather chest protector. Some styles also wear a glove on the left hand. There is no other protective equipment.

Kyudoka practice technique at close range, using straw-stuffed bags set about a bow's length away from the archer. Ranges (*azuchi*) are long, narrow corridors set at 26 meters, with small, paper targets set at the end, backed with hay bales. The targets are roofed over to protect them from the weather.

While many kyudoka use traditional laminate bows, fiberglass bows are also being used. The strings can be made of a variety of materials; they are reinforced off-center, where the arrows are nocked to take the extra wear. Arrows have shafts made of traditional bamboo or aluminum. The tips are made of steel and are bullet-shaped for hitting the straw target. Arrows used for close-in target practice have no fletches (feathers), but arrows for distance shooting have them. (Turkey feathers are currently popular.) The pull strength of bows can be as low as 6 kilograms to accommodate beginners. The length of arrows is determined by the archer's arm length. The archer shoots two arrows per round.

Iaido is philosophy. ■ YOSHITERU OTANI

Koryu kyudo consists of kata according to whatever old style is being practiced. Heki ryu, Honda ryu, and Ogasawara ryu are the most common styles. It is said in particular that Heki ryu retains some of the old combative sense of being a martial art, rather than a target-shooting sport. Competitive kyudo consists of standard kata established by the Kyudo Federation, which is practiced all over the world. The archer shoots two arrows per round in most kata, and also in competition.

In Atarashii Naginata both players wield naginata. The targets and scoring are similar to kendo. The head, forearms, and body above the waist are targets, along with a straight hit to the throat. In addition Atarashii Naginata recognizes the shins as a target. Each of these targets is worth one point. Matches are timed, and the naginataka who gets three hits on an opponent is the winner. The naginataka must also call out the strike as it is being made in order for the score to be legitimate. The Atarashii Naginata player wears body armor similar to that used in kendo: a helmet, breastplate, padded gloves, padded protection for the lower torso, with the addition of shin guards. Atarashii Naginata is always practiced barefoot.

Koryu styles of naginatado are not practiced for competition, though they may be demonstrated as a point of interest during an Atarashii Naginata tournament. Koryu naginatado consists entirely of forms, with the naginata pitted against a sword (the naginata side always wins). Since there is no “freestyle” aspect to koryu naginatado, protective armor is not worn. Tendo ryu and Jikishinkage ryu are the best known koryu naginatado styles, though some more comprehensive old martial

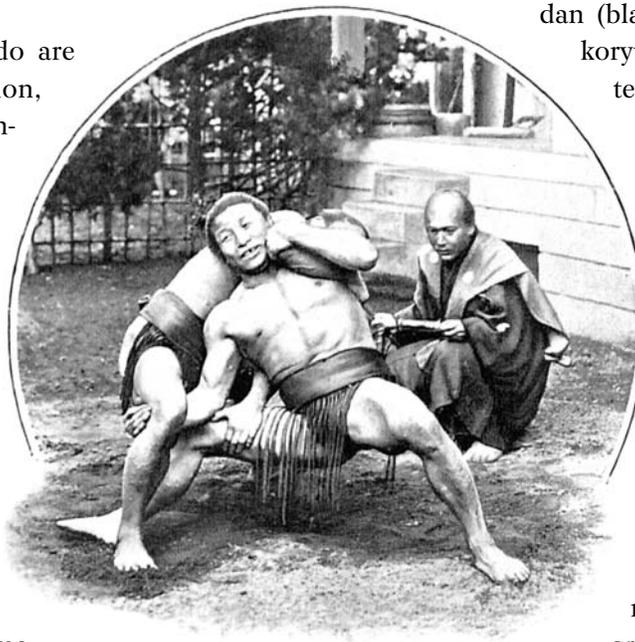
art schools, such as Kashima Shinto ryu also practice naginata techniques.

Iaido also consists only of forms. Most of the forms are for a solo practitioner, owing to the danger of practicing person to person with a sword; however, most styles also have partner forms, which are practiced with wooden swords only. There is no “freestyle” aspect to iaido practice. Forms often consist of three levels: the *shoden* (beginner), the *chuden* (middle), and the *okuden* (advanced). The iaidoka wears the basic outfit described earlier; kneepads are also recommended. No other protective gear is worn. Most beginners start with a wooden sword, progressing to an iaito after a few months. Senior practitioners who can afford them may opt for a real sword, either a Japanese katana or a Chinese-made blade, when their teacher determines they are ready. The All-Japan Kendo Federation, however, stresses that only iaito may be used for official grading sessions.

Rankings for kyudo, naginatado, and iaido follow the kyu-dan system: Players begin at kyu level (often equated with colored belts) and advance to dan (black belt) level. In dojo where koryu is practiced exclusively, the teacher may issue certificates of expertise (*menkyo*) instead.

Progress is slow; it may take as long as 15–20 years before a practitioner achieves the status of teacher (usually fifth or sixth dan). The general consensus is that practice improves with age. It is not unusual to find seventy- and even eighty-year-olds practicing all the above styles.

Iaido, kyudo, and naginatado appeal to nearly all age groups and to both sexes. Middle school or even elementary



Japanese men practice wrestling.

school students may start naginatado. High school kyudo teams are increasingly popular in Japan. Iaido generally appeals to people less interested in sporting competition.

Competition at the Top

Neither kyudo, naginatado, nor iaido are Olympic sports. Elite competition consists of championship competitions among practitioners who have worked their way up through prior tournaments. Kyudo and Atarashii Naginata have regional and world champion competitions. Kata competitions in iaido have likewise been held at the regional and international level, though much of the emphasis at iaido gatherings is placed on learning new material and kyu-dan ranking examinations.

Though there are modern sport aspects to kyudo and naginatado, their structure, along with that of iaido, is basically hierarchical. Koryu styles follow the headmaster (*soke*) system, in which one individual has inherited the right to teach the style. In some iaido systems, there is no *soke*, so major teachers are the leaders of the style. Shibata Kanjuro XXI is the current head of the Heki ryu Bishi Chikuren ha, a koryu style of kyudo. Mitamura Takeko is headmistress of Tendo ryu naginata. Mitsuzuka Takeshi is a major teacher of Muso Shinden ryu iaido. Though the most senior teachers are still only to be found in Japan, there are now well-qualified teachers elsewhere as well.

Martial Arts Governing Bodies

Many iaido dojo are affiliated either with the All-Japan Kendo Federation (www.kendo.or.jp) through its many international branches, or, less commonly, with the All-Japan Iaido Federation. Kyudo is governed by the All-Japan Kyudo Federation (www.kyudo.com), and naginatado by the All-Japan Naginata Federation (www.naginata.org). Individual koryu dojo also exist, especially for kyudo and iaido styles, some of these dojo are quite large and have their own governing bodies.

Kyudo, naginatado, and iaido all provide exercise and enjoyment for people of all ages and from many

walks of life. The meditative and spiritual aspects of practicing these art forms provide a deep sense of satisfaction that goes beyond the excitement of competition, toward a deeper understanding of oneself and the world.

Deborah Klens-Bigman

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Jogging

No consensus exists on the precise sporting definition of the term “jogging” as a mode of human ambulation and exercise, but most discussions in a sports context hinge on intent and practice more than on the specific biomechanics of the activity. Literal dictionary definitions emphasize speed and character—as *Merriam-Webster’s* online puts it, to jog is “to run . . . at a slow trot” and “to go at a slow, leisurely, or monotonous pace.” Colloquially, jogging may be seen as a slower form of running—both running and jogging being distinguished from walking in that both feet are

My doctor recently told me that jogging could add years to my life. I think he was right. I feel ten years older already. ■ MILTON BERLE

off the ground simultaneously between strides, which requires more muscle activity and effort. Debates among runners yield a variety of verdicts: Some attempt to demarcate jogging by duration of the endeavor (e.g., five miles or less per workout) or by speed (e.g., eight minutes per mile or slower). Others associate running with more seriousness of purpose than jogging (e.g., a jogger avoids inclement weather, whereas a runner will continue in a thunderstorm) as well as more rigorous training and participation in competitive events. The late cardiologist George Sheehan, a running guru and author, is often quoted as saying the difference between a runner and a jogger is a race-entry form.

Certainly, elite runners are never labeled *joggers*; the word carries an inescapable connotation of amateurism or at least casualness. Yet, runners may also be amateurs or part-timers. Ultimately, there is no clear distinction when it comes to nonprofessionals working out and even competing; *jogging* has become virtually synonymous with running for health, for fun, and for testing oneself against time, terrain, and other runners. Runner and writer David Holt insists, “Society may call you a jogger, but for whatever speed or distance you are intermittently floating over and stepping gently onto the planet, you are in fact a runner” (<http://home.sprynet.com/~holtrun/jog.htm>). Nevertheless, jogging in reference to running for personal gratification and exercise, rather than in pursuit of athletic excellence, has entered the lexicon as a centerpiece of a grassroots fitness movement that emerged in the United States in the mid-1970s and spread in Europe during the 1980s. Jogging remains a recommended method for

- Developing strength and endurance
- Fostering cardiovascular fitness
- Losing weight
- Improving mental outlook

Regular running as a hobby and a route to physical and mental well-being, once viewed as either frivolous and adolescent or somewhat eccentric, is now widely accepted as a routine activity. Indeed, it has become an industry in itself and a boon for other industries, from

shoes and apparel to the family-friendly business of running strollers. U.S. sales of running and jogging clothing amounted to about \$650 billion in 2003 and continue to grow, according to the U.S. National Sporting Goods Association. Jogging helped give rise to portable CD players designed to withstand runners’ pavement pounding. Fashion designers offer jogging belts with compartments for electronic music players, credit cards, and water bottles. Jogging strollers, introduced in the 1980s, now come in high-performance models with such features as lightweight frames, fast-rolling wheels, and parking brakes.

High-Profile Inspiration

In the early 1970s, high-profile runners provided inspiration—notably Frank Shorter, winner of the gold medal in the 1972 Olympics marathon and silver in 1976; Bill Rodgers, who won the 1975, 1978, 1979, and 1980 Boston Marathons; and Alberto Salazar, who won three consecutive New York City Marathons in the early 1980s. Complementing their feats were educators spreading enthusiasm for running as a pastime, such as Sheehan, who had given up training after college but resumed running in his early sixties. Sheehan advocated running for both fitness and peace of mind and urged individuals to find a pace that suited one’s internal comfort level rather than trying to meet external goals. His 1978 book *Running and Being* spent fourteen weeks on the *New York Times* best-seller list, and *Sports Illustrated* deemed him the country’s most important “philosopher of sport.” Other important running advisors of the period were Kenneth Cooper, also a physician, who spread his convictions that regular exercise and good diet could extend a person’s lifespan by six to nine years; and Jim Fixx, author of *The Complete Book of Running* (first published in 1977), which eventually sold over a million copies, and a proponent of running as a key to longevity—ironically, he died while jogging at age fifty-two, of a massive heart attack caused by blocked coronary arteries.

The U.S. running environment through the 1960s was dominated by the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU),

which policed amateur running quite strictly and organized most races outside of school and collegiate competition. Considerable tension existed between the AAU and the forerunners of today's myriad running clubs throughout the United States—the Road Runners Club of America, founded in 1957, and its affiliates. Since the 1970s, however, running clubs have proliferated, and their original focus of supporting small numbers of local or regional outstanding athletes has changed to a much broader participatory mission—the Road Runners Club of America now claims more than 600 local clubs and 130,000 members, and many other clubs and associations exist worldwide. Races open to all comers, many held to raise money for charitable purposes, likewise have multiplied. American Sports Data calculates that about 10.5 million Americans are “frequent runners,” meaning running more than 100 days a year, with about 40 percent of them women. Other surveys put the number of U.S. runners and joggers at 35 million. According to tallies from USA Track & Field, the governing body for running, finishers in U.S. races grew from 4.8 million in 1993 to 7.7 million in 2003, with the proportion of women also increasing from 28 percent to 52 percent.

Reports and Variations

Scientific studies have probed the physiological benefits of running and the sources of the so-called runner's high, usually attributed to increased production of endorphins by the brain. Although positive research findings far outstrip the negative, scholars also have looked at problems of compulsive running and connections with eating disorders. Running or jogging and their continuing spread and enduring results also have been exhaustively chronicled and promoted in manuals, memoirs, and coffee-table books, with classics still in print and new additions published each year. The Road Runners Club's original mimeographed newsletter evolved into the mass-circulation magazine *Runner's World*, founded in 1966; circulation of the U.S. edition, published by Rodale, exceeds half a million, with joint venture editions published in the United Kingdom, Ger-

many, Belgium, Spain, South Africa, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Australia-New Zealand.

Although jogging is relatively cheap and convenient—requiring no equipment beyond appropriate footwear and needing no partners or teams—its prerequisite for popularity seems to be a certain level of affluence and leisure time. The London Marathon, first held in 1981, helped spread interest in running in the U.K., and running for health and exercise is now usual in Western and Northern Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. In other parts of the world, however, including regions that produce elite runners such as eastern Africa and increasingly East Asia, recreational running is not nearly as widespread. Some observers see the emergence of a “second running boom” in the United States, propelled by role models ranging from former President Bill Clinton, a sometime jogger, to TV personality Oprah Winfrey, who lost 70 pounds and then ran a marathon in 1994.

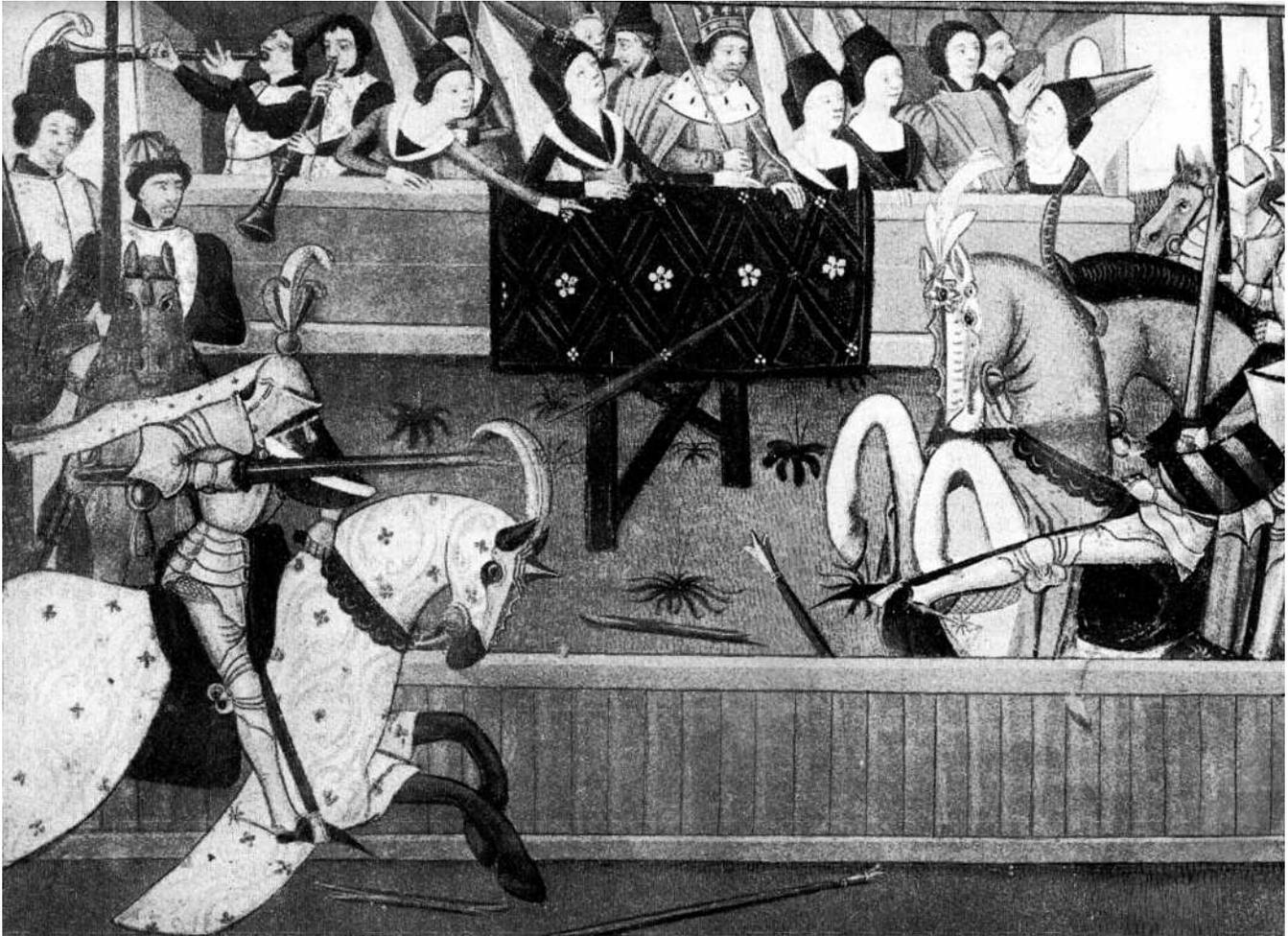
Judy Polumbaum

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Jousting

Jousting was part of a *hastilude*, a tournament of games fought with lances or spears. The word *jousting* probably derives from the Old French verb *joster*, meaning “to come together and fight with lances.” Joust-



Knights jousting in France in the late fifteenth century.

ing as performed with coronels (three-pronged, blunted lance heads) was a direct descendant of the tournament *à plaisance* (i.e., with blunted weapons, for entertainment). The joust was a straight charge in which two knights or men at arms on horseback met each other with lances only; it was a single combat for exercise and sport. If the joust was performed with sharp lances, as in border tournaments, judicial duels, feats of arms, and chivalric combats, it perpetuated the tournament *à outrance* (with sharp weapons, as in warfare). In both incarnations the joust consisted of several courses between two men or of a whole set of courses between several challengers and answers. As a discipline on horseback, this straightforward attack differentiated the joust from the tournament per se, in which “turns” (from Old French *tournoi*) and withdrawing movements to new positions for a better application of sword, mace,

and cudgel were constantly required. Although always an element in any form of *hastilude*, the joust became a sport in its own right as early as the fourteenth century.

Jousting had a special relationship to the chivalric romances of the day, which were dominated by the French language. These romances perpetuated the French chivalric code of honor and extended French cultural influence all over Europe (an influence already well established with the Norman invasion of Britain and other military exploits). Practice on the lists (the palisades enclosing the jousting area) and in fiction mutually influenced one another: Romances offered an idealized conception of partly idealized feats of arms, and the knights in turn tried to imitate the legendary heroes of the romances as best they could. English knights (*chevaliers*) often rode into the lists as Lancelot or even as King Alexander of Macedon and adopted French

allegorical names such as “Coeur Loyal” and “Valiant Desire” until late in the sixteenth century. At the Accession Day tournaments in the Westminster Tiltyards particularly, these French traditions flourished.

Origins

Jousting emerged from *hastiludes*, which were of French origin and remained largely confined to Western Europe, later spreading to Bohemia and Hungary as well as the Scandinavian countries. To the southeast they even reached Byzantium (Istanbul, Turkey). Early known as “*conflictus gallicus*” (Gallic encounter), the *hastiludes* had a specific terminology for participants, weapons, forms of combat, and so on that was generated in France, and even in the countries to which *hastiludes* spread, the vocabulary remained basically French.

Hastiludes, and thus jousting, were a product, no doubt, of real warfare. The knight on horseback as well as the troops on foot required training. An Angevin gentleman, Geoffrey of Preuilley (a small town in the Touraine, France region) is said to have invented tournaments for this purpose in Tours, France, around 1066. Thus, the tournament became a more or less peaceful mirror of an actual battle, involving mounted knights and armed squires, as well as personal attendants (*garçons*) on foot, all in the tiltyard at the same time. This format was known as a “*mêlée*,” in which two mixed sides skirmished in an enclosed field. By the end of the fourteenth century the *mêlée* was superseded by chivalric encounters with the lance, the sword, the battle ax, and the dagger.

The *behourd* (a variation of the mass tournament with blunted weapons and lances armed with coronels instead of sharp points) emerged alongside the *mêlée* in twelfth-century France. It, too, prepared the soldier for war, offering him an opportunity to obtain the chivalric qualifications necessary for knighthood. Indeed, *behourds* were often staged in conjunction with initiations into knighthood, marriages, and coronations. Blunted weapons were used, including the lance, the cudgel, and the rebaited (blunted) sword. At tournaments and *behourds* a knight would recruit his retinue for both

household and battlefield, binding the “purchase” by individual contract.

In the Norman-French *Statutes* of England, the words *tournament* and *behourd* were often used interchangeably during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. English kings were constantly prohibiting the two contests on the grounds that no license had been purchased prior to the events. By imposing licensing, the Crown not only secured a considerable source of income, but also forestalled possible rebellions; after all, the contesting parties would arrive with bands of fifty or more men at arms. As early as 1194 King Richard I allowed tournaments in only five English locations, and the tournaments were still considered specifically as preludes to war.

In addition to the tournament à *outrance* and the tournament à *plaisance*, as early as 1223 another form had developed: the Round Table, in which Arthurian legends, the Holy Grail, and their heroes were imitated. Centered around a wooden castle or pavilion (which often housed a damsel to be freed) defenders, or “venants,” would challenge all comers, or “tenants,” to fulfill chivalric feats with blunted weapons specified in regulations devised for the occasion and fixed to the challenge tree, an artificial, decorated tree to which a poster with the regulations was fixed.

Such events became grandiose spectacles for the women, great numbers of whom watched the combatants from a grandstand. In the year 1331 such a *berfois* (grandstand) broke down because it held too many spectators, and in 1342 five hundred women were summoned to attend. Round Tables mostly ended with banqueting, singing, and dancing. The German verb *gröhlen* (to bawl) derives from the loud noise of the drunken participants in such “Holy Grail” festivities. An event similar to the Round Table was the Pas d’Armes, which originated in fourteenth-century France but did not obtain its fully fledged form in England until the middle of the fifteenth century. In the Pas d’Armes a challenger (tenant) would erect a pavilion and defend a narrow passage. Those men who wanted to pass through the passage had to answer the challenge and to fulfill the conditions in the challenge proclamation. Only blunted



A modern knight preparing to go to battle in a joust. Source: [istockphoto.com/FocusOnYou](https://www.istockphoto.com/FocusOnYou).

weapons were allowed, and the challenger could fix elaborate regulations listing details such as ten courses with the lance, shields without metal armament, no visor, twenty blows with the sword on horseback and ten blows with the ax on foot, all in an armor of the answerers' choice.

Partly originating from the judicial duel were two serious versions of *hastiludes* that were fought with sharp weapons: the feat of arms and the chivalric combat. The feat of arms was used by two conflicting parties to settle hostilities and was always staged in the lists and was used by larger groups with standardized weapons supervised by an official judge. All sorts of sharp weapons could be used according to prior agreement, and every feat of arms resulted in casualties and deaths. The chivalric combat had the character of an ordeal undertaken when one party had assailed the personal honor of the other, and the matter could not be resolved in court. Sharp weapons agreed upon had to be of the

same length (lance, sword) and caliber (mace). The combat lasted until defeat was signaled or until one of the parties incurred fatal wounds. As would have been the case had court proceedings been conclusive, the defeated was subsequently executed in public.

Development

Although part of any *hastilude*, the joust was increasingly staged as a separate event. Gradually the joust freed itself from the *garçons* on foot and the bulk of accompanying horsemen, the squires, whose object was to unhorse the jousters to gain booty and enact ransoms, as they had done in real warfare. The English king Edward I's *Statuta Armorum*, statutes regulating the use of weapons, (1292) only disciplined and reduced the number of these "turbulent" squires and riotous *garçons*, who met with severe restrictions on their functions and armaments. Not until 1466 were separate regulations for jousters set up. Until then the joust had shared the

*If you can't accept losing,
you can't win.* ■ VINCE LOMBARDI

general development of the *hastiludes* in all aspects. In its early stages, however, the joust was often exempt from royal prohibitions and restrictions because it offered less danger of rebellions.

Both forms of the joust—with sharp weapons and with blunt weapons—flourished in England during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. During the reigns of Edward I (1272–1307) and Edward III (1327–1377), it started to outrun its counterparts, the various forms of *hastiludes*. By the fourteenth century the joust had definitely overtaken the *mêlée*. Single combats between knights in full armorial splendor charging with their lances in rest won the day. Special armors for jousting were devised; heralds set up regulations, proclaimed the challenges, and organized the jousts; judges graded the individual performances and pageantry before and after the event. The joust came to be featured as the central event in nearly all chivalric meetings of the fourteenth century. Although jousts were experts in handling their horses and directing their lances, the joust itself had become absolutely removed from actual warfare.

Jousting remained a male-dominated sport; although women formed the audience and distributed the prizes, they were in no way involved in judging. Jousting was also extremely expensive. The English king Henry IV (1399–1430) staged spectacular jousts at the English court, but they had become so costly for challengers and answerers by that time that only the highest and wealthiest echelons of chivalric nobility were able to attend. The lower ranks had almost no chance of participating because in the joust they had no chance of seizing the rider, unhorsing him, and securing his horse or saddle to exact ransom—formerly a profitable source of income. On the contrary, jousting during the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries required participants to spend money: No one could make a living from the yields of the prizes. Even the rich lords could no longer afford to stage jousts and left the initiative to the Crown. By the middle of the fourteenth century jousts had become international events. Itinerant jousts from France answered challenges, and knights

from other parts of Europe showed up in London: competitors from Brittany, Flanders, and Brabant. Even Spaniards and Germans came to England.

Practice

Until the 1420s the joust was customarily run in an open field, a practice that was still called “at random” and “at large” even if it took place within the lists. In 1430 a joust in Bruges, Flanders, was staged in the “Portuguese fashion”: The lists had been removed, and the mounted knights coursed on both sides of *une seule liche à travers* (along a single rope). The French word *liche* or *lisse* came from Vulgar Latin *licium* (a cord); this cord was hung with strong cloth as high as the shoulders of the horses. This device was also used at that time in France, where the cord was hung with “toile” (strong linen). Scholars still debate whether the word *tilt* (meaning “to joust”) came from the English word *tilt* (meaning “canvas,” as in “boat tilt”), which is possibly derived from the French *toile*, or whether it sprang from the “tilt” of the horses in the open field trying to avoid the front-to-front clash by swerving sideways. In German regulations for the joust prior to that time this sort of “body check” had secured the rider a first-class ranking.

In England and France, the partition originally consisted of a cloth hung on a cord. Later it was replaced by a wooden barrier across the tiltyard. Both forms (with and without the partition) were often staged at one and the same event for the next 150 years. In 1466, in an effort to harmonize divergent practices and local customs throughout the country as well as to quantify performance and rank competitors properly, King Edward IV entrusted John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester and constable of England, to draw up the “Ordinances for Justes of Peace Royal,” which remained valid to the year 1596. Tiptoft devised the sample score check, often full of faults in later transcripts, which was a rectangle with an extended middle line to record the number of courses. The upper line was reserved for “attaints” (hits) and lances broken on the head; the line in the middle was used to record “attaints” and lances broken on the body. The lower line was for the entry of faults. The goal



became to break the lance on the opponent, the higher the better.

A “lance” was the unit for counting, and six courses each became the average number run. When a joust was to be staged the herald and his staff would set up check lists by juxtaposing the names of the challengers (on the left side) and answerers (on the right side). After each name the herald would draw a score check in which he carefully entered hits and broken lances achieved as soon as the courses had begun. After the event broken lances and hits were counted, and challengers and answerers were ranked in their own groups.

If jousters scored the same number of lances, further elaborate provisions determined the best three jousters for the prizes. All in all, seventy scored and unscored check lists have come down to us, nicely drawn up by the heralds at court. The best ones are those of the jousts at Westminster of the years 1501, 1511, 1570, and 1596. In 1596 Queen Elizabeth I’s favorite, the thirty-year-old earl of Essex, destroyer of the Spanish fleet off Cadiz, Spain, challenged eighteen answerers on two days and scored ninety-seven broken lances in his 108 courses. (The earl was later declared a traitor and executed in 1601.) The joust in its spectacular form at court survived him by only another fifteen years. The chivalric splendor had vanished. More popular all over Europe were tilting at the ring, (armed with a short[er] lance, a rider aimed at a ring which was held in a device so that it could be “speared” with the riders’ lance) running at the quintain (a post with a revolving crosspiece that has a target at one end and a sandbag at the other end), and competing in the newly developed form of the carousel (a tournament in which horsemen execute evolutions).

The Eglinton Tournament in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1839 was a last attempt to revive the tournament in Britain. Today the joust has become a prominent feature of nostalgic shows and pageantry. As in the Middle Ages, small groups of expert stuntmen offer their services to the owners of historic castles all over Europe, making quite a fortune for themselves.

Joachim K. Rühl

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Judo

Judo (*ju*, gentle, in the sense of to give way, to yield; *do*, way) was originally a method of physical, intellectual, and spiritual education founded by Kano Jigoro (1860–1938) in Japan in 1882. Today, judo is a modern contest sport and a valued tool of education.

History

The history of judo is the history of the shift from a martial art to a modern sport. Kano realized the potentialities of the traditional arts of self-defense for educating youth. Thus, he reoriented martial techniques, blending traditions and modernity, and using individual prowess for collective benefits. In Western countries, self-defense and education trends coexisted with the Oriental mystique until the 1960s when judo entered the world of Olympic sports.

KANO AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE JUDO MOVEMENT

As a boy, Kano was frail but quick-tempered. Being extremely gifted, he studied with boys who were older and bigger, and he soon understood the need to find a way to defend himself. In 1877, as a student of the Tokyo Imperial University, he decided to learn about jujutsu (*ju*, gentle; *jutsu*, art) the art that enabled the weak to overcome the strong. In 1882, Kano was appointed lecturer in politics and economics at *Gakushuuin* (the then-private school for the nobility). The same year, he started his judo academy, the Kodokan (*ko*, teaching; *do*, way; *kan*, hall). Getting rid of all dangerous, killing, or maiming jujutsu *waza* (techniques), Kano restricted violence by forcing opponents to grapple with one another. He modified falling techniques to make them safer. Whereas the Japanese art of wrestling had always been understood as a means of crushing opponents, it now became a means of building people's characters. Kano liked to explain judo techniques scientifically, studying attitudes, forces at play, problems of equilibrium, and center of gravity moves. His method purposely referred to science and rationalism. As an educator, Kano advocated the "three culture principle." He designed judo as a way of developing harmoniously the intellectual, moral, and physical aspects of the education of young people. The number of his students swelled rapidly. Kano's method was subsequently adopted by the police and the navy and introduced to schools and universities. In 1909, chosen as member of

the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Kano devoted himself to the diffusion of his method.

JUDO SPREADS WORLDWIDE

The military and the police were highly influential in spreading the Japanese method. The Boxer Rebellion in China (1900) and the victories of Japan in the war against Russia (1904–1905) revealed the prowess of Japanese soldiers. Puzzled by Japan's feats, observers pointed out the spirit of the warrior, *bushido*, and an unknown method of combat, *jujutsu*, as the keys to victory. Efficient in hand-to-hand combat, used to keep fit, and used to reinforce the values of effort and discipline, the Japanese method was almost immediately included in the training program of officers and special forces in the military and the police academies of numerous countries (for example, in 1905: the U.S. Naval Academy; Paris, France, police; the Portsmouth, Great-Britain, admiralty; and in 1906: the Berlin, Germany, military school, the Sydney, Australia, police). Later, during World War II, many army personnel were taught jujutsu or judo throughout the world as a means of self-defense, a weapon of resistance to the enemy, or "a basic escape training."

Early in the twentieth century, a different type of impetus was also given, indirectly, by music halls and private physical culture clubs. Because it appealed to the British aristocracy and to the anglophile Western elite, the very people who appropriated sports and physical activities and turned them into symbols of status, jujutsu had become more than just another type of wrestling. It rehabilitated the use of fair force. Used with anatomical precision, this useful and aesthetic strength was seen as superior to toughness and rash brutality. Distinctive and efficient, jujutsu was presented as essential because the rate of urban criminality had been steadily rising. The first promoters were the apostles of physical culture Edmond Desbonnet in Paris, William "Apollo" Bankier in London, and Bernarr McFadden in Chicago. "Health builders" hired jujutsu teachers to enlarge their offerings to a wealthy clientele.



A 1905 ad for a Parisian martial arts school.

Western world during the first half of the twentieth century, the general public was mainly impressed by the self-defense aspect of the Japanese method of fighting and did not make any difference between jujutsu and judo. Efficiency in individual combat was the main concern. In Japan, the influence of Jigoro Kano and the prevalence of the Kodokan judo upon other jujutsu schools made the confusion impossible. Because of this, the shift from jujutsu to judo occurred earlier and in a more distinctive way to be instrumental in the understanding of the differences between the goals and the means of the method of Kano and the techniques of self-defense.

As a rule, judo was found in the immediate vicinity of Japanese communities and spread across the world because of Japanese emigration. In the United States, judo appeared in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast in the early 1900s. Such early evidence is also found in Brazil and in Canada. The post-World War II diffusion of judo throughout the United States is another example of the specific role of Japanese communities. After the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in 1941, 120,000 Americans of

Japanese jujutsu experts toured European capitals as professional wrestlers. Based in London, they regularly performed on the stages of Paris, Madrid, Lisbon, and Berlin. Their music-hall appearances certainly blazed the trail for the establishment of jujutsu schools. Fashionable among the elite, jujutsu soon became part of popular culture. Songs, postcards, cartoons, and other objects of daily life testify that the Japanese method fascinated the whole spectrum of social classes. Most important, this phenomenon was not restricted to the main European cities but, rather, spread rapidly to smaller towns and countries and was largely responsible for the fame of judo and black-belt holders. In the

Japanese ancestry living on the West Coast were uprooted from their homes and sent to “relocation centers.” The principles Kano taught—discipline, patience, respect for others—helped many to bear idleness and confinement in the makeshift shacks and old barracks where they were housed. After the war, the resettlement of the Japanese American population contributed to the diffusion of judo all around the country.

The history of judo is also the history of judo experts who traveled the seas and the highways, dedicating themselves to teaching their art. Masters and guides of generations of judo players, they are famous all over the world for both their expertise and the respect they have

inspired. Gunji Koizumi, Mikinosuke Kawaishi, Ichiro Abe, Haku Michigami, Shozo Awazu, Kiyoshi Kobayashi, Teizo Kawamura, Han Ho San, and many others have pupils in the five continents who devotedly keep teaching judo techniques and principles.

Modern Judo

After World War II, the nation members of the European Judo Union (founded in 1948) were Great Britain, Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria and, Switzerland. On 12 July 1951, because of Argentine's desire to join, the delegates organized the International Judo Federation (IJF). Aldo Torti from Italy was elected president. Soon a great schism occurred in the judo world between "traditionalists" and "modernists" over the issue of the sport orientation. The decision to introduce a weight-class system (–68 kg; –80 kg; +80 kg) was linked to judo's inclusion in the Olympic program. Many saw this weight system as a transgression from the essence of judo, however, at that time the Japanese Federation refused to consider weight categories. André Ertel, chairman of the European Judo Union, and Paul Bonét-Maury, then president of the French Judo Federation, were most influential.

The 1964 Tokyo Olympics were the first televised games. For the general public and for most judo players, the Japanese judo players seemed unbeatable. Therefore, people were amazed when Dutch Anton Geesink, who had already won the 1961 world championship in Paris, defeated Japanese judo champions. His victories cracked Japanese hegemony. Geesink gave hope to Western judoists. Judo no longer was restricted to the Japanese. Its Olympic status boosted judo in numerous countries. Slowly, the number of judo players increased all over the world.

Today, the judo world has matured and the abuses of the sport orientation are now compensated by an equal interest in the educational aspects of judo. More particularly, since the 1990s, teaching methods specially designed for youngsters—adapted to their physiology and psychology—have been issued in various countries and used on a regular basis. Judo as a sport has started

its media revolution. Efforts are being made to explain the essence of the art and the principles developed by Kano. Colored judogi (uniforms) help make contests more intelligible for referees and spectators.

What Is Judo?

There are two major groupings of judo techniques: *nage waza* or throwing techniques and *katame waza* or grappling techniques.

The various throwing techniques of judo are themselves organized into four distinct categories: hand techniques (*te waza*), hip techniques (*koshi waza*), foot techniques (*ashi waza*), and sacrifice techniques (*sutemi waza*). In *sutemi waza*, you sacrifice your balance by throwing your entire body to the mat to unbalance your opponent.

The *katame waza* includes *osae waza* or pinning techniques, *shime waza* or choking techniques and *kansetsu waza*, or joint lock techniques. In judo, students are taught to apply these techniques in a manner that allows one's opponent to submit without injury by tapping the ground or the attacker two or three times.

There are many different types of *nage waza* and *katame waza*; however, judo champions are famous for their *tokui waza*, which literally means "special" or "favorite" techniques. At such a high level of technical expertise, a good grip (*kumi kata*) is often synonymous with success because it gives the attacker better control of his opponent's body and makes the throw easier to perform. Refereeing rules are aimed at developing attacking judo. Defensive behaviors, false attacks, and passive judo are strictly penalized. Tactics combine straight attacks and follow-ups. Clear-mindedness and rapidity, anticipation and adaptation are the keys for victory.

The time duration of a match is five minutes (for both men and women). A judo contest starts when the referee announces *hajime* (start). When an *ippon* is scored, the fight is over. The referee announces *ippon* when a contestant, in a controlled movement, throws the other contestant in a way that answers three criteria: (1) largely on his or her back with (2) considerable

Believe deep down in your heart that you're destined to do great things. ■ JOE PATERNO

force and (3) speed. Lower scores include *waza ari*, *yuko*, and *koka*, which can be described as throws lacking one or more of the previous criteria. When a contestant holds the other contestant with a grappling technique for 25 seconds or when a contestant gives up because of a strangling or arm lock technique, the referee announces *ippon*. If the hold lasts less than 25 seconds, a lower score is awarded (*waza ari*: 20 seconds, *yuko*: 15 seconds, *koka*: 10 seconds). There are also two levels of penalties: *shido* or note is awarded for infringements such as negative judo, false attack, or more than five seconds in the danger zone without attacking. If infringements are judged more serious, *hansoku make* or disqualification is awarded for grave or very grave violation (any action which may endanger or injure the opponent). Should one contestant be penalized *shido*, the other contestant is immediately granted *koka*. With the next *shido*, the other contestant immediately receives *yuko* and so on. The competition area is divided into two zones (contest zone, 8×8m, and safety zone, 3m). A red area (danger zone) is the demarcation between these two zones. The method of competition is the elimination system with repechage. In judo contests, four medals are awarded: one gold, one silver, and two bronze.

Competition at the Top

International judo contests were organized from the 1950s on. The first judo world championships were held in Tokyo in 1956, the second also in Tokyo in 1958, and the third in Paris in 1961. Some exceptions should be mentioned, however. The first international club team meet between London and Wiesbaden was held in Germany in 1929. However, as early as July 4, 1917, an informal match was organized in Russia between the judo club of Vladivostok and the Otaru Commercial College of Japan. In 1934, the first European championship took place in Dresden, Germany. In 1937, when the IOC voted for the program of the Games of the XII Olympiad, judo was chosen for the purpose of demonstrating a national sport, but the cancellation of the 1940 Tokyo games meant that judo's

recognition as an Olympic sport waited for two more decades. In July 1960, at the fifty-eighth IOC session in Rome, the IJF was accepted as an Olympic international federation by 32 to 2 votes. Thus judo was included in the program beginning with the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. The consequences were crucial for judo. During the 1960s, sports results contributed more and more to national prestige, and more and more countries made numerous efforts to train elite judo squads, thus leading to fantastic Japanese and Western champions from Holland, the Soviet Union, France, East Germany, and Cuba. Today, the number of weight categories has been increased (men: -60, -66, -73, -81, -90, -100, +100 kg, Open; women: -48, -52, -57, -63, -70, -78, +78 kg, Open). In the Sydney 2000 Olympic games, fifty-six Olympic medals for judo were awarded to players from twenty-five different countries, proving that judo has achieved international recognition.

Today, judo is the most popular combat sport in the world and gives its students a code of ethics, a way of living, and a way of being. Even those judo fighters who focus on records are nonetheless proud and respectful of judo traditions. Champions like Yasuhiro Yamashita or Ryoko Tamura in Japan, David Douillet in France, Jimmy Pedro in the United States, and many others are known and cheered by the general public. They appear quite often on TV; they are seen in commercials and are often viewed as role models. In 2004, the IJF website listed 187 nation members. The number of judo practitioners in the world exceeds 8 million.

Governing Body

The IJF website (www.ijf.org) presents a large amount of information about judo in the world (statutes, rules, history, nation members addresses, news, forum).

Michel Brousse

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Jujutsu

Jujutsu (*ju*, gentle, in the sense of to give way; *jutsu*, art). Jujutsu, also spelled jujitsu, or jiu-jitsu, is a generic term that encompasses combat systems of hand-to-hand fighting.

Jujutsu's Origins

Under Chinese influence a wide array of weaponless combat techniques were fused together. They were meant to complement swordsmanship in combat. These techniques used by Japanese warriors (*bushi* or *samurai*) may be more accurately defined as unarmed methods of dealing with an armed enemy while using minor weapons. Jujutsu's golden age, from the late seventeenth to the late nineteenth century ended with the country at peace. Jujutsu then lost its importance. Its reckless use in the streets gave a bad name to the techniques. But, when Jigoro Kano (1860–1938) elaborated judo from old jujutsu forms and founded his Kodokan school of judo, the popularity of this science waned. It was revived as a consequence of Japan's new aggressive foreign policy.

The Boxer Rebellion in China (1900) and the victories of Japan in the war against Russia (1904–1905) revealed the prowess of Japanese soldiers. Observers were puzzled by Japan's feats, and pointed out the spirit of the warrior, *bushido*, and an unknown method of combat, jujutsu, as the keys to victory. Almost immediately the Japanese method was included in the training program of officers and special forces in the military and the police academies of numerous countries (1905: United States, France, Great Britain; 1906: Germany, Australia, and others). During World War II, many army personnel were taught jujutsu throughout the world as

a means of self-defense, a weapon of resistance to the enemy, or "a basic escape training."

In the early days of the twentieth century, a different type of impetus was also given, indirectly, by music halls and private physical culture clubs. The first promoters were the apostles of physical culture Edmond Desbonnet in Paris, William "Apollo" Bankier in London, and Bernarr McFadden in Chicago. "Health builders" hired jujutsu teachers to enlarge their offerings to a wealthy clientele. Japanese jujutsu experts toured European capitals as professional wrestlers. Their music-hall appearances certainly blazed the trail for the establishment of jujutsu schools. Fashionable among the elite, jujutsu soon became part of popular culture. Songs, postcards, cartoons, and other objects of daily life testify that the Japanese method fascinated the whole spectrum of social classes.

During a long period of time the teaching of judo put the stress on self-defense and the general public could not easily differentiate between jujutsu and judo. However, when judo became an Olympic sport in the early 1960, this aspect was discarded in favor of a sport orientation and a quest for records. Jujutsu took a new start. In large urban cities, a feeling of insecurity was largely responsible for the new interest people found in its techniques. In 1977, an assembly of three nations—Italy, Germany, and Sweden—founded the European Ju-Jitsu Federation, and jujutsu became codified as a contest sport. The Ju-Jitsu International Federation (JJIF) was established in 1987.

Jujutsu Competition

Jujutsu and judo techniques have many similarities. However, jujutsu techniques were originally aimed at hurting, maiming, or killing opponents in real fight. Jujutsu comprises throwing and pinning techniques and involves kicking, punching, and striking. Various styles exist in Japan, Brazil, and in other countries. As an international sport, jujutsu has two different types of competitions: the duo system and the fighting system.

The JJIF duo system is a competition between two couples that present defenses against predetermined at-



A jujutsu kick. Source: istockphoto/parentx.

kicks; part 2: throws, take downs, locks, and strangulations; part 3: floor techniques, locks, and strangulations). The match begins with part 1. When competitors hold each other, part 2 begins and blows and kicks are no longer allowed. When one contestant is thrown, the match continues with part 3. The winner is the contestant who has scored a full ippon (clean action and full points) in each of the three parts or who has at least fourteen more points than his or her opponent (unblocked blow or kick in good balance and control, 2 points; a perfect throw, 2 points; a strangulation with tapping, 2 points). Players are divided into weight classes.

Jujutsu's popularity is increasing worldwide, though it can still be considered a newcomer in international sports. In 2004, the JJIF gathered fifty-five nation members that meet regularly in international tournaments and world championships. Players from France, the Netherlands, and Germany are generally considered as the best fighters.

Governing Body

The key organization is the Ju-Jitsu International Federation (www.jjifweb.com).

Michel Brousse

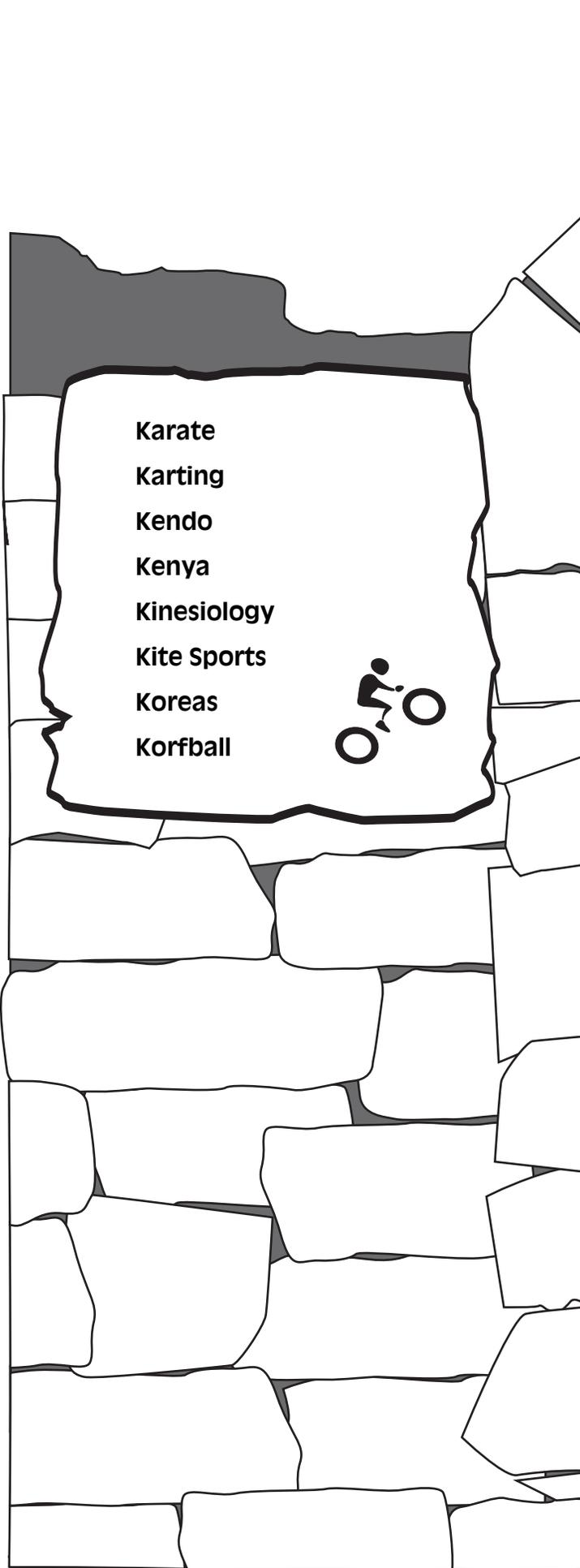
tacks. There are four groups of five attacks (gripping attacks, embracing and neck lock, punches and kicking, weapon). The referee draws three attacks for each series. Jury members give scores from 0 to 10.

The JJIF fighting system (two rounds of two minutes each) comprises three parts (part 1: blows, strikes, and

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Karate
Karting
Kendo
Kenya
Kinesiology
Kite Sports
Koreas
Korfball



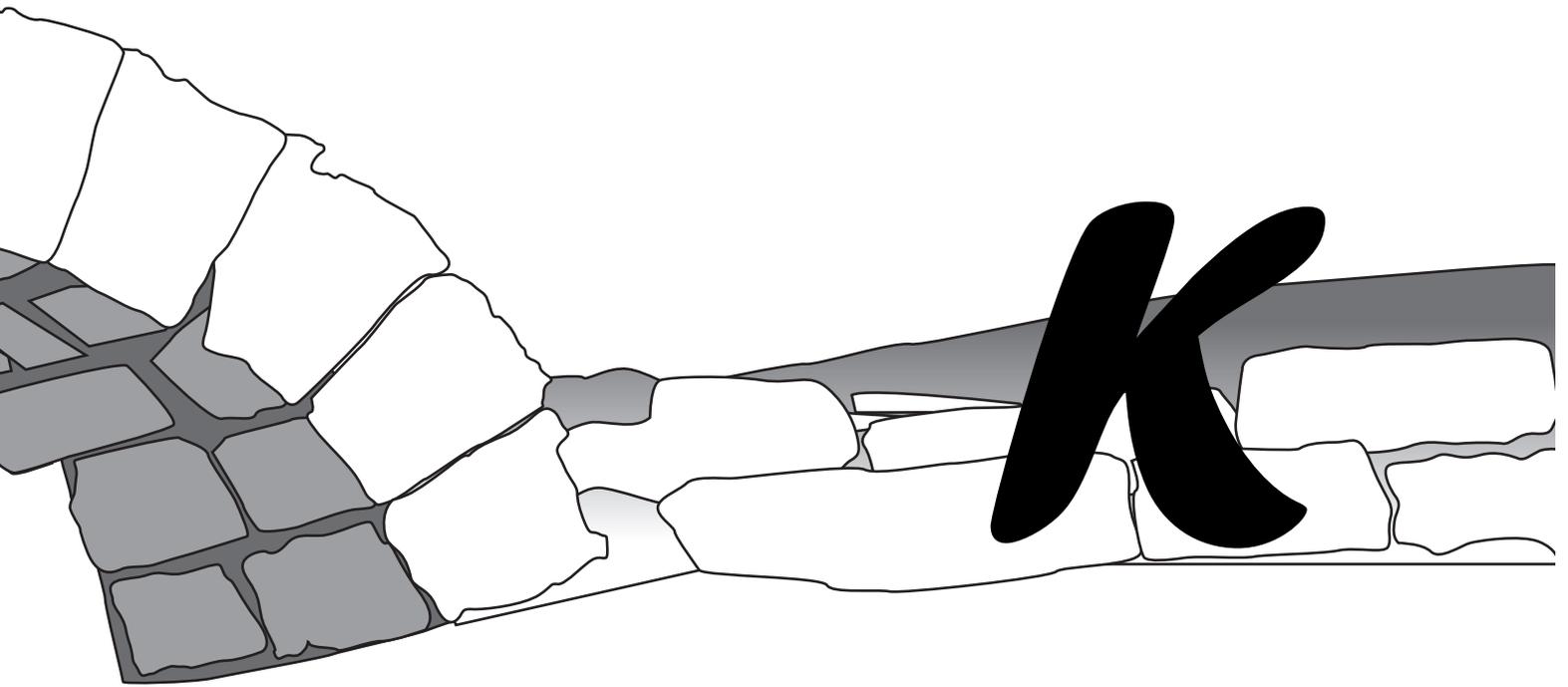
Karate

Karate is a fighting art that combines elements of Chinese combative techniques with the hand-fighting practices from Okinawa and Japan to create a system of self-defense that includes blocks, strikes, evasions, throws, and joint manipulations. It is estimated that karate is practiced by more than 40 million people in 140 countries.

History of Karate

Karate originated in Okinawa, a chain of islands near China and Japan. In the twelfth century, Okinawa was divided into several regions, each with its own ruler. In the fifteenth century, King Sho Hashi of the region Chuzan united the other two independent kingdoms—Nanzan and Hokuzan—creating the Ryukyu kingdom. Sho Hashi established a nonmilitary government and banned the possession of weapons. For two centuries peace prevailed and the Ryukyus developed into a major trading center between China and other neighboring countries. Still, they were not immune from the threat of invaders, and thus it is believed that Okinawans developed a form of hand, or *te*, fighting.

During the Ryukyu kingdom period, three styles of karate developed, named after the villages where they were practiced: Shuri, Naha, and Tomari. Each of these towns was a center to a different section of society—the aristocracy, the middle class, and the fisherman and farmers, respectively. As a result, various forms of self-defense developed within each city and subsequently



became known as Shuri-te, Naha-te, and Tomari-te. Collectively, these early systems were called Okinawan-te, meaning Chinese hand.

In 1609 the Satsuma Clan of southern Japan invaded Okinawa and retained the ban on weapons, which lasted 250 years. Karate training was limited to ruling members of the samurai class. Citizens bypassed the restriction by passing along karate techniques secretly by means of verbal and physical demonstrations. Thus, little exists in the way of literature describing those who created karate and how it was taught.

What is known are some of those who helped to develop the martial arts in Okinawa, including a Chinese delegate named Wanshu. In 1683 he stayed in the Okinawan village of Tomari where he taught the villagers a certain *kata*, or a prearranged sequence of basic techniques, based on a Chinese martial art called kempo. After Wanshu left Okinawa, the villagers of Tomari continued to practice the kata and named it after him.

Others who devoted their lives to the martial arts include a Chinese kempo master named Kusanku, who traveled with some of his students to Okinawa in 1756 and taught kempo to the Okinawans, and his top student, Sakugawa, of Okinawa, who studied kempo in China from 1755 to 1762 when he returned to Okinawa.

In 1879, under the new Meiji government, the Ryukyu dynasty was officially made into a Japanese prefecture. New laws reduced the need for secrecy and the education system of the Meiji era (1896–1912) adopted karate as part of its physical education program. In 1904 Anko Itosu introduced karate in the Okinawan public schools.

Itosu created a series of karate exercises he called Pinan kata. These kata were adapted from the traditional kata formerly practiced in secret and were designed to make karate more acceptable for group instruction.

In the Taisho period (1912–1926), karate was introduced to mainland Japan. The first demonstration of karate took place there in 1917 when Gichen Funakoshi, an Okinawan schoolteacher, performed karate in Kyoto. His demonstration drew such attention and enthusiasm that he was invited to stay and teach.

In 1935 Yasuhiro Konishi, a board member of the Dai Nippon Butokukai (the sanctioning body for martial arts in Japan), succeeded in having karate registered as a legitimate martial art under the Dai Nippon Butokukai. Six karate systems were officially registered under their instructors: Goju-ryu under Chojun Miyagi, Shito-ryu under Kenwa Mabuni, Wado-ryu under Hironori Ohtsuka, Shotokan under Gichen Funakoshi, Kushin-ryu under Ueshima Sannosuke, and Shindo Jinen-ryu under Yasuhiro Konishi.

From the six original systems, four established themselves as the primary system within Japan: Goju-ryu, Shito-ryu, Shotokan, and Wado-ryu. Today, there are hundreds of styles of karate across the world, but all can be traced back to these four.

As warrior arts became less useful in twentieth-century Japan, the Japanese characters for *kara-te*, or Chinese hands, were changed to mean “empty hand,” reflecting a spiritual concept rather than a fighting system. The Zen concept of *do*, or “way,” was combined with karate to produce the concept karate-do, which reflected the art form’s emphasis on character development.



During the American occupation of Japan following World War II, U.S. servicemen were exposed to karate and brought it back to their homeland. The earliest known American martial artist was Robert Trias, who opened the first U.S. karate school in 1946 in Phoenix, Arizona. In 1948 he formed the United States Karate Association.

Also in 1948 the Japan Karate Association was formed. During this time sport rules were established, based on regulations formulated around 1934, and the first karate championships were held. (Takayuki Mikami and Hirokazu Kanazawa are two well-known competitors whose 1958 All Japan Championships match went into five overtimes before both were declared the winners.)

At the same time that the 1964 Olympics were being held in Japan, the Federation of All Japan Karate Organizations—now known as the Japan Karate Federation—was formed. In 1970 the group invited Japanese instructors throughout the world to Tokyo to develop a standardized set of competition rules and judging training. Participants from thirty-three countries attended and established the World Union of Karate-do Organizations (known since 1993 as the World Karate Federation). In 1983 the rules were restructured and redefined, based on concerns of coaches and referees, at the first World Technical Congress held under the World Union of Karate-do Organizations. The new rules reflected the decision to meld the sport of karate with the original concept of *budo*, or “way of the warrior.”

As throughout the world, efforts to further unify karate in the United States—and to help it gain acceptance as an Olympic sport—have been hampered by the proliferation of karate organizations that have developed their own styles and implemented their own rules. Among them are the United States Karate-Do Kai, United States Karate Alliance, American Amateur Karate Federation, International Shotokan Karate Federation, and the North American Sport Karate Association. Organizations that follow World Karate Federation international rules are the USA Karate Fed-

eration, the Amateur Athletic Union, and the USA National Karate-do Federation.

Though karate remained a male-dominated sport throughout the 1950s and 1960s, women began to study it for self-defense reasons. Eventually, they began to compete in tournaments in the United States in the mid-1960s. From this period notable women competitors emerged, including Ruby Paglinawan, who in 1964 fought three male opponents in a tournament—besting two of them before losing to the third. Two years later, a separate women’s division was introduced at Allen Steen’s U.S. Championships in Dallas. Marian Erickson of Richardson, Texas, swept first-place honors. The sixties witnessed several rising female karate stars, including Phyllis Evetts of Fort Worth, Texas, who became the first consistent national women’s champion; Kathy Sullivan of Fort Wayne, Indiana, who in the early 1960s was named the United States Karate Alliance’s number one female competitor; and Ohio’s Judy Kolesar, whose list of wins includes many victories over male competitors in both weapons and empty-hand kata.

In 1973 several women who had achieved black-belt status served as chief referees for female competition at various events around the country. While competition was originally limited to men, today women compete in sparring and kata tournaments.

In 1976 the General Assembly of International Sports Federations recognized the World Karate Federation as an international sports federation, and in 1981 karate appeared in the first World Games, which offers the opportunity to compete to athletes from a variety of sports not on the program of the Olympics. In 1985 the International Olympic Committee formally recognized the World Karate Federation as the international governing body for sport karate in the world. Today, it consists of 196 member countries with more than 12 million registered athletes.

Nature of the Sport

Beginning students wear a white uniform with a white cloth belt, and then progress through a series of colored



belts (typically yellow, green, purple, and brown) until they obtain a black belt. Qualifications for belts differ from school to school, depending on the style and standard of karate taught. The black belt, or *dan*, signifies the highest proficiency in karate and, like the other belts, is itself qualified by degrees of honor or skill, the highest dan being the ninth or tenth degree. Thus, contrary to popular belief, earning a black belt does not signify the culmination of a student's training, but rather the mastering of basic movements.

Karate practice is divided into three aspects: *kihon* (basics), *kumite* (sparring), and *kata* (forms). *Kihon* is the practice of various blocks, strikes, punches, and kicks. *Kumite*, or sparring, is the application of the techniques learned in *kihon*. Sparring is predetermined and is noncontact, being carried out with great control.

Karate has two forms of competition: *kata* and *kumite*. *Kata* are formal exercises consisting of predetermined defensive and offensive movements, performed in sequence. They are performed against a series of imaginary attacks by several opponents. The secrets of karate are hidden in these beautiful compositions of lethal movement. They are the means by which the fundamental techniques of karate are transferred to each generation. A new *kata* is generally taught after each grading. *Kata* competition takes the form of team and individual matches. Team matches consist of competition between three person teams. *Katas* are judged based on timing, speed, balance, and focus, as well as proper form and an understanding of how the techniques are applied to an opponent.

In *kumite*, two competitors fight on an 8-meter square padded mat (with two additional meters of safety area around it). Required equipment includes safety gloves, foot protectors, shin guards and a mouth guard. Women may wear chest protectors and men must wear groin guards. Official matches last three minutes for senior male *kumite* and two minutes for women's, junior, and cadet bouts, and include a referee, three judges and an arbitrator. Competitors may not hit their opponents on the top of the head or shoulder, the front, side or back

of the neck, or below the belt, except for foot sweeps. A fighter may attack an opponent who is on the ground, provided she does it before the referee has called "stop." A score of one to three points is awarded based on form, sporting attitude, vigorous application, awareness, timing, and correct distance. Matches are won based on the contestant obtaining a lead of eight points, or at time-up having the highest number of points.

Competition at the Top

The premier competition in karate is the World Karate Federation World Championships, which are held every two years in different countries and on different continents. The best competitors from throughout the world, selected by the recognized Olympic sports body in each country, compete at this international event.

Numerous World Cup competitions, including international collegiate and junior competitions, also take place. Karate appears in all of the Continental Games, and discussion continues about how to get karate included in the Olympic Games. (Judo became an official Olympic sport in 1964 and taekwondo in 2000.)

The USA National Karate-do Federation is the national governing body for traditional karate. It represents the United States within the designated International Federation under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee, and fields junior and adult karate athletes to international events and competitions, including the World Championships, the Pan American Games, the Pan American Championships, the World Cup, and the World Games.

Among the best-known competitions in the United States are the annual American championships of the Japan Karate Association, held usually on the West Coast or in Hawaii, and the All-American Open Karate Championships, held annually at Madison Square Garden in New York City.

While competition was originally limited primarily to men, today women compete in sparring and *kata* tournaments. Today's major female athletes include Junko Arai, a U.S. National champion who earned bronze

medals in kata at the 2001 World Games and Pan American Games; Elisa Au, a 2003 gold winner at the U.S. Open Championships and 2002 gold medalist at the World Karate Federation World Championships; Atsuko Wakai, a black belt in Goju-ryu and a two-time World Karate Federation kata champion and four-time all-Japan national kata champion. She captured her first world title at the 14th World Karate Federation World Championships held in 1998 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and her second world title at the 15th World Karate Federation World Championships held in 2000 at Munich, Germany.

The Future

Once limited to mostly males of the ruling clans in seventeenth-century Okinawa, karate has developed over the centuries into a physical and spiritual martial art practiced by some 40 million men, women, and children worldwide. Today, the sport stands to become even more popular if its supporters can convince the International Olympic Committee to enter karate as a competitive sport at future Olympic Games.

Governing Body

The major international or regional governing bodies are the European Karate Federation (www.eku.com); Japan Karate Federation (www.karatedo.co.jp/jkff); National Karate Association of Canada (www.nka.ca); USA National Karate-do Federation (www.usankf.org); and World Karate Federation (www.wkf.net).

Monica Cardoza

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Karting

Karting (also known as “go-karting”) is a motor sport involving one-seat, four-wheeled vehicles powered by internal-combustion engines. Karts are small and simple when compared with automobiles and other vehicles, although their power, size, and mechanical complexity vary. Although most karts have small engines that resemble lawnmower engines, the fastest karts can travel at 225 kilometers per hour or more.

Karts cannot be driven legally on public streets unless special arrangements have been made. Instead, they are used for driving off-road and for racing on kart tracks or on temporary courses set up in parking lots and other sites.

Karting, as an amateur sport, offers people an inexpensive way to participate in motor racing. A used or simple kart can cost less than \$1,000. People can rent karts at many commercial kart tracks.

Many kart enthusiasts are adults, although, because a driver's license is not required, karting is also suitable for young people. Special racing categories allow drivers as young as seven or eight years old to compete. In 1993 Zack Dawson of Bakersfield, California, at age ten established a one-person distance record for 100-cubic centimeter (a measurement of engine displacement) karts by driving almost 400 kilometers in six hours.

History

Karting originated in southern California when Art Ingels, a racing technician, built a kart for his own amusement in 1956. He constructed it of metal tubes supporting a seat, four wheels, and a small engine that had been built for lawnmowers. The frame was only about 15 centimeters off the ground, and the body was barely larger than the seat. Karts have become more sophisticated and larger, but Ingels's design has remained the basic prototype for karts.

Ingels drove his kart as a hobby. Then, with partner Lou Borelli, Ingels established a business named “Caretta” to manufacture karts commercially. The karts



attracted public attention, and soon other companies began making them. The pioneer karting enthusiasts staged informal meets in the Rose Bowl parking lot in Pasadena, California. In 1957 the Go Kart Club of America was formed, and the first sanctioned kart race was held that year.

Interest in the sport quickly spread in the United States and to Asia, Europe, and other parts of the world. At the peak of this early popularity during the late 1950s and early 1960s an estimated 150 companies were making karts or related equipment. The popularity subsided, but karting has remained a popular sport, and popularity in the United States rose during the 1990s. Karting is especially competitive in Europe.

Karts are a specific category of vehicle, although many variations in their designs exist. Karts average in length from 1.5 meters to slightly more than 1.8 meters, and they are generally less than 63 centimeters tall with a wheelbase (width) of 100 centimeters. Tires are usually mounted on a wheel 12 centimeters in diameter, and they average between 23 and 43 centimeters in diameter overall. The kart body is usually open and has railings for bumpers. However, some karts have covered bodies that resemble those of race cars.

Enthusiasts divide karting vehicles and events into several classes. Young drivers are in special classes. Classes are also based on the specifications of the karts. For example, concession karts are built for commercial rental and are limited to speeds of approximately 32 kilometers per hour for safety and liability reasons. At the other end of the range, larger and more powerful competition karts can travel at 130 to 160 kilometers per hour or more.

Karts also are classified by whether they have a direct-drive system (in which the engine is connected to the wheels by a chain) or a gearbox. A basic kart has one rear-mounted engine. However, karts may have side-mounted or twin engines. Numerous sizes and categories of kart engines exist. In general they range in size from 50 cubic centimeters to 260 cubic centimeters or larger. Five-horsepower, 100-cubic centimeter engines are common.

The driver of a kart sits with legs extended or bent in front. His or her feet operate the accelerator and brake pedals. In many karts, such as Sprint-type racers, the seat back is upright. In Enduro karts the seat is angled low so the driver is reclining to reduce wind resistance. Because karts have sensitive steering, concentration and fast reflexes are important. In addition to turning the steering wheel, the driver shifts his or her weight to assist in turning. The sense of speed often seems more intense to the driver in karts than in larger vehicles.

Squeals on Wheels

Young people often drive karts to have fun or to practice their driving skills. More serious young karters and adults participate in competitive events, including informal rallies and formal, sanctioned races with guidelines established by regional or national karting organizations. Among the largest such groups in North America are the International Kart Federation and the World Karting Association.

The standards and rules of karting differ from country to country. Most kart races are held on closed, round tracks, which are generally a mile or less in length. One popular form of racing includes short races with large fields of drivers who race a series of laps for a designated distance or period of time. Endurance races, in which drivers make many more laps, also are held. In 1983 four drivers in Ontario, Canada (Gary Ruddock, Jim Timmons, Owen Nimmo, and Danny Upshaw), established an outdoor world record by driving a kart 1,787 kilometers on a 1.6-kilometer track in twenty-four hours.

Governing Body

The World Karting Association (www.wka.org) regulates competitive karting.

John Townes

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Kendo

Kendo is the modern Japanese martial art of fencing based on the techniques of the two-handed sword (*katana*) of the *bushi* (warriors). The weapon used in modern kendo is called a *shinai* and is composed of four slats of bamboo strapped together into a cylinder by a leather grip (*tsuka*) and cap (*saki-gawa*), connected by a nylon cord (*tsuru*), and a tie in the middle (*nakayui*). The length and weight varies depending on age group, but must not exceed 120 centimeters for adult males.

Exponents don protective equipment known collectively as *bogu* or *kendo-gu*, which consists of a protective mask (*men*), upper-body protector (*do*), gauntlets (*kote*), and a lower-body protector (*tare*). Training ware consists of a thick cotton robe called a *kendo-gi*, and a traditional split skirt called a *hakama*, which is made of either cotton or nylon.

Training is centered on sparring and repetition of basic techniques of attack and defense that are based on the four target areas of *men* (the head), *kote* (the wrists), *do* (the torso), and *tsuki* (thrust to the throat). Although there are only four target areas, there are many variations, and techniques have been systematized and divided into attack (*shikake*) and defense (*oji*), which use feints, parries, and blocks, with forward or backward movements.

A set of ten *kata* (choreographed forms) uses a wooden sword (*bokken*) true to the original shape of a real sword, rather than the straight cylindrical *shinai*. The *kata* were formed for educational purposes, and correct form is emphasized. They are generally not used in competition.

In a kendo match, three referees judge the validity of the competitors' attacks. The first contestant to score two valid points within the designated time (usually three to five minutes) is deemed the winner. If only one point has been scored in regulation time, that person is the winner. If no point is scored, extra time may be allowed until a contestant scores, or in some cases a draw may be called. The length and width of the match area

may vary from 9 meters to 11 meters (10 to 12 yards). Kendo points are based on the technique having been executed with *ki-ken-tai-itchi* (unified spirit, sword, and body) and meeting a number of other stringent (often nebulous) requirements that are not obvious to the untrained eye.

The correct part of the blade must connect accurately to a designated target area with the body, sword, and spirit in unison. The intended target area must be screamed out as contact is made, and sufficient alertness (*zanshin*) must be demonstrated after the attack. A mere touch with the blade on the target in kendo is not sufficient according to the current rules. Even though it seems to connect, often the attack is not deemed valid in kendo because some of the aforementioned criteria are not met. This aspect of kendo makes it very difficult to follow for people who are not versed in the ways of *ki-ken-tai-itchi* and all the elements that have to be present in a strike to make it valid. (Actually, this is sometimes a point of confusion even for seasoned kendo exponents.)

Kendo, as do other martial arts, has a grading system in which novices usually start from sixth *kyu* working up to first *kyu*. Following the *kyu* grades are the *dan* grades. The first *dan* grade is *shodan* (first *dan*), which corresponds with a first-degree black belt in judo or karate, and so on. The highest grade was tenth *dan*, but the system was revised in 2000 and is now eighth *dan*. *Dan* grades are awarded at examinations based on technical ability. In addition to *dan* grades are *shogo* or honorary teaching titles of *renshi* (holder must be sixth *dan* or above), *kyoshi* (seventh *dan* or above), and *hanshi* (eighth *dan*). These are awarded based on the exponent's understanding of the philosophy of kendo, contributions to the kendo community, and personal attributes.

History and Development of Kendo

Fencing with the single-edged, straight-bladed sword was probably introduced into Japan from Sui (581–618 CE) or early Tang (618–907 CE) China. The cultivation of sword skills flourished during the Kamakura

*The basis of true training in swordsmanship
is to forge the spirit.* ■ YAMAOKA TESSHU

period (1192–1333), and was particularly prevalent during the Sengoku period of incessant civil war (1467–1568), where renowned warriors began to systematize their battle tested skills into schools or traditions known as *ryu*.

With the commencement of the Tokugawa period (1600–1868), Japanese society was finally unified and stratified into four classes: *bushi* warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants (*shi-no-ko-sho*). Although a distinct minority, the *bushi* warriors stood at the top of the system. They solidified their position by banning other classes from possessing or wearing weapons. Thus, practicing *kenjutsu* (fencing) became an activity almost solely for *bushi*.

The Tokugawa period was a time of continued peace, and no wars threatened the *bakufu*'s (military government) hegemony. Still, *bushi* of all domains were required to maintain military preparedness at all times, and their ability to use violence set *bushi* apart from the other echelons of society. Skilled exponents from many of the *kenjutsu* traditions found employment as instructors in domains throughout Japan.

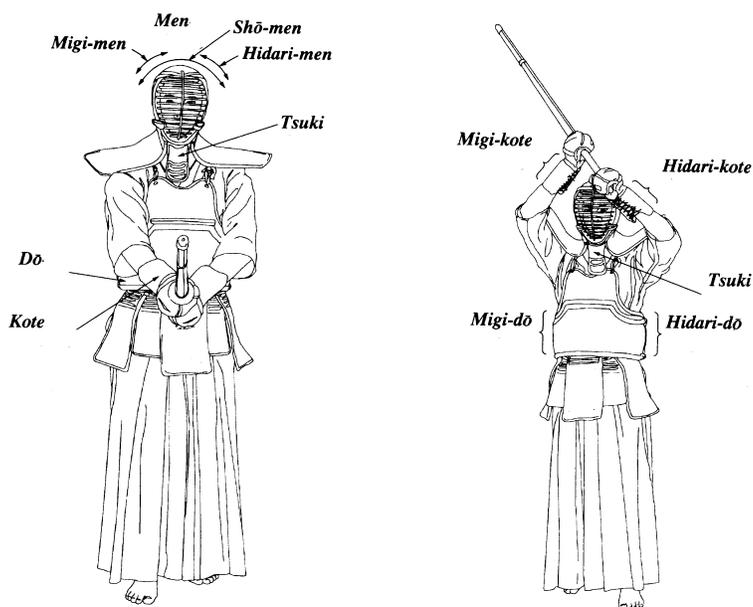
Training Methodology and Equipment

Lack of actual combat opportunity caused the moral and spiritual element of *kenjutsu* to gradually become prominent, drawing on Confucianism, Shinto, and Buddhist influences, especially Zen. *Kenjutsu* became a means for training the mind and body. *Kata* formed the basis of training methodology. Two adepts would face each other with live or blunted blades, or wooden swords and perform choreographed forms where the attacks would, in theory, stop just short of actual contact with the target area.

In the mid-eighteenth century, Naganuma Shirozaemon Kunisato of the Jikishin Kage-ryu tradition developed protective equipment (*bogu*) for enabling adepts to actually make realistic attacks without holding back, and without the danger of maiming their opponents. This was revolutionary because adepts were no longer restricted to training in set forms with predetermined outcomes. Soon after, Nakanishi Chuzo Tsugutake of the Itto-ryu developed the *shinai* (replica sword made from bamboo), which popularized this new training methodology. Other traditions also introduced *bogu* and *shinai* into their training curriculum. Toward the end of the Tokugawa period, a number of prominent *dojo* (training halls) specializing in *kenjutsu* using protective equipment for no-holds-barred sparring appeared in Edo (present-day Tokyo). This was the golden era of *kenjutsu*'s popularity.

Meiji Period Kenjutsu

In 1853, however, Japan's respect for the traditional martial arts ended abruptly with the arrival of Commodore Perry's "Black Ships" in Japanese waters. After centuries of self-imposed isolation (*sakoku*), Japan found itself outdated, outgunned, and out of its depth with the



Kendo body armor.



Two female kendo participants in action.

Western nations. Although the seclusion from the rest of the world had given the Japanese martial arts time to develop into fascinating martial antiques, rich in ritualistic symbolism and spiritualism, they were no match for the devastating firepower of Western nations snooping around Japan's shores demanding special rights and privileges. *Kenjutsu*, along with the other martial arts, was considered symbolic of an outdated feudal hierarchy and no practical use to the emerging modern egalitarian society of the Meiji period (1868–1912).

Sakakibara Kenkichi, a proud man of *bushi* background lamented the impending extinction of traditional swordsmanship and other martial arts. He set about rekindling popular interest by instigating a series of public demonstration matches (*gekiken kogyo*) featuring unemployed and destitute swordsmen. The first of these curious martial circuses was held in Tokyo for ten days commencing 11 April 1873, and all members of the public, regardless of age or sex, were welcome to witness

the spectacle as long as they paid the entrance fee. Many more exhibitions followed. However, many critics decried seeing the once proud *bushi* “selling their souls” and prostituting their martial skills for money. This was seen as detracting from the true spirit of *kenjutsu*.

The stars of the shows eventually found gainful employment as *kenjutsu* instructors in the newly formed police force in the 1880s, and as the talent in the troupes became depleted, the demonstrations ceased. Nonetheless, the historical importance of the *gekiken kogyo* cannot be denied, and in many ways, we still have kendo because of this chapter in history.

Kenjutsu in Schools

The worth of *kenjutsu* was quickly rediscovered by the police, who endorsed it as an effective tool to train officers. However, getting *kenjutsu* accepted into the school curriculum as a tool for education was a long and complicated process. In the 1870s, a number of

government officials voiced their inhibitions about totally westernizing the education system and wanted to retain certain aspects of “Japanese-ness” in the physical education curriculum, which was based heavily on Western gymnastics.

To investigate the potential benefits and dangers of teaching *kenjutsu* in schools, the Ministry of Education instigated a number of official surveys. An 1883 investigation acknowledged that teaching *kenjutsu* could be beneficial in complementing the knowledge-oriented school system with its emphasis on spiritual development but would run counter to the medical or physiological benefits expected from physical education activities, be detrimental to balanced physical development, encourage violence, and be dangerous, expensive (equipment), and unhygienic. Thus, schools were not allowed to teach *kenjutsu*.

Dai Nippon Butokukai

The move to introduce *kenjutsu* into schools was aided by the 1895 formation of the Dai Nippon Butokukai (Greater Japan Society of Martial Virtue), which was established in Kyoto under the authority of the Ministry of Education and the Meiji emperor’s endorsement. Its goals were to standardize and promote the plethora of martial disciplines and systems found throughout the nation.

In 1899, the Butokukai constructed the Butokuden dojo in Kyoto. Here, in 1905, a division was established to train *bujutsu* instructors. In 1911, the Butokukai-run Butoku Gakko (School of Martial Virtue) was formed, became known as the Bujutsu Senmon Gakko (Bujutsu Specialist School) in 1912 and then the Budo Senmon Gakko in 1919 when the term *bu-jutsu* was officially replaced with *bu-do* to emphasize the martial “way” or spiritual aspects of the martial arts. At this time, *ken-jutsu* became commonly known as *ken-do*. The Butokukai actively promoted kendo and other martial arts by creating a ranking system, training teachers, and holding special events and tournaments and was the driving force behind elevating the martial arts into elective courses in schools.

In an attempt to unify the many *kenjutsu* traditions and their techniques, the Butokukai also developed a



Kendo

Rei

In kendo, there is an often-quoted saying *rei-ni-hajimari-rei-ni-owaru* ([kendo should] begin with *rei*, and end with *rei*). *Rei* basically means courtesy or etiquette, and good manners are emphasized as a way of showing respect to one’s opponent or training partners. A group bow is always performed at the commencement and conclusion of each training session or tournament. Usually one bow is made to show respect to the other participants, another is performed to the teacher, and yet another to a significant or part place in the dojo (*kamidana*, *kamiza*, *shinzen*, *shomen*) in deference to the specialness of the training environment. Also, exponents bow to each other at the beginning and end of each individual bout. There are prescribed methods for performing bows or gestures of respect depending on the situation, and it is said that without performing the bow properly with the correct frame of mind and feeling of respect, kendo degenerates into no more than violence. Thus, for kendo to be considered a valid way of character development, genuine feelings of respect and the ritualized forms of etiquette performed to express it play a crucial role.

Alexander Bennett

new set of *kendo kata* as an educational tool to complement training in amour. In 1912, the Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendo Kata (Great Japan Imperial Kendo Kata), which consisted of ten forms, was unveiled. Numerous amendments were made thereafter, but it essentially constituted what modern exponents still practice as Nihon Kendo Kata.

Pre-War Militarism and Postwar “Democratization”

By the mid 1930s, Japan’s government was mostly controlled by the military. Schools were ordered to stress patriotism and *seishin kunren*, or “spiritual training.”



Kendo

Iaido

Iaido, or the art of drawing the sword, is another martial art related to kendo. However, in contrast to kendo, a live blade (or blunt steel replica) is used to perform set moves (*kata*) against an imaginary opponent. Iaido techniques were said to have been founded by Hayashizaki Shigenobu during the turmoil of the Warring States period sometime in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Subsequently, many different schools (*ryuha*) were developed over the ensuing centuries, each retaining their own characteristics and unique *kata*. Bushi practiced *kenjutsu* with an opponent to hone their combat ability, and *iai* as a way to master the subtleties of the quick draw, and manipulating the blade for cutting.

In 1956, an iaido division was set up in the All Japan Kendo Federation, and in 1969, a generic set

of *kata* were developed to transcend traditional school affiliations and facilitate inter-*ryuha* competition and grading examinations. These *kata* have been slowly added to over the years. As of 2004, twelve *kata* have been formulated by the All Japan Kendo Federation and they are practiced in addition to those of the particular *ryuha* the exponent belongs to. The grading system in iaido is exactly the same as that used in kendo. In tournaments, competitors perform their solo *kata* in pairs in front of judges who decide the winner based on accuracy and precision of the techniques and cuts, posture, cleanness of movement, timing, verve, sense of reality, and concentration apparent in the contestant.

Alexander Bennett

Kendo was promoted to a compulsory subject in schools, and by 1942, the government had banned participation in most Western sports. By March 1942, physical education classes in schools focused on kendo, kyudo, judo, naginata (for girls), and rifle practice. Kendo was adapted to make it more combat-realistic. For example, emphasis on making one sacrificial attack was idealized rather than technical dexterity that might facilitate winning bouts. Matches were made *ippon-shobu*, or the first person to get a point was the winner. *Shinai* were shortened to resemble the length of a real sword, and grappling from close quarters was encouraged.

After Japan's defeat in World War II, the Allied Pacific command banned *budo*. Undoubtedly trainings were still held in secret, but officially, kendo and the other *budo* arts were prohibited. However, in September 1949, the Tokyo Collegiate Kendo Federation alumni formed the Tokyo Kendo Club to look at ways to revive kendo as a sport suitable for a postwar democratic society. They formulated a plan for a new sport called *shinai kyogi*. The sporting aspect of kendo was stressed, and the combative applications prevalent before and during the war were consciously removed.

The All Japan Shinai Kyogi Federation was inaugurated in 1950 and continued to propagate and refine the rules and methodology of this new sporting creation. In 1952, authorities permitted *shinai kyogi* as an elective subject in middle and high schools. In the same year, the All Japan Kendo Federation (AJKF) was formed, and conventional kendo was once again permitted, albeit in a far less violent form than a decade earlier. In 1957, *shinai kyogi* was combined with kendo to become *gakko kendo* (school kendo), and the All Japan Shinai Kyogi Federation was dissolved. Although often disregarded as an extremely watered-down version of real kendo, *shinai kyogi* was the instrumental factor in the reinstatement of kendo and profoundly affected how postwar kendo developed, especially for match rules.

Following the inauguration of the AJKF in 1952, the first annual All Japan Kendo Championships were held in 1953, the All Japan Collegiate Kendo Federation was formed in the same year, the All Japan Company Kendo Federation was formed in 1957, and the All Japan School Kendo Federation was formed in 1961.

*In kendo and in life, what you don't sweat
when you are young will turn into tears
when you are old. ■ TSURUMARU JUICHI*

International Spread of Kendo

Japanese emigrating to the United States, Brazil, and Canada spread kendo, as did Japanese colonialism in Taiwan and Korea in the pre-war period. However, kendo was introduced into Europe, Southeast Asia, and Oceania mainly after 1945. The European Kendo Association was established in 1968, and European championships started in 1969. Outside Japan, Korea has the largest kendo population, although kendo is referred to as *kumdo* there and considered by many as traditional Korean culture. Koreans are eager for kendo to become an Olympic sport, but so far, the mainstream in the International Kendo Federation (IKF) has been opposed because of the fear that over-emphasizing the sporting aspects of kendo would be detrimental to the “true essence” of the art.

The IKF was formed at a meeting in Tokyo in 1970 attended by seventeen countries and regions with the aim of cultivating goodwill through the international propagation of kendo (also *iaido* and *jodo*). The IKF is responsible for holding the World Kendo Championships every three years, international seminars, assistance in developing federation infrastructure in kendo-developing countries, and information exchange. As of 2004, there are 44 affiliate nations and an estimated 1,759,469 practitioners in affiliated federations around the world. Of that, 1,333,500 reside in Japan and 400,000 in Korea (IKF records, 2004).

Tradition versus Sports

The issue of whether kendo is a form of “traditional culture” or a “sport” still fuels heated discussions, often without a suitable definition for either. Great emphasis is placed on kendo competition, particularly at high school and university levels, and this is deemed by more conservative exponents as being in discordance with the true “way” or essence of *kendo*, where issues of victory or defeat detract from the more important goal of character development. With this in mind, the All Japan Kendo Federation created the official “Concept of Kendo,” and “The Purpose of Practicing Kendo” in 1975:

THE CONCEPT OF KENDO

The concept of kendo is to discipline the human character through the application of the principles of the katana (sword).

The Purpose of Practicing Kendo

The purpose of practicing kendo is:

To mold the mind and body,
To cultivate a vigorous spirit,
And through correct and rigid training,
To strive for improvement in the art of kendo;
To hold in esteem human courtesy and honor,
To associate with others with sincerity,
And to forever pursue the cultivation of oneself.
This will make one be able:

To love his/her country and society,
To contribute to the development of culture

And to promote peace and prosperity among all peoples.

The Future

In 2004, kendo is still a popular activity in Japan and abroad. In Japan, however, numbers of exponents have dropped in recent years. This can be attributed to a number of factors, including the social problem of low birth rates and young people's attraction to professional sports such as baseball and, more recently, soccer. Another issue is how relevant is the prescribed kendo tradition of character building “through the application of the principles of the *katana*” to people living in the twenty-first century. Modern kendo in its current form is not as old as some would suggest, and many refinements have been made to rules, concepts, and techniques during the last century to facilitate kendo's integration and acceptance as a socially useful and fulfilling activity for the times. In this sense, although considered a traditional martial art by many, kendo continues to develop its sporting characteristics, while striving to retain and emphasize traditional values.

Alexander Bennett

Kenya Olympics Results

2004 Summer Olympics:

1 Gold, 4 Silver, 2 Bronze

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Kenya

Tribal variation, archaeological discoveries, colonial history, and the romance of a wild (and presumably accessible) country have influenced the development of sports in Kenya. Independence came in 1963 after a conflict that pitted members of the Kikuyu, the most populous tribal group, against each other, the Kikuyu against other Kenyans, and Kenyans against British colonialists.

In 1911 a German entomologist (a scientist who studies insects) had found fossils of antecedents of humans in Tanzania's Olduvai Gorge. The Leakey family, whose members were among the earliest English settlers in Kenya, and other paleontologists have since found remains of the distant lineage of *Homo sapiens* at Olduvai and on the edges of Kenya's Lake Turkana and Lake Baringo. Virgin land and great varieties of wildlife attracted hunters and adventurers such as Winston

Churchill and Theodore Roosevelt. The U.S. writer Ernest Hemingway in *Green Hills of Africa* and the Danish writer Isak Dinesen (Karen Blixen) in *Out of Africa* show the romanticism but also a thinly disguised Anglo-European possessiveness toward the culture.

Competition at the Top

Maiyoro Nyandika was the first Kenyan to compete prominently in international running events, placing seventh and sixth, respectively, in the 5,000 meters in the 1956 and 1960 Olympic Games. Kipchoge Keino, the athlete who attained world fame shortly after Kenyan independence and continues to be revered throughout Kenya for his sports successes and humanitarian efforts, competed in the 5,000 meters in the Olympics in 1964 (placing fifth) and in 1968 (placing second). He won the 1,500 meters in 1968, was second in 1972, and also won the steeplechase that year.

Other Kenyan runners burst into Olympic prominence during Keino's career. Amos Biwott and Benjamin Kogo were first and second in the 1968 steeplechase, Benjamin Jipcho was second in the steeplechase in 1972, and Naftali Temu won the 10,000 meters in 1968. Kenyan success has continued in Olympic distance events and recurs in all international road races and particularly major marathons. Kenya especially dominates when running teams compete, with the Kenyan men's team winning every world cross-country event from 1987 to 2003. The success of Kenyans has enhanced the country's image throughout the sporting world and also has created speculation about the reasons for such success.

John Bale and Joe Sang provide an overview of the background of Kenya's running success, noting the long history of physical culture in several tribes before entry into modern sporting events under the influence of British teachers and coaches and support from the Kenyan government after independence. Although Kenyans have been successful in the steeplechase and international marathons, Kenyans also have won Olympic medals in shorter events, with Julius Sang placing third in 1972 in the 400 meters and Samson



Kenya

Inequitable Hunting Rights

In the extract below, Jason Machiwanjika describes how Europeans forced Africans to give up hunting, which had the effect of removing meat from the African diet:

Europeans took all guns from Africans and refused to let them shoot game. But Europeans shoot game. Africans have to eat relish [the accompaniment to their maize-meal porridge] only with vegetables. If an African shoots an animal with a gun, the African is arrested and the gun is confiscated.

Source: Machiwanjika, J. (c. 1920). *Hunting in eastern and central Africa in the late nineteenth century*. Umtali, South Africa: Methodist Episcopal Mission Press.

Kitur third in 1992. Kenyans also have had success in Olympic boxing. Robert Wangali became the first black African to win an Olympic boxing event when he won a gold medal at 69 kilograms at the 1984 Olympics. Ibrahim Bilali placed third at 51 kilograms that year. Philip Waruinga won bronze in 1968 and silver in 1972. Samuel Mbugua (61 kilograms) and Dick “Tiger” Murungu (69 kilograms) won bronze in 1972, as did Chris Sande (75 kilograms) in 1988. Association football (soccer) is popular, and some Kenyans consider soccer the national sport, but Kenya has not been nearly as successful in world soccer competition as have other African nations such as Nigeria and Cameroon.

Speculations about Kenyan Runners

Kenya has a population of 32 million and has had a stable political history since 1963 compared with that of many other African nations. However, economic conditions remain poor, with gross domestic product (GDP) per capita hovering at \$1,000, and life chances precarious. The infant mortality rate is more than sixty-two deaths per thousand live births (in contrast, Iceland has one of the lowest rates at 3.3), and life expectancy is 44.8 years for men and 45.1 years for women (78.2 and 82.3 years in Iceland).

Against such a background of modest economic resources and low life expectancy, the sporting community has debated reasons for Kenya’s success in running. Much of the answer is now known. Some cultures have conceptions of the body and bodily movement that can be advantageous when exploited for sports. The former Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta has discussed the centrality of running to puberty rites among the Kikuyu people. John Bale and Joe Sang have documented the connections between tribal movement culture and modern sports requirements, particularly the connection between the lifestyle and movement culture of the Kalenjin people around the town of Eldoret in the western highlands. The Kalenjins make up 12 percent of the Kenyan population, yet they are the principal source of its successful runners. With the exceptions of 1976 and 1980, when Kenya did not field a team, Kenyans won every steeplechase event in the Olympics from 1968 through 2004. Eight of the winners were Kalenjin, and one was a Kikuyu. Eight of the twelve Kenyan winners of the Boston Marathon from 1988 through 2004 were Kalenjin. Successful women marathoners Joyce Chepchumba, Tegla Loroupe, and Margaret Okayo are Kalenjin, and Catherine Ndereba is Kikuyu.

The area surrounding Eldoret has an elevation of 1,800–2,100 meters above sea level, roughly equivalent to that of Boulder, Colorado. Altitude exposure can contribute to athletic performance, but evidence about its singular effects is mixed. An athlete adapts to altitude at a rate of approximately one day per 300 meters, and runners from sea level have difficulty running distance events in cities such as Denver and Boulder without proper altitude adaptation. Many U.S. runners do train at altitudes several thousand feet above sea level prior to racing in other localities. However, as Bale and Sang point out, many countries with altitudes equivalent to that of the Eldoret area do not produce successful distance runners. In addition to the movement culture, altitude training, a tradition of group training, and, of course, hard training regimens, institutionalized resources from English schools have recruited and trained young runners, and the government has recruited athletes into the military and law

enforcement systems, where they can have access to training facilities.

The Future

Kenya's history as a republic and its running prowess are more than forty years old. Sports are a source of pride for Kenyans and sports enthusiasts throughout the world; sports are a locus of collective memory. Athletic successes are valuable to Kenya's commerce in the global marketplace. However, in the larger context of global sports and Kenyan life and politics, sports are qualified by larger priorities. Kipchoge Keino, chair of the Kenya National Olympic Committee, knows that Kenyan running success carries obligations greater than Kenya's success in world running events. With the help of Nike and the International Olympic Committee he has built a training facility for runners from throughout Africa. He particularly seeks runners from countries torn by geopolitical and ethnic strife, such as Burundi, Sudan, and Somalia.

Stephen G. Wieting

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Kinesiology

Kinesiology is the study of motion, the term being derived from the Greek word *kinein* (to move). The first recorded scientific use of the term *kinesiology* was by N. Dally, who published an article entitled "Cinesiologie ou Science du Mouvement" and was cited in the Librairie Centrale des Sciences in Paris in 1857. Modern usage of the term has its early roots in the therapeutic sciences, especially physical therapy, which for some time has taught courses with titles such as "pathokinesiology."

Kinesiology, which has traditionally and almost uniformly been referred to as "physical education" since its inception, has undergone much change during the last fifty years. This change has come both in the term and in the subspecialty fields of research and teaching and the development of career opportunities. Changes within the broad domain of both the study and practice of physical activity have accelerated somewhat during the past ten to fifteen years because of a number of forces acting upon university departments that offer degrees in the study of physical activity.

Approximately sixty universities in the United States and Canada offer doctoral degree programs in the study of physical activity under names such as "kinesiology" or "sport and exercise science." The appropriate name for degree programs in physical activity has been a topic of vigorous debate during the past decade. Although agreement is not uniform, *kinesiology* is the name agreed upon by the majority of doctoral-granting universities in the United States and Canada.

In the past, professional programs in physical education prepared teachers and coaches, and thus almost all degree programs and department names included terms such as *health*, *physical education*, *recreation*, or some combination of these. During the past twenty-five years, however, people have attempted to more precisely define the academic study of physical activity, and terms such as *kinesiology*, *human movement studies*, *sport science*, *movement science*, and *exercise*



science have become widely used. Such was the proliferation of terms that Razor and Brassie (1989) reported 114 variations in use. Departments employed many of these terms to emphasize the disciplinary aspects of studying physical activity rather than the more practical and professional aspects of the field.

The search for a suitable descriptor to identify the many activities that make up the broad spectrum of human movement studies was not new. However, no concerted effort was made to come to a consensus.

The launch of the Soviet satellite *Sputnik* during the 1950s signaled the rapid rise of Russian scientific progress and caused great concern regarding the status of science in the United States. A government commission chaired by former Harvard University President James Conant reported on the status of science education in U.S. universities in 1963. Because its subject matter (physical education) was perceived as not sufficiently “academic,” Conant’s report dealt a serious blow to university degree programs in physical education by criticizing their professional preparation programs for shallow content and suspect academic standards. Conant’s report went so far as to recommend the elimination of the field, particularly as it related to graduate programs. Responding to this criticism, Professor Franklin Henry (University of California at Berkeley, 1964) claimed that physical education could exhibit the characteristics of an academic discipline and urged the field to adopt the behavior of other established fields. Henry outlined the many areas of scholarship that are unique to the study of physical activity. As a result, graduate programs were restructured into areas of specialization that included biomechanics, exercise physiology, motor learning, sports psychology and sociology, administrative theory, and sports history and philosophy.

Fragmentation

The lack of a focused body of knowledge in physical activity initially limited the academic preparation of students. Large amounts of coursework had to be completed in related fields, a situation that scholars at-

tempted to rectify through research efforts and program expansion. However, the resulting proliferation of coursework and the diversity of faculty opinion as to how the professional and disciplinary aspects of the field should proceed produced fragmentation. The rapidity of change during the next twenty years was so pronounced that some experts admitted uncertainty about the current parameters of the field. Appeals for reunification fell on deaf ears. As Harris (1981) observed, the field of study remained a “house divided” with inadequate organization, a lack of interpretation of an appropriate body of knowledge, internal power struggles, a redundancy of focus, and a bevy of organizations and societies representing specialty areas.

Nevertheless, major research universities in the United States made concerted efforts to build a body of scientific knowledge around the fundamental processes of human movement, and by any measure the efforts were successful. Fifty-seven institutions offer a doctoral degree in twenty-six generic areas of specialization; of these, thirty are graduate programs at major research universities.

Kinesiology is rooted in the profession of teaching physical activity, and although the connections between the two remain broadly educational, the development of physical activity science at the university level retains both a biological and a behavioral perspective at the cost of studying professional application.

The need for a single suitable descriptor resurfaced during the late 1980s with more positive results. In response to a report by the National Commission on Excellence entitled “A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform” (1983) and legislative actions by states, departments of physical education have been forced to redefine not only their missions in terms of the content of their degree programs, but also the name that they apply to both the department and the associated degrees. The absence of a clearly articulated and acceptable definition of the study of physical activity remained a serious problem in higher education. The term *kinesiology* surfaced at the time as a term for the academic study of physical activity. It was recognizable,



Kinesiology

John F. Kennedy
on Fitness

Physical fitness is not only one of the most important keys to a healthy body, it is the basis of dynamic and creative intellectual activity. The relationship between the soundness of the body and the activities of the mind is subtle and complex. Much is not yet understood. But we do know what the Greeks knew: that intelligence and skill can only function at the peak of their capacity when the body is healthy and strong; that hardy spirits and tough minds usually inhabit sound gods.

neutral, and academically sound. The term emphasized the central focus of the field but was general enough to allow flexibility of content and inclusion of both professional-based and discipline-based study.

In 1988 academic leaders of the Big Ten Conference invited scholars from twenty-three research-oriented universities to their annual meeting at the University of Michigan to discuss the need to balance the joint responsibility of producing professionals in the field of education (sport and physical activity) with the demands of a science-based research university. At the center of these discussions was an agenda to adopt a term that encompassed both professional and disciplinary perspectives. After much deliberation the conferees agreed (not unanimously) that the most suitable term is *kinesiology*, which would include the study of physical activity in all forms and contexts.

Issues

In April 1989 a resolution adopting the term *kinesiology* was presented for further discussion to members of the American Academy of Physical Education (AAPE). The AAPE, now called the “American Academy of Kinesiology and Physical Education” (AAKPE), is a select group of more than one hundred people recognized by their peers for outstanding competence in

the discipline and practice of health, physical education, recreation, and related fields during a period of ten to fifteen years. Members focused on the following issues:

- An inordinate number of descriptors were in use.
- Differences in conceptualization of the body of knowledge existed between universities.
- Confusion reigned regarding the multitude of degree titles, program names, and administrative names.
- A nationally accepted descriptor would provide a strong sense of purpose, high visibility in academia, and a greater understanding of the field than presently existed in the eyes of the public.
- Members of the AAPE resolved that the term *kinesiology* should represent both undergraduate and graduate degree programs in universities.

Although complete uniformity has still to be achieved, the term *kinesiology* is now the most widely used term to designate the academic study of physical activity sciences.

Michael G. Wade

See also Biomechanics; Human Movement Studies; Physical Education; Sport Science

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BERKSHIRE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

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World Sport



VOLUME 3

David Levinson *and*
Karen Christensen

Editors

BERKSHIRE PUBLISHING GROUP

Great Barrington, Massachusetts U.S.A.

www.iWorldSport.com

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For information:

Berkshire Publishing Group LLC
314 Main Street
Great Barrington, Massachusetts 01230
www.berkshirepublishing.com

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Berkshire encyclopedia of world sport / David Levinson and Karen Christensen, general editors.

p. cm.

Summary: "Covers the whole world of sport, from major professional sports and sporting events to community and youth sport, as well as the business of sports and key social issues"—Provided by publisher.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

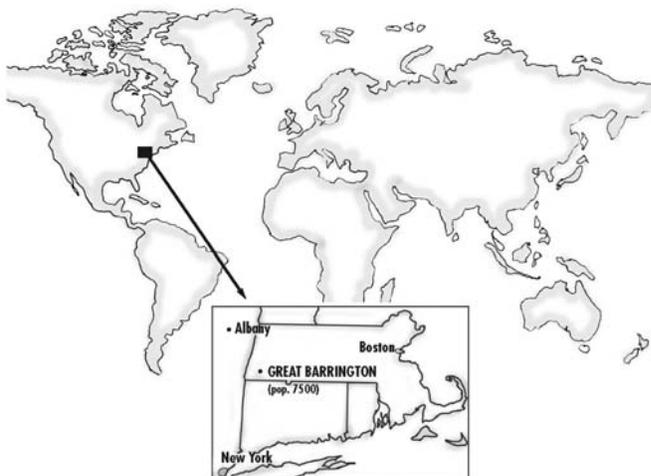
ISBN 0-9743091-1-7

1. Sports—Encyclopedias. I. Levinson, David, 1947- II. Christensen, Karen, 1957-

GV567.B48 2005

796.03—dc22

2005013050



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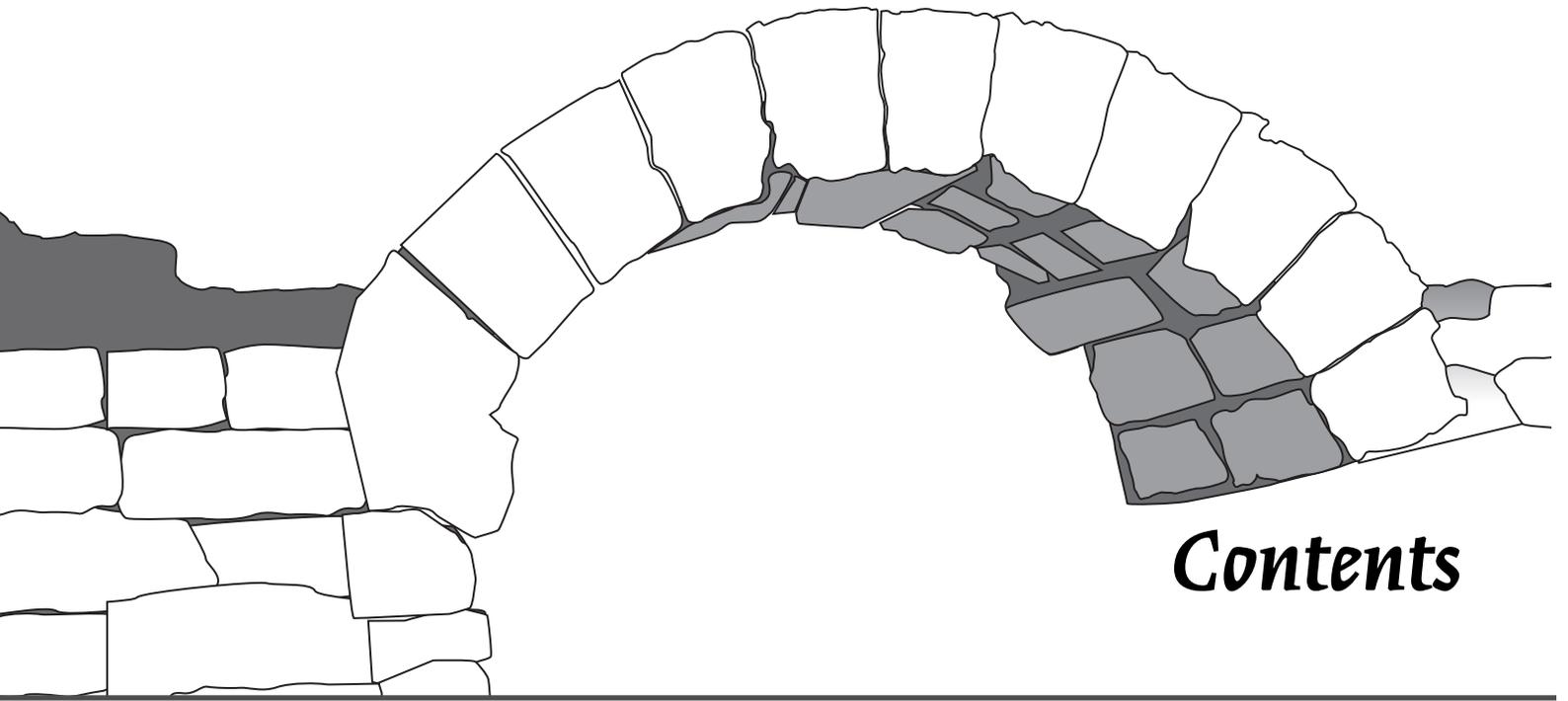
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Contents

List of Entries, ix
Reader's Guide, xiii

Entries

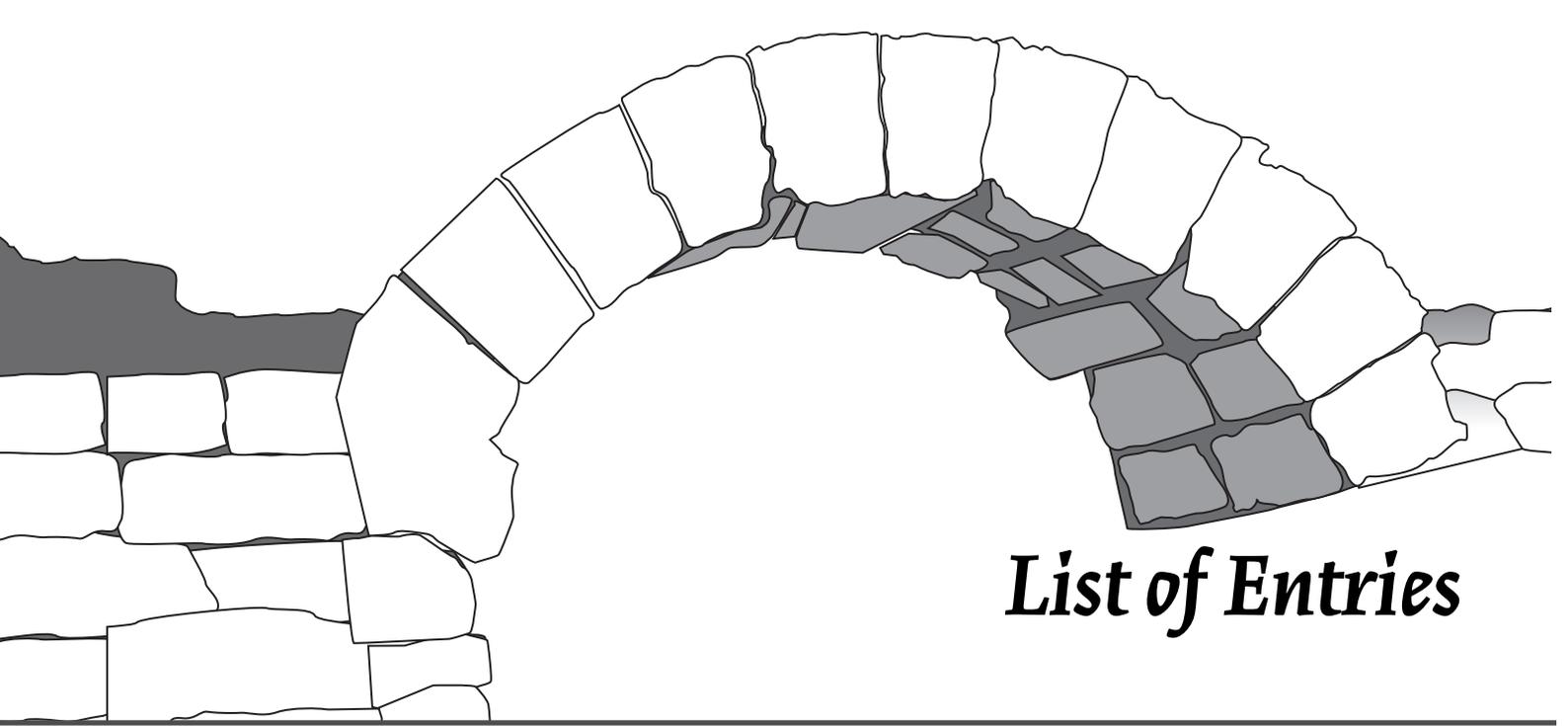
VOLUME I:
Academies and Camps, Sport–Dance
2

VOLUME II:
DanceSport–Kinesiology
443

VOLUME III:
Kite Sports–Sexual Harassment
903

VOLUME IV:
Sexuality–Youth Sports
1357

Index 1751



List of Entries

Academies and Camps, Sport
Adapted Physical Education
Adventure Education
Aerobics
Aesthetics
African Games
Agents
AIDS and HIV
Aikido
All England Lawn Tennis and
 Croquet Club
Alternative Sports
Amateur vs. Professional Debate
American Sports Exceptionalism
American Youth Soccer
 Organization (AYSO)
America's Cup
Anemia
Animal Rights
Anthropology Days
Anti-Jock Movement
Arab Games
Archery
Argentina
Arm Wrestling
Art
Ascot
Ashes, The
Asian Games
Astrodome

Athletes as Celebrities
Athletes as Heroes
Athletic Talent Migration
Athletic Training
Australia
Australian Rules Football
Austria
Auto Racing

Badminton
Ballooning
Baseball
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Wives
Basketball
Baton Twirling
Beauty
Belgium
Biathlon and Triathlon
Billiards
Biomechanics
Biotechnology
Bislett Stadium
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Boating, Ice
Bobsledding
Body Image
Bodybuilding
Bondi Beach

Boomerang Throwing
Boston Marathon
Bowls and Bowling
Boxing
Brand Management
Brazil
British Open
Bulgaria
Bullfighting
Burnout
Buzkashi

Cameroon
Camogie
Canada
Canoeing and Kayaking
Capoeira
Carnegie Report
Carriage Driving
Central American and
 Caribbean Games
Cheerleading
Child Sport Stars
China
Clubsport Systems
Coaching
Coeducational Sport
Coliseum (Rome)
Collective Bargaining
College Athletes

- Commercialization of College Sports
- Commodification and Commercialization
- Commonwealth Games
- Community
- Competition
- Competitive Balance
- Cooperation
- Country Club
- Cricket
- Cricket World Cup
- Croquet
- Cross-Country Running
- Cuba
- Cultural Studies Theory
- Curling
- Cycling
- Czech Republic

- Dance
- DanceSport
- Darts
- Davis Cup
- Deaflympics
- Denmark
- Diet and Weight Loss
- Disability Sport
- Disordered Eating
- Diving
- Drake Group
- Duathlon

- East Germany
- Economics and Public Policy
- Egypt
- Eiger North Face
- Elfstudentocht
- Elite Sports Parents
- Endorsements
- Endurance
- Environment

- ESPN
- Euro 2004
- European Football Championship
- Eurosport
- Exercise and Health
- Extreme Sports
- Extreme Surfing

- Facility Management
- Facility Naming Rights
- Falconry
- Family Involvement
- Fan Loyalty
- Fantasy Sports
- Fashion
- Feminist Perspective
- Fencing
- Fenway Park
- Finland
- Fishing
- Fitness
- Fitness Industry
- Floorball
- Flying
- Folk Sports
- Footbag
- Football
- Football, Canadian
- Football, Flag
- Football, Gaelic
- Foro Italico
- Foxhunting
- France
- Franchise Relocation
- Free Agency

- Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0)
- Gay Games
- Gender Equity
- Gender Verification
- Germany

- Globalization
- Goalball
- Golf
- Greece
- Greece, Ancient
- Growth and Development
- Gymnastics, Apparatus
- Gymnastics, Rhythmic

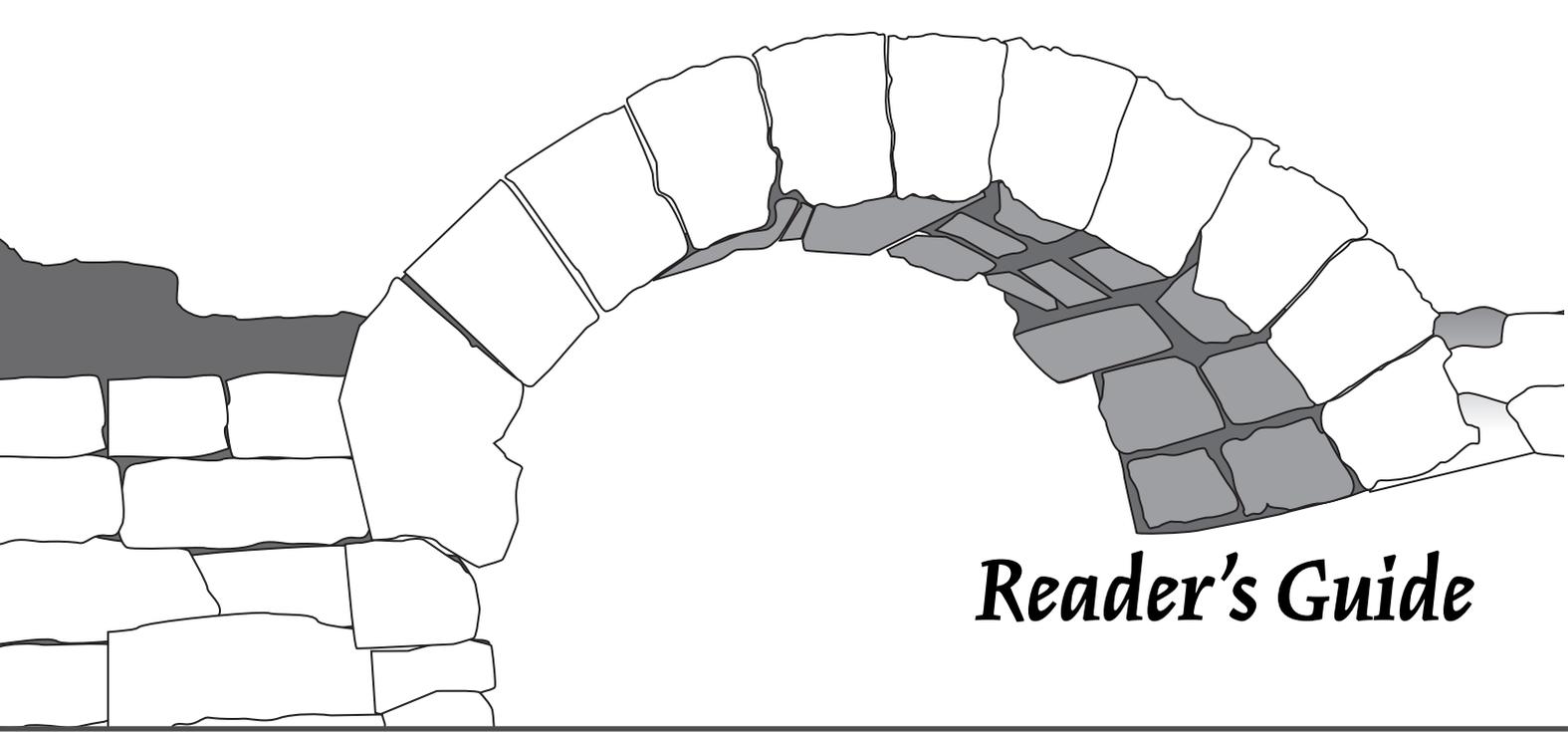
- Handball, Team
- Hang Gliding
- Hazing
- Henley Regatta
- Heptathlon
- Highland Games
- Hockey, Field
- Hockey, Ice
- Hockey, In-line
- Holmenkollen Ski Jump
- Holmenkollen Sunday
- Home Field Advantage
- Homophobia
- Honduras
- Horse Racing
- Horseback Riding
- Human Movement Studies
- Hungary
- Hunting
- Hurling

- Iditarod
- India
- Indianapolis 500
- Injuries, Youth
- Injury
- Injury Risk in Women's Sport
- Innebandy
- Interallied Games
- Intercollegiate Athletics
- International Olympic Academy
- International Politics
- Internet



- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Interpretive Sociology | Marathon and Distance Running | Pain |
| Iran | Marketing | Pan American Games |
| Ireland | Mascots | Parachuting |
| Ironman Triathlon | Masculinity | Paralympics |
| Islamic Countries' Women's
Sports Solidarity Games | Masters | Pebble Beach |
| Israel | Media-Sports Complex | Pelota |
| Italy | Memorabilia Industry | Pentathlon, Modern |
| | Mental Conditioning | Performance |
| | Mesoamerican Ball Court Games | Performance Enhancement |
| Jamaica | Mexico | Personality |
| Japan | Mixed Martial Arts | Physical Education |
| Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional | Motivation | Pilates |
| Jogging | Motorboat Racing | Play vs. Organized Sport |
| Jousting | Motorcycle Racing | Play-by-Play Announcing |
| Judo | Mount Everest | Poland |
| Jujutsu | Mountain Biking | Polo |
| | Mountaineering | Polo, Bicycle |
| Karate | Movies | Polo, Water |
| Karting | Multiculturalism | Portugal |
| Kendo | | Postmodernism |
| Kenya | Naginata | Powerlifting |
| Kinesiology | Narrative Theory | Prayer |
| Kite Sports | Native American Games and
Sports | Professionalism |
| Koreas | Netball | Psychology |
| Korfball | Netherlands | Psychology of Gender Differences |
| | New Zealand | |
| Lacrosse | Newspapers | Race Walking |
| Lake Placid | Nextel (Winston) Cup | Racism |
| Law | Nigeria | Racquetball |
| Le Mans | Norway | Radio |
| Lesbianism | Nutrition | Religion |
| Lifeguarding | | Reproduction |
| Literature | Officiating | Revenue Sharing |
| Lord's Cricket Ground | Olympia | Ringette |
| Luge | Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936 | Rituals |
| | Olympics, 2004 | Rodeo |
| Maccabiah Games | Olympics, Summer | Romania |
| Madison Square Garden | Olympics, Winter | Rome, Ancient |
| Magazines | Orienteering | Rope Jumping |
| Management | Osteoporosis | Rounders and Stoolball |
| Maple Leaf Gardens | Ownership | Rowing |
| Maracana Stadium | | Rugby |

- Russia and USSR
- Ryder Cup
- Sail Sports
- Sailing
- Salary Caps
- Scholar-Baller
- School Performance
- Scotland
- Senegal
- Senior Sport
- Sepak Takraw
- Sex and Performance
- Sexual Harassment
- Sexuality
- Shinty
- Shooting
- Silat
- Singapore
- Skateboarding
- Skating, Ice Figure
- Skating, Ice Speed
- Skating, In-line
- Skating, Roller
- Ski Jumping
- Skiing, Alpine
- Skiing, Cross-Country
- Skiing, Freestyle
- Skiing, Water
- Sled Dog Racing
- Sledding—Skeleton
- Snowboarding
- Snowshoe Racing
- Soaring
- Soccer
- Social Class
- Social Constructivism
- Social Identity
- Softball
- South Africa
- South East Asian Games
- Spain
- Special Olympics
- Spectator Consumption Behavior
- Spectators
- Speedball
- Sponsorship
- Sport and National Identity
- Sport as Religion
- Sport as Spectacle
- Sport Politics
- Sport Science
- Sport Tourism
- Sporting Goods Industry
- Sports Medicine
- Sportsmanship
- Sportswriting and Reporting
- Squash
- St. Andrews
- St. Moritz
- Stanley Cup
- Strength
- Stress
- Sumo
- Sumo Grand Tournament Series
- Super Bowl
- Surf Lifesaving
- Surfing
- Sweden
- Swimming
- Swimming, Synchronized
- Switzerland
- Table Tennis
- Taekwando
- Tai Chi
- Technology
- Tennis
- Title IX
- Tour de France
- Track and Field—Jumping and Throwing
- Track and Field—Running and Hurdling
- Tug of War
- Turkey
- Turner Festivals
- Ultimate
- Underwater Sports
- Unionism
- United Kingdom
- Values and Ethics
- Venice Beach
- Violence
- Volleyball
- Volleyball, Beach
- Wakeboarding
- Weightlifting
- Wembley Stadium
- Wimbledon
- Windsurfing
- Women’s Sports, Media Coverage of
- Women’s World Cup
- Worker Sports
- World Cup
- World Series
- World University Games
- Wrestling
- Wrigley Field
- Wushu
- X Games
- Yankee Stadium
- Yoga
- Youth Culture and Sport
- Youth Sports



Reader's Guide

College Sports

Amateur vs. Professional Debate
Carnegie Report
College Athletes
Drake Group
Intercollegiate Athletics
Racism
Title IX

Culture of Sport

Adapted Physical Education
Adventure Education
Athletes as Celebrities
Athletes as Heroes
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Wives
Burnout
Clubsport Systems
Coaching
Coeducational Sport
Fan Loyalty
Gender Verification
Hazing
Home Field Advantage
Homophobia
Mascots
Mental Conditioning
Motivation
Multiculturalism

Officiating
Performance Enhancement
Personality
Professionalism
Rituals
Sex and Performance
Spectators
Sport as Religion
Sport as Spectacle
Sport Politics
Sportsmanship

Events

African Games
America's Cup
Anthropology Days
Arab Games
Ashes, The
Asian Games
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Boston Marathon
British Open
Central American and Caribbean
Games
Commonwealth Games
Cricket World Cup
Davis Cup
Deaflympics
Elfstedentocht
Euro 2004

European Football Championship
Games of the New Emerging
Forces (GANEFO)
Gay Games
Henley Regatta
Highland Games
Holmenkollen Sunday
Iditarod
Indianapolis 500
Interallied Games
Ironman Triathlon
Islamic Countries' Women's
Sports Solidarity Games
Le Mans
Maccabiah Games
Masters
Nextel (Winston) Cup
Olympics, 2004
Olympics, Summer
Olympics, Winter
Pan American Games
Paralympics
Ryder Cup
South East Asian Games
Special Olympics
Stanley Cup
Sumo Grand Tournament Series
Super Bowl
Tour de France
Turner Festivals



Wimbledon
Women's World Cup
World Cup
World Series
World University Games
X Games

Health and Fitness

Aerobics
AIDS and HIV
Anemia
Athletic Training
Biomechanics
Biotechnology
Diet and Weight Loss
Disordered Eating
Endurance
Exercise and Health
Fitness
Fitness Industry
Injury
Injury Risk in Women's Sport
Jogging
Nutrition
Osteoporosis
Pain
Performance
Pilates
Reproduction
Sports Medicine
Strength
Stress
Tai Chi
Yoga

Media

ESPN
Eurosport
Internet
Magazines
Media-Sports Complex
Newspapers

Play-by-Play Announcing
Radio
Sportswriting and Reporting
Women's Sports,
Media Coverage of

National Profiles

Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Bulgaria
Cameroon
Canada
China
Cuba
Czech Republic
Denmark
East Germany
Egypt
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Greece, Ancient
Honduras
Hungary
India
Iran
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Jamaica
Japan
Kenya
Koreas
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nigeria
Norway

Poland
Portugal
Romania
Rome, Ancient
Russia and USSR
Scotland
Senegal
Singapore
South Africa
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
United Kingdom

Paradigms and Perspectives

Cultural Studies Theory
Feminist Perspective
Human Movement Studies
Interpretive Sociology
Kinesiology
Narrative Theory
Physical Education
Postmodernism
Social Constructivism
Sport Science

Sports Industry

Agents
Athletic Talent Migration
Brand Management
Collective Bargaining
Commodification and Commercialization
Competitive Balance
Endorsements
Facility Management
Facility Naming Rights
Fashion
Franchise Relocation
Free Agency

Management
 Marketing
 Memorabilia Industry
 Ownership
 Revenue Sharing
 Salary Caps
 Spectator Consumption Behavior
 Sponsorship
 Sport Tourism
 Sporting Goods Industry
 Unionism

Sport in Society

Aesthetics
 American Sports Exceptionalism
 Animal Rights
 Art
 Beauty
 Body Image
 Commercialization
 Community
 Competition
 Cooperation
 Country Club
 Economics and Public Policy
 Environment
 Gender Equity
 Globalization
 International Politics
 Law
 Lesbianism
 Literature
 Masculinity
 Movies
 Prayer
 Psychology
 Psychology of Gender Differences
 Religion
 Scholar-Baller
 Sexual Harassment
 Sexuality
 Social Class

Social Identity
 Sport and National Identity
 Technology
 Values and Ethics
 Violence

Sports—Air

Ballooning
 Flying
 Hang Gliding
 Kite Sports
 Parachuting
 Soaring

Sports—Animal

Bullfighting
 Buzkashi
 Carriage Driving
 Falconry
 Foxhunting
 Horse Racing
 Horseback Riding
 Hunting
 Jousting
 Polo
 Rodeo

Sports—Ball

Basketball
 Bowls and Bowling
 Floorball
 Football
 Goalball
 Handball, Team
 Korfbal
 Mesoamerican Ball Court Games
 Pelota
 Netball
 Volleyball
 Volleyball, Beach
 Sepak takraw
 Speedball

Sports—Body Movement and Strength

Baton Twirling
 Bodybuilding
 Capoeira
 Cheerleading
 Dance
 DanceSport
 Gymnastics, Apparatus
 Gymnastics, Rhythmic
 Powerlifting
 Rope Jumping
 Tug of War
 Weightlifting

Sports—Combative and Martial

Aikido
 Archery
 Arm Wrestling
 Boxing
 Bullfighting
 Buzkashi
 Fencing
 Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional
 Jousting
 Judo
 Jujutsu
 Karate
 Kendo
 Mixed Martial Arts
 Naginata
 Shooting
 Silat
 Sumo
 Taekwando
 Wrestling
 Wushu

Sports—Environmental

Fishing
 Hunting

Foxhunting
Mountaineering
Orienteering

Sports—Field

Australian Rules Football
Camogie
Football
Football, Canadian
Football, Flag
Football, Gaelic
Hockey, Field
Hurling
Innebandy
Lacrosse
Rugby
Shinty
Soccer

Sports—General

Alternative Sports
Disability Sport
Fantasy Sports
Folk Sports
Native American Games and Sports
Senior Sport
Worker Sports

Sports—Ice and Snow

Boating, Ice
Bobsledding
Curling
Hockey, Ice
Luge
Skating, Ice Figure
Skating, Ice Speed
Ski Jumping
Skiing, Alpine
Skiing, Cross-Country
Skiing, Freestyle
Sled Dog Racing

Sledding—Skeleton
Snowboarding
Snowshoe Racing

Sports—Mechanized and Motor

Auto Racing
Carriage Driving
Cycling
Hockey, In-line
Karting
Motorboat Racing
Motorcycle Racing
Mountain Biking
Polo, Bicycle
Skateboarding
Skating, In-line
Skating, Roller

Sports—Mixed

Biathlon and Triathlon
Duathlon
Extreme Sports
Heptathlon
Pentathlon, Modern

Sports—Racket

Badminton
Racquetball
Squash
Table Tennis
Tennis

Sports—Running and Jumping

Cross-Country Running
Heptathlon
Marathon and Distance Running
Race Walking
Track and Field—Running and Hurdling

Sports—Stick and Ball

Baseball
Billiards
Cricket
Croquet
Golf
Rounders and Stoolball
Softball

Sports—Throwing

Boomerang Throwing
Darts
Heptathlon
Ultimate
Track and Field—Jumping and Throwing

Sports—Water

Canoeing and Kayaking
Diving
Extreme Surfing
Lifeguarding
Polo, Water
Rowing
Sail Sports
Sailing
Skiing, Water
Surf Lifesaving
Surfing
Swimming
Swimming, Synchronized
Underwater Sports
Wakeboarding
Windsurfing

Venues

All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club
Ascot
Astrodome
Bislett Stadium
Bondi Beach



Coliseum (Rome)
 Eiger North Face
 Fenway Park
 Foro Italico
 Holmenkollen Ski Jump
 International Olympic Academy
 Lake Placid
 Lord's Cricket Ground
 Madison Square Garden
 Maple Leaf Gardens
 Maracana Stadium
 Mount Everest
 Olympia

Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936
 Pebble Beach
 St. Andrews
 St. Moritz
 Venice Beach
 Wembley Stadium
 Wrigley Field
 Yankee Stadium

Youth Sports

Academies and Camps, Sport
 American Youth Soccer
 Organization (AYSO)

Anti-Jock Movement
 Child Sport Stars
 Elite Sports Parents
 Family Involvement
 Growth and Development
 Injuries, Youth
 Play vs. Organized Sport
 School Performance
 Youth Culture and Sport
 Youth Sports

Kite Sports

Modern kite traction—substituting maneuverable kites for sails—is a modern phenomenon that has evolved rapidly in the last fifteen years. Advances in kite design, materials, and maneuverability have allowed kite sailors on land, water, or snow to approach the performances of sailboats and state-of-the-art land sailers—also called land yachts, sand yachts, and dirt boats—wheeled, cart-like boats that move by sail power on firm ground and paved surfaces. With pioneer developers in New Zealand, France, and Hawaii, the sports—especially kite surfing—have grown into a worldwide phenomenon.

History of the Sport

Kite traction has a long but mostly invisible history. From Ben Franklin's childhood adventure of being drawn across a pond by his kite to England's George Pocock's kite-powered carriage, the *Char Volant*, invented in 1827, kite traction largely has been ridiculed. Pocock's invention appears in numerous political cartoons of the period, and even Samuel Franklin Cody, the first man to fly a powered, heavier-than-air airplane in Great Britain, was alternately lauded and scoffed at for his 1901 crossing of the English Channel by kite-powered boat.

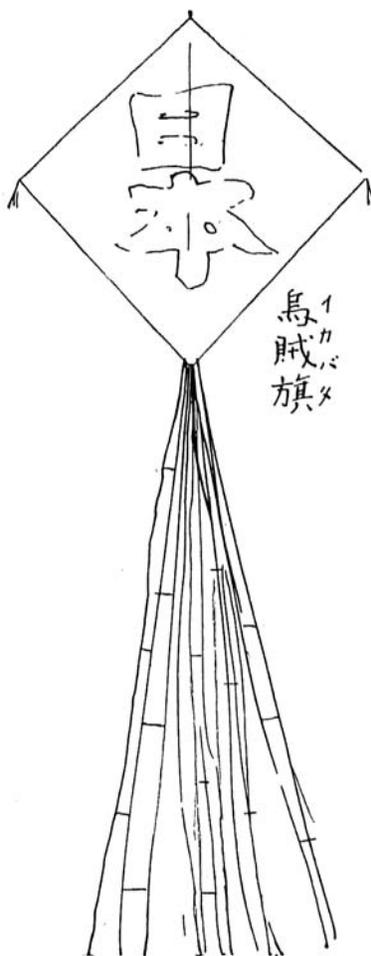
Kite traction owes its recent boom to the development of sport kites—two- and four-line maneuverable kites that are used in ballet, team, and precision flying contests. Most of these kites are rigid, with lightweight carbon or fiberglass frames and an emphasis on precise steering, speed, and performance. Traction kites rapidly

evolved to nonrigid, air-inflated, or ram-air-inflated designs that have stability, heavy pull, and portability. While kites made according to “soft” designs are undoubtedly safer when flying in groups, if framed kites offered leaps in performance, they would quickly proliferate. Air-inflated kites by Wipica, Naish, and Northsail are hybrids in that their rigidity is achieved by closed inflation—like an air mattress. The ram-air design requires wind going into the forward opening to inflate its three-dimensional wing.

Acknowledged as the father of modern kite traction, New Zealand's Peter Lynn has been at the forefront of kite buggy (land) and kite sailing (water) design. He

brings an aeronautical engineer's mind and sailor's experience to all the traction sports. Bruno and Dominique Legaignoux, Frenchmen who invented the Wipicat, contributed much to the early development of kite sailing, and the Wipicat's inflated kite sail has morphed into the most popular kite-surfing design. Corey and Bill Roeseler's kite-powered water ski has given way to today's kite surfer—the most popular and most visible of all the traction sports. Kite surfing received a huge push in credibility when wind-surfing superstar and entrepreneur Robby Naish entered the business with serious commitment. Kite surfing has evolved most rapidly and is an extreme sport with an emphasis on aerial tricks. Kite skiing or kite boarding seems to be evolving along the same lines, while land-based kite buggying and kite sailing are characterized as racing sports.

Kite sailing, currently in its early evolution, and kite surfing have spread, logically, to areas in the world with active sailing or windsurfing



A Japanese cuttlefish kite.



communities. Kite bugging, which requires great open space, has found hotbeds in the desert southwest of North America, hard-pack beaches of Europe, and the deserts and beaches of Australia and New Zealand. Kite surfing, skiing, and bugging are relatively inexpensive, with beginning equipment costing no more than \$2,000. Kite sailing's cost, like that of any sailing sport, depends on variables like boat size, type, and material.

Nature of the Sport

Kite surfing, bugging, and sailing/skiing each have some distinctive attributes.

KITE SURFING (WATER)

From a sailing start, riders demonstrate power and control by launching airborne and performing spins, flips, or twists, and a controlled landing. Riders are judged on form, style, and ingenuity. Maneuvers from sister sports, wake-boarding, snow-boarding, surfing, water-skiing, and wind-surfing, are all possible in kite surfing. Aerial flips, turns, forward and backward landings, and all contortions in between are possible.

KITE BUGGYING (LAND)

Riders race around a set course or around two pylons. In course racing riders with best times or head-to-head leaders win. In pylon racing a rider wins when lapping his single opponent. Long-distance races or "endures" measure distance traveled over a set time.

KITE SAILING AND KITE SKIING/BOARDING

Both kite sailing and kite skiing/boarding look to be evolving along the lines of kite surfing and kite bugging, with kite sailing developing into a more traditional sailing sport, and kite skiing/boarding evolving into a trick sport.

In the four kite traction sports, there are three components: kite and line, conveyance (surf board, buggy, boat, ski, or board), and rider. State-of-the-art in kites and line are air-inflated, four-line maneuverable kites with two lines that control steering (kite direction) and two lines that control power. Lines are attached to

a control bar that steers the kite ("pull right to turn right, pull left to turn left") and also moves toward or away from the rider to power down or power up. Line length is variable according to conditions and flyer preferences—very short lines reduce the power of a given kite.

Kite surfing, especially, has made great technical advancements and strides in popularity. It draws participants, equipment, and sponsors from windsurfing, surfing, wake boarding, sailing, snowboarding, skiing, and skateboarding. Participants are predominately young males, but females compete with the same rules and equipment. Kite surfing has also generated controversy since it competes for space at surfing and wind-surfing areas. Safety has become a critical issue since competitive riders have been killed in uncontrolled landings, and even a spectator has been killed by a kite line when a kite relaunched prematurely.

Competition at the Top

Currently, kite surfing is the most organized of the traction sports. Its "Red Bull King of the Air" competition is held annually in Maui, Hawaii, with qualifying contests held worldwide. On a much smaller scale, but evolving in the same way, are the kite skiing/boarding competitions for which there is already a winter tour in Europe and the United States. Both kite surfing and skiing/boarding attract young participants—men and women under thirty years old. Kite bugging attracts enthusiasts of a much wider age range, and organized events are usually local or regional, with rules tailored specifically to the locale. Kite sailing is in its infancy, but the idea received huge media attention when the U.S. entry in the America's Cup, *Oracle*, tested a kite sail in 2003.

Scott Skinner

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Koreas Olympics Results*2002 Winter Olympics: 2 Gold, 2 Silver**2004 Summer Olympics (South Korea): 9 Gold, 12 Silver, 9 Bronze**2004 Summer Olympics (North Korea): 4 Silver, 1 Bronze*

Koreas

North Korea and South Korea are East Asian nations located on the Korean peninsula, bordered by China to the north and the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan. The thirty-eighth parallel divides the peninsula into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea, capital Pyongyang) and the Republic of Korea (South Korea, capital Seoul). The division followed World War II, when Soviet troops invaded the north and the United States the south. The United Nations ratified the political division, which survived the Korean civil war (1950–1953). The division led both nations to pursue very different political and economic policies (communism vs. capitalism). The population of North Korea is estimated at 24 million and that of South Korea is 43 million.

Korean Traditions

Strength tests, archery, and two national sports—tae kwon do, the Korean form of kickboxing that is now an Olympic sport, and ssirum Korean wrestling—belong to the Korean sport tradition. Both national sports reflected male dominance and fed the values of loyalty, fierceness, and strength that typify the traditional Korean ideology. The traditional ball game of *chuk-guk* was similar to English football before the codification of rugby and soccer. In 1864, Korea became involved in the world commercial system and entered into treaties with the Western powers. Before the Japanese annexation of 1910, soccer and then baseball and basketball spread to Korea.

Japanese Dominance

Japan ruled Korea from 1910 to 1945 and enacted policies meant to assimilate Korea into Japanese society. An indigenous Choson (the self-name for Korea) Sport Association (CSA) formed in 1920 and attempted to control all national sports activities, but in 1925 Japan absorbed most of the clubs into its own federations. Nonetheless, CSA continued to resist. In 1932, the

Koreans competed in the Olympics for the first time, although under the Japanese flag.

In 1935, Kee Chung Sohn won the Marathon of Osaka, setting a new world record. Selected for the Berlin Olympics of 1936, he was forced to change his surname to a Japanese form, Kitei Son. He won the gold and his country-mate Nam Sun Yong took the bronze medal. On the rostrum, both men bowed their heads in front of the Japanese flag as a sign of shame and outrage. The Japanese authorities repressed the enthusiastic tributes to them that took place in Seoul. Another Korean sports star was the weightlifter Su Il Nam, who, in the under 60-kilogram category, broke some world records in 1939. The International Weightlifting Federation attributed the records to Korea, not Japan.

North Korea

Military and paramilitary organizations govern sports in Communist North Korea, which has been largely closed to the non-Communist world. A sports relationship with

the Soviet Union began in the mid-1960s,

when North Korea prepared for its first Olympics. North Korea competed in the

Games of the New Emerging Forces

(GANEF) in 1963 and 1966, the

Winter Olympics in 1964, and the

Summer Olympics to 1972. Perhaps

the leading North Korean athlete of the

1960s was a woman, Shin Geum Dan,

a world class competitor in the 400 and

800 meter races. Women were tradi-

tionally barred from sports in Korea, and

her prominence ushered in a new era.

The national soccer team shocked the

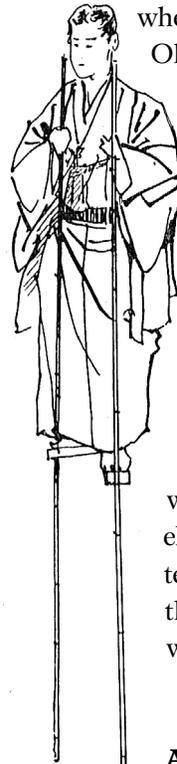
world at the 1966 World Cup when it

eliminated Italy and made it to the quar-

terfinals before losing to Portugal. In Italy,

the term "Korea" became synonymous

with "defeat." In 1970, North Korea



A Korean man on stilts.



Koreas

Kite Flying in Korea

Kite-flying is a national institution here as in China and Japan. The kites are not so elaborate as in the neighbouring countries, but the interest in the sport is fully as great, for there are what may be called kite-fights that are very exciting. By dextrous manipulation the rival kite-fliers get their strings crossed. Then comes the contest of pure skill, to see which can saw the string of the other in two first. You see the tiny kites high in the air darting this way and that, seemingly without rhyme or reason, but all the time their owners are manoeuvring for position, just as rival yachtsmen do in our own land. When one of

them thinks that the right moment has arrived, he makes his kite dash across the path of the other and clinch in the final struggle. Sooner or later one of the strings is cut, and the liberated kite floats away on the breeze, followed by a crowd of eager boys. The kites, though scientifically constructed, cost but very little, but the cord must be of the finest, and it must be smeared with a kind of paste mixed with pulverised glass. This makes it better able to saw the other cord in two.

Source: Hulbert, H. B. (1906). *The passing of Korea* (pp. 278–79). New York: Doubleday, Page and Co.



Koreas

Key Events in Korea Sports History

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>57 BCE Taekwondo is part of the physical training for young warriors.</p> <p>1880s Late in the century soccer, basketball, and baseball are introduced by Westerners.</p> <p>1920 The Choson (Korea) Sport Association is formed.</p> <p>1925 Japan, which has conquered Korea, incorporates Korean sports associations into its own associations.</p> <p>1932 Koreans compete in the Olympics for the first time, but under the Japanese flag.</p> <p>1964 North Korea competes in the Winter Olympics.</p> | <p>1966 The North Korea soccer team gains attention when it defeats Italy in the World Cup.</p> <p>1972 North Korea competes in the Summer Olympics for the first time.</p> <p>1980 Taekwondo is recognized as an Olympic sport.</p> <p>1983 South Korea forms the first professional soccer league in Asia.</p> <p>1988 The Summer Olympics are held in Seoul. North Korea boycotts the games.</p> <p>2000 South and North Korea compete as one team at the 2000 Olympics and again at the 2002 Winter Olympics and 2004 Summer Olympics.</p> |
|---|--|

withdrew from the World Cup when faced with the possibility of having to play Israel. North Korea boycotted the Los Angeles Summer Olympics in 1984 with other communist nations and the Seoul Olympics in 1988, having unsuccessfully sought to be the co-organizer. North Korea has won thirty-seven medals, eight of them gold.

South Korea

With much Western influence, South Korea developed an industrialized society in the 1970s and 1980s. The government reorganized sport and physical education following Western models and also encouraged participation by women. It won its first gold medal at the

1976 Olympics. In 1981 Seoul was selected to host the 1988 summer games.

Its preparation for the Olympics served to tie South Korea's economic boom with the development of sports. At Seoul, South Korea won twelve gold medals in archery, wrestling, judo, boxing, and table tennis. In the 1992 Olympics, South Koreans won medals in shooting, taekwondo, weightlifting, and badminton. Large investments were made in professional sports and in 1983 the first professional soccer league in Asia was established.

South Korea co-organized with Japan the 2002 World Cup of soccer and its team reached an unexpected fourth place. In the Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City in 2002, South Korea continued its success in short track skating in which, since the event's Olympic debut in 1992, South Korea has won at least one gold medal at each Winter Olympics. The female golfer Se Ri Pak has won major professional tournaments in the United States and has become a symbol of the sports-woman in South Korea.

The Future

The future of sports in the two nations is linked to ongoing but as yet unsuccessful attempts to reunite as one nation. In 1988, the leaders of the north and south failed in their negotiations to form a joint team for the Olympics. The situation was reopened in 1994, with the death of Kim Il Sung, the leader of North Korea, and in the context of North Korea's difficult economic situation. North Korea competed at the 2003 Asian Winter Games in Daegu. Finally, at the 2000 and 2004 Summer and 2002 Winter Olympics, the athletes of the two nations marched together behind a unique white flag with a picture of the Korean peninsula.

Gherardo Bonini

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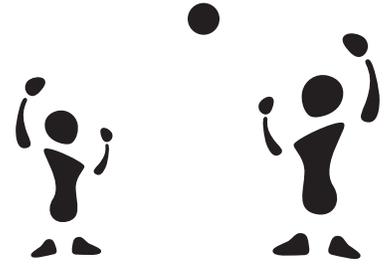
Korfball

Korfball is a coed sport that combines elements of basketball and netball. It was introduced in 1902 by Dutch schoolteacher Nico Broekhuysen (1877–1958) as a safe, noncontact game that boys and girls could play together. In the Netherlands the new sport caught on and quickly gained a following. It took until the last decades of the twentieth century—when coeducation and equality of the sexes in sport became an issue in many countries—for korfball to develop internationally. It is now played in almost fifty countries, although mostly as a minor sport.

History of the Game

According to Broekhuysen (1949), he developed korfball after attending a handicraft course in Nääs, Sweden, in 1902. One of a group of progressive educators, he was looking for low-cost, open-air games that boys and girls could play together. While attending the course, he became acquainted with “ringboll.” The non-Scandinavian participants labeled this game “basketball” although—according to Broekhuysen's reconstruction of the history—there was no basket or *korf* (Dutch for a “rattan basket”). Inspired by his experiences with ringboll, Broekhuysen developed a game he called korfball for his school. He had two poles constructed that had detachable, bottomless cane baskets on top. He then established a set of basic rules and upper-grades started to play the game after school hours.

Recently, the Belgium sport historian Roland Renson investigated the roots of korfball. His findings correct Broekhuysen's version of korfball history. Renson discovered three pictures (from the United States in 1892 and Nääs, Sweden, 1897 and 1912) on which rattan baskets (*korfs*) are to be seen. In his “genealogy” of korfball,



Renson convincingly argues that Broekhuysen's korfbal has its roots in Senda Berenson's (1893) concept of three-court women's basketball and in "korgboll" as it was presented at the 1902 Nääs course. Renson concludes: "It is certain that the Dutch teacher Nico Broekhuysen in 1902 made the acquaintance of the mixed game of three-court basketball with bottomless baskets during his participation in a course at Nääs in Sweden. We know for a fact that he introduced this form of game in Amsterdam and—to the analogy of the Swedish *korgball* and the American basketball—conferred upon it the Dutch name of *korfbal*. . . . Broekhuysen's korfbal is not an original invention but indeed a unique interpretation of Berenson's women's basketball, distinguished by the fact that it is essentially a mixed form of game" (Renson 2003, 59, 60). Other educators immediately became interested in the new game, and soon korfbal clubs began to be established. In 1903 the Dutch Korfbal Association was established (now called KNKV) with Broekhuysen as its first president. Korfbal was exported to countries that were under Dutch colonial control (Indonesia, Suriname, and the Dutch Antilles) at the time, but otherwise the Dutch made little effort to promote the game internationally. In 1920 the Dutch Korfbal Association demonstrated korfbal at the Antwerp Olympic Games. As a result, the Belgian Korfbal Association was established in 1921. The first international match between Belgium and the Netherlands took place in 1923, and it has continued to be an annual event. In 1924 the International Korfbal Bureau was founded, and in 1933 it became officially known as the International Korfbal Federation (IKF). The international organization, however, remained inactive for a long period because of a lack of funds.

After World War II, the Dutch began to promote korfbal in other countries. In 1946 korfbal was introduced into Great Britain. Demonstration tours were conducted in Austria, Denmark, and Switzerland, but these countries did not adopt the game. In the 1960s korfbal was successfully launched in the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1967 the first European Cup Tournament in outdoor korfbal for national championship clubs was organized. In the 1970s korfbal be-

came well established in France, Spain, Papua New Guinea, and Luxembourg, mostly because it was promoted by enthusiastic teachers.

In 1976 the KNKV was invited by two United States physical education professors, who were both originally from the Netherlands, Jan Broekhoff and Nicolaas Moolenijzer, to make a longer demonstration tour at universities in the United States. The initiative was a consequence of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, stipulating equal sport opportunities for men and women. In 1978 the U.S. Korfbal Federation (USKF) was established. The following year, in 1979—three years after the first trip—a second KNKV trip was made with demonstrations in Illinois, Wisconsin, California, and Oregon. By that time Broekhoff was the president of the USKF, and Moolenijzer, the secretary. The American tours represented major growth for the sport and prompted the IKF to invest in the international expansion of korfbal. In 1979 the federation's international coach, Adri ("Swan") Zwaanswijk, embarked on a six-month world tour to promote korfbal as a coed sport and a passport to coeducation.

On the occasion of its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1978, the KNKV organized the first world championship, which included six European teams as well representatives from Papua New Guinea and the United States. The world championship takes place every four years—the sixth held in Australia in 1999 and the seventh, on the occasion of the one hundredth birthday of the Dutch Korfbal Association, in the Netherlands in 2003—and korfbal has been on the program of the World Games since 1985.

The 1990s saw the rapid expansion of korfbal in Eastern Europe, following periods of dramatic political and economic change. In 1993 korfbal was officially recognized by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). In 1998 Portugal hosted the first European indoor korfbal championship. In most of these international competitions, the Dutch team was victorious, with Belgium as its biggest rival. In the last ten years or so—due to clinics given by Dutch coaches—the Czech Republic, Taiwan, Portugal, and the Republic of South

Africa have made substantial progress in competitive strength. On the invitation of the Chinese government in March 2004, the IKF sent Ben Crum (the Dutch national coach for many years and now charged with the development of korfball) with a Dutch demonstration team to Beijing, where korfball was introduced at three universities. To date korfball has developed into an international sport played in forty-six countries, while thirty-eight countries are associated within the IKF. The IKF is a member of the General Association of International Sports Federations (GAISF) as well as the International World Games Association (IWGA).

Although it is now an international sport, korfball is—apart from in the Netherlands—still a minor one. The Netherlands has 100,000 players, but this figure is not matched by the sum of all players in all other IKF countries. That it has attained only this modest popularity is probably due not to any specific features of the game, but rather because its leading proponent, the Netherlands, is a small country that does not have a strong position in the grand scheme of international cultural exchange (see van Bottenburg, 1992, 2003). In the Netherlands, where more than 630 clubs have about 100,000 players, korfball is the fourth most popular team sport (behind soccer, volleyball, and field hockey). In the large competitive league system, players range in age from six to fifty-plus. There are no professional players in korfball, although players in the highest Dutch league receive an allowance for expenses.

How to Play the Game

Korfball was originally played only outdoors on a three-zone court with four players from each side per zone. In 1990, however, the middle (connecting) zone was abolished. This was the result of the growing popularity of indoor korfball, which was introduced in the 1950s and played in two zones (each side having two players per zone), and also was one with a view to the internationalization of korfball—two-zone korfball is a faster, more spectacular game, an important promotional consideration.

Indoor korfball is played on a court of 40×20 meters, with the outdoor court as large as 60×30 meters. A post 3.5 meters high with a korf on top is placed 6.7 meters (10 meters, outdoors) from the baseline of each of the two halves. Korfball is played with a ball about the same size and weight as a soccer ball and made of leather.

Four players from each team (two male, two female) play in each half, as the offense and defense. Each time two goals are scored (two by either team or one by each), the players change zones, so that the attackers become defenders and vice versa. During the 2003–2004 Dutch indoor league season, the average number of scores per match was forty-one, meaning about twenty changes per match. This aspect of the game requires players to master both offensive and defensive skills. The objective in offense is to develop passing and running combinations to create a shooting opportunity. Shooting when defended is not permitted. An attacker is defended when his or her opponent is nearer to the post, is within arm's length, and is actively trying to block the ball. This aspect of the game limits the advantage that would otherwise accrue to taller players since they are not allowed to jump shoot over their opponent if they are in a defended position.

Korfball is characterized by players moving around the court in pairs, an offensive player with a defensive opponent. Players may not run or dribble with the ball. Rapid changes of speed and direction, combined with good teamwork and passing, are required for the attacker to break free from the opposing player and receive the ball to shoot. Goals can be scored by shots from a distance (22 meters is not exceptional) or from close range when an attacker has passed the defense player by using feints and moving quickly. The defenders attempt to remain close to their opponents and be alert to opportunities to intercept passes or to rebound after a shot. Korfball restricts physical contact as it is meant to be a noncontact sport. The emphasis is on skill and speed, not on power or aggression.

The Dutch outdoor leagues start in autumn and continue into spring. The indoor season, which is much

more popular with spectators, television broadcasters, and most players, runs from November until the end of March. The high point of the korfbal year is the annual indoor championship final, which annually attracts 9,000 spectators to the Ahoy Sport Palace in Rotterdam.

In connection with attempts to increase TV exposure and promote the game internationally, there have been a number of experiments with new equipment as well as rule changes. In 2004 the Playing Rules Committee of the IKF approved a synthetic korf that will replace, probably in 2005, the traditional rattan korf. Rule experiments that have been conducted over the last four years concern, for example, the introduction of a two-point score for a distance shot (comparable to the three-pointer in basketball), different types of free throws, and more tolerance with regard to the defended shooting rule.

Women, Korfbal, and Equality

Mixed-gender teams, plus claims that korfbal is a passport to coeducation, have opened doors for the introduction of korfbal internationally. But the question remains as to whether korfbal can really be seen as a means of facilitating the blending of men's and women's sports cultures? Potentially, male and female competitors are equals. In reality, as the situation stands in the beginning of the twenty-first century they are not equals.

Korfbal has the potential to be played on a highly competitive level with equal chances for success and status for men and women. Two elements of the game promote this. First, because the position of the korf makes it possible to attack from all directions and the small number of defenders (only four) tactically excludes the option of a zone defense, the person-to-person defense system is essential. Consequently, every player in the attack zone has a single person defending him or her. Second, the rules require two males and two females from both sides in each section, and players are allowed to guard or attack only opponents of the same sex. These features of the game tend to cancel any gender-based differences in height, strength, or speed.

Because there is generally no reason to assume that female players are technically or tactically less competent than their male teammates, the role division (e.g., who is the scoring player and who does the supportive work) can be arranged independently of the gender factor.

Tactically, in assigning positions to players, teams also consider the issue of which player must be supported in order to score by determining who of the four in the offense section has the best chance to score on his or her defender. Herein lies the potential for gender equity within korfbal. However, a team in which female players have the same or a higher status (according to successful scoring chances) is unusual.

The view that korfbal still suffers from traditional ideas about the division of roles and power also emerges when looking at the positions that men and women hold in the formal power structures of the korfbal organizations (Crum 1988, Summerfield and White 1989). Males are still overrepresented as referees, as well as in administrative positions, and there is no formal mechanism in place to change this situation despite the fact that half the players are women.

The Future

The most important—the largest, the strongest—national competitions are those in the Netherlands. A remarkable fact is that the (younger) indoor competition has much more status than the traditional outdoor competition. At the international level, the following tournaments have achieved the most prominence: the annual European Cup, two matches (one outdoor, one indoor) annually between Belgium and the Netherlands, the World Championship, and the korfbal championship as part of the World Games, the last two being held every four years.

In 1993 the International Olympic Committee accepted korfbal as an IOC-recognized sport. The importance is that as a result the IKF receives modest financial support from the IOC and national associations improve their position with regard to their NOCs. Although there are still a few diehards who strive for

korfball as a part of the program of the Olympic Games, it is realistic to state that efforts to have korfball attain Olympic status in the twenty-first century are entirely without chance.

Governing Bodies

The primary governing bodies are the International Korfball Federation (IKF) (www.ikf.org) and the Royal Dutch Korfball Association (www.knkv.nl).

Bart Crum

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Lacrosse

Lake Placid

Law

Le Mans

Lesbianism

Lifeguarding

Literature

Lord's Cricket Ground

Luge



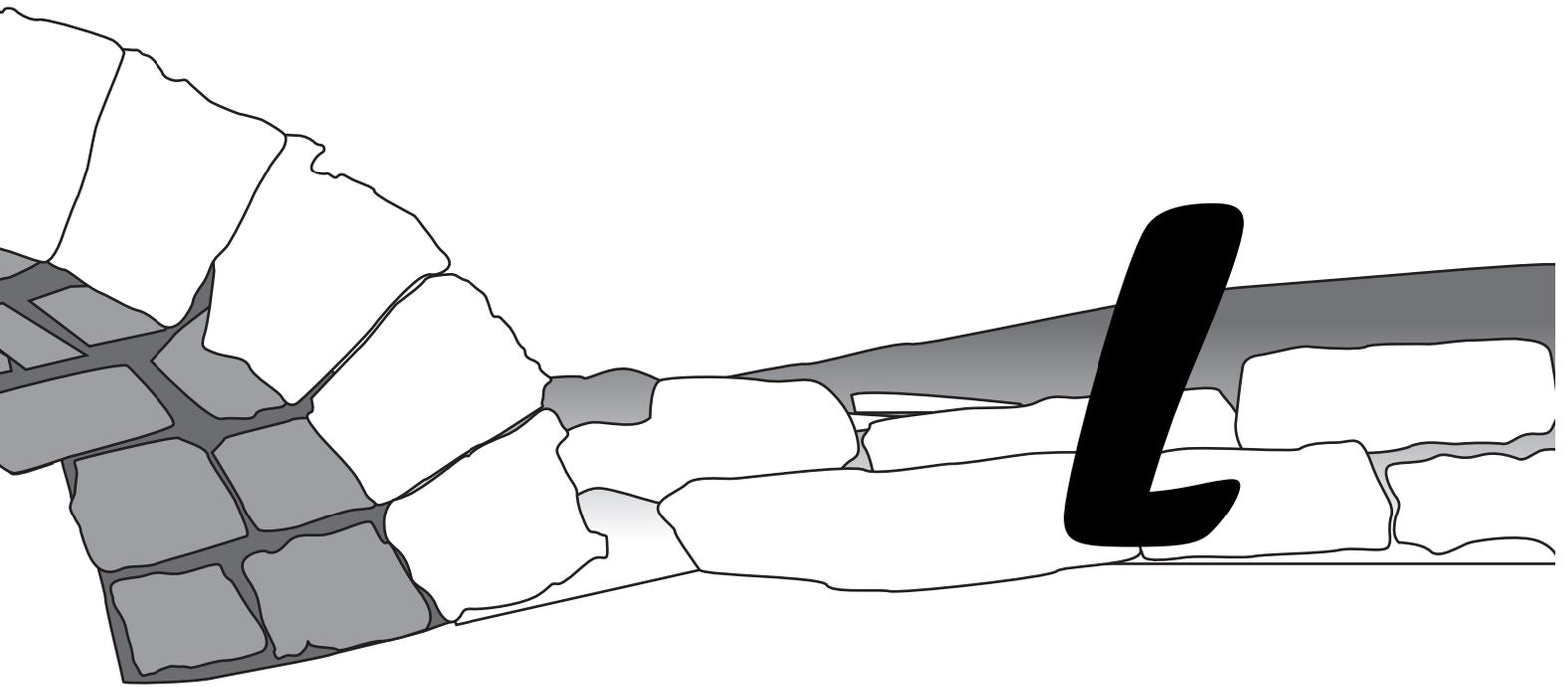
Lacrosse

Lacrosse, the oldest organized sport in North America, is a high-speed combination of cradling, dodging, shooting, scoring, and blocking. Since 1636, when French missionaries first documented Native Americans playing the sport, lacrosse has spread beyond the United States and Canada and continues to grow in popularity around the globe.

History

Although historians have no definitive date, Native Americans invented lacrosse (the Algonquin tribes called it “*baggattaway*”; the Iroquois tribes called it “*tewaarathon*”). Native Americans used lacrosse, known as the “little brother of war,” as training for war, among other things. Pregame preparations and prewar preparations were often similar, if not identical, in their frenzy and rituals. People also used lacrosse to settle intertribal conflicts peacefully. Lacrosse also had a spiritual and religious importance. Many Native Americans believed that lacrosse was the Creator’s game. They believed that by playing lacrosse, they could please the Creator and bring about favorable weather, honor the deceased, or cure the ill.

The tribes of North America developed three distinct styles of play. Native Americans in the southeastern part of the United States developed a game in which players used two sticks—one stick 76 centimeters long in each hand. These tribes—the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Yuchis, among



others—used a soft, small ball made of deerskin that was held between the two sticks. The tribes who lived around the Great Lakes—the Ojibwas, Menominees, Potawatomis, Sauks, Foxes, and Santee Dakotas, among others—used a stick that was 1 meter long and had a round, closed pocket 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter. Their ball was usually carved from wood, charred, and then carved into shape. Both the southeastern tribes and the Great Lakes tribes played on a flat, grassy field with no boundaries. The goals were often more than 1.6 kilometers apart. Each team was required to have an equal number of players; team members often numbered in the hundreds or thousands. Thus, to European settlers a game of lacrosse often appeared as a battle between tribes rather than a game. The third style of lacrosse developed within the Iroquois nation, a group of tribes living in upstate New York and southern Ontario, Canada. Their stick was more than 1 meter long and had a curved shaft ending in a large, triangular split that was netted to form a pocket. The Iroquois style was more organized than the other two styles and was the precursor of the modern sport. Each team had a limit of twelve to fifteen players, and the goals were approximately 110 meters apart. A lacrosse game could last for days, played between sunrise and sunset. No uniformity of game rules existed between tribes, but the concept of sportsmanship was universal.

Settlers from Europe during the 1600s were the first non-Native American observers of lacrosse. The word *lacrosse* was given to the sport after French missionaries first observed the Iroquois style of the game. It was named *lacrosse* because the Native Americans' sticks re-

sembled the crosier (a staff resembling a shepherd's crook) carried by French bishops as a symbol of their office. French missionary Jean de Brebeuf in 1636 first used the word *lacrosse* when he documented the sport. European settlers saw the sport as savage and violent and did not understand its symbolism to Native Americans. However, European interest in the sport grew and, in one instance, had dramatic results. In June 1763 a group of British soldiers who had recently occupied the Native Americans' Fort Michilimackinac near Lake Michigan became enthralled with a game of lacrosse being played outside the fort. When the ball accidentally flew inside the fort, the soldiers opened the doors to the fort; the lacrosse players rushed the fort, and only three soldiers survived. This event came to be known as the "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

Growth of the Modern Sport

Little documentation exists that European settlers played lacrosse until the 1800s. However, historians speculate that early French pioneers competed with Native Americans as early as the mid-1700s. In 1834 the Caughnawagas demonstrated the sport in Montreal, Canada. In 1856 Canadian dentist William George Beers created the first non-Native American lacrosse team, the Montreal Lacrosse Club. Beers is known as the "father of modern lacrosse" because he standardized the sport and instituted rules and field boundaries. Beers also changed the Native Americans' hair-stuffed deerskin ball to the solid rubber ball still in use today. In 1867 the number of Canadian lacrosse teams rose to eighty, and Beers finalized the game rules when he

created the Canadian National Lacrosse Association, the first governing body for the sport. In 1867 the Canadian government also chose lacrosse as the national sport, an honor it shares with hockey.

Lacrosse quickly gained in popularity in Canada but was slow to catch on in the United States. Not until 1877 was the first U.S. collegiate team organized at New York University. In 1881 the first U.S. intercollegiate tournament was held at the Westchester Polo Grounds in New York. In 1882 the first high school lacrosse teams were formed at Philips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, Philips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire, and Lawrenceville School in New Jersey. Men's lacrosse gained in popularity; however, women's lacrosse was virtually nonexistent in the United States.

The first women's lacrosse game was played in 1890 at St. Leonard's School for Girls in Saint Andrew's, Scotland. Frances Jane Dove, the headmistress of St. Leonard's, changed some of the rules of the men's lacrosse game to make it more feminine, more graceful, and more appealing to women. The women's game had no body checking and no lined boundaries on the field; women played lacrosse in a skirt. Lacrosse quickly spread throughout Scotland and England, and in 1912 the Ladies Lacrosse Association was established in England.

As women's lacrosse grew in Europe, men's lacrosse continued to grow in North America. In 1904 lacrosse was played as an exhibition sport at the Olympics in St. Louis and again in 1908 at the Olympics in London. However, despite its growing popularity, lacrosse did not appear

again at the Olympics until 1928. On the collegiate level, however, the growth of lacrosse spurred development of the United States Intercollegiate Lacrosse League (USILL) in 1904. The league agreed on a new set of rules and a standard code of operation for lacrosse teams and split collegiate teams into Northern and Southern divisions.

In 1925 Constance M. K. Applebee ran a summer camp for women field hockey players in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania. Applebee hired Joyce Cran Berry to assist her as an instructor. Berry, a field hockey player from England, was also a lacrosse player who was interested in spreading the sport in the United States. However, Berry and her fellow English lacrosse players had difficulty promoting women's lacrosse because often the women's sport was likened to the rough and aggressive men's sport. As a coach at the camp, Berry had the opportunity to change the U.S. mind-set about women's lacrosse. She used the association with field hockey, a widely accepted sport in the United States, to gain acceptance for lacrosse. Without field hockey, lacrosse probably would not have spread as quickly as it did. In 1926 Rosabelle Sinclair, a graduate of St. Leonard's School for Girls, organized the first



Lacrosse players going for the ball.

Source: istockphoto/mantonino.



Lacrosse

Lacrosse in a Tribal Community

Lacrosse as played by the Central Ojibwa of the Lake Superior region, Ontario, Canada in the 1800s.

Of all the Indian social sports the finest and grandest is the ball play. I might call it a noble game, and I am surprised how these savages attained such perfection in it. Nowhere in the world, excepting, perhaps, among the English and some of the Italian races, is the graceful and manly game of ball played so passionately and on so large a scale. They often play village against village, or tribe against tribe. Hundreds of players assemble, and the wares and goods offered as prizes often reach a value of a thousand dollars and more. On our island we made a vain attempt to get up a game, for though the chiefs were ready enough, and all were cutting their raquets and balls in the bushes, the chief American authorities forbade this innocent amusement.

The raquets are two and a half feet in length, carved very gracefully out of a white tough wood, and provided with a handle. The upper end is formed into a ring four or five inches in diameter, worked very firmly

and regularly, and covered by a network of leather bands. The balls are made of white willow, and cut perfectly round with the hand: crosses, stars, and circles are carved upon them. The care devoted to the balls is sufficient to show how highly they estimate the game. The French call it “jeu de crosse.” Great ball-players, who can send the ball so high that it is out of sight, attain the same renown among the Indians as celebrated runners, hunters, or warriors. [. . .]

Another description of ball play, especially practised by the women, is what is called the “papassi kawan,” which means literally “the throwing game.” It is played by two large bands, who collect round two opposite poles, and try to throw the object over their opponents’ pole. In the place of a ball, they have two leathern bags filled with sand, and attached by a thong. They throw them in the air by means of a staff excellently shaped for the purpose, and catch it again very cleverly. The stick is sharp and slightly bent at the end, and adorned like the raquets.

Source: Wraxall, F. C. L. (1860). *Kitchi-Gami: Wanderings round Lake Superior* (p. 88-90). London: Chapman and Hall.

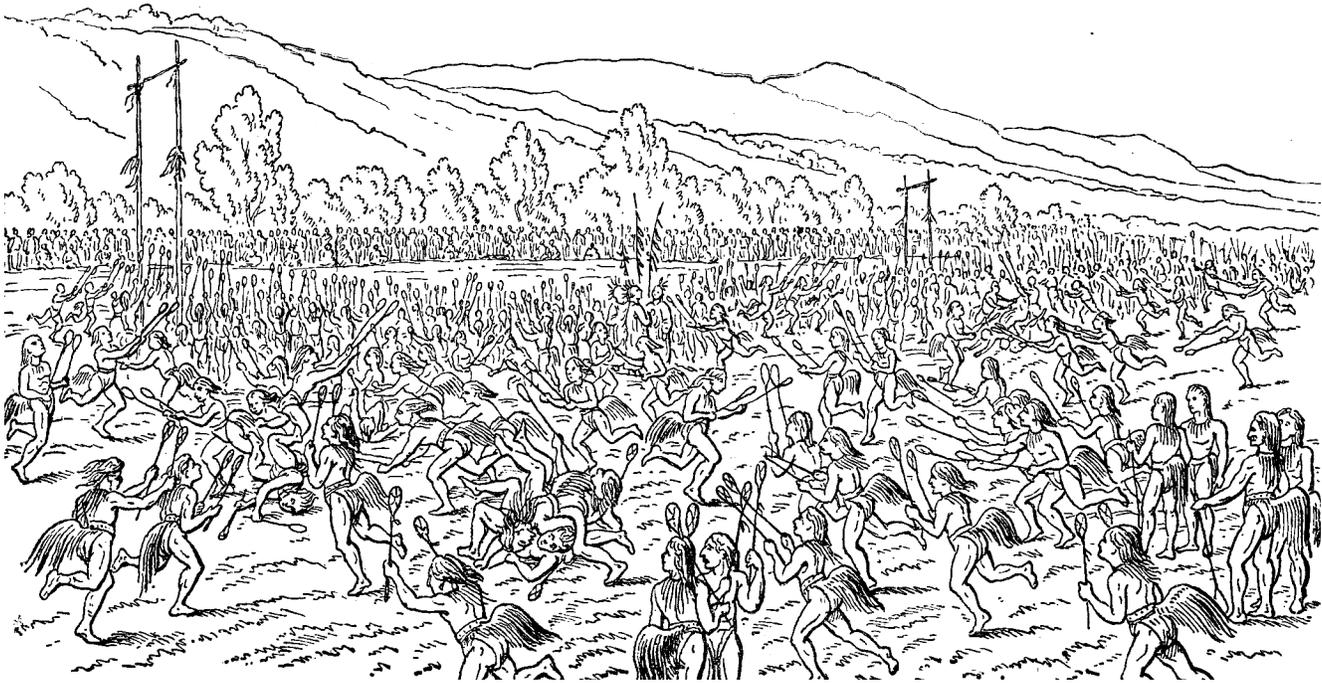
women’s lacrosse team at Bryn Mawr College in Baltimore, Maryland. By 1928 Sinclair had spread lacrosse to Philadelphia and Baltimore and was instrumental in the development of women’s club lacrosse teams. In 1931 out of Applebee’s summer field hockey camp came the United States Women’s Lacrosse Association (USWLA). Berry was the first president of the USWLA, which governed both collegiate and club-level women’s lacrosse. The USWLA held its first national tournament in Greenwich, Connecticut.

Lacrosse continued to evolve and to gain in popularity. In 1932 men’s lacrosse was played at the Los Angeles Olympic Games before a crowd of eighty thousand. To this day no other lacrosse game has attracted so many people. A sport that was often played in the shadows of baseball fields was finally coming into its own. In 1937 Robert Pool introduced the double-walled

wooden stick, an early prototype of today’s plastic lacrosse stick.

In 1856 only one lacrosse team existed in Montreal, Canada. By 1950 two hundred college, club, and high school teams existed. Within one hundred years lacrosse had spread from Canada to Europe and back to North America to the United States. The focal point of lacrosse in the United States was the East Coast, but by 1959 lacrosse had spread across the country to California. In 1959 the Lacrosse Foundation, now called “U.S. Lacrosse,” and the Lacrosse Hall of Fame were founded. The Lacrosse Foundation was organized as a nonprofit group to further the development of lacrosse.

Since the 1950s lacrosse has spread across the United States as well as around the globe. In 1967 the International Lacrosse Federation (ILF) began international play at the Men’s World Lacrosse Championship. In 1972



A drawing of Native Americans playing lacrosse in the 1800s.

the International Federation of Women's Lacrosse Associations (IFWLA) was organized, and international play began with women's teams. The Women's World Championships, now called the "Women's World Cup," are held every four years.

In 1971 men's collegiate lacrosse aligned with the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), and the first men's NCAA lacrosse tournament took place. With the help of the NCAA the popularity of men's collegiate lacrosse surged, and the tournament continued to be a highly attended event. In 1982 the NCAA took over the United States Women's Lacrosse Association, and the first women's collegiate lacrosse tournament was organized.

In 1940 only twenty high schools in the United States supported a women's lacrosse team. By the year 2000 more than fifteen thousand women were playing at more than six hundred high schools across the United States. More than fifty-five hundred women were playing lacrosse at 240 colleges across the United States, and nearly twenty-five thousand men were playing on the collegiate level at more than four hundred colleges.

The popularity of lacrosse cannot be attributed to one element, although its history, its athletes, and the

thrill of the crowd as a goal is scored contribute. Lacrosse is an intensely physical and mental sport that is devoid of any major scandals or controversies.

What Is Lacrosse?

Lacrosse is similar to basketball, hockey, and soccer. The prime difference is that lacrosse uses a solid rubber ball instead of an inflatable ball or a puck. The object of lacrosse is to pass the ball down the field and score a point in the opponent's goal without handling the ball with anything other than the lacrosse stick. The team with the most points wins. Each team is made up of offensive and defensive players and a goalie. The goalie is the only player allowed to touch the ball with a hand.

A men's lacrosse team is made up of ten players who cover the entire 100 meters of the field. The skills of cradling, passing, checking, and shooting are vital. Cradling a ball keeps the ball in the pocket of one's stick and allows one to travel on the field without losing the ball. Passing the ball to a teammate is one way to continue the movement of the ball toward the opponent's goal. Checking an opponent's stick allows one to dislodge the ball from the pocket of the opponent's stick. Shooting the ball on the goal is necessary to score a

point. Not only must a player possess these technical skills, but also a good lacrosse player must be well conditioned and capable of sprinting short distances and changing directions quickly. The most important skill is teamwork. Every member on the team is a vital part of winning.

The basic equipment, regardless of team position, is a lacrosse stick, made of wood, laminated wood, or synthetic material with a shaped net pocket at the end. Men lacrosse players are required to wear a helmet, a mouthpiece, and gloves. Lacrosse goals are 2 meters high by 2 meters wide and are placed at each end of the field. The game begins with a face-off in the center of the field; two referees enforce game rules and penalties.

Women's lacrosse has no body contact, and thus women players wear no protective equipment except a mouth guard. The field for women's lacrosse is longer: 109 meters. Technical skills are the same as in men's lacrosse, and women players need cardiovascular endurance just as much as their male counterparts do.

The differences between adult lacrosse and youth lacrosse can be as simple as a shorter game time. Younger players are encouraged to play on a full-size field and to focus on the basic skills, such as cradling, passing, and catching. Some restrictions may be applied on checking an opponent's stick, but those restrictions are up to the discretion of coaches and referees.

Competition at the Top

Lacrosse would not be where it is without the support of the NCAA. In 1971 the NCAA took a group of colleges and organized a tournament that has set records with the most successful programs, coaches, players, and attendance records for outdoor sports. During the 1980s attendance at NCAA lacrosse games surged because of the Gait twins, Paul and Gary, two Syracuse lacrosse standouts who led their team to three NCAA titles in a row. Prior to that, only Johns Hopkins University had won three NCAA titles in a row. However, since the Gait twins Princeton University has won three titles in a row. Records continue to be

broken in both men's and women's tournaments. In fact, the crowd of 37,944 at Baltimore's M&T Bank Stadium for the 2003 NCAA Division 1 men's lacrosse championship was the largest to ever attend an NCAA outdoor championship. Only men's basketball has drawn a larger crowd for an NCAA championship game.

Two professional lacrosse leagues exist. The Major Indoor Lacrosse League (MILL), formed in 1986, is an indoor league with six players per team and a higher level of physical contact. Although the pay for players is minimal, they play for the love of the sport and the adoration of fans. An outdoor league, the National Lacrosse League (NLL), was formed in 2000.

The Future

Because of the success of international lacrosse play, some people have talked of applying to have lacrosse readmitted to the Olympics. However, the Olympic charter states that an Olympic sport must be widely played in seventy-five countries. Currently lacrosse is played in fewer than twenty countries.

Governing Bodies

Governing organizations include US Lacrosse (www.lacrosse.org); International Lacrosse Federation (www.intlaxfed.org); and International Federation of Women's Lacrosse Association (www.womenslacrosse.org).

Annette C. Nack

See also Native American Games and Sports

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Lake Placid

Lake Placid is a small town of about 2,800 people located in the Adirondack region of upstate New York. It was the host for the 1932 and 1980 Winter Olympics and in 1980 the venue for the “Miracle on Ice,” one of the most famous events in American sports history. The Miracle on Ice was the United States Olympic hockey team’s 4 to 3 victory over the Soviet Union team in a semifinal game and then victory over Finland in the final to take the gold medal. The U.S. victory was considered a “miracle” because the team was composed of amateur college players coached by college coach Herb Brooks. The Soviet and Finnish teams were made up of older, more experienced quasi-professionals. Given the U.S.-Soviet Cold War rivalry of the time, the U.S. victory was hailed across America as a triumph of capitalist democracy over communism. The 1980 Winter Olympics were also the “Eric Heiden Olympics” as he won the gold medal in all five speed skating events, from 500 to 10,000 meters.

Although considered too small a community to host the Olympics, both the 1932 and 1980 events were considered successful. Only Innsbruck, Austria, and St. Moritz, Switzerland, have also hosted two winter Olympics. Lake Placid built on the 1980 Olympics with the assistance of the newly-created Olympic Regional Development Authority (ORDA) to turn itself into a major venue for winter sports training and competitions and as a venue for year-round tourism. Previously, except for the two Olympics, it had been mainly a summer tourist destination. The development plan used the existing facilities and added new ones. In 1988 a U.S. Olympic Training Center was opened and many athletes train there year-round. Lake Placid, with its world-class

facilities also has numerous major competitions in bobsled, luge, and skeleton racing; Alpine, freestyle and cross-country skiing; ski jumping; speed skating; and snow boarding. The 1980 Olympic Center that houses the hockey rink has become a national hockey shrine with hundreds of youth hockey teams coming to play there each year.

For those interested in sports and public policy, the Lake Placid experience is often cited as a case study in how the Olympics can work to build and strengthen communities. Unlike many other Olympic venues that were left saddled with enormous debt and underutilized facilities, Lake Placid has maintained its small town way of life while building on Olympic resources to prosper.

David Levinson

See also St. Moritz

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Law

The relationship between law and sports has never been more prominent. Unlike immutable principles in science, law is dynamic. As a result, the legal issues related to sports continue to change in response to global social, economic, political, and technological changes. Understanding that law continues to evolve is important to the understanding of the rule and role of law in sports.

Much of sports law emphasizes issues raised in contract law. This fact is the result of the development of rules and codes of participation that more clearly define the legal relationships among participants. Sports law,

*You have no control over what the other guy does.
You only have control over what you do.* ■ A. J. KITT



however, covers a vast array of subjects beyond contracts. Only recently did academicians consider this array to be a definitive area of the law because many had believed that “sports law” was not a clearly defined area among the classical categories of law. The study and discussion of sports law today remain quite broad, although sports law certainly has carved out its own niche among other traditional areas of law, including criminal, tort, property, labor issues, antitrust, Title IX (gender equity), and intellectual property.

History

An appreciation of modern sports law requires an appreciation of the historical perspective and development of law during thousands of years. Two major legal models are civil law and common law. Civil law forms the legal basis for much of continental Europe, Latin America, Japan, Quebec, and the state of Louisiana in North America. Civil law is statutory in nature and is based upon the principle that judges apply (rather than interpret) the law as it is written in statutes. On the other hand, common law forms the legal basis for most of the United States, England, Australia, and South Africa. Common law provides judges with greater opportunity to apply legal principles on a case-by-case basis. The use of precedent in decisions (sometimes referred to as “stare decisis”) forms the basis of common law. Around the world hybrid forms of civil and common law exist, some of which are heavily influenced by religions, including Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam. Nonetheless, modern legal systems ultimately derive their greatest influences from common law or civil law, both heavily influenced by the laws and structure of law provided by the ancient Roman culture.

Contract Law

Professional and amateur athletes are now often required to sign contracts as a prerequisite to participation in sports. These contracts delineate and define the rules of the sport in addition to the possible penalties and even an appeals process for potentially adverse decisions involving objective and subjective decisions.

When considering the legal system, such contractual arrangements attempt to avoid ambiguities that later might require subjective decisions by juries or interpretations or opinions by potentially biased judges. Examples of sports contracts include league collective bargaining agreements (contracts between owners and players), standard player contracts, sponsorship agreements, codes of ethics and conduct, and waivers or releases of liability in the event of an injury.

More often than not, contemporary sports contracts provide for alternative forms of dispute resolution (ADR) such as arbitration and mediation (as opposed to litigation). The emphasis on ADR has streamlined the efficacy and timeliness of the application of law in sports in order to reach quicker decisions. This streamlining allows for more competition on the court than in court, the latter of which could take years to resolve.

Olympic Movement

International sports competitions and their relationship to law revolve primarily around the Olympics. Olympic rules, policies, and procedures have evolved during many years and are now codified. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) mandates that every person or organization that plays any part in the Olympics must accept the supreme authority of the IOC and be bound by its rules and submit to its jurisdiction. Thus, the IOC has established its supreme authority in decisions regarding the suspension, expulsion, or disqualification of all athletes or coaches in its regime. The IOC uses the Court of Arbitration of Sport (CAS) to resolve disputes. The IOC has a medical code, for example, that classifies certain drugs as legal or illegal. IOC rules and their application and interpretation have faced controversial legal challenges, including outright boycotts by nations. Although all Olympic athletes subject themselves to the IOC regulations, the particular rules of sports in swimming, gymnastics, and triathlon, for example, are placed in the hands of the international federations. Then domestic qualification standards and events are further regulated by distinct national governing bodies, which, in turn, are overseen by national Olympic committees

(NOCs). Thus, the IOC relies heavily on its own hierarchy rather than court systems to enforce its rules and regulations.

Court of Arbitration of Sport

The CAS uses neutral arbitrators who make final, binding decisions involving disputes surrounding the Olympics at the games themselves. The CAS is appellate in nature, which means that it hears appeals from decisions made at lower levels of the Olympic Games. An appeal might include, for example, a disqualification of a competitor for a positive drug test as a result of the testing done by the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). The CAS arbitrators ensure that the rules are applied correctly. Additionally, the CAS is the court of last resort for Olympic participants. The effect is that CAS decisions are not able to be appealed elsewhere, including state or federal courts. So efficient is the CAS that during the Olympic Games if an appeal is filed, a three-member panel holds a hearing and renders a decision usually within twenty-four hours. The judicial efficiency of such a process is unheard of in most legal systems. The use of the CAS began in the Atlanta Olympics (1996).

Athlete Rights

Submission to the IOC rules and procedures does not mean that participants have no rights. Compliance simply streamlines the process of resolving disputes by means of submission to a contract agreeing to abide by decisions by the CAS. For U.S. athletes, the Ted Stevens Olympic and Amateur Sports Act (TSOASA) in 1998 altered their rights dramatically for disputes not directly related to issues at the Olympic Games themselves. For example, TSOASA requires the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) to hire an athlete ombudsman to provide free independent advice to athletes about the TSOASA, United States Olympic Committee bylaws, and rules of national governing bodies with respect to the resolution of any dispute arising out of the Olympics, Paralympics, or any other similar competition.

NCAA

The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), based in Indianapolis, Indiana, governs amateur sports in the United States at the college level. Although not all institutions of higher learning are members of this organization, its rules are applicable to more than twelve hundred schools that sponsor amateur sports. The NCAA is a nonprofit organization whose members join voluntarily. The NCAA rules can vary depending upon the division of a school. For example, athletic scholarships (grants-in-aid) are not offered at the Division III level, whereas student-athletes compete for such scholarships at the Division I and II levels. Additionally, numbers of scholarships vary depending upon the sport and whether it is a male or female sport.

Although the NCAA's purpose is to maintain a clear line of demarcation between amateur and professional sports, several exceptions to its rules exist. For example, a student-athlete may have played professionally in one sport but maintain amateur status in a different sport. At one time if a student-athlete was a professional in any way, he or she relinquished amateur status entirely. Thus, NCAA rules change each year and sometimes dramatically in response to changes in the way in which amateur and professional sports continue to shape the landscape of U.S. sports and entertainment. Competition among member schools has been so fierce that many rules are often created and later modified in response to violation of rules by one school trying to gain a competitive edge over another school in recruiting a student-athlete.

As with the IOC, NCAA student-athletes must sign consent forms, contracts, and waivers as a condition to participate in NCAA college sports. For example, the NCAA established its own drug-testing program in 1986 and comprehensively tests for both illegal "street" drugs and performance-enhancing drugs, similar to the IOC. However, because the NCAA is a private and nonprofit organization, the NCAA is not considered a "state actor" in the traditional sense. This fact is important in that if an organization is an arm of the federal or state government, then upholding



Law

AFL v. NFL

Sports law has had an enormous influence on the modern sports scene. The following case played a role in the merger of the two American football leagues.

In this action for treble damages and injunctive relief under the antitrust laws, plaintiffs, the American Football League (AFL) and its members charge defendants, the National Football League (NFL) and most of its members, with monopolization, attempted monopolization and conspiracy to monopolize major league professional football.

It is not disputed that all of the parties to the case are engaged in interstate commerce and subject to the provisions of the antitrust law, *Radovich v. National Football League*, 352 U. S. 445. See also *United States v. National Football League*, E. D. Pa., 116 F. Supp. 319. [. . .]

CONCLUSIONS

1. This court has jurisdiction over the defendants and the subject matter of this action.

2. Neither individually nor in concert have the defendants monopolized any part of the trade or commerce among the several states; particularly they have not monopolized major league professional football.
3. None of the defendants has attempted to monopolize or combined or conspired with any other person or persons to monopolize major league professional football.
4. None of the defendants has engaged in a combination or conspiracy in unreasonable restraint of trade or commerce among the several states in the presentation of major league professional football games.
5. None of the plaintiffs is entitled to relief in this case against any of the defendants.

Judgment will be entered in favor of the defendants, with cost.

Source: American Football League, *et al.* v. National Football League, *et al.*, Civil No. 12559 (1962).

constitutional principles such as search and seizure (Fourth Amendment), due process (Fifth Amendment), and equal protection (Fourteenth Amendment) is vital. Such constitutional protections are safeguarded in all public schools and those private schools that receive funding from the government.

The NCAA has been the subject of much litigation throughout the years. In one instance the NCAA was found to have violated antitrust laws (laws governing monopolistic behavior) by creating a plan that limited the number of times a college football team could appear on television. In another case the NCAA violated antitrust laws by capping assistant basketball coaches' salaries in an effort to maintain costs among athletic departments. No doubt the NCAA and its member institutions play a major role in legal evolution of sports law issues, possibly even more than the professional leagues themselves.

Title IX

In addition to its own rules, the NCAA has been at the forefront of supporting policies related to gender equity in sports. The concept of gender equity is put forth formally in Title IX of the U.S. Education Amendments of 1972. This federal statute evolved ultimately from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and was created to prohibit discrimination based on gender in any program that receives financial assistance from the federal government. In practice virtually every school in the United States must comply with Title IX policies. The U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR) enforces Title IX compliance. Hundreds of cases have gone to court over Title IX issues in sports even though the original law did not specifically mention athletic departments or programs. In *Grove City College v. Bell* (1984), the United States Supreme Court ruled that athletic programs are exempt from Title IX policies, but



the passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987 by Congress overturned the ruling.

Title IX remains a controversial issue today, but no doubt it has opened previously closed doors for women athletes and coaches to participate in intercollegiate athletics. Title IX has had a positive impact on the landscape of U.S. sports and culture, but it came with a price. Hundreds of men's swimming, wrestling, gymnastic, baseball, football, and other programs have been terminated in response to financial and equity concerns related to the imposition of Title IX policies. Debate continues to rage regarding compliance with Title IX, but it continues to adapt to the changing culture and interpretation of the statute, particularly involving participation (or exclusion) in contact sports.

Sports Agents

Quite lucrative and competitive, the sports agent profession has gone through stages of no regulation to self-regulation, state regulation, league and union regulation, and to now even federal regulation. As money poured into sports television programming, and as athlete salaries began to rise during the 1960s to the unprecedented level of today, the sports agent profession has negotiated deals for professional athletes similar to the way lawyers negotiate settlements for their clients. However, sports agents are not required to be lawyers.

Misrepresentation and abuse by some agents, however, led to the Uniform Athlete Agents Act (UAAA), adopted by more than one-half of the states. This act has created a more uniform state approach to regulating unethical conduct by sports agents who often were able to operate a business without any regulation whatsoever. The passage of SPARTA (Sport Agent and Responsibility Trust Act) in 2004 continued to increase the scrutiny that sports agents receive.

Sports and Torts

Much debate has divided jurisdictions over whether a participant in an athletic contest may seek financial compensation from another competitor for injuries received. Generally speaking, competitors often fail when

instituting a civil (as opposed to criminal) lawsuit against another for such injuries. Courts significantly defer to the sports leagues themselves, both at professional and amateur levels, to enforce rules related to injuries. Being injured in a sports contest is often considered an inherent risk, and participants assume that risk. However, the rule is clearly not absolute, and some exceptions may exist.

In cases involving intentional or reckless misconduct by a participant, injury to another competitor might be compensable in civil tort law (personal injury law). Although injuries are an inherent risk of sports participation, no bright-line test exists to determine when conduct supersedes the normal expectations of competitors. Courts generally exclude monetary damages for ordinary negligence in sports, but that exclusion must be analyzed on a case-by-case basis. Compensation has been awarded for wrongful death of participants.

Spectators hit by flying debris, foul balls, or deflected hockey pucks have been occasionally successful in suing promoters of sports contests who failed to provide adequate protection. Such potential liability has given notice to sports organizations, architects, and leagues to use foresight and special care when conducting a public contest. Tort issues are also relevant to misconduct against (or by) coaches, referees, and sports officials.

Sports Crimes

A sports participant rarely will be guilty of a crime. Generally speaking, criminal law does not enter the sports arena. However, a few criminal charges have been filed against participants in hockey for fights on the ice involving the use of a hockey stick as a lethal weapon. In the same sport fist fights and melees that have led to physical confrontation in the stands have infrequently been processed in the criminal justice system. If players, coaches, or owners engage in illegal gambling related to a sport, criminal law is likely to intervene. More likely than not, however, criminal law and its relationship to sports manifest themselves with the athletes or coaches themselves engaging in illegal conduct in their personal life outside of the context of sports per se.

Labor Issues

The four major U.S. professional sports of football, baseball, basketball, and hockey have a contractual relationship between owners and players known as a “collective bargaining agreement” (CBA). This agreement forms the basis of the employment relationship between the parties and covers all aspects of their association, including retirement, pension, roster quantity, drug testing, player selection drafts, ADR procedures, grievances, and salary caps. The relationship between players and owners has been cooperative in some leagues, contentious in others. One of the major concerns with professional sports is the lack of uniform standards in drug testing, for example. Punishments and policies vary greatly by league.

Intellectual Property

Intellectual property is an area of sports law that continues to grow. It involves securing and protecting a copyright, patent, or trademark. Licensing a trademark (words, logos, package design, or their combinations) is important, especially when the licensing of such trademarks generates revenue for a business, league, or institution through sales of merchandise. Using a trademark or logo without obtaining a license to do so constitutes an infringement of intellectual property and is actionable in court. The regulation of registered trademarks has become so difficult that private organizations are often hired to monitor illegal conduct both domestically and internationally and over the Internet. In fact, the mere use of the word *Olympic* itself has been litigated frequently as the IOC continues to protect its international trademark and the word *Olympic*.

WIPO

The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) represents more than 90 percent of the countries in the world. It is designed to ensure that the rights related to intellectual property are protected worldwide. The advent of the Internet has created numerous challenges for designers, authors, composers, and other creators of intangible property. Cybersquatters, for example,

register Internet domain names ending in *.com*, *.org*, *.net*, and so on in bad faith and often with the expectation that they will be compensated for registering a name first. In 2000 the IOC monitored Internet websites using the word *Olympic* in their Web addresses, and almost two thousand websites were informed to cease and desist. The IOC filed a lawsuit in federal court in the United States to protect the word *Olympics* and the Olympic symbol of five rings. WIPO uses ADR to resolve domain registration controversies involving sports figures, leagues, and others. WIPO has a fast-track arbitration system and renders published decisions as well.

The Future

The relationship between law and sports continues to evolve but is now considered its own area of law. Both internationally and domestically, people must understand the legal aspects of sports for participants and practitioners. Although litigation and the courts continue to remain a vital part of resolving civil and criminal disputes, arbitration, mediation, and their hybrid forms of ADR clearly continue to alter the legal landscape of sports law. Additionally, the use of contract law has become an important aspect in sports law to define and limit the scope of the relationship among sports participants, leagues, and spectators. The advent of advanced technology such as the Internet has created concerns in sports law, but the law evolves to meet those concerns.

Adam Epstein

See also Collective Bargaining; Economics and Public Policy; Free Agency; Unionism

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Le Mans

The Le Mans auto race is one of the most prestigious in the world. Approximately fifty drivers and their teams compete in four classes. The winners in each class and overall are the drivers who travel the farthest during twenty-four hours. Held annually in northwestern France since 1923 (except during war and strike years) on the Circuit Permanent de la Sarthe, the race was originally conceived as an incentive for manufac-

turers to improve the reliability of touring cars. A victory at Le Mans is an important marketing tool; many manufacturers have special teams working on their Le Mans entries.

Origins

L'automobile Club de l'Ouest (Automobile Club of the West), founded in 1906, is responsible for the rules, organization, and circuit of the race. The race was conceived by Charles Faroux, a French motoring journalist, and staged on 26–27 May 1923. The first winners were Frenchmen Andre Lagache and Rene Leonard in a Chenard and Walcker Sport with a 3-liter engine, traveling 2,208 kilometers at an average speed of 91 kilometers per hour. Thirty-three cars took part in the first race; thirty finished; seventeen manufacturers were represented.

Circuit

The Le Mans race is held south of the city of Le Mans (about 177 kilometers south of Paris), the capital of the La Sarthe region. The 13.65-kilometer circuit is the longest auto racing circuit in the world. It has been changed many times to improve safety by slowing the cars or protecting spectators. Much of the circuit is a public road, but part of it follows the permanent Bugatti racetrack. The original Circuit de la Sarthe was used from 1923 to 1939. During World War II the area was used as a German Luftwaffe air base and suffered extensive bombing. Retreating Germans destroyed what was left after the bombing. L'automobile Club de l'Ouest reconstructed the track by June 1949 and racing resumed that year.

Drivers

Although Le Mans is dominated by men drivers, the first woman drivers were Marguerite Mareuse and Odette Siko in 1930. The best finish by a woman driver was Siko of France, who finished in fourth place in 1932. Among men, Jacky Ickx and Tom Kristensen have won the race six times each. Drivers and their racing



teams are supported by large pit crews near the main spectator area of the circuit. The drivers must be focused, patient, and able to drive well in all types of conditions. Many drivers come from the Formula 1 circuit.

Cars

Le Mans is a great marketing venue for sports car manufacturers, especially the manufacturers of the winning cars. English Bentley cars won many of the first races, putting the race on the international map. People attempted to get the manufacturers to use publicly available touring cars during the race's beginnings; however, beginning in 1949 L'automobile Club de l'Ouest allowed manufacturers to use "prototype" cars that had been manufactured in limited quantities. Rules are added every year to make the competing cars somewhat uniform and to keep the speeds down for safety. Overall, Porsches have won sixteen races, followed by Ferrari with nine.

And They're Off

The race takes place from 4 P.M. on Saturday to 4 P.M. on Sunday, usually in early to mid-June. Three drivers trade off driving duties (only two drivers were allowed until the 1980s) in each car. Only one driver can be in a car at a time. Until it was ruled too dangerous in 1970, the race began as the drivers ran across the track to their cars (the Le Mans start). Now the race begins behind a pace car. Occasionally the race loses world championship status because of the restrictions that organizers place to ensure safety or tradition. The average speeds are 321 kilometers per hour with the restrictions.

Le Mans has an all-night party feel and attracts a young crowd. A large amusement area for spectators and a trade fair for members of the motor industry are provided. The hype continues for a week prior to the race, with the "scrutineering" of the cars (checking that competing cars meet all the regulations), qualifying runs, and practices. Drivers race in one of four classes: LMP1 (or LMP 900, the premier class), LMP2 (or LMP

675), LM GTS (Grand Touring Sport), and LM GT (Grand Touring), with drivers in all classes competing to be the overall winner.

Tragedy

One of the worst tragedies in the history of auto racing occurred in the 1955 race. French driver Pierre Levegh crashed his Mercedes into the crowd; eighty people, including Levegh, were killed. The race was not halted after the tragedy because that would have led to spectator panic, and medical help would not have been able to reach the crash scene. The crash led to a ban on motor racing in Europe for a time, but the ban was lifted after an inquiry, and L'automobile Club de l'Ouest agreed to improve the safety of the race. Mercedes did not compete in auto racing for many years because of the tragedy.

The Future

Participation in Le Mans has hovered around fifty entries per year for about two decades and shows no signs of declining. The race is now followed live worldwide via television and the Internet, reaching a larger audience each year. In 1999 the Le Mans brand was expanded to the American Le Mans series, a weekly series of races in the Americas using the types of cars raced at Le Mans. With the success of this series, the Le Mans name will probably be expanded to other international ventures as well.

Christina L. Hennessey

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Lesbianism

Lesbianism is the affectional and sexual attraction of women for other women. Although sexual orientation has nothing directly to do with a woman's choice to be physically active or to participate in sports, a specter of lesbianism has haunted sports and women's participation in physical activity since early in the twentieth century. An enduring commonsense assumption is that sports are a masculine activity and that their cultural importance lies with men. The presence of women in an activity that many see as the primary contemporary route for the development of masculinity challenges traditional notions of gender and gender roles in profound ways.

Vocabulary

As opposed to the term *sex*, which refers to the biological makeup of people that causes them to be identified as female or male, the term *gender* refers to the socially constructed norms that place people into the categories of girl/woman or boy/man. The social expression of gender assignment is reflected in those characteristics that are recognized as feminine for people with female bodies and masculine for people with male bodies. The term *gender* refers to a collection of traits that is valued within a culture and is divided into those characteristics that are appropriate for females and those that are appropriate for males. For many centuries Western culture has been created and directed by men of power. These men of power have created social institutions and structures that have been seen to be the best for their society in so far as the men have been advantaged by these structures. This outcome is *patriarchy*. *Sexism* is prejudice based on sex, especially valuing what is defined as male/masculine over what is defined as female/feminine.

In the same way that what is male/masculine is seen to be superior to what is female/feminine, heterosexuality is seen to be the only acceptable sexual practice and is deemed to be superior to homosexuality or other forms of sexual identification or expression.

I can't remember a single time that I was prevented from doing what I wanted because I was a female, either on the rock or in the mountains. ■ ANNIE WHITEHOUSE

Heterosexism vilifies other forms of sexual expression. The term *homophobia* refers to a fear of homosexuality or homosexuals. By practice, homophobia discredits people who do not identify as heterosexual. It also constrains the behaviors, appearance, and activities of people who do not comply with the compulsory social requirements of feminine and masculine behaviors for women and men, respectively.

The term *homonegativity* refers to the outcomes and actions that take place because of homophobic attitudes. Homonegativity is reflected in various sports and sports-related cultural practices that systemically discriminate against lesbian athletes, coaches, officials, and administrators.

Historical Foundations

People traditionally have seen sports as a domain restricted to males. Many of the attributes required to be a successful athlete are the same as those recognized as being exclusively masculine or manly. The association among males, masculinity, and athletic prowess as a naturally occurring relationship has been a persistent one. Strength, power, aggression, and commitment are individual needs of the athlete but are also understood to be masculine—and, conversely, not feminine—attributes. Cooperation, teamwork, challenge, and leadership are also seen to be desirable masculine-identified characteristics that can be developed through sports. At the beginning of the twentieth century “Americans simply could not separate the concept of athletic superiority from its cultural affiliations with masculine sport and the male body” (Cahn 1994, 2). Women's greater involvement in sports was opposed by people who supported this attitude.

Girls and women have had a place in sports in most cultures, but the meaning of sports for them was different from the meaning of sports for boys and men. In North America at the end of the nineteenth century this difference supported gentle, moderate, rhythmic physical activities that were seen to be beneficial for women's health—particularly women's reproductive health. Rough-and-tumble play was discouraged, especially

among white, middle- and upper-class girls for whom such activities were seen to be at odds with their womanhood. However, as these same women were entering colleges and professions previously closed to them they viewed sports as a vehicle for women's emancipation.

Racism was coupled with sexism in the application of "medical" and "educational" expertise regarding sports participation. This vigilance was directed toward only white, middle- and upper-class girls. Women from the lower socioeconomic groupings, many immigrants, and all women of color were not included in the prudent application of cautions regarding reproductive health and the feminine aspects of womanhood. Demanding physical labor, undertaken for hours every day, was not seen to be a detriment to these women. Sports participation was more acceptable for females in many of these sociocultural groups. Industrial leagues and professional sports teams were more likely to be populated by working-class women and women of color, when such opportunities became available. Threats to the standards of femininity and womanhood, which were often the basis for the underlying concerns regarding women and sports, were directed toward only those women who were seen to have a greater value within the social structures of the day.

The early feminist attitude about the role of sports in the advancement of women was controversial. Many people celebrated women's greater involvement in myriad sporting activities, including traditionally acceptable sports such as tennis, golf, and horse riding and, increasingly, the newer team sports of baseball and basketball. The athletic woman represented a break from stiff Victorian constraints. The new modern woman was partly formed by her involvement in sports. However, traditional Victorian beliefs were not relinquished easily, and many people disparaged women's sporting involvement, believing that it endangered female reproductive functions, increased sexual immodesty, and blurred the lines between genders and accepted gender roles.

As physical strength was becoming less important to the work being done by middle-class males, sports became an important vehicle for the cultivation of their masculin-

ity. Many political, social, and religious leaders were concerned with what they defined as a feminization of U.S. culture and the U.S. male. Even President Theodore Roosevelt called for an increase in games such as football to bring a strong masculine presence to the lives of U.S. boys. Sports were reclaimed as a means to ensure virility and masculinity in the country's future leaders.

However, women did not back down from their desire to play sports. People began to express concern about the possibility of masculine activity causing women to become masculine. Conversely, if sports did not masculinize women, were women possibly feminizing sports? The need to maintain the association between sports and masculinity intensified, and organized sports for men increased in schools and in public and workplace activities in an attempt to maintain the notion of men's physical supremacy, distinct male and female roles, and the masculine definition of sports.

The media focused on the concerns of women's sports participation. An article entitled "Are Athletics Making Girls Masculine?" appeared in the *Ladies Home Journal* in 1912. In its support for women's exercise to maintain beauty and reproductive health was encouraged, but the fear that sports might masculinize women's bodies and characters also was expressed. Dudley Sargent, an early leader in physical education from Harvard University, wrote that success in sports could be achieved only by taking on masculine characteristics. This was a direct critique of women's participation in sports that were defined as masculine.

Challenging the Status Quo

Concerns regarding the possible masculinization of women through sports did little to discourage growing numbers of girls and women from taking up vigorous sports. The stronger and fit female body was celebrated as a new feminine aspect of the modern woman. The flapper era of the 1920s supported a freedom for women that included sports, a public social life, and less restrictive sexual mores.

An association between sports and sexuality began to grow. The vitality gained through sports and other

vigorous physical activity was seen as a positive addition to the femininity and heterosexual attractiveness of women athletes to potential male suitors. Whereas vigorous sports were seen as a way by which men's sexual energy could be controlled and directed in a harmless expression, sports for women were seen as a way to help liberate women's sexuality from the constraints of the Victorian assumptions of women's lack of sexual desire. From 1900 to the 1930s heterosexual desire was seen to be a positive by-product of masculine sports that helped to loosen sexual inhibitions in women toward men.

Reversal of Fortunes

However, the association of women's sports participation and sexuality had a downside as well. The increase in women's sporting participation allowed for the development of professional and industrial leagues in a number of team sports (e.g., baseball, basketball) and individual sports (e.g., track and field, bicycling). Promoters exploited the sexuality and attractiveness of women athletes. Shorter and tighter uniforms, tasteful makeup, and hairstyles became selling points to induce more male spectators into the women's events in order to increase profits. The media contributed to this exploitation by focusing almost exclusively on the sexual attributes and heterosexual attractiveness of the athletes rather than on their athletic achievements.

Another downside came as women athletic stars became better at their sports. Popular and successful women athletes of the 1920s and 1930s, who were at first celebrated for their skills and winning records, began to face criticism and questions regarding their womanhood. Negative descriptions of women athletes in the media planted a question in the minds of readers: Can anyone who is this good at sports really be a true woman? Tennis great Helen Wills; Babe Didrikson Zaharias, who won the 1932 Olympic track and field competition; and Gertrude Ederle, the first woman to swim the English Channel, began to see the early celebration of their accomplishments turn to criticisms of their womanhood. The stigma of the mannish woman

athlete began to build through the media and through critics of women's sports in schools and workplaces.

The initial celebration of women's liberation from restrictive Victorian sexual expectations became reversed. As women's success in sports moved too far from what many critics deemed to be an acceptable feminine level to what began to be considered too masculine or mannish, the celebration of women's sports participation turned to caution. What was applauded as the freer sexual attitudes of the early decades of the century began to be seen as an unbridled sexual passion. This reversal created a faux hysteria about an out-of-control expression of female sexual desire. The message regarding sexuality and women's athletics was that sexual dangers are an outcome of female athletic participation in traditionally masculine activities. People proposed that freer bodies produce freer morals.

Stemming the Tide

To halt the negative downturn that women athletes were beginning to face, women physical educators and coaches attempted to change the focus of women's sports from competition and a goal of winning (deemed to be masculine aspirations) to cooperation and fun (supposedly feminine aspirations). Sports themselves were modified to a more "feminine" version, which meant less body contact, less strenuous physical output, and changes in rules to reduce risk or simply to change the sports from the way males played them.

Another strategy to "demasculinize" sports was to stress the feminine presentation of the women athletes themselves. Women athletes were prevented, by threat of being dropped from a team, from wearing their hair too short, from engaging in unladylike behavior (including hollering or smoking in public), and from engaging in other behaviors deemed to be unladylike and masculine. The desired outcome of these policies was to produce feminine girls, even though they may have had masculine sports skills.

These policies allowed girls to continue to participate in a broad range of sports and other physical activities that included traditionally gender-normative activities for



boys. The all-female environment in which girls primarily participated, under the direction of female coaches, officials, and administrators, had the added benefit of controlling fears around the heterosexual deviance that was being promoted as a negative outcome of women's sports participation. However, this all-female environment eventually became problematic in itself.

Lesbian Bogeywoman

After World War II people attempted to return North American culture to a male-centered one. Women who had left their homes to take over the jobs that men had left behind to serve in the armed forces were encouraged to give up these jobs and return to their homes to take up traditional roles of wives and mothers. The boundaries of masculine and feminine gender roles returned to a rigid, Victorian-like condition. Women who chose to remain in the public sphere were criticized. Gender anomalies, such as women not necessarily wanting to marry or wanting to remain in the workforce, created suspicion and took on a meaning equivalent to sexual aberration. Beginning during the late 1940s sexual deviance among women began to be equated with lesbianism. The all-female environment of sports that was created before the war to protect women athletes from the negative scrutiny for any masculine characteristics and to control notions of unbridled heterosexual passion became a suspicious environment that was implied to support homosexual deviance.

Society again embraced early critiques of women's increasing sports participation that supported a contradiction between athletic prowess and femininity and through which accepted wisdom sustained the belief that sports cause women to become mannish. Mannishness in women was defined as sexual deviance, which was equated with a sexual desire for other women, which was inherently a male trait. This assumed same-sex desire in supposedly mannish women was defined as "gender inversion." The female gender invert, people concluded, would be attracted to masculine sports. This circular logic based on women's desires to participate in sports made women athletes easy tar-

gets for sexually based criticism and gave birth to the emerging stereotype that women athletes are also lesbians. These critiques functioned, as well, to remove many women athletes from the realm of the feminine.

Women's interest in sports is a threat to traditional assumptions of essential gender roles and femininity. It challenges white, male privilege to maintain its patriarchal position of supremacy and normative behaviors. Labeling women athletes as lesbians is one way to get girls and women to question their desire to engage in sports, especially those sports deemed to be masculine.

This labeling also creates an unquestioned assumption that all male athletes are heterosexual. If sports are where boys develop and demonstrate those characteristics that are celebrated as masculine, then all male athletes must be heterosexual because masculinity, by definition, includes sexual attraction for women. If this were not the case, then the argument that masculine women must be lesbians would not hold up under even the merest scrutiny. The assertion that all male athletes are heterosexual is also essential in providing a space where male affection for other males can be demonstrated openly without the suspicion that such affection is homosexual. Open and physical contacts among men athletes, such as hugging, kissing, and patting buttocks, as expressions of congratulation and connection can never be construed as homosexual within the realm of male sports. This is one reason why the same demonstrations among "masculine" women athletes can be labeled as lesbian. This attitude has the added benefit of protecting any gay male athletes from exposure.

Lesbian labeling produces many negative outcomes. Commonsense assumptions that all women athletes are lesbians, that sports cause women to become lesbians, or that sports environments are places where heterosexual women will be at risk from lesbian predators limit the sports choices of women and cause women to become defensive about their choice to be an athlete, coach, official, or administrator. Homonegative strategies reduce the numbers of women in all levels of sports. These strategies maintain an imbalance of power between women and men and reduce opportunities for



women in sports. Lesbian labeling is one of the most effective homonegative tactics.

Concerns that sports and lesbianism are in some way inherently linked keep women from entering specific sports in the first place or from not striving to reach a level of excellence that is well within their capability. Homonegativity causes women to question one another or to irrationally fear their teammates. Lesbian labeling causes many women athletes who are lesbian to remain closeted out of fear of personal or sports-related rejection. Keeping lesbians in sports closeted helps to maintain a stereotype that all lesbians are mannish, unfeminine, and sexually deviant.

The invisibility of lesbians in sports and other social realms also helps to maintain a stereotype that all lesbians are mannish, unfeminine, and unattractive and contributes to a singular expression of all masculinities and all femininities regardless of the physical, racial, and ethnic differences that exist among people. The recurring identification of lesbians as either “butch” or “femme” proves that masculinity is not an exclusive and biological necessity for males and that femininity does not necessarily equate with female heterosexuality.

Glass Closet

Women’s sports would not be successful today if not for the involvement of lesbians in all levels of sports since the early days of the twentieth century. Lesbians (although few would have identified themselves by this label during the first half of the twentieth century) had the personal freedom to engage in sports and sports-related careers without restrictions placed on them by husbands or children. This fact does not support the assertion that all women athletes were lesbians; it merely shows that the efforts to build and maintain a women’s sporting culture was advanced by women who had less to risk by not pursuing the “socially desirable goals” that were imposed on middle-class, white, heterosexual women throughout the twentieth century. These lesbians were not free to be public about their sexuality because they would have been removed from teams and lost their jobs as teachers and coaches. They were forced

to present themselves with feminine appearances and behaviors, as were all other women athletes.

To assume that lesbians in sports are a new phenomenon would be as farcical as assuming that all women athletes are lesbians. Accusations of lesbianism have been directed toward lesbian and heterosexual women athletes for decades. Babe Didrikson, voted the greatest U.S. female athlete of the first half of the twentieth century, was hounded by suspicions of her sexuality all of her public life—even after her marriage to George Zaharias.

Tennis and golf have been plagued by rumors of lesbianism since their inception as professional sports for women. Beginning during the 1980s people in the administrative structures of tennis and golf developed strategies to highlight the femininity and heterosexuality of players in an attempt to limit negative outcomes of lesbian labeling and rumors. The LPGA (Ladies Professional Golf Association), in a campaign to change the public perception that the “L” in “LPGA” stands for “lesbian,” showcased its most heterosexy and feminine golfers in media campaigns and TV endorsements to get away from lesbian identification with the LPGA. Stylists for hair, makeup, and clothing were hired to travel with the touring players to help them present themselves as more feminine and attractive regardless of their sexual orientation. *Feminine* had become a code word for “heterosexual” in women’s sports.

Although a lesbian presence probably always has existed in sports, maintaining this public secret required much effort by participants and promoters. Promoting women’s sports as a healthy and “normal” environment was important to ensure the continuing financial sponsorship for school and professional sports, an increased presence in the Olympic Games, and positive coverage media at all levels.

Certain media, however, exerted an equal effort to open the door to the lesbian closet as a strategy to set back the advances in women’s sports, especially after enactment of Title IX of the 1972 Education Act in the United States. This act prohibited discrimination based on gender in any school program receiving federal fund-

ing. The growth of girls' and women's sports, which was a by-product of Title IX, was frequently reported to be occurring through the reduction of men's programs in order to fund sports for women.

Media attention on women's sports was often directed toward reporting on the unnaturalness of many of the participants. This attention silenced many women, forced all women athletes and coaches into a stereotypical feminine package for public consumption, and kept the environment within and without women's sports somewhat hostile. Many of the image problems faced by women athletes were created by the media and not by the lesbians who were often blamed for the problems in women's sports.

The silence of lesbians in sports was suddenly broken in 1981. Billy Jean King, one of the top women tennis players of that era, was "outed" by a woman named "Marilyn Barnett" through a palimony suit. King immediately lost all of her commercial endorsements. Shortly after that, Martina Navratilova, another top tennis player, announced she was a lesbian and began a public campaign to increase the awareness of homophobia, not only as a problem in women's sports, but also as a human rights issue. The exodus of lesbian athletes from the closet has been a slow-but-steady trickle since the early 1980s. Many of these athletes are not famous, but the courage of Billy Jean King, Martina Navratilova, and other professional and Olympic-level lesbian athletes has helped other lesbian athletes to learn that staying in the closet is no longer a requirement to ensure personal protection, integrity, or even sports participation.

The Future

The growth of women's sports during the past century has occurred despite numerous setbacks, the least of which is the assumption that the most problematic aspect for women's sports is lesbianism. In reality the greatest concern regarding equality in women's sports is the changing power balance between women and men in sports. An important outcome of women participating freely in sports is their

greater control over their bodies and their place in the public sphere of North American culture. The increased involvement of women in a social domain that is defined as masculine challenges the basic patriarchal beliefs and sexist practices that are central to the relationships between women and men. "The fear of the lesbian label ensures that women do not gain control over their sporting experience or develop their physical competence beyond what is acceptable in a sexist culture" (Griffin 1998, 49).

Lesbian athletes who come out of the closet are vulnerable. Homophobia and homonegative practices vilify lesbians in sports and force greater attention on their sexuality than on their athletic abilities and interests. Lesbian athletes will choose to reveal their sexual orientation when the pressures of trying to conform to a stereotyped image of all women as feminine and heterosexually attractive become a greater burden to their personal well-being than does remaining closeted. All women can be empowered by the athletes who come out. The labeling of women athletes as "lesbian" will no longer be able to hold women hostage if they recognize the bogus power of this homonegative strategy.

As more lesbian athletes come out, people will begin to realize that lesbians come in all shapes, sizes, and colors. They participate in all sports, including the traditionally masculine ones that build on the image of the masculine woman and the traditionally feminine ones that have never been in the cross hairs of lesbian targeting, regardless of how erroneous this assumption is.

Homonegativity toward women's sports is so prevalent that athletes, coaches, officials, and administrators can be just one lesbian rumor away from being outed or falsely identified as lesbian. The paralyzing impact of this reality comes from discriminatory practices directed toward lesbians that are based on ignorance and fear. The more lesbian athletes come out and heterosexual women refuse to be controlled by the threat of the label, the less lesbianism will be pinpointed as a problem in women's sports. After people realize that homophobia and homonegative practices are the greatest challenges to women's equality in sports, the topic of lesbianism



will become merely a footnote in the history of women's sports.

Dayna B. Daniels

See also Homophobia

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Lifeguarding

Lifeguarding is an activity in which people monitor swimmers, caution them against dangerous behavior, and rescue them from a hazardous situation. Lifeguarding (also called “lifesaving”) began as a service

job, but today lifeguarding competitions are held to encourage lifeguards to maintain skills and fitness.

Origins

Although a number of cultures have embraced swimming for centuries, not until the late eighteenth century did people organize people to rescue swimmers in distress. The Royal Humane Society was founded in England in 1774, based on the work of the Society for the Recovery of the Apparently Drowned, which had been founded in 1767 in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The British society focused on the resuscitation of swimmers and sailors, not on swimming rescue techniques. In 1780 lifeguarding reached North America when the Humane Society of Philadelphia posted signs by the harbor to inform people where lifeguarding equipment was located. The Massachusetts Humane Society, founded in 1785 and fashioned after the Royal Humane Society, built shelters on beaches to provide sanctuary for shipwrecked sailors.

In 1870 Edwin D. Ayers established the United States Volunteer Life Saving Corps. It was incorporated in 1890 in New York State. Wilbert E. Longfellow was general superintendent. In 1871 the United States Coast Guard Life Saving Service was founded. In England the Royal Life Saving Society was founded in 1891 to supplement the work of the Royal Humane Society. In 1894 the Royal Life Saving Society was established in Australia.

Women as Lifeguards

Although women have served as lifeguards since the mid-nineteenth century, not until the early twentieth century were they able to participate in substantial numbers. They continue to seek to be treated as equals despite media portrayals (such as on *Baywatch*, the world's most popular television program during the 1990s) that at times present them negatively.

Lifeguarding emerged during the late nineteenth century throughout the world. In Germany the Arbeiter-schwimmbund (workers' swimming federation), founded in 1893, allowed women to teach swimming



A lifeguard stand on Miami Beach.

Source: istockphoto/bradrex1.

UNITED STATES

In 1909 Wilbert Longfellow was appointed commodore of the United States Volunteer Life Saving Corps and became a key figure in lifeguarding in general and in women's lifeguarding in particular. After a series of visits to girls' camps, Longfellow began the World's Life Saving Alliance in 1913 to give women the chance to demonstrate their lifeguarding

and, later, lifeguarding. In Scandinavia, particularly Sweden, women have participated in lifeguarding since the mid-nineteenth century. Sweden founded a women's lifeguarding championship in 1921. In the Netherlands, lifeguarding was established during the late nineteenth century, and women founded their own association (Hollandsche Dames Zwem Club), which assisted in founding the national association. However, in other nations lifeguarding remained largely a male domain.

Until the first decades of the twentieth century women's participation was limited primarily because of perceptions of gender differences and the belief that women are physically inferior. Some people believed that women lack the physical strength to conduct water rescues. Women were subjected to social restrictions; they were restricted to segregated bathing huts at some beaches.

However, between 1890 and 1920 social attitudes began to change, and women were encouraged to swim and to take part in other sports that had previously been considered unsuitable for them. The change in social attitudes toward women's swimming was apparent in the change in women's swimming attire. Modesty had been the rule for women; the skirts and other weighty elements of the suits made swimming difficult. This situation changed during the early twentieth century, although not without social opposition, when functional suits were created.

skills. Beginning in 1920 women were allowed to take the Red Cross tests and to join the Life Saving Corps. Women at first had a separate corps from men, as well as different proficiency tests. However, within a year the same lifeguarding tests were required of both men and women.

However, the two corps remained separate, and women were not given the same responsibilities as men. Members of the women's corps were not expected to perform actual lifeguard work. Women lifeguards were expected to be of service in women's camps and "places where the attendance of men [was] restricted." The Red Cross Life Saving Corps for Women and the World's Life Saving Alliance for Women were merged shortly thereafter, and by 1925 nearly sixteen thousand lifeguarding certificates had been presented to women.

CANADA

In Canada lifeguarding began under the auspices of the Royal Life Saving Society (RLSS) of England. The first RLSS branch was established in Ontario. In 1894 Arthur Lewis Cochrane was appointed honorary representative of the Swimmer's Life Saving Society of London in Canada. He moved to Toronto and became an instructor at Upper Canada College. In 1895 he started the Upper Canada Life Saving Corps. The original girls' school affiliate of the Royal Life Saving Society was the Young Women's Christian Guild Pool in 1911.

The only athletic sport I ever mastered was backgammon. ■ DOUGLAS WILLIAM JERROLD

AUSTRALIA

Since the early part of the twentieth century surf lifeguarding has been an important activity of men in Australia. However, women were restricted to a support role, such as serving on women's fund-raising committees. They also prepared refreshments for beach patrols and for surf carnivals. Although women had demonstrated their lifeguarding abilities by the early 1930s, they were not allowed to join beach patrols or to enter surf competitions. They were occasionally featured in competitions against other women in demonstrations at local surf carnivals.

During World War II women were needed to monitor beaches, but they were reinstated to their support role after the war. Finally, in 1980, the National Surf Life Saving Council granted women the right to test for the surf bronze medallion, which signified their qualification as lifeguards and gave them the opportunity to become active lifeguards. Women henceforth would be allowed to patrol beaches and to compete at surf carnivals. In fact, women won approximately one-third of the bronze medallions in the 1980–1981 surf session. However, their opportunities to succeed at surf carnivals were limited because they competed in the same categories as men.

Competition at the Top

Spurred by the selection of Melbourne, Australia, as the site of the 1956 Olympics, Australian lifeguards invited their counterparts from around the world to participate in an international lifeguarding competition. Male lifeguards from England, Ceylon, New Zealand, Australia, California, and Hawaii participated, and the event drew more than 100,000 spectators.

Since then lifeguarding competitions have expanded. Such competitions are intended to encourage lifeguards to develop skills and maintain high levels of fitness. Some local and national sponsors include the United States Lifesaving Association, the Dublin Lifesaving and Lifeguard Club of Ireland, the University of Tsukuba Lifesaving Club of Japan, the Surf Life

Saving Association of Great Britain, Surf Life Saving Australia, the Lifesaving Society of Canada, and the German Lifesaving Federation. International competitions are sponsored by the International Life Saving Federation.

Events in lifeguarding competitions include beach sprints, surf swimming, surf ski paddling, board paddling, team events, iron man and iron woman events (which include a combination of skills and require technical ability as well as physical fitness), and still water and pool events.

Lifesaving has become mandatory at virtually all public swimming venues, and the need for trained lifeguards continues to increase. Their participation will continue to be necessary for the future of recreational swimming.

Alison M. Wrynn

See also Surf Lifesaving

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Literature

Athletes may or may not be interested in literature, but many of the world's greatest writers have been keenly interested in sports. The tradition began, at the very latest, in ancient Greece. Pindar composed odes to sing the praises of the athletes who were

Conventional wisdom notwithstanding, there is no reason either in football or in poetry why the two should not meet in a man's life if he has the weight and cares about the words. ■ ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

victorious at Olympia and the other sites of sacred games. Homer's *Iliad* contains a vivid description of the funeral games held by Achilles in honor of Patroclus, his slain friend. Interrupting their siege of Troy, the Greek heroes paid tribute to their fallen comrade by competing in athletic contests. Homer's *Odyssey* includes two scenes in which Odysseus performs as an athlete, once to demonstrate his physical prowess to the Phaiacians, once to challenge (and slay) the suitors who had courted his wife during his twenty-year absence from Ithaca.

Epic Poems and Feats

Sports also figure importantly in the *Aeneid*, the poet Virgil's heroes epic account of the founding of Rome. Like Homer's heroes, Virgil's compete in funeral games (to which they add a non-Homeric boat-race). Roman gladiators and charioteers figure in many of the poet Martial's witty epigrams. Athletes are satirized, along with the spectators who idolized them, in the poems of Juvenal, from whom we have the scornful phrase "panem et circenses" (bread and circuses). Roman poets also had a lively interest in women's sports. The poems of Propertius include an eroticized account of women's sports in ancient Sparta, but the most memorable account of a female athlete appeared in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where the poet retold the Greek myth of Atalanta. Armed with a spear, she joined the hero Meleager in his hunt for the white-tusked Calydonian boar on Mount Parnassus. She was also famed as a wrestler and as a runner. Although she was determined never to marry, she lost a race, and gained a husband, when she paused to retrieve the golden apples that her clever suitor tossed at her feet. In the nineteenth century, Atalanta reappeared in poems by Walter Savage Landor, William Morris, and Algernon Charles Swinburne.

Brunhilde's fate, as told in the *Nibelungenlied*, was similar to Atalanta's. The Icelandic maiden, having promised to marry the man who outperformed her athletically, was also defeated by a trick. Her suitor Gunther loses heart when he observes that it takes three men

to carry Brunhilde's spear. His spirits droop even further when twelve men struggle to lift one of the stones that she hefts with ease. Fortunately for Gunther, his powerful friend Siegfried, rendered invisible by a magic cap, intervenes and assists him to victory.

The *Nibelungenlied* is unusual in its treatment of a female athlete. When sports appear in medieval literature, they are almost invariably men's sports. A poem by Johann Fischart celebrates a bravado sporting achievement that accompanied an archery match in Strasbourg in the spring of 1576. To win a bet, boatmen whisked a kettle of porridge from Zurich to Strasbourg. Nineteen hours after their departure, the legendary pottage, still warm enough to be palatable, arrived at the archery venue. The poem, like the unconventional sports event it celebrates, is an oddity. Ordinarily, poets and writers of prose romance dazzled their readers with stories of tournaments. Jousts abound in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, in Thomas Malory's saga of King Arthur, and in the many courtly romances of Chrétien de Troyes. Knightly combat, like the joust between Gawan and Gramoflanz in Eschenbach's poem, was often a serious matter, but Ulrich von Liechtenstein's *Service of Ladies* was a comic poem in which a rebuffed lover rides away to compete in a whole series of tournaments in honor of his aloof and disdainful lady.

In the Islamic world, polo was considered to be the sport of kings, which explains why the royalty are forever playing polo in the *Book of Kings*, the national epic of Persia, written by the tenth-century poet Hakim Abu ol-Qasem Mansur Firdawsi. (It hardly matters that some of the regal players were placed by Firdawsi in periods that antedated the first historically attested mention of polo by many centuries.) Firdawsi, Hafiz, and innumerable other Islamic poets also raided polo for their metaphors. When they lauded their royal patrons (or their patrons' distant ancestors), the polo ball represented the earth and the mallet that propelled it symbolized kingly authority. When Islamic poets wrote of love, the same images were adapted to different

*For what do we live, but to make sport
for our neighbors, and laugh at them
in our turn? ■ JANE AUSTEN*

meanings. “For lovers the heart is like a ball and their back is curved like a polo stick.” (An odd image, but love is an inexplicable emotion.) Polo also found its way into the metaphors of mystical poetry, where the highest bliss is to become a polo ball, driven back and forth by a divine mallet. Chinese poets occasionally mention polo and other sports, including football, but neither the Confucian nor the Buddhist tradition encouraged writers to look to sports for inspiration.

Although medieval Christians also deprecated sports, including tournaments, which the Roman Catholic Church tried to ban, Renaissance attitudes were far less ascetic. Jacobean and Elizabeth drama was rife with images of sports. None of Shakespeare’s plays is entirely devoted to the adventures of an athlete, but the language of sports and sports themselves appear surprisingly often in his plays and in those of his contemporaries. Images drawn from hunting and hawking are especially frequent, but there are also Shakespearean references to archery, bowls, football, and a myriad of other sports. In *Henry V*, for instance, the haughty French dauphin sends the young English king a set of tennis balls that are allegedly “meeter for [his] spirit.” The dauphin’s messenger explains that Henry is too young to “revel into dukedoms.” Henry answers defiantly, “When we have match’d our rackets to these balls, / We will in France, by God’s grace, play a set / Shall strike his father’s crown [from his head].” The *dramatis personae* for *As You Like It* includes “Charles, Duke Frederick’s wrestler,” who shows his stuff on stage. Hamlet’s fencing match with Laertes ends so tragically that we forget that it began in sport, as a much-needed princely diversion.

Modern Sports Literature

English literature of early modern times was rich in references to horse races, fox hunts, and “animal sports.” The eighteenth-century poet John Hamilton Reynolds wrote, for instance, of “bull-dog breeders [and] badger-baiters,” and James Boswell attended a cockfight, where he was upset by the “uproar and noise” and by the lack

of pity for the “poor cocks . . . mangled and torn in the most cruel manner.” Pugilists were memorialized in popular ballads. Young women were as well:

Four Virgins that supposed were
A Race did run I now declare,
Sure such a race was never seen
As this at Temple Newsham Green.

Early in the nineteenth century, cricket became a major topos in English literature. “I doubt if there be any scene in the world more animating or delightful than a cricket match,” wrote Mary Russell Mitford in *Our Village* (1819), and hundreds of English novelists and poets have agreed with her.

As modern sports became institutionalized, during the nineteenth century, writers more important than Mitford took notice. Wilkie Collins told the story of a foolish runner in *Man and Wife* (1870), and George Bernard Shaw published an early novel, *Cashel Byron’s Profession* (1886), about a clever young boxer. Walt Whitman sang the praises of baseball in *Leaves of Grass* (1855), and Mark Twain, in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* (1889), imagined the game as it might have been played by an awkward team of armored knights. (Line drives bounced from the infielders’ breastplates.)

Although there are references to sports in *Pantagruel* (1532) and *Gargantua* (1534), two masterpieces by François Rabelais, and in the work of German poets such as Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Johann Gottfried von Herder, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, a trio of passionate ice-skaters, modern sports did not play much of a role in novels, plays, and poems written in languages other than English until early in the twentieth century. (Hunters abound, but runners are few and far between.) When French and German writers belatedly discovered the possibilities of sports as a metaphor for life, they quickly made up for lost ground.

In the 1920s, Marcel Berger, Dominique Braga, Maurice Genevoix, Jean Giraudoux, Louis Hémon, Paul Morand, André Obey, Jean Prévost, and many others penned (or typed) ecstatic descriptions of runners and



Literature

“To an Athlete Dying Young” by A. E. Housman (1859–1936)

The time you won your town the race
 We chaired you through the market-place;
 Man and boy stood cheering by,
 And home we brought you shoulder-high.

To-day, the road all runners come,
 Shoulder high-high we bring you home,
 And set you at your threshold down,
 Townsman of a stiller town.

Smart lad, to slip betimes away
 From fields where glory does not stay
 And early though the laurel grows
 It withers quicker than the rose.

Eyes the shady night has shut
 Cannot see the record cut,
 And silence sounds no worse than cheers
 After earth has stopped the ears:

Now you will not swell the rout
 of lads that wore their honours out,
 Runners whom renown outran
 And the name died before the man.

So set, before its echos fade,
 The fleet foot on the sill of shade,
 And hold to the low lintel up
 The still-defended challenge-cup.

And round that early-laurelled head
 Will flock to gaze the strengthless dead,
 And find unwithered on its curls
 The garland briefer than a girl's.

Source: Housman, A. E. (1896). To an athlete dying young. In *A Shropshire lad* (p. 26–28). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.

cyclists, boxers and rugby players. Even Marcel Proust, the least athletic of authors, managed to put Marcel's beloved Albertine on a bicycle. Among these auteurs sportifs, Henry de Montherlant was perhaps the most important. The major characters of *Les Olympiques*, the two parts of which appeared in 1920 and 1924, are all runners, female as well as male. The heroine of *Le Songe* (*The Dream*), which Montherlant published in 1922, is also a runner. When Dominique runs, Montherlant describes her ecstasy; when she poses and flexes before her mirror, Montherlant describes her athletic body in anatomical detail. (It is hard to think of another writer as spellbound by deltoids and abdominals.)

Among Montherlant's German contemporaries, Kasimir Edschmid was the most obsessed with sports. Gagaly Modosdy, one of the two women courted by Cesare Passari in Edschmid's novel *Sport and Gagaly* (1928), is described as “Athena in tennis shoes.” Her young friend, Pista Tossuth, is equally athletic. Cesare is a runner as well as a tennis player; he is also an airplane pilot and an ardent automobilista who represents the Fiat motor company in deadly contests against Peugeot-

driving rivals. After a number of tennis matches and automobile races, Cesare makes off with both women, who have, in the meantime, fallen madly in love with each other. Sadly, *Sport and Gagaly* has never been translated from German into English.

No European writer, not even Montherlant, was as sports-mad as Ernest Hemingway. Among his most memorable characters are hunters (*Green Hills of Africa*, “The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber”), fishermen (the Nick Adams stories, *The Old Man and the Sea*), boxers (“The Battler,” “Fifty Grand”), jockeys (“My Old Man”), and bullfighters (*Death in the Afternoon*, “The Undefeated”). Bullfighters also figure importantly, along with boxers, tennis players, fishermen, and cyclists, in Hemingway's finest novel, *The Sun Also Rises* (1926). The novel, narrated by Jake Barnes, a wounded veteran of World War I, is a series of symbolic contrasts: between the sterility of the modern “waste land” and the vitality of the primitive countryside, between Paris and Pamplona, between Robert Cohen (boxer) and Pedro Romero (bullfighter). Robert is a pathetic figure who learned to box at Princeton merely to defend



Literature

Extract from *The All of It* by Jeanette Haien

The mysteries of angling are central to the meaning of The All of It (1986), a novel by Jeanette Haien set in Ireland:

Yearning, he recalled the times in his life when he'd fished well through midge-ridden days in weather even meaner than this, and how, adroitly, Nature had put her claim on him and made him one with the very ground at his feet, and how, with every cast, past the gleaming green reeds of the shoreline shallows, he'd projected himself towards a specific spot in the rivers very heart, a different shading in the water that was like a quality of seriousness, or at a laze in the current's glide, some *felt* allurements of expectation which became (ah, fated fish) the focused haven of his energy.

Source: Haien, J. (1986). *The all of it*. New York: HarperCollins.

himself. Pedro, in contrast, is a man of simple dignity whose performance in the bullring is a lesson in courage, grace, and harmony. Jake envies and admires Pedro, has some sympathy for Robert, and despises the professional cyclists whom he meets at the end of the novel. Obscene and dishonest, the cyclists claim to be sportifs, but in Jake's eyes they symbolize a perversion of the ethos of sport.

During the latter half of the twentieth century, everywhere in the world, writers of popular fiction, including fiction intended for juveniles, seemed to turn en masse to sports. Major American and European writers, too, were entranced by the literary possibilities of sports; they became so numerous that it is impossible to do more than list them.

Among the baseball novels likely to find a permanent place in the American "canon" are Bernard Malamud's *The Natural* (1952), Mark Harris's *Bang the Drum Slowly* (1960), Robert Coover's *The Universal Baseball*

Association, Inc. (1968), Philip Roth's *The Great American Novel* (1973), and W. P. Kinsella's *Shoeless Joe* (1982). Although the prewar fascination with boxers survived in the nonfiction works of Norman Mailer and Joyce Carol Oates, Leonard Gardner's *Fat City* (1969) is the only postwar novel that can compete in excellence with the best of the baseball fiction. Despite its popularity as a spectator sport, American football has inspired only one truly impressive novel, Don DeLillo's *End Zone* (1972). Basketball has fared even more poorly, with little to show beyond Jeremy Larner's *Drive, He Said* (1964). Swimmers can, however, rejoice in at least one novel likely to become a classic, Jenifer Levin's *Water Dancer* (1982).

With the exception of Patricia Nell Warren, who published *The Front Runner* in 1974, American writers have shown little interest in track-and-field sports. British, French, and German novelists have dominated the genre. Alan Sillitoe's *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* (1959), a work of important social criticism, may lead the pack, but Yves Gibeau's *The Straight Line* (1956), Siegfried Lenz's *Bread and Circuses* (1959), and Guy Lagorce's *The Swiftiness of Wind* (1977) are not far behind. Per Olov Enquist's *The Second* (1978), another profoundly insightful exploration of sports and social class, has been unjustly neglected because it has never been translated from Swedish into English. The same sad fate befell Silvio Blatter's track-and-field novel, *Love Me Tender* (1980), written in German although the title was taken from a song by Elvis Presley.

Cyclists have also been given their due in British, French, and German fiction. Ralph Hurne's *The Yellow Jersey* (1973), Pierre Naudin's *Bad Roads* (1959), and Uwe Johnson's *Third Book about Achim* (1961) all recount the physical agony of this most arduous of major sports.

Soccer football is unquestionably the world's most widely played sport, but few if any of the hundreds of writers who have dramatized the game seem to have made the transition from national to international ac-

*If all the year were playing holidays,
to sport would be as tedious as
to work.* ■ WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

claim. Dietrich Krusche's *On Top* (1973) and Rachid Boudjedra's *The Cup Winner* (1981) are excellent, untranslated, and unknown. A notable exception to this sad generalization is Peter Handke's *The Goalie's Fear during the Penalty Kick* (1978), in which a game of soccer plays an important symbolic role. Rugby football has done somewhat better. As a study of sports and social class in England, David Storey's *This Sporting Life* (1960) is unsurpassed.

Storey was also the author of a sports-centered play, *The Changing Room* (1972), but sports are, in general, better suited to the cinema than to the theater. The proscenium stage is an awkward place to dramatize a sports event. Playwrights as different as Clifford Odets and Georg Kaiser have done it, but most of the boxing and cycling took place off-stage.

The high tide of sports-centered literature included thousands of poems, but England's John Betjeman is almost alone among major poets who demonstrated a sustained interest in sports. He was enthralled by athletic women "full of pent-up strength" ("Pot-Pourri from a Surrey Garden"), "strongly adorable" ("A Subaltern's Love-Song"), striding on the "strongest legs in Pontefract" ("The Licorice Fields at Pontefract"), or standing "in strong athletic pose" ("The Olympic Girl").

Sports have seldom attracted the attention of Asian and African writers with aspirations for an international reputation. Japanese literature has, however, produced a pair of exceptions. Body-builders and martial-arts specialists have a place in Mishima Yukio's fiction. Inoue Yasushi's *Wall of Ice* (1968) ranks among the best of the world's many novels of mountain-climbing. The currents of globalization may soon bring a flood of impressively crafted sports-centered literature from China or India or some other society whose authors have not yet been translated into a European language. Or, the crest of the wave may have passed. Younger writers seem far less interested in sports, as a literary theme, than were the writers of a generation ago. Although sports are certainly more important than ever before, there seems, as yet, to be no twenty-first-century Ernest

Hemingway to absorb their significance and transform them into lasting literature.

Allen Guttman

See also Magazines; Sportswriting and Reporting

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Lord's Cricket Ground

The establishment of the first Lord's Cricket Ground in 1787 coincided with the creation of the powerful Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC), which administered cricket and became cricket's law-regulating body. Known simply as Lord's, Lord's Cricket Ground is located at St. John's Wood in London. It has often been described as the mecca of world cricket, not only because of its long tradition but also because it has been formative in the rise and organization of English and world cricket. Lord's is the home not only of the influential MCC but also of the Middlesex Cricket Club, the England and Wales Cricket Board, and the International Cricket Council.

The Grounds

Surrounded by a high wall that insulates it from its suburban environment, Lord's is located on thirteen acres. The principal ground, which occupies five and a half acres, includes the Lord's slope, a drop of about six feet six inches from the grandstand to the boundary in front of the tavern. The pavilion, which is the only remaining Victorian building at Lord's, was completed in 1890. It is flanked by two great towers, each adorned with a flagpole and crowned with the MCC monograph. The famous Long Room stretches between the two towers at ground level; batsmen have to endure a long walk before and after an innings, closely inspected by the members. The symbolic Father Time weather vane dominates the Lord's skyline.

Many of the other stands, such as the Mound Stand (built in 1899), the Warner Stand (1958), and the Tavern Stand (1967), have been rebuilt over the years. The Lord's Tavern has been associated with the ground since 1814 and has given rise to the Lord's Taverners, a charitable cricket association. Bowlers deliver balls from the pavilion and nursery ends; the name of the latter derives from Henderson's Nursery that operated there until 1887 and was famed for its tulips and pineapples. The official capacity of the ground has fluctuated between twenty-seven and twenty-eight thousand, which makes Lord's much smaller than many other international cricket grounds, which can accommodate audiences of up to a hundred thousand.

Lord's is enhanced by a fine collection of paintings, photographs, memorabilia, and books, which was begun by MCC Secretary R.A. Fitzgerald in 1864. The Imperial Cricket Memorial Gallery, later known as the MCC Museum, was opened in 1953. The fragile Ashes urn, the most influential relic of world cricket, is its most famous exhibit. It is ironic that this urn, which is permanently based at the museum, derived from the 1882 Ashes test, which was not played at Lord's but at the Oval.

Despite a name that suggests an aristocratic pedigree, Lord's is named after Thomas Lord (1755–1832), a bowler and general cricket factotum, property

speculator, and wine and spirit merchant, who created the first Lord's at Dorset Square in 1787 on behalf of the gentlemen and aristocrats of the White Conduit Club. The first recorded match there was between Essex and Middlesex on 31 May 1787. Lord's moved to a second ground at the St. John's Wood estate in 1809 and to its third and current ground in 1814. Each time, Lord dug up and re-laid the original turf from the first Dorset Square. He finally sold his interest in the ground in 1825.

In the early nineteenth century Lord's became the site of the most important matches on the English cricket calendar. Although the pitch was considered one of the worst in the country, matches between public schools such as Eton and Harrow began there in 1805 (and continue to be played there), and Cambridge and Oxford first played there in 1827. However, Lord's was not entirely free from the threat of development until the MCC purchased the freehold of the ground in 1866.

Because test cricket took some time to establish itself as the flagship of international cricket, the first two tests in England, which were both against Australia, were played at the Oval in 1880 and 1882. It was not until the fifteenth test in 1884 that a test was played at Lord's. However, Lord's has been the scene of all four World Cup finals that have been played in England—in 1975, 1979, 1983, and 1999.

People and Controversies

Lord's has been the seat of many influential administrators, including Lord Frederick Beauclerk (1773–1850), who helped consolidate the power of the MCC as the accepted lawmaker and ultimate court of cricket. Others, such as the fourth Lord Harris (1851–1932) in the late nineteenth century and G. O. B. "Gubby" Allen (1902–1989) in the twentieth, have also been influential.

W. G. Grace (1848–1915), the most famous member of the MCC, played many important innings at Lord's from the late 1860s and helped to enhance the status of Lord's, the MCC, and cricket. The impressive



W. G. Grace entrance gates at Lord's recognize his contribution.

Current Prospects

Although the MCC's power in English and international cricket declined after 1945—with the club sharing power with the International Cricket Council and the Test and County Cricket Board—these other bodies still meet at Lord's. With its rich tradition and history, Lord's retains a powerful hold on the imagination of the international cricket world despite a popular myth noted by Geoffrey Moorhouse that Lord's is run by a "bunch of old fuddy-duddies." If anything, Lord's is regarded with even greater reverence by international cricket players who do not play at Lord's regularly.

One of the greatest tributes to Lord's came from Australian cricketer Jack Fingleton who noted that no other cricket ground rivals its "calm and peaceful majesty." His description is not surprising because Australia has enjoyed better results at Lord's than at any other English test ground. During the twentieth century, England beat Australia in only one Lord's test (1934).

Richard Cashman

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Luge

Luge is a winter sport in which athletes lie on their back on a sled that has no brakes and race downhill on an ice track at speeds that can surpass 112 kilometers per hour, traveling 800 to 1,300 meters in less than one minute. The sport is most popular in North America and Alpine countries.

History

Luge is a French term meaning "sled." German literature mentions the corresponding term *rodeln* as early as the fifteenth century. Luge racing has long been a winter pastime in Scandinavia, in the Russian Urals, and in the middle European mountains. In North America people traditionally raced on toboggans. In Canada the Montreal Tobogganing Club was formed in 1870.

During the 1880s the two Swiss cities of Davos and Saint Moritz were instrumental in differentiating the three sledding sports of skeleton, bobsleigh, and luge. Skeleton is similar to luge, except that in skeleton the athlete races head first. Since 1881 Davos has hosted a race for one-seated toboggans, and the Davos Toboggan Club, founded in 1883, has managed the competition, which in its first year had twenty-one competitors from seven nations. The first club devoted to luge was formed in Innsbruck, Austria, in 1898. In 1909 an association grouping the German-speaking Austrian tobogganing clubs was formed. In 1911 five German clubs formed a national luge federation and, with enthusiasts from Switzerland, Hungary, and Bohemia, began international competitions. In 1910 Austria organized a national championship for the two forms of luge competition: natural track and artificial track.

In 1913 Swiss and Anglo-Saxon residents in Davos formed the International Schlitteln Club, and in Dresden, Germany, on 8 November an international governing body for tobogganing sports was formed with the support of four Alpine associations. Roger de Riedmatten, president of Verband der Deutsche Schlittensport Verein Osterreichs, was named chairman. The track of Reichenberg, now Liberec in the Czech Republic, hosted the first European championship in 1914 with eighty-five entrants. The winner, Rudolf Kautschka, won for Austria but after World War I represented Czechoslovakia. Karl Lobel and Erwin Posselt won the doubles event for Germany. On the same day, Anna Skoda won the Sudetes championship, later recognized as the first European women's event.



Luge

Street Luge

For every mainstream sport, there seems to be an “extreme” version taking hold. Luge has its extreme counterpart with “street luge”— participants racing down a pavement at a rapid-fire pace. Here is how one street luge school described its training course:

You get your basic training in a large slightly sloping area. We show you how to start, turn, stop and common riding positions. You practice these techniques at slow speeds in this area until we are comfortable with your ability to utilize them. From the basics we take you a short way up the hill for your first run, which will be at about 25 mph maximum. We critique your ride and if you are riding smooth and handle braking properly we will take you a little further up the hill for your next ride which will be at

about 30 mph. This format is continued until you are riding at about 40-45 mph. You will then ride with another rider to get the feel of having someone riding with you on the road. Next we will show you various techniques of controlling your speed. When you demonstrate that you have gained the ability to control your speed, we will take you further up the hill so that you can start increasing your speed to about 60 mph. When you are comfortable with your ability to ride at about 60 mph we will take you up to the top of the hill (“The Dinosaur”) so that you can start riding the entire 2.5 miles of this super fun road with its smooth pavement, sweeping turns, chicane, ½ mile long straight and up hill braking area.

Source: Wild Fro Racing. (2003). Retrieved April 29, 2005, from <http://wildfro.com/pages/623271/index.htm>

In 1923 in Paris the governing body Federation Internationale de Bobsleigh et Tobogganing was formed; it did not govern luge. In 1927 four German-speaking federations representing Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia revived the older international tobogganing association. In 1935 this association joined the international federation.

Postwar History

The United States first competed in the European championship in 1954. In 1955 the first official world championship was held in Oslo, Norway. In 1957 in Davos thirteen nations formed the Federation Internationale de Luge (http://www.fil-luge.org/index_de.htm), the world governing body. In the United States the governing body is USA Luge (<http://www.usaluge.org/>).

Luge first appeared in the Olympics in 1964 in Innsbruck, Austria. East Germany won fifteen of the twenty-one gold medals awarded from 1964 to 1988. Other winners were Austria, Italy, West Germany, and the Soviet Union. After 1989 unified Germany, Austria, and Italy remained leading luge countries. The United States won several silver and bronze Olympic medals and won four victories in the men’s doubles World Cup

competition, which began in 1978. The greatest luge champion remains the German Georg Hackl, who won Olympic gold in 1992, 1994, and 1998.

At the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, Utah, in the men’s singles Armin Zoggeler of Italy won gold, Georg Hackl of Germany won silver, and Markus Prock of Austria won bronze. Hackl’s silver medal was his fifth medal in a row, making him the first Olympic athlete to win five medals in one event in either the summer or winter games. In the men’s doubles Patric-Fritz Leitner and Alexander Resch of Germany won gold, Brian Martin and Mark Grimmette of the United States won silver, and Chris Thorpe and Clay Ives of the United States won bronze. In the women’s singles Sylke Otto of Germany won gold, Barbara Niedernhuber of Germany won silver, and Silke Kraushaar of Germany won bronze. German women swept the podium in luge competition for the fifth time.

Rules

Natural track luge has no banking on the corners of the tracks, so tracks can be built anywhere by packing down snow or making ice. The course is then outlined with flags, hay, cones, or fencing. The slope varies according

to location but does not exceed 1.5 percent. Natural track luge is not an Olympic sport. Artificial track luge uses banked curves, and the track has a slope of 8 to 11 percent. Tracks include two straightaways, left and right turns, and a curve combination such as an *S*. Olympic luge competition takes place on an artificial track.

The Federation Internationale de Luge fixes the maximum weight of a luge at 23 kilograms for singles and 27 kilograms for doubles. The width is 46 to 47 centimeters. The length of men's races varies between 1,000

and 1,300 meters, whereas that for women varies between 800 and 1,050 meters.

Gherardo Bonini

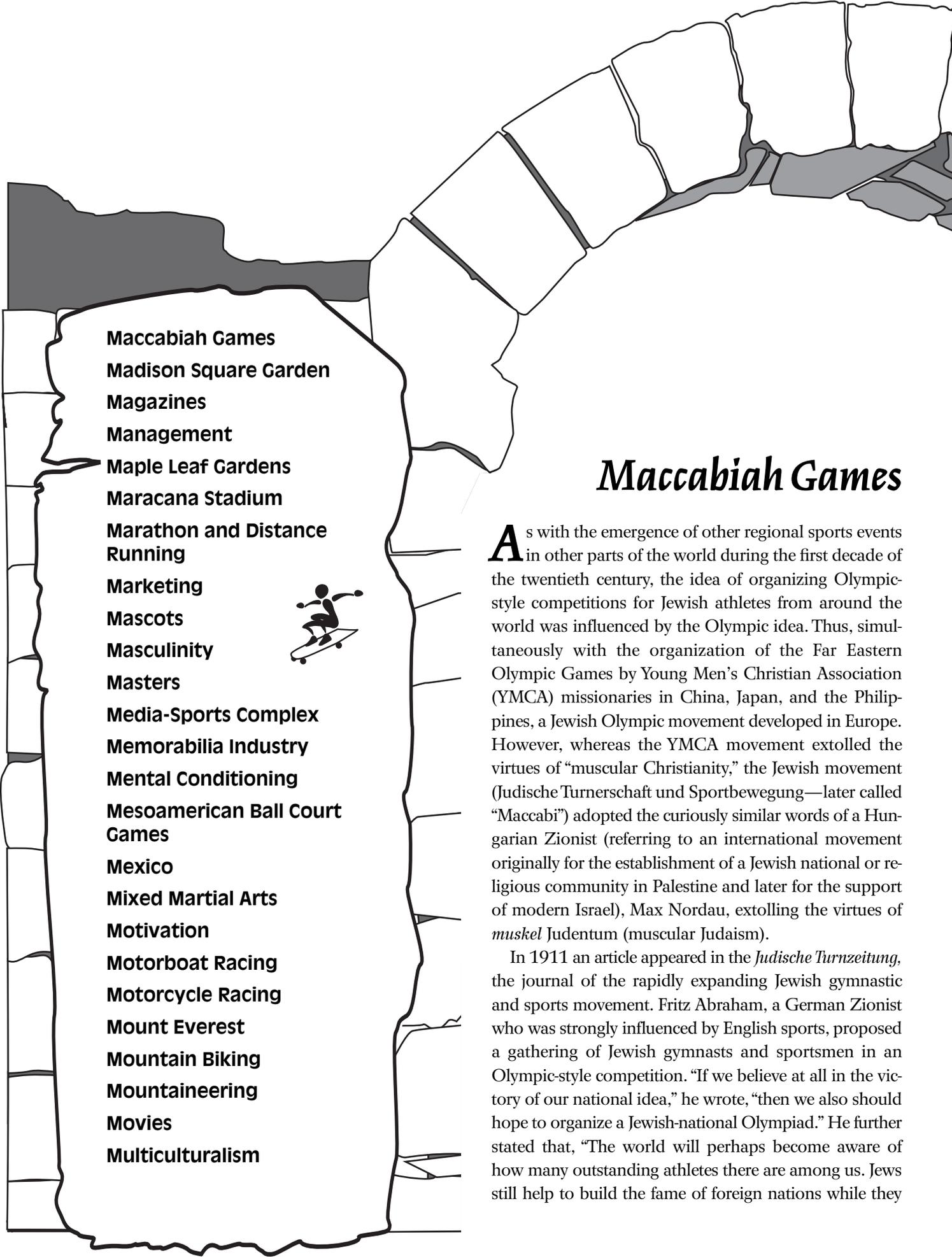
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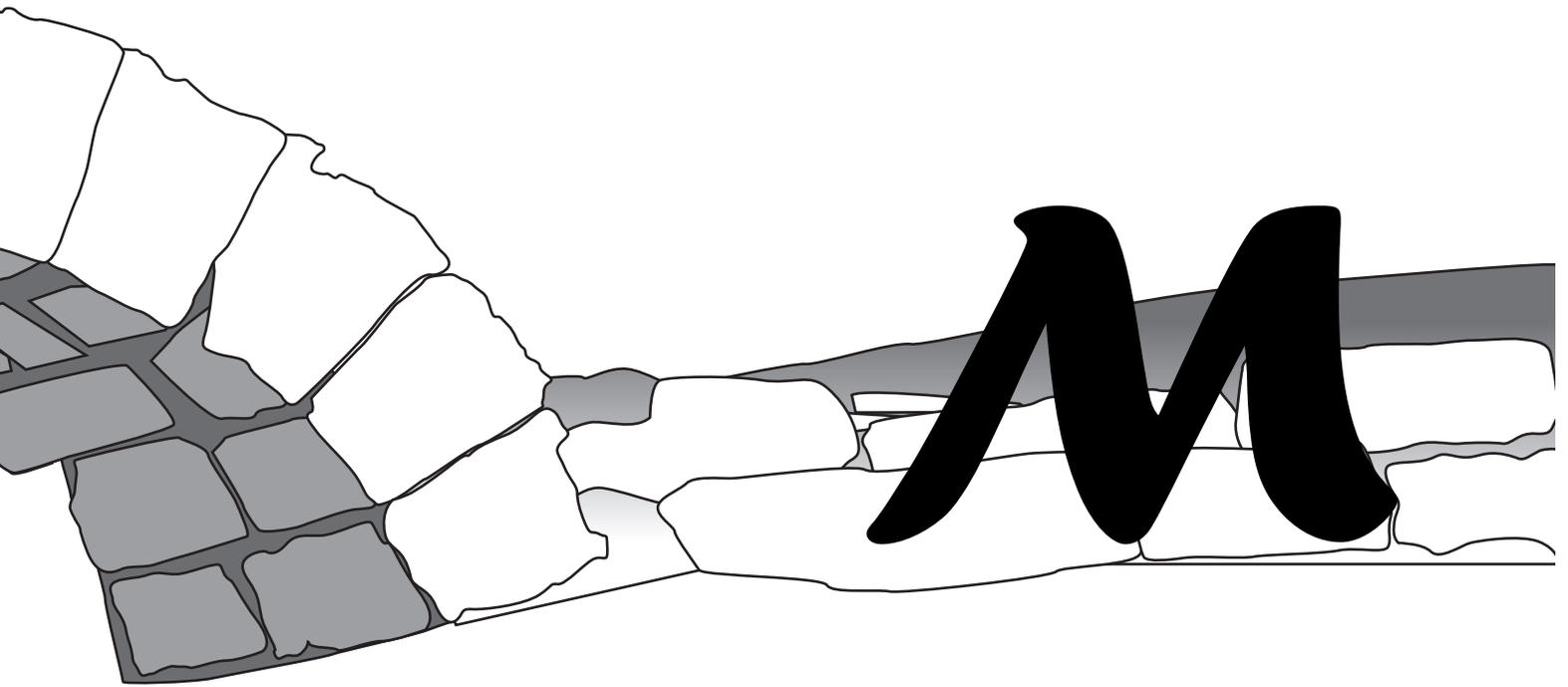
- Maccabiah Games**
- Madison Square Garden**
- Magazines**
- Management**
- Maple Leaf Gardens**
- Maracana Stadium**
- Marathon and Distance Running**
- Marketing**
- Mascots**
- Masculinity**
- Masters**
- Media-Sports Complex**
- Memorabilia Industry**
- Mental Conditioning**
- Mesoamerican Ball Court Games**
- Mexico**
- Mixed Martial Arts**
- Motivation**
- Motorboat Racing**
- Motorcycle Racing**
- Mount Everest**
- Mountain Biking**
- Mountaineering**
- Movies**
- Multiculturalism**



Maccabiah Games

As with the emergence of other regional sports events in other parts of the world during the first decade of the twentieth century, the idea of organizing Olympic-style competitions for Jewish athletes from around the world was influenced by the Olympic idea. Thus, simultaneously with the organization of the Far Eastern Olympic Games by Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) missionaries in China, Japan, and the Philippines, a Jewish Olympic movement developed in Europe. However, whereas the YMCA movement extolled the virtues of "muscular Christianity," the Jewish movement (Judische Turnerschaft und Sportbewegung—later called "Maccabi") adopted the curiously similar words of a Hungarian Zionist (referring to an international movement originally for the establishment of a Jewish national or religious community in Palestine and later for the support of modern Israel), Max Nordau, extolling the virtues of *muskel Judentum* (muscular Judaism).

In 1911 an article appeared in the *Judische Turnzeitung*, the journal of the rapidly expanding Jewish gymnastic and sports movement. Fritz Abraham, a German Zionist who was strongly influenced by English sports, proposed a gathering of Jewish gymnasts and sportsmen in an Olympic-style competition. "If we believe at all in the victory of our national idea," he wrote, "then we also should hope to organize a Jewish-national Olympiad." He further stated that, "The world will perhaps become aware of how many outstanding athletes there are among us. Jews still help to build the fame of foreign nations while they



fail to recognize their own nationality. . . . If we could only show how many Jewish nationalists participated in sports during the years 1903–1909, then perhaps in 1913 an athletic meeting at the 11th Zionist Congress might offer the promise of our own all-Jewish Olympic Games.”

Although World War I scuttled his innovative idea, by 1924 Gustav Spiegler, an Austrian Maccabi leader who was obviously influenced by the 1924 Olympic Games, resurrected it with a twist. In a column in *Der Makkabi*, the organ of the Maccabi sports movement, he recommended, “Before we go to the world Olympics, we should first establish a personal selection process and that is what the Jewish Olympic festival should be all about.” He added later that the games should be held in Israel and that they should also include a seminar-style academy where “Jewish scholars from all over the world . . . would lecture during the festival.”

Jewish Olympiads

Spiegler’s idea was revolutionary because of two elements. One element advocated the preparation of Israel, representing Palestine, to take part in the world Olympic movement. The other element sought to establish, simultaneously, a parallel Jewish Olympic festival. “This constant aim of bringing our athletes into the different Olympiads,” the Israeli sports functionary Yoseph Yekutieli wrote some years later, “created the idea of world Jewish Olympiads which would give to the Jewish youth a push forward and would serve to guide us in . . . preparing for international competitions.”

As a quadrennial athletic celebration, the Maccabiah Games are held a year after the Olympic Games. Its

name, “Maccabiah,” alludes to the glorious past of the famed Maccabi revolt during the second century BCE. Although philosophically the Olympic movement has obviously influenced the inception of the Maccabiah idea, the Maccabiah Games have always transcended the competitiveness that is so emphasized by the Olympics. Rather, the Maccabiah Games serve as a vehicle for Jewish national ideals such as immigration and love of Israel. Indeed, the stated aim of the games is not to strive for world records or to compete with the international Olympic movement, but rather to attract the largest possible number of Jewish athletes, officials, spectators, and tourists to Israel from around the world.

Since the first Maccabiah Games in 1932, fifteen additional games have been held in Tel Aviv. Utilizing the propaganda benefits of these games, the games have never repudiated their nationalistic overtone. They have created an important milestone in the evolution of Zionist recognition of the role of sports in its national aspirations of building a new society. Zionism proved the maxim that to be genuine, a revolution must radically alter a culture. Zionists wanted to create a broad national community by implementing a modern revolution by a movement that prided itself on being a movement of youth. This movement was followed by a redefinition of the role of men and women in Jewish society and by creation of a new body image. Zionist aspirations needed a physical component to their political platform as much for ideological purposes as humanitarian ones. Zionists had to resort to a nationalistic formula of “inventing a nation.” The ideological basis for this daunting task was the belief that in order to erase

Athletes march in the opening of the Maccabiah Games.

the anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jews, one must create a “new Jewish man and woman”—cleansed by physical toil and baptized by robust physical activity.

During their eight decades the Maccabiah Games have evolved through three stages that have been influenced by both political and psychological factors: (1) the Summer and Winter games during the interwar years, (2) the founding of Israel, and (3) the fall of the Soviet Union. During these decades the games have also grown into one of the largest Olympic-style gatherings of the twentieth-first century. The first period of the Maccabiah Games, between the two world wars, included two Summer games (1932 and 1935) and two Winter games (1933 and 1935). These games reflected the complex interaction between the fledgling Jewish community in Palestine, the British mandate whose consent was crucial for the organization of the games, and the rising anti-Semitism in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Thus, the first two Summer games were held in Tel Aviv under the tutelage of the British high commissioners. Nevertheless, the Zionist establishment openly used the pretext of the games to smuggle in thousands of illegal immigrants. The two Winter games were held in and supported in some degree by Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The founding of Israel gave new impetus to recast the philosophical foundation of the games. Starting in 1950 the games included an ever-increasing number of athletes from all over the world. Such sports as chess, judo, karate, lawn bowling, squash, ten-pin bowling, softball, field hockey, badminton, golf, and even bridge and backgammon were added to subsequent games. The addition of Masters Maccabiah (for people more than thirty-five years old) and Junior Maccabiah (for youth) and regional games gave more opportunities for inclusion of the entire Jewish community from all over the world, shaping the emerging image of the games to be as much as a cultural and educational celebration as



a top-level athletic competition. The unabashedly ideological foundation of the Maccabiah Games reflected this Zionist strategy of inclusion. The Maccabiah ideology actively encouraged participation over records. Sports such as tennis, basketball, table tennis, and water polo for women, for example, were already adopted for the program of the second Maccabiah Games. As a statement supporting women’s equality, one of the most memorable milestones of the Maccabiah Games took place in 1965 as the first woman, Debbie Marcus, held high the Maccabiah torch in the Maccabiah Stadium in Ramat Gan, in the outskirts of Tel Aviv, and lit the Maccabiah flame.

Soviet Collapse

One of the most significant historical moments, ushering in a dramatic change in the Maccabiah Games, was the collapse of the Soviet Union during the early 1990s. The amazing speed with which many Maccabi clubs in central and eastern Europe, disbanded by Communist authorities, were reestablished shows the movement’s influence over Jewish life. The restoration of the connection between these clubs and Israel brought many world-caliber Jewish athletes from eastern and central Europe to the Maccabiah Games. For example, the famed Polgar sisters from Hungary, who were among the most celebrated chess players in the world, were invited to participate.

The evolution of the Maccabiah Games also brought a rapid expansion of regional Maccabiah Games, in



Maccabiah Games

Max Nordau on “Muscular Judaism”

Zionism rouses Judaism to a new life . . . It achieves this spiritually through the revival of common ideals, and physically through physical education of the new generation which will return to us the lost “Muscular Judaism” (Muskeljudentum).

which a cross-section of the Jewish community could participate in ever-increasing numbers. Thus, athletic festivals are held in individual countries as well as in North America, Latin America, Asia, and elsewhere.

George Eisen

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Madison Square Garden

Madison Square Garden, known to residents of New York City as “the Garden,” is the home of the New York Knicks of the National Basketball Association (NBA), the New York Liberty of the Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA), and the New York Rangers of the National Hockey League (NHL). It is also a venue for college and high school basketball, track and field, dog shows, circuses, concerts, political conventions, and religious gatherings. To New Yorkers it is the most famous and most important arena in the world and long a symbol of New York’s status as the leading sports and entertainment center.

That the current Garden is the latest of four makes no difference: the Garden is the Garden. It has been the venue for many famous events in sports, including cycling, track and field, basketball, hockey, and, most importantly, boxing. Before boxing moved west to Las

Vegas during the 1960s, the Garden was the heart of the boxing world, and promoters, managers, trainers, and fighters made their reputations there.

The current Garden is located between Seventh and Eighth Avenues and Thirty-First and Thirty-Third Streets in midtown Manhattan. It sits atop Pennsylvania Station, and the complex includes a large meeting rotunda, theater, office tower, and shops. The first Garden was located at Madison Square at Fifth Avenue and Twenty-Third Street on the site of the abandoned Union Depot of the New York and Harlem Railroad. In 1871 the U.S. showman P. T. Barnum bought the property and converted it into Barnum’s Monster Classical Geological Hippodrome. It was an arena with high brick walls and no roof. In 1875 the arena was leased by the band-leader Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore (composer of “When Johnny Comes Marching Home”), who turned it into a garden with trees and waterfalls and held concerts there. In 1876 he renamed it “Gilmore’s Gardens.” In 1879 wealthy businessman William Henry Vanderbilt took control and renamed the arena “Madison Square Garden.” The arena featured horse shows, cycling, and boxing, with John L. Sullivan winning the heavyweight championship there in 1882. Sullivan was arrested there two years later during another bout because prize fighting was then illegal. In 1890 the first Garden was torn down, and a new entertainment venue, designed by architect Stanford White, built in its place. The second Garden contained an 8,000-seat arena, a 1,500-seat concert hall, a 1,200-seat theater, an indoor swimming pool, and a rooftop garden restaurant. In 1906 White was shot and killed in the rooftop garden by millionaire Harry Thaw, the husband of White’s former mistress, model Evelyn Nesbit, in what was then called “the crime of the century.”

When the entertainment district shifted farther north, the third Garden was built at Eighth Avenue and Fiftieth Street in 1925. The third Garden became the center of professional boxing, under the direction of a succession of promoters, including Tex Rickard, Mike Jacobs, and Teddy Brenner, and with the assistance of sports writer Damon Runyon. Any fighter who sought to



make a name for himself wanted to fight at the Garden. Jack Dempsey fought there often, as did Joe Louis and later Rocky Marciano, Muhammad Ali, Joe Frazier, and George Foreman. During the 1960s control of boxing shifted to Las Vegas, and although boxing was still promoted at the Garden, the Garden was no longer the center of the boxing world. In 1968 the third Garden was torn down and the current one built over Penn Station. In 1991 the current Garden was renovated at a cost of \$200 million. It now seats 19,763 for basketball and 18,200 for ice hockey.

New York sports fans associate the current Garden with two dates and major triumphs: 8 May 1970, when the Knicks won the NBA championship, and 14 June 1994, when the Rangers won their first NHL title in fifty-four years.

David Levinson

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Magazines

Sport participants, enthusiasts, and spectators have long enjoyed reading about their favorite sports, together with articles about the skilled players or athletes, noteworthy administrators, and colorful coaches. They avidly scan and absorb news articles about recent championships, lives of star players, games, and results. Sport magazines and periodicals reflect the cultural interests of the times and range from the field sport titles published in the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the contemporary sport-specific titles that report on the major popular professional and amateur sports. From its physical education and gymnastics roots in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, the academic sport-science periodical saw a resurgence in the 1960s and 1970s.

By definition periodicals are published at frequent and regular intervals, usually weekly, monthly, quarterly, or annually. They are numbered by a consecutive numbering system or by use of volume/issue numbers to distinguish between each issue. Contents range from short or lengthy articles to news and reviews. Various called magazines, serials, or, a newly coined term, fanzines or zines, access for most titles is by paid subscription and newsstand purchase. Since the late 1990s, online, digitized, or electronic periodicals have been readily available. Periodical issues are sent via e-mail to a subscriber as a file attachment or are available on a publisher's or vendor's website with free access, by paid library subscription, or in an individual member's or subscriber's password-protected area.

Today, many diverse audiences are served by the different categories of sport periodicals that represent the work of the sport journalist, sports fans, commercial interests, or sport researcher and professional. They generally fall into three types: (1) general sport magazines, sport-specific periodicals, and fanzines; (2) house organs, including newsletters and bulletins; and (3) subject-specific academic sport and physical education periodicals.

General Sport and Sport-Specific Periodicals

General sport magazines, for example, *The Sporting News* (1886–) or *Sports Illustrated* (1954–) emphasize current sporting events, with articles on many different sports, specific sport competitions, upcoming or current sport personalities, the business side of the sports industry or a particular sport, plus results of games and championships.

SPORT-SPECIFIC PUBLICATIONS

The largest number of sport periodicals focus on one particular sport. An article in *Advertising Age* (2000) contends that from 1985 to 2000, sport magazines were introduced (and ceased publication) more frequently than those in any other subject area. *Ulrich's Periodicals Directory* lists over 9,000 currently published sport and

sport sciences periodicals and newsletters. Add to this the thousands of sports periodicals in Asian languages, other languages, and newly created online titles, and the numbers of sport periodicals are staggering.

Some sport-specific titles have a relatively long run—*The Ring* (1922–), *Skating* (1923–), *Golf Monthly* (1911–)—with the bulk of the extant titles published after World War II, including *World Soccer* (1960–), *Golf World* (1947–), *Ski* magazine (1948–), *Swimming World and Junior Swimmer* (1960–, microfilm 1960–), and *Judo Journal* (1978–). Just about every sport is represented by a major magazine, from well-established sports to the newer extreme sports. Major sports are exemplified by *Football Digest* (1971–), *Hockey Digest* (1972–), *Tennis* (1965–), *Baseball Digest* (1942–), and *Runner's World* (1970–), and the extreme sports by *Skydiving* (1979–) and *Kitesurf* (online 2000–).

The fanzine, a phenomenon of the post–World War II era, represents the voice of the public or passionate sports fan. These zines started in print form, but now many are distributed via e-mail or are available on a website. Recently, the Modern British Department of the British Library recognized the importance of this “grey literature” to the popular culture in the United Kingdom and has acquired a large number of sport fanzine collections (www.bl.uk/collections/british/modbrisport.html). Sample titles in this genre include *King of the Kippax* (1988–) on the Manchester City Football Club, *The Absolute Game: A Scottish Football Fanzine* (1987–), *The Fishing Network Web-Zine* (1995–), and *Zigger, Borrow Association Football Club Magazine* (1967–).

NEWSLETTERS AND BULLETINS

Sport newsletters or bulletins are published by nonprofit organizations, including sport associations, both professional and amateur; for-profit companies; and sport business

consulting companies. For nonprofit associations and organizations, print or online newsletters and bulletins serve as a vehicle of communication with members.

For instance, athletes, administrators, and volunteers who have membership in their international, national, regional, or local sport organization keep abreast of news, new policy, and/or forthcoming competitions through in-house newsletters. Examples include *ISSF News* (1961–) for members of the international sport federation, International Shooting Sport Federation. Sport business consulting companies or sporting goods associations issue state-of-the-art reports on the economics of a particular sport industry; for example, *Sportspipe* (2001–), from Gould Media Services. The online newsletter *NASLINE* (1993–) and *IASI Newsletter* (1995–) keep sport and kinesiology librarians and information professionals informed of recent publications, websites, and news in their professions.

Academic Sport and Physical Education Periodicals

Many of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sport and physical education publications were monographic in nature. European institutions that promoted physical

activity, gymnastics, and teacher training published only a few periodicals. One title, *Tidskrift i Gymnastik* (1874–1983), was published originally at the Kungl. Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet i Stockholm (The Royal Gymnastic Central Institute of Stockholm), with contributions by Per Henrik Ling, the originator of the Swedish gymnastics system, and teachers at the institute. A Swiss periodical, *Die Zürcherische Jugend* (1799–1870), also dealt with physical education, calisthenics, and gymnastics, as did the German, *Turnzeitung* (1865–1921). In Boston, Dio Lewis's *Gymnastic Monthly and Journal of Physical Culture*



The cover of a sports association magazine.



Magazines

Competition Among Magazines

As sports became popular, magazines covering sports competed for readers. In this extract from the December 17, 1836, issue of The Spirit of the Times a contrast is drawn with the rival American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine.

In the number of this Magazine for December, we have found the following remarks which concern ourselves, and upon which in return we purpose saying one word:—

“The *New York Spirit of the Times* is informed, that the article in the October number of the Turf Register, concerning the race between Post Boy and John Bascomb, was furnished by a correspondent; if it had no signature, it was because the writer did not choose to use one. It was sent to us by a private hand, and a respectable gentleman became responsible for its contents. We think proper to enter into this detail, not as an apology for publishing the article, but merely for the purpose of showing that it was not editorial. As to the article itself, it professed to embody

the arguments and facts adduced by the friends of Post Boy in his behalf, and as such, were open to refutation, if innocent, by the friends of Bascomb. As the Turf Register takes no partisan interest in any horse of turf question, we could not refuse the article an insertion, even if it had come to us anonymously, without committing ourselves as a partisan of Bascomb. The *Spirit of the Times* need scarcely trouble itself with our affairs, when informed—which it appears is necessary—that it is quite unlikely that we shall consult its editor as to the propriety or impropriety of publishing any article whatever in the Turf Register.

“We will remark further, that the considerable degree of feeling amongst Southern Turfmen, which the *Spirit of the Times* says has been caused by the publication of the article alluded to, is confined to the very brief precincts of the editor’s own imagination. . . .”

Source: Menna, L. K. (Vol. Ed.). (1995). *Sports in North America—A documentary history*. Vol. 2: *The origins of modern sports, 1820–1840* (p. 49). Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press.

(1861–c. 1886) promoted physical activity. *Mind and Body* (1894–1936), was founded as part of a campaign to introduce German gymnastics to the American school program by professionals involved with the North American Gymnastics Union. The predecessor to the *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance* (1930–, online 1993–), the *American Physical Education Review* (1896–1929) was one of the first highly respected physical education journals. Its major goal was to persuade physical educators that research was important to the profession.

CURRENT ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL PERIODICALS

Periodicals meant for the academic community can be peer reviewed or edited by the periodical’s editor. The focus of academic and professional periodical articles is on how to better train the human body for sport com-

petition and fitness, plus the social/psychological and environmental aspects of participation and training.

Many of the academic periodicals are usually very topic specific and include the results of theoretical or applied research, surveys, and state-of-the-art articles on the social, psychological, historical, philosophical, business, and legal aspects of sport. The sport sciences specialty periodicals contain articles on topics ranging from sport medicine and physiology to biomechanics and sport engineering. There are also a large number of periodical titles on physical education, fitness, and coaching intended for professional physical teachers, trainers, or coaches.

Currently, there are hundreds of periodical titles designed for the academic and professional audience. The following sample of core journals from the various disciplines illustrates the depth and breadth of available periodical publications.



A cartoon from a sports magazine showing a baseball player in spring training.

The management, marketing, economics, legal, or business side of both professional and amateur sport are distinguished by the *Journal of Sport Management* (1987–, online 1997–), *Sport Marketing Quarterly* (1992–, online 2000–), *Sport Management Review* (1998–, online 1998–), *European Sport Management Quarterly* (2001–), *Journal of Sports Economics* (2000–, online 2000–), and the *Journal of Legal Aspects of Sport* (1991–, online 1991–).

A few titles cover the sport sciences more broadly. They include the *Journal of Sport Sciences* (1983–, online 1996–) and the *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* (1930–, online 1993–). Other sport sciences and medicine journals are *Medicine and Science in Sport and Exercise* (1969–, online 1996–), *Pediatric Exercise Science* (1989–, online 1997–), *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine and Science in Sports* (1991–, online 1998–), *Apunts: Medicina de l'Esport* (1985–), *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Sportmedizin* (1948–), *Journal of Exercise Physiology Online* (1998–), *International Journal of Computer Science in Sport* (online 2002–), and the *Journal of Applied Biomechanics* (1985–, online 1997–).

Sport psychology is well represented by *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology* (1979–, online 1997–), *The Sport Psychologist* (1987–, online 1997–), and *Zeitschrift für Sportpsychologie* (1992–, online 2004–). Topics ranging from gender to race to violence in sport can be found in sport sociology journals: *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* (1976–, online 1999–) and the *Sociology of Sport Journal* (1984–, online 1996–).

The topics of sport history and philosophy are found in the *Journal of Sport History* (1974–, online 1974–), *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* (1974–, online 1997–), *Nine: a Journal of Baseball History and Social Policy Perspectives* (1992–, online 2000–), *Sports History Review* (1970–, online 1997–), and many others.

For the coach and physical educator, there is a plethora of periodical titles including *British Journal of Teaching Physical Education* (1968–); *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance* (1930–); and *STAPS: Revue des Sciences et Techniques des Activités Physiques et Sportives* (1977–). Coaches refer to *Coach and Athletic Director* (1931–), *Coaches Report* (1993–), and *FHS: Faster, Higher, Stronger: the UK's Quarterly Coaching Magazine* (1998–).

Access to the Contents of Periodicals

Another periodical type that is essential to the work of the sport researcher is abstracting and indexing services. Updated frequently, usually weekly or monthly,

these services assist the dedicated researcher in finding periodical citations to a very specific aspect of a research topic. With the explosion in the number of periodical publications available, searching a number of online databases that best suits the research topic is an important activity.

PRIMARY INDEXING AND ABSTRACTING SERVICES

One essential sport science indexing and abstracting service includes *SPORTDiscus* (1840–, www.sirc.ca/products/sportdiscus.cfm). This database has over 700,000 records that link to periodical articles, and other publications on all aspects of sports sciences, psychology, administration, sociology, coaching, training, physical education, physical fitness, and recreation, in many languages. *SPORTDiscus* includes the French sport database *Héraclès*, produced by the INSEP, the Institut National de Sport et de l'Éducation Physique, in Paris, and the Australian sport science records indexed by the National Sport Information Centre of the Australian Sport Commission.

The National Library of Medicine publishes *Medline/PubMed* (online 1966–, www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/PubMed/), a database of biomedical periodical articles, indexed from over 3,700 international periodicals in all languages. For German language publications, *SPOLIT* (1970–, www.bisp-datenbanken.de/index.html), produced by BISp, the Bundesinstitut für Sportwissenschaft (Federal Institute of Sport Science), is freely available on their website. *SPONET* (www.sponet.de/), produced by the Institute for Applied Training Science (IAT) in Leipzig and freely available, has over 9,000 international references to sport sciences citations and full-text articles available via the Internet.

Other major indexing services have a reasonable number of citations to sport articles. These titles include *America: History and Life/Historical Abstracts*, *PsycINFO* (print 1927–, online 1967), *CSA Sociofile* (1963–), *Philosopher's Index* (print/online 1940–), *ERIC* (print/online 1969–), *Biological Abstracts* (print 1926–, online 1969–), and *ABI/INFORM Global* (1971–, indexes over 1,000 business periodicals).

Baseball researchers are served well by the *Baseball Index* (www.baseballindex.org), a product of the Society for American Baseball Research (SABR). The Chadwyck-Healey *PCI Web (Periodical Contents Index)* has indexed some of the general nineteenth- and early twentieth-century titles that contain sport articles (*Atlantic Monthly*, 1857–; *Scribner's*, 1887–1939) and physical education titles (*American Physical Education Review*, 1896–1929). However, there are hundreds of sport-specific titles that are not indexed. Some access to their current contents is available on the publishers' websites or in a few general indexing services; for example, the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* (online 1983–) and the *Reader's Guide Retrospective* (online 1890–1982).

FULL-TEXT AND ONLINE ACCESS

Since the late 1990s, many of the sport-specific and academic sport periodicals are available in full-text format. As indicated in the paragraph on academic sport periodicals, many titles are available in print and online format, with the online format usually available from the mid-1990s. Many U.S. sport periodicals backruns are available in microfilm: *Athletic Journal* (1921–1987), *Chronicle of the Horse* (1937–), and *Sailing* (print 1966–, microfilm 1975–). This format, popular in the 1970s and 1980s, is used as a means of preserving fragile print materials or provides newer libraries with access to essential periodical backruns.

While many institutions have started a digitizing program for the monographic publications (Library of Congress, American Memory project, especially the *Spalding Baseball Guides*, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/amhome.html>), periodicals are only being added recently. The best example of an institution that is forging ahead with digitizing important sport periodicals is the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles (www.aafla.org). With permission of the copyright holder, AAFLA offers, in addition to the *Official Olympic Reports*, the *Olympic Review* (online 1901–), *Revue Olympique* (online 1894–), *Journal of Sport History* (online 1974–), *Olympika* (online 1992–), and *Sporting Traditions* (online 1984–) on the “Virtual Library” section of their



Magazines

Keeping Track

Sports magazines more so than newspapers have long had the job of supplying readers both with up-to-date information and background information. Here is an example from The Sporting News' Record Book for 1927.

MOST VALUABLE A. L. PLAYER

The addition of George Burns of Cleveland, to the honor roll makes the fifth of the American League stars to gain the distinction of being the most valuable player to their teams, the plan of recognizing the players having been inaugurated by President Ban Johnson in 1922, when George Sisler was honored. In 1923, Babe Ruth was the first nominee; 1924, Walter Johnson; 1925, Roger Peckinpaugh.

Burns received 63 votes out of a possible 64.

In view of the fact that the rules of the award bar playing managers, Tris Speaker, Ty Cobb and Eddie Collins were given honorary places in the honor roll by the Trophy Commission in 1926.

Following is the list of players who received votes in 1926:

Burns, Cleveland	63
Mostil, Chicago	33
Pennock, New York	32
Rice, Washington	18

Heilmann, Detroit	16
Manush, Detroit	16
Simmons, Philadelphia	16
Grove, Philadelphia	12
Goslin, Washington	9
Gehrig, New York	7
Lazzeri, New York	7
Falk, Chicago	6
Fothergill, Detroit	6
Melillo, St. Louis	6
Rice, St. Louis	6
Bluege, Washington	5
Todt, Boston	5
Cochrane, Philadelphia	4
Judge, Washington	4
McManus, St. Louis	4
Meusel, New York	3
Rigney, Boston	3
Flagstead, Boston	2
Gerber, St. Louis	2
Zachary, St. Louis	2
Jacobson, Boston	1

Source: *The sporting news' record book*. (1927). St. Louis, MO: Charles C. Spink and Son.

website. Some earlier sport periodicals are available in partial backruns: *American Golfer* (online 1908–1913), *Baseball Magazine* (online 1909–1918), and *Outing* (print 1883–1923, online 1883–1900).

The Future

With the ease of creating a new sport-specific periodical on a website, the life and death cycle of new sport periodicals will continue unabated, with only the vigorous editor or well-financed publisher surviving for a longer run. The lines blur between what constitutes a distinct numbered periodical and a sport news website that is

updated daily. There is no doubt, however, that the availability of sport-specific and academic periodicals online is a convenience that sports fans and researchers will support enthusiastically.

Gretchen Ghent

See also Literature; Sportswriting and Reporting

Further Reading

Hall, H., & Smith, N. (1997). You'll wish it was all over: The bibliographic control of grey literature with reference to print football fanzines. *Serials*, 10(2), 189–194. Retrieved January 6, 2005, from http://www.bim.napier.ac.uk/%7Ehazel/esis/hh_paper9.html

Gerber, E. W. (1971). *Innovators and Institutions in Physical Education*. Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger.

Kerwin, A. M. (2000). Sports spawns most magazines. *Advertising Age*, 71(2), 42.

Management

Sports management is a recent field of study, but the practice of sports management has long been a major part of human civilization. In almost every society, play and games have been an integral part of child rearing, communal festivities, and inter-community rivalries. The games of archery, sword fighting, lifting heavy objects, horse racing, bull fighting, running, and hurdling have been prevalent in many societies across the globe. As Stiers notes, "Sport management has been in existence from the earliest times of human existence. For literally centuries, throughout written history, individuals and groups have gathered together for informal and/or formal competition in physical activities. And, as a result, there have been individuals involved in the planning, organizing, and supervising of such activities" (1999, 11).

Modern-day sports management has its roots in the field known as organization and administration of physical education and athletics, which had its origins as early as the 1890s (Zeigler 1951). However, the field and the courses were part of the teacher training programs in physical education and were confined to management of sports and physical activity at the scholastic and collegiate levels. The origins of modern sports management was said to have been inspired by a letter from Walter O'Malley, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers, in the 1950s to Dr. James Mason. In the letter, O'Malley posed the question, "Where would one go to find a person who by virtue of education had been trained to administer a marina, race track, ski resort, auditorium, stadium, theatre, convention or exhibition hall, a public camp complex, or a person to fill an executive position at a team or league level . . ." (Mason, Higgins,

and Wilkinson 1981). This simple query motivated Mason to initiate the first university-sponsored sports management program at Ohio University in 1966. Although early growth of sports management programs was slow, by 1984 there were seventy-five sports management programs in North American colleges and universities (VanderZwaag 1984). Recent estimates have placed this number at greater than 200 (Chelladurai 2001). Dr. Earle Zeigler spearheaded the scientific study of sports management at the Universities of Illinois, Michigan, and Western Ontario.

Defining the Field

Over the years, many authors have given a fragmented view of sports management. For example, Chelladurai defined the field as "management of organizations whose major domain of operation is sport and physical activity" (1985, 4). Slack (1997, 5) similarly defined a sports organization as "a social entity involved in the sport industry; it is goal directed with a consciously structured activity system and a relatively identifiable boundary." These two definitions focus on the *organizations that deal with sport*.

Other authors have defined sports management based on *careers in sports management*. For example, Parks and Zanger believe sports management is "an area of professional endeavor in which a wide variety of sport and fitness related careers exist" (1990, 1). Comparable to this definition, the NASPE/NASSM Joint Task Force on Sport Management Curriculum and Accreditation describes sports management as "the field of study offering the specialized training and education necessary for individuals seeking careers in any of the many segments of the industry" (1993, 159). Hager sees sports management as business-oriented, stating the field places an "emphasis on providing satisfaction for the client" (1984, 118), defining the field by *managerial functions*.

The constitution of the North American Society for Sport Management (NASSM) defines sports management as "the theoretical and applied aspects of management theory and practice specially related to sport,

There are people who think that wrestling is an ignoble sport. Wrestling is not sport, it is a spectacle, and it is no more ignoble to attend a wrestled performance of suffering than a performance of the sorrows of Arnolphe or Andromaque. ■ ROLAND BARTHES

exercise, dance and play as these enterprises are pursued by all sectors of the population” (NASSM, 2004). Finally, Pitts and Stotlar believe the sports industry is “the market in which the products offered to its buyers are sport, fitness, recreation, or leisure-related and may be activities, goods, services, people, places, or ideas” (1996, 3). Here, the emphasis is on the *industry offering sports products*.

Chelladurai (1993, 1994, 2001) offered a more comprehensive description of the field. The label *sports management* implies the management of the sports industry, so it becomes necessary to clarify what constitutes the sports industry. Given that an industry is a group of organizations that produce the same or similar products, and that organizations are mechanisms for exchange of products, Chelladurai cataloged and classified the various products of the sports industry. His descriptive scheme follows.

At the most fundamental level, the products of any organization can be either goods or services, or a combination of both. Goods are physical objects that can be produced at one time and used later. They include all equipment needed to engage in various kinds of sports and physical activities (such as baseball bats, basketball shoes, soccer goals). Typically, these operations have been excluded from the domain of sports management because they are part of the conventional manufacturing sector.

A service, on the other hand, is an intangible occurrence, process, or performance that is simultaneously produced and consumed. The unique feature of the sports industry is the production of services in sports, although goods (such as facilities and equipment) may be used to facilitate the production of those services. Sports management has been primarily concerned with the services produced by various sports organizations.

CONSUMER, PROFESSIONAL, AND HUMAN SERVICES

Some services are routine, involving little information or skill or expertise. These services are known as *consumer services*, and the renting of a sports facility is an exam-

ple. *Professional services*, however, are largely based on the expertise and special competencies of employees: an architect’s design of a fitness club, a consultant’s services relating to security arrangements for an event, a golf pro’s lesson or an intercollegiate coach’s teaching of a particular skill in a sport.

Professional services can further be broken down into two separate categories. In some services, the focus is on applying technical expertise to something of interest to the clients (such as legal issues or investments). These are the traditional professional services. In some other services, however, the focus is on applying knowledge and expertise for the clients themselves as in educational services or health services. In these *human services*, the inputs of raw material are “human beings with specific attributes,” and the outputs are “persons processed or changed in a predetermined manner” (Hasenfeld and English 1974, 1). Hasenfeld (1983) further divides human services into three levels:

- *People-processing* refers to testing or screening individuals, then placing them in a particular group or class based on some specified criteria, as in the drug testing agencies declaring an athlete drug-free.
- Human services that help prevent or delay the decline in welfare or status of clients are known as *people-sustaining*. Nursing homes, welfare departments, athletic training departments, and physical therapy establishments all fall into this category.
- *People-changing* services attempt to alter clients in some biophysical, psychological, or social manner. For example, fitness programs make people healthier, sports camps make clients better performers, and sports management degree programs make their clients more knowledgeable about the field.

PARTICIPATION MOTIVES

Clients are involved in the production of the services, so their motives are a critical factor in defining the services within the sports industry. For example, some individuals participate in sports because they enjoy the good feelings they derive from participating, or the competition



provided by those activities. This motive is labeled *pursuit of pleasure* that is intrinsic to participation. Clients may also be in *pursuit of skill* when they participate in some form of sports or physical activity, to become competent in that activity. Beyond that, clients may also participate to excel in a given activity and such *pursuit of excellence* entails winning against another opponent, someone else's performance, or their own previous performance. Some clients participate mainly for the health-related benefits that sports afford (that is, *pursuit of health and fitness*). Within this category, some individuals continue their participation to maintain their level of fitness and health, whereas others may participate to improve their health and fitness. These are labeled *sustenance* and *curative* motives, respectively. Although each of these categories is distinct, an individual's primary motive (for example, pursuit of pleasure) may lead to outcomes related to other motives (such as competence in a skill or health benefits). For example, a client who participates in tennis just for the pleasure of it may also become proficient in the skills and gain the benefits of health and fitness.

Classifying Sports Services

The services within the sports industry can be classified as participant services, spectator services, sponsorship services, donor services, and social ideas.

PARTICIPANT SERVICES

Participant services are those services where the clients engage physically in some form of sports or physical activity offered by an agency. A combination of the two criteria (that is, the type of service and client motives) yields six types of participant services:

- *Consumer pleasure*: Making the facility and equipment available and organizing and conducting different kinds of competitions for self-motivated clients who seek the pleasure afforded by that activity.
- *Consumer health and fitness*: Scheduling or reserving facilities for clients interested in maintaining or improving their health and fitness levels.
- *Human skills*: Expert teaching and leadership in developing the skills of clients.
- *Human excellence*: Guiding and coaching clients toward excellence in a chosen activity.
- *Human sustenance*: Organizing and conducting exercise and fitness programs under the guidance and supervision of an expert.
- *Human curative*: Physical activity programs designed to rehabilitate those deficient in some area of health or physical appearance.

SPECTATOR SERVICES

Spectator services refer to the provision of sports as entertainment. The entertainment value of sports varies across individuals (some may prefer baseball to basketball) and across nations (baseball is very popular in North America, but soccer is more popular across the rest of the world). Chelladurai (2001) identifies three components of the spectator services:

- The *contest* itself is the most significant component, and its value is a function of the excellence exhibited by the contestants, the unpredictability of the outcomes (that is, sports is unscripted), and the loyalty and attachment of people to certain sports, teams, and athletes.
- The *spectacle* is also a part of the entertainment value. Opening ceremonies, half-time shows, and contests involving the spectators during intermissions all add to clients' experiences at sporting events. Individuals also seek to satisfy their social needs at contests.
- *Third-place* experiences take place at the venues of these contests (as distinct from home and work).

SPONSORSHIP SERVICES

Sports sponsorship refers to the provision of some kind of resources by an external agency to a sports entity (e.g., a sporting event, a sports team, a sportsperson, or a sports organization) in return for an association with that entity, which, in turn, can be exploited for commercial purposes (e.g., Howard and Crompton 2004; Mullin, Hardy, and Sutton 2000). Such an association

facilitates the access to the market created by the sports entity and projects the aura of excellence of the sports entity onto the image of the sponsoring agency (Chelladurai 1994, 2001). The sponsoring organization gains the opportunities to

1. Link with local businesses and political communities
2. Entertain corporate customers
3. Improve employee relations
4. Increase public awareness of the company or brand
5. Change or enhance the company's or brand's image
6. Test its products under "real-life" conditions (Amis, Pant, and Slack 1997).

Worldwide corporate spending on sports sponsorship in 2001 was estimated to be \$24.6 billion (a 12 percent increase from 2000), with \$9.5 billion in the United States, \$7.4 billion in Europe, \$4.3 billion in Pacific Rim countries, and \$2.1 billion in Central and South American countries (IEG Forecast 2000). Business enterprises extend such sponsorship to non-elite sports as well, particularly youth sports through which businesses can tap into a market of millions of children (and their households) participating in sports.

DONOR SERVICES

The donor services involve receiving a resource from a donor in exchange for *psychic benefits*, such as the altruistic feeling of having supported a worthy venture or the egoistic and personal gratification in being recognized as a donor. These psychic benefits are self-administered by the donors themselves, and a donation may activate both altruistic and egoistic benefits simultaneously.

SOCIAL IDEAS

Some sports organizations are engaged in promoting social objectives, such as fitness and health through physical activity. For example, in the United States, YMCAs have traditionally promoted participation in sports and physical activity. Although some may question Nike's motives, its advertising slogan "Just Do It" promotes the idea of participation in physical activity (while promoting its own corporate image). Some of

these efforts to promote sports and physical activity may come from nonprofit organizations such as the Trim and Fitness International Sport for All Association, ParticipACTION (a term coined to indicate participation and action) in Canada, and the National Association for Sport and Physical Education (NASPE) in the United States. Profit-oriented organizations such as Nike and the National Basketball Association (NBA) also engage in promoting sports and physical activity. In essence, these promotional activities are focused on the *social idea and practice* of participation in physical activity, and the benefits of such participation.

This descriptive scheme captures most of the services in sports, but it does not indicate the relative significance of the various sets of services. Participant services are the largest and most significant set of services offered within the purview of sports management. Spectator services are based on the excellence achieved by contestants in a sport, and that excellence is fostered by participant sports labeled pursuit of excellence. In essence, spectator sports is an offshoot of participant sports. Further, concession, licensing, and sponsorship services are functions of spectator sports. Other services, which are not described in this scheme, also facilitate spectator sports (such as parking and traffic control).

Sports Management as Coordination

Having cataloged the various services produced within the sports industry, Chelladurai defines sports management as the "field concerned with the coordination of limited human and material resources, relevant technologies, and situational contingencies for the efficient production and exchange of sport services" (Chelladurai 1994, 15). There are two emphases in this definition—(a) management as the process of coordinating (b) the production and exchange of sports-related services. The notion of coordination is central to many of the definitions of management. Further, management is conceived as encompassing both production and exchange of sports services. This latter point counters the artificial distinction between management and marketing and

highlights the idea that both the production and marketing of sports services have to be managed.

The factors to be coordinated include the following:

- Human resources, *including clients, paid employees, and volunteers*
- Technologies, *such as exercise physiology, sports medicine, sports psychology, sports pedagogy, coaching education, and so on.*
- Support units, *including those units dealing with facilities and events, public relations, legal issues, sports finance, and personnel management*
- Context, *such as the external forces represented by inter-organizational networks, market conditions, and government, culture, and community*

One significant element of the context is the *inter-organizational networks* such as the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) in the United States and the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA). The *market conditions*, such as changes in the demand for our services, and the activities of competitors providing those services are another set of factors that sports managers have to contend with. That is, managers must coordinate their own activities to be consistent with market conditions as well as counteract those of their competitors. Finally, the *government, culture, and community* play a role in managing sports organizations so their activities must be consistent with government regulations, cultural norms, and societal expectations. Further, management as coordination implies the proper implementation of the traditional management functions (planning, organizing, leading, and evaluating), and the possession of necessary managerial skills (technical, human, and conceptual) to carry out those functions.

Economic Impact of the Sports Industry

There have been various estimates of the size of sports industry in the United States. According to Meek (1997), the economic value of the sports industry in 1995 was \$151.964 billion:

- *Sports consumption*, \$144.848 billion, which includes \$44.173 billion on *entertainment and recreation* and \$93.153 billion on *products and services*
- *Advertising*, \$7.522 billion
- *Infrastructure investments*, \$11.816 billion
- *Total net exports*, \$4.7 billion

Meek also noted that the sports industry facilitated other economic activities worth \$259 billion. The sports industry and the industries supported by it employed 4.65 million people and generated \$127 billion in household income.

Chelladurai (1999) summed the expenses associated with participation in leisure sports (\$32 billion) and with equipment, apparel, and footwear (\$71 billion) to highlight that \$103 billion was spent for participation in sports and the necessary equipment, apparel, and footwear. The rest of the expenditures were for spectating at sporting events and the associated expenses. The bottom line is that the expenses incurred by the American people constituted more than 60 percent of the total sports industry. The dominance of participant sports is further illustrated by the forty million youth who participate in various sports outside the programs organized by educational institutions. In addition, 6,903,552 students (boys, 4,038,253; girls, 2,865,299) participated in high school athletics (National Federation of State High School Athletic Associations [NFHS], 2004).

The total expenditure on sports is most likely to be higher now than it was in 1995. But the pattern of expenditures described (i.e., the distribution between participant sports and spectator sports) is likely to be about the same. Similar statistics are not available in other countries, but we can surmise that the pattern of expenditures on participant and spectator sports would be similar across nations even though the economic worth of sports would vary considerably. Another significant difference between the United States and other countries is that nowhere else in the world is so much emphasis placed on sports in educational institutions as in the United States. In 2001, NCAA schools spent almost \$5 billion on their intercollegiate athletic programs



(Fulks 2002a, 2002b). At the top level of competition (Division I-A), NCAA institutions spent an average of \$42,000 per athlete during that same year (Fulks 2002a). However, the contributions of the various sporting clubs (i.e., the so-called club system) are not as pronounced as they are in European countries.

Academic Study of Sports Management

Given the enormity of the sports industry and the career options available in the industry, it is not surprising that more than 200 universities in North America offer degree programs in sports management. The popularity of sports management as a program of study at the university level is also reflected in other continents. In Europe, for example, several universities from different countries have joined to offer a European masters' degree in sports management.

With the increasing number of institutions offering sports management degree programs in North America, there has also been an effort to evaluate the quality of these programs and endorse them. More specifically, the NASPE and the NASSM have joined to propose a set of standards on the curricular content of the programs and the faculty requirements for programs at the bachelor's, master's, and doctoral levels. These guidelines are summarized in Table 1. Only thirty-four undergraduate programs, twenty-six master's programs, and four doctoral programs had sought the approval of NASPE/NASSM by July 2004 (NASSM 2004).

Concomitant with the popularity of the sports management degree programs in the universities, several scholarly associations have also been formed:

- North American Society for Sport Management
- European Association for Sport Management
- Sport Management Association of Australia and New Zealand
- Japanese Society for Sport Management
- Japanese Society of Sports Industry
- Indian Association for Sport Management
- Asian Association for Sport Management

In addition, several scholarly journals are also published in the field: the *Journal of Sport Management*, the *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, and the *International Journal of Sport Management* in North America; the *European Sport Management Quarterly* and the *International Journal of Sports Marketing and Sponsorship* in Europe; and the *Sport Management Review* in Australia and New Zealand.

Allied Industries

Notable among sports industries that support other industries are the shoe and apparel manufacturing industries, including Nike, Adidas, and Reebok. Their involvement in the sports industry takes two forms:

1. The provision of equipment, shoes, and apparel necessary for participation in sports
2. Their sponsorship of individual athletes, teams, organizations, and events, which involves millions of dollars

In 2004 alone, Nike committed 338.6 million dollars to endorse several athletes and teams (*By the Numbers* 2004). Such contributions go a long way in promoting and financing sports teams and events. From this perspective, the sports and the shoe and apparel industries support each other.

Tourism is another industry that is significantly associated with the sports industry. According to Brooks (1990), the transportation industry was the first to invest in sports. A New England train company sold train tickets to fans to see the Harvard-Yale crew competition in 1852. In the past decade, tourism for sports purposes "was marked by a growing recognition of the inherent relationship between sport and tourism" (Gibson 2003b, 205). Although there are numerous definitions of sports tourism, Hinch and Higham (2001) note that all share three key dimensions:

1. *Spatial dimension*: Individuals must leave and eventually return home.
2. *Temporal dimension*: The travel is temporary.
3. *Relationship*: The purpose of travel must be sports related.

Table 1.
NASSM/NASPE Guidelines for Program Approval

		Undergraduate	Master's	Doctorate
Critical Mass	Curriculum	20% (without Field Experience) of the total number of required degree hours must be in sports management coursework	50% (without Field Experience) of the total number of required degree hours must be in sports management coursework	50% (without Field Experience) of the total number of required degree hours must be in sports management coursework
	Faculty	2 full-time faculty members; at least 1 must have terminal degree	2 full-time faculty members; at least 1 must have terminal degree (3 full-time faculty members if both undergraduate and master's program)	2 full-time faculty members; at least 1 must have terminal degree (3 full-time faculty members if both master's and doctoral program; 5 full-time faculty members if all 3 degree programs)
Content Areas	Advanced Cognate Area of Specialization			✓ ✓
	Background Requirements			Familiarity with content areas in undergraduate and master's degree sports management programs
	Budget & Finance	✓		
	Communication	✓		
	Economics	✓		
	Ethics	✓	✓	
	Financial Management		✓	
	Governance	✓		
	Legal Aspects	✓	✓	
	Management & Leadership	✓	✓	
	Marketing	✓	✓	
	Public Relations		✓	
	Research		✓	✓
	Sociocultural	✓	✓	
Field Experience	✓	✓	Either focus on professoriate (i.e., teaching lower level sports management courses) or on practitioner (i.e., experiences in the sports industry)	

Source: Sport Management Program Review Council (SMPRC) 2000.

In Gibson's (2003a) view, sports-related travel may be undertaken for one of three purposes:

- Active participation, such as traveling to take part in a sports event as a participant
- Spectating at a sporting event; for example, traveling to watch others participate in a sports event
- Nostalgia; for example, traveling to visit sports-related attractions such as halls of fame and famous stadiums
- Spectators traveling to competitions, \$40.82 billion
- University and college athletic teams traveling to their competitions, \$1.09 billion
- Professional sports teams' travels, \$295 million
- Other, \$2.26 billion

The significance of the mutual interdependence between sports and tourism is reflected in the number of textbooks (see, for example, Standeven and DeKnop 1999; Turco, Riley and Swart 2002) and journal articles written on sports tourism. Many universities have begun to offer specialized courses in sports tourism. Sports tourism also has its own organization, the Sports Tourism International Council; its official publication is the *Journal of International Sports Tourism*.

Another industry that facilitates the sports industry, and at the same time gains from it, is the media. They shower the sports industry with billions of dollars in return for the contracts to cover the sports events or competitions. For example, the National Football League (NFL) is currently being paid \$17.6 billion over eight years for the rights to broadcast NFL games. The opportunity to cover these sporting events has become extremely lucrative to the various media outlets. It is so profitable that specialty channels have sprung up (such as ESPN). In some cases, these media conglomerates have begun to vertically integrate the production and distribution of spectator sports to maximize their profits. Vertical integration is gaining control over every part of the value chain in the production and distribution of sports entertainment. The media enterprises buy professional sports franchises so that they will have control over the programming of the events in which their teams participate and the sole control over the media rights for those events.

The Future

The field of sports management has grown rapidly. Within a short period, journals have been launched in specialized topical areas such as sports marketing, sports sponsorship, and sports tourism. Further, new associations have sprung up to cater to experts in these specialized fields within sports management. Although all this growth is encouraging, this is still a fledgling field. To be recognized as an established field, sports management has to generate its own body of knowledge. So far, we have been borrowing theoretical frameworks from other

fields such as sociology, psychology, economics, organizational theory, and organizational behavior. Given the enthusiasm, enterprise, and expertise of the emerging scholars in the field, however, the growth of the field into a recognized and respected field is assured.

Packianathan Chelladurai and Brian A. Turner

See also Facilities Management; Ownership

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Maple Leaf Gardens

Historian William Kilbourn noted, “If I were asked by some stranger to North American culture to show him the most important religious building in Canada I would take him to Toronto’s Maple Leaf Gar-

dens.” Maple Leaf Gardens was the primary ice hockey venue and indoor arena in Toronto, Canada—and home to its most famous tenant, the National Hockey League’s (NHL) Toronto Maple Leafs—from 1931 to 1999.

History

In 1927, Toronto entrepreneur Conn Smythe and a group of backers purchased the local NHL team, the St. Patrick’s. The club—renamed the Maple Leafs by Smythe—played in the fifteen-year-old Mutual Street Arena, which held approximately 8,000 fans seated and standing. The NHL’s commercial landscape, however, was shifting dramatically in the late 1920s with the expansion of the league to the United States, the influx of U.S. capital, and the construction of large, modern arenas in New York, Boston, Chicago, and Detroit. In response, Smythe sought a new, larger arena, one that the Maple Leafs owned, eschewing the onerous lease payments the club faced at Mutual Street Arena. On 12 November 1931, in the midst of a debilitating depression and five-and-a-half months after ground was broken, Maple Leaf Gardens opened with its inaugural hockey match—the Maple Leafs hosting the Chicago Blackhawks—played in front of 12,500 fans.

Besides professional ice hockey, “the Gardens” hosted a wide variety of one-off sporting events (from six-day bicycle races, popular in the 1930s, to a Muhammad Ali heavyweight boxing match in 1966), regular track-and-field meets and professional wrestling matches, music concerts, and political rallies. Nevertheless, the building is most commonly associated with NHL hockey and the Toronto Maple Leafs. In its sixty-eight-year history, Maple Leaf Gardens was home to eleven teams that won the Stanley Cup (the NHL’s championship trophy, awarded annually). Former greats such as Charlie Conacher, Ted Kennedy, Frank Mahovlich, and Darryl Sittler were among the many members of the Hockey Hall of Fame who skated for the Maple Leafs at the Gardens.

Radio’s emergence in the 1920s contributed significantly to the growth of commercial sport in Canada, and from the time that Smythe took control of the NHL team in 1927, Foster Hewitt became widely known by



broadcasting games on local radio. He was so integral to the success of the club that, in 1931, Hewitt was asked by Smythe to consult on the location of the broadcast booth in the new arena. Hewitt's "Gondola" was situated in the rafters of Maple Leaf Gardens and before the end of the 1930s had become famous as the home of "Hockey Night in Canada." These regular Saturday night national radio broadcasts were sponsored by corporations such as General Motors and Imperial Oil, and, in 1936, six million Canadians reportedly tuned in to Hewitt's broadcast of a Maple Leafs playoff game (at the time the country's population was only eight million). With the introduction of television in 1952, hockey telecasts—most hosted at Maple Leaf Gardens—became a staple of Canadian popular culture.

Maple Leaf Gardens Today

From the early 1930s until the early 1970s, Maple Leaf Gardens and Montreal's Forum were the only arenas in Canada hosting NHL hockey, and the former became associated with professional hockey in English-speaking Canada. This was largely because every Saturday night, Canadians from the Atlantic to Pacific coasts tuned in to watch (or listen to) not just NHL hockey, but NHL hockey broadcast live from Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens. Through "Hockey Night in Canada" broadcasts, Maple Leaf Gardens was, within the public imagination, the "home" for Canada's most popular sport. This largely remained the case despite the fact that the hockey club has not captured the Stanley Cup since 1967 and suffered at the hands of megalomaniacal owner Harold Ballard for much of the 1970s and 1980s.

Creating a home for hockey was an aspiration consistent with the rhetoric used by Smythe during the Gardens' construction. Indeed, the mythology that surrounds Maple Leaf Gardens often credits Smythe with saving hockey in Toronto and building one of the game's great temples. More critical scholarship, however, offers an alternate view. While a storehouse of memories for many hockey fans, Maple Leaf Gardens can also be viewed as evidence of the growing capitalist hegemony of commercial hockey over alternate sport

forms in the interwar years. This sport culture promoted a particular brand of masculinity, which revealed itself both in the popular media's valorization of physical play on the ice and in the more recent, tragic abuse of young boys by some members of the Gardens' staff over a number of years, a scandal whose full magnitude was not revealed until the 1990s.

The Maple Leafs played their final game at the Gardens on 13 February 1999. The event was marked by a 75-minute on-ice ceremony, broadcast nationwide, that featured Maple Leaf players past and present and focused almost exclusively on the building's heritage as a hockey arena. Since then Maple Leaf Gardens has been home to junior ice hockey, professional lacrosse, and an auction house, as the arena's contents—seats, exit signs, urinals, everything—have been sold off to memorabilia collectors. The building itself, however, still stands at the corner of Church and Carlton Streets in downtown Toronto, protected to a degree by its designation as a heritage property under the provincial Ontario Heritage Act. As of June 2004, negotiations were underway to sell Maple Leaf Gardens, its outer structure preserved, to Loblaws Inc., a national chain of grocery stores.

Russell Field

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Maracana Stadium

Maracana Stadium in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, is the largest soccer stadium in the world. It was originally named “Estadio Municipal Angelo Mendes de Moraes” after the mayor of Rio de Janeiro, but locals dubbed it “Maracana” after a nearby river. In 1966 the stadium was renamed “Estadio Mario Filho” in honor of the *Jornal dos Sports* journalist who had been a loud proponent of its construction in 1947. However, it is still most commonly known as “Maracana.” Built to host soccer’s 1950 World Cup competition, Maracana Stadium is a monument of near-religious significance to the people of Brazil. The stadium, when full, has a carnival atmosphere of throbbing drums, singing fans, glaring floodlights, billowing flags, and pregame *sorcederos*, who perform voodoo and prayer rituals. Its theatrical spectacle is an appropriate metaphor for the grandness of Brazil.

History

To be considered as the host of the 1950 World Cup, Brazil required a world-class stadium. Although Mario Filho’s articles advocating a municipal stadium were popular, the subject was controversial because many community members felt government funds should be used to build hospitals instead. After intense debate, in 1947 Mayor Angelo Mendes de Moraes signed Law 57, which authorized construction of the stadium in Rio de Janeiro, which was then the capital of Brazil.

The project was awarded to architects Rafael Galvao, Orlando da Silva Azevedo, Pedro Paulo Bastos, and Antonio Augusto Dias Carneiro. Construction began 2 August 1948 and took almost two years to complete, using 9,000 metric tons of iron and 500,000 bags of cement. Ten thousand laborers (mostly economic mi-

grants) and hundreds of soldiers operating heavy machinery worked day and night.

The result of 7.7 million hours of labor is a stadium that occupies 195,600 square meters—almost twice the size of New York City’s Ellis Island. The uppermost perimeter of Maracana measures 944 meters, which, if stretched out in a line, would be more than eight U.S. football fields in length. The highest point of the stadium is 32 meters, which is about the height of a thirteen-story building. The original maximum capacity was legally 183,354 (much of it standing room only), which was 43,000 more than that of the largest stadium at the time, Hampden Park in Glasgow, Scotland.

The inaugural soccer game was played on 17 June 1950, between Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. The first goal in Maracana Stadium was scored by Rio’s legendary midfielder, Valdir “Didi” Pereira (1929–2001). However, Sao Paulo won 3–1.

Maracanazo

On 16 July, amid what was most likely the largest attendance in the history of soccer, Brazil faced Uruguay in the final match of the 1950 World Cup. More than 173,000 tickets were sold, but many accounts estimate the attendance at closer to 200,000 because of gate crashers and small children who were admitted for free. Almost 10 percent of Rio de Janeiro’s population attended the game.

Brazil had only to tie Uruguay to win its first World Cup. However, in the last minutes of the game, Alcides Giggia of Uruguay kicked a goal that changed a tie into a 2–1 loss for Brazil. Giggia said many years later, “Only three people have, with just one motion, silenced the Maracana: Frank Sinatra, Pope John Paul II and me” (Bellos 2002, 52). Most South Americans are aware of this game, which Argentineans called *maracanazo*, which stems from the Spanish slang *macanazo*, meaning “huge goof.”

Physical Features

Built entirely of reinforced concrete in a massive oval of two tiers, Maracana Stadium contains one of the first

modern versions of the “dry moat,” which separates spectators from the field of play. Three meters wide, this protective moat has been copied by every major stadium in Brazil and by those in some other countries as well. The grass pitch (playing field) is 110 meters by 75 meters (the length of a U.S. football field but 29 yards wider).

Because of the rainy climate, a cantilevered roof spanning 30 meters covers the two tiers and some of the flats between the moat and the stands. The inner ring of the lower tier, known as the “*geral*,” was designed for standing spectators only and offers poor sightlines and limited access to concourse areas. The best seats (*cadeira especiais*) are accessible by elevator and offer a midfield vantage point and fence protection from the competing rooting sections on either side. Only limited street parking is available, so most fans take mass transportation to the games.

Facilities Today

The state government—not the city government—of Rio de Janeiro still owns and operates Maracana Stadium, although an attempt to sell it to private parties was made in 1996. Maracana also hosts nonsporting events, including religious services, college entrance exams, and concerts.

Because of the dangers of overcrowding, the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the Union of European Football Association (UEFA) have stepped up stadium safety requirements. From 1962 to 1996 Maracana underwent renovations for safety measures, technological enhancements, FIFA regulations, and restoration. Because of these renovations, capacity has been reduced to 103,022.

The Future

Today soccer attendance at the stadium tops out at thirty thousand to fifty thousand per game. This range is a far cry from the club-attendance world record of 177,656 set in 1963, when local clubs Flamengo and Fluminense faced each other.

In 2002 controversial Brazilian Soccer Federation president Ricardo Teixeira proposed to raze Maracana

to build a more modern stadium to host the 2014 World Cup, but polls showed most soccer fans to be opposed to this proposal. Preserving the stadium in which Brazilian soccer star Pele scored his thousandth goal appears to be a matter of national identity.

In March 2003 FIFA awarded the 2014 World Cup competition to South America, and all ten South American nations voted Brazil as the continent’s only candidate to host it. Brazil holds the record for most World Cup victories with five yet has hosted the World Cup only once. If the residents of Rio have their way, 2014 will avenge the tragedy of the *maracanazo*, and Maracana Stadium will finally fulfill its destiny.

Julie Huffman

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Marathon and Distance Running

The marathon race has its origins in a story that merges history with legend. Although scholars have debated the factual content of the story, it has inspired both art and the modern race.

The story involves the exploits of a military messenger on the battlefields of ancient Greece. The first account of

**Lorraine Moller winning
the Avon Marathon in
Paris in 1984.**

this story appears in the ancient Greek historian Herodotus's *The Histories*. Writing in approximately 450 BCE, he told the story of the Battle of Marathon, which had taken place some forty years earlier. He told of the arrival on the plain of Marathon of the Persians, who came to conquer Athens. Greatly outnumbered, the Athenian generals sent a messenger named "Pheidippides" to Sparta to ask for troops with which to defend their land. Pheidippides ran to deliver his message, covering the 241 kilometers between Athens and Sparta in less than twenty-four hours. However, he returned without the required troops. The Spartans could send help only six days later, which would not be in time for the battle. This development forced the small Athenian army to fight with what they had. Their army, ten thousand men strong, crested the hills surrounding Marathon and literally ran into battle, surprising the Persians. The element of surprise resulted in Greek victory despite all odds.

The Syrian rhetorician Lucian took the story further and created the basis of the story that is most frequently quoted today. He described Pheidippides running once more, this time after the successful battle, from Marathon to Athens, to announce the Greek victory. According to Lucian, as soon as Pheidippides delivered his message, he dropped dead from exhaustion.

Whether the ancient runner of Marathon was legend or real is hardly material to the impact that his story has made on art and literature as well as on the development of the race during the nineteenth century and its appeal in the twenty-first century. The heroism of the runner who gave his life to deliver a message appealed to the imagination of the European Romantic movement (a literary, artistic, and philosophical movement originating in the eighteenth century) and its attachment to Greek glory. The English poets Lord Byron and Robert Browning both referred to the magic of Mara-



thon, with the latter paying tribute to Pheidippides in an ode by that name, referring to him as a noble messenger who "ran like fire." The French poet Armand Renaud referred to the soldier of Marathon: "he was but a soldier, one amongst thousands." Renaud's short elegy highlighted the noble humility of the simple runner who died happy with glory in his heart.

The re-creation of Pheidippides's exploits fascinated French grammarian Michel Breal, a member of the Institut de France and of the first French Olympic Committee. He offered a silver trophy to be awarded at the first modern Olympic Games in 1896 to the winner of a race to be run over the course of the legendary messenger.

Although some critics considered the modern Olympic movement in general, and Breal's gesture in particular, as debasing antiquity through the pretext of promoting it, the marathon was an appealing event in the eyes of the public. This appeal may have been because of the concurrent fascination with feats of pedestrianism, which had been staged since the mid-eighteenth century. This professional race walking or jogging attracted both athletes and spectators to events of up to 1,600 kilometers. These events pitted athletes against time or distance and resulted in increasingly amazing performances associated with large wagers and big crowds of spectators.

Olympics

The first Olympic marathon, on the other hand, provided the stage for an amateur endurance event and served as a catalyst for other long-distance running

events. The Boston Marathon, which is still run today, was first held in 1897, one year after the first modern Olympics in Athens. The distance of the early marathons was variable: Athens, 40 kilometers; Paris Olympic Marathon, 40.260 kilometers; and the 1908 London Marathon, 42.263. The imperial distance of 26 miles, 385 yards was arrived at by tailoring the race such that it could start at Windsor Castle and finish at the Royal Box in the Olympic stadium in England. The current race distance is 42.195 kilometers.

The first Olympic marathon winner was a Greek, Spiridon Louys, who finished in just under three hours, much to the delight of the fifty thousand spectators in the Olympic stadium. This victory was the first and only major victory for the home nation at the games and was further highlighted when eight more Greek runners were in the finishing field of nine.

In subsequent Olympic Games winners came from all corners of the globe. Ethiopia claims the greatest number of Olympic marathon victories with the victories of Abebe Bikila and his compatriot, Mamo Wolde, in 1960, 1964, and 2000. Their performances were commemorated by the performances of Fatuma Roba, winner of the women's marathon in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1996, and of Gezsaahagne Abera in the men's event of 2000. Bikila's 1960 performance was a landmark. Not only did his marathon victory give Africa its first gold medal, but also his race erased the Olympic record set by Emil Zatopek of Czechoslovakia in 1952 by almost eight minutes. Quite spectacularly, Bikila ran the entire race without shoes. He repeated his victory in 1964 despite having undergone an appendectomy only thirty-five days earlier and improved the Olympic time by three minutes. Twelve years would pass until his time would be erased by Waldemar Cierpinski of East Germany with 2 hours, 9 minutes, and 55 seconds. Bikila's winning time of 2 hours, 12 minutes, and 11 seconds would have placed him in the top ten of every Olympic marathon ever run and would have allowed him outright victory in all but five.

Ethiopia is not alone in producing multiple marathon champions. The United States has won three men's vic-

tories (1904, 1908, and 1972), as well as the first woman's marathon title, won by Joan Benoit Samuelson in 1984. French athletes also have won three times: 1900, 1928, and 1956. Countries to win two Olympic marathons include Finland, Argentina, Japan, Portugal, and East Germany.

Women's involvement in the marathon was slower to develop for a range of reasons. Pierre de Coubertin, president of the International Olympic Committee, like many people of his era, was not supportive of demonstrations of female exertion. The nineteenth-century approach to the health of middle-class women was to protect what was seen as innate feminine fragility. European middle-class women were confined to genteel recreation and demure in activity in order to protect their role as bearers of children. The restriction of activities resulted from a belief that women lose valuable energy through menstruation and childbirth and thus need to conserve a limited reserve of energy. Further, people were concerned not only for women and the depletion of their vital reserves, but also for their reproductive capacity, which, many people believed, could be damaged if women were overtaxed. Sport, hence, was a male preserve to a great extent.

Such logic was not applied across all classes, and whereas European middle-class women were involved in genteel activities that precluded sporting competitions, their working-class sisters participated in pedestrianism. Pedestrianism, although indeed a demonstration of physical prowess, was also, and perhaps predominantly, a commercial spectacle with wagers and financial gain at stake.

Marathon Women

However, one woman, if not two, was reported to have run in or about the 1896 Athens Olympics. According to a French-language newspaper, a woman named "Melpomene" ran from Marathon to Athens in a trial but was not permitted to start the race, and another woman, Stamata Revithi, ran the course the day after the Olympic event. Although almost a hundred years would pass before women could officially participate in

To give any less than your best is to sacrifice a gift. ■ STEVE PREFONTAINE

an Olympic marathon, their early efforts underscore the fact that in the minds of at least some women, long-distance running was neither incompatible with, nor detrimental to, womanhood.

The foray of women into long-distance running was hindered by the 1928 Olympics, where the women's 800-meter race was cautiously introduced and then immediately withdrawn as officials were dismayed by the state of exhaustion of the runners as they finished on a hot summer day. This race was not reintroduced until 1960. The 1,500-meter race was introduced in 1972, and no race longer than that was introduced until 1984—which was when the first Olympic women's marathon was run—when the 5,000-meter races and 10,000-meter races were added.

With long-distance races for women excluded from the Olympic program, the International Amateur Athletics Federation, the governing body for the sport, and its national affiliates did not sanction long-distance events, and women were confined to sprints and middle-distance races. However, a number of women participated unofficially in long-distance events. Among the most significant was Great Britain's Violet Piercy, who in 1926 covered the official marathon distance in 3 hours, 40 minutes, and 22 seconds on the Polytechnic Harrier's course. Over the years other women runners attacked the distance around the world. In 1963 U.S. runner Merry Lepper took three minutes off Piercy's time, running in the Culver City Marathon. One year later 800-meter and cross-country runner Millie Sampson of New Zealand was invited by her male clubmates to participate in a marathon to raise the profile of their running club. She set a world's best performance of 3 hours and 19 minutes.

However, another woman's performance was the most significant in the emergence of the women's marathon. Kathrine Switzer of the United States ran in the 1967 Boston Marathon, registered as "KV Switzer." When the race organizer realized that Switzer was a woman, he attempted to oust her physically. This attempt took place in front of a media truck, which recorded the attempt. Switzer finished the race, was exposed not only to the wrath of the Amateur Athletic

Union but also to the public gaze, and indeed caught their fancy. She went on to become one of the more effective advocates for the inclusion of women in long-distance running.

While U.S. women were discovering the running craze and fighting for their inclusion in long-distance running events, in Europe the German doctor and coach Ernst van Aaken was helping women to train for long-distance running events. He believed that women are physiologically well adapted to endurance running, and he led a number of young women, including Liane Winter, to world records. Winter set the world record for the marathon in 1975 with 2 hours, 42 minutes, and 24 seconds. Van Aaken also organized the first world championship for women, which demonstrated both the interest in and the quality of women's marathoning—an important prerequisite for Olympic inclusion.

The first Olympic marathon for women was the result of lobbying by a variety of proponents but most importantly by women marathoners themselves. The context of 1970s feminist awareness coincided with the jogging craze, and the juncture of these two elements resulted in the inclusion of the women's marathon on the Olympic program.

Jogging Craze

However important the Olympics may have been in the revival of the marathon as a modern sporting contest, the marathon, as well as other long-distance running events, does not owe its popularity to the Olympics alone.

The jogging craze of the 1970s has played an important role in the marathon and other long-distance running events. Although recreational sports have featured widely in health and social recommendations since the nineteenth century, during the second half of the twentieth century the idea of going for a long, slow run for physical, emotional, and social benefits emerged.

Numerous books about the benefits of long, slow running to general health and fitness were published. One of the earliest was written by the New Zealand coach Arthur Lydiard. His athletes included three



Marathon and Distance Running

Native American Running

The extraordinary speed and endurance of Native American runners is legendary. The following letter to the editor of the American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine in 1835 describes the role of long-distance running in the Osage nation.

A recent residence of a few weeks at the Osage Agency enabled me to procure some information relative to the manners and customs of the Osages; and I transmit for publication, should you deem the subject likely to interest your readers, some notes made at the time. . . .

To beg, is no disgrace; to be a dextrous thief is an honour. . . .

Their appreciation of theft, arises from the danger incurred and bravery displayed in stealing horses from their enemies. Two warriors once lurked about a town until they ascertained where the horses were kept, and selecting thirty or forty of the best, escaped with their prize. Horses are stolen by night, as their loss is always known at dawn of day, if not earlier, a few hours start only is obtained; and pursuit is made in great force for several days, until the property is recovered, or the pursuers approach so near the towns of their enemies, that they abandon it. A party may only capture horses enough to mount a portion of its members, for their expeditions are usually undertaken on foot, and then is evinced the extraordinary speed and endurance of the Osages; for knowing that pursuit will be made in overwhelming numbers, the cry is *sauve qui peut*, and those who have been so fortunate as to secure horses, think not of waiting for the pedestrians. These last, aware that if overtaken their doom is death, run until late at night, when exhausted nature requiring repose, they snatch three or four hours sleep, but start before day, and run until night again affords them a short and perilous slumber, and the parties (mounted and pedestrian) pass and repass each other until in safety. To run sixty miles between sunrise and sunset is not an uncommon performance; and four men are known, on one occasion, to have run seventy-five. Messieurs A. P. & P. L. Chonteau, in February 1832, when the nation was in council at the Saline, the residence of A. P. C. Esq., offered a wager to the Indian Commissioners, who had expressed some doubts of the relations of their performances, the losers to provide a feast for those

Osages present, that they could produce a runner, who should start from that place at sunrise with a letter, proceed to Fort Gibson—the distance estimated between forty and forty-five miles—and return with an answer before night. To attain this degree of speed, great practice is necessary, and in addition to the efforts made on their war, horse stealing, and hunting expeditions, they are frequently running with each other when in their towns, the distance about four miles. When different towns meet on their hunts, it is common for a match to be made between the best runner of each, a prize being offered and a day appointed, to allow time for preparation, the distance from four to ten miles. Great ambition is felt to be acknowledged the best runner of the town and nation; and no exertion spared to attain the distinction. At these meetings, the sports commence with the boys and girls of one town competing with their own sex in the other; and as the excitement increases, the men and women contend in the lists respectively, and the chiefs proclaim a day when each town will start its champion, and offer a prize as already mentioned. Each village supports its champion, and all bet; guns, horses, blankets, ornaments are staked, and not unfrequently, the breech-cloth of the man and the petticoat of the woman, are deposited, and the bettors await the result in a state of *nudity*. Horse races are also run, the distance from three to fifteen miles; and it has been remarked, that the band or town of White-hair, has generally proved victor, when the men contended; but the Big Hill band when horses were run. This system establishing beyond cavil, who are the best runners; these are selected to act as scouts and spies, and upon their reporting the vicinity of an enemy, their position and numbers, if the latter justify the attempt, the runners are sent as a decoy, to hover within two or three miles of the foe, until the latter give chase, when an ambush near their own camp having been formed, some eight or ten miles from that of the enemy, it being supposed that with such an advantage in the start, their runners can run that distance before being overtaken, even by horsemen; they surprise and slaughter the unsuspecting pursuers, if to save their runners they are not obliged to forego the surprise, and to hasten to their relief. . . .

Source: *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*. (1935, May).



Olympic medalists in the 1960 Rome Olympics over distances from 800 meters to the marathon. In 1961 Lydiard wrote *Run to the Top*, which stressed the need for cardiovascular fitness both for health and well-being and for competitive runners over all distances. In a way this book opened the door for people to use running as something other than just preparation for competition and performance, and during the period of social transformation of the 1960s and 1970s running emerged from its status as an elite sport to appeal to a wider public.

How-to books and popular magazines flooded the market, encouraging the euphoric benefits of exercise and advocating jogging as the means. In North America *Runners' World Magazine* hit the newsstands during the early 1970s, as did *Long Slow Distance* by George Henderson, *Jogging* by Bill Bowerman, and *The Complete Book of Running* by Jim Fixx. In Europe Ernst van Aaken wrote the *Van Aaken Method*, which focused on the benefits of running not only to aid athletes but also to prevent the “diseases of civilization.” Noel Tamini in Switzerland published the French-language magazine *Spiridon*, which introduced an attitude toward running that, although respectful of performance, touted the physiological, social, spiritual, and emotional benefits.

The ranks of competitive runners grew, but they also attempted to enunciate a clear distinction between running and jogging. However, runners and joggers often merged at popular long-distance events, running distances from 5 kilometers to the marathon. Running was a religion for some, and the “runner’s high” was lauded as something akin to a spiritual state.

The business world recognized a commercial market in running and runners. Running brought with it events to sponsor and shoes, clothing, and equipment to sell. Running is an effective marketing tool and is effectively marketed by corporations who use runners, their race numbers, and their T-shirts as the billboard for their goods and services.

Today, although competitive long-distance track events may have declining numbers, off-track competition, in the

form of road running, continues to gain in popularity. Although the arduous marathon was previously seen as the ultimate physical challenge, the entry of a wide range of running enthusiasts into the competitive arena transformed the marathon and other running events into less formidable challenges. Furthermore, the multiplication of other endurance events designed for a wide public, such as triathlon, ironman, and multisport events, means that completing a marathon no longer represents the same level of heroism that it did for Pheidippides.

The road race and the marathon also have become special events within the urban setting. Big cities all have their marathon or 10-kilometer road race: Boston, New York, London, Berlin, and Paris close their streets to automobile traffic and open them to foot traffic, with crowds lining the streets to applaud the performance of thousands of runners. Long-distance races have become festivals that celebrate a city or historical events. The Boston Marathon, for example, commemorates Paul Revere’s ride, and the London Marathon honors the special link that runners develop with the city. “For a day,” reads the London Marathon’s website, any runner can say that “London belongs to me!” As Pamela Cooper points out, “The city creates the marathon; the marathon serves the city” (Cooper 1998, 177). However, festivities go beyond a race itself. Merchandise expositions, pasta parties, and social affairs accompany most important road races.

These developments challenge the marathon and other long-distance running events as an institution. Although the number of participants in road running and marathon races continues to rise, this rise is not reflected in a rise in affiliation with the governing bodies of the sport in many Western countries. Contemporary preoccupation with thinness and health, rather than athletic performance, explains the numbers of people jogging down the streets of practically any town, and finishers’ medals and T-shirts motivate the racers more than does the victory podium.

Annemarie Jutel

See also Boston Marathon

Further Reading

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Marketing

The sport industry has, by tradition, been divided into for-profit and nonprofit sectors. The for-profit segment included commercial sporting goods operations, professional teams, resort and recreation centers, sports and fitness clubs, and the like. Nonprofit entities ranged from amateur sport organizations and school sport associations to civic and recreational sport. However, the last twenty-five years have brought a change to the sport industry. The line between for-profit and nonprofit has all but disappeared. The 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal was a watershed event in sports. Since its modern revival, the Olympics had been funded essentially by national governments and host cities. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) contributed funds from its television contracts, and international sport federations supported the holding of their events during the games. However, the enormous financial deficit generated from the 1976 games changed the playing field in sport. Sport organizations began to receive less government funding and were often required to generate more funds of their own. Although the trend started in North America, similar developments occurred around the world. Globally, sport organizations would need to either break even or turn a profit.

Given this phenomenon, scholars in sport management proposed a new paradigm for segmenting the sport industry that divided it on the basis of function rather than profit. One segment is the performance seg-

ment, which includes sports as offered to consumers—either as spectators or participants. Within this category are such activities as amateur and professional sport, fitness and recreational sport, and private member-supported sport (i.e., private sport clubs). A second segment in the sport industry is sport production. This segment encompasses products and services needed for the production of sports and sporting events. Sports equipment and apparel fall into this segment. In addition, the segment includes professionals working to produce sport; namely, coaches, trainers, officials, and sport governing organizations. Sport facilities are also classified as being part of this segment. The final segment addresses sport promotion. Within this segment would be sport media, sponsorship, endorsement, and promotional products and events.

Marketing 101

The basics of sport marketing reside substantially in the business discipline of marketing. Marketing has been defined as the utilization of a company's resources for the purpose of meeting a consumer need. The focus of marketing is therefore the consumer, not the product. Antiquated approaches to marketing typically focused on selling a product: a so-called product orientation of selling whatever it is that you make. A more contemporary approach is to examine what it is that consumers need and then produce products to meet those needs. Thus, contemporary marketing is predicated, not on the needs of the seller, but rather on the needs of the buyer.

Sport Marketing

Pitts and Stotlar (2002, 79) define sport marketing as "the process of designing and implementing activities for the production, pricing, promotion and distribution of a sport or sport business product to satisfy the needs or desires of consumers and to achieve the company's objectives." While it may seem simplistic to just add the word *sport* to existing definitions, there are several aspects of marketing in the sport industry that differentiate

it from standard business marketing. This is particularly true of marketing sports events.

Sports contests are, by their very nature, unpredictable. You never know the outcome ahead of time (this is why professional wrestling is now classified as entertainment as opposed to sport!). When you purchase a consumer good, you know exactly what you are getting. Not true in sport. You might attend a game that goes down in history as the best ever. On the other hand, it may be boring and uneventful. To further complicate the matter, sport is intangible. What constitutes a first-rate contest for one person may not be the same as it is for another. In recent years some fans have complained that Formula 1 racing is too predictable. Only a few teams have a real chance of winning, and at times the championship has been decided long before the schedule is complete. In contrast others may be satisfied with the fact that “their team” continues to show its superiority over all challengers.

Standard production for consumer products begins with manufacturing and follows a prescribed distribution process until the product reaches the consumer. Sports events have no distribution. They are produced and consumed at the same time. This also means that sports events are perishable; there is no shelf life. If tickets for the event are not sold today, there is no tomorrow.

Determining consumer behavior is also difficult in sport. Why do people go to fitness clubs? You might assume that they go to improve their level of fitness. However, some would argue that they might go to see and be seen socially. Why do consumers buy Nike golf balls? Is it because the product dynamics of the ball are

particularly suited to the their game? Or could it be that they just want to be like Tiger Woods?

Unlike most consumer products, sports events are dependent on social facilitation; they are consumed by people in groups. Few people would get together with a group of friends to go to the store and purchase an electric drill. Not so with sports. Friends congregate to follow their favorite team in the stadium, in front of the television, and in local sports bars. Collectively, these factors present unique sets of challenges for sport marketers. They also present extraordinary opportunities.

Sport events do not clearly fall into a category of product or service. Products have a physical presence, which customers can touch, feel, and see. They are produced, distributed, and then purchased. For example, a football is manufactured from raw materials, packaged, shipped to warehouses, trucked to retail stores, and then sold to consumers. Services, however, are intangible in that the consumer does not own anything. As with events, sport services are produced and consumed at the same time. Consumers purchase a tennis lesson that is produced at the club and delivered on request. There is often no chance to experience the service before it is purchased.



Modern sports facilities are venues for the marketing of all types of products.



The sport industry is dominated by services. Major service providers include health and fitness centers, sport clubs, professional and amateur sports teams, and stadiums and arenas. Judging the quality of a product is accomplished by examining the item and assessing its materials and performance characteristics. Evaluating service quality is more difficult. While there are some tangible aspects to service delivery in the physical facilities (i.e., colors, seat width, décor, ticket access), other aspects of service cannot be measured until the service is delivered. Research in the area has identified a range of elements that consumers use in assessing service quality. Reliability, responsiveness, and empathy are key elements. Reliability relates to the service performing in a dependable and accurate manner. Was the service provided at the agreed upon time? Did it measure up to expectations and industry standards for quality? Responsiveness comes through in the willingness of the service provider to help customers and pay prompt attention to their needs. We have become a world of immediate gratification. Consumers know what they want, and they want it now! They have little tolerance for standing in line or inattentive sales staff. Empathy or “caring” about the customer also affects consumer satisfaction. In today’s market there are plenty of choices for sport services, and if your organization does not show a sincere concern for the customer, the customer will go elsewhere. In the end customer satisfaction is based on the relationship between the consumer’s expectation and actual delivery.

The Sport Marketing Process

In the 1960s business leader and scholar E. Jerome McCarthy came up with the concept of the 4 Ps of marketing: *product*, *price*, *place*, and *promotion*. This concept formed the framework around which marketers discussed marketing processes for many decades. This paradigm is still relevant today, although some modifications to it are clearly evident. Sport marketers have also embraced this framework. A sport product includes actual products as well as services. Sport products include shoes, equipment, and clothing and meet con-

sumer needs within the designated group of customers. Sport organizations sell not only the “core” product, but also product extensions. These “extensions” include things like concessions and souvenirs as supplements to the basic product or service. For example, tennis centers often offer a “pro” shop where customers can purchase tubes of tennis balls. Most consumers would not make a special trip to the pro shop when the item could be purchased for less money elsewhere, but the item is a convenience for the customer and also makes a small profit for the tennis center. Sport stadiums also sell concession items for their fans. Again, this represents a convenience for the fans and a profit center to the stadium, but food service is not their main business.

Price is rather easily defined as the amount of money exchanged for the goods or services. Considerations include competitor’s prices, available discounts, and market share. The classic pricing theory is that of supply and demand. Demand orientation is directly focused on the strength of the market you wish to serve; the higher the demand, the higher the price. Golf courses charge more in green fees to play on the weekend than they charge for play during the week. Ski resorts set prices on “high” and “low” season. Many sports teams now engage in variable pricing: A premium is placed on games against popular or traditional rivals. Some teams are putting a selection of their best seats on the Internet for auction. For the 2002 Winter Olympic Games, sport managers auctioned some of their tickets on the Internet to help determine the price-demand ratio.

Place is the actual point of distribution of your product or service. Place could include retail outlets or the geographic location of a stadium or health club. The physical location of a sports entity cannot easily be changed. It can be redesigned and renovated, but it’s hard to move a stadium. The physical characteristics of the place also have an impact on consumers. U.S.-based adventure gear outfitter REI has constructed stores with climbing walls, cold rooms for customers to test sleeping bags and ski parkas, and rain rooms for trying out foul-weather gear. The importance of place is also evident in that some stadiums have a reputation that



transcends the team's. People have a strong emotional attachment to the place. Place also influences the perceived quality of the items purchased. Many top-of-the-line golf manufacturers will not allow their products to be sold through discount stores, preferring instead to sell only through pro shops.

In today's economy place can also be a "virtual," existing only on the World Wide Web. The Web is more than an electronic catalog; it represents the entire company to the consumer. The quality of the website, the ease of navigating the site, and the graphic design of the site all have an impact on the consumer. Once a purchase is made, the quality of the delivery service becomes the critical factor. Through the website, a company can also communicate more effectively with customers than it can through a catalog because a website facilitates interaction and builds a stronger relationship.

Some experts believe that individual consumers will soon be issuing RFPs (requests for proposals) just like the large industrial buyers. A customer can request price proposals on a new set of golf clubs from a variety of companies. Who will provide the best price for the newest set of Callaway golf clubs? Companies then e-mail the customer with their best offer. Another aspect of the Web that enhances marketing is the ability of the company to more easily customize the product. Consumers want products that meet their individual specifications and provide solutions to their needs, not mass-marketed products in the "one size fits all" mode. The tradition of "take it or leave it" is rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

Promotion involves getting your message about products and services to potential consumers. This can be achieved through publicity, advertising, or other means of communication. Sport marketers implement numerous promotional campaigns to gain attention and to send their message to consumers. Traditional means of advertising in newspapers, television, and radio are used, as well as recently developed communication channels on the Web. Sport teams are also famous for specialized promotions at the stadium. Events like "hat day" and "kids day" have had varying levels of

success across different sports and countries. Sport businesses do not operate in isolation. A variety of factors must be considered in the marketing process. Brenda Pitts, one of the leading scholars in the field, characterized the major factors into what she called the 4 Cs of sport marketing: *climate*, the economic, political, demand trends; *competitors*, identifying the main companies vying for the same customers; *company*, the specific strengths and weakness of your own organization; and *customers*, the detailed information about your target market, those customers most likely to buy your product.

The economic and political climates in which sport operates are constantly changing. Fluctuations in the world economy have a huge impact on sports. Sport products and services are not a human necessity, but they are based on discretionary income; that is, the money that is not required for basic needs like food, clothing, and shelter. During the worldwide economic problems of the late 1990s, many sports companies filed for bankruptcy, and others saw significant declines in revenues. Likewise, sports often lead an economic recovery, with more people buying new sports equipment and purchasing tickets to events. On the political side, new laws and regulations can affect sports tremendously. For instance, the ban on tobacco advertising in many nations has presented challenges for those sports that depended heavily on tobacco sponsorship.

Competitors exist for almost every sport team or organization. The competitor is not, as some would believe, the opponent that the team plays, but rather another business where consumers might choose to spend their discretionary money. Thus, for many sports, movies and concerts might be considered competitors. For the world's largest sport company, Nike, Adidas would certainly be a competitor. Therefore, it is important to study each competitor to determine the best marketing approach. Information is available from a variety of sources. If the competitor is a publicly held company, they most likely have to file an annual report for shareholders. This document can give a general idea of their success and future plans. In many segments of

the industry, there are also trade magazines that provide news and stories about the industry.

Examining your own company is also necessary. Analyzing the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats that affect your businesses is critical. Just as coaches assess players on a team, sport managers must take stock of their players and the resources available to the business and create a corporate “game plan.”

Customers constitute the lifeblood for any sport organization. Without customers there is no need for the company. From the macro perspective, customers can be viewed as a large, homogeneous group. With a micro view, sport marketers examine each specific user of the product or service. While neither situation presents the complete picture, the trend is toward a more individualized look at consumers. In both scenarios it is crucial for the sport marketer to get as much information about the consumer as possible. Information gathering can be done through either primary or secondary research. Primary research is conducted directly with customers, most typically through surveys and interviews. Secondary research is conducted by outside firms on general consumers in the market. For example, the data would assess football fans in general. The data might be similar to that of a local football club, but slight variances may also exist.

Once the sport marketer discovers the characteristics of the population such as age, gender, marital status, lifestyle, occupation, and earned income, marketing strategy can be tailored for the target audience. If the target market were twelve–eighteen-year-old children, strategies would be totally different than it would be for forty-five–fifty-five-year-old adults. Similarly, attempting to market yachts to lower-income individuals would be fruitless. The confluence of these factors drives the marketing process.

Current Practices in Sport Marketing

Marketing in sport centers around two distinct concepts. Marketing of sport and marketing through sport. Companies whose primary business is the delivery of a sport product or service are involved in marketing of

sport. However, there are many companies that use sport as a marketing vehicle for their nonsport products and services. This typically occurs through sponsorship.

MARKETING OF SPORT

The sport industry is huge. The industry in the United States was ranking it at \$213 billion, putting it among the top ten industries. In many countries sport is a significant contributor to the national economy. Categories included in the industry range from sporting goods sales to sport services. Other categories present somewhat of a paradox. Are the monies associated with a golf vacation attributable to the sport industry or the travel industry? Is the construction of a sports stadium contributing to the sport industry or the construction industry? If endorsement earnings are counted in the industry calculations is this double counting because the monies for the endorsement fees actually came from the sale of the sport product that was already counted? There are no clear answers to these issues, but they should be considered nonetheless.

There is no doubt that several global sports companies contribute greatly to the sport economy. Nike had \$10.6 billion in 2003 revenues, and Adidas was second with \$6.3 billion. Perhaps a look at Nike’s marketing plans for 2002–2004 can demonstrate current practice in the field.

As a multinational corporation Nike has a global brand plan. The specific details of the plan are closely guarded; however, the key concepts are relevant to understanding the topic of sport marketing. Nike desires to bring inspiration and innovation to every athlete in the world. The predominant characteristic of the company since its inception is to be authentic, focused on the performance needs of athletes. Secondary to this is the desire to be authentic in addressing the performance needs of active consumers. Nike is also driven by the need to innovate. Their goal is to make possible new levels of performance and to do the unexpected, taking the consumer someplace new.

The ultimate objective is to connect the brand with every consumer and to promote a sense of possibility

for every athlete. Nike wants to inspire their consumers to a better life and celebrate the power of sport and the joy of movement. The strategies for implementing these goals are directed through activities that drive the brand. Soccer (football), basketball, women's training, and running have been the mainstay of Nike marketing for decades. The future drivers are action sports because of their connection with youth. Nike sees the youth market as a principal source of synergy for the future, a group that will help direct the brand. Like most companies, Nike wants to create a dialogue and build long-term relationships with their core consumers. This brings forward a marketing concept that many sport and nonsport companies have embraced in recent years, relationship marketing.

Relationship Marketing

Relationship marketing focuses on the interaction between consumers and the company, not just the transaction. The goal is to identify, develop, and maintain an association with individual consumers and to constantly reinforce that relationship. This path is completely opposite of the one that traditional marketing took in the twentieth century. During most of that century, companies engaged in invasive marketing.

Consumers are exposed to thousands of advertising messages each day. U.S. data show that the average American is confronted with three thousand advertisements per day. Think of the advertising messages on TV, in newspapers, and on the Internet. Our lives are invaded by advertising. Are those messages effective? Do you pay attention? Advertising clutter is getting worse. Junk e-mail and pop-up banners occur too frequently to be noticed and have become meaningless "noise." In fact many consumers are annoyed, not motivated, by this form of advertising. In response, many organizations have begun to explore alternate methods to communicate with consumers. This creates a need to shift from interrupting consumers to developing relationships, from a focus on short-term profits to one of lifetime value.

The underlying theory of relationship marketing is that it costs less to retain existing customers than it does to secure new ones. Research has also shown that repeat customers develop higher loyalty and are more receptive to new product offerings and at the same time are less price sensitive. The airline industry was one of the first to operationalize this concept with their "frequent flyer" programs. Sport organizations have developed similar strategies. Many professional sport teams have developed "Frequent Fan Clubs" or "Fan Loyalty Programs." These programs typically reward sports fans for attending games, making purchases at concession stands, and buying team merchandise. The fans can earn and redeem the points for additional tickets, food, or merchandise. Many organizations also offer special opportunities, such as player autograph sessions or stadium tours, to club members.

Relationship marketing can assist in the utilization of a process called permission marketing. Permission marketing starts when the consumers give you permission to contact them, or when they contact your organization for product information. While this concept is not totally new, it has emerged with the growth of the Internet. In the past many sports teams would distribute "reply cards." These cards were to be completed by a consumer requesting more information about season tickets, merchandise, or the like. However, with the emergence of the Internet and data-based marketing, communication with customers has changed.

Using information collected via the database, sport corporations and sport organizations can introduce products and involve the consumer with the organization, leading them to the advocate and partner positions in relationship marketing. Sport marketers often send press releases to the media. It would be quite simple to add consumers and fans to the distribution list. Consumers could be advised of special offers, and fans could get the latest sports news, often before the general public. This process makes them feel very special and increases their identification with the team or company. Several examples exist in sport. Many professional base-



A pair of toddler basketball shoes.

Source: istockphoto/csrobles.

ball teams regularly send newsletters to their supporters via e-mail. The U.S. Olympic Committee sends special notices to their club members, with news stories and human-interest pieces on selected athletes and sports. Many of these stories would never be published in the regular newspaper because they have limited interest. However, because their “subscribers” have a special interest in Olympic sport, they enjoying receiving this information.

Sporting goods retailers also use permission marketing. Consumers receive discount coupons and advance notice of special sales. A good database can also match special merchandise with the historical purchasing habits of consumers. (One important thing to remember and respect is that the e-mail address belongs to the customer, not to the organization. It should not be sold, traded, or otherwise abused. If this is honored, permission marketing can be effective in maintaining a long-term relationship.)

Database marketing is predicated on obtaining quality information about customers. A good database will enable sport companies to easily identify their best customers and engage in meaningful dialog about their needs. Through this channel the company can conduct market research and increase marketing efficiency because they are better able to understanding the customer. Understanding the customer includes knowing his or her buying and consumption patterns, demographics, attitudes, interests, and opinions.

To begin the process of building a sport consumer database, a company needs to collect information from or about its consumers. Jon Spoelstra, former market director for the NBA New Jersey Nets, found that the ticket office had no records of previous seasons’ single-game ticket purchasers. The problem stemmed from the way the organization was handling ticket sales. If a customer called the office for ticket information, the sales staff simply took the caller’s information by writing it on an envelope. A

brochure was then placed in the envelope and mailed to the caller. Convenient and efficient, yes, but not effective. Spoelstra changed the way the orders were handled, having the sales staff enter the customer’s information into a database and then print an envelope with the address. Using this approach, the Nets captured important data from actual fans.

Many Nets tickets were also sold through electronic ticket broker Ticketmaster. At the end of each basketball season, Ticketmaster would purge their files. The Nets had never asked for the names, addresses, and contact information of the people who had purchased their tickets. Spoelstra asked Ticketmaster for the data and started building a comprehensive customer database for the Nets. Building a representative profile of customers through utilization of database marketing can help sport managers design strategies to access those consumers. These customers, the target market, constitute the group of people with defined characteristics that are most likely to buy the company’s product.

MARKETING THROUGH SPORT

Marketing through sport consist of nonsport companies using sport to attract and form a relationship with customers. This marketing approach typically occurs through sport sponsorship. Sponsorship is based on the mutual exchange between a sport organization and a corporation. In this exchange corporations are looking for exposure and revenues. Not coincidentally, the

If you aren't playing well, the game isn't as much fun. When that happens I tell myself just to go out and play as I did when I was a kid. ■ THOMAS J. WATSON

sport organization is often looking for the same. In many nations around the world, sport organizations have aggressively marketed themselves to sponsors in an effort to obtain the funds necessary to operate programs. In the United States, 2004 spending on sponsorship was estimated at \$11.14 billion. Several companies spent upward of \$100 million on sponsorship, including Pepsi (\$250–255 million), Anheuser-Busch (\$240–245 million), General Motors (\$185–190 million), and Coca-Cola (\$180–185 million). Sponsors in the United Kingdom were spending more than £1 billion annually on sport, and worldwide spending on sponsorship was estimated at US\$28 billion for 2004.

Cordiner defined sponsorship as “a business relationship between a provider of funds, resources, or services and an individual event or organization that in turn offers rights and association for commercial advantage” (Cordiner 2002, 14). Sponsorship is not, therefore, philanthropy. Sponsorships have to perform on the same basis as other business decisions in their ability to match the right demographic and psychographic targets, reach the appropriate decision makers, and ultimately help sell product or services. These sponsoring corporations are interested in marketing their products and services to potential customers. If sport can provide a vehicle for this endeavor, then a successful relationship can be established.

Current research in the sponsorship industry has shown that market-driven objectives such as corporate awareness and product sales ranked as the primary criteria. For some corporations awareness is a key objective. With the expansion of markets in the global economy, gaining awareness can be difficult. However, with the extensive reach of sport, the task becomes easier. Sponsorship of soccer's (football's) 2002 World Cup cost each company \$43 million. What did official sponsors and suppliers of the World Cup hope to get? Not just exposure in front of 2.5 million ticket holders, but exposure to the 36 billion cumulative television viewers around the globe. Similarly, American package shipping company UPS used sponsorship of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games to launch its worldwide deliv-

ery system. Coors Brewing Company (USA) Field Marketing Director Steve Saunders summed up the sales objective rather clearly when he addressed a meeting of professional sport team marketers asking the question, “Does it sell beer?” He continued to say that too often sport marketers approach the Coors company with a sponsorship proposal and never address the question of how the relationship will help the company accomplish its primary objective.

Another prominent objective that sponsors seek is hospitality. Corporations need places and events to entertain potential clients and enhance business-to-business (B2B) relationships. Sport settings provide a great atmosphere for building relationships with prospective clients. The large sporting events provide facilities for sponsors to entertain their guests, access to the best tickets, and an environment in which they can enjoy the event with all the luxuries imaginable. Companies like UPS, which sponsors NASCAR racing in the United States, tracks the clients who attended their hospitality events to see if their use of UPS shipping increases over previous levels. Olympic sponsors like credit card company VISA have seen dramatic increases in card preference through their sponsorship of sport. Since the initiation of their Olympic sponsorship in 1988, VISA's share of the market has increased from 40 percent to 65 percent. During the same period, American Express, which had dropped out of Olympic sponsorship in 1984, saw their market share decline from 21 percent to 9 percent. In a \$1.3 trillion industry, even small increases in market share can be meaningful. The gains realized by VISA certainly provide a return on their \$65 million Olympic sponsorship fee. This win-win relationship means that sponsoring companies can get a positive return on their investment, and at the same time the sport organization can increase revenues.

The Future

It seems that relationship marketing will continue to grow as corporations find ways to learn more about their customers and interact with them in meaningful ways. Customers have shown that they will reward com-

panies that truly care about them with increased loyalty and higher levels of spending. The next wave in sport marketing has been termed by some as *experience marketing*. Experience marketing is predicated on creating memorable experiences for customers. With a multitude of purchasing options, many believe that the only way to retain market share is to provide exemplary services and high-quality products. However, most marketers would agree that superior products and services are only part of the marketing process. Building long-term relationships will create the lasting and loyal customers that every organization wants and needs.

Technology has revolutionized every aspect of our lives. Sport is no different. The days of buying a scorecard at the baseball stadium and writing in the names of the players are over. In the summer of 2001, the MLB San Francisco Giants installed “palm-beaming stations” around the stadium. Via infrared beams, fans could download game information, player biographies, game statistics, and even the current weather forecast. Fans could also rent wireless computers that enabled them to select a variety of camera angles, pick replays, and even order food to be delivered to their seats. The future is sure to hold even more amazing breakthroughs for the sports fan.

Technology has also had an impact on the way tickets are sold. The tradition of walking up to the ticket window and purchasing a ticket is gone. Even online ordering that results in mailed delivery of tickets will soon be history. Customers of the more technologically advanced stadiums can obtain their tickets electronically and then print out a bar-coded paper ticket to be scanned on entry at the stadium. Tickets can even be e-mailed to friends on any number of mobile wireless devices. These developments have also pushed the development of a secondary ticket market. Holders of high-demand tickets can easily transfer tickets to the highest bidder in an online auction. Some sport teams actually sponsor such sites for their season ticket holders (for a small fee, of course).

Trends in sponsorship are rapidly moving to a focus on market-based objectives and return on investment (ROI). Sponsors are looking for sport to communicate

with their customers and solidify their brand. Unfortunately, sport, which is quickly becoming overly dependent on sponsor revenues, seems to have created a more cluttered environment. Historically, companies came to sport because it was less cluttered than traditional advertising. However, today, the spectrum of title sponsor, presenting sponsor, official supplier, and so on is making the sport environment less attractive to sponsors. Storm clouds could be forming as many sponsors are poised to move to arts and entertainment sponsorships.

Yet the sport industry is expected to continue to grow modestly over the next decade. Sport executives will certainly continue to find new and innovative marketing strategies to communicate with their consumers. With advances in technology, company databases will improve marketing efforts and facilitate more interaction between the company and the consumer. Relationship marketing will replace traditional marketing efforts, creating a shift from transactions to relationships and a focus on lifetime value rather than short-term profits. Nonsport companies will continue to use sport to market their products through sponsorship. This tie to the sport demographic and the transmission of the sport image to corporate products is both powerful and profitable.

David K. Stotlar

See also Commodification and Commercialization; Facilities Naming Rights; Sponsorship; Sporting Goods Industry

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Martial Arts

See Aikido; Judo; Jujitsu; Kendo; Mixed Martial Arts; Naginata; Silat; Taekwando; Tai Chi; Wushu

Mascots

Team mascots are a mainstay of modern sport. It is hard to imagine athletic events without them. Nevertheless, one could argue that the use of mascots in connection with team sports is a relatively recent, American phenomenon. Team sports have a history that dates back to the era of the world's earliest urban states, yet we have no clear evidence of mascots being used by athletic teams as they are today until the nineteenth century.

However, the idea underlying the concept of mascot has its roots in the depths of the human psyche and in the efforts of early humans to extend kinship identities beyond families and lineages. As bands grew in size over time into tribes and chiefdoms, societies expanded beyond the boundaries of extended family units. In order to extend the regularities of kinship across greater numbers of people, the clan (from the Gaelic, *clann*, meaning family, stock, or offspring) evolved. The clan functioned to project the rules and framework of kinship onto the larger group, providing a family-like structure to that group, helping to regulate marriage, define economic relationships, and employ the myth of common ancestry to bond the group together. Clans were defined and set apart from each other by their respective icons: animals, other living things, natural phe-

nomena, or inanimate objects that symbolized the common ancestor of the membership. These icons are what have become known as “totems,” the word coming from the Algonquian language as in Ojibway *ototeman* or Cree *ototema* (meaning “his relations”).

Thus, members of the Bear clan would think of themselves as descended from the bear, either literally or figuratively, and would reserve special respect for the bear. The bear symbolized the collective identity of the group, much as the mascot symbolizes the community of players and fans of a particular athletic team (e.g., the Chicago Bears). Thus, in many ways, the mascot as it is used by athletic teams and organizations today is a modern totem.

With the rise of the urban state and the emergence of dynastic governments, beginning some 6,000 years ago, it is likely that the symbols identifying kin groups in prestate societies were transformed into flags, crests, and other icons that represented the state or subgroups within the state. These symbols of community became not only tools for creating a sense of political unity among the diversity of peoples governed by the state, but also motivators on the battlefield and symbols designed to bring good luck and ultimately victory. Dynastic states were dependent on their military prowess, and flags, platoon names, and the identification of the troops with ferocious beasts (e.g., the lion) were important to troop camaraderie, morale, and will to fight. Again, these symbols functioned in much the same way as today's mascots.

This tradition has survived over the years and into the twenty-first century. The Roman armies marched under their eagle symbol. English troops refer to themselves as the bulldog breed, often using the lion and bear as heraldic symbols. Among the Australians, one of its armies has traditionally used the Bengal tiger as a mascot, and its ships often have mascots (e.g., black panther). These practices remain common throughout the world of modern warfare.

“Mascot” is historically understood as though it were limited to the use of magic. The word is defined by Webster as “any person, animal, or thing supposed to bring



Mascots

The Perennial Fight Song

Substitute any mascot or team name that has two syllables—be it “Titans,” “Bulldogs,” or “Tigers”—to create a version of this fight song that has been used by campers, pep squads, and cheerleaders for decades.

Everywhere we go,
 People wanna' know
 Who we are, and so we tell them:
 We are the Cougars,
 Mighty, mighty Cougars
 C-O-U-G-A-R-S
 Gooooo Cougars!

good luck by being present.” The term has its roots in the French *mascottie* and Provencal *mascot*, a derivative of *masco*, meaning sorcerer. The word was initially used to refer to “something that brought luck to a household” (Mascot 2002–2003). A mascot can be both an abstract icon and a real incarnation. In other words, an institution may use the Great Dane as its mascot and actually have a Great Dane or someone who dresses up like a Great Dane and brings the icon to life.

The term “mascot” was popularized in the late nineteenth century by a French composer named Edmund Audran, who wrote a popular operetta called *La Mascotte* (1880). Audran’s operetta featured a farm girl who brought luck to whoever possessed her, as long as she remained virtuous. The title was translated into English as *The Mascot*, and from that title emerged the notion of a mascot as something that brings luck. The sport mascot is, however, more than simply an instrument for the bringing of good luck. The fact that mascots are generally associated with team rather than individual sports gives credibility to this assumption. Mascot is a plural not a singular phenomenon. Tennis players, Olympic track stars, and golfers may use magic and identify with some totem-like symbol, but to refer to them by using that symbol would seem to most to be ridiculous. Calling Jack Nicholas the “Bear,” for example, is not the same thing as referring to Mike Ditka as a “Chicago

Bear.” Sport itself is an ancient institution, dating back to the early stages of human history and perhaps even further into the prehistoric period. And even though it is likely that a wide variety of symbols have been used over the centuries to unite, inspire, and bring good luck to teams competing in athletic contests, there is little evidence to document the explicit use of mascots, as the term is currently used, as icons or symbols of particular teams. It is likely that the first explicit association of mascots with athletic teams occurred in the late 1800s. According to Elder (2003, 20), “Yale claims to have been the first U.S. college to adopt a mascot.” Handsome Dan was a bulldog that a Yale student bought from a blacksmith and donated to the university. The bulldog remains today both a symbol of Yale sports and an incarnation of that symbol. The practice has since become commonplace across the world of amateur and professional sport in America and is gradually spreading to other parts of the globe as American sports grow in popularity.

Sport Mascots Today

Mascots today are integral components of schools, colleges, universities, and professional teams. Indeed, many American educational institutions are known almost as much by their mascot as they are by the name of the school itself (e.g., Notre Dame or the Fighting Irish). For the most part, the mascots fall within a fairly narrow range of animals, natural phenomena, and ethnic terms, but there are the deliberately unusual mascots (e.g., the Banana Slugs of the University of California–Santa Cruz or the Artichokes of Scottsdale [Arizona] Community College). According to a survey of over 2,000 colleges and universities conducted in the early 1980s, the most popular mascot was the eagle (72). Not far behind was the tiger (68), followed by the cougar, bulldog, warrior, lion, panther, Indian, wildcat, and bear. For many colleges and universities with large athletic programs and budgets, the mascot is important to image, marketing, ticket sales, alumni giving, and other sport-related revenue streams. Certainly this is the case for America’s professional team sports. Mascots

are fundamental to the bottom line, and the selling of the team is virtually the selling of the mascot. The more fans identify with the mascot, the more team memorabilia (caps, T-shirts, windbreakers, sweatshirts) they will buy and the more likely they are to buy tickets or tune into the games on their television or radio sets, even if their Cowboys, Knicks, or Red Sox are suffering through a losing season. Also, as America's professional athletic teams have become more mobile, migrating from one city to another in pursuit of more fans, bigger markets, tax breaks, and larger profits, the mascot has become increasingly important. Even for those teams whose owners have resisted the urge to move, placing as much emphasis on the mascot as on the place has the potential for widening fan support. For example, for many, it may be easier to feel an attachment to the Colts than to Indianapolis.

The symbolic importance of the mascot is witnessed to in the way they contextualize the game and instill it with a meaning that extends well beyond the contest taking place on the field. Consider the significance of the annual competitions between the Dallas Cowboys and the Washington Redskins. It is a clash of symbols that reach deep into the roots of American history. For the Cowboy fan, the Washington team represents the savagery, cunning, and trickery of the stereotypical Indian brave of the mid-nineteenth century. On the other hand, "the Dallas mascot, the cowboy, symbolizes rugged individualism and courage. He is a repository of the virtues that the team itself embodied—or so it sought to suggest to the public, styling itself 'America's Team'." (Mandelbaum 2004, 187).

Europe does not have or does not use mascots to the extent they are used in the United States. Schoolboy sports are generally not as ubiquitous in European countries as in America. Often, there are symbols of collective identification other than mascots that unite and inspire their athletic teams. For example, most of England's professional soccer clubs are known by their place names more than by their mascot. And when there are nicknames they are often the result of convenience. For example, the Leeds United are known as

the Whites because traditionally they have worn white uniforms. The Sheffield Wednesday team is so named because that was for years the day of its team practice. Certainly European sports teams use mascots. But they are more likely to be based in superstition and seen as sources of good luck. One reason for the prominent role of the mascot in American sports is the organized cheering, celebrating, and entertaining that surround athletic events in the United States. European sporting events do not include formal cheerleaders, bands, halftime entertainment, and the other ceremonial accouterments that characterize the American ball game. This is why, "to the puritan, the American soccer match looks like a musical spectacular, with interval for a little sport" (Morris 1981, 28). The mascot, as it is known in American sport circles, may be a response to a need not as evident in European sport. Frequently in Europe, rivalries between teams are rivalries between communities that go back for decades if not centuries. In other cases, teams identify with ideologies. For example, one of the roughest soccer rivalries in Europe is that between two Scottish teams: the Celtic versus the Ranger. The former is Protestant and the latter Catholic. Up until recently, the two teams only recruited members of their own respective faiths. Perhaps the unifying power of ideology and longer history eliminates the need for the American mascot model. Because of the ethnic diversity and geographic mobility of the people of the United States, its use of mascots may be viewed as a substitute for that built-in sense of identity and belonging that characterizes European sport. This may be why Americans tend to take their mascots much more seriously than do the Europeans, who "frequently treat their mascots almost as a joke" (Morris 1981, 86). However, as American professional sports become more global, they are exporting not only the sport but also the mascot. For example, the relatively new European National Football League sports a rather jazzy list of mascot names, including the Fire, Galaxy, and Thunder. Also, mascots have become part of the Japanese baseball phenomenon (e.g., Hanshin Tigers, Osaka Kintetsu Buffaloes) and are finding their way into other areas of the globe.



The Boston Red Sox mascot with a fan.

names project a violent and demeaning stereotype of Native Americans, but that they “promote an oversimplified . . . image of a vastly diverse people” (Putnam 1999, 197). From another perspective, Native American mascots “perpetuate inappropriate, inaccurate, and harmful understandings of living people, their cultures, and their histories” (King and Springwood 2001, 7). Despite the inherent problems, controversy, and many court challenges, Indian

Mascot Controversies

Perhaps the most written-about and discussed sport mascot issue is that having to do with the use of Native American images and stereotypes as team names. Of the 143 teams among the ranks of America’s major league sports, six have “Indian” mascots (Redskins, Indians, Braves). Among the college and university ranks, just under 5 percent of the institutions with athletic programs use such images as mascots. This figure is declining as schools (e.g., Stanford, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, Miami University of Ohio, Adams State College, Montclair State) choose to change mascots in recognition of the problems inherent in what many view as offensive to the Native American community.

It is interesting that, with few exceptions (e.g., Celtics, Irish, Swedes), American teams with ethnic name mascots use Native American images. Why have Native American peoples been singled out to serve as icons for schools, colleges, universities, clubs, and professional teams across the country? As one writer puts it: “Why would it be socially repugnant to name a team the ‘New York Negroes’ but not to name one the ‘Cleveland Indians’? Worse yet, could there be a team named the ‘New York Niggers’? Isn’t that just the racial equivalent of the ‘Washington Redskins’?” (Pace 1994, 7). One writer suggests that the problem is not only that such mascot

names, themes, and images remain the most frequent and popular mascots for American schools, colleges, and universities. The University of Illinois and its Illini have been the target of many protests, yet its board continues to defend the mascot and the antics of Chief Illiniwek. The Cleveland Indians continue to defend their mascot and their Chief Wahoo, arguing that the use of the Native American images is an effort to “perpetuate the memory and legacy of [Louis Francis] Sockalexis,” a Native American who played for Cleveland back at the beginning of the twentieth century (Staurowsky 2001, 86). And it appears that the majority of Americans remain comfortable with the Washington professional football team calling itself the Redskins. In response to two surveys conducted in 1992, 80.6 percent of those surveyed in Washington were opposed to their NFL team, the Redskins, changing its name. An even greater percent (88 percent) of those surveyed nationwide were likewise opposed to changing the controversial mascot name. The reasons given for selecting Native American images as mascots for athletic teams are many and varied. In some cases (e.g., Cleveland Indians), it is argued that the images celebrate a particular Native American. In others, teams claim the mascots were chosen to honor Native Americans in general and highlight their strengths and virtues as brave, tenacious, and strong. Some will



also admit that when they think of Indians they think of ferocious, fearsome, and violent warriors, the virtues appropriate to sports such as football and hockey.

On the other hand, scholars tend to see more subtle and less noble intentions underlying this phenomenon. For example, it has been suggested that the use of Native American mascots is a ritual reenactment of the hunt, when white settlers were the hunters and the Indians the hunted. The Native American sport mascot is thus a trophy of that hunt and the ritual of the sport itself, which provides a context for that hunt, only perpetuates the myth of the Indian as “hunted.” In a related vein, the Native American sport mascots may be seen as springing from a nostalgia for that time when the invading Europeans looked upon the aboriginals of the Western Hemisphere as savages, albeit noble savages. The appropriation of Native American stereotypes as mascots serves to legitimate “the process of civilization” that led to the virtual annihilation of the vast majority of aboriginal populations (Slowikowski 1993, 25).

Whatever the explanation for their use and regardless of how offensive some might feel they are, Native American mascots are still a dominant component in American sport life. And the protests and challenges have become likewise a dominant theme in the discussion about sport. A variety of Native American organizations with support from other human rights groups have attempted to force institutions with mascots that are offensive to Native peoples to see the error of their ways and find new mascots. To date, the courts have been reluctant to act on behalf of these challenges, citing the lack of sufficient legal grounds. Native American icons are not the only team sport mascots that have created controversy. For at least three decades, there has been public pressure on Middle Tennessee State University to change its mascot from the Blue Raiders to a less politically loaded symbol. The Blue Raiders were troops under Nathan Bedford Forrest’s command, and it is generally assumed that Forrest was the person most responsible for the creation of the Ku Klux Klan. Middle Tennessee State University has a student body that is

12 percent African-American and is under a court order to increase that percentage as well as hire more faculty and staff of color. To date, the conservative voices on the campus and in the community have prevailed. Middle Tennessee State University is still the Blue Raiders. The mascot at Valley College of Imperial Valley, in California, is the Arabs. The story is told of the Valley College football team traveling to Las Vegas for a game in the fall of 1981. They had put a sign on the bus that read “The Arabs are Coming.” Unfortunately, this occurred in the midst of the oil crisis and many were not the least bit amused. Despite the controversy and the portrayal of the “Fighting Arabs” as cunning, ferocious, and somewhat sinister, the college continues to call itself the Arabs. Another social issue that is discussed more in academic circles than in the courts is the tendency for sport team mascots to be male, even though today there are almost as many women as men participating in formal athletic programs. Historically, sport team mascots have consistently been conceptualized as male. For example, it’s always the Rams, never the Ewes; the Bulls, not the Cows; or the Stallions, never the Mares. Most high schools, colleges, and universities have taken the easy way out on this by simply ignoring the gender implications of the name or by putting the gender descriptor “Lady” in front of the mascot name (e.g., Lady Vols, Lady Saints, Lady Skyhawks, etc.).

Perspectives

Mascots have become an integral part of American sports and as the latter continue to proliferate around the globe they are gaining footholds in many other areas of the developed world. They can be seen as the exporting of American culture, a topic that deserves further research. While the term *mascot*, from a technical perspective, refers to the effort to bring good luck, it also has become synonymous with team spirit and sense of community. And though sometimes controversial, they inspire, energize, and motivate. They also help to sustain a massive sport memorabilia market. But, perhaps most important, mascots are the

When I was playing I never wished I was doing anything else. I think being a professional athlete is the finest thing a man can do. ■ BOB GIBSON

modern-day totems of athletic programs, both professional and amateur.

Kendall Blanchard

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Masculinity

Modern sports emerged in the early to mid-1800s with the advent of industrialization and urbanization. They developed at a time when gender relations, along with many other social relations, were in a

state of flux. Industrialization radically changed work and family life; this meant significant shifts in gender roles. Maintaining traditional power relations across the social hierarchy required ideologies to be adjusted and reinvigorated to accommodate these changes (Crosset 1990; Gorn and Goldstein 1993; Kimmel 1990). Moreover, ideologies of social mobility began to make it imperative that men demonstrate a new type of powerful masculinity. Modern sports provided a forum in which to reassert and redefine hegemonic masculinity, the most powerful form of masculinity (Connell 1987, 1995), as distinguished from femininity and subordinated masculinities (Crosset 1990, Gorn and Goldstein 1993, Kimmel 1990). As a result, initially, sports were presumed to promote the best of masculinity. Sport would impart the virtues of hard work, loyalty, perseverance and leadership to young men. Yet, it was not every man who would learn leadership through sports; while middle- and upper-class racially privileged young men would be trained to lead, sports were also viewed as a way to inculcate obedience and loyalty in a different group of young men, those expected to follow.

Sports and Social Relations

At the same time, new social relations by gender required retaining and re-creating social distinctions. Fears of social feminization fueled a quest for sufficiently “masculine” activities for boys. School and a prolonged adolescence altered traditional patterns of masculine indoctrinations to work, and increasingly boys were cared for and taught primarily by women (Gorn and Goldstein 1993). Sports became a way to teach boys “how to be men.” It also became a way to assimilate the increasing number of arriving immigrants. Sports could be learned regardless of mastery of the language, and they provided a forum in which boys could learn the norms of the dominant culture. Sporting leagues thus became a key forum in which masculinity could be learned, enacted, and valorized. As a ritual of social display, venues provided a forum in which some men could “prove” or demonstrate the



Masculinity

Masculinity through Soccer in Brazil

Football [soccer] is a primary site for the construction of a vigorous male gender across Brazil. Every boy child is likely to play football on the street (or is expected to). In the Baixa such games are ubiquitous. Many young men there dream of becoming professional footballers (at least one has succeeded) though it is more likely that they play the weekend variety. In Bahia this is known as *bába* football. Amateur teams formed on a neighbourhood basis establish claims to particular open spaces to play on weekends. The game is organized according to specific rules, adapted to the limited area and accidental terrain of the pitches, and allowing for the rapid changeover of teams and players necessary to accommodate all players. These rules are normally manipulated shamelessly by the dominant men in the teams. Violence, especially against subordinates or outsiders, may occur (Bacelar 1991). Local groups may attack outsiders to preserve their access to the space, or fights break out over the results of matches. Women are not welcome in this milieu, though they are a constant verbal presence in the jokes and boasts of players (Bacelar 1991). Players shout out insults to their opponents, using perjorative sexual comparisons questioning their masculinity. Altogether, *bába* football is the site of an intensive construction of a virile street machismo distinct from the domestic manhood of family life (and therefore I suppose,

also constructive of it). This is experienced during the game, at moments of victory, when a goal is scored, as a kind of personal transcendence (Bacelar 1991). In Bacelar's study, losers are like homosexuals, those "done to"; winners are "real men" . . . And they too may achieve dominance by rule-bending and violence (*sacanagem*) as well as physical prowess and skill.

Despite the important differences between local *bába* football, club football and international matches, the function of constructing a conquering masculinity (whether this is openly sexualized or not) remains an important common denominator. Women too may construct national identity through talk constituting masculinity. Although "football heroes" are male, women partake in the transcendent emotions that embody football nationalism. Thus, in this context, national identity is dependent on the realization of male potential—for all the spectators to really feel Brazilian, the team must win. Players or spectators of *bába* football understand such wins in terms of their own experience, so it seems fair to suppose that the sexualization and aggression of *bába* does not necessarily shape women's involvement. In this sense, there could be fundamental differences between men's and women's (or football-players' and non-players') relationships to the nation as constituted by football.

Source: McCallum, C. (1996). Resisting Brazil: perspectives on local nationalisms in Salvador da Bahia. *Ethos* 61, 3. 223–224.

physical superiority of all men over women and hegemonic men over marginalized men. The exclusion of women and subordinated men from reputable and venerated venues maintained this fiction. For example, the first modern Olympic Games held in Athens, Greece, in 1896 excluded women altogether. (Even today, there are fewer Olympic events for women than men, even when gender neutral sports are included; for example, the equestrian events).

At the same time, because sports codified social relations, it provided a context for resistance. Sports became a way for subordinated men to challenge their status by challenging ideologies of physical inferiority. During the nadir of race relations in the United States, between 1890 and 1920, ideologies of racial superiority rested on the "science" of eugenics. Eugenics argued that racial differences could be measured and quantified. Differences in things like skull size could then be used to



Masculinity

The Competitive Spirit 1912

Now, what are athletics and how are women affected by them? An athlete is one who contends against another for a victory; athletics are the events in which one contends. A gymnasium is a place for the performance of athletic exercises; a gymnast is a person who trains athletes, and gymnastics are the exercises practiced in the gymnasium for the purpose of putting one's self in proper condition for competing in the athletic contests. In our times the terms athletics, gymnastics and physical training are often used synonymously, while actually they are not alike and may bring about very different results.

If a schoolgirl practices jumping a bar with other girls, as one of the physical exercises prescribed for general development, she is engaging in gymnastics. If, however, the bar is jumped with the purpose of finding out which girl can clear the bar at the greatest height the performance becomes an athletic one.

In the first instance the exercise would be undertaken as a means of physical improvement for its own sake. In the second instance, if the spirit of emulation ran high the girls would be engaging in a course of special physical training, not primarily to benefit themselves physically, but for the set purpose of improving their jumping powers so as to vanquish their nearest competitor.

This distinction, that gymnastics are pursued as a means to an end, and athletics as an end in themselves, would apply equally well to such forms of exercise as walking, running, vaulting, swimming and skating, which may be measured in time or space and thus be made competitive. The element of competition and "sport" must, therefore, enter into what we now term athletics.

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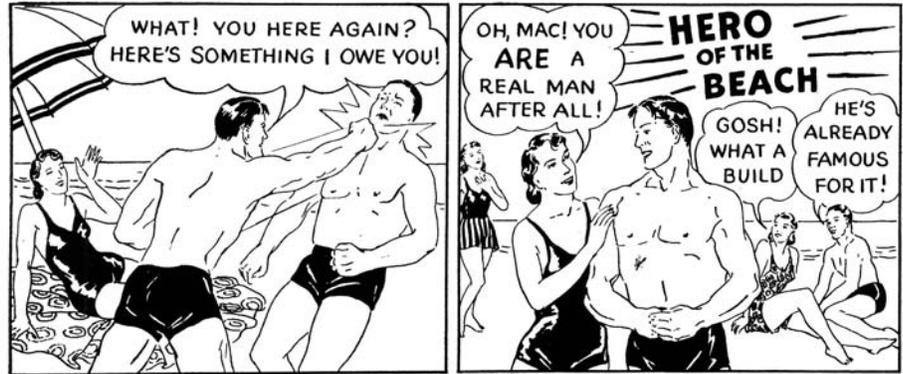
justify ideologies that argued that subordinated men were less able in every respect. The success of some early sports heroes challenged racial classification. For example, race riots broke out after the first of the great white hopes and former world champion, Jim Jeffries, came out of retirement only to lose a boxing match to the then world champion, Jack Johnson, in 1910. The ensuing and continuing success of marginalized men in the world of sports effectively destroyed dominant ideologies of physical inferiority. (Ideologies of mental inferiority have to some extent remained as demonstrated in the underrepresentation of people of color in key coaching and administrative positions throughout the sports world, though over time improvement has been seen.)

The Cost of Gender "Superiority"

Despite a wide range in overlap in abilities both within and between the sexes, the belief that men are physically superior to women remains salient and guides attitudes and ideologies (Dowling 2000). However, sports schol-

ars point out that holding on to this belief comes at a cost. Sports promote a version of masculinity that includes a number of physical and emotional costs. The level of violence men are asked to endure, as well as rampant misogyny, homophobia, and racism remain significant problems and are related to and reinforced by the specific type of masculinity many modern sports promote (Messner 1990). In terms of the costs to men, most hegemonic sports encourage athletes to ignore and play through injuries, risking additional injury and permanent disability. Further, many sports have a high level of risk built in. Not surprisingly, those participating in high-risk sports are disproportionately working-class and/or nonwhite men. The rampant use of performance-enhancing substances exposes athletes to further risks, physical, legal, and financial. Moreover, as athletic icons of masculinity become ever bigger, stronger, and faster, a host of pathologies emerge in men. Pope et al. (2000) have identified an increasing trend among men, similar to anorexia—willingness to go to unhealthy extremes to gain physical size in an attempt to meet current ideals.

These panels from an advertisement for Charles Atlas's book on muscle building show a point of view common in the 1960s.



Finally, as the work of the sociologist Michael Messner (1990, 1992) points out, the misogyny and homophobia that emerges as tied to masculinity and as part of rituals of masculine bonding (e.g., locker room jokes) remains problematic on a number of levels.

Faye Linda Wachs

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Masters

The Masters Tournament, first played in 1934, is the most recently established of golf's four major championships and the only one that is always played on the same course: Augusta National Golf Club in Georgia.

Building the Course

When the U.S. amateur Bobby Jones (1902–1971) retired from serious competitive golf in 1930, he turned to his ambition of building a golf course. He and his friend Clifford Roberts (1894–1977), an investment banker, agreed that the course should be in the vicinity of Augusta, Georgia, and before long a suitable 147-hectare property called “Fruitlands Nurseries” became available and was purchased. Dr. Alister Mackenzie (1870–1934) of Scotland was employed as course architect, construction began in 1931, and the course was completed by the end of 1932. The course's origins as a nursery explain the presence of many trees and other plants that were imported from abroad, including the magnolias and azaleas for which the course is famous.

Augusta National is hilly, and Jones aimed to create a course that made the fullest use of the natural terrain and did not rely on deep rough and innumerable bunkers to make it challenging. Good strategy is paramount in playing the course successfully, and many holes can be played in several ways; the taking of risks is rewarded or punished, depending on the quality of the shots played. The greens are fast and true but also large and undulating; the golfer whose approach shot finishes far from the hole is likely to take three putts or even more.

Tournament

Jones and Roberts wanted to help golf by hosting a tournament at Augusta, and they decided to hold an annual event, with participation by invitation only, starting in 1934. For the first five years the tournament was called the “Augusta National Invitation Tournament,” but thereafter it officially was called the “Masters.”

Golf. A game in which one endeavors to control a ball with implements ill adapted for the purpose. ■ WOODROW WILSON

The winner of the first tournament in 1934 was Horton Smith (1908–1963), but in 1935 the first immortal story emerged from the play: During the final round Gene Sarazen (1902–1999) holed his second shot at the fifteenth hole for a double-eagle 2, which enabled him to finish tied for first place; he then won the playoff the next day.

A high proportion of Masters titles have been won by players who rank among the all-time greats of the game: in 1937 Byron Nelson (b. 1912) won the first of his two titles, and in 1942 he defeated Ben Hogan (1912–1997) in a playoff for the second. Hogan himself won in 1951 and 1953, and Sam Snead (1912–2002) won in 1949, 1952, and 1954, in the last of these years beating Hogan in a playoff. Snead in 1949 was the first winner to be presented with the now-traditional Masters green jacket; prior to that year green jackets were worn only by members of the club. Unlike the members, the winner may take the jacket home for the year he is champion, but at the end of the year it must be returned to the club.

In 1958 Arnold Palmer (b. 1929) won the first of his four titles, and his play over the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth holes that year led the sports writer Herbert Warren Wind (b. 1918) to name that part of the course the “Amen Corner,” a name that refers to an old jazz song, “Shouting at Amen Corner”: The golfer who plays these holes successfully should quietly say “Amen” when he has negotiated them.

Gary Player (b. 1935) won the Masters three times, his first title coming in 1961, Jack Nicklaus (b. 1940) won a record six times between 1963 and 1986—an astonishing span of years between first and last victories—and Tom Watson (b. 1949) won in 1977 and 1981. However, the victory of Seve Ballesteros (b. 1957) in 1980 marked the start of a successful period for European golfers. During the years from 1980 to 1999 Europeans won the Masters eleven times, including Nick Faldo (b. 1957) three times. In 1997 Tiger Woods (b. 1975) won the first of his three titles to date, becoming at twenty-one the youngest winner and also the winner by the largest margin (twelve strokes).

Augusta, Controversy, and Social Change

The location of Augusta National in the Deep South of the United States and the small and exclusive membership of the club have contributed to making the Masters more controversial than any of the other major championships of golf.

After the Professional Golfers’ Association (PGA) ended its “Caucasian only” policy in 1961, a number of black golfers played on the tour, and with increasing frequency during the late 1960s and early 1970s people asked when one of them would be invited to the Masters. Augusta National’s response was always that the rules for qualification were the same for all players, and although people often expressed doubts about this claim, in 1975 Lee Elder (b. 1934) became the first black player to appear in the Masters.

Local black caddies continued to be used in the Masters until 1983, and although the caddies were unhappy finally to lose their bags that year, the perception that the Masters was a tournament played largely by whites with black caddies had become unhelpful. People also criticized the all-white composition of the club’s membership; this criticism was finally silenced in 1990 when a black businessman was invited to join.

In 2003 controversy returned when Martha Burk, chairwoman of the National Council of Women’s Organizations, drew attention to Augusta’s all-male membership policy. Major demonstrations outside the club were planned for the time of the Masters if the policy was not changed; the club made no concessions, and as yet its policy remains unchanged, but the demonstrations were much smaller than some people had anticipated.

The Future

In a relatively short time the Masters has acquired immense prestige and established unique traditions; to play in the tournament will continue to be a great ambition for leading golfers. As the first major championship of each calendar year, played on a course of unique beauty and immense challenges, it attracts huge international interest. The tensions caused because Augusta National is

As I see it, the world of sports is in very fine company, with a fine heritage. It is one of the Big Four. Only four kinds of events—politics, religion, the arts, and sports—have been able to draw consistently large crowds of paying customers throughout history. That must mean something. ■ BILL RUSSELL

a private club that hosts a key international sporting event are likely to lead to continued controversy.

Tony Sloggett

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Media-Sports Complex

The media-sports complex is the interconnection between media and sports that incorporates media institutions, sports organizations, and the processes, products, and services that emerge from the interconnection. The media-sports complex has become increasingly close, becoming significant in affecting the structures, ethos (distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or guiding beliefs), and governance of commercial sports.

History

Although the relationship between the media and sports has tightened in recent decades, the relationship is longstanding. Print media coverage of sports, most notably via daily newspapers, was pivotal in the rise, popularization, and spread of modern sports during the 1800s and early 1900s. In conveying scores, match reports, and other information, sports pages, weekly journals, and subsequently dedicated sports sections within newspapers played a significant role in popu-

larizing sports. In particular they stimulated interest and spectatorship and generated civic, regional, and national pride in sports teams.

Newspapers also contributed to the early commercial development of sports by actively promoting and investing in events and teams to boost circulation. Traces of early commercial connections are still evident today. For example, the *maillot jaune* (yellow jersey) instituted in 1919 to denote the leader of the Tour de France bicycle race is so colored because of the sponsorship of the event by the newspaper *L'Auto* (the pages of which were yellow). Such coverage, promotion, and investment by the media were pivotal in the early emergence of commercial sports. Simultaneously, sports emerged as an important component of media output, attracting readers and hence advertisers. Thus was borne a relationship of mutual reliance.

Technological advances in the form of radio coverage and telegraphy subsequently extended interest in and coverage of sports and enhanced the media-sports complex. Radio broadcasting was significant because live transmission of events could reach large audiences distant from the actual events. With the aid of evocative commentaries, broadcasts popularized sports on a national scale. Early radio sportscasts took place during the 1920s and rapidly attracted large audiences. For example, by 1926 an estimated U.S. audience of 15 million tuned in to listen to a Dempsey–Tunney boxing bout. During the same year World Series baseball was broadcast on radio for the first time. Alongside national commercial broadcasters, public service providers helped further establish sports within national cultures. In Canada, for example, by the late 1930s Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) audiences of 1 million were tuning in to ice hockey broadcasts. By the end of that decade audiences for *Hockey Night in Canada* had doubled to 2 million listeners. Accordingly, sports programming formed a significant component of radio programming and helped popularize radio listening per se. Furthermore, the increasing popularity of radio stimulated by sports



Media-Sports Complex

Commercial Considerations and the Sports Pages

Mark Lowes' analysis of work routines at the Examiner, a large metropolitan daily Canadian newspaper in the mid-1990s was driven by his curiosity about why the sports pages were "so thoroughly saturated with news of the North American major-league sports scene" (1999, 4). He wanted to know what it was about "these entertainment spectacles" that led to people believing they were so much more significant than sports like, for example, sprint canoeing. His research clearly demonstrated the focus on commercial male sports and the cultural belief systems that underlie the choices made by sports editors and journalists. In the following description of the daily planning of the sports pages, Lowes also points to the importance of commercial considerations as sports editors and writers decide which sports to cover and which to ignore.

The first concern at the *Examiner* when planning its sports section each day is with the commercial sports

scene—reporting what's happening in "the big leagues." The standard fare of the paper's sports news is game results from the previous day, player movement through trades and outright releases, injury reports on athletes, and the current status of any labor unrest. Indeed, reporting this news seems to be the *raison d'être* of any metropolitan daily's sports section: "This is the stuff people want to read about . . . big time sports gets you readers," remarked the *Examiner's* sports editor. The paper's sports section is thus saturated with commercial spectator sports news, as this is how a quality audience is attracted and subsequently sold to advertisers. A commercial spectator sports bias is simply a matter of financial survival. (Lowes 2004, 132)

Sources: Lowes, M. D. (1999). *Inside the sports pages: Work routines, professional ideologies, and the manufacture of sports news*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

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programming boosted advertising revenue for commercial stations. Radio, of course, continues to be a significant medium for transmitting sports with dedicated sports stations and phone-in programs.

The role of media exposure and investment in the development of commercial sports—via both newspapers and radio—established an interdependent media-sports relationship, which was later consolidated with the emergence of television broadcasting.

Sports-Television Relationship

Televising of sports began during the 1930s. One of the first experimental broadcasts occurred at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, where more than seventy hours of live coverage were broadcast on large screens throughout the city. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) first transmitted coverage of the Wimbledon tennis championships in 1937. In Britain at that time only two thousand homes had sets that could receive the blurred images. In the United States televised sports

emerged in 1939 with coverage of a college baseball game between Columbia and Princeton. These early broadcasts were limited in their sophistication and scope, featuring fixed-position cameras conveying real-time footage. Accordingly, expectations of the sports-television relationship remained relatively muted at this early stage.

The early phases of the sports-television relationship were marked by the fears of sports owners and administrators that coverage would detract from the gate receipts of live events, upon which commercial sports relied. During the immediate postwar era these fears reached a peak. Accordingly, entrepreneurs and administrators adopted protectionist measures. In Canada, for example, fear of televising ice hockey resulted in Canadian Broadcasting Corporation broadcasts during the early 1950s coming on the air only after the first period of a game had been played. Similarly, in the United States fears of the adverse effects of television coverage on gate receipts were displayed by National Collegiate



Media-Sports Complex

Major Television Rights Deals in North American Sports 2005

Contract Period	Rights Holder	Total Fee	Annual Value
National Football League			
2006–2013	ESPN, NBC	\$10.2 billion	\$1.7 billion
2006–2011	CBS, Fox	\$8 billion	\$1.3 billion
1998–2005	CBS, Fox, ABC, ESPN	\$17.6 billion	\$2.2 billion
1994–1997	NBC, Fox, ABC, ESPN/TNT	\$4.3 billion	\$1.1 billion
Major League Baseball			
2001–2006	Fox	\$2.5 billion	\$146.7 million
2000–2005	ESPN	\$851 million	\$141.8 million
1996–2000	Fox, NBC, ESPN	\$1.7 billion	\$340 million
National Basketball Association			
2002–2008	ABC/ESPN, Time Warner	\$4.6 billion	\$766.7 million
1998–2002	NBC, TNT/TBS	\$2.64 billion	\$660 million
1994–1998	NBC, TNT	\$1.1 billion	\$275 million
National Hockey League			
2004–2005	ESPN	\$60 million	\$60 million
1999–2004	ABC/ESPN	\$600 million	\$120 million
1994–1999	Fox	\$155 million	\$31 million
NASCAR			
2001–2008	Fox, NBC/Turner	\$2.4 billion	\$400 million

Source: Adapted from *Street & Smith's sports business journal*, 7(39), 17.

Athletic Association (NCAA) policies regulating football broadcast rights to protect in-stadium attendance. The English Football League was equally resistant to live coverage throughout the 1950s.

Notwithstanding these early reservations, the sports-television relationship became consolidated during the 1960s. Technological advances in the form of video replay, graphics, slow motion, and color footage considerably enhanced the sophistication and appeal of televised sports for viewers. As a consequence TV networks began to devote more program time and budget to sports coverage. In the United States, for example, by making sports a centerpiece of its scheduling, ABC was able to top the ratings against competitors NBC and CBS during the 1970s. Such competition from rival networks led to rising broadcast rights fees as sports administrators benefited from the increasingly competitive media marketplace.

Sports-Television Transformations

The sports-television relationship transformed sports. The transformation was significant because of the alternative conventions, protocols, and priorities of television. With the exception of noncommercial public service broadcasting, these changes centered on maximizing commercial opportunities by attracting the widest possible audiences. The large fees that commercial broadcasters were prepared to pay for exclusive broadcast rights ensured that sporting bodies were willing to adapt to the demands of television protocols and scheduling.

Many sports have undergone changes as administrators have sought to modify their formats, scheduling, and rules to conform to television priorities. A particularly prominent example was English Rugby League, which in 1996 shifted the entire season from winter to

summer to meet media scheduling priorities. The playing schedules of most commercially oriented leagues are established to fit with broadcasting needs that are designed to maximize the audience by coinciding with peak viewing times. The scheduling of boxing bouts during the early morning hours in the United Kingdom to coincide with peak-time U.S. audiences illustrates the relative dominance of the media within the media-sports complex.

Numerous sports have changed their rules to speed up the action, minimize stoppages, and prevent negative play that is not conducive to television scheduling and spectacle. The transformation of professional football in the United States into the “archetypal television sport” (Barnett 1990, 124) is a prominent example. During the 1960s innovations in the form of the “TV time-out,” the two-minute warning, and numerous viewer-oriented innovations such as razzmatazz were implemented to attract viewers. Further television-oriented rule changes during the 1970s facilitated offensive play and spectacular resolutions to games (overtime). Changes such as modifications to false start rules in swimming and sprinting are designed to minimize disruption to scheduling by events overrunning their time allocation. Similarly, the back pass (a defensive pass to a team’s own goalkeeper) rule instituted in world soccer during 1992 was designed to stop negative play and to enhance spectacle.

Just as television has transformed sports, sports have transformed television. Specifically, sports provide programming with broad popular appeal and hence are capable of attracting large, loyal audiences, even outside of peak viewing times. Sports programming is relatively cheap to produce in relation to alternative types of programming, features established “characters,” and operates in a serialized way that ensures ongoing appeal. Thus, sports have become a crucial component in broadcast schedules, and accordingly certain sports have been able to command large broadcast rights fees. The significance of this revenue is that the commercial underpinnings of numerous major sports are reliant on media finance.

Government Intervention in Sports Broadcasting

The sports-television relationship has been subject to government intervention under “public service” principles. For example, in countries such as Australia and New Zealand and the United Kingdom governments have sought to protect sports events deemed to be of “national cultural significance” to ensure free-to-air broadcasting access. In the United Kingdom a list of protected sports was first implemented in 1954, briefly rescinded in 1991, and reimplemented in 1996 because of the threat of new satellite broadcasters. The list contains key sporting events such as the FA Cup Final, Grand National, and Wimbledon tennis championships. The consequence of this government intervention was that certain events emerged as important national rituals and symbols of unity and ensured the BBC’s role as national broadcaster.

Media-Sports Complex Debates

The transforming effects of the media-sports complex are not always welcomed by either players or fans who have suffered from inconvenient timings or who have argued that the very essence of some sports has been altered by rule changes. Some people also have argued that control of various sports may now lie more with media executives than with sports administrators. Critics of the complex suggest that money injected by television broadcasters is responsible for shattering the values and ethos of sports, replacing them with overt commercialism. The very integrity of sports, critics suggest, has been corrupted by financially driven, primarily media-oriented alterations implicated in the emergence of a win-at-all-costs attitude, cheating, and a decline of moral standards. In contrast, advocates suggest that television has “made” sports, that it has turned events into global spectacles, injected significant revenue, attained unparalleled levels of entertainment, and heightened the pervasiveness of sports.

Critics have also noted that media coverage of sports is overwhelmingly constituted of clichés and trivia. That is, the deeper social significance, meanings, and



problems associated with sports are rarely explored in media output. As a consequence, many of the illusions of sports as being apolitical and somehow beyond the bounds of “real life” have been perpetuated in media coverage. Additionally, the sports media’s tendency to reflect a narrow breadth of sports events has been criticized as presenting a distorting image of sports culture per se. The underrepresentation of women’s sports, for example, and the capacity to present stereotyped characteristics of gender or national identities have been cited in criticisms of the distorting power of the media.

Media Deregulation, New Technology, and Globalization

During the 1970s and 1980s developments in the economics, technology, and regulation of media heralded large-scale changes for the media-sports complex on a global scale. New technology generated new possibilities for media-sports production and consumption. The delivery of sports is now characterized by new services, including dedicated sports channels, the Internet, and mobile telephony by which consumers can receive mediated sports. Unprecedented sports-only outlets such as ESPN and SKY Sports channels were largely enabled by the emergence of digital, cable, and satellite systems that allowed “delivery” on a global basis. Furthermore, developments in encryption technology allowed the capacity for new forms of payment, such as pay-per-view and subscription networks and events. The capacity of subscription-based broadcasters to raise considerable revenue via subscriptions has led them to dominate various national markets, in particular sports broadcast rights. The dominance of the Rupert Murdoch-controlled SKY network in the United Kingdom and New Zealand is an example.

These technological developments coincided with deregulation of national markets and the marketization of public service media outlets (for example, the British Broadcasting Corporation) during the 1980s. These processes included the removal or downgrading of “public interest” clauses, national content limitations and quotas, and media ownership restrictions. These

mechanisms had previously regulated media ownership and content. The regulation of media in the “public interest” by governments was largely replaced by regulation according to market dynamics. Such regulation had major impacts within Europe, which had traditionally operated along public service principles. Similarly, in North America the removal of cross-media ownership restrictions and reregulation altered the media marketplace. Accordingly, the Fox network of local cable television stations arose during the 1980s. Additionally the removal of ownership restrictions enabled takeovers and mergers of media groups.

Shifting economic opportunities resulted from these regulatory and technological changes. In particular, conglomeration, resulting from takeovers and mergers, concentrated ownership of media outlets in fewer and fewer hands. The new megacorporations benefited from economies of scale in their widespread operations that featured multiple media holdings. For example, conglomerates featured cross-ownership in such areas as newspapers, magazines, films, music, television, and the Internet. Prominent media conglomerates include News Corporation, Vivendi Universal, Walt Disney/ABC/Capital Cities, AOL Time-Warner, Bertelsmann AG, and Viacom. These conglomerates adopted strategies of global expansion with sports as a core feature of market penetration. Indeed, at a News Corporation annual general meeting in 1996, Rupert Murdoch asserted that “sport absolutely overpowers film and everything else in the entertainment genre,” noting it can be used as a “battering ram” in the quest for global markets. Accordingly, media groups, in conjunction with corporate sponsors and advertisers also seeking global exposure, have used sports broadcasting to penetrate global markets.

These technological, regulatory, and economic transitions have restructured national media industries in a variety of ways as structures and institutions have undergone transformation or accommodation within global media marketplaces. In particular, new media delivery and presentation, including pay TV, sport-specific channels, Internet webcasts, and mobile

telephony technologies, have precipitated new forms of attachment, identification, and consumption in diverse ways. That is, unlimited opportunities exist to consume sports according to interest and, crucially, the ability to pay.

“Superleagues” and Media Control

The media-sports complex has stimulated numerous challenges to relationships of power and control in sports. At times the uneasy relationship has spilled over into struggles over control of sports as a media commodity. During the late 1970s the media group of Australian media tycoon Kerry Packer bought the services of leading world cricketers to establish an international televised competition to compete with established international cricket run by the sport’s traditional authorities. The Packer-backed competition contracted many top cricketers from around the world to compete in what was called “World Series cricket,” operated successfully for two years, and instituted many changes to enliven the media spectacle, including brightly colored uniforms and floodlit games. In 1979 a compromise, largely in favor of the Packer organization, was reached with cricket administrators. The example of World Series cricket, however, demonstrated the capacity for media corporations to invest in sports and challenged the long-standing power of administrators and governing bodies to control the commercial aspects of sports.

A similar situation emerged in Australian Rugby League (ARL) in 1995. In what was dubbed the “Superleague War” rival media networks adopted competing strategies to ensure their access to televising the sport. Rupert Murdoch established a “rebel” competition by signing elite players to his “Superleague” to rival the Kerry Packer-backed traditional competition governed by the Australian Rugby League. Subsequently, rival media-backed competitions operated during 1997. To gain dominance the Murdoch camp captured exclusive rights to the sport in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, with caveats that it must become more media friendly. The consequences of what had started as a struggle for dominance in the Australian media market

rapidly became global in scope. By late 1998 a compromise reunited the Australian sport, largely under Murdoch’s influence. Again, however, the capacity for the media to challenge existing structures and relationships in sports had been demonstrated.

Mediasport: Symbiosis and Vertical Integration

The sports-television relationship has largely been conceived as symbiotic—that is, a mutual reliance of one institution on the other. This mutual reliance has been profound in transforming sports in numerous ways. Yet, so entwined have commercial sports and the media become that the distinction has become increasingly dissolved. Accordingly, the term *mediasport* (Wenner 1998, 3) has been used to describe the fusion of sports with the media industries and corporate landscape, with sports events functioning first and foremost as media spectacles.

The cross-ownership of sports and media holdings—vertical integration—has completely dissolved the media-sports distinction. The most prominent example is News Corporation ownership of the Los Angeles Dodgers (baseball) and Brisbane (Australia) Broncos (rugby league) franchises, alongside part interests in the New York Knicks (basketball), New York Rangers (ice hockey), Manchester United (soccer), and Manchester City (soccer). AOL Time-Warner, in turn, has a controlling interest in the Atlanta Braves (baseball), Hawks (basketball), and Thrashers (ice hockey). Similarly, the Disney/ABC/Capital Cities conglomerate owns the Mighty Ducks of Anaheim ice hockey franchise.

Such patterns of ownership give the opportunity for cross-promotion between the varying outlets and products of corporate empires. For example, the Disney-distributed *Mighty Ducks* films promoted the professional sports franchise and stimulated sales of branded merchandise. In turn, the merchandise helped establish the brand visibility of the films and team and so on in a circular manner. Similarly, sports teams now own media outlets. A prominent example is the Manchester United Television (MUTV) channel,

majority owned by the largest soccer club in the world. These examples demonstrate the outcomes of the close media-sports-corporate relationship that are centered on product promotion and brand visibility on a global scale. They also demonstrate the breakdown of a tangible media-sports distinction. In these cases the corporate entity that emerges leaves distinct sports and media entities indistinguishable.

The Future

Sports have been integrated with the media industries, advertising agencies, and multinational corporations that seek world markets. Media coverage, in this sense, is used to promote sports and associated products on a global basis. These relationships ensure that, within the mainstream media marketplace, certain sports will continue to dominate output. Indeed, coverage of certain dominant sports will likely increase as a key part of the entertainment, advertising, and promotional industries. Notwithstanding these trends, diversification of audiences is likely to continue as specialist niche media emerge to capitalize on desires to consume sports from anywhere around the globe in pay-per-view television and webcast formats.

Mark Falcoux

See also ESPN; Eurosport; Magazines; Movies; Play-by-Play Announcing; Radio; Sportswriting and Reporting; X Games

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Memorabilia Industry

The memorabilia industry is a worldwide phenomenon that includes collectibles from every sport. Different sports thrill different nationalities, and prices of collectibles vary accordingly. For example, baseballs might sell for a lot in the United States and Japan, but they would be hard to give away in France. Cricket and soccer memorabilia are hot items in London but would go unsold in Chicago.

Sports have been popular in almost every culture since the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans wrestled, boxed, and ran races. Modern sports became popular during the late nineteenth century, and collecting became a popular hobby by the early twentieth century when trading cards were created for U.S. baseball players.

However, before baseball trading cards came graphic illustrations of sporting events, made popular throughout the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s. Newspapers such as *Harper's Weekly*, *Leslie's*, and the *Illustrated London News* printed images of sports in every nation where journalists ventured. These line drawings were popular and collectible, especially when the publication printed a full-page image or, in some cases, a double-page image to be removed and framed.

Sports such as rowing, wrestling, boxing, cricket, rugby, golf, archery, bowling, fencing, and pedestrianism were popular subjects during the nineteenth century. In Germany dueling was a common image, found rarely in U.S. publications. British newspapers featured rowing and rugby, whereas U.S. newspapers featured baseball and football. Readers learned about other cultures through these illustrated weeklies, which today are collectible.



Several nostalgic baseball

items. Source: istockphoto.com/JSABBOTT.

As sports became more popular the collecting of autographs and images became more common. The New York Yankee Babe Ruth made U.S. baseball cards and other related objects popular and collectible. Today's memorabilia industry has a huge following for baseball cards, used sports equipment such as balls, bats, uniforms, and even chewing gum alleged to have been chewed by an important athlete.

Some memorabilia shops stock only baseball hats from every team imaginable or only basketball jerseys costing nearly one hundred dollars. After the collecting phenomenon became more profit oriented, young people were left out as the athletes, owners, and the business end of sports cashed in. Investors sought—and bid up—the rarest of sports memorabilia.

Auction houses such as Regency-Superior, Lelands, Sotheby's, Christie's, and Phillips have entered the marketplace with auctions at which prices have skyrocketed into the millions of dollars for items such as a home run baseball hit by former St. Louis Cardinal Mark McGwire. In the United States thousands of people also buy, sell, and trade memorabilia at huge sports shows.

The memorabilia industry in the United States predominantly deals in baseball, football, basketball, and ice hockey. In England the industry deals in golf, cricket, rugby, and soccer. Every Olympic year a worldwide market in Olympic memorabilia thrives; pin collecting is the major interest. However, the big money is on gold, silver, and bronze medals from the winners,

as well as torches and old posters. Some Olympic medals have sold for \$20,000 at auctions.

During recent years marketing and licensing have controlled the U.S. memorabilia marketplace—athletes and teams protect their names and logos. People who want to market an item must pay a fee, causing prices to increase greatly. Young collectors have trouble getting an autograph from an athlete without first paying a fee because some people get auto-

graphs in order to sell them. The fun of collecting has become tempered by the profit motive.

Fakes also abound in the sports memorabilia industry. Cheap reproductions or forgeries of signed baseballs and bats are sold to gullible collectors. Many dealers guarantee that their products are authentic, but the buyer still must beware and should deal only with reputable dealers who guarantee their products or will refund the buyer's money.

Books that list values of collectibles must be used with caution because condition is crucial to the value of an item and can be debated. What is "mint" to one dealer might be "very good" to another. As in any marketplace buyers must research their interest before buying, shop carefully, and, in the end, collect for fun and be cautious of collecting for profit.

The best resources for research are dealer catalogs and auction catalogs (from such auction houses as Regency-Superior, Leland's, Sotheby's, Christie's, and Phillips), most of which are available by paid subscriptions. Some libraries have collections of these catalogs in their acquisitions departments or rare books rooms. A leading publication is the *Sports Collector's Digest*, a weekly publication by Krause Publications. Bookstores have the most recent edition of sports memorabilia guides for major sports such as baseball, football, and golf. Antiques magazines and newspapers sometimes have an article on sports collectibles.

Harvey Abrams

That which does not kill me makes me stronger. ■ FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

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Mental Conditioning

Mental conditioning is a method of psychological preparation for performance. Often referred to as mental training, mental conditioning is a relatively new concept that is often linked to sport psychology. Sport psychology has been defined as the study of people and their behavior in sport. More specifically, sport psychology deals with identifying and understanding emotional and psychological factors that can affect human athletic performance and personal growth. Mental conditioning represents a division of sport psychology that focuses on applying psychological theories to sport in an attempt to enhance athletic performance. Therefore, mental conditioning is used by athletes and sport psychology consultants to help athletes achieve the appropriate mental state for peak performance.

The Early Years in North America

Although mental conditioning and sport psychology have only recently become well-known throughout the world, their roots go back to the late nineteenth century. Much of the credit for North American sport psychology is given to Norman Triplett, a psychologist from Indiana University, who began to study the psychological aspects of sport in 1897. Triplett, an avid cyclist, wanted to understand why cyclists often rode faster in groups than when they were alone. In the first recorded sport psychology study, Triplett studied the effects of others on the performance of cyclists. During the early years of sport psychology (1895–1920), Triplett and others also studied athletes' reaction times, acquisition of sport skills, and the influence of sport on moral and character development.

While Triplett is often credited with initiating sport psychology in North America, Coleman Griffith deserves equal billing. Griffith, who is often referred to as the father of sport psychology in North America was the first person to systematically study the mental aspects of sport for an extended period of time. Griffith, a psychologist at the University of Illinois, developed the first sport psychology laboratory and is responsible for two of the most classic sport psychology books, *Psychology of Coaching* and *Psychology of Athletics*.

Griffith is also credited for being the first to bring mental conditioning techniques to the attention of athletes and coaches. Using sport psychology principles and mental conditioning, Griffith worked with several prominent athletes and coaches including Notre Dame football coach Knute Rockne, pitcher Dizzy Dean, and Hall of Famer Red Grange.

Soviet Influences

While Triplett and Griffith were supplying the groundwork for sport psychology in North America, the Soviet Union was also beginning to delve into mental conditioning. Beginning in 1917, Lenin began to promote the use of mental conditioning for athletes and soldiers. It was his belief that being mentally and physically strong was an important part of Soviet life. Therefore, mental conditioning was heavily used in both military and athletic preparation.

Beginning in 1919 the Soviets constructed two Institutes for the Study of Sport and Physical Culture that were designed to promote research and the application of psychological and exercise principles to athletic performance. Scientists working at these institutes were provided the opportunity to test their research on elite athletes and develop methods to enhance performance.

Prior to World War II much of the mental conditioning conducted by the Soviets was used for military purposes. However, after the war, they began to employ mental conditioning with their Olympic athletes and thus became a prominent force in Olympic competitions. Soon the mental conditioning provided to Soviet athletes became known as the "Soviet system" and was



touted as a major reason for their Olympic success. In the 1980 Moscow Olympics the Soviets won an astonishing eighty gold, sixty-nine silver, and forty-six bronze medals. Much of their success was attributed to their use of mental conditioning.

European Influences

Noticing the success of Soviet athletes, several European countries began using mental conditioning with their athletes. In the 1950s and 1960s East Germany, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia were introduced into the “Soviet system” and enjoyed success in athletic competitions despite their relatively small populations.

In the early 1950s Czechoslovakia built the Institute for Physical Education and Sport and Bulgaria constructed several sport psychology laboratories in 1966. These facilities were designed to improve athletic performance and housed large numbers of sport psychologists who provided mental conditioning for elite athletes. In fact, during this time Bulgaria had 127 sport psychologists working with high-level athletes.

Several Western European countries were not far behind their Eastern counterparts in the use of mental conditioning. In 1965 Ferruccio Antonelli of Italy brought together the first International Congress in Sport Psychology, attended by more than four hundred professionals eager to learn more about sport psychology and mental conditioning. During this meeting the International Society of Sport Psychology (ISSP) was formed, which further increased the visibility of the field and led to the organization of several additional associations in Italy, Germany, Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal.

Modern History in North America

In the 1970s and 1980s sport psychology and mental conditioning began to flourish in North America. In 1978 the U.S. Olympic Committee (USOC) recruited sport psychologists to enhance elite athletes’ performance. In 1983 the USOC established a registry of qualified sport psychologists to provide mental conditioning

for Olympic athletes. This involvement with high-profile athletes further increased the stature of mental conditioning as a tool for athletes.

In 1985 the Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology (AAASP) was formed. This organization still serves as the predominant worldwide organization for sport psychology professionals. In 1991 AAASP implemented guidelines for certification of sport psychology consultants. These guidelines allowed the organization to monitor the provision of mental conditioning by sport psychology professionals.

Mental Conditioning Basics

Most athletes agree that anywhere from 40–90 percent of athletic success is mediated by mental factors. In fact, mental readiness has been shown to be a major factor in Olympic performances. Therefore, mental conditioning is used by athletes in an attempt to achieve peak performance by eliminating psychological barriers to performance. More specifically, athletes often use mental conditioning to achieve a mental state conducive to peak performance. This ideal state has often been characterized by a lack of fear, intense focus on the activity, effortless performance, minimal thinking, feeling in control, and a total immersion in the activity. In their attempts to achieve this, athletes will often seek out the services of sport psychology professionals.

Frameworks

Sport psychology professionals provide mental conditioning to athletes through several different frameworks, including psychophysiological, social-psychological, and cognitive-behavioral orientations. While these frameworks differ on some levels, at their core they are all designed to help athletes develop strong psychological techniques that will aid their performance.

The psychophysiological orientation focuses on the physiological processes of the brain and how these processes influence athletic activity. Sport psychology professionals who work from this orientation generally use assessments of heart rate, brain wave activity, and muscle action potentials to improve athletic performance. An



Mental Conditioning

Mountain Climbing and Martial Arts

*Julie Tullis, a British mountaineer, died in 1986 after reaching the top of K2, the world's second highest mountain. In the extract below, from her book *Clouds from Both Sides* (1985), she explains how she blended martial arts training into her mountaineering.*

In [budokan as in all of] the martial arts it is the basis of any practice to harmonize mind, body and spirit. Normally we tend to waste a lot of our energy, spilling it out in many directions from our bodies, like heat escaping from an uninsulated house. Learning to control and direct energy could benefit everyone in so many ways, but is something which is not considered even in sport. Just as we regrettably no longer use our basic senses to their fullest potential, so we ignore a capability that we all have and which could save so much effort and stress. This control, which has enabled me to be strong enough to cope with so many hardships in my mountaineering and continue when others have given up, I gained mainly through sitting absolutely still in meditation.

One of the easiest ways to explain about directing energy is to rest an extended arm on someone's shoulder and ask them to use all their strength to bend it. If you try to maintain a straight arm by muscular power you will soon tire. However, if you relax and concentrate on letting the energy flow smoothly out

through the Centre (or *hara*) along the arm out through the tips of the fingers, like water from a hose, it is impossible for the arm to be bent. I demonstrated this to a group of medical students in Pakistan and they were so impressed they nicknamed me "Superwoman"! But after five minutes they could do it too.

Martial arts practice is like a bottomless pool; the deeper you look the more you want to see. That for me epitomizes mountaineering too. After I had been practicing for a few months I realized that my approach to many things in life, and especially my climbing, had changed. A lot of things I had learnt in the dojo could also be used to improve my climbing and, even more important, the way in which I taught climbing. I made myself and my students breathe out when making a strenuous move and to relax. I understood far more about how muscles and joints worked. Warming-up exercises were explained and done in a logical sequence. . . . Moving from the centre makes everything easier, and understanding that tiredness and pain do not mean one has to give up, the body can go on, has saved my life on several occasions. Best of all I was enjoying my climbing more than ever before. It was fascinating to find two activities which complemented each other so well.

Tullis, J. (1985). *Clouds from both sides*. London: Grafton Books.

example of this is the use of heart rate assessments to teach marksmen to fire their rifles between heartbeats, thus improving their accuracy.

The social-psychological orientation is based on the belief that athletic performance and behavior are based on the interaction between the inherent traits and makeup of the performer and the environment surrounding the performer. Sport psychologists working from this viewpoint attempt to identify the effect that the environment has on athletes' behavior and how their subsequent behavior affects their environment.

The cognitive-behavioral orientation is focused on the thoughts of athletes. This approach is based on

the belief that thought is the driving force in behavior. Sport psychologists working from this framework are interested in self-confidence, anxiety, and motivation and their effects on performance. After assessing these, sport psychology consultants will use mental conditioning to improve athletes' abilities in these areas and thus, in their estimation, improve athletic performance.

Mental Conditioning Techniques

A complete mental conditioning program consists of several different mental skills. An important aspect of mental conditioning is the understanding that the skills

build on one other and a truly “mentally tough” athlete has been introduced to and trained in all of the aspects of mental conditioning. These aspects include but are not limited to goal-setting, imagery, arousal, concentration, and confidence.

Some athletes begin a mental conditioning program with the goal of eliminating a current performance problem; however, many elite athletes believe that mental conditioning is a vital part of their overall preparation. Therefore, while some athletes may focus on a specific skill or aspect of mental conditioning, the majority practice several skills, believing that this overall knowledge will allow them to effectively deal with any potential performance obstacles.

GOAL-SETTING

Setting goals is one common technique of mental conditioning that athletes use to enhance their performance. In the course of goal-setting, athletes will employ several types of goals, including outcome, performance, and process goals. Outcome goals focus on the result of competition, for example winning a game or a conference title. Performance goals are based on personal improvement and may include increasing a batting average or shooting percentage. Finally, process goals specify the procedures in which athletes must go through to perform at their desired level—for example, a proper follow through on a jump shot or golf swing.

Goal-setting has been shown to be a very powerful technique for improving performance. Several different theories attempt to explain this connection. Many people believe that goals help direct a performer’s attention to appropriate aspects of performance. Goals have also been shown to increase motivation and effort in the immediate- and long-term. Finally, goals appear to have a positive effect on an athlete’s confidence and self-efficacy.

IMAGERY

Athletes use imagery to create or re-create certain experiences in their mind through the use of all their senses. In doing this athletes are able to relive excep-

tional performances and prepare themselves for future competitions. Imagery has been shown to be an effective tool for skill acquisition and development, preparation, confidence building, and injury recovery. Athletes who use imagery can create a picture in their minds of them successfully completing a task. Through numerous imagery sessions, athletes can improve their abilities on certain tasks. Quarterbacks will often use imagery to prepare for various defenses they might encounter during their next game, and golfers use imagery to prepare for different course and weather conditions. Imagery can also build confidence; by imaging successful performances, athletes can elicit positive feelings resulting in greater confidence. Finally, by imaging successful rehabilitation and strengthening of injured muscles, athletes can speed their recovery time.

Arousal and Anxiety

Most athletes acknowledge that they perform at their best when they are experiencing low levels of anxiety and ideal (i.e., not too high or too low) levels of arousal. Therefore, athletes will often use mental conditioning to lower their anxiety levels and reach their desired level of arousal.

Sport psychologists often teach athletes relaxation skills to help them deal with high levels of anxiety. Relaxation can include breathing and imagery that helps lower competitive anxiety. Athletes will also use relaxation techniques to lower their arousal if they feel they are at an unusually high level. Some researchers have suggested that athletes will perform optimally at high levels of arousal while others believe that high levels of arousal can be detrimental to performance. Recently, sport psychologists have suggested that each individual has an optimal zone of arousal that can best aid their performance. For example, golfers generally desire low levels of arousal prior to making a swing, therefore, they might practice relaxation to decrease their arousal prior to a shot. Conversely, many athletes use mental conditioning to increase their arousal prior to competition; for example, football players may use energized

breathing and imagery to heighten their arousal levels prior to games.

Concentration

Over the course of a game or season all players are susceptible to lapses in concentration. To combat this, athletes use mental conditioning techniques to improve their focus and concentration during competition. Since different sports require different levels and focuses of concentration, mental conditioning can help athletes practice several different types of concentration.

A broad external focus is wide in range and focused on the surrounding environment. A golfer might need this type of focus when surveying a hole. A narrow external focus is concentrated on a small portion of the environment. A quarterback might employ this focus as he prepares to throw to an open receiver. A broad internal focus is wide in range and focused on inner thoughts and feelings of the participant. A runner might use a broad internal focus to assess his or her abilities to increase the speed for the final “kick” in a race. A narrow internal focus is directed at a specific thought or feeling. A tennis player might use this type of focus to ensure proper placement of the left foot while stepping into a forehand.

Confidence

Confidence is considered by many to be the most crucial component of mental conditioning. Confident performers generally execute important tasks with greater proficiency and success than their less confident counterparts. While some athletes naturally possess high levels of confidence, many others use mental conditioning techniques to increase their confidence.

Athletes often build confidence through thoughts of previous successful performances. Through imagery or video, athletes can relive an exceptional performance that often reminds them of their abilities and subsequently increases their confidence. Confidence can also be increased through viewing others who have accomplished a desired goal. Inspirational movies or highlight

videos often increase athletes’ feelings of confidence even if the images they are viewing are not of them.

The Future

Mental conditioning is a vastly growing method of performance enhancement. The U.S. Olympic Committee continues to employ increasing numbers of consultants to work with elite level athletes. The number of graduate programs is also increasing across the world and producing many sport psychology professionals qualified to provide mental conditioning services to athletes.

The amount of youth, high school, collegiate, and professional athletes who are using mental conditioning is also dramatically increasing. Several universities and professional teams have started to employ full-time sport psychology consultants to provide mental conditioning to their athletes. As this trend continues, one might expect mental conditioning to become as widely accepted and used in sport as weight training currently is.

The growth and use of mental conditioning within sport has led to advancements in its use across disciplines. In fact, mental conditioning has become popular for actors, musicians, doctors, and performers in all arenas. The principles of mental conditioning that have been used to improve athletic performance are now being applied to several different performance settings. One can expect this trend to continue, resulting in increased awareness and use of mental conditioning around the world.

Noah Gentner

See also Motivation; Psychology

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*The ball is man's most disastrous invention,
not excluding the wheel.* ■ ROBERT MORLEY

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Mesoamerican Ball Court Games

Mesoamerican ball court games were team sports that people played in the lowlands of Central America and southern Mexico as well as the highlands of Mexico for as much as two thousand years prior to the arrival of the Spanish in 1519.

Although the lowland Mayan cities with monumental ball courts, such as Chichén Itzá and Tikal, were already abandoned when the Spanish arrived, the games were still being played in highland areas, including the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. The fact that massive labor was needed to construct the monumental stone ball courts affirms the importance of the games in the lives of inhabitants of Mesoamerica (the region of southern North America occupied during pre-Columbian times by peoples with shared cultural features). The Mayan courts were no longer in use when the Spanish arrived, and the Spanish soon destroyed those courts in the highlands by 1585 because of their symbolic and religious significance to the indigenous people. Nevertheless, archaeological remains of the courts as well as game paraphernalia, including balls, provide information about the games and their play. In addition, Mesoamerican manuscripts, called “codices,” stone sculptures, and decorated ceramics have provided details of the games and their significance in native Mesoamerican religious

and symbolic life. The *Codex Mendoza*, for example, indicates that the Aztecs imported as many as sixteen thousand rubber balls annually to Tenochtitlán from rubber tree-growing areas in the lowlands to the south. This fact not only indicates the importance of the games but also indicates that rubber for balls was a major trade commodity and that trade routes covered long distances.

Courts

Mesoamerican ball court games were played on a variety of types of courts, known as “*tlachtli*” in Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs. The largest and best known of these courts were in the Mayan areas. Courts were generally in the shape of a capital *I* with two end zones and long walled sides. Some courts had enclosed end zones, whereas others had open end zones. In some cases stone rings were mounted in the middle and on either side of the walled area. Propelling the rubber ball through one of these rings automatically won the game for the scoring team. Although some scholars have suggested that the games were a precursor to basketball because of these rings, the rings were mounted with their opening vertical rather than horizontal, their openings were usually only slightly larger than the ball used, and scoring by passing the ball through a ring was evidently rare. Hence, any relationship between Mesoamerican ball court games and basketball is highly unlikely.

Ball courts were generally oriented in a north-south configuration, but some may have been oriented to reflect seasonal, astronomical, or other symbolic themes. Courts also differed dramatically in size. The court at Chichén Itzá in the northern Yucatan is 70 by 168 meters, making it nearly twenty-five times larger than the next-largest court in the lowlands. Mayan area courts were about 25 meters long by 7 or 8 meters wide, on average, whereas those in the central highlands averaged 36 meters by 7 meters. The size of courts generally reflected the importance of the cities within which they were located. Major urban areas often had a main court and several smaller subsidiary courts.

Because the size of the courts varied widely, the number of players also varied. On smaller courts apparently



A Mesoamerican ball court at Uxmal, in the Yucatan. *Source: Gary Chick.*

two players could play against each other, or as few as two players could be on a team. On the largest courts teams reportedly consisted of as many as eleven or twelve players. However, most teams probably had from four to seven players. Whereas the large stone courts in major urban centers were likely reserved for play by nobles or professional players retained by nobles, commoners apparently played on smaller earthen courts.

Play

Ball court games were played with a ball of natural rubber that ranged in diameter from 16 to 31 centimeters. Players propelled the ball with only their hips and buttocks, according to the Spanish cleric Motolinía, but players also may have used their elbows, thighs, forearms, and possibly other parts of the body. Players apparently never kicked or threw the ball, however. In order to protect themselves from blows from the heavy ball, players wore protective cotton pads on their hips and waists as well as on their forearms. Clay figurines

suggest that a U-shaped yolk around the waist or one hip was worn as well. Descriptions of the play of the games left by Spanish clerics, such as Duran, indicate that players had to propel the ball across a line drawn between the two walls at the center of the court each time the ball was struck or else incur a foul. Duran indicated that if a ball came to rest in the end zone of one of the teams, the opposing team scored a point. Unfortunately, none of the Spanish soldiers or clerics who witnessed the play of the games left detailed written descriptions of rules.

Although people almost surely played ball court games for recreational purposes at times, the games also had deep symbolic meaning. People may have played for ritual purposes, including fertility, for dispute resolution, for status acquisition, for trade, and for gambling. Given the importance of human sacrifice in Mesoamerican cultures, we should not be surprised that games were often accompanied by sacrifice, sometimes of members of the losing team but also, reputedly, of the captain

*Mexico Olympics Results**2004 Summer Olympics: 3 Silver, 1 Bronze*

or members of the winning team. Winners might have been sacrificed because they were considered to be superior to the losers and therefore of greater sacrificial value. Spectators watched games from the tops of the court walls, which were accessible by external staircases.

Current Status

Although the monumental ball courts of the ancient Mesoamerican cities are no longer used for games, simplified versions exist in areas of northern and northwestern Mexico. These versions are played on small courts marked by stones and lines drawn in the dirt. In some versions players may propel the ball only by their hips, whereas in other versions players may use their upper arms and shoulders also. These games appear to be purely recreational and lack the symbolic and cosmological (relating to the nature of the universe) aspects of their predecessors.

Garry Chick

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located in the south-central region and is one of the largest cities in the world (an estimated population of 18 million in 2000). Mexico's national population in 2004 was estimated at 105 million. Sports have been of great importance in Mexico since the early twentieth century, as seen by early sports coverage in newspapers; widespread participation in schools, clubs, and the YMCA; representation in the Olympic Games since 1924; hosting of the 1968 Olympics; and extensive media coverage today, including newspapers and magazines dedicated to sports. Soccer is the most popular sport, involving both amateurs and professionals, but baseball is also popular, and all modern sports have a place in the country.

History

The Mesoamerican ball game *pelota maya* was widespread in southern Mexico. Many playing courts are preserved in archaeological sites. Chichén Itzá in the Yucatán Peninsula is one of the most striking courts, with its stone rings high on each side. This ancient activity, which we might consider to be more religious rite than sport, disappeared many centuries ago, but a modern version (still using the ancient name, Ulama) is still played, especially in the northwestern coastal state of Sinaloa.

Tarahumara Indians from the northwestern state of Chihuahua traditionally ran long distances to hunt deer, carry messages, and so forth. Men's sport involved team races, which could last all day and even overnight. Members of each team had to kick a hand-carved wooden ball without touching it with their hands. Women also raced long distances and had to propel a handmade ring by using throwing sticks.

The ancient sport of *pelota mixteca* is still played, mainly in the southern state of Oaxaca. It involves propelling a ball back and forth between two teams by the use of heavily padded gloves. The sport is similar to a medieval European game that evolved into tennis.

Jarapeo (charrería) had its beginnings in early colonial Mexico, growing out of skills developed by ranch workers for handling cattle. Competitions still exist for

Mexico

Mexico, the southernmost nation of North America, has long coasts on the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean and borders the United States, Guatemala, and Belize. Its capital, Mexico City, is

men and women, and the traditional figure of the male *charro* derives from this sport. It formed the basis for what became rodeo in the United States and Canada. Men's activities include riding horses and bulls, throwing bulls by the tail, and roping horses using a variety of techniques. Women have a more decorative function but also are involved in a horse-riding event called the *escaramuza*.

Bullfighting was an important colonial sport, with Spanish and native-born *torreros* performing. The Plaza México in Mexico City is the world's largest bullring, and the sport retains its popularity today. Cockfighting is another colonial sport that retains its popularity and is a staple offering in some state fairs. Horse racing was established early and still has its following.

Early modern sport, including soccer, baseball, rowing, and men's and women's tennis and golf, began to develop during the late nineteenth century. Much of the early activity took place in elite sport clubs and the National Preparatory School, as well as at other private schools. The YMCA was also an important force in development of sports (especially swimming, track and field, and basketball) during the early twentieth century. Mexicans such as Enrique Aguirre attended the YMCA college in Springfield, Massachusetts, and returned as physical directors in YMCAs in Mexico City and Monterrey. Jai alai and boxing were popular professional spectator sports as early as the turn of the twentieth century. Famous foreign boxers, such as Jack Johnson and Jack Dempsey, appeared in Mexican rings during the 1910s and 1920s.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Mexicans participate in a wide variety of recreational sports, including soccer, baseball, softball, basketball, bowling, tennis, and golf. *Frontenis* is a popular form of *pelota vasca* played with tennis rackets; another popular form is three-wall handball. Amateur leagues exist for team sports, but much recreational activity still takes place in private athletic clubs, such as the Chapultepec Club in Mexico City. People play school sports, espe-

cially in private schools. Universities also have teams, and even American football is played at the National University and Monterrey Tech.

Central American and Caribbean Games

Encouraged by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Mexico City held the "First Central American Games" in 1926. This was the first regional Olympic-type event for the Americas that the IOC recognized and supported. Cuba, Guatemala, and Mexico participated in the first games, which were renamed Central American and Caribbean Games in 1938. Only men participated in the initial games, but women competed on an exhibition basis in 1930 and increasingly in the regular program after that. These games have continued to the present and were hosted by Mexico City again in 1954 and 1990. Mexico has participated in all the games.

In the initial games Mexico won all twelve track and three of the eight field events, basketball, tennis, and two of the three shooting events. Federico Mariscal won both diving events. From 1926 through 1990 male Mexican athletes won gold medals in track and field (especially the 1,500 meters, 5,000 meters, 10,000 meters, half marathon, marathon, 3,000-meter steeplechase, and 10-kilometer, 20-kilometer, and 50-kilometer walks), archery, badminton, and basketball (1926–1950, 1954 tie, 1990). Mexican men also won gold medals in bowling, boxing, canoeing, cycling, equestrian, fencing, field hockey, *frontenis*, gymnastics, judo, soccer (1935, 1938, 1959, 1975 tie, 1990), softball, and swimming (all men's and women's swimming events in 1950 and 1959 and all men's events in 1962). Mexican men also won gold in diving (Antonio Mariscal in 1938; Joaquín Capilla in 1946, 1950, and 1954; and Fernando Platas in 1990; all men's diving medals in 1946, 1950, and 1954; and six of six gold medals in 1990), water polo (1950–1962, 1982), polo, racquetball, rowing, tennis, shooting, volleyball (1930, 1935, 1950–1962), wrestling, and yachting.

From 1935 through 1990 Mexican women won gold in discus, javelin, 1,500-meter, 5,000-meter, and 10,000-



Mexico

Key Events in Mexico Sports History

- c. 500 BCE** Mesoamerican peoples are playing ball court games.
- c. 1585** Mesoamerican ball courts are destroyed by the Spanish.
- 1890s** Modern sports are introduced, mainly from the United States.
- c.1910** Professional baseball is established.
- 1923** The National Olympic Committee is established.
- 1924** Mexico participates in the Olympics for the first time.
- 1926** The first Central American Games are held in Mexico City.
- 1951** Mexico participates in the first Pan American Games.
- 1955** Mexico hosts the Pan American Games.
- 1968** The Summer Olympics are held in Mexico City.
- 1970** Mexico hosts the Caribbean (baseball) Series for the first time.
- 1975** Mexico hosts the Pan American Games.
- 1976** Mexico wins the Caribbean (baseball) Series.
- 1987** The Mexican Olympic Festival is held for the first time.

meter runs, marathon, and 10-kilometer walk, archery, badminton, basketball (1935, 1946–1959, 1966), bowling, canoeing, cycling, equestrian events, gymnastics, racquetball, rowing, swimming and diving, synchronized swimming, tennis, and volleyball (1935, 1938, 1954, 1959, 1970).

In 1993 the large Mexican delegation won 68 gold, 109 silver, and 73 bronze medals, including the nation's first medals in team handball, karate, and skating. In

1998 the medal numbers were 61, 87, and 70, respectively. Cuba boycotted the 2002 games in El Salvador, giving Mexico the chance to dominate, winning 145 gold, 116 silver, and 102 bronze medals, including gold in men's and women's archery and its first gold in the men's 200 meters.

Through 1986 Mexicans held two women's track records (10,000-meter run and 10,000-meter walk) and seven men's track records (distance running and walks), two cycling records, two men's and one women's swimming records, and one men's shooting record. During this period Mexico dominated swimming, diving, and tennis and won 25 percent of gold and 24 percent of total medals (second place in both, far below first-place Cuba but far above third-place Puerto Rico). The Mexican delegation won the most gold medals (and usually the most total medals) in 1926, 1935, 1950–1966, and 2002 (in the absence of Cuba) and second most in 1930, 1938, 1946, and 1970–1998.

Pan American Games

Mexico participated in the initial Pan American Games in 1951 and all succeeding games, hosting the games in 1955 and 1975. Mexican businessman Mario Vázquez Raña is president of the Pan American Sport Organization, headquartered in Mexico City.

From 1951 through 2003 Mexican men won Pan American gold medals in marathon, 5,000 meters, 10,000 meters, 20-kilometer walk, 50-kilometer walk, bowling, boxing, cycling, diving (Joaquín Capilla, 1955; Fernando Platas, 1995), equestrian, fencing, *frontenis*, gymnastics, judo, kayak and canoe, modern pentathlon, racquetball, rowing, tennis (1955 and mixed doubles in 1951–1963), soccer (1967, 1975 tie, 1999), shooting, swimming, taekwondo, weightlifting, freestyle wrestling, water polo (1975), and yachting.

During the same period Mexican women won Pan American gold in the marathon, 400 meters (Ana Guevara in 1999 and 2003), 3,000 meters, 5,000 meters, 10,000 meters, 10-kilometer walk, 20-kilometer walk, bowling, cycling, fencing, *frontenis*, racquetball,

So-called Asian martial arts have become a global phenomenon. This photo shows a taekwondo center in a Mexican town in central Mexico in 2003.



rowing, taekwondo, tennis, volleyball (1955), and yachting.

Olympic Games

With the stimulation of a visit from IOC vice president Henri de Baillet-Latour in 1923 and the financial support of a major Mexico

City newspaper, *El Universal*, Mexico first took part in the Olympics in Paris in 1924 with a group of fifteen track and field athletes, two shooters, and two tennis players. One of the shooters was Colonel Tirso Hernández, who later became a principal figure in Mexican sport administration. Since then Mexican athletes have participated in all summer Olympic Games, winning their first medals in 1932 (silver in flyweight boxing by Francisco Cabañas and a silver in shooting). Subsequent medals include bronze in bantamweight boxing, polo, and men's basketball in 1936; two gold, one silver, and one bronze in equestrian and one bronze in men's diving (Joaquín Capilla) in 1948; one silver in men's diving (Capilla) in 1952; one gold and one bronze in men's diving (both by Capilla) in 1956; one bronze in men's diving in 1960; one bronze (tie) in bantamweight boxing in 1964; silver in men's 20-kilometer walk, two gold and two bronze in boxing, one gold in men's swimming, one bronze in women's swimming, one silver in women's fencing, and one silver in men's diving in 1968.

Mexican athletes also won silver in bantamweight boxing in 1972; gold in men's 20-kilometer walk (Daniel Bautista) and bronze (tie) in featherweight boxing in 1976; one silver in men's diving and three bronze

in equestrian events in 1980; gold and silver (Raul González) in men's 20-kilometer walk, gold in men's 50-kilometer walk (Raul González), silver in bantamweight boxing; and one silver in Greco-Roman wrestling. Mexican athletes also won one bronze in men's cycling in 1984; bronze (tie) in flyweight boxing and one bronze in men's diving in 1988; silver in men's 50-kilometer walk in 1992; bronze in men's 20-kilometer walk in 1996; one gold in women's weightlifting, silver in men's 20-kilometer walk and men's platform diving (Fernando Platas). They also won bronze in men's 50-kilometer walk, lightweight boxing, and men's taekwondo in 2000; and silver in women's 400 meters (Ana Guevara), one silver in women's cycling, one silver in men's taekwondo, and one bronze in women's taekwondo in 2004. In the 2004 Olympics Mexico was sixtieth overall in gold and tied for forty-sixth in total medals.

Mexico City was the site of the 1968 Olympics—the only Olympics to have been held in Latin America. Those games were the largest Olympics that had been held at that time, with 5,931 athletes from 112 countries. Opening ceremonies were conducted in the stadium of the National University, constructed during the 1950s and used previously for Pan American and Central American and Caribbean Games. Many sports



facilities were built, including a huge gymnasium, the Sport Palace, a world-class velodrome (a track designed for cycling), and the Olympic swimming complex. Mexico entered more than three hundred athletes, and its nine medals were an all-time high for the country.

The Mexican Olympic Committee hosted its Mexican Olympic Festival at its training center in Mexico City every year during the period 1987–2003. Competition in Mexican and international sports is held for Mexicans from all parts of the country as well as athletes from other countries.

Several Mexicans have been members of the IOC, including General José de Jesús Clark Flores, elected in 1952 and serving as vice president during the period 1966–1970. Current Mexican IOC members include Mario Vázquez Raña (member of the executive board; received the IOC's Olympic Order in Gold in 1988) and Olegario Vázquez Raña. Mario Vázquez Raña is also president of the Association of National Olympic Committees.

Professional Sports

The most important professional sport in Mexico is soccer. First division teams receive strong fan support, their matches are frequently shown on TV, and national selections compete in international competition. Professional baseball began during the early twentieth century, and the Mexican League became especially important during the 1940s and later, drawing players even from the U.S. major leagues in 1946. The Mexican Pacific League plays winter ball. Between 1970 and 1992 Mexico hosted seven Caribbean Series (later called the "Inter-American Series") championships, and Mexican teams won the series in 1976 and 1986. Many Mexican players have starred in U.S. professional baseball, the best known being Los Angeles Dodger pitcher Fernando Valenzuela (1981–1990).

Mexicans also have played jai alai since the late 1800s, and the Frontón México in Mexico City is still a popular spot for watching and betting on jai alai matches. Mexican boxers are widely followed in their country and internationally. Julio César Chávez was world champion in

three divisions, winning 106 matches (89 consecutively) and losing only 5, finally retiring in 2004 at age forty-one. The pseudo-sport of professional wrestling is well established in Mexico and featured on TV.

Women and Sport

Mexican women have participated in sports for more than one hundred years. During the earliest period socially elite women played tennis and golf, and working-class and middle-class girls and women played basketball. Since the mid-twentieth century Mexican women have participated in most modern sports from recreational leagues to international competition. Currently 400-meter runner Ana Guevara is probably the best known Mexican woman athlete.

Organizations

The Secretaría de Educación, Cultura y Deporte (Secretary of Education, Culture, and Sports) is the cabinet-level government office that oversees sports in Mexico. The Comisión Nacional de Cultura Física y Deporte (National Commission of Physical Culture and Sports) (www.conade.gob.mx) is the principal organization that promotes physical education, recreation, and sports. Mexico's National Olympic Committee (www.com.org.mx) was established in 1923. The committee's training center in Mexico City, constructed for the 1968 games, contains gymnasiums, swimming pool, track and athletic field, a velodrome, archery area, and a dormitory and dining hall for athletes in residence, as well as an Olympic library and museum.

The Future

Sport, especially soccer for boys and basketball for girls, are important for Mexican youth, and national spirit is fostered by victories of Mexican professional boxers and by the successes of other athletes in international competitions, such as the Pan American and Olympic Games. Spectator enthusiasm for sport is most developed in professional soccer, and the traditional sports of bullfighting and *jaripeo* maintain their fans. Critics have complained that, in sport, Mexico has not lived up



to its status as a powerful nation and leader in Latin America, but professional sports and Olympic-type sports seem to have a bright future in Mexico.

Richard V. McGehee

See also Mesoamerican Ball Court Games

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Miracle on Ice

See Lake Placid

Mixed Martial Arts

Mixed martial arts combine kicking and punching with wrestling techniques and finishing holds from U.S. boxing, kickboxing, Greco-Roman wrestling, judo, and Brazilian jujitsu. The term *mixed martial arts* is also used to describe a combat sport in which fighters of all disciplines test their skills against one another with minimal rules and equipment.

History

The term *mixed martial arts* may be relatively new, but martial arts have always blended and experimented; “traditional” styles as varied as karate, *silat* (an Asian martial art), and jujitsu were heavily influenced by Chinese kung fu, which in turn traces its roots to the Buddhist monk Bodhidharma, who is believed to have brought from India a set of exercises to ease the pain from long sessions of sitting meditation.

The trail doesn’t end there, however; when Alexander of Macedon invaded India in 326 BCE, he was accompanied by a large number of *pankratists*—experts in *pankration*, a brutal, no-holds-barred combat sport popular in the Greek world. Translated as “all powers,” *pankration* was the first recorded mixed martial arts sport, combining boxing with wrestling and submission holds (painful joint locks and choking techniques). Matches had only two rules—no biting and no eye gouging—and contestants often ignored even these rules, whereupon the referee would beat the offending fighter with a stick. Matches had no time limits and ended only when one fighter was knocked unconscious or submitted by raising a hand. Broken bones and serious injuries were common, and some matches ended in the death of one or even both combatants. Because of the popularity and brutal effectiveness of choking techniques, the leading cause of death in matches was strangulation.

Around 648 BCE *pankration* was included in the Olympic Games and quickly became the most popular sport of its day. *Pankration* champions were lauded as



A kickboxing or Muay Thai match in Thailand.

Source: istockphoto/andy_lim.

brothers. Brazilian jujitsu grew in popularity until, in 1993, mixed martial arts competition was reintroduced to the world in a live pay-per-view event called the “Ultimate Fighting Championship” (UFC). Designed as a showcase for Gracie jujitsu, these no-holds-barred matches were unpredictable, pitting kickboxers against wrestlers and even a 272-kilogram sumo wrestler against a karate fighter half his size (the little guy won).

heroes. Tradition holds that the Greek hero Hercules was a *pankratist*.

With the rise of the Roman Empire, *pankration* was either upstaged by or absorbed into the most infamous of combat sports, the spectacle of the gladiators. Mixed martial arts remained a staple of martial training, but two thousand years would pass before unarmed mixed martial arts competition would become an international phenomenon.

Contemporary mixed martial arts trace their origin to Brazil during the early part of the twentieth century. After studying with renowned Japanese judo champion Mitsuyo Maeda, brothers Carlos and Helio Gracie opened a jujitsu academy in Rio de Janeiro. To promote their new academy they placed newspaper ads challenging anyone who wished to fight. Their *vale tudo* (anything goes) matches soon packed soccer stadiums with fans. During the next five decades the Gracie brothers and their sons defeated martial arts champions from around the world and developed Gracie jujitsu (Brazilian jujitsu). Similar mixed martial arts competitions enjoyed small but loyal followings around the world, including a Japanese fight-sport called “*pancrase*” in homage to its Olympic progenitor.

During the 1980s Helio Gracie’s son Rorion brought his Gracie Challenge to the United States, offering \$100,000 to anyone who could defeat him or one of his

As in *pankration*, the rules were few. Fights could be ended by the referee, by knockout, or by submission. Blood was mopped off the canvas between bouts, and fighters might have to compete two or three times in a single night. Royce Gracie and his family style swept the tournament, and he would go on to win two more before his opponents learned his tactics and leveled the playing field.

By the third UFC event the audience had tripled in size, and UFC had come to the attention of activists groups who labeled it a “blood sport.” Even as its popularity skyrocketed in the United States and overseas, mixed martial arts competitions were banned in many states and removed from television. Pressure from fans and legislators prompted creation of a governing body, the International Fighting Championships (IFC). In order to legitimize the sport, the IFC developed new rules, including weight classes, time limits, and a judging system. As a result, the UFC was sanctioned by the Nevada Boxing Commission and returned to television as a legitimate fight sport, breaking previous pay-per-view audience records. Today mixed martial arts competition is one of the fastest growing sports in the world.

Nature of the Sport

Known as “no-holds-barred” or “submission fighting,” a new mixed martial art has evolved for competitions

Play for more than you can afford to lose, then you will learn the game. ■ WINSTON CHURCHILL

first made popular by the Ultimate Fighting Championship. In this new mixed martial art, fighters from many disciplines pit their skills against one another in gladiatorial combat with minimal rules. Despite legislative efforts to ban these competitions, mixed martial arts rejuvenated worldwide interest in martial arts around the world and became a legitimate fight sport.

Governing Bodies

In addition to the International Fighting Championships (www.ifc-usa.com), a governing body is the International Sport Karate Association (www.iska.com).

Kathy Long

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Motivation

Motivation is continually changing in sports. Sports psychologists often characterize motivation as including direction of effort, intensity of effort, persistence of behavior, and the extent to which an athlete returns on a regular basis to the behavior (referred to as “continuing motivation”). To recognize how individual motivation is developed and to discover the most effective ways to influence motivation, coaches and sports psychologists acknowledge not only characteristics of an athlete but also the social environmental and physical environmental conditions in which the athlete participates. Hence, no single strategy or view is used to explain motivation. The best approach incorporates individual, social environmental, and physical environmental influences on motivation.

Sports psychologists attempt to account for both individual and situational variables that influence an athlete’s motivation. The individual athlete (with his or her gender, race/ethnicity, religion/spirituality, etc.) and his or her interaction with the sports environment (social and physical factors) have a major influence on motivation. Personal factors involved in the interaction of athletes with the sports environment may include physical fitness, physical skill, perceptual skill, and psychological skill.

Furthermore, sports are often rooted in cultural traditions. Where an athlete lives and plays influences motivation. Hence, social factors associated with sports, including the athlete’s roles and responsibilities at work and home, surroundings in which an athlete participates, and family, friends, teammates, and coaches influence motivation. Accordingly, economic conditions, socioeconomic status, and educational and family structures also influence motivation. Moreover, research in sports psychology has identified an athlete’s experiences with cooperation and competition as well as with coaching behavior as additional social factors influencing motivation. Physical environmental factors, including convenient and accessible training facilities, enjoyable scenery, and weather, may also influence motivation.

Intentions

In order to discuss principles of motivation, we must assume that athletes are actively involved in decision making about what behavior they will engage in. Athletes can choose to behave through the exercise of self-influence. Those actions done intentionally are referred to as “agency.”

To be an agent is to intentionally make things happen by one’s actions. Agency embodies the endowments, belief systems, self-regulatory capabilities and distributed structures and functions through which personal influence is exercised, rather than residing as a discrete entity in a particular place. The core features of agency enable people to play a part in their self-development, adaptation, and self-renewal with changing times. (Bandura 2001, 2)



Motivation

Persistence

Nothing in the world can take the place of persistence.

Talent will not: Nothing is more common than unsuccessful men with talent.

Genius will not: Unrewarded genius is almost a proverb.

Education will not: The world is full of educated derelicts.

Persistence and determination alone are omnipotent.

Anonymous

Behavioral intention is a strong influence on motivation. Intention represents an athlete's immediate behavioral orientation toward engaging in a sport and reflects the athlete's motivation toward that sport. Intentions reflect a decision to enact a particular behavior (e.g., attending practice). Intentions for sports summarize an athlete's motivation to be involved in sports.

An intention is a representation of a future course of action to be performed. It is not simply an expectation or prediction of future actions but a proactive commitment to bringing them about. Intentions and actions are different aspects of a functional relation separated in time. It is, therefore, meaningful to speak of intentions grounded in self-motivators affecting the likelihood of actions at a future point in time. (Bandura 2001, 7)

Hence, we can view intention as a convincing predictor of behavior and influence on motivation.

Self-Efficacy Beliefs

Self-efficacy is a theoretical construct that has received a great deal of support as a significant influence on motivation. Self-efficacy represents a form of situation-specific self-confidence. Self-efficacy is an athlete's perception of her ability to perform a given task. An athlete's belief in her capability to exercise some meas-

ure of control over her own functioning and over environmental events is central to the athlete's personal agency. Efficacy beliefs are at the foundation of this personal agency. The likelihood that an athlete will participate in a given sport depends on her beliefs about whether she can perform the skills necessary for that sport. Unless the athlete believes she can produce chosen results by her actions, she has little incentive to act or to persevere in the face of hardship.

Other factors may operate as motivators in sports but must be rooted in the core belief that the athlete has the power to produce effects by her own actions. Athletes with high levels of self-efficacy persevere when faced with obstacles or negative circumstances. In contrast, athletes with low levels of self-efficacy fail to overcome similar obstacles. Efficacy beliefs play a pivotal role in motivation and also influence whether athletes think optimistically or pessimistically. Therefore, efficacy beliefs may enhance or hinder sports motivation.

Expectancy

In addition to self-efficacy, outcome expectations influence motivation. The likelihood that athletes will engage in a behavior (e.g., physical training) depends on their self-efficacy and their outcome expectations (e.g., winning in competition). In examining any theory related to motivation, we must understand the relative importance of the activity to the athlete. In the self-efficacy model a strong relationship exists between doing something and seeing the results. However, the model itself excludes the relative importance of the outcome to the athlete. The expectancy theory proposes that expectations can influence motivation. The first element of expectancy theory is valence or the relative importance of the outcome of the situation.

Knowing what an athlete wants to gain from a certain situation and understanding the relative importance of the outcome are significant parts of the athlete's motivation. Self-efficacy and outcome expectations are powerful influences on an athlete's motivation. An expectancy-valence model depends on the athlete's expectations of reward. Positive expectations

for success produce subsequent positive effects. An athlete's motivation to achieve something depends on the product of his estimation of his chance of success and the value he places on success. Note that if an athlete does not value the outcome or believes that his probability of success is zero, then his motivation will be insignificant. In addition, under certain circumstances an overly high probability of success can be detrimental to motivation. Athletes form outcome expectations from observing the sports environment in which they participate as well as the outcomes from the actions they take. Athletes pursue courses of action that are likely to produce positive outcomes and avoid courses of action that are likely to produce negative outcomes.

Athletes who believe they have control over events in their lives are more likely to behave in accord with expectancy theory. However, athletes who believe that they are pawns of fate do not. These alternative beliefs are subjective and are referred to as the athletes' "locus of control." Locus of control explains how each athlete generally views the source of her outcomes, positive or negative. "Internal locus of control" means that an athlete's reinforcements and punishments are the result of her resources and own efforts. "External locus of control" means that an athlete's reinforcements and punishments are the result of outside forces over which she has no control. How she perceives the source of control determines an athlete's locus of control. An athlete's subjective locus of control affects how she behaves.

According to expectancy theory, athletes are motivated not only by their goals but also by how attainable they think these goals are. Within this theory three factors help determine an athlete's motivation: valence, instrumentality, and expectancy. Valence is the satisfaction the athlete anticipates from an outcome. Instrumentality is the perception of that outcome's relationship to the current performance. Expectancy is the expectation that effort will affect performance. According to this theory, motivation is high when valence is high, instrumentality is clear, and expectancy is strong.

Self-Determination

Athletes with a self-determined motivational profile engage in sports because of personal choice or because they derive pleasure and satisfaction from the experience. Deci and Ryan describe self-determination as a person's "capacity to choose and to have those choices be the determinants of one's actions" (Deci and Ryan 1985, 38). To further develop self-determination theory, Vallerand proposed the hierarchical model of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. In the model motivation may be intrinsic, extrinsic, or amotivated. "Intrinsic motivation" refers to engaging in sports for the pleasure derived from simply participating. This type of motivation comes from within the athlete regardless of outside influences.

Intrinsically motivated athletes possess greater perceptions of physical competence or participate in sports for the feelings of self-determination, perceptions of control, and satisfaction that the sports provide. Intrinsic motivation is fostered when feelings of competence are increased or perceptions of self-determination and internal control are prominent. Furthermore, sports activity that is perceived to be interesting or challenging, that provides feelings of pleasure and satisfaction, or that is performed for its own sake rather than for external reward induces intrinsic motivation. When the sports activity is perceived to be under one's internal control, intrinsic motivation is high. Extrinsic motivation, however, results from behavior performed to gain some substantial reward or to avoid negative consequences rather than to reap the inherent pleasure it provides. "Extrinsic motivation" refers to a wide range of behaviors considered to be a means to an end. Extrinsic motivation comes from outside the athlete, most commonly from others through either positive support or negative reinforcements. The fundamental goal of such behaviors is to receive something positive and to avoid something negative. Amotivation is the complete lack of motivation. Feelings of incompetence and lack of control often characterize amotivation.

*Everybody kind of perceives me as being angry.
It's not anger, it's motivation!* ■ ROGER CLEMENS

Enjoyment

Enjoyment (a form of intrinsic motivation) is an important influence on sports motivation. Enjoyment based in part on feelings of competence and perceived control is essential for enhancing motivation and continued participation. Athletes continue to participate because they enjoy what they are doing. Feelings of enjoyment clearly play an important role in sports motivation. Athletes who enjoy their chosen sport will stick with it longer than those who do not.

Goal Setting

Goal setting has long been a part of the study of motivation and coaching in sports psychology. Many studies during the last thirty years have supported the effectiveness of goal-setting theory in various sports settings. Goals can be divided into outcome goals, performance goals, and process goals. Research in goal setting indicates that subjects with easy goals usually have higher expectations for reaching their goals but perform worse than do subjects assigned to difficult goals. A relationship between probability of success and incentive value of success appears to exist in that success in an easy task is not valued as highly as success in a difficult one.

Additionally, multiple-goal strategies are advantageous for sports performance when compared with strategies that do not combine different types of goals. Specifically, the benefit of developing a process orientation toward goal setting has been well documented. Process goals are most beneficially used within a hierarchy of goals that should also include performance and outcome goals. The key to this type of goal setting is for the athlete to focus on what she needs to do as opposed to what she wants to happen. Performance and outcome goals can be set with process goals as the means to achieving the desired outcome. Process goals are simply the means chosen to implement performance and outcome goals.

The function of goal setting is to institute and give direction to action. Goals serve as a motivational tool by

engaging self-evaluation in the activity itself. Athletes often use journals or training logs as a means of self-evaluation, feedback, and continued motivation. Technological and computer advances allow athletes to record, share, and analyze training information (i.e., heart rates, power output, mileage) with coaches via spreadsheets, databases, and e-mail. Monitoring an athlete's pattern of performance (e.g., actual physical training) and the cognitive (e.g., mood during training) and environmental conditions (e.g., heat and humidity) under which the training occurs is one step toward affecting performance. Current actions influence future actions through performance comparisons. With this immediate information and feedback available, evaluation based on individual and coaching guidelines gives further direction to athletic pursuits. This evaluation helps athletes sustain their efforts toward further goal achievement and continued motivation. Intentional behavior, such as sports participation, must center on a plan of action. Intentions and goals must be revised and even reconsidered, depending on new information or changes in the sports environment (e.g., level of competition).

Attention to Action

To increase motivation, athletes must use a here-and-now focus. Athletes do well over time when they use a task-oriented approach toward training and competition. Task orientations are associated with intrinsic motivation. Although the past may influence reasons for current behavior (e.g., previous lack of physical conditioning), the past cannot be changed. Furthermore, when an athlete is cognitively focused in the present, expected future events are transformed into current motivators of behavior. When focused in the present, behavior (e.g., daily physical training) is motivated and directed by specific performance and process goals and anticipated outcomes. Athletes must choose to behave and focus in the present (e.g., process goals). One key to reaching full athletic potential is to develop the skill to keep previous successes and failures in perspective and to view things with a here-and-now focus. This

I hated every minute of training, but I said, don't quit. Suffer now and live the rest of your life a champion. ■ MUHAMMAD ALI

here-and-now focus must involve effective concentration on the task at hand.

Having adopted an intention and an action plan, one cannot simply sit back and wait for the appropriate performances to appear. Agency thus involves not only the deliberative ability to make choices and action plans, but the ability to give shape to appropriate courses of action and to motivate and regulate their execution. This multifaceted self-directedness operates through self-regulatory processes that link thought to action. (Bandura 2001, 9)

Implication

Motivation in sports is continually changing. We must recognize the complexity of individual, social environmental, and physical environmental influences on motivation. Agency and the core belief that the athlete has the power to produce effects by his or her own actions are strong influences on motivation. Knowing what an athlete wants to gain from his or her sport and understanding the relative importance of the outcome are significant parts of the athlete's motivation. To maintain and enhance motivation, the athlete must understand the degree of effort necessary (e.g., training time, intensity) and the relationship among process goals, performance goals, and outcome goals. Understanding how and why each goal can be achieved will aid in motivating the athlete. Motivation is high when valence is high, instrumentality is clear, and expectancy is strong. Athletes are motivated not only by their goals but also by how attainable they think these goals are. An emphasis on establishing realistic and achievable process goals focusing on specific task accomplishments will further enhance the athlete's feeling of self-confidence and motivation. Constant monitoring with corrective feedback based on goal attainment is also recommended. The combination of knowing what direction the athlete is heading in, what performance level is needed, and what effort is needed often results in high motivation.

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See also Coaching; Mental Conditioning; Psychology

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Motorboat Racing

Motorboat racing (also known as powerboat racing or speed-boat racing) is a global sport that combines elements of sailing and auto racing. Like sailing it takes place on the ever-changing water surface. Like auto racing it relies on powerful engines and vehicles often specially designed for the sport. And, like both sailing and auto racing it takes brave and skilled competitors, talented crews, and wealthy sponsors at the top end of the sport. Competitive motorboat racing takes place on inland waterways, rivers, and open water. Events are varied and are based on type of boat, style of boat, type and power of the engine, and amateur versus professional status of the competitors. Motorboat racing is often a spectacular sport to watch, with the powerful hydroplanes racing along the water at 160 kilometers (100 miles) per hour or more, shooting off large “roostertails” of water behind them. The decision to move offshore racing close to shore was a key factor in increasing the popularity of motorboat racing.



History

The development of powerboating is a product of development of engines used to propel vehicles on the water, on land, and in the air. The first motorized boats were operated by steam engines in the early 1800s. These early racers were often wealthy owners of steam-powered private yachts.

The start of modern powerboating is generally traced to the invention of the internal-combustion engine. One of the first motorboats of this type was built in France around 1865 by Jean Lenoir. In the 1880s, Gottlieb Daimler developed a gas-powered engine in Europe that became the engine for both automobiles and boats. Powerboating then grew rapidly after the engine came into widespread use after 1900. Because racers were on the cutting edge of technology, they often tested new engines and boat designs that later came into general use.

In 1907 Ole Evinrude invented the outboard motor, which was portable and easy to attach to boats. Evinrude's outboard motor helped to make small powerboats practical. Around the same time, the first hydroplanes appeared. These racing boats had bodies that were designed specifically to be used with engines at high speeds.

Their design included a shallow stepped hull that rose above the water as the boat moved faster. Another type of powerboat body, called the “V” hull because of its shape, was developed around 1910 and combined speed with stability. Later designs were more sophisticated, but were based on the principles established by these early models.

The first races were typically sponsored by auto clubs such as the Royal Automobile Club

A hydroplane race.

Source: istockphoto/joe32780.

of England, or by yacht clubs. As these organizations were devoted to other sports, boat racers soon formed their own clubs to organize races. Perhaps the first major race was the Harmsworth Trophy, established by British publisher Sir Alfred Harmsworth. The first event was held in 1903 on a 13.6-kilometer (8.5-mile) course off the coast of Ireland. The Harmsworth Trophy took place continuously until the early 1930s and was revived at various times in subsequent years.

In the United States, the American Power Boat Association (APBA) was formed in 1903. The APBA sponsors the annual Perpetual Challenge, or Gold Cup, which was first run in 1904. It and its 132 affiliated clubs now sponsor over three hundred events each year. The United States Power Boat Squadron was founded to promote boating safety through instruction and other activities. The Coast Guard Auxiliary is also active in power boating.

In 1922, the Union of International Motor Boating (UIM) was formed. It sanctions events and the international standings of racers, including world records.

Powerboating has become ever more popular since the 1970s. This was stimulated by many factors, including the introduction of new models and the visibility of powerboats in action movies and in television series like the police show *Miami Vice*. Powerboats also became more integrated as products. Traditionally, boats and motors were often sold separately. However, the makers of boats and engines increasingly designed and sold boats and motors as a single product. In addition to the continued evolution of large, high-performance powerboats, a new generation of very small and responsive boats gained popularity among recreational boaters. These new vessels also created new categories of racing events.

Nature of Motorboat Racing

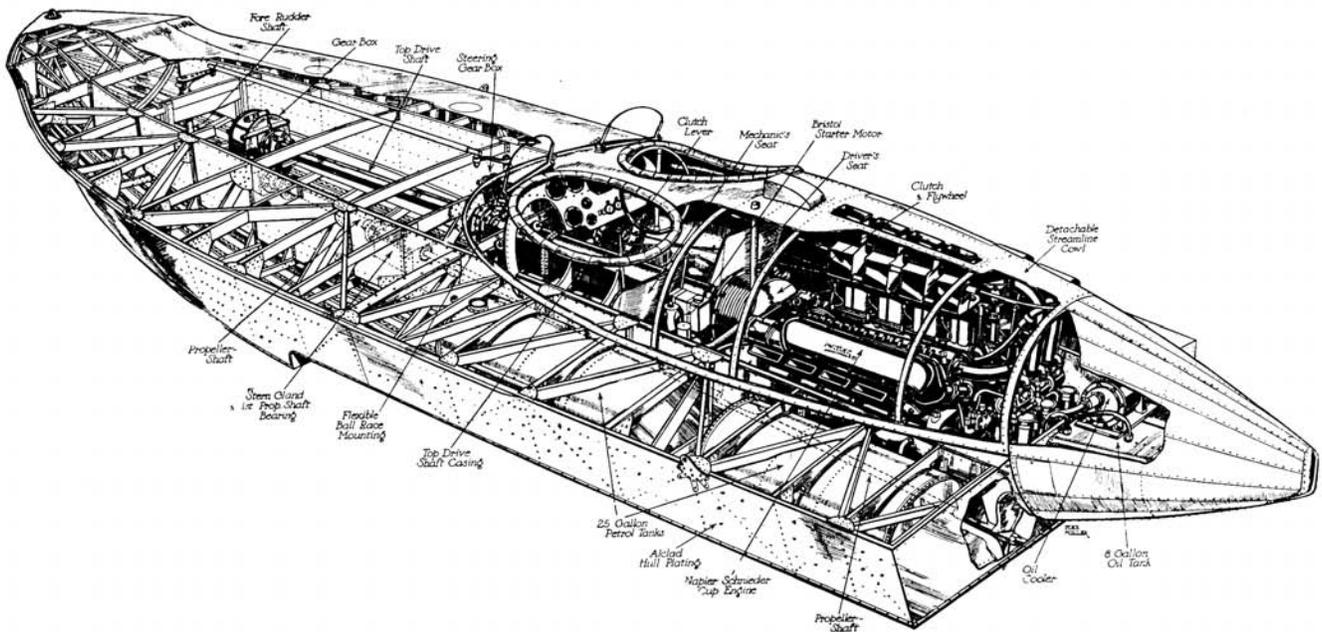
As the designs of motorized boats became more varied it was increasingly difficult to compare their performance in races. This prompted efforts to define different categories of powerboats, so that craft would compete against like craft. In 1917 there were five boating divi-

sions sanctioned by APBA, including cruisers, express cruisers, open boats, runabouts, and hydroplanes. By the mid-1990s there were over ten basic classes and many subdivisions within them. As with all forms of racing, more speed is a constant goal. The top speed in the first Gold Cup race in 1904 was just under 39 kilometers (24 miles) per hour. The introduction of hydroplanes boosted speeds considerably to 160 kilometers (100 miles) per hour or more. In 1978, Kenneth Peter Warby achieved a world's water-speed record of 552.8 kilometers per hour (345.48 miles per hour or 300 knots) in New South Wales, Australia, in his hydroplane, the Spirit of Australia.

Safety is a major issue in powerboating. Various safeguards have been instituted over the years to reduce risk, such as helmets, lifejackets, and other protective gear. Other safety measures have included closed cockpits on certain types of very fast racing boats, covers around propellers, and kill switches that automatically cut the engine if the driver is dislodged from the boat.

Powerboating has also raised environmental concerns, including noise, the waves that these vessels can generate, and pollution, including fuel leaking into the water and the exhaust fumes that escape into the air and water. Manufacturers have tried to produce cleaner, more efficient engines. In the 1990s in the United States, the Federal Clean Air Act was expanded to include control of boats and other recreational vehicles. The Environmental Protection Administration issued guidelines that required a decrease of 75 percent in the emissions released by outboard engines manufactured after 1998.

Racing powerboats are complex machines, and there are an infinite number of possible variations based on combinations of design, engines, and other features. To bring consistency to the sport, powerboats and racing events are divided into categories that are based on the specifications of the participating boats. A racing event may be entirely focused on one particular class of boat, or it may contain separate races for boats in several categories. Major categories in the APBA include Inboard; Modified Outboard; Off-shore; Outboard Performance Craft; Outboard Drag; Professional Racing Outboard;



A semi-sectioned view of *Miss Britain III*, a record-setting speedboat of the 1920s.

Stock Outboard; Unlimited Hydroplanes; RC (radio controlled) Model, Vintage, and Historic; American Performance Racing; and Personal Watercraft. The types of possible races are also extremely varied. The rules, procedures, and methods for determining the winners can be based on many possible criteria. Races that are part of larger series—or that affect speed records and the national and international standings of drivers and boats—follow general guidelines established by oversight bodies like UIM. Races may be organized as heats or laps among groups of boats or in timed solo runs. The winners are frequently determined by average speed or top speed during a race. In endurance races, boaters try to cover as much distance as possible in a designated amount of time.

A basic distinction among powerboat competitions is between inland and offshore racing. Inland races, held on lakes, rivers, and similar bodies of water, have long been a mainstay of powerboat racing. Offshore races take place in oceans and bays and other large bodies of water connected to them; they cover various distances. Powerboat races are often held on circular or oval courses of varying lengths. Races may also be based on laps, which allows boats to cover long distances within a small area.

Among the longest offshore races was a 1972 marathon from England to Monte Carlo. Cruising races,

based on speed, for larger boats was another early form of competition. However, these boats could not compete for speed with high-powered craft like the hydroplane. Instead, cruising was revived as a competition called the “predicted log,” which relies on navigation and accuracy. In these races, the pilots attempt to predict the times it will take them to reach designated points on a course. Drag racing, which emerged in the late 1950s, takes place on straight courses. In events for “stock” boats, the engine and body must remain true to the specifications they were manufactured with and may not be significantly altered. In Modified or Unlimited competitions, the owners and driver are allowed greater flexibility to customize the boat and engine more extensively to improve its performance.

One basic method of classifying a powerboat is by the design of its body. As with other types of water vessels, the design of a motorboat involves trade-offs between speed and stability. Boat designers and builders also consider many other factors, including whether the bow goes smoothly through waves on the uneven surface of the water or slaps the surface in an up-and-down motion.

The design of the hull, or lower portion of the boat, is especially important. At low speeds, the hull of a boat goes forward through the water, displacing it

(pushing it aside) as the vessel moves ahead. However, as the speed and power increase, other forces also push the hull upward toward the water's surface and into the air, a principle known as planing. Boat designers and builders emphasize one or the other of these forces, depending on the priorities and use of the craft. Boats that emphasize stability, such as cabin cruisers, have deeper, broader hulls that emphasize displacement. This makes the boat better able to resist the tendency to rise from the water. These displacement hulls are slower but more seaworthy. At the other end of the spectrum are boats with very shallow hulls designed for speed, such as those on hydroplanes. As they increase in speed, these planing hulls rise to the water's surface and may continue into the air. Variations of this style of hull include hydrofoils, which virtually float above the water except where extensions of the boat remain in the water.

The "V" is another basic style of hull that combines the stability of displacement and the speed of planing. These hulls become narrow at their bases. When traveling at low speeds they stay primarily in the water, but when they are moving faster they rise in the bow. V-boats are often used in offshore ocean racing because they are fast but also able to handle rough water. Another important factor in the design of powerboat bodies is the length of the hull.

Motorboats are powered by a variety of engines. The primary form is the internal combustion engine. A basic distinction is between inboard and outboard motors. Inboards are engines built into the boat itself, with a drive shaft that is horizontal or angled slightly and that is connected to one or more propellers in the stern. Outboard motors are separate units that are attached to the boat's exterior at the stern. Boat engines that combine features of these basic types are known as inboard/outboards. In the 1980s and 1990s, electronic fuel injection and other components became increasingly important aspects of marine engines, enabling them to operate more efficiently and cleanly. Other types of engines include turbines, or jets. These may be used to turn propellers or propel the boat directly by creating

very strong currents of air or water through the hull. In addition, there are less common specialized boats, including those with electric engines and boats that are powered by large fans at the stern that push the boat with air currents.

A branch of the sport that has become very popular is known as personal watercraft. These may include craft that are designed like other motorboats, but on a smaller scale for one or two passengers. Another type, sometimes referred to as "jet skis," have seats in the center that the rider straddles, similar to the posture of a motorcyclist.

Some enthusiasts enjoy restoring and racing older powerboats, a category known as vintage or historic racing. In addition to full-sized boats, powerboating organizations have also added special classes for other types of vessels, including miniature radio-controlled powerboats.

John Townes

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Motorcycle Racing

Motorcycling became popular when industrial engineers applied the newly invented engine to the velocipede (a lightweight wheeled vehicle propelled by the rider) toward the end of the nineteenth century. Although early motorcycles used steam engines as well as four-stroke and two-stroke gasoline engines, riders came to prefer the four stroke and two stroke. People have always preferred the automobile over the motorcycle, but



markets expanded rapidly when manufacturers sought to attract customers to the possibilities of motorcycle racing.

Beginning in 1903 the Federation of American Motorcyclists and later the Amateur Motorcycle Association governed motorcycling in the United States; in racing the two top manufacturers—Harley Davidson and Indian—competed for the commercial market; Harley Davidson, with its attention to personalized, varied designs, became the symbol of U.S. motor sport. In Europe the Federation Internationale des Clubs Motorcyclistes (later the Federation Internationale de Motocyclisme—FIM) was established in 1904. European nations strove to excel in the competitions between manufacturers that created a golden era for motorcycle racing.

After World War II improved tires, asphalt tracks, and greater attention to safety changed the sport. Sponsors and television coverage, meanwhile, encouraged motorcycle racers to seek ever higher speeds and increased athleticism.

Origins

Several countries claim to have been the cradle of motorcycle racing: Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States all submitted patents for crude motor velocipedes, but scholars generally consider the German auto manufacturer Gottlieb Daimler (1834–1900), developer of the Einspur machine (1885), to be the father of the motorcycle. Daimler applied the four-stroke engine, which the German engineer Nikolaus August Otto (1832–1891) had elaborated a few years earlier, but used a combination of gases—an important step in the evolution of the motorcycle.

Motorcycle racing initially was combined with motor tricycles and automobiles; the first race exclusively for motorcycles was held in France and England in 1896. Within a few years the gasoline internal combustion engine had surpassed the steam engine, which the U.S. inventor Sylvester Roper exhibited in the United States during the early 1870s. Roper's European counterpart was Baron De Dion, whose steam-engine-powered tricycle eclipsed earlier performances of internal combustion engines. De Dion's engines were exported to the

United States and were purchased by people interested in the technical structure of motorcycles, including Harley Davidson and Indian. However, soon Harley Davidson and Indian abandoned the De Dion engine in favor of the more powerful gasoline four-stroke engine. These new engine models became popular, and in many cases the motorcycle usurped the position of the automobile because it was cheaper.

Development

Experiments, brilliant successes, crushing failures, and hazardous attempts marked the early history of motorcycle racing. Like bicycle racing and automobile racing, early motorcycle racing took place across long distances, often linking the capitals of Europe. However, races often failed, with only a handful of competitors finishing the course, because technical preparation and materials were not developed enough to support the performances of the engines, whose displacement had increased to 1,000 or 1,200 cubic centimeters. The FIM limited the capability grades to 500 cubic centimeters to avoid accidents, wasteful expenditures, and risks to racers and spectators. Such technical difficulties stimulated improvements in motorcycles, and the quest for record-breaking performances further stimulated progress.

Races in the United States also generally covered long distances, such as the 320-kilometer Savannah (later Daytona) race. Dirt courses and circular tracks excited U.S. spectators beginning in the 1920s. The European races were held in towns or on artificial un-asphalted tracks.

With the popularity of motorcycle racing small manufacturers emerged in Italy: Moto Guzzi was founded in 1921 in Mandello del Lario, and Gilera was founded in 1909 in Milan. In the United Kingdom Birmingham Small Arms (BSA), Londoner Norton, and AJS dominated the market for years. British fans considered the rider who displayed self-control, pluck, and fighting abilities to be the true racer.

A distinction emerged between heavier road motorcycles and lighter racing motorcycles after World War II. The popularity of motorcycle racing diminished as the

specialization of races divided the fans and reduced their number—notwithstanding the attendance of 400,000 spectators at a German circuit race in 1951. The young generation watched Marlon Brando express his rebellion on a motorcycle in the movie *The Wild One* in 1954, and in 1969 Peter Fonda in the movie *Easy Rider* turned in a performance on a personalized Harley that established the road motorcycle as the symbol of youthful protest.

Until the 1960s Britain, Germany, and Italy dominated the sport with the best racers and the best motorcycles. Then the Japanese weighed in with Honda, Suzuki, Yamaha, and Kawasaki. Japan created competitive motorcycles, first in the lower power categories and then, with improved technology, in the higher power categories; the four-valve, four-cylinder Yamaha engine remained the top performer among competitive motorcycle engines until the 1980s. (The French manufacturer Peugeot had created a similar engine in 1914, but the project had been abandoned with the outbreak of World War I.) The established European firms Moto Guzzi, Gilera, and BSA could not afford to build high-powered racing motorcycles and were forced into retirement. From 1960 to 2003, Japan won 108 world titles for motorcycles, but only seven for racers.

In South America, Asia, and other newly developed areas industrialization has opened new markets for motorcycles and motorcycle racing. In 1949 the FIM organized the world championship grand prix circuit. Racers competed in a number of races, each one hosted by a different country with a strong motorcycle racing tradition. Recently the grand prix circuit has expanded to include Malaysia, Indonesia, and Venezuela in the consolidated and traditional grand prix of Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, and Sweden. During the 1970s U.S. racers also began to compete in the grand prix. Supported by Marlboro and other sponsors, U.S. racers won thirteen of eighteen titles from 1978 to 1995 in the 500 cubic cen-

timeter category. The daring of U.S. riders—who touched the asphalt with their knees on bends, reducing the distance in curves and facilitating passing—increased the popularity of the sport by reviving the daring style of Italian racer Tazio Nuvolari (1892–1953), who protected his elbow and his arm with cotton in order to reduce the danger involved in touching the walls. U.S. domination ended in 1995 (with the exception of Kenny Roberts Jr. in 2000), leaving the grand prix titles to non-U.S. motorcyclists Mick Doohan (Australia, World Champion 1994–1998), Alex Criville (Spain, 1999), and Valentino Rossi (Italy, 2001–2003).

Races

During the early days of motorcycle racing the Tourist Trophy race on Britain's Isle of Man, first staged in 1907, became legendary. Racers from the European continent tried in vain to win the race, not succeeding until 1935. The course of the 1911 race included a mountain, which lengthened the race by about 25 kilometers to 67 kilo-

meters and created challenges that forced engine manufacturers to install a clutch with three gears. The Tourist Trophy race set the standard for other races



M. Serpollet on his first steam tricycle (coal-fired) in 1887.



A motocross competitor jumps his dirt bike over a hill.

Source: istockphoto/Mummu Media.

winner received 20 points, the runner-up 17, and other racers 15, 13, 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, and 1. Now the winner takes 25 points, the second 20, the third 16, the fourth 13 and other racers 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1. The 125 cubic centimeter category is reserved for one-cylinder bikes, 250 cubic centimeters for two-cylinder bikes, and 500 cubic centimeters for four-cylinder bikes.

Appeal of the Sport

During the twentieth century motorcycle racing enjoyed growing popularity in Italy and Britain: In Italy fascism fueled nationalist pride in racing successes; in Britain motorcycle racing served as a kind of replacement for horseback riding. Germans, too, felt the appeal of racing to their nationalist pride, and the Nazi regime supported motorcycle racing by investing money in the technological improvement of the motorcycle, anticipating its use in war. In fact, Germans pushed the motorcycle speed records up to 279.50 kilometers per hour in 1937. The fans exalted not only the racer but also the machine; a racer who chose to race a foreign motorcycle was considered a traitor.

Motorcycle racing attracted large crowds, leading to an expansion of the sport. Despite the depression that resulted after the collapse of Wall Street in 1929, production of motorcycles increased because the working classes could afford a motorcycle when they could not afford an automobile. Accordingly, the Workers' Olympics—three sport festivals organized by socialist organizations (Frankfurt am Main, Germany, in 1925; Vienna, Austria, in 1931; and Antwerp, Belgium, in 1937)—included motorcycle events. The marathons—six-day-long courses in which racers covered more than 600 kilometers per day—attracted as many as 500,000 spectators.

In every nation where motorcycles were raced spectators lined dusty, dirty courses or town circuits; the media created heroes and nourished the cult of the sportsman. Aside from their fascination with speed and victory, fans were intrigued by the skill and danger involved in racing. Collapses, accidents, and deaths fed the myth of the

and established the power categories: 250, 350, and 500 cubic centimeters (and sporadically a 175 cubic centimeter category). In 1914 the wearing of helmets became mandatory in the Tourist Trophy race.

In 1977 the FIM removed the Tourist Trophy race from the world championship program because 129 deaths had occurred from 1907 to 1976. The mortality rate of the Tourist Trophy race inspired the notion of the motorcycle as a Moloch (a Semitic god to whom children were sacrificed) that provided glorious death to those people attracted to racing by their courage and their love of risk.

The FIM, after upgrading from the 50 cubic centimeter to the 80 cubic centimeter power category in 1982, in 1989 eliminated races for the 80 cubic centimeter and 350 cubic centimeter categories and inaugurated superbike races for 750 cubic centimeters. The FIM made these changes to reduce the organization's costs and to better manage the grand prix circuit. The point system, too, has evolved. At the beginning the FIM counted grand prix points from only about three-fourths of the races scheduled because of the high cost of participating in all of the grand prix races in a season. Later the FIM counted points from all of the races. Until 1988 the winner received 15 points, the runner-up 12, and other racers 10, 8, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, or 1; in 1989 the

unlucky protagonist. The motorcycle racer seemed a rugged and lonesome hero as he challenged long courses that left him dusty, dirty, and tired. Nicknames such as “Death Angel” and “Black Devil” convey the popular conception of the motorcycle racing champion as the custodian of dreams of freedom, always flirting with death. In fact, the Italian word for “racer” is *centauro*. Like the centaur, a mythological man-horse, the racer represents a union between person and motorcycle.

During the 1950s the shift to asphalt tracks for racing reflected growing concerns for safety; in fact, after the death of British racer Leslie Graham (1911–1953) and other champions in 1953, racers forced manufacturers to boycott the German grand prix. A new breed of racer emerged, one who no longer was the heroic victim but rather was a professional racer and prime actor who demanded safety rules and standards. Not until the 1970s, however, when spectators were moved back from the track—giving racers a larger area to slide in case of a fall and the space to avoid hitting spectators—did racers secure better safety conditions. Equipment also improved. For example, Michelin introduced smooth tires in 1970.

The rise of professionalism and the inflation caused by television coverage and commercial sponsorship changed not only the look of racing but also increased the attention that racers paid to safety. Payment of awards and obligations to sponsors can pressure racers to compete in unsafe conditions.

Women Motorcycle Racers

Motorcycle racing is one of the last bastions of machismo: In this sport the image of a woman is that of a pin-up girl kissing the race winner or the pom-pom girl parading among the racers before the start of a race. During the early years of the sport women did challenge men in France and Italy; in France in 1896 a championship was organized for women only. During subsequent years, however, women raced only sporadically. The Frenchwoman Violette Morriss (1835–?), a world record-holder in shot put during the 1920s, caused a scandal by competing in motorcycle races and provoked admiration as well as scorn for her aggres-

siveness and bravery. When Beryl Swain (b. 1926) finished the Tourist Trophy race in 1962, members of the Tourist Trophy Riders Association voted unanimously against allowing women to enter the race in the future.

The lack of women competitors limits motorcycle racing; in noncompetitive motorcycle sports, however, women abound.

Gherardo Bonini

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Mount Everest

Seen from outer space, the Earth would appear to be a perfectly smooth sphere. However, it is not. Its land surfaces have many bumps and wrinkles—some of which, seen from our Earth-bound perspective, rise to enormous heights. The highest of all these bumps and wrinkles is known as “Mount Everest” to most of the people of the world and as “Chomolungma” (Goddess Mother of the World) to the peoples who have dwelt at its base for centuries. (During recent decades Nepal has named the mountain “Sagarmartha,” as in “Sagarmartha National Park”—a name unknown to local inhabitants.)

Mount Everest’s summit, a constantly varying cone of snow and ice (and sometimes bare rock) is now listed as being 8,850 meters above sea level. Mount Everest is one of more than a thousand peaks in the greater Himalayas that exceeds 6,100 meters in altitude. The mountain range was formed within the past 50 million years

The best and fastest way to learn a sport is to watch and imitate a champion. ■ JEAN CLAUDE KILLY

as the Indian subcontinent crossed the equator northward at the breakneck speed of 10 centimeters a year and crashed into the belly of Asia. The result: a series of huge terrestrial folds, making up the highest and one of the youngest ranges on Earth. (Mount Everest is still rising—about an inch a year.)

Geologically Mount Everest is a huge pyramid. Although surrounded at its base by four major glaciers, it is essentially a rock peak, a remarkable mixture of schist, gneiss, and granite rock, with layers of sedimentary rock at the top. A chalky layer at 8,500 meters (known as the “yellow band” to generations of climbers) is filled with the carbonate remains of marine animals.

For Europeans the existence of Mount Everest was first noted on a map prepared by a group of French Capuchin friars returning from Lhasa, Tibet, in 1733. They spelled the name of the mountain “Tschoumoul-Lanma.” However, apart from a tiny group of Tibetan lamas in a monastery near the Rongbuk Glacier (at 5,000 meters a scant 25 kilometers from the base of Mount Everest), few people knew of it. It was not readily visible from any of the major trade routes (for mules, yaks, and foot traffic) that for centuries had pierced the Himalayas between India, Nepal, and Tibet.

That situation began to change during the 1850s with completion of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey that Sir George Everest of England had directed for nearly twenty-five years. The goal was to run a survey line from the extreme tip of India (Cape Cormorin) to the Himalayas 2,900 kilometers to the north. The survey was, at the time, the longest and most meticulous ever done—one of its goals was to measure the curvature of the Earth. In 1852, after Everest himself had retired, a clerk working on the data stored in Calcutta rushed up to the new director, Colonel Andrew Waugh, saying “Sir, I have discovered the highest mountain in the world! Peak XV is 29,002 feet high!”

Waugh then launched a fifteen-year campaign to get the mountain named in honor of his predecessor. Everest himself complained to the end of his life that *local* names, not the names of Europeans (especially those still living), should be used for newly discovered

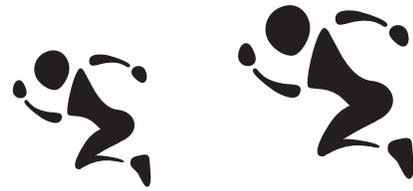
mountains and rivers. However, the name “Mount Everest” has stuck. Some people say the name has even the right *sound* for the grandest mountain of them all. Today only the local Tibetans and the Chinese call it “Chomolungma.”

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century czarist Russia and Great Britain vied with one another over which was to dominate central Asia. In what was called the “Great Game,” dozens of spies, “explorers,” and occasional official expeditions laced over the hills and valleys north of India and Afghanistan, penetrating as far as the Silk Road routes linking China with Persia (Iran) and the West. In 1892 the *London Times* published news of the explorations of Sir Martin Conway and aroused great public discussion about Mount Everest, the mysterious mountain, hitherto seen only through George Everest’s survey instruments from 177 kilometers away. In 1904, in a move to block the Russians, a British army under Sir Francis Younghusband fought its way all the way to Lhasa and forced the Dalai Lama (the spiritual head of Tibetan Buddhism) to sign a trade treaty. On their way back to India two officers took a side trip and spotted Mount Everest from the north—still 96 kilometers away. Through field glasses Captain C. G. Rawling observed the north ridge and felt it might well be climbable.

“Ought We Not Be Able?”

Said Lord Curzon, viceroy of India, in 1905: “It has always seemed to me a reproach that with . . . the highest mountain in the world in a neighboring and friendly state, we, the mountaineers and pioneers *par excellence* of the universe, make no attempt to climb to the top . . . Ought we not be able to do this?” (Unsworth 2000, 14-15).

In 1910 the Dalai Lama had to flee to India to escape a Chinese occupation. In 1912, with the help of British arms, the Tibetans drove out the Chinese, and from 1913 to 1950 Tibet was an autonomous state. Hence, we should not be surprised that during the years between the two world wars, all expeditions to attempt to climb Mount Everest were British and were from the northern (Tibetan) side. Nepal, to the south, was a hermit kingdom closed to outsiders.



On 10 March 1919 Major J. B. Noel electrified an audience at the British Royal Geographic Society (RGS) when he revealed an illicit journey in disguise into Tibet in 1913 during which he had come within 64 kilometers of Mount Everest—the closest of any Westerner yet. At once the RGS and the Alpine Club attempted to fund an expedition to explore the mountain from the north, test the feasibility of routes to the summit, and perhaps even attempt one or two of them. The *London Times* reported a speech by Younghusband in which he said: “Although there is no more use in climbing Mount Everest than kicking a football about, or dancing, the accomplishment would do a great deal of good. It would elevate the human spirit.”

World War I had killed or maimed nearly 40 percent of Britain’s male youth. The average age of this first serious climbing party was forty-four and one-half. One member in his late fifties died from a heart attack on the march in. Others had to turn back or remain in lower camps as the problems of thin air and oxygen deprivation began to assert themselves. Among the exceptions was George Leigh Mallory, at thirty-five well seasoned in the Alps and only slightly damaged by his time in the trenches of the war.

The journey from Britain to Darjeeling, India, took a full month—by rail, ship, and narrow-gauge railway. On 13 May 1921, the party set out from Darjeeling on a second month’s journey of more than 321 kilometers, north into Tibet and then west, riding mules and horses and walking.

In early June, Mallory wrote to his wife: “We are about to walk off the map.” On 13 June he climbed a thousand feet up a cliff and saw one of the great sights in modern exploration. Peering through the monsoon clouds, Mallory reported:

We were now able to make out where Everest should be; but the clouds were dark. We gazed at them intently through the field glasses as though by some miracle we might pierce the veil. Presently the miracle happened. We caught the gleam of snow behind the gray mist. A whole group of mountains began to appear in gigantic fragments

... A preposterous triangular lump rose out of the depths; its edge came leaping up at an angle of about 70 degrees and ended nowhere. Gradually, very gradually, we saw the great mountain sides and glaciers and aretes [sharp-crested ridges in rugged mountains], now one fragment, now another through the floating rifts, until far higher in the sky than imagination had dared to suggest the white summit of Everest appeared. (Unsworth 2000, 49)

Although not officially the leader, Mallory soon became in effect the climbing leader. Exploring the upper reaches of the Rongbuk Glacier, he noted a gap in the main ridge above him—the north col (saddle), a key takeoff point, he thought, for an ascent.

He accomplished two more goals critical for climbing Mount Everest. First, he decided that some of the coolies (unskilled laborers), whom some climbers called “porters” and whom he now began to call by their ethnic name (“Sherpa”), should be trained in ice and snow climbing if they were ever to carry major loads of supplies up to the high camps of the future. (A Sherpa is a member of a Tibetan people living on the high southern slopes of the Himalayas in eastern Nepal and known for providing support for foreign trekkers and mountain climbers.) Second, as the party split into small teams to further explore the Tibetan side of Mount Everest, Mallory got a glimpse south into Nepal—forbidden territory. He was gazing into the *Western Cwm* (cwm is a Welsh term for cirque, a deep, steep-walled basin on a mountain usually forming the blunt end of a valley). “We have seen this western glacier and are not sorry that we have not got to go up it. It is terribly steep and broken . . . From what I have seen now, I do not much fancy it would be possible, even if one could get up the glacier.”

Ironically, in 1953 the Sherpa Jangling Tenzing Norgay and the New Zealand climber Edmund Hillary used that route to climb Mount Everest. Strange tracks in the snow were proclaimed by the Sherpas to be those of a yeti (abominable snowman). When the party questioned the chief lama at the Rongbuk monastery about it, he calmly informed the party that five yetis lived in the upper reaches of the valley. None was seen, however, as

A winner is someone who recognizes his God-given talents, works his tail off to develop them into skills and uses these skills to accomplish his goals. ■ LARRY BIRD

the party pushed its way up the East Rongbuk Glacier. A series of camps was established up to the north col itself, at 7,000 meters the highest that any people had ever climbed. Finally, from Camp V at 7,700 meters the first real attempt to reach the summit was made. Exhaustion, wind, and frostbite forced the climbers to turn back at 8,100 meters (yet another record height). Everyone retreated back to base camp. New snow was falling. The summer monsoon had arrived.

“Because It Is There!”

However, Mallory was stubborn, determined to make one more attempt. Leading a group of heavily laden porters back up to the north col, his party was caught by an avalanche. Seven porters died.

In 1923, while Mallory was on a three-month lecture tour in the United States, when a reporter asked why he had wanted to climb Mount Everest, Mallory’s impromptu reply—“Because it is there!”—became a phrase that has now entered the English language.

History will forever associate the names of two pairs of climbers with British attempts on Mount Everest: Mallory and Irvine, tragically lost in 1924; and Tenzing Norgay and Hillary, brilliantly successful in 1953.

Although they had better oxygen equipment, the 1924 climbers dressed as if in the Alps. Edward Norton, the overall commander, described his kit:

Personally I wore a thick woolen vest and drawers, a thick flannel shirt and two sweaters under a lightish knickerbocker suit of windproof gabardine the knickers of which were lined with light flannel, a pair of soft elastic Kashmir putties and a pair of boots of felt bound and soled with leather and lightly nailed with the usual Alpine nails. Over all I wore a very light pyjama suit . . . of windproof gabardine. On my head I wore a fur-lined leather motor cycling helmet. (Norton 1924, 103-104)

The usual series of camps was established successively up from the Rongbuk Glacier to the north col and from there up the ridge to Camp VI at 26,800 feet. On 3 June 1921, climbing without oxygen, Norton was forced to turn back just above the “yellow band”—an al-

titude of 28,126 feet. It was a record not to be broken for twenty-nine years. Unless . . . ?

Unless George Mallory and Andrew Irvine climbed higher five days later. On 8 June 1924, these two men set out from Camp VI. Mallory had determined to use oxygen (indeed, one reason for taking twenty-two-year-old Irvine instead of one of the more experienced mountaineers available was Irvine’s mechanical skill in tinkering with the temperamental oxygen kits). Mallory wrote to his wife: “It is almost unthinkable with this plan that I shan’t get to the top; I can’t see myself coming down defeated.”

Noel Odell, a geologist with a remarkable ability to climb high without oxygen, went up toward Camp VI later in the morning of 8 June. At 7,900 meters he stopped to gaze up at the ridge. The time was 12:50 P.M. “Suddenly, I saw the whole summit ridge and final peak of Everest unveiled. I noticed far away on a snow slope leading up . . . to the last step but one from the base of the final pyramid, a tiny object moving and approaching the rock step. A second object followed, and then the first climbed to the top of the step. As I stood intently watching . . . the scene became enveloped in clouds once more . . .” (Norton 1924, 130).

Neither Mallory nor Irvine ever returned. For decades people have debated whether the two might have scaled Mount Everest and then been killed or frozen to death on the way down. On 30 May 1933, a British expedition again trying the north ridge via the north col found an ice ax on the slabs just below the crest. The ax was Irvine’s. Had it been dropped in a fall (unlikely at that spot), or had he simply laid it aside in preparation for the final rock climb ahead, or did he drop it in exhaustion on the way down?

In 1960 a Chinese climber supposedly found the body of “an English” several hundred feet below the ridge crest. Before he could be questioned by Westerners he was killed in an avalanche.

In 1991 Eric Simonson, leading a commercial ascent from the Tibetan side, found a discarded oxygen cylinder 188 meters from the first step and 259 meters above Camp VI. This cylinder was rediscovered by Tap Richards on 17 May 1999, during the Mallory and

I had climbed my mountain, but I must still live my life. ■ TENZING NORGAY

Irvine Research Expedition. It was identified as cylinder number nine from Mallory's 1924 attempt. Evidence strongly suggests it was emptied and discarded on the way up, not on the way down.

On 1 May 1999, this research expedition discovered Mallory's body, lying prone as if in "self-arrest," hundreds of feet below the north ridge and the first step. Irvine's body has not been found. Because he was known to have had a small camera, possibly if its film could be developed, it would settle the question of whether Mallory and Irvine actually reached the summit.

In 1933, 1935, 1936, and 1938 four more British attempts were launched from the Tibetan side. All failed. "We are beginning to look ridiculous," was a sentiment heard not only in Alpine Club circles but also in the British media.

In 1934 Maurice Wilson, an eccentric ex-captain of the British Army, made a bizarre attempt to scale the north col route alone. His body was found by the 1935 expedition at a height of 6,400 meters. Buried on the spot, it was rediscovered by the Chinese expedition of 1960.

In 1935 the Sherpa Tenzing Norgay made his first carry high on Mount Everest. Altogether he was to make seven forays up the mountain, the last in 1953 a resounding success. The 1930s featured several expeditions into various portions of the Himalayans to track down, capture, photograph, or even spot a yeti. None was spotted.

U.S.-British Team Ascends

After World War II many circumstances changed. In 1950 the Chinese seized Tibet, cutting off any climbing by Westerners from that direction for several decades. However, Nepal, emerging from its isolation, decided to issue a limited number of climbing and exploration permits commencing in 1950. In 1950 a U.S.-British Nepal reconnaissance team, led by father and son Oscar and Charles Houston and including British Himalayan expert H. L. Tilman and U.S. woman mountaineer Betsy Cowles, hiked in from the south. The first foreigners ever allowed to penetrate the Sola Khumba region, they reached the foot of the Khumbu Glacier—

and announced on their return to Katmandu, Nepal, that the way was open to at least attempt Mount Everest via the Khumbu Glacier, the Western Cwm, and the south col, from which a southeast ridge ascends to the summit.

Having freed India, Britain was no longer the Raj (colonial ruler) of prewar years. To the shock of all good English people everywhere, Nepal gave the Swiss first crack at the new route up Mount Everest—on a premonsoon and a postmonsoon set of dates in 1952.

During the spring a nine-member team including Tenzing Norgay, by now a *sirdar* (foreman of the Sherpas) but also counted as a member of the climbing teams, set out. A route was successfully hacked up the ice of the Khumbu ice fall. Aiming for the south col, the team climbed the difficult Geneva Spur, a ribbon of rock protruding from the snow and ice below the col. On 28 May 1952, Raymond Lambert and Tenzing Norgay reached 8,598 meters—a record height.

During the postmonsoon autumn the Swiss made their final effort. They were defeated by poor oxygen kits and cold winds far more bitter than those of the spring. One of the most promising Sherpas, Mingma Dorje, was killed by a falling splinter of ice.

Knowing that the turn of the French would come in 1954, the British sent forth the best expedition the empire had ever seen. Not only did they want to forestall the French, but also they knew that in 1953 Britain would crown a new queen. What a gift for her, should they prevail this time!

At the head of their expedition they placed Colonel H. C. John Hunt, a man who could not only enforce the necessary discipline and make tough decisions as required but also could climb high himself and thereby be a "forward" leader. Ten top climbers were recruited, including Edmund Hillary. Tenzing Norgay was again *sirdar* and also a recognized member of the climbing team (the English had learned from the Swiss).

Equipment had improved since Norton's gear in 1924. The oxygen equipment was far lighter and far more efficient. The ropes were nylon, far stronger and far less likely to break than old-fashioned ropes of

Manila hemp. The men still wore wool underneath (which stays warm even when wet). On top of that they wore thick padded jackets and trousers filled with eider down and over everything an outer casing of wind-proof “Everest cloth.” On their hands they wore three pairs of gloves: silk, wool, and Mount Everest cloth outers. On their feet were huge insulated boots. Goggles and an oxygen mask protected their faces.

Once up the Khumbu ice fall, they ignored the rocks of the Geneva Spur and instead ascended the Lhotse Glacier on the right side of the western cirque. As Hunt himself led part of the climb, a long upward traverse crossed the Lhotse face and eventually dropped down a short distance to the south col. This place became (as it has for all south col expeditions since) a major staging base for attempts up Mount Everest’s southeast ridge. On 26 May, Tom Bourdillon and Charles Evans reached the south summit of Mount Everest (8,763 meters).

On 28 May, Hillary, Tenzing Norgay, and two companions established a camp at 8,503 meters. On the next day, after a precarious and sleepless night, Tenzing Norgay and Hillary set out for the summit. Soon gaining the south summit, they found the going fairly easy until they were stopped by a rock barrier 12 meters high. Separated by a thin gap, a snow cornice lapped against this rock. Hoping that the ice wouldn’t simply pop off and let him fall, Hillary braced his back against the ice and, propping his feet against the rock, “chimneyed” his way to the top of this last awkward barrier. Tenzing Norgay soon followed—the place has since been known as the “Hillary Step.” It was the key to the final summit.

On 29 May 1953, Hillary and Tenzing Norgay reached the top. Hillary took one of the most famous photos in climbing history: Tenzing Norgay, standing on the summit, holds aloft an ice ax with the flags of Britain and Nepal flapping from the shaft.

The news reached London by a secret code in time for the *Times* to report it on the morning of 2 June 1953—Coronation Day.

Mount Everest was not climbed again until 1956, when a Swiss expedition climbed both Mount Everest

and its neighbor Lhotse (8,499 meters). In 1960 the Chinese entered the ranks, scaling the mountain from the Tibetan side via the old British route from the north col to the north ridge and then past the first and second steps to the summit on 25 May. Experts in the West disbelieved this climb for years, but it is now generally believed. One reason is because remains of tents left behind in the refuse of the Chinese climbers’ camps have been dated.

Two More on Top of the World

In 1963 a large, well-funded U.S. expedition under Norman Dyhrenfurth set out to reascend the southeast ridge route and, if possible, link with a second expedition attempting the unclimbed west ridge. Both succeeded. Tom Hornbein and Willi Unsoeld scaled the west ridge with a roped rock climb and met Barry Bishop and Lute Jerstad, who had climbed to the top via the south col route that day. On the way down all four had to endure a forced bivouac in the dark (a first for men on Mount Everest). However, the mountain had been traversed from one side to another for the first time. Alas, the Khumbu ice fall, always dangerous, claimed its first victim: Twenty-seven-year-old Jake Breitenbach was killed when an ice serac (a pinnacle, sharp ridge, or block of ice among the crevasses of a glacier) collapsed on him.

From then on ascents were made with increasing frequency. In 1978 Reinhold Messner and Peter Habeler astounded the world medical community by scaling the mountain without artificial oxygen. In 1980 Messner reached the summit via the Hornbein couloir (a steep mountainside gorge) alone—and again without the use of oxygen.

In 1981 a U.S. expedition under Lou Reichardt reconnoitered the east Kangshung Glacier face. In 1983 and 1988 two U.S. expeditions returned to climb two variant routes successfully (aided, to be sure, by the British Stephen Venables). Other first ascents included the difficult southwest face and the north face, Japanese, French, and British expeditions playing leading roles.

By 1989 244 climbers had made 274 ascents (some climbers, especially Sherpas, climbed more than once).



Mount Everest

Mountain Medicine

A well-rounded climber should have a good working knowledge of advanced first aid, but mountaineering has one problem peculiar to itself, that of hypoxia: problems stemming from lack of oxygen. At 14,000 feet, air pressure is reduced 40 percent. Here, science can be used with precision, and some of the best studies of human adaptation to altitude have been done in the United States and Canada (including those done by Dr. Charles Houston, the same man who led the attempts on K2 in the 1950s).

Medically, the conditions most peculiar to mountaineering are HAPE (high altitude pulmonary edema) and HACE (high altitude cerebral edema). Often misdiagnosed and treated, unsuccessfully, as pneumonia, these are now seen as distinct syndromes with treatment regimens unique to themselves (the

best treatment of all, where feasible, is to descend as rapidly as possible to a much lower altitude).

A very few mountaineers, Reinhold Messner being the most noted, are able to climb to extraordinary heights without any artificial oxygen at all. On 8 May 1978, Messner and his partner Peter Habeler climbed Mount Everest (29,028 feet) completely on their own and without artificial oxygen. Messner went on to climb all fourteen of the peaks over 8,000 meters (26,240 feet), often alone and usually without artificial oxygen. He has fervently expressed his opinion that the use of any kind of artificial aids (bolts, pitons) as well as artificial oxygen takes the adventure out of climbing. Supremely conditioned, a super-climber in every respect, he is today in a league of his own!

Stan Boucher

By 1996 four thousand people had attempted Mount Everest, 660 successfully (16.5 percent). One hundred forty-two (3.6 percent) had died. From 1997 through 2002 807 more people scaled the mountain. Forty-two climbers were killed—one for every nineteen who reached the top.

The oldest person to reach the summit is Ramon Blanco (sixty), and the youngest is Bertrand Roche (seventeen). In 2002 a blind man climbed Mount Everest.

A. F. Mummery, the best British climber of the nineteenth century (and the first to die attempting to climb a Himalayan peak—Nanga Parbat in 1895), loved to quote Sir Leslie Stephen, a cofounder of the Alpine Club (and father of the English author Virginia Woolf) as follows: “Every mountain goes through three stages: at first it is deemed unclimbable. Next, it is said to be very difficult. Finally, it becomes an easy day for a lady!”

The first woman to scale Mount Everest was Junko Tabei of Japan on 16 May 1975. Eleven days later a woman named “Phantog” of China was successful from the north col-north ridge side. On 29 September 1988, Stacy Allison became the first U.S. woman to reach the top. On 10 May 1993, Rebecca Stephens became the

first British woman. More than thirty women have climbed Mount Everest.

So far, in eighty-one years, no one has seen, photographed, trapped, or hugged a yeti.

In 1991 the fee for an expedition from the Nepal side was set at \$2,300. By 2001 it was \$70,000 plus an extra \$10,000 for every member after the first seven. Amounts charged each person to join a commercial expedition now average \$64,000. However, no shortage of customers eager to pay for the adventure of a lifetime exists. In 1996 three commercial groups became so intermingled and disorganized that eight persons died, including Yasuko Namba (at age forty-seven the oldest woman to reach the summit) and two of the most famous guides: Scott Fischer of the United States and Rob Hall of New Zealand.

Most ascents, and by far the majority of commercial ascents, have employed the route to the south col and thence up the southeast ridge—the way pioneered by Hillary and Tenzing Norgay in 1953. Indeed, some of the Sherpas now call this “the yak Route.”

However, Mount Everest is still Mount Everest—the highest mountain on Earth, with the thinnest air, some

*I can't understand why men make
all this fuss about Everest—it's only
a mountain.* ■ JUNKO Tabei

of the most prodigious winds, snowfields known to avalanche at the least provocation, and ice falls replete with hidden dangers (especially the Khumbu ice fall, a different challenge every year). Its monsoon summers virtually preclude climbing. Its winters feature polar cold. Each of the two “windows” supposedly opportune for climbing (the premonsoon spring and the post-monsoon early autumn) have frequently been known to unleash storms of unpredictable severity.

Mount Everest is a mountain that can, when it wishes, protect itself very well.

Stan Boucher

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Mountain Biking

Mountain biking is a form of recreational and competitive bicycling in which cyclists navigate off-road terrain. It started in the late 1970s in Marin County, California, when creative cyclists modified their bikes using parts from motorcycles, bicycle motorcross (BMX), and cruiser bikes. Soon after the early mountain bikes were created, affordable “production” bikes were developed, and mountain biking became extremely popular. Mountain biking differs from road biking in that mountain bikes are built with heavy-duty frames, fat tires, shocks, and disc brakes. These features, among others, allow a mountain bike to go where a road bike cannot, and the upright riding position is more conducive to scenery viewing. For mountain-biking enthusiasts, the attraction lies in pedaling up a steep mountain grade and later flying down that same mountain at extraordinary speeds.

The history of mountain biking is often debated, but Joe Breeze, an engineer, is generally credited with creating the first “mass produced” off-road bike in 1977. The first bike sold for \$750. In 1979 Gary Fisher, Charlie Kelley, and Tom Ritchey formed “Mountainbikes,” a group that sold custom bikes for \$1,500. In 1982, at the Long Beach Bike Show, Specialized, one of the premier bicycle manufacturers, teamed up with a Japanese builder to make the Specialized Stumpjumper. Their success was phenomenal. They sold 500 bikes for about \$750 each.

In the United States, mountain biking continues to grow in popularity as indicated by bike sales and participation. Factors such as advances in equipment and technology, media coverage of events, increase in type

and number of race events and governing bodies, and the popularity of the sport's best riders have contributed to this trend. Mountain biking is so appealing today that bikes with "fat" tires account for the majority of total bicycle sales in the United States, and as sales go up, so do the number of riders. The total number of participants in the sport has continued to grow over the past decade, and according to the National Sporting Goods Association's annual survey (www.nsga.org), this trend is in contrast to decreasing participation in the majority of the most popular sports in the United States. Along with the increase in popularity, the sport faces some critical issues, such as increasing damage to trails and the surrounding environment, a subsequent decrease in access to trails, and a high incidence of injuries.

Bicycle Technology

New technology and advances in equipment have helped popularize mountain biking by making it safer and more comfortable to navigate off-road trails. One key aspect of technology that has revolutionized the sport is the development of suspension or shock absorption components. A suspension bike, with shock absorbers in front (hard tail), or in front and rear (full suspension), was developed with the idea that it would enhance cycling velocity and braking capacity as the result of better contact between the tire and the ground. Proponents also claim that they expend less energy and experience less physical stress with these bikes because they are not subjected to the full impact of bumps and vibrations. Innovations in shocks include "lockout" and "self-adjusting" technology. The lockout option enables a rider to "lock" the shock to a position so that it doesn't bob during uphill climbing efforts when pressure is applied to the handlebars. The self-adjusting technology differentiates between a hard uphill effort and a series of downhill bumps and adjusts itself accordingly. Another innovation is the use of twenty-nine-inch wheels—instead of the standard twenty-six-inch wheels. The use of larger tires theoretically enhances climbing ability and improves a bike's

ability to navigate bumpy terrain. Lastly, the addition of disc brakes to a mountain bike enables riders to brake more quickly and effectively in *all* conditions—including wet terrain.

Media Coverage

Media coverage of mountain biking exploded in the 1990s. Outdoor Life Network (OLN) provided extensive coverage of professional mountain-biking events for both men and women. Unfortunately, in 2003 major sponsors pulled their funds from the National Off-Road Cycling Association (NORBA) events, perhaps because of the sluggish economy, forcing a major "reorganization" of NORBA events. Today, TV coverage focuses mostly on "extreme" types of mountain biking, such as downhill and freeriding (e.g., X Games and Red Bull Rampage), but coverage of the World Cup and NORBA events is available via Webcast for a small fee (www.1010tv.com). Despite the waning TV coverage of mountain biking in the United States, interest in mountain biking is still strong worldwide. Almost 25,000 spectators watched the 2003 World Cup opener in St. Wendel, Germany.

Arguably, the most dramatic increase in media coverage of mountain biking has occurred through the development of several outstanding websites. These websites include such information as gear reviews, international trail guides, races and events, racing tips, classified advertisements, and message boards (see www.dirtworld.com, www.mtbr.com, www.mtbiking.com, www.mbacktion.com, www.singletrackworld.com, and www.bikemag.com). One website, available for a small yearly fee, provides topographic maps and trail information for a variety of areas (www.trails.com).

Biking Events

Concurrent with the increase in media coverage is an increase in event offerings. For the recreational rider, a variety of "fat-tire festivals" exists. These festivals give participants an opportunity to learn basic skills via clinics and "sample" some of the area trails, while being led



by a knowledgeable (local) guide. In addition, cycle manufacturing companies set up “demo” tents so individuals can try some of their latest bikes. Some of the largest festivals in the United States include those in Moab, Utah; Slatyfork, West Virginia; and Fruita, Colorado.

For young riders the Canadian Cycling Association has developed “Sprockids.” This is a program designed to introduce children to cycling by teaching them skills specific to cycling and life. These courses include instruction in riding, safety, and etiquette, as well as mechanical issues related to cycling. Additionally, interest in mountain bike racing is growing at the high school level. Northern California has a four-year-old high school mountain bike league. There are already over thirty schools that participate, and sponsors support a six-race series that begins in February and ends with the state championship in May.

Competitive mountain biking offers various options. Types of races include cross-country, short track, point-to-point, hill climb, downhill, dual slalom, mountain cross, observed trials, stage, marathon, and ultraendurance. The cross-country race is a mass start event of 3.2 kilometers or longer that takes place on dirt roads and trails. NORBA—the national governing body for mountain bike competitions in the United States—recently added the short-track race, which is perceived to be more spectator friendly than other races because the competitors start as a group and race multiple 1 kilometer laps for about thirty minutes. The point-to-point race is a mass-start event that begins at one point and ends at another. Some races require riders to ride loops; the difficulty in the point-to-point race, however, is that riders do not become familiar with the course, as they would if they were riding a loop. The hill climb is a timed event designed to see who can reach the top of a summit in the least amount of time. The downhill event also is a timed event, running in the opposite direction. The winner covers the course in the fastest possible time at speeds up to 60 mph. Clearly, downhill events are the most dangerous mountain bike races. The dual slalom requires riders to compete next to each other (side by

side) in a format similar to dual slalom ski racing (that is, with penalties for false starts, crashing, or missing a gate). Each rider must go through the gate from his or her course, and riders switch courses for the second run. The best combined time from the two runs wins the event. Mountain cross is the newest form of mountain bike competition. Similar to the dual slalom, 4-cross (as it is sometimes called) is contested by four riders, with the first two riders to cross the finish line advancing to the next round of competition. In an observed trials event, a rider must negotiate an obstacle course typically consisting of rocks, water, and other natural hurdles without using a hand or putting a foot down for balance. A stage race typically combines several types of races, such as cross-country, uphill, and downhill. Winners of each event in a stage race are placed based on their combined time. Those with the fastest combined times are designated overall winners. Elite competitors typically specialize in either downhill (including dual slalom) or endurance-type (cross-country and short-track) events. Ultraendurance events, which are typically longer than 121 kilometers, are often held in scenic locations such as Durango, Colorado, or the Wasatch Front in Northern Utah. In 2003 the World Mountain Biking Marathon Championship consisted of a 78-kilometer ride through the Swiss Alps that included 9,300 feet of climbing. The winner of the women’s event, Maja Wloszcowska from Poland, was riding in her first marathon mountain-biking event. The NORBA National Championship series has included marathon events at four of its eight venues for the 2004 season. Another emerging phenomenon is the twenty-four-hour race. This race, not for the faint of heart, can be done as a relay team or solo. Riders complete as many laps as they can in a twenty-four-hour period.

Other types of events include stunt competitions, in which competitors jump over logs, curbs, or even park benches, and mountain bike polo, in which riders mount bicycles instead of horses—matches consist of two ten-minute halves, and each team has four players. At the Winter X Games (a principal competitive forum for

extreme sports), riders stud their tires with quarter-inch wood screws and edge them into the slopes like a set of skis for competition in snow mountain bike racing.

Arguably, the ultimate mountain-biking competition is the Olympic Games. In 1996 cross-country mountain biking was added to the Atlanta, Georgia, games as an Olympic sport. The women's cross-country race featured thirty entrants from twelve countries who raced about 24 miles around a loop course, while being watched by 35,000 to 40,000 spectators. Paola Pezzo from Italy placed first, followed by Alison Sydor from Canada and Susan DeMattei of the United States. Pezzo won the gold medal again in the 2000 games in Sydney, with Barbara Blatter of Switzerland in second and Margarita Fullana of Spain in third.

Governing Bodies

As the number of competitive events has grown, the need for official governing bodies has increased. The Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI) is the international governing body for cycling, and it oversees seven different cycling disciplines, including mountain biking (www.uci.ch). The UCI recognized the first world championships in 1990, and the next year, it began sponsorship of a World Cup series for the sport. In addition to promoting cycling worldwide, the UCI organizes cycling events at the Olympics on behalf of the International Olympic Committee. Competitions sanctioned by this organization offer valuable UCI points to individual riders, which are then tallied to determine the number of starting

slots a nation is awarded for world championship and Olympic contests. Countries who want their cyclists to compete at the international level have to create an organization that reports to the UCI to ensure that all courses and athletes meet UCI standards.

In 1983 NORBA formalized competitive mountain bike racing in the United States. NORBA, whose membership is predominantly male (89 percent), was designed to guide, service, and promote mountain biking as a competitive sport and outdoor activity (www.usacycling.org/mtb/). U.S.A. Cycling, the governing body for cycling competition in the United States, bought NORBA in 1989 with the aim of unifying the sport. After 1989 NORBA grew by 100 percent and peaked in 1996 with 34,000 members. In 2004 NORBA membership has leveled at about 11,500. The organization issues more than 1,000 permits per year for off-road events in the United States. The rise in the cost of NORBA racing licenses encouraged the growth of smaller, regional mountain bike racing organizations in the past decade. These smaller organizations enable amateur racers to buy less expensive



A man descending fast on a mountain bike.

Source: istockphoto.com/braddy.

annual licenses to compete in local races that are not sanctioned by NORBA.

The UCI and NORBA each offer a championship event, in addition to an overall series crown for the World Cup and NCS (National Championship Series), respectively. Currently, the UCI awards championships in cross-country, downhill, 4-cross (or, mountain cross), and marathon events. The classic disciplines recognized by NORBA championships include cross-country, downhill, mountain cross, and short track.

In addition to UCI and NORBA, other governing bodies have been founded, some to promote women's participation in the sport and some to promote the sport internationally. For example, the Women's Mountain Biking and Tea Society (WOMBATS) were founded by Jacquie Phelan of Marin County, California. The WOMBATS provide a forum for women to find riding partners, stay current with riding trends, and enhance awareness of bicycles as modes of transportation. Women who join the WOMBATS also receive a newsletter and may take part in riding clinics, organized trips, potluck dinners, and general female camaraderie. There are three international chapters (British Columbia, Sweden, and Norway), four regional chapters in the United States (California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Massachusetts), and twenty-one local chapters.

The International Mountain Biking Association (IMBA) was founded in 1988 (www.imba.com). IMBA works to create, enhance, and preserve trail opportunities for mountain bikers worldwide. This organization has a membership network that includes 32,000 individuals and over 450 bicycle clubs, plus corporate partners and bicycle retail members. In addition to building and maintaining trails, IMBA is an advocate for mountain biking through educational efforts and lobbying and partnering with governmental agencies (international, national, regional, state, and local) regarding trail access and management issues.

The IMBA suggests six rules that safe and courteous mountain bikers should observe. First, ride on open trails only. This means that riders should respect trail and road closures and avoid riding on private property.

Second, leave no trace. Riders should not pedal in conditions that will cause them to leave evidence of passing, nor should they leave trash on the trails. Third, always stay in control—which means maintaining a reasonable speed. Fourth, always yield on the trail. Riders should let others know (via bell, horn, or voice) that they are approaching, and they should assume that others may be around blind corners. Fifth, never spook animals. Sixth, plan ahead. No rider should try a trail without knowing his or her equipment, how it matches riding abilities and the terrain and weather in which the rider will be riding. Further, helmets are mandatory, and supplies such as sunscreen and extra food are highly recommended.

Women Mountain Bikers

As the sport has grown, several unique female personalities have emerged. Jacquie Phelan is considered one of the premier mountain bikers. She won every race she entered between 1980 and 1986, including NORBA world championships in 1984 and 1985. She was known for her riding skills as well as her “off-mountain” antics. She entered races using “Alice B. Toeclips” as her pseudonym, she posed for a Rockshox advertisement wearing only mud and a feather, she advocated for equal pay for women racers, and she founded the WOMBATS.

Other cross-country riders of note include Cindy Whitehead, who won the 1987 women's division of the Raleigh Technium World Mountain Bike Championships (downhill), and the 1986 NORBA National Championship; Ruthie Matthes, the 1992 World Cup champion; and Silva Furst, the 1992 cross-country world champion. Juli Furtado won seventeen major events in a row in 1993—one of the longest win streaks in off-road history. Unfortunately, after setting that record, she experienced two seasons of disappointing results. Shortly thereafter, she was diagnosed with lupus and retired. Paola Pezzo won the gold medal for Italy in the inaugural appearance of mountain biking as a cycling event in the 1996 Summer Olympics. She followed that with another gold medal at the 2000 Summer Olympics in Sydney, Australia, and has recently

It's not necessarily the amount of time you spend at practice that counts; it's what you put into the practice. ■ ERIC LINDROS

come out of retirement to compete again. Today's top cross-country riders to watch include the "Alisons": Alison Sydor, a Canadian who has won three world championships and an Olympic silver medal, and Alison Dunlap, from the United States, who was a gold medalist at the Pan Am Games and U.S. National Champion in 1999. In 2002 she won the overall World Cup championship. Other cross-country stars to watch include Gunn-Rita Dahle from Norway and Sabine Spitz of Germany.

Missy "The Missile" Giove, is a daring downhill diva who revolutionized the sport with her two-toned shaved haircut and piranha around her neck. Although she has broken thirty-three bones throughout her career, she won the 1994 downhill world championship. Despite being challenged by recovery from her injuries, Missy has had many podiums in NCS events since 1994. In 2002 she won the Durango, Colorado, NCS race and placed 3rd in the World Championships in Austria. In August of 2003 Missy Giove announced her retirement, but has competed in a few NORBA races since then, ending up 26th in the US for the 2004 season. Another "storied" competitor is Marla Streb. She recently wrote an autobiography, *The Life Story of a Downhill Gravity Goddess*, and she starred in an IMAX film called *Top Speed*. In today's races Anne-Caroline Chausson is the competitor to beat. She started competing at age ten on the French BMX team. In 1997 she won her first world cup title and world championship, and she has won every downhill world championship since.

Problems of Mountain Biking

In addition to the positive aspects of the sport, it is worthwhile to mention its potential negative impact. Naturalists, hikers, and horseback riders who share trails with bikers are increasingly critical of mountain biking and in some cases seek to have bikers banned from trails because the sport, they say, causes erosion and other damage to ecosystems and interferes with the aesthetic beauty of wilderness areas. Some bikers, for example, fail to ride along designated trails. In the desert this means soil erosion, which disrupts plant life

and diminishes the already sparse food supply available to desert wildlife. Other bikers lock their rear brakes on descents, creating gullies that can lead to increased erosion. Most conflict between mountain bikers and hikers occurs close to urban areas. Hikers tend to dislike bikers due to trail displacement, right of way and speed issues, and altered-trail experiences.

Trail-user conflict can also be linked to the perception of mountain bikers as daredevils or as being unconventional. Marketing campaigns often construct the sport's culture as centered around loud music, a brash attitude, extreme terrain, big air, and big crashes, thus creating an image of mountain bikers as out of control—and proud of it. Despite the stereotypical portrayal of riders, and the fact that mountain biking clearly does impact the environment, research indicates that this sport is no more damaging than other forms of outdoor recreation, such as hiking, horseback riding, or trail running.

As mountain biking continues to draw interest as both a competitive pursuit and a recreational activity, the issue of access is central to the sport. Creating more access to spaces for riding, and perhaps more critically, protecting and preserving existing trails, remain important considerations for the elite and recreational mountain bikers. Trail access is an issue that mountain bikers will ignore at their own peril. One way that mountain bikers can combat the somewhat erroneous perceptions of them is to participate in trail building and maintenance. On the first Saturday of June each year, mountain bikers across the United States join with other trail users to celebrate National Trails Day, an event organized by the American Hiking Society. Mountain bikers of both sexes face the challenge of convincing critics that bikers can be responsible trail users.

With increased participation in mountain biking and increased access to trails, the number of mountain-biking-related injuries has increased. Causes of injury are typically related to the rider (e.g., muscle fatigue, inattentiveness, inappropriate braking), terrain (e.g., loose gravel, mud, loss of traction, collision with tree or

rocks), and/or bicycle (e.g., flat tire, brake failure, pedals, forks). Interestingly, compared with male competitors, female competitors are twice as likely to injure themselves during mountain biking and four times as likely to sustain a fracture. There is speculation that the reasons for these differences may include fewer years of racing experience and less upper body strength. According to a recent review on mountain-biking injuries, the most frequent mechanism of injury is a forward fall over the handlebars while going downhill, affectionately known as an “endo.” This type of action typically results in injuries to the head, torso, and upper extremities. Ways to prevent injuries include perfecting technical skills and increasing fitness level, becoming aware of one’s own riding abilities and limitations, conducting thorough preride maintenance checks, and using helmets.

During 2003, 31.6 percent of mountain bikers were female, as indicated by the annual survey of the National Sporting Goods Association. Mountain biking attracts younger (25–34), more educated, and more affluent men and women. Researchers conducting a qualitative study with mountain bikers from Australia found that most riders ride for fun, health, challenge, and socializing. They also ride to experience nature, relax, and use an environmentally friendly and inexpensive mode of transportation. More experienced riders want technical challenges, fast downhills, and steep slopes and jumps. Recreational riders, who ride two to four times per week for 10–16.5 kilometers per ride, seek rides with water access and route markers. Interestingly, many females also report using their mountain bikes for on-road, as opposed to off-road, riding. In 2002, for instance, more than twice as many females used their bikes on roads, rather than on trails. The upright seating position and stability of the fat tires may appeal to the more recreation-oriented rider.

The Future

Mountain biking is a relatively new sport that engages and challenges risk-takers. This sport enables adventurers to explore more wilderness and backcountry under human power than ever before by foot. The bike indus-

try has grown quickly in the past three decades and has generated a wide range of equipment to meet the needs and comfort of many varied off-road applications. The recent inclusion of mountain biking in the Olympic Games is strong evidence that this sport is very popular.

Lynda B. Ransdell, Shelley Lucas, and Sally Warner

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Mountaineering

Mountaineering, as it has evolved since the late eighteenth century, consists of two basic elements: (1) a search for adventure—savory surprise—by scaling on foot (or skis) a mountain, cliff, glacier, or snowfield by a route that offers (2) difficulty and, potentially, danger.

The adventure may range from nothing more profound than satisfying idle curiosity (What’s it like up there? What can be seen? Can it even be climbed at

all?) to seeking what the U.S. writer Henry Thoreau would call “moments of transcendental awe” (a streak of mysticism is not uncommon among many climbers) to searching for what many younger climbers, venturing out to the extreme edge of what is technically feasible, refer to as an “adrenaline rush.”

However, the primary goal of mountaineering is pleasure. No matter how arduous the ascent or the descent, the goal is finding pleasure, not finding gold, achieving fame, discovering a lofty perch for religious ceremonies, earning the right to have a mate, and so forth.

Mountaineering qualifies as a sport in that it does indeed have certain rules, sometimes rather arbitrary and sometimes based on common sense. For example, no honor is lost in turning back when risks threaten to become excessive. One must not “damage” a mountain by chopping holds in the rock. Nor should dynamite be used to blast out campsites on steeply tilting slopes, as was done on one Himalayan attempt in an effort to honor a South American dictator.

Like most sports, mountaineering has developed specialized gear, language, and athletic moves that are unique.

Gravity (especially the effect known as “falling”), wind, wet, and the onset of darkness are the principal sources of accidents in the mountains. Mountain craft consists largely of mastering the specialized skills and technology devised during the past two centuries to avoid or minimize injury or even death. These are “objective” dangers. “Subjective” dangers include inexperience, incompetence, exhaustion, and what the Greeks would call *hubris* (self-blinding pride).

With the possible exception of bull fighting, no other sport requires a person to pay such unremitting, moment-after-moment attention to avoid becoming a casualty. So why engage in such an absurd activity?

The English climber George Mallory’s answer—“Because the mountain [in his case, Everest] is there!”—has been a standard reply since the 1920s. Most climbers know that although everyone has a natural fear of heights from childhood on, with training and practice and a little first-hand experience with the ropes and other climbing paraphernalia, climbing becomes—mysteriously—a

great joy for both men and women. An average climber, then, reasonably fit and practiced, differs from other lovers of the outdoors by deliberately going out of his or her way to avoid the easy path. Scalable cliffs or sheets of tilted ice, never or seldom previously trod, are what are wanted. Even if a route has been previously climbed (common nowadays), the mountaineer seeks the adventure of doing it again with its attendant dangers, possible adrenaline rushes, and high mountain views unattainable by normal mortals.

Early History

Mountains abound all over the Earth, and people live in them and somehow learn to cope. However, not a single mountain culture—even in the Alps, the Andes, the Rockies, or the Himalayas—is known to have developed a sport remotely akin to climbing the local peaks just for fun. To be sure, mountains were sometimes climbed for religious purposes. Bear Butte, now a state park in South Dakota, is still used by Lakota and Cheyenne Native Americans as a mountain on which to conduct vision quests (solitary vigils by Native Americans seeking through a vision spiritual power and wisdom, usually revealed by a guardian spirit—a bird or animal).

The Navajo considered Sierra Blanca, a 4,372-meter peak in the Colorado Rockies, to be sacred. When Franklin Rhoda, a government surveyor, scaled the peak in 1875 in the mistaken belief that it was the highest peak in North America, he discovered ceremonial altars on the summit built centuries before for Native American ceremonies. He himself did not climb the peak for fun or the joy of making a hypothetical first ascent. He was a member of the Hayden Survey, and neither he nor his fellow surveyors nor the Native Americans before them would qualify as “mountaineers” as we use the term. Likewise, neither would the Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortes’s soldiers who ascended Popocatepetl (5,440 meters) in Mexico in 1521. They were practical men, seeking sulfur to assist in making gunpowder, not the sheer pleasure of climbing high.

Mount Kailus (6,714 meters) is a mountain in Tibet sacred to millions of Hindus and Buddhists. Thousands



A party climbing an Alpine glacier in 1788.

scenery. In 1280 Peter III of Aragon reported encountering a dragon on a summit in the high Pyrenees. As late as 1723 Johann Scheuchzer, professor of physics at Zurich University in Switzerland, announced that he had solved the question as to whether there were really dragons in the Alps. Oh, yes, he had sworn testimony from reliable witnesses. (For that matter, no end of locals in the Himalayas today are ready to swear that they have seen

make the pilgrimage every year, ideally encircling the mountain by stretching out their prone bodies in an endless path around its base. However, if Euro-American climbers come by and suggest climbing Kailas, the locals are horrified. To do so would be akin to rock climbing up a cathedral.

No Greek or Roman in classical times would have dreamed of trying to climb Mount Olympus, home of the gods. Likewise, although Japanese pilgrims frequently hiked up Mount Fujiyama (3,777 meters) after its first ascent in 663 CE, they warned that to climb it once undoubtedly earned one valuable karma, but to climb it a second time would make one a fool.

The Roman historian Livy's description of the Carthaginian general Hannibal somehow marching the bulk of his elephants across the Alps to invade Rome is one of the great passages in ancient literature involving mountains. However, Hannibal wanted the lowest, shortest route through the Alps. He was in no way a "mountaineer" as we define the term. The Alps to him were an obstacle, a nuisance (as they were to Napoleon two thousand years later).

Throughout the Middle Ages mountains in general and the Alps and Pyrenees in particular were awesome places of doom. Travelers forced by cruel necessity to cross an Alpine pass were sometimes carried blindfolded lest they be overwhelmed by the awfulness of the

yetis, the so-called abominable snowmen. In addition, the presence of Sasquatch, or Bigfoot, lurking in the woods of the U.S. Pacific Northwest has been attested to by many upright citizens, although purported photographs are far from convincing.)

In 1335 the Italian poet Petrarch, famous for his sonnets, actually climbed a mountain—Mount Ventoux in Provence, France (1,908 meters)—for pleasure. True, in recounting this feat to his confessor, he worried lest he had had too much pleasure doing it—perhaps he had endangered his immortal soul by spending a whole day in such a flippant, and at times scary, activity? A far more "modern" approach to mountaineering would be that of Conrad Gesner (b. 1516), a professor of philosophy at Zurich University, who announced that everything delighted him about Alpine climbs—the joys of remembered toil and danger, the summit panorama, and the echoes of the celestial spheres. In 1541 he announced that from then on he would climb one mountain a year. On the summit of the Stockhorn (2,189 meters) he and a friend discovered an ancient Greek inscription cut into stone that succeeding climbers have treasured ever since: "The Love of Mountains Is Best."

Technical Climbing

True mountaineering, as we know it, began as a form of scientific exploration during the late eighteenth century.



Mountaineering

How Tough Is the Climb?

There are numerous systems around the world that rate the difficulty of a climb, and every area seems to have its own method. Obviously, each system is entirely subjective—there can be no “scientific” way to measure how hard a climb is.

The earliest, a British system, consists entirely of adjectives: *easy/moderate/difficult/severe*. Many climbers in the American West use the modified Yosemite Decimal System, especially appropriate for rock climbing. Grades 1 through 4 cover easy walking up through terrain that requires initial roping up. Grade 5, roped climbing with or without occasional use of nuts or pitons for safety, has now been decimally extended up to 5.14, and this may theoretically increase indefinitely as climbs come closer and closer to the absolute limit of possibility. Grade 6 means that pitons, nuts, chocks, or drilled expansion bolts must be used for direct aid (that is, in place of nonexistent hand and foot holds). With the aid of the UIAA (Union Internationale des Associations D’Alpinisme), some fourteen to twenty different grading systems have been identified around the world. All remain entirely subjective.

Stan Boucher

Educated climbers, even as they began to enjoy high places, proved their seriousness by lugging barometers all over the Alps. Altitude and weather data were the goals. In 1760 the Swiss scientist H. B. deSaussure offered a prize to the first person to climb Mont Blanc—at 4,810 meters on the French-Italian-Swiss border the highest peak then known in Europe. Jacques Balmat, a crystal hunter, and Michel Paccard, a doctor in Chamonix, France, claimed the prize in 1786.

Gradually the wealthy began to not only visit the Alps to view glaciers and high peaks but also to actually walk upon them, allowing local peasant guides to supply ladders and iron-pointed staves for climbing. Even ropes were carried, although no method of belay-

ing or catching serious falls had yet evolved. Indeed, some so-called guides felt that ropes are useful only on glaciers and snow climbs. On steep rocks they often insisted that their patrons unrope—on the grounds that if one person in a roped party slipped, all would be carried to their doom.

In 1851 mountaineering received enormous publicity when Albert Smith, a young English surgeon, was so smitten by his ascent of Mont Blanc that he created a public lecture complete with lantern slides that played for months at the Egyptian Hall in London. Even Queen Victoria was impressed.

In 1857 the Alpine Club was founded in London. An era (often called the “golden age of mountaineering”) began in which wealthy or at least upper-income Englishmen took annual vacations in the Alps, invariably accompanied by local guides, who often began as daring chamois hunters (a chamois is a small goat) but found guiding an easier way to earn a living. A string of first ascents, by the easiest and most feasible routes, became the goal. Then, as all of the more prominent summits were climbed, first ascents by more difficult routes began to count. The English paid the fees, the guides did the leading, often carried the packs, and cut ladders of steps up whatever glacial ice had to be ascended.

In 1865 the most famous moment in mountaineering history occurred: the tragic first ascent of the Matterhorn, at 4,475 meters on the Swiss-Italian border the most daunting “impossible” peak in the Alps. Edward Whymper, an English artist and not quite a true “gentleman” (a fact that bothered him and many more orthodox members of the Alpine Club), had been obsessed with the mountain for a decade. After six unsuccessful attempts in as many years from the Italian side, he noticed that a ridge viewed from the Swiss hamlet of Zermatt appeared to have its layers of strata so tilted as to create sharp foot holds rather than down-sloping slabs. On 13 July 1865, Whymper and three other Englishmen (one an English lord) set out with Michel Croz (one of the best guides of the time) and two porters to scale the Matterhorn by the northeast ridge.

It worked.



Then, peering down the Italian side they saw a group led by the mountaineer Jean Carrel, once a guide for Whymper but now a fiercely patriotic Italian determined that *his* people would make the first ascent of the peak. The Italians were only a few hundred feet below and would undoubtedly have reached the summit. However, Whymper and his comrades not only shouted down at them news of their own triumph but also tossed a few stones—not to hurt anybody but just to get the attention of the Italians.

Then tragedy struck: All seven descending climbers were tied into the same rope (actually two ropes, tied together—something no modern climber would have done). The youngest climber, Douglas Hadow, slipped while guide Michel Croz was attempting physically to place his feet for him on the proper holds. Hadow's weight pulled off Croz and then the two climbers below. The rope broke, and all four fell some 1,200 meters to the glaciers at the base of the mountain. Whymper was left stranded with the two porters. Somehow, he guided them down to eventual safety.

The accident caused a profound sensation in England. Queen Victoria is said to have asked her prime minister whether mountain climbing could be banned. She was especially shocked that one of the Englishmen killed was a peer of the realm: Lord Francis Douglas.

However, the genie was out of the bottle. Often inspired by Whymper's *Scrambles amongst the Alps*, printed in 1871 (and surely the most reprinted and influential of all Alpine books), dozens of otherwise civilized men and women began to seek out wild places in the mountains.

At first, members of the conservative Alpine Club considered guides to be mandatory. At least one guide per climber was recommended. The Guides Association in Chamonix originally recommended a minimum of four but failed to make this recommendation stick.

Gradually more climbers began to guide their own climbs. In 1881 the English climber Albert Mummery made a series of "guideless" climbs, including the second ascent of the notorious Mummery Crack up a granite needle called the "Grepon" in the French Alps. (On

the first ascent he had teamed up with a single guide. Thereafter, Mummery led all his climbs himself.) Two fiercely competitive women climbers, Miss Annie Peck and Mrs. Fanny Bullock Workman, essentially organized and led their own pioneering climbs in the Andes and Himalayas—each vied for years for the title of highest-climbing woman.

Then the English began to climb the steep cliffs on their own isle. Rock climbing became a sport somewhat distinct from the rock-and-ice challenges in the Alps, although ice and snow climbs in Scotland in winter were soon discovered to rival those on the European continent in challenge.

Basic Procedures in Modern Climbing

By the twentieth century most European climbing was conducted along fairly standardized lines (climbing in North America did not catch up until well after World War I): (1) The climbing party is organized as a small group: two, three, rarely more than four; (2) members of the group are roped together by a single rope, often 25 to 50 meters (160 feet) long; (3) the rope is strong enough that when well secured it can hold a falling person; and (4) when the climbing is difficult or dangerous, only one person moves at a time, well belayed by partners.

Until after World War II the best rope was made of Manila hemp, although sisal hemp was often substituted in the United States. A manila rope could hold many falls into crevasses or down a slanting slab of rock. A direct free fall (as off an overhang) of more than 3 to 6 meters would likely break it. Various "dynamic" belays were taught in which the person trying to stop the falling climber would allow the rope to slide around his or her waist and through his or her hands for as long as 1 to 5 meters, thereby lessening the initial shock and bringing the falling climber to rest as gradually as possible.

Today all climbing ropes are made of nylon or similar synthetic fiber, sometimes sheathed to cut down on abrasive wear. Unless cut by sharp rock, a nylon rope

A climber on a practice wall moving into the horizontal plane.

Source: istockphoto/berspacekaiser.

is essentially unbreakable. Thus, if a belay stance is “bombproof” (that is, the person feeding out rope to the climber above is so anchored that he or she cannot be pulled off), repeated leader falls are possible and sometimes indulged in when attempting rock so difficult as to be at the absolute limit of climbing possibility (or past it).

Typically a modern leader will commence by climbing 3 meters to as much as 30 meters above the second climber who is feeding out rope and will try to catch his or her fall, if it occurs. (Here a basic law of geometry arises—unless protected by intervening pitons, chocks, or slings tied to protruding rocks or trees, a falling leader must fall twice the distance that he or she has gained above the belayer. This experience wonderfully concentrates the mind of even the most experienced leaders.)

Having gained a secure stance, the leader can belay climber number two up, and so, in turn, the other climbers on the rope. Obviously, when belayed from above, climbers can fall only a few inches, unless they are making a traverse, in which case ideally they would be belayed by a buddy on each side.

The photo that beginning climbers most enjoy sending their parents or friends is one in which they are rappelling down a steep cliff face. With the rope wrapped about their body or threaded through a metal friction device, they place both feet against the rock and lean out backward, allowing their body weight, suitably slowed by friction, to slide them down the cliff. Indeed, the best way is to simply walk down the cliff, facing up. The rappel (called an “abseil” by the Austrians and Swiss and indeed by most Brits and Scots) looks spectacular.



A rappel is often the easiest—perhaps the only—way to get down from a climb. Because well over a third of mountaineering accidents occur on the way down (when people are tired, often careless), learning to do an efficient rappel is invaluable to the novice. Nevertheless, rappels take time to set up, are often difficult to belay satisfactorily, and are—statistically—more dangerous than generally believed. Usually they are made by sliding down a doubled rope, anchored at its middle high above. Once landed, the climber retrieves the rope by pulling on one end. One of the truly vexing moments in the climber’s life occurs when the rope snags on something and cannot be pulled down. Determining how to retrieve it is an exercise in Zen imagination.

Apart from learning elementary rope management, learning to tie the most essential knots in the dark, and handling an ice ax without injuring oneself or one’s colleagues, the accomplished climber must learn far more than can be detailed in a handbook. Most of this learning can come only from experience, hopefully augmented by experienced mentors. The climber must learn how to handle unexpected storms, ferocious winds, rain and sleet, and sometimes lightning. (Hypothermia

Climbers aim for the summit because it is there. Bungee jumpers dive off the top because they aren't all there. ■ JESSICA SEIGEL

is a condition in which the body's temperature has been radically lowered, resulting in impaired judgment, or, if prolonged, death.) Even in summer, on high peaks cold weather can move in, chilling the underequipped climber to the bone. Climbers must keep track of time and manage the available stock of daylight. They must know how to use map and compass (and today the Global Positioning System). Because most climbing is done in small groups, climbers must learn to pay attention to partners and, when dictated by a crisis, become a group leader with a handy knowledge of group dynamics. This learning need not require a course in college. By watching veteran leaders, one easily picks up a stock of useful tricks and stratagems, a lifetime pursuit by the serious and careful climber.

Rules and New Tools

As in any other sport, in mountaineering rules evolve but remain fairly simple:

- A climbing party must never abandon one of its members; no summit is worth the loss of a single life.
 - If a climbing party finds itself close to another group in serious trouble, the first group is morally obligated to give aid, even if it means giving up its own objectives for the day. Remarkable examples exist of groups rendering such aid, especially in the Himalayas. A few examples to the contrary also exist. A few persons have been expelled from climbing clubs for needlessly endangering or abandoning their comrades. Sometimes climbers have been left behind by mistake. Thought to be dead, they may sometimes survive on their own, reappearing hours or days later, to the joy and consternation of those who went on without them.
 - Geoffrey Winthrop Young, perhaps the finest English climber in the years just before World War I (he taught George Mallory how to climb), felt that climbers have a moral duty to take stock of their nerves just before a climb. If they feel at all shaky, they owe it to their companions to let them know. In such a case not being called upon to be a lead climber that day should be no loss of honor.
- Indeed, the concept of taking stock of nerves can be extended to feelings—vague, perhaps mere intuition—that something is not quite right about the climb itself, or the proposed route, or the proposed climbing team. Acting on such insistent uneasiness has occasionally saved lives, even whole parties, particularly in the Himalayas, where thin air and growing exhaustion impair judgment.
 - Increasingly important in recent years has been the rule not to needlessly destroy or spoil wilderness climbing areas. Whole expeditions are now mounted on Mount Everest to pick up the trash that climbers, guides, and porters have witlessly cast about them. The Himalayan forests are being denuded as campfires are being built to feed climbers as they march up to the mountains. Efforts to replant and to teach lessons in conservation are just beginning.

As for tools, a piton is a small metal blade (with a hole or ring to attach a carabiner, a metal snaplink) that can be hammered into cracks in rock. For decades pitons were standard tools to safeguard high-angle rock climbs. When the Californian Yvon Chouinard noticed that the endless pounding of pitons into the cracks used to climb the steep walls of Yosemite National Park was permanently enlarging the cracks and disfiguring the rock, he promoted the use of metal chocks and nuts, which can be wedged into cracks, instead of pitons.

The meteoric rise in the use of specially manufactured chocks and nuts (one can hardly drive a piton into a rock crack anymore without an attack of conscience) exemplifies the torrents of new technology that now inundate mountaineering every year. The first rule of nineteenth-century climbing—the leader must not fall—can now be modified. With the rope no longer tied in a single loop about a climber's waist, the climber now wears a harness seat, usually of nylon webbing and tied directly to the climbing rope. This arrangement makes a fall—if indeed one does fall—considerably more comfortable and vastly less likely to crush or constrict the rib cage.

The venerable ice ax—long enough to serve as a “third leg” or a cane when negotiating streams or

I don't want to overstate my rock climbing ability. I choose my routes pretty carefully. I always go with people who can catch me. ■ TOM BROKAW

complex rock piles and always useful for catching falls when plunged to the hilt into steep snow slopes or at the edge of glacial crevasses—has been modified when steep ice or frozen waterfalls are to be ascended. Now a climber has two small axes, one for each hand, that become in effect movable handholds. The equally venerable crampon, an iron claw with sharp points to be strapped onto the bottom of the climbing boot, now has two extra blades that point forward. When kicked straight into the ice, the blades stick and afford a practicable foothold even on vertical ice. Stamping their feet alternately into the ice and plunging the small ax in either hand as high above the head as possible, climbers have scaled incredibly steep and long routes.

Now, alas, even nailed boots have been replaced by boots with rubber-lugged soles. Prior to World War II all serious climbers wore nailed boots on major Alpine climbs. The nails were large Swiss hobs of soft iron rounded out with *tricouni* nails with hardened steel points. Such boots worked well on steep slopes of snow, wet moss and tundra, and rock even when it was wet. True, they were heavy and hard to learn to use, but one of the special delights of climbing was to watch another party descend at night. One could trace their route by the sparks that their boots struck.

Short Climbs and Expeditions

People once took it as an article of faith that mountains such as the Alps were designed for mountaineering because most of the principal peaks can be climbed, up and down, in a single day. This fact was still true in the United States when major climbing areas were opened in the U.S. and Canadian Rockies, the Sierras, the Northern Cascades, and parts of the Coast Ranges. A partial exception was Mount Rainier in Washington and its volcanic sisters, mostly covered with glacial ice, which often took two days or even three. The Grand Tetons in Wyoming include a half-dozen truly Alpine peaks sporting glaciers, ridges, and cliffs and affording some of the finest all-around climbing in the United States. These, too, could generally be climbed in a day from a suitably high camp.

In California's Yosemite Valley, the 900-meter walls of near-vertical, sometimes overhanging granite may be the best "big wall" climbing (in a temperate climate) in the world. Virtually all the most difficult routes, which once required multiday sieges with ladders of pitons and sometimes drilled bolt holes, have now been climbed in a few days or less. Indeed, the truly spectacular Nose on El Capitan was free climbed in 1993 by the U.S. woman climber Lynn Hill in a single day.

The higher mountains in Alaska and the Canadian coastal ranges are of a size and scale far beyond one-day ventures. Denali (Mount McKinley), at 6,193 meters and far closer to the North Pole than anything in the Himalayas, has probably the fiercest storms on Earth, even sometimes in summer. Although gear and supplies can be flown in to a fairly high level, the actual climb is a major challenge requiring days. Likewise, such peaks as Mount Logan (at 5,958 meters the highest in Canada) and Mount Foraker (5,301 meters near Denali in Alaska) require a heavy use of small airplanes, ski equipped, if climbers are to avoid multiday treks just to get to the base of their objective. The U.S.-Canadian tradition from the beginning emphasized small-group ascents (two to six climbers), climbers carrying their own supplies on their backs after they had left their base camps. Denali itself was first climbed in 1913 by Hudson Stuck and three companions after a long pack-in using dogsleds.

Siege Techniques for Big Mountains

In the Himalayas mountaineering evolved into huge expeditions such as those launched by the British in their attempts on Mount Everest (8,847 meters) during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1953 the New Zealand climber Edmund Hillary and the Sherpa (a member of a Himalayan people known for providing support for climbers) Tenzing Norgay reached the summit just in time to celebrate the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II of England. In siege techniques the actual climbing is still done in small groups of two or three or four. Sherpas and supporting teams follow, using fixed ropes and



Mountaineering

The Origin of Nuts and Chocks

With the realization that driving pitons into rock is enlarging cracks and disfiguring mountain surfaces, specially manufactured “nuts” and “chocks” are now the preferred tools for safeguarding high-angle climbs. The use of nuts and chocks in mountaineering was an idea pioneered in Wales. British climbers, who did not much believe in pitons anyway, had long put small stones in their pockets to stuff into cracks so that slings could be threaded behind them. Shortly after World War II, they found when walking along railroad tracks in Wales that they could pick up occasional loose nuts, an inch or so in diameter. These could be wedged or lightly tapped into place in suitable cracks, usually far wider than a piton blade. Best of all, with a twist of a hand, the nut could be removed and used again with very little wear and tear on the rock itself. A chock is a glorified nut often manufactured in various wedge or hexcentric forms, ranging from very large to truly tiny.

Stan Boucher

sometimes aluminum ladders to carry loads of supplies up to higher and higher camps. Finally, from the highest camp of all, a summit team of two is launched. Throughout the 1930s, five separate German and Austrian teams attacked Nanga Parbat (8,125 meters) in the Himalayas with similar heroics on a similar scale. All told, this mountain has endured twenty-two attempts, mostly German, with thirty-six lives lost.

The attempt on Mount Everest by a U.S. team in 1963 was perhaps the pinnacle for large expeditions: nineteen climbers, thirty-two Sherpas (later thirty-seven), and 909 porters carrying 26 metric tons of food and equipment, broken down into 29-kilogram loads. Some veteran participants protested that a far smaller group would have been more efficient. However, apparently some of the commercial sponsors wanted spectacular size and lo-

gistics. Indeed, occasional gigantic expeditions still get launched, clumsy and obsolete but wonderful for media opportunities and advertising impact.

Alpine Style

Today most big-mountain climbing of fresh routes in the Himalayas and the new areas such as Greenland, Antarctica, Ellesmere Island in Canada, and barely explored parts of western China and central Asia is conducted by small groups—two to perhaps a dozen members. Porters may be used to help pack supplies to the mountain’s base, but then they are often discharged. A few Sherpas may be taken, but now they are considered true members of the climbing team. Indeed, today’s Sherpas sometimes launch high climbs completely on their own. Once above base camp, members of the climbing team carry their own supplies on their backs.

The advantages are speed, flexibility, and economy. The disadvantages are obviously in narrowing the margins of safety. If one of a party of two is injured, the odds of getting back down to safety are tiny.

The advantages of small groups had already been realized in Alaska and northern Canada by such climbers as H. Adams Carter, Charles Houston, Robert H. Bates, and Brad Washburn. The use of dogsleds, horses, or small planes with skis somewhat did away with the need for armies of porters. Eric Shipton and H. W. Tilman, two maverick British climbers, were already extolling the virtues of Alpine style, even in the Himalayas, during the early 1930s. In 1936 they joined a tiny team that included the U.S. climbers Carter and Houston and the Everest veteran N. E. Odell in climbing Nanda Devi in the Indian Himalayas. At 7,816 meters, it was the highest mountain yet climbed anywhere.

Houston went on to use small teams, largely U.S., in two remarkable attempts on K2 in northern Kashmir, at 8,611 meters the second-highest mountain in the world. His small reconnoitering team in 1938 came within an ace of grabbing the summit, defeated by storms and by depletion of supplies. His return attempt in 1953 was defeated when victory seemed certain. One of the group, Art Gilkey, came down with a blood

clot in the leg. At once, although realizing they might all be killed in the attempt, members of the team set about lowering him on an improvised stretcher, hoping to go all the way down to base camp, thousands of feet below. The retreat, recounted by Bates and Houston in their book, *The Savage Mountain*, is perhaps the greatest tragic saga in U.S. mountaineering. When one climber tripped on a crampon point, he pulled his partner off; the two then slammed into a second pair, pulling them off; and all four fell into the tangle of ropes surrounding the stretcher and a fifth climber trying to guide its bottom. For a time Pete Schoening, belaying the stretcher from above with an ice ax plunged behind a stone frozen in the ice, was holding the weight of five tumbling men. The shaken men left the stretcher anchored to two ice axes while they gathered in a nearby tent to recuperate and assess the situation. When two men then climbed back up to where the victim had been left on his stretcher, they found that he had disappeared along with his stretcher and anchoring ice axes, caught in a tiny but lethal avalanche.

Clubs for Teaching and Promoting Climbing

The venerable Alpine Club, founded in London in 1857, was soon matched by mountain clubs in Austria (1862), Switzerland (1863), and France (1874). On the European continent such clubs tend to centralize activities such as training, mountain rescue, and so forth. In Britain the Alpine Club never sought such authority, and a number of other clubs soon proliferated. In Scotland a separate club for women climbers emerged with its own journal. After World War II the British Mountaineering Council was formed as an advocate and clearinghouse for climbing groups in the United Kingdom.

In 1902 the American Alpine Club was founded. It publishes each year *The American Alpine Journal*, which has become the “journal of record” for most new ascents in the Himalayas and other exotic parts of the globe. In addition, the AAC is a major advocate for

mountaineering throughout the world as well in the United States. Its library, located in Golden, Colorado, is the largest mountaineering library in the Western Hemisphere.

Numerous local and regional clubs exist in the United States, many of them offering training in climbing techniques. The pioneers have been the Appalachian Mountain Club (founded in Boston, 1876), the Sierra Club (San Francisco, 1892), the Mazamas (Portland, Oregon, 1894), the Mountaineers (Seattle, Washington, 1907), and the Colorado Mountain Club (Denver, 1912).

In 1906 the Alpine Club of Canada was founded, partly inspired when the Canadian Pacific Railroad opened up access to dozens of new peaks in the Rockies and Coast Ranges of Canada. Indeed, the railroad hired Swiss guides to popularize climbing for potential customers.

“Sport Climbing”

During the final years of the Soviet Union climbing was developed as a mass sport, and competitions, especially speed ascents up carefully marked routes, were common. With the fall of the Soviet Union, this movement shifted to western Europe, especially France. Climbs were staged up rocks and hotel walls and could be watched by large crowds (and easily filmed by TV crews). Today championship matches are held throughout Europe and occasionally in the United States. Even so-called world cup competitions are held.

A further development has been the construction of artificial climbing walls in gymnasiums, sporting goods stores, and even in or outside of abandoned silos in the Midwest.

However, in true mountaineering people confront large mountains, cliffs, or slopes of snow and ice. An element of danger (hopefully minimized by skill, proper tools, and reasonable luck) and a chance for adventure should exist—not from facing the terrors that kept medieval Europeans out of their mountains but rather from mastering enjoyable novelty: savory surprise.

Finally, every climber should contemplate these words at least once a month: “There are old climbers, and there are bold climbers, but there are very few old bold climbers.”

Stan Boucher

See also Eiger Northface; Mount Everest

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Movies

Sports on the silver screen have ranged from fluff pieces designed to dramatize the lives of hero athletes to hard-hitting exposés that educate viewers to the troubled world of big-time sports. In either example, sport is commonly used as the venue to make a larger moral point. Gary Cooper as Lou Gehrig (*Pride of the Yankees*, 1942), demonstrating tremendous courage and optimism in the face of imminent death; Nick Nolte as unscrupulous basketball coach Pete Bell (*Blue Chips*, 1994); or Parminder Nagra as Jess Bhamra (*Bend It Like Beckham*, 2002) have depicted characters whose stories dealt with more than winning or losing games. Sport, because of the inherent drama found there, is employed in these movies to make a larger point about the individual and the society that promotes sport as an important feature.

The 1920s to the 1960s: All that Is Good

Movies about sport, in the American market, have focused primarily on baseball, football, and basketball, the most popular American team sports. During the first period, from the early days of motion pictures to the 1970s, sport films tended to use sport to exemplify all that was positive in American culture. Whether biographical pictures, dramas, or comedies, the all-American values of sportsmanship, hard work, and honesty were realized through participation in hard competition. Movies such as *Knute Rockne*, *All American* (1940) and *The Jackie Robinson Story* (1950) highlighted sport's

role in fostering the American dream of allowing people born to less privileged backgrounds to rise to stardom through their athletic prowess.

In Rockne's case, the movie told the story of his immigration to the United States and the hard work that made him a successful and legendary football coach at the University of Notre Dame. The film traced Rockne's legendary invention of the forward pass and his inspirational half-time talks during his years as the coach of the Fighting Irish. Ignored in the mythology surrounding Rockne's story were the lengths the coach would go to in order to win, as well as the less-than-savory background of George Gipp, who became saintlike only in his famous last words.

For Robinson, gaining access to the American dream meant surmounting the tremendous barriers that kept African-Americans from sharing in the opportunities extended to those whose skins were white. As the first black player to break the color line in major-league baseball, Robinson faced hurdles even higher than those faced by a recent immigrant to the country. *The Jackie Robinson Story* depicted some of this but focused mostly on the transformational power of sport. A subplot involves a white New York trucker who falls in with a crowd of virulently racist Southerners and becomes a kindred spirit. Upon Robinson's promotion to Brooklyn, the trucker continues to deride the star, despite sitting near a well-dressed African-American woman. However, Robinson's play on the field wins over the racist, and in the climactic game, he jumps up from his seat in jubilation at Robinson's spectacular play, overcome with such excitement that he hugs the woman whom he had previously slandered.

The film version of Robinson's groundbreaking first years, which starred the player as himself, was part of a tightly focused media campaign to tell his story to accomplish a higher purpose. A series of articles in *The Saturday Evening Post*, the film, newspaper accounts, and a comic-book version of the story all focused on the potential for Robinson's entry into professional baseball to transform the hearts of white baseball fans and positively impact racial relations in American society.

The theme that the team was the thing ran strongly through sport movies in the period up to the 1970s and beyond. This was particularly important for American culture, as it responded to pressure from the Soviet Union during the Cold War (1946–1991). During the 1950s, any deviation from this theme and its promotion of American culture could bring dire consequences upon filmmakers.

AN EXCEPTION TO THE RULE: SATURDAY'S HERO

In a departure from the paradigm of sport movies during the Cold War, *Saturday's Hero* (1951) chose to present what was arguably a more realistic view of big-time college football. The story followed the exploits of Steve Novak (John Derek), a poor athlete from a New Jersey mill town. In order to escape his humble beginnings, Novak accepts an offer to play football for Jackson University, a prestigious southern university. As part of the deal offered by wealthy alumnus T. C. McCabe (Sidney Blackmer), Novak is paid handsomely to play for Jackson. All goes well until Novak is injured and no longer a valuable commodity. Disillusioned with big-time sport and the corruption it brought to the university, Novak quits the team and returns to his family, planning to attend night school while working in the mill to finish his education.

Citizens concerned with the message of corruption at the core of not only American sport and the universities but also the nation itself picketed the opening of the movie, and Sydney Buchman, the screenwriter; Millard Lampell, who wrote the novel on which the movie was based; and Alexander Knox, who played one of Novak's professors, were accused of being communists. In 1952 Buchman was called before the House of Representatives' Un-American Activities Committee, and when he refused to attend, he was charged with contempt of congress. He was subsequently blacklisted by the movie industry.

The 1970s: All that Is Bad

During the second period, which roughly encompasses the 1970s, Buchman's vision of the corruption that lies at the heart of sport and American culture came to the forefront as the Hollywood blacklist and the Cold War



consensus faded. Movies during that era focused on the often-harmful effects of sport on the culture and on the athletes.

One of the first movies in this subgenre was *The Bad News Bears* (1976), a comedy that critiqued and poked fun at the American win-at-all-costs mentality. The story centered on Morris Buttermaker (Walter Matthau), a down-and-out pool cleaner who had once played baseball briefly in the major leagues. Hired by a wealthy businessman to coach his son's Little League team, Buttermaker shows up drunk, insults the players, and shows little interest in the sport or the team. When he finally displays some interest in winning, he decides to cheat, tracking down Amanda Whurlitzer (Tatum O'Neal), a young female con artist who can throw a wicked pitch. Buttermaker and Amanda also attract another ringer, who passes his time as a juvenile delinquent. Together they produce a competitive team, but in the final game, Buttermaker realizes that his actions have made him just another win-at-all-costs automaton that he despises. Instead of playing his ringers and keeping Amanda in the game with a sore arm, Buttermaker plays everyone, and loses the game.

While *The Bad News Bears* was exposing the dark side of Little League baseball, *North Dallas Forty* (1979) critiqued professional football. The movie presents a portrait of football players as nearly subhuman barbarians, coaches as mindless junior executives ruled by computer printouts, and owners as sinister figures who abandon players whenever they exhibit any spark of independence.

One on One (1977) told essentially the same story as *Saturday's Hero*. The young star plugged into the corrupt college program in this case was Henry Steele (Robbie Benson), who is paid by the university to keep alligators out of the gym (in the Rocky Mountains), is given a private tutor to do his work for him, and is generally pampered as long as he produces. When Steele clashes with his coach (G. D. Spradlin), who demands a robotlike, controlled style of play, which inhibits Steele's natural talent, the young star abandons the program after winning the big game, telling the coach, in no uncertain terms, what he can do with his scholarship.

One of the most popular football movies of all time was *The Longest Yard* (1974), which told the story of a football game between prison guards and an inmate team led by exprofessional quarterback Paul Crewe (Burt Reynolds). Football is presented as a way of transcending prison walls, but the tone of the movie is decidedly antiestablishment, presenting the warden (Eddie Albert) and all of the guards as sadistic tyrants.

Movies dwelling on the corporatization of sport and the corrosive effect of winning at all costs were common during the seventies. These movies, such as *Fast Break* (1979), which featured a talented African-American woman (disguised as a man) helping to save a struggling basketball team, challenged the status quo and sought to bring new voices and new sports into the mainstream of sport movies.

A rare hockey movie presented the same jaundiced view of society and professional sport. *Slap Shot* (1977) tells the story of Reggie Dunlop (Paul Newman), an aging veteran playing with and coaching a collection of misfits, which includes the Hanson brothers (Jeff and Steve Carlson, David Hanson), psychopathic triplets who wrap their knuckles in aluminum foil before games to give them an edge in the regular brawls that intersperse the games.

The tone of sport movies during the 1970s reflected disillusionment with American society in the wake of Vietnam and Watergate. However, sport was not often the target of the dark vision presented. Rather, the target of filmmakers was the regimentation of American society by corporate power, the skewed values of American parents, and the corrosive power of the status quo. Those themes became less prominent as filmmakers seemed to take their cues from a former actor that had risen to become president of the United States. Ronald Reagan's presidency set off a wave of nostalgia in sport movies that posited a glorious past in which athletes played for the adulation of children and for love of the game.

The 1980s: Nostalgia for Love of the Game

The new theme for sport movies first appeared in 1984 with the release of *The Natural*, which tells the story of

Roy Hobbs (Robert Redford), a young phenom whose career was cut short when he was shot by a mysterious woman. Attempting a comeback as a middle-aged rookie, Hobbs is able to recapture some of his former magic and become a star, and he remains unsullied by the corruption that surrounds him. He wins the big game, hitting a massive home run into the lights, which flash sparks onto the field as he rounds the bases in slow motion. The film is filled with adoring children who idolize Hobbs for his baseball prowess, including Hobbs's son who plays catch with his father in a sun-drenched wheat field at the end of the movie. The movie's message was that baseball still held the power to transform individual lives and could return the nation to a time when all was well.

The same theme echoed strongly through *Field of Dreams* (1989), which tells the story of Ray Kinsella (Kevin Costner), a man who hears a voice ordering him to build a baseball field in the middle of an Iowa cornfield. When he does, the apparitions of the 1919 White Sox, banned from baseball for throwing the World Series, appear and play games there. Despite a minor subplot that critiques the conservatism of rural America and the corporatization of family farms, the story sticks closely to a theme of redemption exemplified by the values found in baseball. At the end of the movie, Kinsella and his estranged and deceased father play a symbolic game of catch, a favorite image from movies of this type, thereby reconciling through the transcendent power of baseball.

Basketball also served as a venue for the return to traditional values in the 1986 movie *Hoosiers*. Gene Hackman plays Norman Dale, a basketball coach with a checkered past who leaves the big time to coach an Indiana high school team. Dale is every bit the control freak that the coach in *One on One* is, but by 1986 control had become a virtue, and his team wins the state basketball championship.

The 1990s and Beyond: A Mixed Bag

Since the resurgence of the positive sport movie in the 1980s, the genre has become more complex, with films

encompassing several messages at once being common. There also has been a huge outpouring of movies in the sport genre, making any interpretation of trends problematic. Sport movies such as *Bull Durham* (1988), *Major League* (1989), *For Love of the Game* (1999), *Any Given Sunday* (1999), and *The Replacements* (2000) present often sharp critiques of the current state of professional sport but avoid a concurrent criticism of the larger culture. They also offer an often-nostalgic view of how sport could be improved by players who care more for the team than individual glory. *The Program* (1993) and *Blue Chips* (1994) do the same for college football and basketball, respectively. Inspirational sport movies such as *Rudy* (football, 1993), *Remember the Titans* (football, 2000), *The Rookie* (baseball, 2002), *Finding Forrester* (basketball, 2000), *Bend It Like Beckham* (soccer, 2002), *Radio* (football, 2003), and *Miracle* (Olympic hockey, 2004) are films that tell of individuals and teams finding personal fulfillment through sport.

Women and Sport

Women were not prominently featured in sport movies until the 1970s and even then were often featured as anomalies, such as Amanda Whurlitzer and Lucy Draper (Kathy Ireland), the female soccer player pressed into service as a kicker in *Necessary Roughness* (1991), or as evil influences who hinder the athlete/hero. An exception to this rule was *A League of Their Own* (1992), which tells the story of the Rockford Peaches of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League, which played during World War II.

Minor Sports

While most American sport movies have focused on major team sports, there are a few notable exceptions. Movies have also explored high school wrestling (*Vision Quest*, 1985), golf (*Tin Cup*, 1996), soccer (*Victory*, 1981), Olympic bobsledding (*Cool Runnings*, 1993), running (*Chariots of Fire*, 1981), and even chess (*Searching for Bobby Fisher*, 1993). Boxing and horseracing also have been the subjects of several movies but have had less impact on the culture. One movie that com-

It's what you learn after you know it all that counts. ■ JOHN WOODEN

bined critique of modern sport, an unabashed love of sport, and a hybrid sport, was *BASEketball* (1998), which told of a group of disaffected sport fans who invented their own game in disgust at what sport had become. The movie's opening narration contains as complete a critique of the ills of modern sport as can be found in any movie.

The Future

The success of sport movies such as *The Natural* and *Field of Dreams* in the 1980s led to an explosion of sport movies in the 1990s, and the trend seems to be continuing. Throughout the history of film, sport has been used as a medium to present stories of personal growth, rebirth, and redemption. The presence of certain outcomes, of winning and losing, of us versus them, and the human drama associated with sport lends itself readily to telling these stories. As long as world cultures continue to make heroes of sport figures, the sport movie is likely to flourish.

Russ Crawford

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Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism began in education in the 1970s and 1980s in the United States and Canada as a debate about expanding the core curricula in universities and schools to include not just works by white European males, but also the works and histories of

marginalized ethnic and racial groups and women. In the 1980s it extended into identity politics, with marginalized minority groups criticizing the liberal humanist focus on the protection of individual rights, and arguing that rights should also be guaranteed to groups defined by a shared cultural identity.

This linked with a growing international concern in the 1980s and 1990s that a singular global culture, which was largely white and European, was rapidly wiping out local diversity around the world. Multiculturalists tended to focus on cultural institutions such as schools and museums, and cultural performances such as ethnic song, dance, dress, as sites where cultural diversity could be preserved and displayed. As an important genre of cultural performance, sports could have been an important realm for the multicultural debate, but they were not.

Spread of Multiculturalism into Sports

In the 1980s the end of state-supported socialist sport in Europe and the rapid globalization of sports produced a backlash. There was a multiplication of international competitions and sports festivals celebrating alternative local and ethnic identities, such as the First Games of the Small Countries of Europe, the First Inter-Island Games, the First Eurolympics of Minority Peoples, and so on. Although multiculturalism had begun in Canada, it did not enter the realm of sports in a big way there until the organization of the first North American Indigenous Games (NAIG) in 1990. The NAIG included "traditional aboriginal" sports such as archery, canoe, and lacrosse, as well as global sports such as track and field, basketball, volleyball, boxing, and others. Thus, within this important multicultural intervention in sports, both global and indigenous sports symbolized ethnic identity.

Multiculturalism in the Olympic Movement

One of the most visible manifestations of the global order of nationally organized international sports is the Olympic Games, which began as an educational



movement at the end of the nineteenth century that in many ways prefigured multiculturalism. In his biography of Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern Olympic Games, John MacAloon portrays Coubertin's philosophy of "internationalism" as a respect for each national culture as expressed through the festive performance of difference. In an essay on "Mutual Respect," Coubertin acknowledged that in the modern world it was not possible for a single faith to be valid for everyone, and therefore moral education should teach tolerance; mutual respect was the foundation of democracy. Neise Abreu observes that in some publications Coubertin distinguished nation from culture and advocated the doctrine of "all games, all nations" in the Olympic Games. However, this doctrine seemed to disappear after he withdrew from the presidency of the International Olympic Committee in 1925, when it was overshadowed by his notion of Olympism as a set of universal humanist values that places sport in the service of humankind.

Lamartine DaCosta advocates that the current emphasis on the universalistic traditions of Olympism needs to be balanced with a new pluralist humanism, and criticizes Olympic leaders and sport scholars for failing to put pluricultural Olympism into action. Konstantinos Georgiadis, the dean of the International Olympic Academy in Olympia, Greece—which in the past forty years has provided more educational seminars in Olympism to young people and educators from around the globe than any other single institution—also complains that multicultural education is underdeveloped within Olympic education. He states that good methods for teaching multiculturalism through sports have not been developed, that teaching materials are inadequate, and that teachers need to be aided in developing multicultural sensitivity.

Multiculturalism in Global Sports

Is the globalization of sports a process of homogenization or diversification? At the end of his survey of the

global diffusion of sports through colonialism, Allen Guttman argues against those who claim that the diffusion of sports is an imperialist destruction of authentic native cultural forms, although he admits that the standardized universality of modern sports represents a loss of diversity. Indigenous groups are active participants in the borrowing and they change the sports in the process.

MacAloon states that sports of Western origin have, over time, been emptied of their original cultural content and refilled with diverse local meanings by the people who practice them. Sports constitute "intercultural spaces" for cultural interaction, and cultural differences are created during the process of integration.

Joseph Maguire argues in a similar vein that globalization should be understood as a balance between diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties. Global sport both fosters a cosmopolitan consciousness and strengthens feelings of ethnic identity. Adding power differences into the picture, he advocates a process-sociological perspective that places questions of power, elimination struggles, and civilizational hegemony at its center. He notes that it is not inevitable that globalization will result in the continued rise of the West; the commingling of cultures through globalization could result in the decentering of the West.

The Future

The multicultural debate was slow to arrive in the world of sports and remained underdeveloped, even within the Olympic movement, which embraces more member nations and territories than any other major world organization. Scholarship on the sports of non-Western and marginalized minority groups was sparse. Despite the paucity of specific historical and ethnographic studies about how globalization actually occurs on the ground and what happens to indigenous sports when international sports are adopted in local communities, a few key theorists developed theoretical formulations that saw cultural diversification and homogenization not as mutually exclusive, but as multilayered simulta-



neous processes. As multiculturalism had already started to wane in other fields at the turn of the millennium, it was not clear that the multicultural debate would ever take off in the realm of sports.

Susan Brownell

See also Anthropology Days; Racism

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Naginata

Narrative Theory

**Native American
Games and Sports**

Netball

Netherlands

New Zealand

Newspapers

Nextel (Winston) Cup

Nigeria

Norway

Nutrition



Naginata

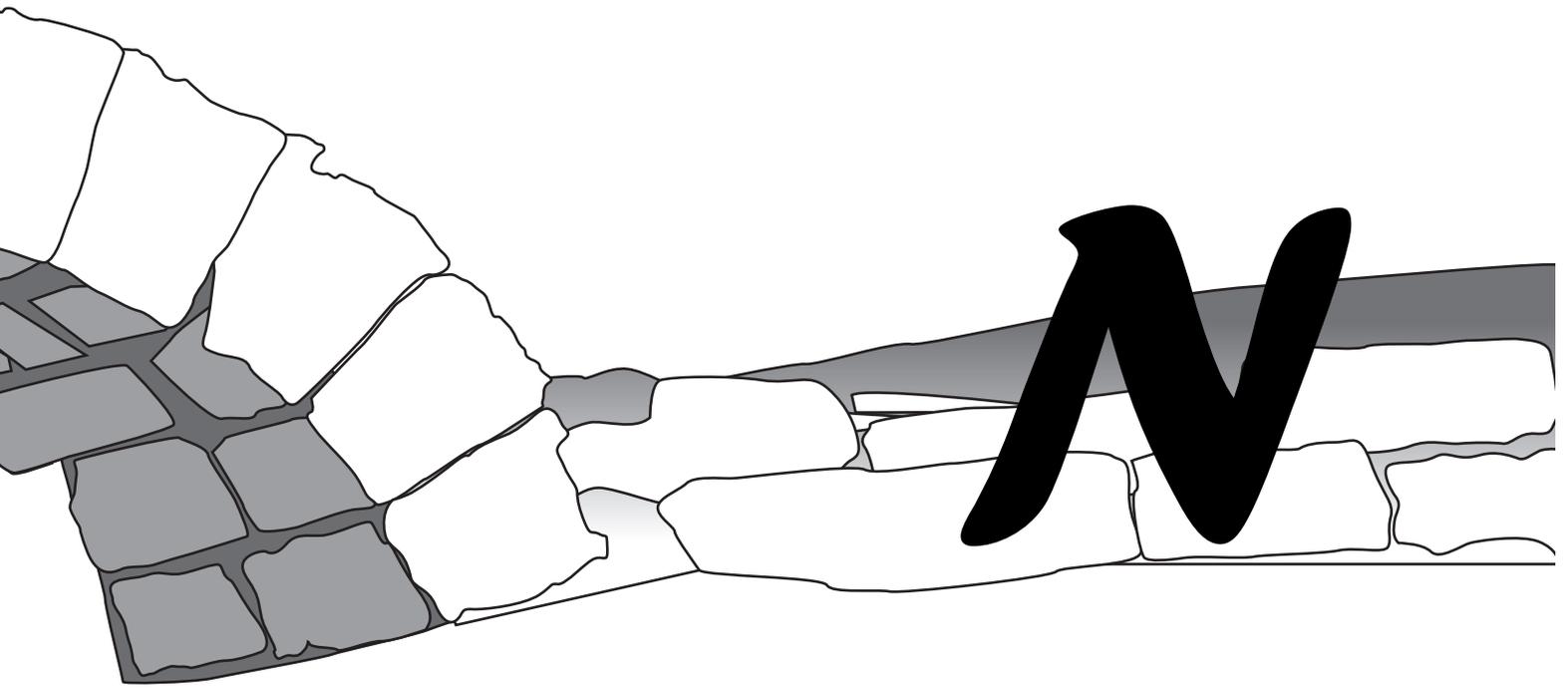
Naginata is a Japanese martial art practiced by women—and some men—in virtually all schools and colleges in Japan. Outside Japan men and women practice in about equal numbers. Around the world eighty thousand people practice naginata, usually *atarashii naginata*, the modern sport form. Naginata began as a system of warfare; it is not a modern means of self-defense. Instead people practice it as a physical discipline and method of personal development.

History

Japanese warfare underwent radical change during the ninth century with the increased use of the *tachi* curved cavalry sword. This change corresponded with the rise of the mounted *bushi* (upper-class warriors). Lower-ranking warriors began fighting with a weapon consisting of a slightly curved blade mounted on a stout oak shaft, similar to a European halberd or glaive. This weapon was known as a “naginata,” meaning “long blade” or “reaping blade.”

This single-edged weapon was fashioned from the same laminations of hard and soft steel used for sword blades. The proportion of shaft to blade has varied, but the overall length of the weapon has almost always been the same: between 2.1 and 2.4 meters.

Warriors used these first naginata to cut the legs of horses and to slash through an enemy’s defenses. Naginata were also heavy and were used in thrusting attacks, with either the blade or the metal-capped butt. During



the fourteenth century naginata began to be supplanted as spears were reintroduced for fighting. Warriors could more easily use spears in close formation, and spears required far less training time to be effective. By the mid-sixteenth century naginata became a rather uncommon weapon of war.

Women and Naginata

Traditionally the naginata weapon was associated with women. People considered it most appropriate to women's physique and to the circumstances in which women would fight, which were, generally speaking, in defense of their home. A strong, lithe woman armed with a naginata could keep all but the best warriors at a distance, where the advantages of physical strength were slight.

During the early seventeenth century the imposition of the Tokugawa government (1600/1603–1868) led to strict social controls on all strata of society—controls that greatly affected women. *Bushi* women were expected to center their life on unquestioning service to their family, much as the samurai (warrior aristocracy) were expected to center their life on service to their lord. The naginata weapon became an emblem of a glorious past, a means of training women to stoically accept a life of subservience. The use of the naginata became more stylized and formalized in specific *ryu-ha* (martial traditions), which then became associated with women. Movements became quick and precise, and the weapons had light shafts and small, slender blades.

Japan began to consolidate as a modern nation-state during the mid-1800s, and the new grammar school

system played a significant role in that consolidation. Martial arts training became a regular part of the curriculum. Because the traditional martial arts, with their emphasis on forms, did not lend themselves to teaching students en masse, they were restructured into martial sports such as judo and kendo (a Japanese sport of fencing, usually with bamboo swords).

This restructuring brought the practice of naginata to a crossroads: People had developed judo, kendo, and later karate to be practiced in standardized forms. This development had not yet occurred with naginata, which was still split among a plethora of groups, each with its own curriculum. Therefore, competitive practice became more popular as a means both of training among different groups and of holding the interest of modern young women.

At first practitioners used light wooden practice weapons covered with leather; later, for safety, practitioners attached bamboo strips to the end of a wooden shaft. This modern replica is light and whippy, allowing movements that would be impossible with a real naginata. As practitioners developed rules and agreed on point targets, the techniques that worked best in competition began to differ from those used by the traditional martial arts, which had been developed for different terrain and different combat situations. Thus, naginata was transformed into a sport and became known as *atarashii naginata* (new naginata).

During World War II some naginata teachers, notably Sakakida Yaeko, devised a set of standardized forms that consisted of choreographies of one naginata form against another. In 1953, after a hiatus created

***Tendo ryu* naginata features kata that pit a naginata against a sword.**

Source: Deborah Klens-Bigman.

when the occupying forces banned martial arts after World War II, Sakakida and several leading naginata teachers created the All Japan Naginata Federation.

Play and Rules

Atarashii naginata has two parts: form practice and freestyle competition. Forms (kata) are sets of simple movements that require straight posture and sliding footwork. Practitioners use these forms in contests, in which two pairs of contestants perform simultaneously and are judged on the correctness of their movements. Practitioners use solid wood naginata weapons for kata practice. Practitioners rarely use live-blade naginata weapons today.

Freestyle competition resembles kendo competition. Contestants wear protective gear and have ten designated targets on the body of the opponent. Contestants make strikes to the ribs (at the side of the chest), the top and sides of the head, the throat, the shins, and the wrists. The hip protector is not a target. Referees decide winning points; a contestant must strike a target with authority and accuracy. Contestants hold their body upright on the balls of their feet to be able to slide and jump quickly toward or away from their opponent.

Since World War II *atarashii naginata* has spread around the world; international tournaments have been held since the early 1990s. In 1974 Helen Michiyo Nakano and Yasuko Yamaguchi established the United States Naginata Federation, the first federation outside Japan. People also have established naginata federations in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden, Brazil, and New Zealand. Because naginata is one of the least known martial arts, many students are geographically isolated and must travel to gatherings for practice and competition. Women participate in the sport throughout the world. Women make up about 50 percent of U.S. naginata students. Naginata students commonly practice other martial arts, especially kendo and aikido.

Atarashii naginata is neither an archaic system of warfare nor a modern system of self-defense. It is instead a method of personal development. Practitioners believe that by confronting one's own weaknesses,



which are revealed by dedicated practice, by repeatedly failing and succeeding, and by modeling one's instructor (a person farther down the same road of personal development), they can achieve the ideal of calm and self-mastery.

Ellis Amdur

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Narrative Theory

Although narrative theory can seem like a somewhat arcane approach to anyone outside of the English departments where it originated, it has much wider applications today. Some cognitive psychologists such as Mark Turner argue that narrative is central to everyday thought and action—that the most basic operations of the mind are literary in their use of story, projection, and parable. Story, Turner notes, organizes our experience, knowledge, and thinking. One story helps us make sense of another as we project the terms of the first onto the second, a process known as “parable.” Such processes, far from being arcane practices of an educated, dated elite, are basic cognitive principles that

show up everywhere, perhaps especially in the ways we give meaning to sports.

Theories of Narrative

“Nothing,” narrative theorist J. Hillis Miller (1995) notes, “seems more natural and universal to human beings than stories.” The basic principles of narrative show up in everyday “texts” of all kinds, from novels and short stories to television and film to advertisements, news, and information available on the Internet. Sports narratives are a classic example of these everyday texts. The “triumph over adversity” stories that are such a characteristic feature of sports discourse give shape and meaning to what might otherwise be a perplexing phenomenon: athletes obsessively repeating training regimens for years, devoting a large portion of their time and energy to this strange thing called “sports.” The ways we come to understand this activity are fundamentally narratological. The formal features of narrative include plot, character, setting, and diction. Plot is what happens, a chronological progression of events with a beginning, middle, and end. *Character* refers to the actors within the action, the agents of the events. Setting is where the events take place, and *diction* refers to the way in which the story is told. These are the basics of narrative upon which almost everyone agrees. However, not everyone agrees on why humans need stories and the exact function or purpose that stories serve and how they serve it.

Schools of Narrative Theory

Several schools of narrative theory exist. Although the schools from earlier periods are not as influential as they once were, they have a residual influence on more contemporary schools. Many narrative approaches blend several aspects of the different schools.

RUSSIAN FORMALISM

The Russian formalists—precursors to proponents of the U.S. “new criticism”—were part of the larger movement of literary modernism early during the twentieth century, which, in all of the arts, was a movement

against the social realism of the nineteenth century. Formalists exclude the nonliterary from literature or art more generally because they see life and art as opposites (art for art’s sake). Works of art refer only to themselves, not to the world outside of them. The form of the art, rather than its content—how it is made, rather than what it says—is what is most interesting and important. For Russian formalists literature is characterized by what differentiates it from other orders of facts and uses a “higher,” more sophisticated form of language than that of everyday speech. In this view sports would be a vulgar form not possible to analyze from a formal perspective. This view is at least partially responsible for the long-held bias against scholars who study sports, who tend to be linked with “dumb jocks”—that is, the body rather than the mind.

DIALOGICS

Narrative theory of the dialogic form is based on the work of Mikhail Bahktin and is opposed to the work of the Russian formalists. For Bahktin linguistic production is dialogic in that it is formed in the process of social interaction. Whereas the formalists emphasize works of art divorced from their social and historical contexts, in dialogic theory we cannot separate the two. Language is always political and ideological in that for Bahktin it is characterized by “heteroglossia,” the competing voices and dialects within a language. Although dominant culture may claim that its terms are monologic (one form) and authoritative, contesting definitions or forms always exist. Bahktin sees this most clearly in parody, texts that, through a deliberate displacement and subversion of the dominant language and ideas, reveal those ideas to be changeable. Many voices and stories, not just those of the dominant discourse, exist. Within sports studies, texts that take a critical view of sports as well as emphasizing sports’ positive aspects would be “heteroglossic” in this sense.

NEW CRITICISM

Associated particularly with the work of R. P. Blackmur and Cleanth Brooks, new criticism dominated English



departments from the post–World War II period through the late 1960s. The new criticism looks at a text as completely distinct from its social and historical context, concentrating instead on the formal patterns present in each text. The text should be studied as an art object in and of itself, this school argues, for the specific formal literary properties it contains. Literary properties are not found in anything but literary texts. For a new critic the study of sports would be an anathema, but for media researchers who analyze the text of a magazine article for its patterns regarding the representation of gender, for instance, the close reading of texts that new criticism advocates serves as a (perhaps unconscious) model.

SOCIOLOGICAL

In direct opposition to the new criticism, the sociologically oriented narrative studies the way economic and cultural institutions shape the particular kinds of stories we tell. Frederic Jameson, for instance, was one of the first to rigorously argue that “facts” that we take as a given, such as historical narratives, are actually textual. A traditional conception of history would say that the narrative accounts of what happened faithfully record what happened—an event took place, and the story is the account of that event. For Jameson and other sociologically oriented narratologists, however, the stories we choose to tell about what happened are based on our own standpoint in relation to the dominant culture. Those who have power tell a different story than do those who don’t. The revisionist history currently taught in high school curriculums regarding, for instance, the representation of Native Americans, is largely the result of theorists such as Jameson who insist on a critical interrogation of relations of power and how these affect what stories get told by whom. Those people who own the National Basketball Association would tell a different story about its practices than would a late-round draft pick.

READER-RESPONSE

Like audience reception theorists in media studies, reader-response theorists concentrate on the reception

of texts, on the particular meanings that readers make from texts rather than the texts themselves. Reception studies are a neglected area of sports research that has just recently become a growth area. Because a focus on representation—how women athletes are portrayed in *Sports Illustrated*, for instance—can tell us only about that representation itself, not about how that representation is used by its audiences, the assumptions that some textual analysts make about the effect of the representation can be only assumptions. Reception studies either prove or disprove those assumptions (or somewhere in between), but they tell us a great deal more about actual cultural beliefs and practices than does a purely textual analysis.

DECONSTRUCTIONIST- POSTSTRUCTURALIST

Deconstruction, a term coined by the French philosopher Jacques Derrida, is a particular kind of poststructuralist approach. Whereas other poststructuralists such as Michel Foucault focus on institutions and how we construct our paradigms (frameworks) for knowledge, Derrida focuses on language itself as the original medium for all thought. This method assumes that “there is nothing outside the text” and that we know the world through language. Derrida questions the world-text opposition (and every other kind of binary opposition): Everything is a text and thereby subject to interpretation. No “real” exists in that no set, fixed referent or world of things outside of the language we use to name it exists—only “an immense linguistic structure in which we move and have our being” exists. In this structure words usually have several and often conflicting meanings, which makes meaning provisional and contextually based.

Therefore, deconstruction revises the representational theory of language in which language is taken to transparently represent some “real” outside of itself, “the thing itself.” Things were thought to have fixed, set, determined essences that language then represented. Deconstruction offers a nonreferential theory of language or

Sports is human life in microcosm. ■ HOWARD COSELL

linguistic construction of reality that sees language as constitutive rather than purely reflective. Representation, instead of describing an already existing reality, helps to create it. Representation is “the real” in this sense. This means that meaning, our ways of knowing, is linguistically rather than referentially based—we come to know through language.

Acts and practices that make up the “real world” are inseparable from the discourses (social systems of meaning) out of which they arise and are thus open to interpretation. The emphasis on the indeterminacy of meaning that follows from this fact is one of the more controversial aspects of deconstruction, as many critics have misunderstood indeterminacy to mean that no meaning exists. This is an inaccurate characterization of Derrida’s theories because for him the principle of indeterminacy that he claims is central to language (and therefore everything is decentered, and meaning is contextual) is not a statement of meaninglessness but rather of the possibility of many meanings, of multiplicity. Meaning is then determined through dialogue and consensus rather than written from on high.

Regardless of their particular approach, all schools of narrative deal with the problem of the origin of meaning and study how the human mind makes sense of and gives order to the random stream of events that characterizes daily life. Most recent approaches presuppose that we create rather than reveal the world through the narratives we tell about it and that “the way things are” is in large part determined by narrative. In these approaches the world has no inherent order in itself but rather is made meaningful through narratives. Our world, then, is the result of a story, a speech act: A story is a way, as J. Hillis Miller puts it, “of doing things with words.” Those things we do, the stories we tell, make our worlds meaningful.

Narrative Approaches to Sports

Particularly the poststructuralist approaches have relevance to the ways narrative theory is used in sports

studies. The narrative theory of sports is the application of the methods and perspectives of narrative theory to sports as a subject matter or object of analysis. Much as literary critics once took novels or poems as the object of their analysis, today scholars of the narrative approaches use various aspects of sports as their object of analysis. Anyone doing a media analysis of sports necessarily uses narrative theory broadly defined.

Because from a poststructuralist standpoint *everything* is narrative, including history, the distinctions that literary critics once drew between the “high art” of canonical literary fiction and poetry and the “low culture” forms such as television and film have broken down. This breakdown has opened up the possibility of discussing sports in much the same way one once discussed, say, the novels of Charles Dickens. Anything and everything are fair game for analysis, and the application of narrative theory to sports studies has allowed a new breadth and depth in the field. A critical awareness of one’s standpoint as a researcher, for instance, and an awareness that the researcher is always necessarily telling a story in which he or she has a particular investment have led to exciting new approaches in ethnography (the study of culture) such as the critical autobiographical practice that Susan Birrell identified in narratives written by women of color.

A focused and specifically named application of narrative theory to sports appeared in 2000 when a special issue of the *Sociology of Sport Journal* was devoted to what issue editors Robert Rinehart and Jim Denison called “sociological narratives.” The issue called for a narrative component to social science research and for ethnographic writing practices as a valid method of research. Literary narratives provide “thick description at its thickest,” and so the editors called for the use of “fiction and stories as nuanced ways in how to write up experiential ethnography.” These would include “combined theory/narrative pieces” that use fictional strategies to make their conclusions more explicit. The issue

included framing articles that articulated a theoretical framework for this methodology, articles that were combinations of theory and narrative, and pieces that took the form of creative nonfiction that are examples of how the narrative imagination works and how it can be most effectively applied to sports. In *Built to Win: The Female Athlete as Cultural Icon* (2003), Heywood and Dworkin utilized these frameworks in an argument for a methodology that combines narrative and theory, analyzing the images of women athletes during the 1990s for the stories they tell about gender. Robert R. Sands (2002) discussed the application of narrative theory to ethnographic method in *Sport Ethnography*. Jim Denison and Pirkka Markula (2003) discussed the validity or even necessity of narrative approaches to sports in *Moving Writing: Crafting Movement in Sport Research*. Like generations of literary theorists before them, sports researchers working in narrative today have discovered the power of narrative forms and the ways those forms can complicate and extend traditional sports research.

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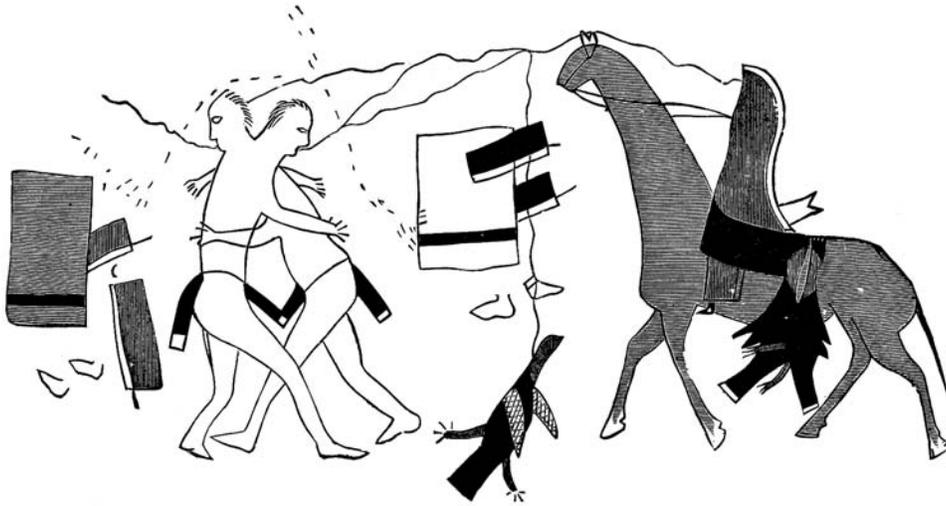
Native American Games and Sports

The first inhabitants of North America—the indigenous or Native American peoples of Canada and the United States—have always embraced games and sports as an integral part of their cultures. Occasionally Native American athletes excel in “mainstream” sporting events organized and operated primarily by non-Native Americans. Among this group of athletes are Olympians such as Billy Mills (long-distance running), Sharon and Shirley Firth (cross-country skiing), Alwyn Morris (kayaking), and Waneek Horne-Miller (water polo), as well as professional athletes such as Notah Begay (golf), Jim Thorpe (football), Louis Sockalexis (baseball), and George Armstrong (hockey).

However, Native American athletes also participate in competitions organized and operated by Native Americans, including “all-Native” competitions and “traditional” sports competitions. All-Native competitions, such as National Indian Athletics Association tournaments, the Indian National Finals Rodeo, and the North American Indigenous Games, are limited to participation by people of Native American ancestry. Events focus primarily on sports that have developed in non-Native American cultures, such as sports of the Olympics. Traditional sports competitions, such as powwows, Northern Games, Dene Games, the World Eskimo Indian Olympics, and snowsnake competitions, focus on activities that originated within Native American cultures. Organizers do not restrict who can participate in these competitions; however, participants are primarily of Native American ancestry.

History

Indigenous peoples have inhabited North America for at least twelve thousand years. Oral histories provided by Native American peoples (Inuit [Eskimo], American Indian, and Metis)—complemented by the writings of European travelers who began to arrive in North America



A Native American pictograph depicting a wrestling match.

during the sixteenth century—inform us that Native Americans played games and sports for enjoyment, but also for education and for preparation for subsistence activities such as fishing and hunting. Furthermore, games could be a part of celebrations or religious interventions, and they functioned in the redistribution of wealth through gambling games and games of chance.

Games of chance consisted of dice games and games that involved hiding a marked item, then guessing where it was located. Hand games were a popular example of this activity. Accompanied by energetic drumming, they involved many deceptive and skilled movements. Hand games were a method of redistributing wealth as winners claimed the stakes put up as part of the games.

Skill-based activities required physical strength, endurance, and/or speed and often involved pain tolerance and self-testing. Physical competitions involving running, jumping, swimming, boxing, wrestling, pushing, or pulling helped prepare people for the demanding subsistence life they led. These activities often took place when people gathered to celebrate and at times were used to settle grievances, as was the case, for example, with wrestling matches organized among the Inuit. Ball games were especially popular and widespread, often involving heavy gambling. Teams could number in the hundreds. *Tewaarathon* (lacrosse) is the best known of these games, in part because non-Native Americans created formal rules for this game and made it part of mainstream sports during the mid-1800s. Lacrosse involved two teams and a ball that was caught and thrown toward the opponent's goal with a racket shaped like a basket. Matches extending over several

days were often arranged to provide religious intervention on behalf of a member of the community. Other games involved directing the ball toward the opponent's goal by kicking (e.g., kickball), throwing it (e.g., mooseskin handball), or propelling it with a stick (e.g., shinny) or throwing two balls attached together with a thong (e.g., double ball). Both men and women played ball games, but they were often segregated by gender, and some games were specific to men or to women (e.g., double ball tended to be a female activity, whereas lacrosse was a male activity).

Dancing, usually accompanied by drumming, was another activity, whether it involved one dancer and his or her drum (e.g., among the Inuit), round dances involving the whole community (e.g., among the Athapaskan), or specialty dances as part of powwow celebrations in the southwestern regions of North America.

Euro-American Impact

After the United States (1776) and Canada (1867) achieved nationhood, official policies aimed at “civilizing” and assimilating Native American peoples were implemented. This implementation involved banning many traditional Native American activities and encouraging Native American involvement in non-Native American cultural practices. For example, government officials in both Canada and the United States outlawed certain traditional cultural practices during the late 1800s, including the potlatch and the sun dance, which were ceremonies that were of fundamental importance in Native American culture. At the same time, the Canadian government funded “appropriate” activities for Native American peoples, such as agricultural fairs, plowing matches, celebrations of the queen's birthday, brass bands, select sports, and physical activities emphasizing calisthenics. U.S. government officials encouraged rigid exercise programs at off-reservation

boarding schools such as the Carlisle, Pennsylvania, training school for Native American youth, opened in 1879. Boys were also encouraged to play mainstream sports such as football, baseball, basketball, and track and field. Many talented athletes from these schools went on to compete in sports against athletes representing some of the best universities in the United States during the early 1900s.

In both countries traditional Native American sports and games were thus actively suppressed as part of the federal attempt to replace Native American culture with “appropriate” non-Native American social practices. Mainstream sports were one effective avenue for completing this task, although discrimination against Native American participants did occur. For example, in 1880 the National Amateur Lacrosse Association in Canada categorized all Native American athletes as “professionals,” thus using racial criteria to exclude them from participation in amateur lacrosse competitions. This categorization occurred even though Native American participants had been involved in lacrosse competitions with non-Native American athletes to that time, and Native Americans had introduced non-Native Americans to the game. Native American athletes were likewise banned from competing against non-Native Americans in activities in which they were perceived to have a “natural” advantage. For example, in snowshoeing competitions and rodeos during the late 1800s Native American athletes had to compete in separate events and were not allowed to compete in the open races against non-Native American athletes.

Government policies that promoted cultural assimilation were rescinded during the 1930s, but by then Native Americans had ceased to participate in many of their traditional cultural practices. The subsequent closing of many U.S. residential schools worsened the problem. A number of Native American male athletes, especially those from the Carlisle Indian School or the Haskell Institute, had experienced success against non-Native American athletes by that time, both at the elite amateur and the professional levels. They were now left

with few opportunities for developing sports skills in the mainstream schools or sports leagues. Moreover, they often faced racism both in sports and in the wider community. Native American athletes thus largely disappeared from mainstream sports participation. One way to increase their access to mainstream sports eventually arose out of the creation of all-Native sporting events.

All-Native Sporting Competitions

An all-Native sports system was created to provide Native American athletes with mainstream sports opportunities and an enjoyable, culturally supportive environment to improve sporting skills and to celebrate their heritage. Organizers of all-Native sporting events, which are often invitational in nature, ensure a Native American participation base through race restrictions for competitors. Rules can be fairly broad; for example, one all-Native bowling tournament required that participants be American Indian or married to an American Indian. More limiting conditions ensure that all players are of Native American heritage. For example, the 1980 Women’s Fast Pitch National Championship required that athletes be at least one-quarter American Indian. Criteria for the Little Native Hockey League demonstrated even more restrictive criteria, employing government-defined proof of American Indian status. Participants had to produce their federal band number to compete. All-Native sporting events are often annual tournaments and can be held at interreserve, provincial-state, national, and/or North American levels. Mainstream sports, such as golf, rodeo, bowling, basketball, hockey, fastball, tennis, and lacrosse, are the focus of these tournaments. Organizers finance events through a combination of entry fees, community fund-raising, and occasional government grants.

The creation of all-Native sports organizations has helped to standardize these events. In the United States the All Indian Rodeo Cowboys Association was formed in 1957 as the first formal American Indian professional rodeo association. Other Native American rodeo



Native American Games and Sports

Hopi Running and Racing in Arizona

Running, racing, and gambling contests of various kinds appear not only in stories of individual adventure and achievement but also in myth-legends, clan and village “histories,” and tales of awe and wonder. Fleetness of foot and endurance are regarded as supreme psycho-physical accomplishments. We hear again and again of races between villages and of individual running feats, not only in the old stories but in recollections of more recent times. In Oraibi there are older people who recall challenges by footracers of Walpi, and in Walpi there are stories of challenges from Oraibi. People speak of how only a few generations ago the men and boys of Oraibi would gather early in the morning to run in a group to Moencopi (some fifty miles away), cultivate their gardens there, and then return running to Oraibi.

In Walpi there are recollections of Hopi mail carriers who ran mail from Keam’s Canyon to Holbrook, about seventy miles, in a single day. Such stories and the exaggerations they may have undergone in the telling reflect the traditional value placed on footracing, not only as social competition but also as an expression of community (and religious) vitality. The so-called kachina races, in which young men attired in kachina costumes challenge the young men of neighboring villages, are believed to bring a blessing or good medicine to the people. In the kachina races of earlier years, religious connections

were more visible than now. The personators of the kachinas prayed and purified their thoughts in the kivas before the races took place. Festive and secular as the races might seem, they carried the meaning of good fortune, rain, and fertility. The racing that takes place each year in the Horn and Flute rites is strictly ceremonial.

In the old stories about clans and villages, racing usually takes place as a result of invitation or challenge. Though the races begin in a social atmosphere, in the end they may prove to have important, even grave, consequences. In many tales, the races escalate from tests of speed and strength to competitions between medicine and counter-medicine, witchcraft and counter-witchcraft, drawing on the dynamic forces of nature that reside in animals or inanimate objects. In “The Races at Tsikuvı” (text 20), for example, both sides invoke the intervention of magical elements, and the consequences of the races are so serious that the people of Payupki are forced to abandon their village. Even where witchcraft is not introduced, as in “The Dispersal from Sikyatki, I” (text 11), the contest may be laden with serious implications. The Sikyatki race ends with death and the scattering of the people of the village.

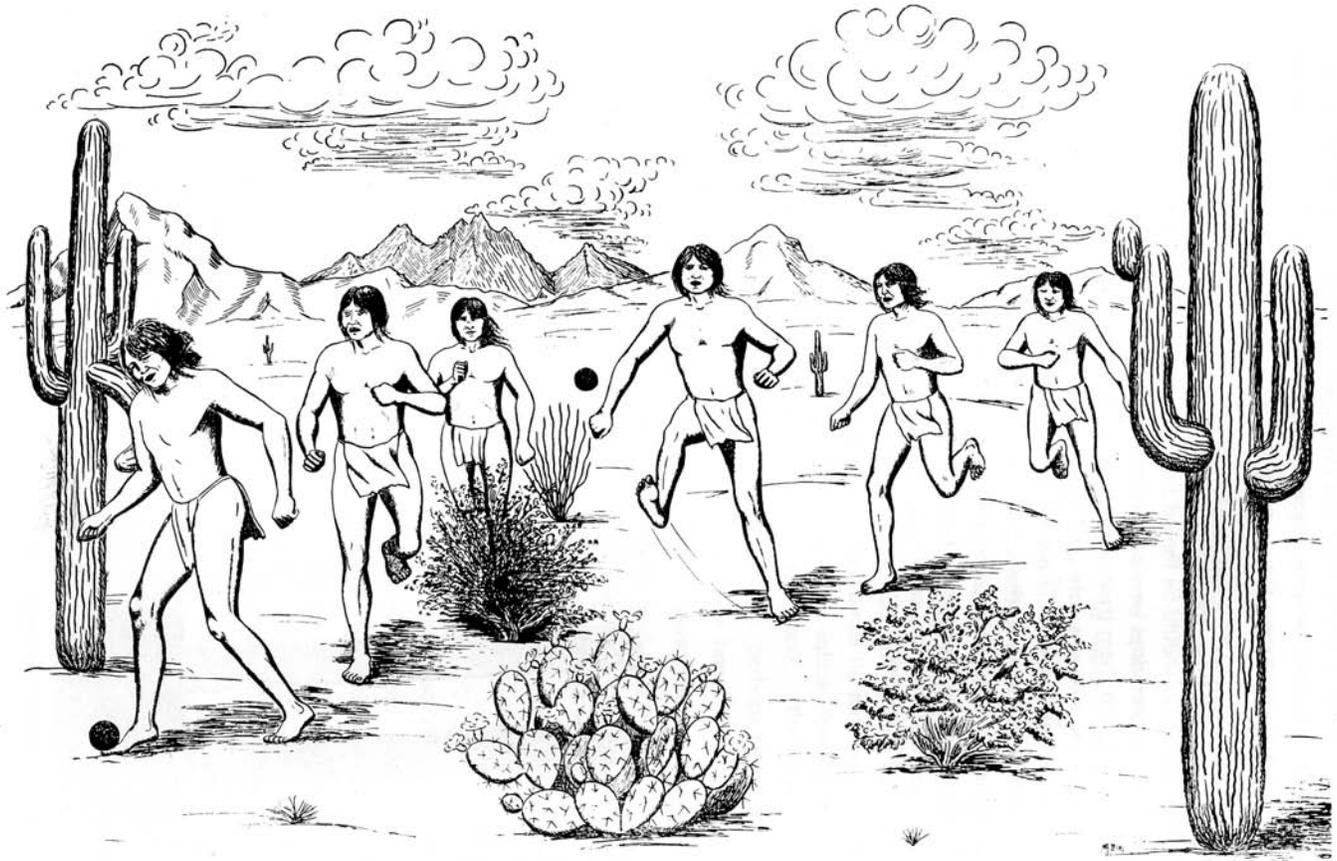
Source: Courlander, H. (1982). *Hopi voices: recollections, traditions, and narratives of the Hopi Indians recorded, transcribed, and annotated by Harold Courlander* (pp. xxix–xxx). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

organizations were soon created in both Canada and the United States, and the first National Indian Finals Rodeo was held in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1976.

The National Indian Activities Association was formed in 1973 to showcase Native American athletes through national competitions while helping Native American youth develop pride in their heritage. An all-Indian men’s championship in basketball was the first event sponsored, but other sports were soon added, including softball, golf, and bowling, with opportunities

provided for both men and women to compete. All competitors must be at least one-quarter American Indian. This organization, renamed the “National Indian Athletic Association” in 1990, continues to offer yearly sports championships in a variety of sports.

In Canada the Aboriginal Sport Circle was formed in 1995 as the national organization overseeing Native American sports in Canada. Member organizations from across Canada arrange for participants to compete in all-Native events such as the North American



A drawing of Native Americans in the Southwest playing kickball.

Indigenous Games. A group of Native American leaders from Alberta organized the first North American Indigenous Games, held in Edmonton, Alberta, in 1990. These games, which are restricted to persons of Native American heritage, involve athletes from both Canada and the United States. Teams from a variety of provinces and states compete. Subsequent games have been held in Saskatchewan in 1993, Minnesota in 1995, British Columbia in 1997, and Manitoba in 2002. Mainstream sports are the focus of these games. Thus, the 2002 games included 3-D archery, athletics, badminton, baseball, basketball, field lacrosse, boxing, canoeing, golf, rifle shooting, soccer, softball, swimming, tae kwon do, volleyball, and wrestling. Medals are awarded to the winners. Organizers generate funds through entry fees, community and sponsor contributions, and government grants. Cultural activities are an integral part of the games, providing athletes and spectators with the opportunity to celebrate Native American traditional practices as well as mainstream sporting activities.

The North American Indigenous Games, in conjunction with the work of national sports organizations and the inception of national awards for Native American athletes such as the Canadian Tom Longboat Award (begun in 1951) and the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame (begun in 1972), have created an environment that enables Native American role models to emerge and be recognized in mainstream sports

Traditional Sports and Games Competitions

A number of competitions involve traditional Native American activities. These competitions maintain contemporary interest in traditional Native American sports and promote community spirit and pride in being Native American. One of the oldest competitions is the powwow, a summer celebration that dates back to the Plains warrior organizations of the 1870s. Powwows had almost died out by the 1930s because of government legislation against traditional Native American cultural



practices. However, Native American organizers began to host powwows to honor the American Indian veterans returning to their reserves from the two world wars. Powwows grew in popularity as cultural awareness and pride in being Native American increased during the later decades of the twentieth century. Today more than 100 powwows occur annually in North America, both on reserves and in urban areas, as part of a “powwow circuit.” Large money prizes are awarded at major competitions, although some reserves prefer to hold “traditional” powwows, encouraging the audience to dance for fun rather than for money. Native American participants of all ages compete, and both Native American and non-Native American people attend as spectators. Although dancing is the primary focus, organizers sometimes include traditional foods and crafts, rodeos, hand games, giveaways, and parades. Powwow participants in part view these events as sports; however, Native American people also see these events as a place where Native American values can be reproduced through their connection with Native American ways of viewing the world.

Native Americans in northern parts of North America have also created traditional sports competitions. The World Eskimo Indian Olympics were established in Fairbanks, Alaska, in 1961 and have been held every year since. Events in 1961 included seal skinning, blanket toss, finger pull, high kick, and neck pull, as well as four dance groups. In Canada the Northern Games and the Dene Games were created during the 1970s. The Northern Games began in 1970 as a weekend festival of traditional Inuit (Eskimo) and Dene (American Indian) games involving Native American participants from the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, and Alaska. Events included primarily Inuit activities; in 1970 events included one- and two-foot high kicks, arm pull, wrist pull, and Inuit drum dancing. Originally only males entered these events; however, female participants now compete. Men and women competed in jigging and kayak racing. Female participants originally competed in the Good Woman contest, which included activities performed by women on the land. In 1970 this contest included tea boiling, bannock (frybread)

making, seal and muskrat skinning, fish roasting and boiling, dry fish making, and traditional sewing. Athletes have also participated in Dene traditional activities on occasion; the 1970 games included stick gambling. A separate Dene Games began in 1977 in the Northwest Territories, and Arctic sports (added in 1974) and Dene Games (added in 1990) have become events within the biennial Arctic Winter Games.

The Iroquois in Ontario and New York host competitions in snowsnake, which is a traditional winter activity. These competitions involve sliding a spearlike stick, about 3 meters long, as far as possible along a flat, smooth track (now an artificially created trough in the snow). Each team includes a shiner, a thrower, and a marker. The thrower sends the snowsnake down the track, but the shiner often makes the snowsnake and is responsible for choosing the proper snowsnake and wax for the snow conditions. The marker determines the final landing place for his team’s snowsnake. Competitions are held weekly on various reserves in January and February. They involve primarily adult male competitors, although children, including occasionally young girls, also compete (this game was traditionally played only by males). Prizes are awarded to competitors who throw their snowsnakes the farthest.

Traditional sporting activities, such as powwows, Inuit and Dene Games, and snowsnake, combine with all-Native and mainstream sports competitions to provide a rich cultural context for Native Americans across North America.

Significance

Sports and games are an important part of all cultures because they are activities through which people express their values, know their bodies, and develop a sense of community through shared practices. Native Americans have always embraced sports and games, but they have been encouraged by non-Native American government policies to adopt mainstream activities, often at the expense of decreased involvement in their traditional cultural practices. Native Americans have developed an ability to embrace both traditional and mainstream

sports and games. Mainstream sports are most often organized by non-Native Americans, but through the efforts of many Native American organizers and Native American sports organizations, all-Native competitions have become a meaningful means of aboriginal engagement with sports. Traditional games and sports have also become institutionalized through events such as powwows, Inuit and Dene Games, and snowsnake competitions. These events enable Native Americans to find meaning in physical activities that trace back to their heritage as well as to create new traditions as they embrace non-Native American sporting activities.

Victoria Paraschak

See also Anthropology Days; Lacrosse; Mesoamerican Ball Court Games

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NCAA

See Drake Group; Intercollegiate Athletics

Netball

Netball, like many other sports, evolved after another sport was transplanted. In 1895, Dr. Toll, a U.S. educator who was visiting a college of physical training in London, introduced netball to England as the indoor game of basketball. Dr. Toll taught the women students of the college how to play basketball, but she did not distribute a book of rules, and the playing area was of an indeterminate size. The goals were wastepaper baskets hung on the wall at each end of a hall—an arrangement that mirrored that of Canadian-born Dr. James Naismith (1861–1939), who invented basketball in Massachusetts in 1891 and used peach baskets as his goals.

During the early years of the twentieth century netball—a sport of stop, start, catch, and shoot compared with the all-action fluidity of basketball—became popular in the girls' schools of the British empire and frequently was an integral part of physical education programs.

Although netball has never entered the Olympic arena, it does have its own world championship. In 1999 Australia won its eighth championship. It continues to be the dominating presence in the sport. During the 1980s and 1990s the West Indies and Australia had the most exciting teams. In 2005 the United States of America Netball Association will host the World Youth Netball Championships of the International Federation of Netball Associations in Florida.

The Ling Association, founded in England in 1899 to represent the professional and academic interests of physical educators, played a major role in the development of netball. The Ling Association saw the educational potential of the sport if only the motley assortment of rules could be condensed into one standard set. Thus, a Ling committee drafted a set of rules that established a transatlantic compromise: Goals as a unit of scoring were replaced by points, and a shooting circle was introduced. These elements were part of the U.S. sport. However, the



size of the ball (68 centimeters in circumference) was similar to the size of an English football (soccer ball), which was 10 centimeters smaller in circumference than a U.S. basketball. The original baskets were replaced by goal rings and nets, goal rings were reduced from 46 centimeters in diameter to 38 centimeters, and the height of the post rose to 2.5 meters. With the disappearance of baskets, people began to use the term *netball* rather than *women's basketball*.

These English changes were introduced in 1905 to Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, as well as Canada, the United States, France, and South Africa, and people hailed netball for the sense of control it gives players. Control is critical to understanding why athletic administrators and educational leaders so strongly supported such a distinctly unmodern game: Netball lacks rhythm, speed, contact or collision, and all-out aggression, and points are not scored as a frantic climax to a sequence of strategies. To early players netball epitomized rational recreation and a qualified acceptance of liberation for women on the playing field. It reaffirmed society's views of how women should behave: They could run and catch and be competitive, but the unrestrained athleticism of other ball games (such as women's field hockey) was outlawed. Indeed, netball's set shot—when a player sets up and attempts a scoring shot—is a frozen moment with a virtual absence of offensive or defensive movement. Observers have likened the jumping up and the attempting to thwart the set shot by the defense to the irritation of a housefly. This action is in contrast to that of a woman basketball player as she drives toward the hoop and attempts a lay-up as every player on the court is involved in a demanding sequence of movements, accelerating or backpedaling at high speeds. The tension and athletic dynamism are palpable. In netball, although skill and tactics are required, athleticism is compart-

mentalized and contained. Netball is orderly and disciplined; team tactics and intelligent distribution of the ball take precedence over muscular exuberance and individual flair.

Ling Association

As noted, the Ling Association contributed to the spread of netball. Physical education teachers “exported” the sport around the world, including to Australia, the West Indies, western Europe, Myanmar (Burma), and India.

According to Janice Brownfoot, during the 1920s sports such as netball grew in popularity and availability among women in Malaya. A decade later netball was so popular that interscholastic contests flourished, and people sought adequate playground space to play the sport. Netball was not played only by girls in English-language schools; Muslim communities in Malaya also embraced netball. In 1935, when the Malay Women Teachers Training College opened in Malacca, netball was part of the physical education curriculum.

In 1926 the All-England Women's Netball Association was founded; of the ten committee members five were Ling Association representatives. Many county netball associations were formed in England during the 1930s.

From 1935 to 1956, despite World War II, netball expanded significantly. Two publications devoted to the sport were founded: *Netball Magazine* (1935) and *Netball* (1949). The British Broadcasting Corporation broadcast its first radio coverage of a netball game in 1947, the same year a British netball team went abroad. The fact that the team visited Prague, Czechoslovakia, is noteworthy because the Iron Curtain was firmly in place, and a cultural tour of Communist satellite countries was rare.

A major reason for the growth of netball since World War II has been the



Girls in the 1920s playing netball.

You're regarded as a soft guy in Holland if you play cricket. They think it's all eating lunch and tea, and pretty boring. ■ ANDRE VAN TROOST

sport's shift from its school base to a broad base of community, club, and college support. For example, in 1970 the All-England Netball Association had nine hundred member clubs in addition to two thousand school affiliates.

In 1963 New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Australia, Ceylon, England, Jamaica, Scotland, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, Wales, and the West Indies participated in the first world netball tournament.

However, netball does have its critics, as Colin Tatz said: "There has been some denigration of the game, with critics claiming that only thirty-six countries play it, and that competition comes from 'lightweight' nations such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malawi, and the like. This is unfair: there would hardly be thirty-six nations playing field hockey at international level; one would be scratching to find more than half a dozen countries playing league [rugby], and nobody else plays Aussie rules [football]."

Meanwhile netball adapts to the changing needs of different cultures and communities. In New Zealand a new version called "kiwi netball" is designed for younger players. Boys or girls or coed teams can play it. The ball is smaller, the goal posts are lower, and different scoring systems provide more scoring opportunities for participants. Nevertheless, this children's version stays true to the essence of the adult version. For example, movement with the ball is limited: A player who catches the ball may move from the place where the ball was caught but may not move the first landing foot while still in possession of the ball. If the player lands on both feet simultaneously, either foot may be moved. However, the second foot moved may not be regrounded while the player still possesses the ball.

A netball team has seven players, and the traditional uniform is a bib. Players can play only one positional role. These roles are C (center), GS (goal shooter), GA (goal attack), WA (wing attack), WD (wing defense), GD (goal defense), and GK (goal keeper). A game is played in four quarters.

Scholarly Inquiry

Netball has not received the same exhausting scholarly examination that other sports have received. However, in 1995 John Nauright and Jayne Broomhall, in an article entitled "A Women's Game: The Development of Netball and a Female Sporting Culture in New Zealand, 1906–70," noted that despite "patronizing attitudes" among male media personnel, netball gained popular appeal in New Zealand as a result of netball broadcasts on New Zealand television during the last fifteen years.

Almost from the beginning media and health professionals hailed netball as a great game for women, especially because it fits into the dominant conceptions of proper women's behavior and physical activity. Thus, netball succeeded in part because it fit the male hegemonic (relating to influence) system so well. As a sport netball does not seriously challenge notions about ways in which women should express themselves physically and therefore does not pose a threat to the gender order in the ways that many other sports, such as women's rugby or soccer, do.

Scott A. G. M. Crawford

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*Netherlands Olympics Results**2002 Winter Olympics: 3 Gold, 5 Bronze**2004 Summer Olympics: 4 Gold, 9 Silver, 9 Bronze*

The Netherlands

The Netherlands is a modern, industrial nation in Western Europe, and borders the North Sea, Belgium, and Germany. The capital city is Amsterdam, although The Hague is the seat of government. The Netherlands is a small but densely populated country, with a population of 16.3 million—that is 393 people per square kilometre. In a prosperous and open economy, the per capita purchasing power parity of the Dutch is \$28,600, which is comparable to Australia, Germany, or Canada.

Sport occupies an important place in Dutch society. The majority of the population actively participates in sport, and Dutch elite athletes are ranked at the top of many branches of international sport. Dutch sport is dominated by an extensive network of sport organizations, which are supported by or have close relationships with local governments, the business world, and the media.

History

In a survey of Dutch pastimes conducted in 1871, the historian Jan ter Gouw identified ice skating, yachting, and horse racing as national pastimes with a long history. He also mentioned running and cycling races, billiards, archery, and rifle shooting. Traditional activities such as *klootschieten*, *beugelen*, *kolven*, and fives were also still popular at regional levels at that time. Strikingly, though, ter Gouw's survey does not once mention the word *sport*. Yet only a quarter of a century later, football, tennis, field hockey, athletics, and cricket all had their own league competitions, clubs, and umbrella organizations in the Netherlands.

The introduction of these English sports in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was not an isolated phenomenon. As a result of Britain's prestige as a major power at that time, a general interest in the lifestyle of the British arose all over Europe. However, physical education teachers were far less enthusiastic about these new English products. Instead, they propagated alter-

natives that they believed would improve the nation's mental or physical strength, like gymnastics, swimming, handball, and *korfball*, a Dutch derivative of early-American women's basketball.

American sports like basketball, volleyball, and baseball entered the Netherlands after World War I. In 1980, the membership in Dutch clubs playing these sports had risen to 197,000, after which the numbers stabilized. American football, on the other hand, received more than incidental attention in the Netherlands only after 1980. At that time, the Dutch sport culture was also exposed to two other American influences. First, there was the huge growth of new sports, like fitness, skateboarding, snowboarding, and extreme and adventure sports, which young people were adopting from the United States through commercial satellite television and the Internet. These new sports were not part of the typical European (and Dutch) sport club structure, but developed in the context of new commercial relationships and on the streets. Second, there was growing media attention on American professional sports, particularly on teams belonging to the National Basketball Association and the National Football League.

Sport in the Netherlands receives substantial governmental support. In 2003 alone, some €700 million were given at a municipal level, and by far the greatest part of this was invested in the construction and maintenance of sport facilities. Financial assistance at a national level is less substantial (€74 million) and focuses on improving volunteer expertise, reducing the use of performance-enhancing drugs, and advocating elite sports events. Funds from national lotteries (€38 million) are also pumped into sport. In addition to this, the business community is closely involved, particularly with respect to broadcasting rights (which provide an income of €100 million for sport) and sponsoring (€500 million).

Participant and Spectator Sports

In 2002, about 65 percent of the population claimed to have participated in a sport at least once a month.

A diving tower on a beach in Vlissingen, the Netherlands.

Source: istockphoto/cy.

Swimming, fitness, walking, and cycling were particularly popular. Roughly 28 percent of the population participates in a sport within the context of a sport association. Here football is by far the most popular sport, followed by tennis, gymnastics, golf, and ice skating.

In general, Dutch elite athletes are most successful at football, cycling, speed skating, swimming, field hockey, and equestrian sports. Since the 1980s, their performances during the Olympic Games have continued to improve.

They reached an all-time high at the Sydney games in 2000 when the Netherlands won eighth place in the medal ranking. Celebrated Dutch sporting events are the Rotterdam Marathon, the Dutch TT Motorcycle grand prix, the International Nijmegen Four Day Walking Event, and the Eleven City Ice-Skating Marathon.

During important international sporting competitions, especially football, the multitudes of Dutch fans clad in orange are particularly conspicuous. This is the way that the Dutch express their “orange feeling,” which alludes as much to the House of Orange as to national unity and identity.

Women and Sport

During the first half of the twentieth century, sport was primarily an activity for young men. Since then the situation has changed so radically that women are now represented more or less equally. This equalization also occurred at the elite sport level. Since 1988, women on the Olympic team won just as many medals as their male counterparts. Nevertheless, major differences still remain. Men continue to be overrepresented in football, golf, and basketball, whereas women predominate in gymnastics, equestrian sports, volleyball, and aerobics. In a variety of other sports, the ratio is more or less equal, such as in tennis, which is the most popular sport among women. However, women are still greatly underrepresented in administrative and managerial positions within sport.



Youth Sports

Young people in the Netherlands are involved in sports on a huge scale. In 1999, roughly 91 percent of six- to eleven-year-olds participated in sports outside of school; 74 percent did so within the context of sport clubs. However, as young people get older, participation tends to decline significantly. Given the increasing prevalence of sedentary lifestyles, this is a source of concern for both sport organizations and the government. To encourage youth participation in sports, sport organizations are now adjusting the sports they offer to better reflect young people’s experiences and desires. Moreover, municipal governments grant subsidies to sport clubs in proportion to the number of youth members they have.

Organizations

Although the popularity of commercial fitness centers is increasing, competitive sport in the Netherlands is mainly practiced in the context of sport associations. There are some twenty-nine thousand sport clubs throughout the country. These private volunteer organizations have a total of around 4.5 million members and are affiliated with national sport federations, which in turn belong to NOC*NSF (a merger of the Netherlands Olympic Committee and the Netherlands Sports Federation).

Sports in Society

During the second half of the twentieth century, sport came to occupy a central position in Dutch society.



Netherlands

From *Kolf* to Golf

Many people wonder whether the word golf is actually an acronym. The name, however, has its origins in the Dutch game, kolf. Here's how the United States Golf Association explains it:

... it derives linguistically from the Dutch word "kolf" or "kolve," meaning quite simply "club." In the Scottish dialect of the late 14th or early 15th century, the Dutch term became "goff" or "gouff," and only later in the 16th century "golf."

The linguistic connections between the Dutch and Scottish terms are but one reflection of what was a very active trade industry between the Dutch ports and the ports on the east coast of Scotland from the 14th through 17th centuries.

Some scholars suggest that the Dutch game of "kolf," played with a stick and ball on frozen canals in the wintertime, was brought by the Dutch sailors to the east coast of Scotland, where it was transferred on to the public linkslands and eventually became the game we know today.

Source: *Golf history*. (2005). Retrieved March 10, 2005, from http://www.usga.org/questions/faqs/usga_history.html

Today sport is practiced and watched on a huge scale and there is a broad base of social support for its subsidization by the government, media, and business. The income and social security position of elite athletes has greatly improved, which means that an increasing number of people can practice elite sport professionally. However, the attention to and appreciation of elite sport is highly disproportionate, directed mainly toward football and a limited number of other sports.

The Future

There are signs that sport participation has stabilized and is possibly even on the decline, in particular among adolescents and young adults. Indeed, how people can be encouraged to partake in physical exercise is a hot issue in current sport policymaking. This policymaking

also focuses on the elderly, although it appears that participation in sport is continuing to increase significantly among this group. The growing number of immigrants also forms a new disadvantaged group in the area of sport. Along with this, the problems of performance-enhancing drugs, hooliganism, and sports injuries also warrant structural attention.

In the field of elite sport the costs continue to rise. While professionalization and commercialization are responsible for increased revenue, these developments also raise important questions—for example, what is the influence of commerce on sport and what will be the consequence of increasing pressure on elite athletes to remain at the international top at all costs?

Maarten van Bottenburg

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New Zealand

New Zealand is a country formed of two major islands in the southern hemisphere, lying between 34 and 46 degrees of latitude south in the Pacific Ocean, a similar distance from the equator to Spain or California. Its nearest neighbor is Australia, which is 1,500 kilometers (930 miles) to the northwest. The population is just over 4 million and the capital city is

*New Zealand Olympics Results
2004 Summer Olympics: 3 Gold, 2 Silver*

Wellington. New Zealanders like to think of themselves as a sporting nation, and there is little doubt that sport played a significant part in the formation of a national identity. Within this national identity, rugby, the “national game,” has played a pivotal role, and it remains a dominant cultural discourse despite sweeping social changes that have occurred in recent decades.

History

Evidence suggests that the earliest inhabitants of New Zealand, the Maori, first settled in New Zealand in the thirteenth century. No single word for “sport” existed within Maori society and sportlike activities such as wrestling and swimming were integrated into everyday life, the activities being inseparable from ritual and survival skills. Many of these indigenous activities, which were primarily seen as cultural rather than sporting, largely disappeared under the forces of nineteenth-century European settlement and the attitudes of the early missionaries.

Sport and games were seen as important aspects of the cultural transfer from Britain to her colonial empire, and most of these imported sports gained ready acceptance in the young colony. Even before New Zealand became a British colony, cricket had been introduced by missionaries in 1825, and other major sports such as rugby, croquet, yachting, boxing, curling and golf (the influence of the Scottish settlers in the south of the country), hockey, lawn bowls, wrestling, cycling, tennis, rowing, and foot races were successfully established by the turn of the century. A modified form of basketball (renamed netball in 1970) was introduced in the early years of the twentieth century and has become the dominant sport for women in New Zealand today.

Maori involvement in many of these sports was initially insignificant, but they were involved in rugby from the very early years of the sport in the 1870s. Jack Tairaroa and Joe Warbrick were two outstanding members of the first New Zealand rugby team, which toured Australia in 1884, while Tom Ellison, the first Maori to qualify in law in New Zealand, was the first to captain an official New Zealand rugby team on their Australian

tour in 1893 following the formation of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union a year earlier.

One of the great sporting stars of the colonial era was Bob “Ruby Robert” Fitzsimmons, at differing times a triple world boxing champion as a middleweight, heavyweight, and light heavyweight. When he defeated James J. Corbett at Carson City, Nevada, in 1897 for the world heavyweight title, a fight still considered one of the great title fights and a ring classic, the bout was watched by such famous personalities as Bat Masterton and Wyatt Earp.

As early as 1840, the 2,000 European settlers in New Zealand were catered to by billiard halls and gambling houses. Gambling and prostitution were part of the frontier life for many New Zealand males, and horse racing (initially established by the British elite) also became one of their favored pastimes. While private bars and “members’ stands” at racecourses preserved distinctions between the upper and lower classes, there was a “wide following for racing and trotting, and almost every public bar in the country had ‘bookies’ operating illegally to take bets” (King 2003, 308).

Voluntary and commercial sectors met most of the organized sporting needs of New Zealanders in the latter part of the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth century, with local government playing a role in the provision of fields and facilities. It was not until the 1970s that this situation changed. The Recreation and Sport Act 1973 was instrumental in funding and developing sport and recreation in New Zealand and the new Ministry of Recreation and Sport created by the act was to actively support this process.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Although it began as a sport for the elite in Britain, rugby soon became the sport of choice for males in New Zealand. It fitted well with the physical and social needs of frontier life, and the rough surfaces of the typical sports “fields” were more conducive to rugby than to soccer or other competing forms of football. By the early part of the twentieth century, the success of the 1905 New Zealand rugby team (the All Blacks) on their



A sports ground in New Zealand's capital city of Wellington.

Source: istockphoto/Mac Guy.

tour of Great Britain and the pride New Zealanders displayed in their achievements “suggested that a large part of the country’s emerging identity would be invested in this particular sport” (King 2003, 280). Rugby took “quick root in the distinctive male culture of New Zealand” (Phillips 1996, 95), and from the beginning of the twentieth century rugby was more than a game—as Jock Phillips suggests, it became a barometer of the nation’s health.

Other team sports have also figured prominently in New Zealand’s international successes, with the New Zealand men’s softball team, the Black Sox, winning world championship successes in 1976 (joint winners with Canada and the United States), 1996, 2000, and 2004, and there was a gold medal triumph for the men’s field hockey team at the Montreal Olympics in 1976. Water sports have also given the country significant success at the Olympic Games, with five gold medals in rowing including Rob Waddell in the single sculls in Sydney and the coveted eights in Munich in 1972, four gold medals in sailing and two in board sailing, and five gold medals in canoeing, four of these going to New Zealand’s most successful Olympian, Ian Ferguson. In addition to this, Peter Blake and Grant Dalton have both had major successes in ocean racing, each winning the Whitbread Round the World Race.

One of New Zealand’s earliest sporting heroes was the highly gifted tennis player, Anthony (Tony) Wilding. Wilding won the Australian singles title in 1906 and 1909 and the Wimbledon singles four times in succession from 1910–1913, and he was a member of the

Australasian team that won the Davis Cup in 1907–1909 and again in 1914. The victory over the United States in 1914 almost coincided with the outbreak of World War I, and it was a war from which Wilding did not return, as he was killed in action at the age of thirty-one in France in 1915. John Edward “Jack” Lovelock was another incomparable athlete, setting a world record for the mile in 1933 and winning the gold medal in the 1,500 meters at the Berlin Olympics, also in world record time. He was another to die tragically, falling under a subway train in New York at the age of forty. Peter Snell, one of New Zealand’s most famous sporting sons, won gold in Olympic record time with his upset win in the 800 meters at the Rome Olympics in 1960, and completed a very rare double in the 800 meters and 1,500 meters in Tokyo four years later. A holder of world records for the 800 meters, 880 yards, and the mile, Snell’s time for the 800 meters at Tokyo in 1964 would have been good enough for a silver medal thirty-six years later at the Sydney Olympics, a measure of his remarkable ability.

The great golfer Bob Charles was the first left-handed player to win a major title in winning the British Open in 1963, and this was a record he held for fifty years. A multiple winner on both the European and the PGA Tours, Charles continued his successful career on the Senior Tour with a further twenty-four titles, and he was knighted in 1999. In addition, the New Zealand team of 1992, a team that included two outstanding Maori golfers, Michael Campbell and Phil Taitaurangi, won the world amateur teams golf championship for the Eisenhower Trophy, defeating a United States team including Justin Leonard and David Duvall by seven strokes.

In motor sports, New Zealand has had some outstanding successes. Denny Hulme was world Formula One champion driver in 1967, while Chris Amon and Bruce McLaren were also successful drivers in the sport, McLaren also making an enduring contribution as an engineer and inventor. Since McLaren cars first appeared



New Zealand

Key Events in New Zealand Sports History

- | | | | |
|----------------|--|-------------|---|
| 1825 | Cricket is introduced by English missionaries. | 1964 | Peter Snell wins the 800 and 1,500-meter races at the Olympics. |
| 1870s | Rugby is introduced. | 1966 | The McLaren racing cars begin competing on the international circuit. |
| 1877 | The Education Act makes sports part of the school curriculum. | 1973 | The Ministry of Recreation and Sport is created. |
| 1892 | New Zealand Rugby Football Union is founded. | 1976 | The Black Sox men's softball team wins the world championship. |
| 1897 | Bob Fitzsimmons wins the world heavy-weight boxing title. | 1988 | KiwiSport is introduced to the elementary school curriculum. |
| c. 1900 | Netball becomes popular. | 1996 | New Zealand wins the America's Cup sailing race and retains it in 2000. |
| 1905 | The All Blacks rugby team breaks attention to the sport with a successful tour of Great Britain. | 2000 | The New Zealand cricket team wins the World Cup. |
| 1953 | Edmund Hillary becomes the first person to climb Mt. Everest. | | |

on the race tracks in 1966, they have won eleven Formula One drivers' titles and eight constructors' world championships. Scott Dixon, Indy Lights champion in 2000 and IRL Indycar champion driver in 2003, looks to be a future Formula One contender. World speedway champions Ronnie Moore (twice), Barry Briggs (four times), and Ivan Mauger (a world record six times), Hugh Anderson (twice world 50 cc and 125 cc motorcycle champion), Graeme Crosby (Formula 1 TT world champion in 1980 and 1981), world motocross champions Shayne King (500 cc in 1996) and Ben Townley (125 cc in 2004), and Wade Cunningham (world karting champion in 2003) have all reached the top in their chosen events. In addition, John Britten was a revolutionary motorcycle designer whose Britten V1000 motorcycle not only broke four world speed records in 1994 but was exhibited in the Guggenheim "The Art of the Motorcycle" exhibition in 1998. Britten, who died of melanomic cancer at only forty-five years of age in 1995, was placed equal with the four founders of Harley Davidson as Motorcyclist of the Millennium.

Olympic 1500 meter gold medalist and world mile record holder John Walker, horseman Mark Todd, a double Olympic gold medalist in the three-day event

and voted Rider of the Twentieth Century by the International Equestrian Federation, Sir Richard Hadlee, one of the greatest fast bowlers and all-rounders in international cricket, Danyon Loader, the country's greatest swimmer who was a double gold medalist in the 200 meter and 400 meter freestyle at the Atlanta Olympics, and four-time world mountain running champion Jonathan Wyatt have been other international sporting stars. To this list can now be added the former world number one ranked triathlete, Hamish Carter, who gained his greatest reward at the Athens Olympics in 2004, where he won the gold medal from his New Zealand teammate and 2004 world champion Bevan Docherty in the Olympic triathlon.

Women and Sport

Hockey was the most popular team sport for women in New Zealand in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1935, the New Zealand women's team was the first national women's sporting team to travel overseas with its highly successful tour of Australia. Netball, which was becoming much more prominent by this time, toured Australia for the first time in 1938, and it was beginning to

The place rugby enjoys demands analysis. It is not simply a sport but it encompasses such matters as the class structure, mateship and male bonding, the perpetuation of sexist attitudes in New Zealand, not to mention the social functions it performs in diverse communities around the land. ■ GRAEME FRASER

replace hockey in many areas as the dominant female sport. The New Zealand Silver Ferns have been world netball champions in 1967, 1987, and 2003, and the sport can now be considered to be the “national game” for New Zealand women. Over the last decade, the development and growth of women’s rugby has also been highly significant. In a sport that has been so important to male culture in New Zealand, the acceptance of women on the playing field was difficult to achieve, but the great accomplishments of the New Zealand women’s team, the Black Ferns, in winning the Women’s World Rugby Cup in 1998 and 2002 have brought a great deal of support for the game. The New Zealand women’s cricket team won the World Cup in 2000, the New Zealand women’s softball team has also tasted international success, winning the world championship title in 1982, and the Kiwi Ferns were successful in the first Women’s Rugby League World Cup in 2000 and again in 2004.

New Zealand women can fairly claim to have produced some of the major highlights in New Zealand’s brief sporting history. At the Helsinki Olympic Games in 1952, Yvette Williams became the first female gold medalist for the country with her Olympic record in the long jump, and in 1954 she achieved the supreme distinction of breaking the world record in this event. Allison Roe reached the pinnacle of her running career in 1981 with wins in both the Boston and New York City marathons, and her time in the latter event was the fastest run by a woman at that time. Susan Devoy was a four-time world champion who won eight British Opens in squash and was continuously ranked number one from 1983 until her retirement in 1992. Almost unbeatable on the court, she was undoubtedly squash’s most formidable woman player of her era. Former British Open champion Leilani Rorani (nee Joyce), who took out the first women’s doubles championship with Philippa Beams, has also achieved notable success.

Erin Baker, perhaps the most complete female triathlete and multiple world champion in the 1980s, and Barbara Kendall, a three-time world champion windsurfer who won Olympic gold at Barcelona, silver at At-

lanta, and bronze at Sydney to become the country’s foremost female Olympian, have kept the flag flying high for New Zealand sportswomen. More recently, at the Athens Olympic Games, the Evers-Swindell twins, Caroline and Georgina, kept a three-year unbeaten record intact when the double world champions took a gold medal in rowing in the double sculls. Sarah Ulmer became New Zealand’s first Olympic gold medalist in cycling when, after winning the individual pursuit and breaking the world record at the 2004 World Championships, she completed an identical feat at Athens, a magnificent achievement.

Youth Sports

Physical training, games, and sport have been part of the curriculum in New Zealand schools since the passing of the Education Act in 1877. Sport has had a high profile in New Zealand schools from the early years of education in this country, and the earliest high schools quickly established sporting contests with other schools, a pattern that was to continue, to broaden in scope, and to intensify in the twentieth century. In 1988, KiwiSport was introduced into New Zealand elementary schools for 7–13-year-old pupils. A program of modified sports (based on the Australian Aussie Sport model), it has grown to the extent that almost every young New Zealander is now exposed to this program. While there has always been some tension between physical education and sport in schools, the national curriculum adopted in 1999 acknowledges that sport is integral to New Zealand’s culture and is an important part of the overall development of students. The development of sports academies has escalated over the past decade in New Zealand high schools. The academies provide specialized programs within the school timetable for talented or elite athletes who have been identified through a variety of methods determined by individual schools. More recent developments have involved the appointment of sports coordinators in New Zealand high schools with funding provided by the government and support from Sport and Recreation New Zealand.



New Zealand

Rugby in New Zealand

Because it took such quick root in the distinctive male culture of New Zealand, rugby was at first regarded with a good deal of ambivalence by the more respectable middle class despite the game's public school origins. Respectable people judged it to be 'a rough and dangerous game', as a Dunedin paper claimed in 1875, and an excuse for anarchy and violence. The 'sober-minded folks' watching a game in Wanganui in 1875 were 'heard giving expression to their feelings of contempt'. When in 1877 Frederick Pilling was killed in a club match, the coroner claimed that 'the game of football was only worthy of savages'. Such racist associations were not, of course, relieved by the quick enthusiasm with which Maori took up the game. As the *Wairarapa Star* claimed, Maoris were believed to be 'warm-blooded animals' whose interests easily degenerated into pugilistic encounters. During the 1870s many respectable folk of wowsy sympathies must have shared the view of the *New Zealand Herald* in 1878 that 'Bull-baiting

and cock-fighting have more to commend them as recreations than the rough-and-tumble hoodlum amusement yclept football which our youths seem to take so much delight in'. Even as late as 1889 the Wellington Rugby Football Union complained of their game: 'Somehow it has got a bad name and a large section of the public are never done condemning it. It is brutal, it is coarse, it is not scientific'. Rugby was seen as encouraging all the less desirable elements of male culture—fighting, drinking, swearing. The latter, in particular, was a cause of some concern. The *Temuka Leader* commented after a match with Timaru: 'The abominable conduct and the oaths and filthy expressions made use of by some of the young roughs from Timaru were disgusting in the extreme . . . If such conduct is not stopped, no parents will permit their boys to mingle with such low young rascals.' (Phillips 1996, 95)

Phillips, J. (1996). *A man's country? The image of the pakeha male—a history*. Revised edition. Auckland: Penguin Books.

Organizations

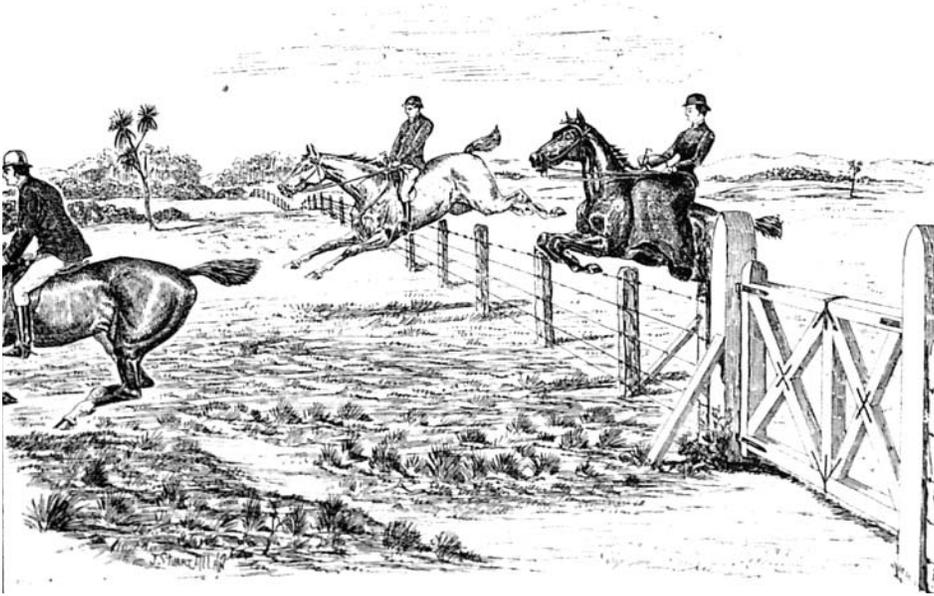
At a national level, the Ministry of Recreation and Sport was replaced by the Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport in 1987, named in honor of the conqueror of Everest and one of New Zealand's most famous sons, Sir Edmund Hillary. The commission was in turn replaced by Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC) in 2002. The latter's mission is to promote active lifestyles for New Zealanders through effective sport and recreation systems, and to promote sport at the elite level, particularly in those sports that are significant to New Zealanders. One of SPARC's responsibilities includes the New Zealand Academy of Sport, which was established in 2000 to support elite athletes.

The New Zealand Assembly for Sport claims a collective membership of more than 1.5 million and provides advocacy and information services and sports law resources, and also has a system for supporting prom-

ising athletes. The New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC) oversees the administration, selection, development, and funding of teams that compete at both the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. Regional sports trusts provide a regional voice for sport and, with support from the Hillary Commission and SPARC, they have had a major impact on the local and regional scene. The New Zealand Sports Foundation, the New Zealand Federation of Sports Medicine, Coaching New Zealand, and Sport Science New Zealand have all made significant contributions to New Zealand sport, although some of these organizations have now also been subsumed by SPARC.

Sport in Society

While rugby has been the national game since the latter part of the nineteenth century, it has not been without moments of great controversy, none more so than the massive social upheaval created by the tour of



Foxhunters jumping a barbed wire fence in early twentieth century New Zealand.

New Zealand by the South African rugby team, the Springboks, in 1981. “The prolonged . . . relationship with South Africa and its rejection of Maori players, the upsurge of female resistance to the game, and the growth of a wide range of other sports contributed to the weakening of the near-exclusive hold of rugby over male leisure” (Hindson et al. 1994, 35). Not only was rugby in disrepute, but this was the very time when the success of the New Zealand soccer team, the All Whites, in qualifying for the World Cup in 1982 greatly furthered the popularity of that sport. For the next decade, the Rugby Union attempted to counter the effects of the “near civil war of 1981” (MacLean 2000, 256), and it took the success of the All Blacks under David Kirk in the inaugural Rugby World Cup in 1987 to restore the national game to a preeminent place in New Zealand sport. More recent rugby successes on the world stage have assisted in rehabilitating the sport, including wins in the Women’s World Rugby Cup, the World Rugby Sevens, and a gold medal to the Wheelblacks in the Wheelchair Rugby final at the Paralympic Games in Athens.

In yachting, Team New Zealand’s magnificent victory in the America’s Cup in 1995 in San Diego was only the second time in the event’s 144-year history that a non-American team had won the coveted silver trophy. However, the reign of the cup holders was to end in considerable controversy. Successfully defending the Cup in Auckland in 2000, where they became the first

non-American team to retain the Cup, the Team New Zealand crew then suffered the loss of its skipper, Russell Coutts, and several other key members to rival Swiss syndicate Alinghi, and it was the latter who successfully wrested the cup from Team New Zealand in the America’s Cup challenge in 2003.

The Future

While sport clearly still holds a privileged position in New Zealand, major social and cultural changes in the 1970s and early 1980s saw new activities and alternative approaches to sport begin to flourish, and older cultural or sporting forms were replaced or swept aside by the new, the novel, and the fashionable. Extreme or action sports are now attracting growing numbers of young people who are opting out of adult-controlled, structured sport activities, and there is a growing preference for unstructured physical leisure activities (e.g., skateboarding, roller blading, mountain biking, snowboarding, etc.). These activities have a youthful demographic and an attachment to youth culture with its associated clothing fashions and music.

In addition, many New Zealanders can no longer participate in regular sporting competitions because of longer and sometimes irregular working hours, and this, too, has increased the popularity of individualistic sporting and recreational pursuits. This further erodes the popularity of team sports (from a participant but not a spectator level), and means there are fewer people committing themselves to such activities. While sport is still a major aspect of New Zealand culture, its centrality to national identity is now frequently challenged and called into question. Despite this, sport continues to hold a very significant place, and rugby and netball, the national games, retain a high profile.

Rex W. Thomson



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Newspapers

Every day around the world millions of people collect their daily newspaper from the mailbox or buy it on the way to or from work, read a version on the Internet, or listen to radio or television summaries of the headlines. For many readers the sports pages are a large part of the attraction of the newspaper.

The huge popularity of sports with newspaper readers is evident in the high proportion of editorial space given to coverage of sports. Around the world research suggests that newspapers in both developed and developing nations dedicate between 15 and 20 percent of editorial space to sports. The daily sports pages are primarily a record of what has happened during the previous twenty-four hours, focusing on those people and events deemed to be of most importance or interest to

the general public. As David Conley puts it, “If the media acts as society’s scoreboard, journalists are its scorekeepers. Some might think that the score is padded, or that someone cannot count, but few can deny that journalists are daily historians, recording a community’s best and worst moments” (Conley 1997, ix).

Changes in the Sports Pages

Tradition has largely determined the sports that receive the most coverage. Those sports that received early coverage—such as boxing, horse racing, and baseball in the United States, rugby in New Zealand, soccer and cricket in the United Kingdom—have maintained their dominance despite an explosion in new sports and events since the 1970s. Since their early days newspapers have focused on those sports that appeal to the perceived interests of their readers. This focus has meant an emphasis on sports played or watched by an educated, literate, and middle-class readership. John Stevens argues that the strongest evidence of middle-class bias in news coverage appears in the sports pages, which fail to cover sports, such as stock car racing, bowling, or rodeos, that attract large blue-collar followings.

Instead, American newspapers large and small devote space to elite or middle-class sports: golf, tennis, skiing, and distance running. Boating and yachting are covered out of all proportion to their popularity, and sports editors tend also to give space to “country club” sports like women’s golf and tennis. (Stevens 1987, 10)

The development of television through the 1960s had profound effects on newspaper coverage of sports. Most obviously, it generated a shift away from stories that focused on results and descriptions of play. No longer could sportswriters assume that most readers had not “seen” the game. Instead, coverage became more analytical and focused on in-depth analysis of why and how particular results occurred. The challenges posed by television also led to a broader range of stories being found in newspapers as “reporters began to look into boardrooms, courtrooms, and training rooms” (Garrison and Sabljak 1993, 31). Today’s sports sections are a mix of

in-depth analysis, feature material, opinion, and behind-the-scenes or nonevent coverage. As sports have become big business, and as athletes have become celebrities, sports stories have begun to appear throughout the newspaper. Serious issues such as gambling, drugs, sex scandals, and restraint-of-trade legal cases often appear on the front page rather than in the sports section.

Acquiring Male Readers

Even a cursory reading of most daily newspapers shows that the sports pages are far from a record of the full diversity of sports being played or watched. Instead, because newspapers are in the business of selling readers to advertisers, coverage is dedicated to those athletes and sports that are believed to attract the readers that advertisers want to target. "In effect, readers are a commodity generated by the news industry . . . and access to them is sold as advertising space" (Lowes 2004, 131). Advertisers want to purchase clearly defined and highly concentrated audiences of people likely to buy their products. Stevens points out that publishers developed special sports sections to help advertisers reach male readers "just as they packaged fashions and society for women and comics sections for kids" (Stevens 1987, 7). The trend continues today with metropolitan daily newspapers selling advertisers on the ability of the sports section to attract the highly desirable demographic of males aged eighteen to forty-nine with disposable income. Lawrence Wenner suggests that "in many ways, the sports press provides a socially sanctioned gossip sheet for men . . . a place where a great deal of conjecture is placed upon 'heroes' and events of little worldly import" (Wenner 1989, 15).

In a recent study of work routines on a large metropolitan Canadian daily newspaper, Mark Lowes discovered that the newspaper openly courted male readers by focusing on commercial spectator sports that are widely considered as the most appealing to male readers. "The prevailing philosophy in the news industry is that the most effective way to attract male readers is to provide extensive coverage of commercial spectator sports" (Lowes 2004, 131). As a result, non-

*If you're not a member of a major league baseball team,
your errors, unless they are truly spectacular,
don't show up in the morning paper.* ■ JANE GOODSELL

commercial sports were largely absent or covered as an afterthought at best.

Reflecting Cultural Values

Like all forms of mass media, newspapers select between different sports for those believed to have the widest appeal to readers. Within each sport newspaper coverage highlights particular aspects and downplays or ignores others. Research consistently reveals the cultural assumption that *men's* commercial sports sell newspapers and advertising and have the widest appeal. In comparison, women's sports, masters-level competitions, and events such as the Paralympics are believed to have a much narrower focus. However, evidence from Australia that few newspaper sports sections actually conduct market research means that the content of the sports section reflects the assumptions and choices of editors, journalists, subeditors, columnists, and photographers, the overwhelming number of whom are white, male, and middle-class. Their decisions, which are often explained as "natural" or "normal," are in fact trained by on-the-job practices and years of consuming mediated sports.

The increasing coverage of commercial sports reinforces the idea of sports as an entertainment spectacle to be purchased or consumed. The mostly male professional sports from which money can be made via tickets, merchandise, and television rights receive the most coverage. The process of assigning reporters to cover specific professional sports beats also contributes to the high level of coverage for commercial sports. Reporters on a beat are "forced to come up with something, even if it's the most banal story imaginable. . . . Lack of activity on a sports beat is . . . insufficient grounds for a reporter not to generate news" (Lowes 1999, 43).

Overall, newspapers' choices *among* sports tend to mean commercial rather than amateur, male rather than female, able-bodied rather than Paralympic, and elite rather than masters-level sports. Choices *within* sports tend to reinforce rather than challenge cultural beliefs and ideas about gender, race and ethnicity, age, disability, and national identity.

Influencing Readers

The stories and images in the sports pages reflect and contribute to readers' understandings of the society in which the readers live. As Stuart Hall puts it, rather than telling us *what* to think, the news media tell us *what to think about*. Media coverage does not directly affect behavior but slowly transforms what appear to be "the most plausible frameworks we have of telling ourselves a certain story about the world" (Hall 1984, 8). Phillips argues that "regardless of what is actually happening, it is the media's interpretation of that event that shapes our attitudes, values and perceptions about the world and about our culture" (Phillips 1997, 20). Therefore, media versions of particular cultural events—particularly those with which fewer people have direct experience such as the Gay Games or masters games—are important to how those events and the people who participate in them are seen by the general public. When newspapers give saturation coverage of the Olympic Games but virtually ignore the Paralympics, this choice sends an important message about what kinds of sport "really" count and are valued by society.

Representing Gender Differences

Generally, newspapers' choices tend to reflect cultural beliefs of their time. For example, during the early 1900s sports stories about women tended to focus more on women's ability to serve tea or their involvement as spectators rather than participants. Although sportswomen received coverage through the 1920s and 1930s, the sports pages after World War II reflected cultural expectations that women would return to motherhood, homemaking, and domesticity. In Australia coverage of women's teams and international tours decreased in the face of a belief that "the only fitness women needed in postwar Australia was the fitness required to produce healthy babies" (Stell 1991, 232). Even during the 1970s a judge in a North American case over equal access to sports was reported to have said: "Athletic competition builds character in our boys. We do not need that kind of character in our girls, the women of tomorrow" (Dyer 1982, 109).

Worldwide research shows that the sports pages are dominated by stories and images of men's sports, particularly those commercial team sports that are also linked to national identity and culturally valued ideals of masculinity. Many newspaper stories and images focus on men's courage, toughness, physical aggression, and ability to withstand pain. The sports pages carry images of bloodied men, bone-crunching tackles, and bandaged and taped body parts. As well, most images of male athletes are in action, performing physical feats of skill and daring.

Similarly, coverage of women also tends to support cultural ideals of femininity. Historian Murray Phillips's assessment of media coverage in Australia reflects the results of hundreds of international analyses: "As all the surveys since 1980 have indicated, women have struggled to get consistent, long-term and supportive media attention. . . . In reality the media profile of women's sport is inconsistent, short-term and focused on sensational stories" (Phillips 1997, 19). Media descriptions often emphasize women's physical traits, clothes, emotions, and relationships and focus on conventionally attractive or sports-sexy athletes such as tennis player Anna Kournikova. Photographs reinforce the sports-sexy image by focusing on women's buttocks, breasts, hips, thighs, and lips. Overall, most coverage is ambivalent, meaning that "positive descriptions and images of women athletes are juxtaposed with descriptions and images that undermine and trivialize women's efforts and successes" (Wensing and Bruce 2003, 388).

This focus on traditional notions of masculinity and femininity translates into higher levels of coverage for men in physically dangerous or contact team sports such as rugby or soccer and for women in individual, aesthetic, and noncontact sports such as tennis, ice skating, swimming, golf, gymnastics, and diving.

Representing Racial Differences

Newspaper coverage has long reflected cultural beliefs about race. Newspapers during the 1930s equated black athletes with animal imagery and represented them as unequal to white men. Stereotypes such as laziness and



Newspapers

Accuracy in Sports Reporting

This letter to the editor from the early 1800s comments on the need to report sports events accurately and also offers advice to the reporters.

To the Editor of the Spirit of Times—The utility and the beauty of the reports of all races is their strict and rigorous accuracy; and rather than have the most humorous and witty account of a race which draws upon the fancy at the expense of truth and the facts of the case, all true sportsmen would prefer the bare statement of facts, without note or comment. Indeed, justice to horses and their owners or breeders demands this, or your records cease to be looked to as the standard of the merits of the horses of the day which they propose to notice, and may loose, if they be allowed to be inaccurate, all the advantages proposed by them, for after, as well as the present, times. One acknowledged inaccurate report, unless it be corrected, may vitiate the credit of a dozen reports from the same source, which may be rigidly correct as to the time made, and other matters.

Under this impression, and with this view of the subject, I consider that the interests of the American Turf demand that every intelligent Turfite should regard it as his bounden duty to have corrected through

your paper, any errors that may be officially reported, when there is a certainty that a mistake has been made—else we shall soon have *doubted* the record of a number of extraordinary durability or bottom. The report of a race should not be regarded as only a newspaper flourish, but a strict record of names and pedigrees, of distance, of time, and of the places of the different horses that run as they come in, if they *can be placed*. And for this purpose the person intending to make the report should hold pencil and paper in hand, and note the facts as they occur, and not depend upon his memory to record the particulars of several races which occur so near together in the same day as to be almost jumbled up together in the memory at its close. Nothing should be said by the *reporter* like these things—that “*Boston*, has he been pressed, could have made his 4 miles in this race in the astonishing time of 7:36”—or that “this heat by *Balie Peyton* and *Duane*—7:42 [1/2]—is the best on record”—or that “in this there were three second rate nags, and three certainly not above third rate.” Facts alone should be stated, and these facts left to deduce their own commentaries.

Source: Menna, L. K. (Vol. Ed.). (1995). *Sports in North America—A documentary history*. Vol. 2: *The origins of modern sports, 1820–1840* (p. 48). Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press.

ability to cope with pressure were widespread. For example, in a description of U.S. boxer Joe Louis in 1939, reporter Paul Gallico wrote: “Louis, the magnificent animal. . . . He eats. He sleeps. He fights. . . . Is he all instinct, all animal? Or have a hundred million years left a fold upon his brain?” (Coakley 1998, 258).

Although as time passes stereotypes change along with cultural beliefs and values, the echoes of the past can easily be heard in sports coverage that emphasizes black athletic superiority with little reference to hard work or intellect. Although several studies point to a wider array of representations and a decreasing reliance solely on the “black athlete” metaphor, more than twenty-five years of analyses suggest that much

media coverage reflects conventional racial stereotypes about black and white athletes. For example, black basketball players are, as McDonald and Andrews argue about U.S. basketball star Michael Jordan, frequently linked with lingering codes of natural athleticism that recapture the mind-body dualism that has dominated popular racial discourses. “This discourse of extraordinary athleticism relies upon common sense assumptions of an innate Black physicality, a racist characterization once used to justify the institution of slavery and Social Darwinist constructions of White supremacy” (McDonald and Andrews 2001, 25). One of the key effects of such coverage is the polarizing of distinctions between “races” so that they become

I always turn to the sports page first, which records people's accomplishments. The front page has nothing, but man's failures. ■ EARL WARREN

understood as *more* rather than *less* different. The stereotypes produced by the media are repeated so often that they become accepted as cultural “facts.” They have significant effects because people come to see them as accurate and informative. For example:

If a coach believes that the black sportsman he is helping to prepare is naturally endowed with the physical equipment to produce fast sprints . . . it will affect his judgment as to the areas of specialty into which he should channel the efforts of that sportsman. (Cashmore 1982, 44)

Representing National Uniqueness

The media are a powerful tool in the symbolic imagining and (re-)creation of a nation. In particular, the Western sports media reinforce and re-create particular imaginings of national identity that hark back to past successes. Media coverage of international sports often emphasizes shared values and draws attention away from internal divisions such as race, class, religion, and gender. Rowe and colleagues suggest that “there is surely no cultural force more equal to the task of creating an imaginary national unity than the international sports-media complex” (Rowe, McKay, and Miller 1998, 133). Overwhelmingly, each nation’s media coverage of international sports events focuses on representing “us” as joined together and sharing in the successes of “our” athletes. When newspapers cover athletes from “other” countries, the coverage tends to draw upon and reinforce stereotypes about the personality traits of different nations or groups within nations such as the flamboyant Italians, the inscrutable Chinese, the hardworking British, or the hot-headed and unpredictable South Americans.

Despite the media representing a nation as united, sporting national identity is strongly gendered. Rowe and colleagues (1998) argue that the sports media almost exclusively concentrate on men as the carriers of national character. They point out that although the achievements of individual women athletes may be of great media significance, “at the level of team sports, where the source of pride is collectivized, women are denied the status of bearers of national qualities that the

media and the apparatus of the state conventionally accord to men” (Rowe, McKay, and Miller 1998, 126).

The Future

The trend of condensing media ownership, supporting fewer newspapers, and having less media competition continues apace throughout Europe, Australasia, and North America. Many markets today have only one daily newspaper. However, as Conley points out, “Despite periodic assertions—first by the broadcast industry, and currently on behalf of the information superhighway—that newspapers are destined to become fossils, there is still no sign this is occurring” (Conley 1997, 31). To date newspapers have successfully adapted to each challenge and maintained a steady share of the sports news market.

The focus of newspaper research is likely to remain on commercial sports and global events such as the Olympics, tennis Grand Slams, and world cups that receive the most coverage. Except for those women’s sports that can sell themselves as sports-sexy, coverage of women’s sport is increasingly likely to be found in niche publications such as *Sports Illustrated for Women* or on the Internet, which offers publicity options for those sports that are ignored by mainstream newspapers.

Toni Bruce

See also Media-Sports Complex; Sportswriting and Reporting

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Nextel (Winston) Cup

The Nextel (Winston) Cup is a U.S. stock car racing series that was sponsored by R. J. Reynolds tobacco company from 1971 to 2003 and by Nextel communications company since 2004. The series is the most famous governed by the National Association for Stock Car

Auto Racing (NASCAR), the main motor sports sanctioning body in the United States. The winner of the series is determined by points awarded at races throughout the season. Part of the appeal of the Nextel Cup is the fact that drivers race in stock cars; fans can drive home in the same kind of car that they saw win a race. Seven million fans saw Nextel Cup races in person in 2003.

Origins

Stock car racing grew in popularity in the southeastern United States during the 1940s, with many organizations trying to promote and control the sport. Bill (“Big Bill”) France Sr. consolidated these organizations into NASCAR in 1947. NASCAR started the “Strictly Stock” national point series in 1949, followed by the “Grand National” series from 1950 to 1970. However, the series was often won by any team who could simply get a car to all the national races because often more than fifty races a year were held.

Junior Johnson approached R. J. Reynolds about sponsoring his racing team in 1970 for \$800,000. The timing was good; Reynolds had extra advertising money to spend because it could no longer advertise on TV and radio, so Reynolds sponsored the entire series. In December 1970 Reynolds pledged \$100,000 for a special point fund for the 1971 NASCAR season, creating the Winston Cup points series. Soon after, the number of races was reduced significantly so that drivers would be able to show up at all races.

In 1972 the name of the series changed from “NASCAR Grand National” to “NASCAR Winston Cup Grand National,” then to the “NASCAR Winston Cup” in 1986. Reynolds’s promotion, along with the growth of corporate sponsorship across the board, brought the sport to a new level. The stars of the series—Darrell Waltrip, Dale Earnhardt, and Richard Petty—also helped the series become popular. U.S. President Ronald Reagan’s visit to the Firecracker 500 race in Daytona, Florida, to see the final win of Petty’s career in 1984 brought national coverage to the sport. Other bonus payouts such as the Winston Million and No Bull 5 brought further interest in the series.

When Nextel became the series sponsor in 2004, the series was renamed the “NASCAR Nextel Cup Series.” Reynolds could no longer sponsor the series because of the 1998 legal ruling that tobacco companies would not be permitted to sponsor sporting events in most states.

Teams

Forty to sixty teams compete in the series each week from mid-February to mid-November. To ensure close races, cars must have equal weight and the same size gas tank and use the same kind of gasoline and tires. Drivers are limited to driving a few makes of U.S.-made, steel-bodied passenger sedans: Chevrolet Monte Carlo, Ford Taurus, Pontiac Grand Prix, and Dodge Intrepid. Stock parts such as doors, windows, passenger seats, and the ignition are removed from the cars.

Teams are made up of at least forty people, including the crew, pit crew, spotters, mechanics, managers, and scorers. Sometimes teams support more than one car; this arrangement helps distribute costs and allows drivers to share information.

Drivers

Drivers must be at least sixteen years old. Originally NASCAR drivers were hard-racing, hard-fighting, hard-living folks from the southern United States. Now drivers are more down to earth and family oriented, coming from all over the United States and overseas. Drivers and team members are still mostly white males, with a few minority members and women involved (although women make up about 50 percent of the fans of the sport).

Drivers must be versatile because the series is raced on four types of

tracks: superspeedways (more than 4 kilometers), intermediate (1.6–3.1 kilometers) tracks, short (.8–1.2 kilometers) tracks, and road courses. Richard Petty and Dale Earnhardt won the series championship seven times each. Petty also won the most races (two hundred).

Scoring

The points system used until 2003 was invented by Bob Latford in 1975. The Nextel Cup winner receives 175 points. Each of the next five places receives five fewer points for each place (170, 165, and so forth). Places 7–11 receive four fewer points each, and places 12 and higher receive three fewer points each. At most forty-three drivers start a race, so the forty-third-place finisher would receive thirty-four points. In order to win points, a car must start the race and complete one lap. Five bonus points are awarded to any car that led at least one lap (counted at the start/finish line), and five more points are awarded to the car that led the most laps. At the end of the season the series winner is the driver with the most points.

The crowded stands at a race.

Source: istockphoto/motoed.



Nigeria Olympics Results
2004 Summer Olympics: 2 Bronze

The points system was changed in 2004 in an attempt to reward wins over consistent finishes. Points were tallied as described earlier until after the twenty-sixth race of the season. At that time the top ten drivers and any driver within four hundred points of the winner are the only drivers whose points are reset for the “Chase to the Cup.” The top driver gets 5,050 points; the second-place driver gets 5,045 points, and each driver after that gets five points less. Thereafter, races count the same as described earlier.

The Future

Interest in the Nextel Cup and NASCAR is no longer confined to the southern United States as stock car racing has grown faster than all other U.S. national sports leagues during the last decade. Every large track is adding seats, perhaps to the detriment of the smaller tracks used in the series, and almost all series tracks are owned by corporations now. The U.S. television ratings are second only to those of the National Football League. Stock car racing is a \$2 billion annual business, with \$1 billion of that coming from souvenir sales. NASCAR is attempting to become a more diverse sport through initiatives and minority-owned teams.

Christina L. Hennessey

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Nigeria

Nigeria, the most populous black nation in the world, is located along the west coast of Africa. Traditionally Nigerians—120 million people of diverse cultures and traditions—are sports-loving people. Traditional sports such as fishing, hunting, moonlight wrestling, and traditional dancing are organized competitively among cities, especially during festivals often staged during the harvest seasons and in the evenings after a hard day's work on the farm.

Modern Sports

Nigeria's real sports progress began with formal sports organization in 1910 and its extension from teacher training colleges to secondary schools when Empire Day competitions were organized about 1928. The establishment of mission schools assisted the development of new sports and games, which were challenges to students. In spite of these challenges, sports brought Nigerians together.

The period between 1920 and 1940 marked the beginning of modern sports in Nigeria. In 1933 the British syllabus was imported through missionaries. This syllabus included sports such as soccer and gymnastics. Then, between 1940 and 1960, the government backed sports in Nigeria, giving them legitimacy. Competitions—for instance, the Grair Powell Cup competition and the Principals Cup competition for secondary schools—were introduced, organized, and developed. These two competitions served as a way to select outstanding athletes to represent Nigeria at the 1950 Commonwealth Games.

The first appearance of Nigeria at the Olympic Games—as a British colony in 1952 at Helsinki, Finland—further helped the development and acceptance of sports in Nigeria. Nigeria won its first Olympic gold medals in the women's long jump and men's soccer in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1996.

The period of 1960–1970 marked a turning point in the history of sports in Nigeria. During this period,



Nigeria

Indigenous Sports in Nigeria

In the extract below, British missionary George Basden describes games and sports among the Ibos of Nigeria.

Ordinarily the Ibo is a very serious person. At the same time he has a well-developed humorous side to his nature and he can, on occasion, give play to his emotions with complete abandon, so much so that he becomes totally oblivious of things around him.

The games commonly played by boys and girls have been described in Chap. V [turning somersaults in the air, shooting with bows and arrows, wrestling

and dancing]. In the case of adults it is not always easy to distinguish between recreation and serious occupation; sometimes the two are combined, as in shooting. In the case of dancing it is often difficult to differentiate between that which is simply recreative and that which is the physical expression of religious enthusiasm. Shooting, wrestling, dancing and swimming are the sports of men; comparatively few of the women swim, but all indulge freely in dancing. The national game of Okwe is common to both sexes.

Source: Basden, G. (1921). *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*. London: Seeley, Service and Co.

because of the acceptance of the educational values of sports, many institutions established departments of sports. Nigerian universities also formed the Nigerian University Games Association (NUGA) during this period.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Soccer, the most popular sport in Nigeria, got its first boost when Governor Arthur Richards donated the Challenge Cup in 1945. Nigeria's first attempt at international sports occurred when Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe represented Nigeria in the 440-yard race at the 1934 Commonwealth Games in London. Nigeria participated in the Commonwealth Games from 1950 onward: Auckland, New Zealand, in 1950; Vancouver, Canada, in 1954; and Britain in 2002.

Sports have helped Nigeria to unite its diverse ethnic groups when politics has failed. Indeed, sports have been used to arrest the drift toward intertribal war such as the Nigerian Civil War of 1967–1970. The National Sports Council was established to govern sports in Nigeria. The biggest sporting event in Nigeria, the national sports festival, was introduced by Nigerian sports enthusiast and organizer Jerry Enyeazu in 1973 after the civil war, and it is still the most celebrated sports event in Nigeria, staged every other year.

Today Nigeria participates in twenty-six international sports and five traditional sports. Nigeria has also introduced para-soccer (soccer on skates for paraplegics) to the

rest of the world. After soccer, the most popular sport in Nigeria is track and field (athletics).

Women in Sports

Traditionally Nigerians had seen sports as an activity for men, whereas they had seen sports as a distraction for women rather than as a fundamental part of a healthy life. Nevertheless, women's historical struggle for increased opportunities has resulted in changes that only a few years ago were unimaginable. Women now participate in a vast range of sports in Nigeria. They are no longer content to be spectators either in public life or in sports. Nigerian women have continued to boost the country's international image through sports. They have shown some supremacy over men. For example, Nigerian women athletes during the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta won four medals (one gold, one silver, and two bronze), whereas the men won one gold and one bronze. The first gold medal by Nigeria after thirty-eight years of Olympics participation was won by Chioma Ajunwa in the women's long jump. Nigeria's women's national basketball team represented Africa in the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens.

Youth in Sports

The establishment of the Nigeria Schools Sports Federation (NSSF) in 1978 has helped youth participate in sports at local, national, and international levels. Sports



Nigeria

Key Events in Nigeria Sports History

- 1910** The first formal sports organizations are established.
- 1928** The annual Empire Day competitions begin.
- 1933** Sports is incorporated into the school curriculum.
- 1945** The soccer Challenge Cup is established.
- 1950** Nigeria competes in the British Commonwealth Games for the first time.
- 1952** Nigeria competes in the Olympics for the first time.
- 1973** The annual National Sports Festival is established.
- 1978** The Nigeria Schools Sports Federation is established.
- 1996** Nigeria wins its first Olympic gold medals, in the women's long jump and men's soccer.

are organized for the primary schools and secondary schools at local and zone levels to accommodate participation by a large number of schools. This organization is coordinated by school sports officers who are officials of the federal Ministry of Education in collaboration with Ministry of Education sports officers under the supervision of the NSSF. Youth participate in sports such as basketball, handball, tennis, swimming, football, track and field, chess, and gymnastics. The Youth Sports Federation organizes youth competitions, mainly in soccer.

Some sports are sponsored by corporate bodies, private organizations, and government bodies. Private organizations include Nestle PLC (basketball), Shell Petroleum (soccer), MTN (marathon), and Nigeria Breweries PLC (various sports). Others are Guinness, Coca-Cola, Seven-Up, First Bank, Coscharis, Cadbury, and Globacom.

The Nigeria Football Association and other sports federations have been helping young people to partici-

pate in international competitions in England, Norway, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, in addition to regional competitions within Africa.

Issues and Controversies

Sports influence the politics, economy, and social life of Nigerian people. Issues and controversies arising from these three areas also influence sports. Poor management is a major hindrance to sports development in Nigeria. Sports administrators tend to mismanage the human and material resources entrusted to their care. Sports administrators also often depend too much on foreign-based athletes who are more committed to their respective clubs than to national assignments.

Another problem confronting Nigerian sports is the sudden and irrational change of technical crews at crucial times because of the desire to win all competitions. This behavior can discourage coaches and render a team's program useless.

The attitude of some of foreign-based athletes concerning wearing their national colors is another problem. Facilities and equipment are another issue. The government has tried to address this issue because sports administrators do not maintain facilities and equipment well enough. More funding should be directed toward the maintenance of sports facilities.

Poor officiating is also a major issue. Poor officiating often mars soccer games in Nigeria and has resulted in violence by spectators that has caused serious injuries and loss of lives and property.

Another issue is the selection of athletes for national and international competitions. This issue has become an obstacle to sports development because selection of athletes has been politicized in some sports.

These issues notwithstanding, Nigerian elite athletes are well recognized by the government and by citizens. They are heroes and role models, some of whom have received national honors.

The Future

Many Nigerians want to be like the Nigerian soccer star J. J. Okocha. Youths want to play soccer, and many

don't care to finish their secondary education before entering professional sports. With the number of interest groups in Nigeria, sports clubs are likely to go to the stock exchange as public liability companies in the near future. However, this change will occur only when coaches and club management become business oriented and players improve their standard of play to attract more spectators.

The government should control the privatization and commercialization of sports to attract stakeholders and to induce investment, giving people the opportunity to invest in sports in areas such as production and distribution of sports equipment and the construction of facilities, physiology and research laboratories, and community sports centers, even in rural areas. The National Institute for Sports and Universities in Nigeria should provide sports information centers to enrich students' knowledge of sports and related issues.

Lasun Emiola

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Norway

The Norwegian population is very physically active in its leisure time—seven out of ten Norwegians between sixteen and seventy-nine exercise at least once a week. Many exercise with friends and family, but more than half exercise alone. The most popular activity is hiking in the forest, followed by bicycling, cross-country skiing, and swimming. While 18 percent exercise in a private fitness studio, 13 percent exercise in a sport club. Members of sport clubs are more physically active than those who are not members.

Norway Olympics Results

2002 Winter Olympics: 11 Gold, 7 Silver, 6 Bronze

2004 Summer Olympics: 5 Gold, 1 Bronze

Organized Sport

Sport is important to Norwegian society, both as physical activity and as entertainment. More than a third of the population of 4.5 million is engaged in organized sport in some way. The Norwegian sport federations and the regional sport organizations formed the Confederation of Sports in 1861. Today the Confederation's formal name is the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports. It is the country's largest voluntary organization, has close to 2 million members, and consists of more than 12,000 sport clubs, which belong to one or more of the 55 different sport federations. And the number of people active in sport clubs is increasing. During 2002, about 500 new clubs and 30,000 new members were registered. Many sport clubs are quite small, with fewer than 100 members, but a few clubs are very large: About 10 percent of clubs have 40 percent of all members. The most popular participant sports are soccer, skiing, golf, and team handball.

"Sports for all" is the long-term objective of the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports, which works to ensure that the people of Norway are able to engage in sports according to their wishes and needs. It is also responsible for the administration of and preparation for Norway's participation in the Olympic Games, where Norway has been relatively successful, especially considering that it is a very small country. Norwegian athletes usually win more medals in the Winter Olympics, but Norway became the best of the Nordic countries in the Summer Olympic Games in Athens in 2004, where its athletes took five gold medals.

Voluntarism, democracy, loyalty, and equality are essential values in all sports in Norway. Traditionally, the sport clubs have been formed by friends or fellow workers, or simply by people who find a mutual interest in one or more branches of sport, and democratic elections have always been an integral part of them. The general assembly of the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports consists of representatives of the federations and of the regional bodies. It meets

every four years to draw up objectives and strategies, to pass sport laws, and to elect the Board of Sports.

Financing

The most important income sources for the sport organizations are the lottery money from the Norwegian state, money from sponsors, and different forms of voluntary work and of money raised by club members. The budget for the umbrella organization (the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports) shows that two-thirds of its income comes from the state lottery. This percentage diminishes at the lower levels of the organization. Only 16 percent of the average sport federation's budget comes from the state, and at the club level it is only about 10 percent. Here the major source of financing comes from the 24,000 man-years of voluntary work and of money raised by all members—including contributions by the parents of the 500,000 children and youth who belong.

Leadership and Gender

In spite of the fact that Norway is known internationally for its work for equality between the sexes, only 7 percent of the presidents of sports federations are women.

The women in Norwegian organized sport count for 38 percent of all memberships—a percentage that has remained relatively stable over the last ten to fifteen years. Among the executive board members in all sport federations, women make up 29 percent. This is higher than it was ten years ago, probably due to the fact that the law of the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports states that all boards and committees in the organization shall consist of both genders, and that the gender proportions should reflect the proportion of membership in the organization. From an international perspective, this is relatively radical. However, at the sport club level, more than 80 percent of the leaders are men.

Membership by Sport and Gender

More than half (55 percent) of the members in the sport clubs are twenty-five years old or younger. The age group nine to fifteen has by far the largest membership—65 percent of all boys and 51 percent of all girls. The differences between girls and boys are largest among sixteen- to twenty-four-year-olds, where 25 percent of females and 42 percent of males belong to a sport club. The most popular sports among young female club

members are soccer, team handball, and gymnastics. The boys' favorites are soccer, skiing, and team handball. Six- to twelve-year-old girls also favor soccer, but among them, skiing is more popular than handball. Among boys in the same age group, soccer is followed by handball and skiing. Among men over twenty-five, soccer, golf, skiing, and



The view from a kayak paddling through a Norwegian fjord.

Source: *istockphoto/Saturated.*



shooting are the most popular sports. Among women in the same age group, golf, skiing, soccer, and gymnastics are the most popular sports.

Females in Soccer

What is most interesting in these numbers is that soccer, which until 1975 was a sport only for men in Norway, has grown to be the largest female sport, with some 95,000 active players in 2003. One reason for this may be a shift in the position of women in Norwegian society, which is probably linked to Norwegian legislation for equal rights. In addition, since accepting women and girls as members, the Norwegian Football Association itself has worked systematically to recruit and keep girls in soccer.

Kari Fasting

See also Bislett Stadium; Holmenkollen Ski Jump; Holmenkollen Sunday

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Nutrition

The ability of a person to exercise or to participate in sports is impaired if the person's diet is inadequate, although the concept of dietary inadequacy may be quite different for an active person than for a sedentary person. Conversely, performance may be improved by dietary manipulation, but we still have an incomplete understanding of how best to control diet to optimize sports performance. The same general nutritional prin-

ciples apply to all activities in which people need optimum exercise performance.

At the highest level of competition, where competitors are predisposed to success by genetic endowment and have undergone the most rigorous training, nutritional intervention may make the difference between success and failure. We should not be surprised, therefore, that sportsmen and sportswomen generally are concerned about their diet, although this concern is not always matched by an understanding of basic nutritional principles. Nutrition in sport has been a concern since antiquity. Some of the dietary practices followed by athletes in pursuit of success are sound, but others have no beneficial effect and may even be harmful. As in other areas of nutrition, these practices are often encouraged by those who stand to gain financially from sales of dietary supplements.

We should consider two aspects; the first is the diet during training that must be consumed on a daily basis for a large part of the year, and the second is the diet during the immediate precompetition period and during competition itself. Considering the range of activities encompassed by the term *sport* and the variation in the characteristics of the people taking part, we should not be surprised that nutritional requirements vary. For noncompetitive activities and for the person who exercises for recreational and health reasons, the daily diet forms part of a lifestyle that may be quite different from that of the competitive athlete, but the nutritional implications of exercise participation apply equally, albeit to different degrees.

Nutrition for Training

An athlete in training needs a diet that meets the additional nutrient requirements imposed by the training load. In sports involving prolonged strenuous exercise on a regular basis, participation has a significant effect on energy balance. The metabolic rate during running or cycling, for example, may be fifteen to twenty times the resting rate, and such levels of activity may be sustained for several hours by trained athletes. Evidence suggests

that the metabolic rate may remain elevated for at least twelve and possibly up to twenty-four hours if the exercise is prolonged and close to the maximum intensity that can be sustained; however, some experts have disputed this evidence, claiming that the metabolic rate would not likely remain elevated for long periods after more moderate exercise. If body weight and performance levels are to be maintained, the high rate of energy expenditure must be matched by a high energy intake. Available data for most athletes suggest that they are in energy balance within the limits of the techniques used for measuring intake and expenditure. This fact is to be expected because a chronic deficit in energy intake would lead to a progressive loss of body mass.

However, data for women engaged in sports in which a low body weight, and especially a low body fat content, are important, such as gymnastics, long-distance running, and ballet, consistently show a lower than expected energy intake. No obvious physiological explanation exists for this finding other than methodological errors in the calculation of energy intake and expenditure, but that these errors should apply specifically to this group of athletes seems odd. Many of these women do, however, have a low body fat content: A body fat content of less than 10 percent is not uncommon in female long-distance runners. Secondary amenorrhea (abnormal absence or suppression of menses), possibly related more to the training regimen than to the low body fat content, is common in these women but is usually reversed when training stops.

Athletes engaged in strength and power events have traditionally been concerned with achieving a high dietary protein intake in the belief that this intake is necessary for muscle growth and repair. In a survey of U.S. college athletes 98 percent believed that a high-protein diet would improve performance. Although a diet deficient in protein undoubtedly will lead to loss of muscle tissue, no evidence supports the idea that excess dietary protein will drive the system in favor of protein synthesis. Excess protein will simply be used as a substrate for oxidative metabolism, the series of chemical

reactions in which the energy contained in carbohydrate, fat, and protein is made available and these fuels are converted to carbon dioxide and water, either directly or as a precursor of glucose, and the excess nitrogen will be lost in the urine. Exercise, whether it is long-distance running, aerobics, or weight training, will increase protein oxidation compared with the resting state. Although the contribution of protein oxidation to energy production during the exercise period may decrease to about 5 percent of the total energy requirement, compared with about 10–15 percent (i.e., the normal fraction of protein in the diet) at rest, the absolute rate of protein degradation is increased during exercise. This increase leads to an increase in the minimum daily protein requirement, but this requirement will be met if a person consumes a normal mixed diet adequate to meet the increased energy expenditure. In spite of this fact, however, many athletes consume large quantities of protein-containing foods and expensive protein supplements; daily protein intakes of up to 400 grams are not unknown in some sports.

The timing of protein consumption relative to training may be more important than the amount of protein consumed. Remodeling of muscle tissues, the process by which structure and function change in response to an imposed stress, takes place in the hours and days after the training stimulus has been applied: Consumption of small amounts of protein can ensure positive protein balance. As little as 6 grams of essential amino acids, or 30–40 grams of mixed protein, ingested either just before or soon after training may help promote that adaptations taking place within the muscles.

The energy requirements of training are largely met by oxidation of fat and carbohydrate. The higher the intensity of exercise, the greater the reliance on carbohydrate as a fuel: At an exercise intensity corresponding to about 50 percent of a person's maximum oxygen uptake, approximately two-thirds of the total energy requirement is met by fat oxidation, with carbohydrate oxidation supplying about one-third. If the exercise intensity is increased to about 75 percent of maximum



oxygen uptake, the total energy expenditure is increased, and carbohydrate is now the major fuel. If carbohydrate is not available, or is available in only a limited amount, the intensity of the exercise must be reduced to a level where the energy requirement can be met by fat oxidation.

The primary need, therefore, is for the carbohydrate intake to be sufficient to enable the training load to be sustained at the high level necessary to produce a response. During each strenuous training session glycogen stores in the exercising muscles and in the liver are depleted. If this carbohydrate reserve is not replenished before the next training session, training intensity must be reduced, leading to corresponding decrements in the training response. Any athlete training hard on a daily basis can readily observe this; if a low-carbohydrate diet, consisting mostly of fat and protein, is consumed after a day's training, the athlete will have difficulty repeating the same training load on the following day.

Eating a high-fat, low-carbohydrate diet for prolonged periods has been shown to increase the capacity of muscle to oxidize fat and hence improve endurance capacity in rats but may not be effective in humans; similarly, short-term fasting increases endurance capacity in rats but results in a decreased exercise tolerance in humans. The training diet, therefore, should be high in carbohydrate, with a large proportion of total energy intake in the form of complex carbohydrates and simple sugars; this suggestion conforms with the recommendations of the U.S. Government Expert Committees on Health that carbohydrates provide at least 50 percent of dietary energy intake. In a study, a high-carbohydrate diet enabled runners who were training for two hours per day to maintain muscle glycogen levels, whereas if the carbohydrate content was low, a progressive fall in muscle glycogen content occurred. A dietary carbohydrate intake of 500–600 grams was necessary to ensure adequate glycogen resynthesis. Rather than think of carbohydrate needs as a fraction of total energy intake, we might do better to prescribe intakes in absolute terms relative to body mass. Thus, an intake of 6–8 grams per kilogram of body mass may be necessary

for athletes training hard. These high levels of intake are difficult to achieve without consuming large amounts of simple sugars and other compact forms of carbohydrate as well as increasing the frequency of meals and snacks toward a “grazing” eating pattern. Athletes may find that sugar, jam, honey, and high-sugar foods such as confectionery, as well as carbohydrate-containing drinks such as soft drinks, fruit juices, and sports drinks, can provide a low-bulk, convenient addition of carbohydrate to the nutritious food base. No evidence indicates that this pattern of eating is harmful; for the person who has to fit an exercise program into a busy day, changes to eating patterns inevitably must be made, but these changes need not compromise the quality of the diet.

Failure to meet carbohydrate needs may also make the athlete more susceptible to minor infectious illnesses. Exercising with low carbohydrate reserves can result in increased levels of stress hormones, which in turn impair the functional capacity of the immune system. Although usually trivial in themselves, these illnesses can disrupt training and prevent participation in important competitions.

Micronutrients and Dietary Supplements

With regular strenuous training, total intake must be increased to balance the increased energy expenditure. Provided that a reasonably varied diet is consumed, this increased intake will supply more than adequate amounts of protein, minerals, vitamins, and other dietary requirements. No evidence suggests that specific supplementation with any of these dietary components is necessary or that it will improve performance. Athletes who chronically restrict energy intake to limit body mass, and especially fat mass, may benefit from a broad-spectrum vitamin and mineral supplement. Athletes with limited finances, little interest in the foods they eat, or lacking food preparation skills may also fail to consume a varied diet. Although supplements are no substitute for good dietary choices, they may have a use in some of these situations.



A heart-shaped breakfast of muesli.

Source: istockphoto/jillianpond.

good source of calcium in an energy-restricted diet.

A wide range of supplements is on sale to athletes, often with exaggerated claims of efficacy. Many of these claims are not supported by evidence of either their effects on performance or their safety when taken in high doses for prolonged periods. Sports supplements that may be useful in helping the athlete meet nutri-

The only exceptions to the generalization about the value of dietary supplements for meeting micronutrient needs may be iron and, in the case of active women, calcium. Highly trained endurance athletes commonly have low circulating hemoglobin levels, although total red cell mass may be elevated because of an increased blood volume. This condition may be considered to be an adaptation to the trained state, but hard training may result in an increased iron requirement, and exercise tolerance is impaired in the presence of anemia, the state in which the blood level of hemoglobin is below the normal level. Low serum folate and serum ferritin levels are not associated with impaired performance, however, and correction of these deficiencies does not influence indices of fitness in trained athletes. Moderate weight-bearing exercise has been reported to increase bone mineral density in women, and this increase may be a significant benefit of exercise for most women. Hard training, however, may reduce circulating estrogen levels and hence accelerate bone loss. For these athletes an adequate calcium intake should be ensured, although calcium supplements themselves will not reverse bone loss while estrogen levels remain low. We must emphasize that iron or calcium supplements should be taken only on the advice of a qualified practitioner after suitable investigative procedures have indicated an inadequate intake. Even then, alternatives to supplementation, specifically alterations in the selection of foods to achieve a higher intake, must also be considered. Low-fat dairy produce, for example, is a

tional goals during training and competition include sports drinks, high-carbohydrate supplements, and liquid meal supplements. These supplements are more expensive than everyday foods but often provide a convenient and practical way of meeting dietary needs in a specific situation. Evidence suggests an ergogenic (enhancing physical performance) effect of a few supplements, including caffeine, creatine, and bicarbonate. The use of caffeine in high doses by an athlete in competition formerly was likely to result in a positive doping test, but this restriction was removed by the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) in January 2004. Caffeine in small doses—typically 2–4 milligrams per kilogram of body mass can improve performance in a variety of exercise tasks, with greater effects generally seen in prolonged exercise, probably by actions on adenosine receptors in the central nervous system. Creatine—in the form of creatine phosphate—acts as an energy source for adenosine triphosphate (ATP) resynthesis in high-intensity exercise. Meat eaters normally obtain about 1 gram per day from their diet, which is about 50 percent of the daily requirement, with the remainder synthesized from amino acids. Ingestion of 10–20 grams of creatine daily for four to six days can increase the muscle creatine content by 10–20 percent, leading to improvements in strength and sprint performance. The biggest improvements in performance are generally seen in repeated sprints with limited recovery. Acute ingestion of large doses of sodium bicarbonate (about 0.3 grams per kilogram of body mass)

can increase the extracellular buffering capacity and improve performance in exercise lasting from about thirty seconds to about ten minutes.

Of concern about many supplements on sale—apart from the lack of evidence of efficacy and safety—are reports of contamination of supplements by prohibited substances, including stimulants and anabolic steroids. The amounts of such substances are generally too small to be effective in improving performance but can cause a positive drug test.

Nutrition for Competition

No doubt the ability to perform prolonged exercise can be substantially modified by dietary intake during the pre-exercise period, and this fact becomes important for the person aiming to produce peak performance on a specific day. The pre-exercise period can conveniently be divided into two phases—the few days prior to the exercise task and the day of the exercise task itself.

Experts have recommended dietary manipulation to increase muscle glycogen content during the few days prior to exercise for endurance athletes after observations that these procedures increased endurance capacity in laboratory designed cycle ergometer exercise lasting one and a half hours to two hours. The suggested procedure was to deplete muscle glycogen by prolonged exercise about one week prior to competition and to prevent resynthesis by consuming a low-carbohydrate diet for two to three days before changing to a high-carbohydrate diet for the last three days, during which little or no exercise was performed. This procedure can double the muscle glycogen content and increases cycling or running performance. A considerable amount of evidence indicates that a person does not have to include the low-carbohydrate glycogen depletion phase of the diet for endurance athletes. A person must just reduce the training load during the last five or six days before competition and simultaneously increase the dietary carbohydrate intake. This practice avoids many of the problems associated with the more extreme forms of the diet. Although an increased pre-

competition muscle glycogen content is undoubtedly beneficial, the rate of muscle glycogen utilization is faster when the glycogen content itself is increased, thus nullifying some of the advantage gained.

Consumption of a high-carbohydrate diet during the days prior to competition may also benefit competitors in sports such as rugby, soccer, or hockey, although these players often do not pay attention to this aspect of their diet. In one study players starting a soccer game with low muscle glycogen content did less running, and much less running at high speed, than did those players who began the game with a normal muscle glycogen content. Players commonly have one game in midweek as well as one at the weekend, and full restoration of the muscle glycogen content likely will not occur between games unless a conscious effort is made to achieve a high-carbohydrate intake.

Although this glycogen-loading procedure is generally restricted to use by athletes engaged in endurance events, some evidence indicates that the muscle glycogen content may influence performance in events lasting only a few minutes. A high muscle glycogen content may be particularly important when repeated sprints at near-maximum speed have to be made. Short-term high-intensity exercise can also be improved by ingestion of alkaline salts prior to exercise to enhance the buffering of the protons produced by anaerobic glycolysis, the process whereby glucose is broken down to pyruvic or lactic acids, releasing some of the energy available in the glucose molecule and, because there is no oxygen involved, generating energy very rapidly.

Scope for nutritional intervention during exercise exists only when the duration of events is sufficient to allow absorption of drinks or foods ingested and where the rules of the sport permit. The primary aims must be to ingest a source of energy, usually in the form of carbohydrate, and fluid for replacement of water lost as sweat. High rates of sweat secretion are necessary during hard exercise to limit the rise in body temperature that would otherwise occur. If the exercise is prolonged, this rise leads to progressive dehydration and loss of elec-



trolytes (ions that in biological fluid regulate or affect most metabolic processes). Fatigue toward the end of a prolonged event may result as much from the effects of dehydration as from substrate, or fuel, depletion.

The composition of drinks to be consumed during exercise should be chosen to suit individual circumstances. During exercise in the cold, fluid replacement may not be necessary because sweat rates will be low, but a need remains to supply additional glucose to exercising muscles. Although consumption of a high-carbohydrate diet during the days prior to exercise should reduce the need for carbohydrate ingestion during exercise in events lasting less than about two hours, a person cannot always achieve this; competition on successive days, for example, may prevent adequate glycogen replacement between exercise periods. In this situation more concentrated glucose drinks are preferred. These drinks will supply more glucose, thus sparing the limited glycogen stores in the muscles and liver without overloading the body with fluid. Many sports have little provision for fluid replacement: Participants in sports such as football or hockey can lose large amounts of fluid, but replacement is possible only at the

half-time interval. Most athletes finish endurance events with some degree of dehydration, but some slower performers may consume fluid in excess of sweat losses. This situation is not helpful to performance.

During the postexercise period replacement of fluid and electrolytes can usually be achieved through normal dietary intake. If a person needs to ensure adequate replacement before exercise is repeated, extra fluids should be taken, and additional salt (sodium chloride) might be added to food. The other major electrolytes, particularly potassium, magnesium, and calcium, are present in abundance in fruit and fruit juices. Salt or mineral supplements are not normally necessary.

Ron Maughan

See also Diet and Weight Loss

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Officiating

Olympia

**Olympic Stadium
(Berlin), 1936**

Olympics, 2004

Olympics, Summer

Olympics, Winter

Orienteering

Osteoporosis

Ownership



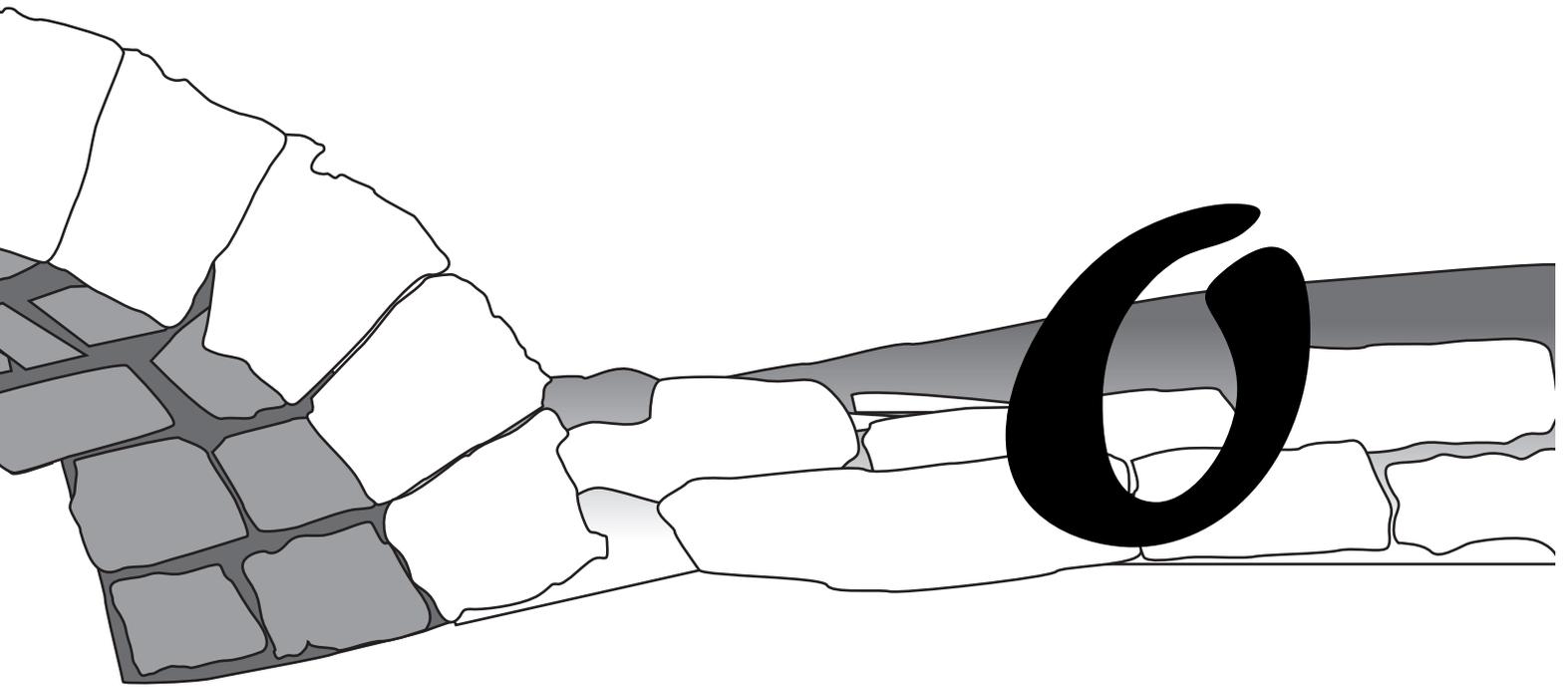
Officiating

In any organized sporting event, someone must govern the contest. Those who oversee sport competitions are known as officials. Depending on the type of sport, an official may be referred to as a referee, umpire, or judge. In all cases it is the duty of the official to make competition as fair as possible and to make sure it is played by the existing rules of the sport. An official has been defined as “a person who is knowledgeable in the rules and mechanics of the game and applies them to make the contest fair for all participants and comports him- or herself as a professional at all times” (Sabaini 2002, 19).

Of all of the groups involved in sports, including athletes, coaches, and spectators, officials may receive the least attention. In fact it is sometimes said the best way to tell if the officials have done a good job is if nobody noticed them. Most officials will agree that the focus should remain on the athletes. Indeed, on the limited occasions when officials receive attention, it is often due to a decision perceived to be incorrect or a controversial call. Regardless of the lack of attention generally given to officials, they represent an essential component of any organized sporting event.

The Official's Job

The official's job can be understood by dividing it into three major components: knowledge, application, and comportsment. Knowledge includes understanding the rules of the sport, as well as strategies used by athletes



and teams. An effective official not only knows the rules listed in the rule book, but also remains current with the types of plays and maneuvers used in the sport. Knowledge also includes correct officiating mechanics, which refers to the physical movements and positions that the official should exhibit. For example, when signaling that a rules infraction has been committed, the official must use hand signals that are specified in the sport's rule book. In addition, in many sports there are appropriate physical positions for officials to adopt for a given game situation. Most baseball spectators will recognize, for example, that the first-base umpire changes his or her location on the field when a runner reaches first base.

The second component, application, includes qualities such as being honest, fair, consistent, using sound judgment, and having good communications skills. An effective official not only thoroughly knows the rules, but also applies them in the proper manner. Certainly, if an official is not fair and free of bias, the integrity of the entire contest is compromised. Additionally, while most rules are stated clearly, interpreting a particular action according to the rules often involves a certain degree of judgment (e.g., whether a foul was flagrant or unintentional). Therefore, judgment is an important factor in officiating. An official must also strive to be a good communicator, so that he or she can be understood by all interested parties.

The third and last component of officiating is comportment, which includes displaying a suitable demeanor and behaving appropriately under pressure. Officials strive to exhibit a sense of authority and con-

trol over a contest, but without displaying a superior attitude. Demonstrating respect for coaches and players even while making unfavorable calls according to the rules is an aspect of comportment. Also, officials often must perform their duties under a great deal of pressure. Effective officials are able to perform well under stressful conditions without being inappropriately influenced by athletes, coaches, or spectators.

One way to understand the job of an official is to consider the rules of the sport as laws to be upheld. In this way officials function as the sport's law enforcement officers (indeed, both "official" and "officer" are derived from the same Latin word, *officium*, meaning "duty"). They are the final authority in determining the legality of any action and ensuring that an athletic competition is conducted according to the rules. Also, like police officers, sports officials place the highest priority on safety. In many instances players and coaches are familiar with the rules, and officials go largely unnoticed as they monitor the contest. However, when a question arises, the officials are charged with the responsibility of interpreting and enforcing the rules.

Depending on the sport and level of competition, the rule book may be several hundred pages long, and it is the official's job to know it all. Rulings that are visible to spectators in stadiums or on television reflect only a portion of the decisions that officials make. When a team of officials arrives at a competition site, they begin their work. Before a contest begins, officials verify the legality of equipment, facilities, and uniforms. In most sports one or more officials will check to ensure that the dimensions of the playing area are in accordance with

Sport is imposing order on what was chaos. ■ ANTHONY STARR

the rules; meet with coaches and athletes to answer questions and discuss certain issues, such as those regarding sportsmanship; and communicate with support staff such as scorers and timekeepers. In sports where weight classes are used, wrestling and judo, for example (in addition to youth sports in which eligibility is determined by weight), the officials conduct weigh-ins. If a significant event should occur before, during, or after a contest, the officials are responsible for communicating the ruling and circumstances surrounding the event to league administrators. Often, this will involve reporting player or coach ejections, so that the league can take appropriate action.

Officiating in Different Sports and Competition Levels

All officials have an interest in ensuring a safe and fair contest, but the specific actions and decisions that they make depend largely on the sport itself. In sports where form and aesthetics partially determine an athlete's score, such as gymnastics, figure skating, and diving, officials are referred to as judges. Generally, a panel of judges evaluates each athlete's performance. The judges remain relatively stationary in a location best suited to view the performance and make independent conclusions regarding scores. Here, the independence of each official's ruling is of primary importance, allowing each judge to make decisions according to his or her interpretation of the rules without being influenced by another judge. In most cases the actual score recorded represents an average of judges' rulings.

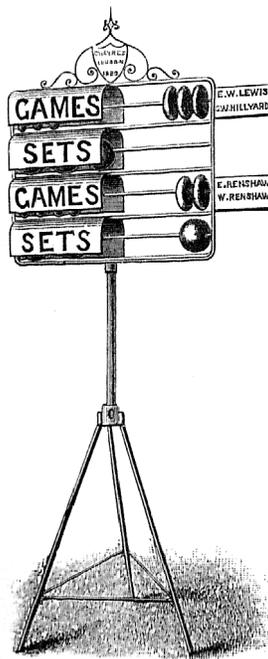
In contrast to the independence of judges, referees and umpires in many sports work together as a team—often referred to as an “officiating crew”—where each official openly communicates with the others. Sports where officiating

crews are used include soccer, American football, baseball, basketball, and hockey. Especially in team sports, where many athletes are on the field, too many activities occur simultaneously for one official to monitor them all. Therefore, each crew member has a specific assignment and area of responsibility. When disagreements arise, the official in charge of the crew may convene a brief conference before determining the appropriate ruling. In such a conference, the official who was in the best position to view the action is encouraged to suggest the proper decision, though the individual in charge of the crew is ultimately responsible for the ruling.

Even in sports where winners are determined largely by clear objective measures, such as time or distance (e.g., swimming and track and field events), officials are essential to the conduct of a safe and fair competition. In such sports the officials are responsible for monitoring the legality of equipment and infractions such as faults and false starts, along with other rules and procedures.

Officials are used at all levels of competition, from youth leagues to professional sports. At the professional and international levels in some (but not all) sports, officiating is a full-time job. At the collegiate, club, recreational, and youth league levels, however, officials mostly work on a part-time or contractual basis. Usually, the official gets paid for each competition, with a fee that is agreed on ahead of time. In addition to the extra money provided, officials have cited interest and enthusiasm for the sport, challenge and excitement, and a sense of control as reasons for officiating. Often at amateur levels of competition and in youth leagues, officials will volunteer their time, perhaps receiving only a free meal as compensation for their efforts.

Even within a particular sport, the rules that officials enforce differ for varying levels of competition. These differences include specific actions that are



An old-style abacus tennis scoreboard.



Officiating

Officiating: A Dangerous Vocation

Violence towards officials—both in the verbal and physical form—is a phenomenon that is all too familiar. In many circumstances, verbally berating game officials is common practice. More troubling is the occurrence of physical assaults perpetrated upon officials. Surveys have shown that as many as 84 percent of officials have been assaulted during their careers, and one would be hard pressed to find an experienced official who has not at least been threatened with violence. Physical actions against officials range from spitting—such as an incident in 1996 when baseball star Roberto Alomar spat in the face of umpire, John Hirschbeck—to life threatening forms of violence. Such incidents have occurred throughout nearly all levels of sport, from youth leagues to the professional ranks.

The pervasiveness of such incidents is underscored by the fact that insurance companies offer special

policies to cover the risk of injuries to officials due to violent acts towards them. In addition, as of October 2004, eighteen U.S. states had passed legislation specifically to protect officials from violence.

Why does such violence occur? One possible explanation is that when players, coaches, and fans are upset about the outcome of a sporting event that matters a great deal to them, the officials provide a convenient target for their anger. According to C. W. Smith in a 1982 article (“Performances and Negotiations: A Case Study of a Wrestling Referee. *Qualitative Sociology*, 5, 33–46), an official, “. . . Has responsibility for maintaining social order in an extremely tenuous social situation. In a very real sense he or she functions as the communal ‘scape-goat.’”

David Neil Sacks and Loretta A. Handegard

prohibited for younger age groups, different dimensions on the playing field, and various other technical aspects of the sport, such as whether a receiver must catch a pass with one or two feet in bounds for the play to be ruled a completion in American football. An official who works at various competition levels in a sport must govern the competition according to the rule of the particular league.

Selecting and Evaluating Officials

Becoming an official at lower levels of competition is a fairly straightforward process. If someone is interested in officiating, he or she can often become an official simply by volunteering. Sometimes, volunteer officials are required to pay a nominal fee to cover insurance costs and undergo a security screening. At higher levels of competition, the process becomes somewhat more involved. In addition to paying a registration fee, most high school sports officials in the United States must earn a minimum score on a rules examination and attend regular rules clinics. As the level of competition increases, so do the requirements for officiating at that level.

Given the lack of monetary compensation available for officials in many leagues, as well as other demanding aspects of the vocation such as the threat of verbal and physical assault, the demand for officials often outweighs the supply. Officiating organizations therefore devote a fair amount of effort to recruiting new officials. This usually means encouraging athletes who are toward the end of their playing careers to consider officiating as a means of maintaining involvement in their sports.

Once an official is registered, he or she may be selected to work at an actual contest. Typically, newer officials are expected to prove themselves at lower levels of competition (i.e., junior varsity contests at the high school level) before being assigned to major games or tournaments. Just as athletes strive to reach championship level competitions, so too do the officials. The method by which officials are assigned varies from one organization to the next, with many having no specific method in place. According to one study conducted in 2002, 52 percent of officials associations in the United States that responded to a survey did not use a standardized system for awarding tournament assignments.

**A referee at an ice hockey game,
just after the whistle.**

Source: istockphoto/jamirae.

Various systems have been used, however. These methods include selecting officials based on evaluations conducted by veteran members of the association, rules test scores, coaches' requests, and seniority. An additional factor in selection is neutrality. In playoff competitions, for example, when teams from two different conferences play one another, the officiating crew is usually made up of officials from a third conference. Likewise, in major international competition, for reasons of fairness the officials selected typically hail from a country other than those represented by the athletes.

One of the difficulties in selecting officials stems from the inherent challenges in evaluating an individual's or crew's performance. Unlike assessing which team deserves to advance, which easily can be determined by the score, it can be difficult to ascertain how well an official has performed. Methods of evaluation can include written exams, oral quizzes with veteran officials, direct observation, and review of videotapes. Evaluators can include officiating assigners, commissioners, peer officials, state association members, and coaches. Due to the wide range of possibilities, when it comes down to how an official is evaluated, it is up to the officials' governing body to standardize and implement the evaluation process.

Officials and Errors

Officiating has been humorously described as the one job where someone is expected to start out being perfect—and then to improve from there. Some officials observe that they are held to higher standards than other sport participants, pointing out that athletes and coaches regularly make mistakes without incident, while a single bad call by an official attracts a great deal of criticism. Officials, of course, like anyone else, do sometimes make mistakes. With as many as several hundred or more decisions to make during a competition, errors are inevitable.

Notwithstanding these imperfections, there is evidence that officials at the professional level are quite effective in making correct decisions. For example, in Major League Baseball in the United States during the



2004 season, a computer system indicated that umpires correctly called more than 93 percent of pitches as balls or strikes. The error rate also may be overestimated by the public because attention tends to shift to officials only when an error actually occurs. If spectators notice the official, it is almost always because a possible mistake has been made. In contrast, during the majority of the time when officials are performing adequately, they go largely unnoticed. In addition many calls that are perceived to be in error are actually correct. The rules of a sport typically require a good deal of judgment on the part of an official, and he or she generally has a better understanding of the rules than other interested parties. Considering that coaches, athletes, and spectators almost always have a subjective interest in the contest, officials represent the only group charged with maintaining a neutral, objective stance. Thus, their judgment is often appropriate, even when perceived as being flawed by a majority of viewers.

A baseball fan is a spectator sitting 500 feet from home plate who can see better than an umpire standing five feet away. ■ UNKNOWN

Some officials have joked that since there are two sides to a contest, an official is perceived to be right only half of the time.

Nonetheless, officials do attempt to minimize the number of errors made. In fact, rule books for most sports include procedures for correcting errors when they do occur—if the error is detected within a certain time frame. In addition, toward the end of the twentieth century, major sports organizations began using technology to improve officials' rates of correct calls. Perhaps the most conspicuous use of technology involves video replay. As of 2004 professional basketball, hockey, and American football organizations were using some form of video replay to review officials' initial decisions, with Major League Baseball, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (in football), and the United States Tennis Association also considering its use. Supporters of this type of technology in officiating claim that procedures such as viewing video replays of "close calls" increases the proportion of correct decisions. Others argue that officials must be entrusted with a degree of judgment, and the fact that they are human and, thus, imperfect, is part of the game. Indeed, it is likely that no matter how much technology advances, officials' errors, like mistakes made by athletes and coaches, will remain a necessary aspect of sport.

Changing Rules over Time

As all officials strive to conduct a contest according to the rules currently in effect, many are involved in evaluating the rules and, when deemed appropriate, suggesting changes. An historical review of nearly any sport will reveal that the rules have changed over time. These changes occur for a variety of reasons. In some cases officials recognize that competitors exploit a technical oversight in the rules to gain an unfair advantage over opponents, and that this oversight must be corrected. At other times innovations in competitive techniques and strategies require a change in the rules to address the most modern forms of play. On occasion rules are altered in order to increase public appeal by encouraging such things as higher scores or faster-paced play. An-

other frequent reason for rules changes is to better ensure the safety of the participants.

Often, a rule modification will occur first at high levels of competition before trickling down to the rule books for the lower leagues, such as those at the youth level. For developmental and safety reasons, however, some modifications nearly always remain in the rules for younger competitors. On occasion trends in youth sport influence the rules at elite levels of play. For example, in addressing the need to promote sportsmanship among high school athletes, Mike Pereira, director of officiating for the National Football League, stated, "The pros and college sports have a huge impact on the play of the game at lower levels. To turn our backs on that is a huge mistake" (Arehart 2002, 25).

With rules changing over time, officials must constantly evolve with a sport. One cannot memorize the rule book and be prepared indefinitely. To be effective an official must know the rules and the underlying intent, apply the rules during competition, and comport him or herself appropriately. Officials are expected to fulfill their assignments under stressful conditions and to maintain their composure and neutral stance despite sometimes harsh criticism. It is a difficult job, with recognition coming primarily when something goes wrong. Nonetheless, most officials express a fondness for the vocation, as well as for the sports in which they serve.

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*Some of the best calls are the ones
you don't make.* ■ EARL STROM

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Olympia

Olympia was the site of the ancient Olympic Games, the oldest and biggest of the four Panhellenic (relating to Greece) religious, athletic, and cultural festivals. The other three festivals were the Pythian Games at Delphi, the Isthmian Games at Corinth, and the Games at Nemea. The festival at Olympia was celebrated every four years.

The Olympic Games supposedly began in 776 BCE, but they may have started many years earlier. They continued until 393 CE, when the Roman emperor Theodosius banned all heathen cults.

Different theories explain the origin of the ancient Olympic Games. Some theories say the games were invented by Pelops, who gave his name to the Peloponnese Peninsula. He defeated Oinomaos, king of Pisa, in a chariot race. Oinomaos had an eligible daughter, Hippodameia. Prospective suitors had to defeat Oinomaos in a chariot race. By trickery Pelops won the

race. He replaced the bronze axle pins of the king's chariot with wax ones. As the chariot crashed, Oinomaos was thrown to the ground and killed. Pelops became king, and the games were celebrated in his honor at his grave. Another theory says the games were founded by Heracles (Hercules) after he had defeated Augeas, king of the Greek city-state Elis. Olympia belonging to Elis. Probably the games were a cult festival celebrated by the pre-Indo-Germanic rural population during the third millennium BCE. Later the festival became a festival for Zeus organized by the migrating Achaeans and later by the Dorians. Evidence of this change may be seen in the Temple of Hera next to the Temple of Zeus and the position of the female goddess Demeter, whose priestesses were the only married women allowed to sit at a place of honor on the spectator wall in the stadium at Olympia. Apart from these women, however, married women were banned from the stadium.

In the beginning only one footrace of more than 182 meters was run. This measure was called a “stadium.” The modern word *stadium* is derived from this measure. The competition was called a “stadium race.” The Olympic stadium was a bit longer than 192 meters. The starting point of the race was a line of stone plates with grooves for the runners' toes. Twenty stone plates existed, which meant that a maximum of twenty runners could compete in the race. After 724 BCE the *diaulos* and the *dolichos* were invented as second and third footraces. The *diaulos* consisted of two lengths of the stadium, whereas the *dolichos* was run over twenty or twenty-four lengths. In 708 BCE wrestling was added, and in 688 BCE boxing was added to the program. After 708 the pentathlon was added, with its disciplines of the discus; the jump with weights, called “halteres”; the javelin; a footrace more than five lengths of the stadium; and wrestling. Always a big attraction was the pancratium, added in 448 BCE. This discipline was a mixture of boxing and brutal, all-in wrestling. In addition to these athletic disciplines competitions were held in horseracing and chariot racing.



Runners at ancient Olympia.

Special competitions were also organized for boys. After 396 BCE the games began with a contest of heralds and trumpeters.

Olympic Truce

Initially the games lasted one day, later three, and finally five days. Whereas during the first decades most of the athletes were from the Peloponnese, the games were attended by citizens from the whole of Greece and from Greek locations in the Mediterranean. The athletes had to be freeborn and of Greek descent. In the Roman empire these rules were not followed closely. To ensure that athletes and pilgrims travelling to and from Olympia would have a safe journey, the Olympic Truce (*Ekecheiria*) was introduced; it lasted three months in the end. To announce the truce and its exact dates, heralds were sent out from Elis to every Greek state. Today the truce is often confused with a period of peace. It is often believed that the Greeks were not at war during the celebration of the games. However, numerous sources tell us that the Greek city-states indeed did make war against each other during the games.

Olympia was not a permanent place of residence. It was a site with athletic venues and the *altis* (sacred grove) with temples. Athletic venues were within the stadium walls, having space for forty thousand spectators, the hippodrome, the palaestra, and the gymnasium. The palaestra and gymnasium were training sites. The

main temples were erected to pay homage to the goddess Hera and the god Zeus. The Temple of Zeus, with its 13-meter-tall statue of Zeus designed and built by the Greek artist Pheidias, was one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Also honoring Zeus was an altar. During the Olympic festival one hundred oxen were sacrificed to Zeus on this altar.

After each competition an award ceremony was celebrated. Only the athletes who placed first in the competition were crowned with an olive branch. Athletes who had won one competition were honored with a statue; for athletes with three victories a portrait sculpture probably was designed. The victorious athletes were much honored in their home towns and were showered with valuable presents. The title *periodonikes* was given to athletes who had won a contest in all of the four Panhellenic games. This title is comparable with today's Grand Slam title in tennis. The greatest athlete was probably Milon from Croton in southern Italy. He was a wrestler who won six times at Olympia and won another twenty-eight victories at other games. He became a quadruple *periodonikes*.

Olympia Lost

During the sixth century CE two earthquakes destroyed the temples and other buildings at Olympia. The Alpheios and Kladeos Rivers burst their banks, destroying almost all of the *altis* and sport venues. The area was covered with 6–8 meters of clay. After that, for a long time the location of Olympia was unknown. Archaeologists exploring Greece with the permission of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the eighteenth century were the first to search for Olympia. They attempted to follow the steps of the Greek historian Pausanias, who wrote a travel report on Greece in the middle of the second century CE. In 1766 the Englishman Richard Chandler discovered Olympia. Numerous researchers and



The ruins of the grounds at Olympia in 2003

archaeologists followed and began excavation. Excavation was conducted between 1875 and 1881 by German archaeologists. The Germans Ernst Curtius and Friedrich Adler succeeded in excavating the *altis*, but the stadium was completely excavated between 1936 and 1961 thanks to the German sports leader Carl Diem. Almost two-thirds of the gymnasium is not yet excavated. Of course, all of these endeavors were observed worldwide and were one reason why the French Baron Pierre de Coubertin thought of recreating the Olympic Games during modern times in 1896.

Today Olympia is a major tourist site. Tourists from all over the world visit not only the excavations but also four museums focusing on ancient physical education, the history of the excavations, excavation exhibits, and the

history of the modern Olympic Games. The importance of Olympia as a historic sports site was emphasized at the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens as the men's and women's shot-put competitions were held with a crowd of forty thousand watching on the grass slopes.

Karl Lennartz and Stephan Wassong

See also Greece, Ancient

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Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936

References to the Olympic Stadium in Berlin, Germany, are either to the colossal sports complex called the *Reichssportfeld*, which hosted most of the sports competitions during the 1936 Olympic Games, or to the stadium itself, which was the center for the Olympic ceremonies and sports competitions. As part of the legacy of the Nazi period, the much-debated historic buildings, the stadium, and the whole *Reichssportfeld*, are now subject to a preservation order.

The Location

The origin of this site as a sport venue goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century when, between 1907 and 1909, a hippodrome was built in the western suburb of Berlin called Grunewald. The German Olympic Reich Committee for the Olympic Games submitted Berlin's bid to organize the 1912 and 1916 Olympic Games, but this first bid was withdrawn. Nevertheless, through the efforts of the committee, a stadium (with a swimming pool) called the *Deutsches Stadion*—"German Stadium"—was built between the hippodrome's tracks and inaugurated on 8 July 1913. But the 1916 Olympic Games, which were to be celebrated in Berlin, were canceled because of the ongoing World War. The German Higher Education School for Physical Education (founded in 1920) was housed in the *Deutsches Stadion* and extended to the *Sportforum*, a set of sports facilities and buildings for the school.

On 13 May 1931, Berlin was chosen as the host for the XIth Olympic Games to be held in 1936. The *Deutsches Stadion* should have been the main facility for the event, but little work had been done to improve the stadium's features by the time Adolf Hitler was appointed German chancellor on 30 January 1933.

The Nazis quickly understood that the Olympic Games could be orchestrated for propaganda purposes. The proposed *Reichssportfeld* with its Olympic Stadium was

to become the site of Nazi sport. Indeed, the *Deutsches Stadion* was not considered luxurious enough to show the world how generous the "New Germany" was and how determined it was to succeed in gaining the world's esteem. Visiting the education and sports grounds on 5 October 1933, Hitler personally changed all the previous plans in deciding to build an Olympic arena worthy of the "New German spirit."

Building the Olympic Stadium

The architect Werner March (whose father built the *Deutsches Stadion* and who had already designed the *Sportforum*) was given the responsibility for creating this new Olympic arena. The facilities of the *Reichssportfeld* were the Olympic Stadium, the swimming pool, the field for public and military parades (*Maifeld*), the old-fashioned amphitheater (*Dietrich-Eckart-Bühne*), the Reich Academy for Physical Education, the House of German Sport, the hockey field, the horse-riding field, the tennis courts, the basketball courts, and a restaurant.

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT IN SPORTS ARCHITECTURE

The *Reichssportfeld* can be considered a turning point in sports architecture because its dimensions and the architectural balance of the whole complex were unprecedented achievements. Moreover, these grounds and the Olympic Games of 1936 were and still are primary examples of political involvement in sport.

The Olympic Stadium with its capacity of around 100,000 and the *Maifeld*, which can hold over 106,000 people on the field and 60,000 people in the stands, clearly show the size of the task of organizing "the biggest and most beautiful Olympic Games the world has ever seen," but also the degree to which it was successful.

The Olympic Stadium is at the center of two axes that shape the landscape. The north-south axis, running through the swimming pool, the stadium, and Courbetin Square, crosses the chancellor's private loggia inside the stadium. The east-west axis is almost the continuation of the straight thoroughfare that runs through

If you don't try to win you might as well hold the Olympics in somebody's back yard. ■ JESSE OWENS



Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936

Adolf Hitler Enters

The arrival of Adolf Hitler at the stadium was a major event. Australian swimmer Pat Norton recalls his arrival:

We four girls in our team stood without rest for two hours before entering the stadium, but the air of excitement and noise among the teams drove our tiredness away. While we were making friends with the only girl in the Argentinian team of 90 men, who were standing next to us, the teams suddenly became quiet at the sight of Hitler and his entourage striding down between the teams. He looked neither to the left nor right and gave no sign of greeting or welcome. It was my first direct look at the man who was the talk of the world, and a more uninspiring-looking person would be hard to find.

Source: Berlin Olympics 1936. (2005). Retrieved February 24, 2005, from <http://www.olympicwomen.co.uk/Berline.htm>

the city and that Hitler wanted to become a Berlin *via triumphalis*. The *Reichssportfeld*'s east-west axis is composed of the Olympic Portal, the stadium, the Marathon Portal cut into the stadium's west stand, and the *Maifeld*. It finishes at the chancellor's private loggia and the *Glockenturm*, that is, the bell tower, overhanging the parade field. On the first level, the *Langemarckhalle* is a meditation hall in honor of the German soldiers who were killed in action during World War I. Towers and sculptures complete the axial scheme.

The perfect symmetry and the monumental size of the buildings can seem to be highly oppressive, but at the same time they give the impression of being a perfect architectural creation.

IDEOLOGY IN STONE

The impressive surroundings built for the Olympic Games crystallize the greater part of Nazi ideology. It is plain that the very construction of the *Reichssportfeld* and its architectural and esthetic features perfectly em-

body the Nazi vision of society. The *Reichssportfeld* is the most successful of completed Nazi buildings. In line with the "ruin's theory," according to which thousand-years-old ruins are an evidence of a civilization's greatness and the ambition of building an empire of a thousand years, the *Reichssportfeld* was considered a model of Nazi artistic style. Indeed, it mixes ancient and modern artistic elements. But the opposition between the traditional and modernist features was hidden: Whereas the stadium and the bell tower are made of reinforced concrete, they are tidily covered with natural German stone. Hitler himself demanded those facings and influenced the esthetics of the facilities. Official speeches always stressed the degree to which German nature and tradition were present in the *Reichssportfeld*. The *Dietrich-Eckart-Bühne*, surrounded by woods, is emblematic of the desire to combine sport and culture—the Nazi idea of culture. It is not surprising to note that the *Reichssportfeld* unites sports and military facilities (*Maifeld*, *Langemarckhalle*). And indeed it was turned into a military base, when it was a stronghold in March–April 1945 and when British troops and their headquarters were there until 1994.

The Venue Today

The *Reichssportfeld* lost its nationalistic name and nowadays is called simply the Olympic Stadium. Whereas the complex itself has not changed much in appearance, renovation work has been carried out in order to adapt the facilities to current safety standards. The Berlin soccer club Hertha BSC has its home at the Olympic Stadium and the other facilities are still used for training.

Berlin's unsuccessful bid to host the Olympic Games in 2000 and the organization of the soccer World Cup in Germany in 2006 still regularly raise the problem of how to deal with this monumental symbol of Nazism.

Daphné Bolz

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Olympics, 2004

The modern Olympic Games have become the world's foremost multisport, multination event. Baron Pierre de Coubertin, a French nobleman, is the acknowledged father of the modern Olympics, but many persons and forces in society—such as innovations in transportation, communication, urbanization, and industrialization—influenced their beginnings.

During the middle of the nineteenth century people had a particular interest in ancient Olympia after extensive archaeological discoveries made during the mid-1870s. Coubertin was fascinated by these discoveries because he was able to interpret the ideals and objectives of the ancient Olympic Games to inculcate the values of “muscular Christianity” that he had perceived in British education and that had become more widely known as “athleticism.”

Of course, the true lover of sports was the amateur. The word *amateur* is no longer in the Olympic Charter, but amateurism was a class-based issue during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The International Athletic Congress in Paris in 1894 organized by Coubertin was called ostensibly to discuss matters of amateurism and professionalism. Coubertin arranged the agenda so that the Congress broke into two sections, one of which discussed the revival of the Olympic Games within the framework of “advantages from the athletic, moral and international standpoints.” The International Olympic Committee (IOC) was established at that congress, and participants decided that the Olympic Games would be revived as an international

amateur sports festival. Two years later more than three hundred athletes from thirteen countries assembled in the renovated Panathenaic Stadium in Athens to take part in the Olympic Games of 1896.

The events of the 1896 Olympics included rifle and pistol shooting, lawn tennis, fencing, track and field events, cycling, and gymnastics. The games were such a success that some people suggested that Athens become the permanent site for the quadrennial games. U.S. athletes made this declaration to Constantine, crown prince of Greece, on 14 April 1896:

We, the American participants in the International Olympic Games of Athens, . . . express entire satisfaction with all the arrangements for the conduct of the games.

The existence of the stadium as a structure so uniquely adapted to its purpose; the proved ability of Greece to competently administer the ages; and above all, the fact that Greece is the original home of the Olympic Games; all of these considerations force upon us the conviction that these games should never be removed from their native soil.

King Giorgios (George) I of Greece soon expressed his support for holding future Olympic Games in Greece. Coubertin was not president of the IOC at the time but certainly was the driving force. He negotiated a compromise with the Greek king. However, not until 1901 was a proposal presented to the IOC recommending that “international competitions will take place every two years, alternating between Athens and other large cities of the cultured states.” Many people, not only Greeks, wanted the Olympic Games to be held in Greece every four years from that time onward.

First Victory for Athens

Athens won the right to host the 2004 Olympics after eleven cities expressed interest: Athens, Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Istanbul, Lille, Rio de Janeiro, Rome, San Juan, Seville, Stockholm, and St. Petersburg. The IOC decided in 1994 to implement a two-phase election procedure, and in 1997 Athens was elected from the remaining cities. The final vote was sixty-six votes for

As time went by I came to feel that if I, as a Jew, hit a home run I was hitting one against Hitler. ■ HANK GREENBERG

*Great works are performed not by strength
but by perseverance.* ■ SAMUEL JOHNSON

Athens and forty-four for Rome. The other cities, in elimination order, were Buenos Aires, Capetown, and Stockholm.

After some early organizational problems during the first few years of the Athens Olympic Organizing Committee (ATHOC), steady progress was made when Gianna Angelopoulos-Daskalki took over the leadership in 1998. With the election of Athens's first woman mayor, Dora Bakoyannis, in 2002, the 2004 Athens Games were the first to have two women in such significant administrative roles.

A major concern, expressed frequently in the international media and cited by many IOC members, was the delay in construction of much of the infrastructure for the Olympics and for the city of Athens generally. Although the international airport was ready, the major arterial roads were still under construction. Much of the delay in completion of the subway was caused by the numerous archaeological finds during construction—many of these finds are displayed in situ (in the natural or original position or place), especially at Syntagma Square station.

The provision of stadiums was to be a combination of construction of new stadiums and reconstruction and reconfiguration of old sites. The venues were: Athens Olympic Sports Complex, including the bridgelike main stadium with its elliptical arches reaching high into the sky (hosting athletics, basketball, cycling, diving, gymnastics, soccer, swimming, synchronized swimming, tennis, trampoline, water polo); Panathinaiko, the main site of the 1896 and 1906 games (hosting archery and the marathon finish); Goudi (hosting badminton and modern pentathlon); Peristeri Hall (hosting boxing); Faliro Coastal Zone Olympic Complex (hosting beach volleyball, tae kwon do, and volleyball); City Center (hosting cycling and modern pentathlon); Parnitha (hosting mountain biking); Vouilgameni (hosting cycling and triathlon); Markopoulo Equestrian Center; Markopoulo Shooting Center; Schinias (hosting canoeing, kayaking, and rowing); Galatsi Hall (hosting rhythmic gymnastics and table tennis); Ano Liossia (hosting judo and

wrestling); Agios Kosmas Sailing Center; Karaiskaki (hosting soccer); and Nikaia (hosting weightlifting).

A special venue, which highlighted the relationship of the 2004 Olympics and the ancient Olympics, was used for the shot-put event. Many Greeks feel that they “own” the Olympic Games, but the residents of the village of ancient Olympia on the Peloponnese Peninsula feel that they are the real owners. Although the shot put was not part of the ancient Olympic Games, shot putters competed in the historic Olympia stadium in front of fifteen thousand spectators. The winners, following tradition, were crowned with an olive wreath pruned from the sacred Kalisthenos olive tree; their medals were presented in the Olympic Stadium in Athens two days later.

Light on Their Feet

The torch relay for the 2004 Olympics was the most extensive staged since the relay was introduced for the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. Lit in Olympia on 25 March 2004, the flame traveled to five continents in seventy-eight days and visited every previous host Olympic city. More than ten thousand people, chosen for their commitment to the Olympic movement, ran with the torch.

Most of the 10,500 athletes and 5,500 team officials from 201 National Olympic committees competed in the Athens area. More than 21,500 members of the media (approximately 16,000 broadcasters and 5,500 print and photographic journalists) covered the games.

The opening ceremony, with a live audience of 70,000 and an estimated audience of 3.5 billion worldwide, featured technological wizardry and more than 2,400 dancers and performers. Highlights included replicas of an ancient Greek ship floating across a massive tank of water—2 million liters—that took six hours to fill but only three minutes to drain. On this sea a young boy sailed homeward in a paper boat waving the Greek flag. Later a statue of a giant emerged from the water and split into fragments shaped as torsos of classical Greek statues, symbolizing the Greek islands. The production manager of the ceremony, David Zolkwer, stated that the ceremony was done on an “epic scale,”



with the largest moving light rig (two thousand lights) ever installed for a single event.

IOC President Jacques Rogge paid homage to Greece for giving the world the ancient games and then reviving them. He stated, “Athens, I turn to you now. . . . Through your conduct give us reasons to believe in sport that is increasingly credible and pure, by refusing doping and respecting fair play.”

Alas, these words were largely overshadowed by a major drug scandal involving a Greek sports hero and one of the nation’s strongest medal hopes. Sprinter Costas Kenteris (Kederis), gold medalist of the 2000 Olympics in Sydney and the first Greek to win a medal in athletics at the Olympic Games since 1896, and fellow sprinter-girlfriend Katrina Thanou were hospitalized after what was later allegedly a faked motorcycle accident a few hours before they faced an IOC disciplinary board for failing to attend a drug test. The Greek Olympic Committee voted to withdraw the two sprinters from the Athens games, but four days after the opening ceremony the two disgraced athletes announced their withdrawal from the games.

Despite the credo of the Olympic movement, sports and politics were intertwined. Iranian judo champion Arash Miresmaili withdrew from the Olympics because he refused to compete against an Israeli opponent. Judo (gentle way) is an Olympic ideal in microcosm. As one journalist observed, “to avoid a judo bout to make a political statement is to miss the point both of judo and of the Olympics.”

Nonetheless, many great performances and examples of the Olympic motto of “*citius, altius, fortius*” (swifter, higher, stronger) occurred. Athletes competed in sizzling summer temperatures. Fortunately organizers had incorporated *mesimeriano ipnako*—the afternoon snooze. Nonetheless, during the women’s marathon, despite starting at 6 A.M., the heat affected reigning world champion Paula Radcliffe of Great Britain, who collapsed about 6.5 kilometers from the finish. The winner, Japan’s Mizuki Noguchi, won with a time of 2 hours, 26 minutes, 20 seconds—11 minutes outside

Radcliffe’s world record and 3 minutes outside the Olympic record set at the Sydney Olympics.

The swimming events included some sensational performances. Nineteen-year-old U.S. swimmer Michael Phelps won eight medals (six gold and two bronze)—perhaps a better achievement than Mark Spitz’s seven gold medals in 1972 because far more countries now have accomplished swimmers. Australian Ian Thorpe won four medals (two gold, one silver, one bronze), including one in the 200-meter freestyle competition, which many people regarded as one of the most exciting contests of the 2004 Olympics: Pieter van den Hoogenband of the Netherlands, who beat Thorpe in Sydney, came in second, with Phelps third.

In running, Great Britain’s Kelly Holmes won both the women’s 800 meters and 1,500 meters. Hicham El Guerrou of Morocco, considered by many to be the greatest distance runner in history, finally won the 1,500 meters after stunning upsets at Atlanta and Sydney, which were two of only four losses in his 1,500-meter running career. He also won the 5,000 meters, becoming the first runner since Paavo Nurmi to win both races at the same Olympics. El Guerrou’s peer athletes at Athens elected him to IOC membership. Other athletes elected were Rania Elwani, Frank Fredricks, and Jan Zelezny.

Highs and Lows

Many surprises and disappointments occurred at the 2004 Olympics. Reigning 100-meter hurdles world champion Perdita Felicien of Canada after running seven steps out of the blocks hit the hurdle, taking Russian Irina Shevchenko crashing down with her. The U.S. men’s basketball team, without thirteen National Basketball Association stars, was disappointed to win only the bronze medal.

Justin Gatlin of the United States was the surprise 100-meters winner in one of the fastest (9.85 seconds) and closest Olympic sprints since Moscow in 1980. In the 200 meters Gatlin came in third to fellow U.S. runner Shawn Crawford. The absence of Greek Olympic



champion Costas Kenteris hung over that event as crowds shouted “Hellas, Hellas,” delaying the start of the race for several minutes.

Argentina won the soccer final against Paraguay. Paraguay’s silver medal was that country’s first Olympic medal in any sport.

Windsurfer Gal Friedman won Israel’s first gold medal since Israel entered the Olympics at Helsinki, Finland, in 1952.

Brazilian marathon runner Vanderlei Lima was grabbed by a spectator dressed in Irish traditional costume when leading the race about 5 kilometers from the finish. Although the altercation lasted only seconds, it clearly upset Lima, who was soon overtaken by the winner, Italy’s Stefano Baldini. When Lima ran into Panathenaic Stadium, venue of the 1896 Olympic Games, members of the crowd who had seen the altercation on a huge screen acknowledged the demonstration of sportsmanship. Along with his bronze medal Lima was presented with the Pierre de Coubertin Medal by IOC President Rogge for demonstration of fair play and Olympic values.

Artists from thirty-nine countries exhibited sculpture and other art pertaining to the theme “sport and Olympism.” The IOC awarded the Olympiart prize—established in 1992 to recognize artists who contribute through their work to the promotion of sport, young people, and peace—to Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis. Renowned for his score for the film *Zorba the Greek*, Theodorakis has also composed works for the Olympic Games—*Canto Olimpico* and *Homage to Greece*—for the 1992 Barcelona Olympics.

The presence of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) at the 2004 Olympics was evident. More than three thousand tests were undertaken, and more than thirty athletes at both the Olympic and Paralympic Games were caught using banned performance-enhancing substances. WADA head Dick Pound said that “far from tarnishing the Games, catching the athletes enhances them.” On a more optimistic note, more than 250 athletes a day throughout both the Olympic

and Paralympic Games visited the WADA Outreach Center in the Athletes Village to participate in educational programs, especially the “Doping Quiz” game, which has been translated into nine languages.

The final medal count per country included the United States with 103 (35 gold, 39 silver, 29 bronze); Russia with 92 (27, 27, 38); China with 63 (32, 17, 14); Australia with 49 (17, 16, 16); Germany with 48 (14, 16, 18); and Japan with 37 (16, 9, 12).

The Paralympic Games were held in Athens on 17–28 September. The games attracted many athletes with physical disabilities, but no athletes with intellectual disabilities were permitted by the International Paralympic Committee to participate.

Overall, the 2004 Olympics were successful. Many of the concerns leading up to the games were allayed, although concerns about the readiness of venues, accessible transport, security, and accommodations kept away thousands of spectators. However, the sports venues were ready, the traffic flowed and, as the IOC president remarked during the closing ceremony, security was “flawless.” Of course, 45,000 security personnel (25,000 police, 7,000 military, 3,000 coast guards, 1,500 firefighters, 3,500 private security contractors, and 5,000 trained volunteers) had been used to ensure safety. One journalist remarked that “security was omnipresent without being smothering.”

Attendance was disappointing during the early days; ticket sales fell short of the predicted 65 percent of the total 5.32 million tickets sold by the commencement of the games. However, venues filled as the competitions moved closer to finals. The global broadcast of the 2004 Olympics broke all records. Three hundred channels broadcast the games to 220 countries and territories, thereby providing thirty-five thousand hours of dedicated coverage (two thousand hours per day to an audience of 3.9 billion people). Several technological firsts also occurred in electronic coverage. Some countries made streaming video and highlight clips of the Olympic Games available through mobile phone handsets and the Internet.

We all experience doubts and fears as we approach new challenges. The fear diminishes with the confidence that comes from experience and faith. Sometimes you just have to go for it and see what happens. Jumping into the battle does not guarantee victory, but being afraid to try guarantees defeat. ■ BRIAN GOODELL

In general, the majority of respondents surveyed felt positive about the 2004 Olympics and Greece. Citizens in five major countries (United States, United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, and France) considered Greece to be a “safe destination,” a “modern European country” that organized “technically excellent” Olympic Games with a “human dimension.” A nationwide survey showed that a majority of Greeks believe that the success of the 2004 Olympics enhanced the position of Greece on the international stage.

Cost of Success

In November 2004 the Greek government announced the cost of the 2004 Olympics. At approximately \$11.6 billion, they were the most expensive Olympic Games ever. The security expenditure alone—\$1.39 billion—almost equaled the total cost of staging the Olympics in Sydney (\$1.5 billion). Greek Deputy Culture Minister Fani Palli-Petralia stated, “We had very successful and very safe Games but we also had very expensive Games.”

Fears by the IOC that it had awarded the 2004 Olympics to a small, poor country were unfounded. Members of the IOC and many others left the closing ceremony with images that linked Greek history and its modern reality as the music of *Zorba the Greek* rose to a crescendo. The Olympic symbol of five interlinking rings, along with the emblem of the 2004 Olympics—a branch from an olive tree intertwined in a circle—reached an audience that no other event can reach. Jacques Rogge wrote in the final issue of the Olympic Village bulletin: “All together, we have shared in the emotion and passion generated by the Olympic Games, this universal rendezvous symbolized by tolerance, peace and friendship.”

Ian Jobling

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Olympics, Summer

The Summer Olympics are the world’s biggest sports event. At the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, Greece, in 1896 fewer than 250 athletes from thirteen nations participated. Today more than ten thousand athletes from around the world participate. The Athens Olympics in 1896 and 1906 lasted only ten days. In contrast, the games between 1900 and 1928 lasted several months; weekly periods of competitions were interrupted by breaks. In 1930 Olympic officials decided that the games should last only two weeks over three weekends (sixteen days). Seventeen days have been permitted when the opening ceremony is held on a Friday.

The time between the quadrennial Summer Olympic Games is an olympiad; each olympiad begins with the opening ceremony of the Summer Olympics. Each Olympics and each olympiad are designated by Roman numerals; for example, the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, Australia, were the XXVII Olympics, and the 2004 Olympics in Athens were the XXVIII Olympics. If the games are cancelled for any reason the number designation of the olympiad remains the same. Thus, although the 1916 games in Berlin, Germany, were cancelled because of World War I, the period between 1916 and 1920 remained the VI modern olympiad. Since 1994 the Winter Olympic Games have not been held in the middle of an olympiad. From 1924 until 1992 Summer and Winter Olympic Games were held in the same year.

Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937) of France is known as the founder of the modern Olympic Games. However, even before Coubertin people had attempted to reestablish the ancient Olympics of Greece. However, these attempts—in Greece, France, England, and the United States—failed because they lacked the internationality that has been the elixir of today’s modern Olympic Games.

Coubertin did not reintroduce the Olympic Games merely to stage an ancient sports festival but rather to



Olympics, Summer

Key Events in Summer Olympics History

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| <p>1894 The Olympic Games are re-established and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) founded at the Olympic Congress in Paris.</p> <p>1896 The first modern Olympics are held in Athens.</p> <p>1900 Women are allowed to compete in only a few sports.</p> <p>1913 The Olympic flag is designed by 1981 Baron Pierre de Coubertin.</p> <p>1921 The Olympic Charter is established.</p> <p>1921 The Olympic motto, “Citius, altius, fortius” (faster, higher, stronger), is officially used for the first time.</p> <p>1928 Women are allowed to compete in track and field events.</p> <p>1930 Olympic officials set the duration of the games as two weeks over three weekends (sixteen days).</p> <p>1936 The torch relay is run for the first time at the Berlin Olympics.</p> <p>1936 The Olympics are shown on television for the first time, although only in Berlin.</p> <p>1952 Athletes are housed for the first time in an Olympic Village.</p> | <p>1956 Athletes enter the stadium for the closing ceremony in mass, rather than by nation, to signify unity.</p> <p>1968 Drug testing is used for the first time at the Mexico City games.</p> <p>1972 Twelve Israeli athletes and coaches die as a result of a Palestinian terrorist attack.</p> <p>1976 Seventeen African and Arab nations boycott the games in Montreal.</p> <p>1980 About sixty nations, led by the United States, boycott the games in Moscow.</p> <p>1981 International sports federations are asked to modify their rules to allow professionals to compete in the Olympic Games.</p> <p>1984 About twenty nations, led by the Soviet Union, boycott the games in Los Angeles.</p> <p>1984 At the games in Los Angeles professionals are allowed to participate for the first time.</p> <p>1984 Wholesale commercialization of the games begins with the Los Angeles Olympics.</p> <p>2001 The IOC is embroiled in a scandal over charges of bribery of officials to influence site selection.</p> <p>2004 The Olympics return to Athens.</p> |
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offer nations of the world a chance to peacefully compete. He hoped that young people would develop a maturity that would lead to an ability to cope with social, political, and economic challenges of the early twentieth century and become responsible and democratic citizens. Coubertin and his supporters also hoped that the Olympic Games would foster “international contacts,” allowing people to represent their country and get to know people of other countries and encourage a reduction of hatred, distrust, and prejudice. Nationalism and internationalism do not, in Coubertin’s opinion, exclude each other. Coubertin believed that, properly understood, peaceful internationalism corrects a narrow-minded nationalism but also acknowledges the differences and characteristics of other nations, thus disas-

sociating itself from superficial cosmopolitanism. By reintroducing the Olympic Games Coubertin planned to consolidate and extend interest in international competition. The Olympic Charter—the rules and regulations of the Olympic Games and the International Olympic Committee (IOC)—addresses this goal: “The goal of the Olympic Movement is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport practiced without discrimination of any kind and the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair-play.”

Revival

The Olympic Games were reestablished and the IOC founded in 1894 at the Olympic Congress in Paris.

**Pierre de Coubertin,
founder of the
Modern Olympics.**



Coubertin was the organizer of the congress and was supported foremost by Charles Herbert of England and William Milligan Sloane of the United States. Athens was chosen as the first host city, and amateur rules were established. Coubertin was an advocate of amateurism. To Coubertin and Sloane, only amateur sports can attain the educational goals of athleticism. Both men—as well as other early Olympians—believed that the pursuit of money in professional sports often goes along with corruption, unfairness, and an unlimited exhibition of ambition. The question of amateurism was hotly disputed through many decades.

Athletes repeatedly were excluded from the Olympics because they violated the amateur rules. For example, the 1912 gold medalist Jim Thorpe of the United States lost his Olympic eligibility for violating the amateur rules. Thorpe was stripped of his gold medals because he was paid for playing semiprofessional baseball in 1910. The IOC returned Thorpe's medals to his family in 1982. During the 1970s the amateur rules were liberalized. At the 1981 Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden, Germany, international federations were asked to modify their rules to allow professionals to compete in the Olympic Games. At the 1984 games in Los Angeles professionals were allowed to participate. The highly paid professionals of the U.S. National Basketball Association competed as the Dream Team at the 1992 games in Barcelona, Spain, to much acclaim.

Coubertin regarded the Olympic Games as the institutional framework of his "Olympic Idea": Moral perfection can be realized by education of mind and body alike. Therefore, he felt, the Olympic movement should not be limited to sports alone: It should be defined in

a broader sense. Coubertin therefore established the Olympic Congresses. Until his resignation as IOC president in 1925, Coubertin organized eight such congresses. The IOC organizes Olympic Congresses at undetermined intervals. The 1914, 1921, 1925, and 1930 Olympic Congresses dealt with Olympic rules, the program, and the amateur question. The congresses of 1973, 1981, and 1994 dealt with the future of the Olympic movement, focusing on the amateur question and its liberalization, sports in modern society, and sports and the media in a social context.

Coubertin felt that only men should participate in the Olympics. However, since the 1900 games in Paris women have taken part in various Olympic sports such as tennis and golf. In 1912 women began to participate in swimming. Because the IOC refused to admit women to track and field events after World War I, the Federation Sportive Feminine Internationale (FSFI) was founded to organize a women's olympiad in 1922. At the proposal of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) in 1928, the IOC admitted women for track and field events to avoid a rivalry. Since that time the Olympic program for women has been substantially extended. For the last twenty-five years only sports for men and women have been admitted. Today the number of women athletes is about 40 percent that of men athletes.

In 1913 Coubertin designed the Olympic flag with its five rings: the blue, black, and red rings at the top, interlaced with yellow and green rings at the bottom against a white background. The flag was hoisted for the first time at a sports festival in Alexandria, Egypt, and then at the Jubilee Olympic Congress in 1914 in



Paris. The flag was renewed by the South Korean National Olympic Committee (NOC) in 1985.

Torch Relay

The German sports leader Carl Diem in 1931 proposed a torch relay from ancient Olympia in Greece to the venue of the upcoming games to stress the link between the ancient and modern Olympic Games. In 1931 the IOC approved a torch relay at its session in Athens. The relay was first held for the 1936 Berlin games and has become a tradition. Whereas in 1936 relay runners ran the shortest route from Olympia to Berlin, today the route allows as many runners as possible to carry the torch through the host country. In the months before the games the flame of the torch is lit in the sacred grove at ancient Olympia with a concave mirror and sent on its journey.

The Greek composer Spyros Samaras wrote a hymn for the 1896 Athens games. The Greek national poet Kostis Palamas set the hymn to music, and it was played at the 1896 and 1906 games in Athens. From 1932 to 1960 musicians from the host country composed the Olympic hymn. In 1954 the IOC announced a competition for a permanent Olympic hymn. Michael Spisak of Poland won the competition, but, because of a money shortage, the Olympic movement returned to the hymn of Samaras in 1964.

Since 1952 the Olympic Village has been an institution of the games. At the 1928 games in Amsterdam, Netherlands, and at the 1932 games in Los Angeles, athletes were accommodated in cabins. In 1936 in Berlin, athletes were accommodated in houses for the first time.

Festive highlights of the Olympic Games include the opening, award, and closing ceremonies at the Olympic stadium. The opening ceremony begins with the arrival of the host country's head of state, who is accompanied by the IOC president and the president of the Organizing Committee. Then comes the march of the nations, organized in alphabetical order according to the alphabet of the host country, but the first nation to march in is always Greece. The last nation is always the host coun-

try. After the march of the nations, the president of the Organizing Committee and the IOC president deliver speeches. Then the Olympic hymn is played, and the Olympic flag, unfurled horizontally, is brought into the stadium and hoisted on the flagpole. The Olympic torch is brought into the stadium by runners in relays. The last runner circles the track before lighting the Olympic flame. The lighting of the flame often is followed by a symbolic release of white doves. The flag bearers of all nations form a semicircle, and a competitor and a judge from the host country successively recite the Olympic oath, which is included in the Olympic Charter: "In the name of all competitors I promise that we shall take part in these Olympic Games, respecting and abiding by the rules which govern them, committing ourselves to sport without doping and without drugs, in the true spirit of sportsmanship, for the glory of sport and the honour of our teams."

At an award ceremony the top three athletes in a competition are awarded gold, silver, and bronze medals. An award ceremony takes place after each competition. The national flags of the three medalists are hoisted, with the flag of the gold medalist in the middle. During the hoisting of the flags the national anthem of the gold medalist is played. From 1928 until 2000 the front and reverse sides of the medals were designed by the Italian sculptor Guiseppe Cassioli. The top eight athletes in a competition receive a diploma. All athletes receive a campaign medal and a campaign diploma.

The closing ceremony ends the Olympic Games. The flag bearers of each national delegation enter the stadium, followed by the athletes, who since 1956 have not been categorized by nations in order to demonstrate international friendship among all athletes. The flags of Greece, the host country, and the host country of the next (winter) games are hoisted, and the national anthems of these countries are played. The mayor of the host city hands over the Olympic flag to the IOC president, who delivers the flag to the mayor of the next host city. Before the flame of the torch is extinguished and the Olympic hymn played, the IOC president officially closes the Olympic Games.



Olympics, Summer

How Lady Heath Saw the Olympic Games (1928)

Lady Heath, the famous British airwoman, utilized her ability as a pilot in a novel way to secure admission to the Olympic Stadium at Amsterdam.

When the British women athletes decided to stay away from the Olympiad, Lady Heath's name was erased from the register of officials, but she did not intend to miss the Olympiad, and finding there were no tickets, she set out in her aeroplane, and circled above the Stadium.

Then she dropped a note to this effect: "I shall continue circling around until tickets of admission are left at the front office. When these arrangements are made, place coats in the shape of a cross in the centre of the Stadium and I will immediately make a landing and come along."

The request was complied with. Lady Heath returned to the Stadium by car, and had since acted in an official capacity.

Source: *African World* (1928, August 11), p. 119.

The global reputation of the Olympic Games has increased with modern communication technology. The IOC reports that the 1996 games in Atlanta, Georgia, were broadcast to a worldwide audience of 2.3 billion and that the 2000 games in Sydney, Australia, drew a broadcast audience of 3.7 billion people. Pictures of Olympic competitions were first televised live at the 1936 games in Berlin. They could be watched in more than twenty-four viewing halls throughout Berlin. The first international broadcasts of Olympic competition occurred at the 1956 winter games in Cortina, Italy. The broadcasts could be watched in eight European countries. With the growing popularity of broadcasting the Olympics in the 1950s, the IOC recognized that the sale of broadcast rights could finance the games and the expenses of the IOC. The European Broadcasting Union paid \$660,000 for the broadcast rights for the 1960 winter games in Squaw Valley, California. The

I grew up on a farm and I always learned when you work you go forward, you don't stop and say, well, I'll take a break. You always go forward and get the job done. ■ RULON GARDNER

price has escalated: The NBC television network paid \$3.5 billion for the rights to broadcast the five Olympics from 2000 through 2008.

Commercialism

However, the selling of broadcast rights is only one aspect of the marriage of commercialism and the Olympic Games. Sponsorship and advertising contracts are as profitable as ticketing and merchandising. The unlimited commercialization of the Olympic Games began with the 1984 Los Angeles games. After the financial disaster of the 1976 games in Montreal, Canada, which created \$990 million in debt for the host city, few cities except Los Angeles were interested in hosting the 1984 Olympic Games. For the first time the organization of the Olympic Games was put into the hands of a privately financed organizing committee—the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC). Sponsorship programs for local, national, and international companies, the sale of broadcast rights, tickets, and Olympic coins led to a surplus of \$225 million. The LAOOC demonstrated that corporations are willing to spend huge sums of money to associate themselves with the Olympic Games. Thus, the IOC invented the program TOP (The Olympic Program) to allow corporations to become Olympic sponsors for four years by paying millions of dollars.

Since 1984 the prospect of financial gain has led to constantly increasing competition among cities to host the next games. Apart from the financial advantage, the Olympic Games increase the tourist appeal of the host city. Even after the Olympic Games end millions of tourists who watched the Olympic Games on television visit the host city. Before the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, the city ranked sixteenth among favorite European travel destinations; seven years later Barcelona ranked third. Likewise, the number of tourists in Australia increased after the 2000 games in Sydney. Of course, competition to host the next Olympic Games has led to corruption inside and outside the IOC. For example, during the application procedure to host the 2002 winter games IOC members accepted gifts from

I always felt that my greatest asset was not my physical ability, it was my mental ability. ■ BRUCE JENNER

applicant cities. After some IOC members were expelled, the IOC modified the regulations for application.

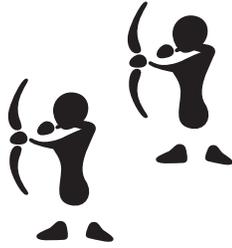
The modern Olympics have always been affected by political tensions. When Greece could not afford to host the 1896 games in Athens, Prime Minister Charilaos Trikoupis refused to host the event. He had to resign when the opposition demanded that Athens host the event. Because the founder of the modern Olympics was French, the German Gymnastic Association did not participate in the 1896 games, motivated by narrow-minded nationalism. During the 1930s fascist governments tried to use the games for political purposes. The most hotly disputed modern games were probably the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. Then the ideological conflict between East and West bedeviled the games between 1952 and 1990. Three boycotts, however, were unable to stop the Olympics: In 1976 seventeen African and Arab nations boycotted the games in Montreal, Canada, protesting a visit by the New Zealand rugby team to apartheid (racially segregated) South Africa. Four years later about sixty nations, led by the United States, boycotted the Olympic Games in Moscow to protest the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. In return, the former USSR, with about twenty other nations, foremost from eastern Europe, did not participate in the 1984 games in Los Angeles. In defense of that boycott, some people said that the safety of east European athletes could not be guaranteed in the United States. The greatest political tragedy occurred at the 1972 games in Munich, Germany, when twelve Israeli athletes and coaches were either murdered by Palestinian terrorists or died when German police stormed the terrorists.

**Jesse Owens at the
1936 Olympics
in Berlin.**



The Olympic motto, “Citius, altius, fortius” (faster, higher, stronger), was officially used for the first time in 1921. This Latin motto, with its message urging athletes to strive for their natural best, is often perverted at the games by the misuse of performance-enhancing drugs. Drug tests were first used at the 1968 games in Mexico City. Four years later the IOC officially established drug tests. Anabolic steroids, synthetic male hormones, and erythropoietin (EPO) are probably the most abused illegal substances in elite sports. New methods of doping, for which methods of detection have yet to be developed, are widely available. A clear warning signal against drugs was sent by the founding of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), funded by the IOC.

The IOC is the supreme authority of the Olympics. It is a nongovernmental and nonprofit organization based in Lausanne, Switzerland. At the proposal of Coubertin, the IOC was formed in 1894 at the Olympic Congress. Initially the IOC consisted of thirteen members. Today it consists of more than 130 members. The IOC is a self-recruiting body. New members are elected



by the membership. Membership is limited to resident citizens of countries that have national Olympic committees (NOCs). Members are not representatives of their country or of their NOC but rather are ambassadors of the IOC in their country.

IOC

IOC members are elected, with the option of being reelected. The IOC meets at an annual session to elect a president and a vice president, nominate cities to host the games, and approve the budget. Formerly the president was elected for life. Today the president is elected in a secret vote for eight years and can be reelected for a term of four years. The Olympic Congress in 1894 decided that the president should be born in the nation that would host the next Olympic Games. Therefore, the Greek Dimitrios Vikelas became founding president and served as president from 1894 until 1896. His successor was Coubertin because the games of 1900 took place in Paris.

When William Milligan Sloane of the United States refused to become president for the third Olympics in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904, Coubertin remained in office and was reelected several times. In 1925 he resigned the presidency and became honorary president. He was followed by the Belgian Count Henri de Baillet-Latour, who remained in office until his death in 1942. Baillet-Latour was followed by his vice president, Sigfrid Edstrom of Sweden, who was elected president in 1946. Other presidents were Avery Brundage (United States) from 1952 to 1972, Lord Killanin (Ireland) from 1972 to 1980, and Juan Antonio Samaranch (Spain) from 1980 to 2001. Jacques Rogge of Belgium was elected to the post in 2001. The Executive Committee founded by Coubertin in 1921 acts as the cabinet of the IOC. It meets at least three times a year and executes business between sessions.

During the first years of the twentieth century national Olympic committees were founded in countries that participated in the games regularly. In order to send athletes to the Olympic Games the NOCs must be recognized by the IOC, and their statutes must be in ac-

cordance with the ideals of the Olympic Charter. The charter was set up by Coubertin in 1921. Today its official version is available in French and English.

During the 1920s members of the International Sport Federations affiliated and formed the Bureau Permanent to have more influence on the Olympic program and its amateur rules. In 1967 the General Assembly of International Federations (today called the "General Assembly of International Sport Federations"—GAISF) was founded. The Association of Summer Olympic International Federations (ASOIF) represents the sports associations that take part in the Olympics. The sports disciplines that are not in the Olympic program but that are recognized by the IOC have been affiliated in the IOC-recognized International Sports Federations.

Karl Lennartz and Stephan Wassong

See also Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936

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Olympics, Winter

At the IOC session in Budapest on 24 May 1911, the Italian IOC member Count Eugenio Brunetta d'Usseaux proposed to include a winter sports week in the program of the 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games featuring skiing in particular—but Colonel Victor Balck, the organizer of both the Nordic Games and the Stockholm Olympics, scheduled for 1912, did not want his Nordic Games being internationalized nor changed from 1913 to 1912. The latter was thus a clear step

Olympism is the marriage of sport and culture. ■ JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH

backward compared with the 1908 London Games, where figure skating for men, women, and pairs was included in the program. The competitions were held in the Prince's Skating Rink in Knightbridge. Ulrich Salchow from Sweden who won gold, would make a remarkable comeback in Antwerp in 1920, where he finished fourth at the age of forty-two. A clear distinction between Summer and Winter Games was only made from 1924 onwards.

Probably the simple fact that the ice rink of the Palais de Glace happened to be there was good enough reason for the organizers of the 1920 Antwerp Games to program figure skating and ice hockey. These events took place five months before the official opening of the Games, from 24 to 27 April. Swedish figure skater Ulrich Salchow, who had been amateur world champion eleven times, only finished fourth, but his young compatriot Gillis Grafström won the gold medal. Magda Julin, also from Sweden, won gold in the ladies competition. American figure skater Theresa Weld was the darling of the Antwerp public, but she had to be content with a third place due to a partial jury. The Canadian ice hockey team, entirely made up of players of the Winnipeg Falcons, won this Olympic premiere by beating the American team.

Early Winter Games

The IOC decided on 26–27 May 1921, in Lausanne, to take up once again the question of the winter sports. Sweden, Norway and Finland voted against Olympic winter sports. Nevertheless, the conference participants voted in favor of a resolution proposed by marquis de Polignac on behalf of the French, the Swiss, and the Canadian Olympic committees. As the 1924 Games were to be held in Paris, the French Olympic Committee received permission to choose the site of the so-called Winter Sports Week in France. Chamonix, which had already organized the French skiing championships in 1906 and 1908, was chosen.

The Winter Sports Week of the Eighth Olympiad was inaugurated at Chamonix in February 1924. Athletes from sixteen nations entered the first Winter Olympic

Games. The program consisted of ice hockey, bobsledding, figure skating, skiing, curling, and speed skating, but women could compete only in figure skating. The skating competitions took place outdoors and were thus seriously affected by the weather conditions. Canada and the United States were the finalists in the ice hockey competition. People watched from rooftops to see the Canadians win by 6–1. The Scandinavians dominated four out of the five events: figure skating, bobsled and Nordic combined. Norway won 4 gold, 7 silver, and 6 bronze medals. Finland ended second with 4 gold, 3 silver, and 3 bronze medals.

At the twenty-fourth IOC session in Prague on 27 May 1925, the Winter Games were officially included in the Olympic program. The 1928 Summer Games were given to Amsterdam and the Winter Games to St. Moritz, Switzerland.

Of the 495 competitors in St. Moritz only 27 (5.4 percent) were women. St. Moritz programmed the first Alpine skiing competitions. Norway excelled again by winning seven gold medals. One of them was won by the fifteen-year-old figure skater Sonja Henie, who would repeat this feat at the two following Olympics. Henie thus became the youngest winter Olympic champion of all times. The Canadian hockey team, composed of University of Toronto students, completely ruled the ice and won its final three games by scores of 11–0, 14–0, and 13–0.

The little-known village of Lake Placid in the Adirondack forest of New York managed to become the venue for the 1932 Winter Games. Lake Placid native Jack Shea, who had taken the Olympic oath, won the first gold medal in the 500-meter speed skating event. He also won the 1,500-meter (and went on to later become mayor of Lake Placid). American skater Irving Jaffee won both the 5,000- and 10,000-meter distance races. Edward Eagan, who had won the light heavyweight boxing title at the 1920 Antwerp Games, now won gold again as a member of the U.S. four-man bobsled team. Swedish figure skater Gillis Grafström, who had won gold in 1920, 1924, and 1928, was outclassed by Austrian Karl Schäfer. Four years earlier, Schäfer had



participated in the Amsterdam Summer Olympics as a breaststroke swimmer. Sonja Henie won her second gold medal at Lake Placid and became the darling of the public. At Lake Placid women's speed skating became for the first time an Olympic sport. The Canadian ice hockey team was victorious again.

When the 1936 Olympic Games were awarded to Germany, the German organizers were also eager to host the Winter Olympics. The neighboring resorts of Garmisch and Partenkirchen were chosen because they featured all the necessary infrastructure, including ski jump and bobsled facilities. Alpine skiing competitions were for the first time included in the Winter Olympic Games. Combined events, a downhill race and two slalom races, were scheduled for both men and women. Christl Cranz was the first to win the new event for Germany; her compatriot Käthe Grasegger finished second. One day later, German skier Franz Pfnür won the Alpine combined for men. Also new was the 4×10-kilometer Nordic relay, won by the Finnish team. The British hockey team that took to the ice consisted of thirteen players; all but one of them were Canadian trained. The Canadians had protested that two members of the British team had not obtained proper transfer papers from the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association. In the end the Canadians, winners of all former Olympic competitions, were eliminated after a 2–1 loss to Great Britain. The German Winter Games organizing committee was well aware that the organization of the Summer Games would be at risk if anything should go wrong. They did their utmost to create a friendly climate of Alpine “Gemütlichkeit” on the one hand, and a perfectly planned program on the other hand.

War and the Games

The city of Sapporo, Japan, was awarded the 1940 Winter Games. (Tokyo had already been given the 1940 Summer Games.) As the Fédération Internationale de Ski rejected the IOC's decision to exclude “professionals,” the IOC canceled the Alpine ski competition for the 1940 Sapporo Games. Japan, in the meantime, was at war with China, and the Japanese Olympic Committee

decided in early 1938 to cancel their hosting of the Summer and Winter Games. St. Moritz was awarded the 1940 Winter Games, having already demonstrated its organizational capacities in 1928. The Swiss, however, refused to reinstate ski jumping as a demonstration sport, as the IOC had decided. The IOC held a secret vote and took the Games away from St. Moritz and gave them—again—to Garmisch-Partenkirchen, but World War II began with the German invasion in Poland on 1 September 1939, and neither the 1940 nor the 1944 Winter and Summer Games took place.

The Cold War Games

St. Moritz, in neutral Switzerland, was the ideal site for the postwar 1948 Winter Games. Two rival American hockey teams appeared in St. Moritz: one from the Amateur Hockey Association (AHA) and one from the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU). The AHA team finally finished fourth but was later disqualified by the IOC. There were more troubles: the Canada versus Sweden hockey match ended in a fistfight, speed skating rules were heavily criticized, and a Swiss policeman was accidentally shot by a competitor in the pentathlon. Despite all of this, the St. Moritz Games added men's and women's downhill and slalom ski races. Gretchen Fraser from the United States took gold in the slalom and became the first non-European to win a skiing event. Skeleton sledding reappeared, having made its first appearance in 1928, and the ill-starred winter pentathlon was included as a demonstration sport.

The 1952 Winter Games were held in Oslo, Norway. Snow was so scarce in February 1952 that volunteers and soldiers had to move large quantities of it to the downhill courses. For the first time a torch relay was part of a Winter Olympics. The West Germans participated in the Oslo Winter Games because their national Olympic committee had been recognized by the IOC, whereas the status of the East German Olympic committee was not resolved yet. The Oslo Games added the giant slalom race for both men and women to the program and the 10-kilometer Nordic cross-country race for women. The Alpine combined for men and women

was, however, dropped. American figure skater Richard “Dick” Button not only repeated his 1948 victory, he also amazed the enthusiastic crowd with a never before seen triple jump and double axel. Canada finished first and the United States second in the hockey competition after playing to a 3–3 tie in the final game. The Norwegians had opted for bandy, a Scandinavian variant of ice hockey, as a demonstration sport.

The Olympic oath was for the first time taken by a female athlete, Italian skier Giuliana Chenal-Minuzzo, in the Cortina d’Ampezzo Winter games of 1956. The Italian national broadcasting company RAI produced the first live television coverage of the Winter Games. This was the Soviet Union’s first appearance at Winter Games. Soviet speed skaters entered the Olympic Winter scene *en grandeur*, winning the 500-, 1,500-, and 5,000-meter events. Soviet women won the 10-kilometer cross-country ski race and the 4 × 10-kilometer cross-country relay race. Moreover, the USSR hockey team captured Olympic gold, leaving the silver and bronze medals to the United States and Canada, respectively. The star athlete at Cortina was Austrian skier Toni Sailer, who was the first skier to win all three Alpine events: slalom, giant slalom, and downhill.

Among the new technologies introduced during the Squaw Valley Games of 1960 was artificial indoor and outdoor ice and electronic timing and scoring devices. In contrast with these technological changes, Piutte Indians performed ritual snow dances on the eve of the 1960 Games. The winter biathlon, which consisted of cross-country skiing and shooting, was on the program for the first time. Women’s speed skating was also contested for the first time.

Innsbruck, the capital of the Tyrol region of Austria took the preparations of the Ninth Winter Olympics very seriously. The French sisters Catherine and Marielle Goitschel finished first and second in the women’s slalom then traded positions in the giant slalom. Soviet speed skater Lydia Skoblikova became the first athlete to win four individual gold medals in a single Winter Olympics by sweeping the 500-, 1,000-, 1,500-, and 3,000-meter events.

Grenoble marked the beginning of the media era in the Winter Games. *Gigantism* was the term used by IOC president Avery Brundage to describe the capital involved, which according to the official report amounted to a total expenditure of just over 1 billion French francs (US\$240 million). The decentralization of the 1968 Games generated great criticism. Only the skating and ice hockey events were held in Grenoble itself. In the meantime the IOC had introduced doping control. Sex-testing measures, too, were first introduced to the Winter Games at Grenoble. Jean-Claude Killy duplicated the historical feat of Austria’s Toni Sailer by winning three gold medals in the Alpine events: the downhill race, the slalom, and giant slalom. Killy was an enfant terrible in Brundage’s eyes; Brundage saw in him the personification of commercialism in sport. U.S. figure skater Peggy Fleming became the uncontested Olympic Games ice princess of Grenoble.

The 1972 Winter Games went to Sapporo, Japan. Avery Brundage had demanded that ten prominent skiers be excluded because they had been compensated for their participation in a ski camp. All major European ski countries threatened to boycott the Winter Games if Brundage did not back away from his demand. He eventually did. In the absence of Austria’s Karl Schranz, the giant slalom was won by Gustav Thöni from Südtirol in Italy. Slalom gold went to Francisco Fernandez Ochoa from Spain, who won his country’s first ever Winter Olympic medal. Ard Schenk from the Netherlands won the 1,000-, 5,000- and 10,000-meter speed skating. Two U.S. women speed skaters won gold medals: Anne Elizabeth Henning in the 500-meter race and Dianne Mary Holum in the 1,500-meter race. The USSR again very convincingly won ice hockey; the U.S. team finished second.

Austria was awarded the 1976 Winter Olympics as a recompense for the exclusion of its national skiing hero Karl Schranz from the 1972 Sapporo Games. As in the 1952 Oslo Games, Innsbruck had to launch an “Operation Snowlift” in which soldiers had to move large quantities of snow to the ski runs.

Another concern that haunted the organizers of the Innsbruck Games was the threat of terrorism, especially



Olympics, Winter

Snowball Fights

Snow is a requirement of many winter sports. The following description is of snowball fights among the Saami (Lapps) of Finland in the nineteenth century.

Snowball fights (t shkki = hard snowball, muoht-spab'b = soft snowball) are popular and are practiced as often as the weather is suitable. Two children stand opposite each other, while the others watch. The starting distance is fixed at seven or eight fathoms, but as the fight warms up, the two fighters approach each other until it becomes almost a close combat (sm ogkodeäbme) in which there is no time to make balls and they can only throw snow by double handfuls on each other. The one who takes to his heels is the loser. They may also form two parallel rows, with the oldest participant settling the combination of the two parties in such a way that they are equally strong. Now begins a general contest: Whoever is hit by a ball is out. They proceed in this way until one side is empty. If only one or two children are left on each side, they will approach each other and finish with a hand-to-hand fight. Anyone who has behaved contrary to the rules is punished, e.g. by having his trousers filled with snow.

after the terrorist massacre of Israeli athletes at the Munich Games in 1972. The Olympic Village, housing 1,650 athletes and officials, looked very much like a fortress with a two-to-one security-to-athlete ratio. East Germany (GDR) won all five bobsled and luge events. The Soviet Union once again led the medal count, winning a total of twenty-seven medals, of which thirteen were gold. Soviet cross-country skier Galina Kulakowa, became the first woman to win five gold medals. Her bronze medal in the 5-kilometer individual race was taken away, however, after she tested positive for ephedrine use.

The small Adirondack ski resort of Lake Placid, New York, obtained the Games for the second time in 1980. Because very little housing was available in the village of Lake Placid itself, spectators had to find lodging in

far away hotels and motels. As a result the three two-lane roads that were the only access to the village became the scene of a transportation nightmare. Among the top athletic achievements in Lake Placid were the double slalom victories of Swedish Ingemar Stenmark for the men and Hanni Wenzel from Liechtenstein for the women. American speed skater Eric Heiden realized what no other athlete had done before, or since, in the Winter Games, capturing five gold medals, one in each speed skating event. Pairs skating was won by the Soviet couple Irina Rodnina and Alexander Saizew. The spectacular ice hockey victory of the young American team over the much more experienced Soviet team was generally acclaimed as a symbolic victory of the free world over a totalitarian regime. Although the Soviet athletes won more gold, the East Germans won an overall total of twenty-three medals against twenty-two for the USSR.

The IOC awarded the XIV Winter Olympics to the city of Sarajevo in Yugoslavia. The athletes/journalists ratio at these Olympics was stunning: An Olympic Village was built to house 2,200 athletes and delegates, whereas the village for the press had room for 8,500 journalists! The athletic highlight for the local population occurred when Slovenian skier Jure Franko won the first-ever Yugoslavian Winter Olympic medal, capturing silver in the men's giant slalom. "Billy D" Johnson, often called "crazy boy" by his U.S. teammates, won the gold medal in the downhill race. U.S. skiers Debbie Armstrong and Christin Cooper finished first and second respectively in the giant slalom. Scott Hamilton from the United States won the gold in the men's figure skating. Katarina Witt of East Germany made her Olympic debut and won the first of her eventual two gold medals in women's figure skating.

On the Paskapoo slopes west of the city of Calgary, Canada, a US\$72 million Olympic Park was constructed for the 1988 Winter Games. Sixty thousand spectators attended the opening ceremony in the McMahon Stadium. Over 8,000 performers staged a spectacular show of old and newly invented Alberta traditions. Competing in her fourth Olympics, Raissa Smetanina from the

A snowmaking machine. Snow is the key requirement of the Winter Olympics.

Source: istockphoto/dra_schwartz.

Soviet Union won her eighth and ninth cross-country medals. The star athlete in ski jumping was Matti Nykänen from Finland. However, British ski jumper Michael Edwards, better known as “Eddie the Eagle,” who finished last in both jumping events, got an abundant amount of public acclaim as a satirical antihero. Italian super skier Alberto “la

Bomba” Tomba excelled in both slalom events. Vreni Schneider from Switzerland was his female counterpart in the slalom and giant slalom. Brian Boitano from the United States and Katarina Witt from the GDR won the figure skating events for men and women, respectively. Dutch speed skater Yvonne van Gennip captured triple gold. The two-man and four-man bob races were won by the USSR. The Soviet hockey team won its last Olympic golden medal. Free style or “hot dog” skiing and short-track skating were programmed as demonstration sports. Curling, which had been on the men’s program in 1924 and 1932, made its reappearance—as a demonstration sport for men and women.

Olympics in the Post-Cold War World

Albertville was chosen during the ninety-first IOC session in Lausanne. The 1992 Winter Games were the first Olympics since the collapse of the Communist Bloc states. The former Soviet Union sent a Unified Team, consisting of athletes from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. Germany, East and West, now united, sent a joint team for the first time since the 1964 Innsbruck and Tokyo Games. The Albertville Games opened with a futuristic mass spectacle, with thirty-six countries represented. Newly introduced as Olympic events were short-track skating (4 events), freestyle skiing (2 events), and biathlon for women



(3 events). Free-style ski ballet and aerials, speed skiing, and curling figured as demonstration sports. The most successful athlete of the Games was female cross-country skier Ljubov Egorova of the Unified Team, with three gold and two silver medals. Her compatriot, forty year-old Raisa Smetania, competing in her fifth Winter Olympics, won gold in the 4 × 5-kilometer cross-country relay. Alberto Tomba successfully defended his gold medal in the giant slalom. So did Bonnie Blair from the United States in the 500-meter speed skating; she also won the 1,000-meter event. Toni Nieminen from Finland was only sixteen when he won gold in the long ski jump and bronze in the short jump. The Unified Team continued the old time Soviet tradition by winning the ice hockey competition. The reunified German team went home with the most medals won: 10 gold, 10 silver, and 6 bronze.

When the IOC decided to alternate the Winter and the Summer Games every two years, starting in 1994, the little Norwegian ski resort of Lillehammer took up the challenge by presenting a new bid to compensate for its loss of the 1992 Games. The Lillehammer Winter Olympics qualified as the first “green Olympics.” Schoolchildren were called on to help with the planting of “Olympic forests” and to transplant rare wildflowers from ski or bobsled construction sites. And up-to-date energy-saving techniques were used. Stein Gruber made a thrilling ski jump with the Olympic torch at the open-

ing ceremony. Johann Olav Koss—“Koss is the boss”—became Norway’s national sport hero by winning three speed skating gold medals in world record time in the 1,500-, 5,000-, and 10,000-meter events. Bonnie Blair, who had already captured gold medals in two previous Olympics, won gold again in the 500- and 1,000-meter speed skating races. Her U.S. teammate Dan Jansen finally realized his Olympic dream by winning the 1,000-meter speed skating race. With a gold medal in the slalom, Swiss skier Vrenie Schneider became the first woman to win three gold medals in that event. Although Russia ended in first position with a total of 23 medals (11 gold, 8 silver, and 4 bronze), the Norwegians did almost as well with a higher total of 26 medals (10 gold, 11 silver, and 5 bronze).

When the Japanese city of Nagano warrowly beat out Salt Lake City (by a vote of 46 to 42) as the host city of the 1998 Winter Olympics, environmentalists were very concerned that some of the Games-related construction would damage protected mountain forest areas. The official program of the Nagano Games increased to seven sport disciplines and sixty-eight events with the addition of curling for men and women, women’s ice hockey, and snowboarding. The two most successful athletes were two cross-country skiers: Larissa Lasutina from Russia (with 3 gold, 1 silver, and 1 bronze medal), and Norwegian Bjorn Daehlie (with 3 gold and 1 silver medal). Local ski jumper Kazuyoshi Funaki captured gold in the 90-meter ski jump and silver in the 70-meter ski jump; Austrian alpine skier Hermann Maier won gold in the giant slalom and in the super G after having survived a disastrous fall in the downhill race. The Czech ice hockey team, which counted the fewest NHL players in its ranks, won convincingly. The U.S. women won the first female ice hockey event; Canada and Finland were second and third, respectively.

Salt Lake City finally won the right to stage the 2002 Winter Olympics after thirty years of unsuccessful bids. The preparations were, however, tainted by a bribery scandal. The Salt Lake Organizing Committee (SLOC) had not only given scholarships to IOC relatives but also gifts, favors, and cash payments to IOC members.

Then, the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., happened just five months before the start of the Olympics. Security measures were therefore greater than at any previous games. The United States was at the Salt Lake City Games the second most successful winter sports nation with thirty-four medals, only one less than Germany. New IOC president Jacques Rogge solved the figure skating judging controversy by declaring the Canadian pair of Jamie Sale and David Pelletier co-winners of the Olympic gold with Elena Berezhnaya and Anton Sikharulidze from Russia. Thanks to extensive testing before the Games, there was little doping news during the Games. On the last day of the Games, however, three Nordic ski medalists, one from Spain and two from Russia, were disqualified for using darbepoetin. Women’s figure skating gold was won by American Sarah Hughes. Canadian men and women’s teams triumphed in hockey. Janica Kostelic from Croatia won four medals (three golds), the most by an Alpine skier in a single Olympics. Norway’s Ole Einar Bjoern-dalen won four gold medals in biathlon and Finland’s Samppa Lajunen three gold medals in Nordic combined. The young Swiss ski jumper Simon Ammann won both events. Third-generation U.S. Winter Olympian Jim Shea and his compatriot Tristan Gale won gold in the skeleton. The 2002 Winter Games were a popular and financial success and were followed in March by the first Winter Paralympics under Olympic patronage.

Roland Renson

See also Lake Placid; St. Mortiz

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Orienteering

Orienteering, which enthusiasts refer to as “the thinking sport,” was developed in 1895 in Scandinavia. People of all ages and fitness levels can practice it alone or as a competitive sport; it requires minimal equipment; and it is environmentally benign (although some people disagree). An orienteer uses a topographical map and a specially designed compass to follow a cross-country course and walk or run through woods and fields, navigating streams and conquering or avoiding hills and other rough terrain.

Orienteering, first popularized during the early twentieth century, has an estimated 800,000 enthusiasts in about fifty countries. Events are held for individuals and for teams, and orienteers compete in both national and international championships. Variations of the sport include ski orienteering, developed in Norway during the late nineteenth century, and bicycle orienteering, which has more recently become especially popular in Germany and France. Orienteering enthusiasts often refer to their sport simply as “O,” whereas they refer to its variations as “ski-O,” “bike-O,” and so forth.

Origins

Orienteering, developed in what was then the kingdom of Norway and Sweden as a military exercise, was designed to train officers to find their way swiftly over a course through unfamiliar terrain. The exercise also had an athletic component: Winners were determined by a formula that included elapsed time, pulse rate at the finish line, and participants’ ability to deliver a verbal report immediately after completing the course.

As a military exercise orienteering has proved its worth numerous times. Its popularity in Scandinavia during the 1930s is credited with helping the Finns resist the Soviet invasion in 1939 and enabling Norwegian resistance fighters to escape to Sweden after the German invasion of 1940.

Scholars believe that the first nonmilitary orienteering event took place near Bergen, Norway, in 1896. Sigge

Stenberg, a Swedish engineer who wrote about orienteering after visiting Kristiania (now Oslo, Norway) in about 1900, introduced the sport to Sweden. Several Swedish athletic clubs, inspired by Stenberg’s reports, began to hold small orienteering events. The first Swedish national orienteering event was held in 1902 near Stockholm, but because of bad weather only five people competed.

The Swedish scouting movement soon adopted orienteering as part of its outdoor training program. Historians of orienteering consider Ernst Killander (1882–1958), a Swedish scoutmaster and president of the Stockholm Sports Federation from 1917 to 1934, to be the father of orienteering. He organized the first major orienteering event at Saltsjoboden, Sweden, in 1919. The 12-kilometer event had 155 participants; O. B. Hansson had the fastest time: 1 hour, 25 minutes, and 39 seconds.

Development

Norway and Sweden competed in the first international orienteering competition in 1932. During the 1930s the sport spread elsewhere in Europe. Competitions were held in Hungary and the Soviet Union (1933), Switzerland (1938), Czechoslovakia (1950), Yugoslavia (1953), and Bulgaria (1955). The first European championships were held in Loten, Norway, in 1962, and the second in Le Brassus, Switzerland, in 1964.

Bjorn Kjellstrom (1910–1995), a former Swedish orienteering champion and lifelong promoter of the sport, coined the word *orienteering* in 1946. Kjellstrom later helped popularize orienteering in the United States. The International Orienteering Federation (IOF) was formed in 1961 by Norway, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, and East Germany. Orienteering federations were formed in Britain in 1966, in Canada and Israel in 1967, in Japan in 1969, in Australia and France in 1970, and in the United States in 1971.

Equipment

The design of modern orienteering maps owes much to the IOF Map Committee and Harald Wilbye, a

*To venture causes anxiety, but
not to venture is to lose one's
self.* ■ SOREN KIERKEGAARD

Norwegian computer consultant. The IOF during the late 1960s introduced a standardized approach to the design and layout of orienteering maps that could be used internationally. Wilbye created the first multicolor orienteering maps based on aerial photographs and complete with IOF symbols; they set the standard for future orienteering maps.

Maps use five colors and a 15,000 to 1 or 10,000 to 1 scale in detailed terrain. For educational and introductory purposes even bigger scales are used. The equidistance (i.e., the vertical distance) between contour lines is normally between 2.5 and 5 meters. Map symbols are standardized, allowing competitors from different countries to compete equally.

Kjellstrom and Gunnar Tillander developed the principle of the modern orienteering compass during the early 1930s: A liquid-filled magnetic compass revolves on a transparent base. The base also serves as a protractor and contains various markings to help orienteers read maps and determine location, direction, and distance.

Event Types

The lengths of orienteering courses range from 1 to 15 kilometers, and variations in terrain determine the degree of difficulty. At competitive events officials set the course in advance, having first marked checkpoints (places that each competitor must reach) with orange-and-white flags. Each competitor is given a map on which the control points have also been marked. Competitors begin the course at intervals of from two to five minutes. Using compass and map, they find their way sequentially from one checkpoint to the next as fast as they can. To prove that they reached each checkpoint, competitors use a special punch provided at each checkpoint to punch a hole in a control card that they carry with them. An electronic recording system more recently has replaced punches, allowing instantaneous registration of all intermediate times for all legs of the course.

Point-to-point orienteering, the classic form of the sport, is used in regular competitions. A person called

the “course setter” selects control points in the field, and participants find their own routes from one control point to the next, trying to find each control point in the predetermined sequence in the shortest time. Point-to-point orienteering has numerous variations, including Score-O, in which competitors locate control points in any order, trying to find as many as possible within a time limit; ROGAINE (rugged outdoor group activity involving navigation and endurance), in which teams compete over a much larger area during a period of six to twenty-four hours using the Score-O format; and Relay-O, in which teams of three or four compete, with each team member using a different course.

In some orienteering events, mainly for beginners and children, the course setter presets the routes that competitors follow. This preset-course version is more relaxed than point-to-point orienteering and is a good introduction for novices. A variation of the preset-course version is line orienteering, in which the course setter establishes five to twelve control points along the route and marks them on a master map. A route between the control points is then plotted. Competitors’ maps are marked with the route, but the control points are not indicated. Each competitor must navigate the route, marking the map with the location of each control point as it is found. In such events time is not the main factor; the objects are to locate and plot as many control points as possible. Other variations of preset-course orienteering exist, such as route orienteering, in which colored streamers mark the route.

Persons with physical disabilities may compete in handicapped-O; they may receive help in moving along the course but must do their own plotting to find the control points.

Specific Demands

Map reading is, of course, the fundamental skill required in orienteering, but participants must also be able to compare features on a topographical map with actual features of the terrain. Participants use the compass to turn the map toward the north and sometimes to take a bearing in a certain direction.

Whereas beginners normally use most of their time interpreting the map and making decisions, accomplished orienteers expend a great deal of physical effort. Their main challenge is to avoid making mistakes in reading the map and using the compass while moving quickly over uneven terrain.

Organization

The IOF (www.orienteering.org) has sixty member nations. The IOF hopes to develop orienteering worldwide by setting international standards for mapping and course planning, establishing competition rules, and organizing international events. In 1966 the first World Orienteering Championships (WOC) were held in Finland. Since 1979 the championships have been held in odd-numbered years. An official World Cup and ski WOC are held in even-numbered years. Orienteering organizations continue to lobby to have the sport included in the Olympic Games.

The IOF publishes an annual magazine *Orienteering World*, and since 1985 the Scientific Group of the IOF has published *Scientific Journal of Orienteering*, the first international sport-specific scientific journal, and international symposiums are conducted regularly.

The Future

Orienteering attracts people who enjoy using their minds while engaging in vigorous outdoor activity. For aesthetic as well as competitive reasons, they also want to protect the natural environment. In some countries conflicts between hunters, environmentalists, and orienteers arose during the 1980s, although studies have shown that orienteering events harm neither animals nor plants if certain precautions are taken.

Hundreds of orienteering events, most of them for all age groups, both genders, and different levels of competitiveness, are organized around the world these days. Multiday events are becoming popular. One of the biggest is the annual Swedish *five-dagars* (five-day) event, which attracts as many as twenty-five thousand orienteers of all ages.

Roland Seiler

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Osteoporosis

Osteoporosis is basically a pathological depletion in the calcium content of a person's bones, with little change in other components of the tissue. Osteoporosis may be either primary or secondary in type. Primary osteoporosis reflects the effects of age and changes in secretion of the sex hormones, whereas secondary osteoporosis is caused mainly by some other disease or condition (such as thyrotoxicosis, chronic liver disease, rheumatoid arthritis, diabetes mellitus, alcoholism, or an excessive secretion of hormones from the adrenal cortex). Primary osteoporosis is important in sports medicine because development of the condition leaves the affected individual vulnerable to fractures and because the likelihood of the problem can be greatly reduced by physical activity that maximizes calcium stores as a young adult and reduces calcium losses in later life.

Manifestations of Osteoporosis

Manifestations of primary osteoporosis may be either generalized or localized to a few bones. The disorder is most commonly observed in the spongy, trabecular type of bone (where the turnover of minerals occurs six times more rapidly than in compact cortical bone). The loss of calcium weakens the bone structure. The affected tissue becomes porous and brittle, predisposing it to what are termed pathological fractures—injuries sustained as a result of minor falls or vigorous muscle contractions, or sometimes with no obvious external cause at all.

Courage is resistance to fear, mastery of fear not absence of fear. ■ MARK TWAIN

The commonest sites of injury are the spine, the hips, the neck of the femur, and the wrist. The U.S. National Osteoporosis Foundation estimated that in 2002 the following injuries were attributable to osteoporosis: 700,000 vertebral fractures, 300,000 hip fractures, 250,000 wrist fractures, and 300,000 other fractures. Osteoporotic fractures of the hips are particularly dangerous. Many elderly people who sustain such injuries do not walk again. About half of them require care for the remainder of their lives, and 20 percent die of complications in the year after the fracture. Osteoporotic deterioration of the vertebrae is also common in those over the age of seventy; it leads to compression and curvature (kyphosis) of the spine, often with a substantial (5–8 cm) decrease in standing height.

The Influence of Age and Sex on Bone Calcium Content

Osteoporosis is often not diagnosed until the eighth decade of life, but exercise behavior as early as adolescence can influence the likelihood that this problem will develop. In most people, the calcium content of the bones reaches its peak at twenty-five to thirty years of age, and thereafter it shows a slow but progressive decline. Eventually, in old age, the extent of mineral loss is sufficient to allow pathological fractures.

The pattern of calcium loss is different in men and women. In men, there is little loss of bone mineral before the age of forty years. A loss of 0.5 percent per year develops between the ages of forty and sixty, and depending on subsequent deterioration in gonadal function, losses can amount to as much as 4 percent per year after the age of sixty. In women, there is a loss of 1 to 2 percent of bone calcium per year beginning around the age of thirty-five, but this accelerates in the five years following menopause, when there is a cumulative loss of about 20 percent.

The peak bone calcium is generally lower in women than in men, probably because women secrete only very small quantities of testosterone and related hormones. Moreover, on average women live longer than men, so that there is more time for them to develop osteoporosis before they die.

Factors Predisposing to Osteoporosis

Among the factors that predispose people to osteoporosis, several are potentially modifiable. These include a lack of adequate physical activity, dietary restrictions, the deliberate suppression of hormone secretions, and lifestyle choices such as smoking and excessive alcohol consumption.

INADEQUATE PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

Perhaps the commonest adverse influence upon bone density is a lack of adequate habitual physical activity. The deposition of calcium in the bones is facilitated by the application of mechanical forces to the bone structure—either gravitational forces or vigorous muscle contraction. Thus, bone density is generally greater in athletes than in sedentary people. The benefit is most noticeable in those body parts that are used in performance of the sport; for instance, bone density is enhanced in the serving arm of a tennis player. However, forms of physical activity that minimize gravitational forces (for example, recreational swimming or pool exercises) provide little stimulus to bone mineralization. The impact of a lack of gravitational stimulation is particularly marked during long space voyages; the preservation of bone mineral content in a zero-gravity environment is a major challenge for interplanetary astronauts, and as yet agreement is lacking on the ideal type of exercise to take inside a space capsule. Immobilization by a plaster cast following a fracture is another common cause of local osteoporosis, and it is important to prescribe local exercises to restore bone mineral content after such an injury has healed.

INADEQUATE DIET

For various reasons (including a low level of habitual activity), old people who are living alone may have a diet that provides inadequate amounts of energy, protein, vitamins, and minerals, predisposing them to osteoporosis.

Several categories of young female athletes such as gymnasts and figure skaters are also liable to develop an inadequate diet. One reason why they do not eat enough food is that their events are judged in part on their

appearance; in order to keep a slim figure, these young athletes restrict their overall intake of food energy and thus of protein, calcium, and vitamins. Production of the sex hormones declines, menstruation may cease, and there is a parallel reduction in bone calcium content. Even if the decrease in bone calcium is insufficient to cause fractures immediately, osteologists argue that the reserves of bone calcium are diminished by deliberate dietary restriction during adolescence, increasing the risk that affected individuals will become osteoporotic during old age.

THERAPEUTIC SUPPRESSION OF TESTOSTERONE SECRETION

Men who have developed a prostatic cancer are increasingly undergoing a form of treatment in which irradiation of the tumor is combined with the injection of substances such as leuprolide, which counter the action of luteinizing hormones. Leuprolide administration reduces the circulating concentrations of testosterone. This decreases the likelihood that a prostatic tumor will recur, but it has the unfortunate side-effect that vulnerability to osteoporosis is increased, much as it is in women at menopause.

ADVERSE LIFESTYLE CHOICES

Cigarette smoking and an excessive consumption of alcohol both increase the risk of osteoporosis. However, it is difficult to be certain of the magnitude of the effect of these adverse lifestyle choices, because smoking and an excessive consumption of alcohol are commonly associated with sedentary behavior.

Diagnosis of Osteoporosis

Local loss of bone mineral following immobilization can often be detected semi-quantitatively by comparing standard radiographs of healthy and fractured limbs. A more formal diagnosis of local or generalized osteoporosis is usually based on bone scans.

Dual-energy x-ray absorptiometry (DXA) measures the bone mineral density (BMD) in such regions as the lumbar spine or the proximal femur; calcium content is

reported per unit of cross-sectional area (g/cm^2). Measurements can be made quite rapidly, and the x-ray exposure is less than a tenth of that received during a standard chest x-ray. The alternative technique of computed tomography measures bone density per unit of bone volume (g/cm^3). Some research laboratories are also beginning to develop methods of detecting an excessive rate of bone turnover.

The World Health Organization regards a bone as osteoporotic if the BMD is more than 2.5 standard deviations (SD) below the average value found in a young adult. Osteopenia (a low bone mass, and an important risk factor for osteoporosis) is diagnosed if the BMD is 1.0 to 2.5 SD below the expectation in young adults.

Population Magnitude of the Osteoporosis Problem

The risk of a hip fracture increases threefold with each 1 SD decrease in bone density at the hip. Various archeological reports note evidence of osteoporosis in antiquity. However, perhaps because the energy requirements of daily living have decreased in recent years, the prevalence of this disorder has increased over the past fifty years.

Some investigators suggest that currently 10 percent of women eventually succumb to osteoporosis. In the United States alone, there are now over 40 million cases of osteopenia, and about 10 million diagnosed cases of osteoporosis (80 percent of these are in women). The incidence of pathological fractures is 1.2 million per year; indeed, the risk of an osteoporotic fracture of the hip in elderly women equals the combined risks of breast, uterine, and ovarian cancer. Moreover, if the rate of increase in the prevalence of osteoporosis continues unchecked, 61 million U.S. citizens over the age of fifty will have osteopenia or osteoporosis by the year 2020.

Prevention and Treatment of Osteoporosis

The prevention and treatment of osteoporosis are based mainly on an adequate intake of food, calcium, and vitamin D, along with adequate daily physical activity.



Possible pharmaceutical treatments include hormone replacement therapy (estrogen-progestin), estrogen receptor modulators such as Raloxifene (in postmenopausal women), administration of phosphonates (Alendronate or Risedronate), and (again, only in postmenopausal women) dosage with calcitonin.

DIETARY REQUIREMENTS

To keep bones healthy, the overall intake of food must be sufficient to maintain body weight. The diet should include an adequate quantity of good quality protein (0.7–1.0 g/kg of body mass per day in the general population, but as much as 1.5–2.0 g/kg in some categories of athlete). Calcium supplements are commonly needed, particularly in older individuals, since a daily intake of around 1,500 milligrams is required, and, particularly in soft-water areas, the normal nonathletic diet may provide only 500 to 750 milligrams of calcium. A poor intestinal uptake of calcium in the elderly increases blood levels of parathyroid hormone, which in turn increases bone turnover.

An adequate intake of Vitamin D is important for the incorporation of calcium into bone. The body synthesis of vitamin D varies with exposure to sunlight and decreases with age. Since 2002, the recommended intake of Vitamin D has been increased from 400 to 1000 International Units.

PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

Regular daily physical activity plays an important role in ensuring an adequate intake of both calcium and vitamins. Dietary deficiencies that predispose to osteoporosis are most likely in elderly people who take very little physical activity. Laboratory studies, cross-sectional comparisons of sedentary individuals and athletes, and longitudinal training trials also show that physical activity has a direct influence on the retention of calcium by bone.

The mechanical forces associated with vigorous exercise stimulate piezo-electrical activity in the bone cells. The magnitude of the piezo-electric effect seems to depend more upon the intensity of loading than on the

number of cycles of bone loading that are undertaken. A bending or vibration of the bone induces a difference of electric charge across the cells, favoring the deposition of calcium ions on the side of the cell which has become negatively charged. Piezo-electric effects also stimulate the bone cells to produce adenosine 3-5 cyclic monophosphate (cAMP) and prostaglandin E₂, and this in turn facilitates bone formation. Finally, benefits may also arise because of exercise-induced increases in blood flow to the bone.

Optimal training programs for maximizing bone density have yet to be defined. Part of the problem in determining the merits of various types of sport and leisure activity is that a positive response probably requires an overloading of the bone. The optimal stimulus thus depends on the initial fitness and bone density of the individual. Further, calcium retention cannot occur if the intake of calcium and vitamin D is inadequate.

The increase of bone density is specific to the bones that are placed under stress. Benefit is obtained from exercises that yield skeleton-loading ground reaction forces through high-intensity impact, and also from nonimpact resistance exercises that stress the skeleton through vigorous eccentric muscle contractions. Positive effects are large in sports such as weightlifting and weight-throwing, and benefit is also seen from the repetitive weight-bearing of distance running and Nordic skiing, but the bone density of swimmers differs little from that of sedentary controls. Bone density is positively correlated with peak muscle torque and thus the forces exerted on specific bones, but bears little relationship to the individual's cardiorespiratory fitness. Even if the forces applied to the bone are increased progressively as a conditioning program continues, returns diminish as the exerciser approaches his or her ceiling of bone density.

The current consensus for the prevention and treatment of osteoporosis thus calls for a long-term, progressive regimen, using either high-impact aerobic exercise or resistance exercise. Relatively intense muscle contractions are needed, with only a small number of repetitions per session. A meta-analysis of some sixty-two studies conducted over a thirty-year period found

that on average exercise programs of six to twenty-four months duration prevented or reversed bone loss by 1 percent per year relative to controls. Additional benefits from programs of longer duration are less clearly established.

A small number of studies have suggested that individuals who have already developed osteoporosis can still benefit from a program of progressive resistance exercise. Indeed, because of a low initial bone density, the response is likely to be greater than in those who begin an exercise program with good bone health. The type of activity that is prescribed must be selected carefully in order to avoid fractures from falls and violent body movements. On the other hand, a reduced risk of falling is a second important consequence of muscle-strengthening exercise in the frail elderly.

PHARMACEUTICAL TREATMENTS

It is still not altogether clear how the sex hormones influence bone mineralization. However, estrogen receptors have been detected on bone-forming osteoblasts, and administration of estrogens increases the number of vitamin D receptors on the osteoblasts. Estrogens are also thought to stimulate the production of calcitonin (which inhibits the resorptive process) and bone growth factors (insulin-like growth factors 1 and 2), while inhibiting the production of interleukins 1 and 6 (which seem to promote osteopenia).

Until recently, many authorities have recommended prolonged hormone-replacement therapy (HRT)—typically, combinations of estrogen and progestin—to prevent osteoporosis in postmenopausal women. Such treatment may be warranted during the phase of very rapid calcium loss, but there is growing recognition that any advantages of prolonged HRT are more than offset by increased risks of cardiovascular disease, strokes, and breast cancer. Raloxifene (Evista) is an estrogen-receptor modulator for use after menopause, which is currently being evaluated for the prevention and treatment of osteoporosis. It slows bone loss and slightly increases normal bone growth, but it may have some of the drawbacks of hormone replacement therapy.

Alendronate (Fosomax) is a drug that decreases bone turnover by causing a selective death of osteoclasts, the cells that remodel bone. Controlled trials have now shown that if Alendronate is administered once weekly, this somewhat drastic form of treatment can cause a clinically valuable decrease in bone calcium loss. Risedronate (actonel) is a biphosphonate drug somewhat similar in its action to Alendronate. Calcitonin has theoretical potential in the treatment of osteoporosis, but currently it has only been approved for the treatment of established osteoporosis in postmenopausal women.

Implications for Prevention and Treatment

Most adults show a weakening of bone structure from the combined effects of aging and the associated decrease in habitual physical activity. The loss of calcium predisposes older people to pathological bone fractures, which can often shorten their lives. More research is needed to determine the optimum pattern of physical activity recommended to prevent the factors that predispose people to osteoporosis. However, the current consensus calls for repeated bouts of vigorous activity at high peak loads, coupled with an adequate intake of protein, calcium, and vitamin D.

Roy J. Shephard

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The mastery of the true self, and the refusal to permit others to dominate us is the ultimate in living, and self-expression in athletics. ■ PERCY CERUTTY

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Ownership

Ownership is a vital aspect of the development and growth of sports from the latter part of the nineteenth century to the present day. In sports, the organizational model that predominates is based on the historical power exerted through ownership. Privately owned clubs or franchises dominate the sporting landscape, despite some notable and successful publicly owned teams.

Organizational Background

Recent research highlights the importance of the business and economic history of sports. The role of entrepreneurs is vital in considering developments in sports and recreation relative to the broader concept of ownership. Sporting goods manufacturers were the first notable group of owners to make their presence felt, and the best example of this was A. G. Spalding and his role in the development of baseball's National League during the 1870s. Spalding was the owner of Chicago's National League team who played a significant role in moves toward establishing a salary cap. This in turn led to the formation of a players' union (Brotherhood of Professional Baseball Players) in 1885. Spalding also sought to export baseball overseas to Europe, Australia, and North Africa. Clearly Spalding's motives were at least in part driven by the opportunity to develop new markets for his sporting goods. Certain forms have traditionally dominated the structures of sports organizations, and this has been affected by the developing influences of the commodification and commercialization of sports throughout the twentieth century. Indeed, sports as an enterprise has been directly affected by shifts in the standard model of ownership.

An organization can be viewed as a system that draws on a network of contributing participants for adding value through the acquisition, allocation, and commitment of resources. Sports can be viewed as a model of mutually beneficial exchanges where participants receive a tangible, material benefit in return for resources. This process will have slightly different outcomes depending whether fans, players, or communities provide the context and how stakeholder objectives are managed. In many cases, the key stakeholders are the shareholders of the venture or organization. Just as vital to the operation of the team or franchise, however, are the individuals that make up the workforce. This group remains crucial to the operation of the business. Without an effective and productive workforce, a venture can quickly become very undesirable for both owners and shareholders. The stakeholders in sports include the fans who support the team, the cities and nations that the team represents, and



Ownership

Owners and Unions in 1889

At one point the players took the matter of ownership into their own hands. The short-lived Players League is described in the following account from the Chicago Tribune, titled: Magnates declare war. They will fight the Brotherhood to the bitter end. League directors authorize the expenditure of unlimited blood and treasure in defeating the "Conspirators."

New York, Nov. 15-[Special.]-The National League finished up its business today and adjourned. . . .

The league men met about 11 o'clock and devoted three hours to the consideration of the desertion of their players and the Players' League. Director John I. Rogers stated that it was a notorious fact that a number of players reserved by league clubs have declared their intention to violate said reserve, notwithstanding notices of their respective clubs of said reserve and of the latter's option to renew the usual form of contract with such players for the season of 1890. Also that the opinions of eminent counsel had

been received affirming the legal and equitable rights of said clubs under said contracts to the services of their reserved players for the season of 1890, and that therefore he moved the following resolution:

"Resolved. That this league hereby declares that it will aid each of the club members in the enforcement of the contract rights of said clubs to the services of its reserved players for the season of 1890 and that a committee of three be appointed by the league with full power to act and so formulate and carry out the best methods of enforcements of said contract rights of said clubs, and that said committee be authorized to draw from the guarantee fund of the league such amount as may be necessary to carry out the intent and purpose of this resolution."

The resolution was adopted and Messrs. John I. Rogers, Charles H. Byrne and John B. Day were appointed as the law committee.

Source: *Chicago Tribune*, p. 3. (1889, November 16).

those who exert power through their financial ownership. Suppliers, employees, agents, and consumers also play roles within this wider dynamic. Stakeholders broadly represent any group that has an actual or potential interest or impact on a sports organization's ability to achieve its objectives. Furthermore, a number of different groups claim an interest or stake in the sporting venture, which creates multiple publics.

Applying traditional business models to the sporting environment has brought about a change in focus and thinking. Notably, pressure groups that include citizen-action publics and local publics (including councils and civic authorities as well as government more generally) also directly affect the practicalities of ownership. Indeed, the business aspects of sports have become increasingly important in recent years. It is useful to gauge the reactions of these diverse groups when foreign owners become involved in local companies and sports teams, as the proposed take-over of

the Manchester United Football Clubby by American billionaire Malcolm Glazer (owner of the Tampa Bay Buccaneers in the National Football League [NFL]) in 2004 illustrates. A fringe group of the Manchester club's supporters, who also happen to be shareholders in the publicly limited company, attempted to disrupt the deal with protests at games, appeals to the club's fans not to purchase club merchandise, and attempts to gather support from other nonaligned shareholders. This illustrates how situations in the United States and the United Kingdom (U.K.) and differ yet might interact.

The intrinsic value of involvement in sports has continued to fuel its development, yet the perceived investment value of sports has also been important to this process. For most shareholders and owners, maximizing profits continues to be a strong motivation for involvement, particularly because sports are increasingly being organized as industries. There has been increasing con-



vergence between sports organizations. The importance of the process of exerting control over the product is vital to understanding the finer points of ownership and an owner's initial reasons for involvement.

Ownership becomes a privileged position with access to assets such as goodwill and the brand name. This can provide economies of common governance and tends to affect the broader situation for sports leagues. The disorderly accumulation of economies enables owners to offer innovatory or complementary services that reinforce their competitive positions. The emergence of team credit cards and other financial services during the past decade illustrates this process of diversified revenue streams. In many ways, a sport becomes a commodity when its owners and producers transfer it, via exchange, to a separate group of consumers. This takes place every day with the televising of sports events from around the world. The best illustration of this in the United States is the long, invariably capital-driven history of franchise relocation. Indeed, the role of owners in organizing, regulating, and controlling the spread of their club and the sport itself is central. Furthermore, it is important to understand that the sports product does not exist in isolation. Invariably, the prevailing cultural climate, as well as historical developments, dictates both taste and ascribed values, which in turn affects the popularity of the sports event. Without the sport developing a growing and consistent popularity, profits do not develop.

Models of Ownership

The traditional sports owner was primarily philanthropic or paternalist in outlook. Maximizing profits was an important but not always a primary concern of sports teams' owners during the nineteenth century. For many owners, establishing a coherent and stable market in which to operate was as important as profit. There is a clear difference between being involved for the perceived psychic income or utility and being involved solely for profits. Profit utilization means that although many owners will seek maximum profits, this is not likely feasible for every team or franchise in every situation.

Changes in the economic situation throughout the twentieth century dictated that businesspeople and rich individuals became increasingly vital to the ownership and stewardship of sports. It is difficult to quantify the importance for sports clubs and organizations of being able to draw on the expertise of this newer style of owner, particularly throughout the transformation into more capitalist operational structures within sports. In the United States, capitalist structures were central to the organization and development of sports from the early 1870s on. Notably, this did not exist in most other countries that were developing recognizably modern sporting forms. Differences become obvious when examples are drawn from various countries because individual national structures depend on the particular social, political, and economic climate within each territory. These differences are themselves subject to varied rates of change. Attempts at drawing conclusions that can apply to every sport and its specific context complicate the situation even more. Those clubs and organizations operating on a more obviously business-based model have benefited from the opportunities afforded by the growing market for sports, particularly since the end of World War II.

Traditional owners could be described as paternalist, philanthropist, or hobbyist. These individuals tended to act as the guardian of the team and the club, often at their own personal expense. This model of ownership was widespread in the latter part of the nineteenth century but has gradually declined throughout the twentieth.

- The paternalist owners are not averse to flamboyant promotional activities. For example, Charles Comiskey's antics and marketing efforts in seeking maximum attendance for his baseball franchise, the Chicago White Sox, provides an illustrative example. Comiskey was particularly notable in that he pioneered many of the innovations that we now take for granted. These include fireworks displays, musical interaction between fans and the stadium announcer, as well as meet-the-players sessions.

Sweat plus sacrifice equals success. ■ CHARLIE FINLEY

- Philanthropic owners often get involved in sports in the same way that someone donates to charity.
- Hobbyist owners act more like star-struck fans than like business managers.

Sometimes, the motives of these individuals directly conflict with those of the key people within a club or franchise, including the players and the fans. All three types of owners often provide significant financial support for their clubs, yet are less interested with profits than with other benefits.

A subgroup of this more traditional ownership model includes owners who can be viewed as being performers. These individuals are primarily concerned with promotional and marketing gimmicks and tried anything to make sure the fans turned out for the games.

The dominant model of ownership includes high-profile individuals who are driven to succeed by relying on their business backgrounds. These people are often successful tycoons and bring a capitalist emphasis to their operations. The Busch family and its stewardship of the St. Louis Cardinals baseball franchise is a good example. Since the end of World War II, this type of owner has become increasingly ubiquitous. In the United States, the traditional sports team or franchise owner has been Caucasian and male, but during the last twenty years, this has begun to change:

- Notable female owners of sports franchises have been Marge Schott, majority owner of the Cincinnati Reds baseball team from 1984 to 1999; Georgia Frontiere, owner of the St. Louis Rams NFL team; and Denise DeBartolo York, owner with her husband of the San Francisco 49ers NFL team.
- In 2002, billionaire Robert L. Johnson became the first African-American majority owner in a major U.S. sport, when the National Basketball Association (NBA) granted him an expansion franchise for the Charlotte (North Carolina) Bobcats. Some observers have likened this shift to Jackie Robinson breaking the color bar in baseball fifty years ago.

Other minorities (and even foreign nationals) are increasingly involved in owning shares of professional sports teams, which indicates how sports ownership is likely to develop in the future. The take-over of the Chelsea Football Club by the Russian billionaire Roman Abramovich in 2003 provides a key contemporary example of this capitalist dynamic. In this case, Abramovich bought the club and its debts then spent more than 100 million pounds on new players. This injection of cash transformed a sluggish and uncertain transfer market, especially given the paucity of revenue streams within European football at that time.

Capitalist structures are the currently prevailing organizational structure within western sports, and although there are notable exceptions, the trend is clear. Another trend is that during the last twenty years, the number of these owners has declined as an increasing number of sports teams now have corporate owners. The Walt Disney Company's ownership of the NHL team the Mighty Ducks is an interesting example, because the team was actually named after the title of one of the company's films. This capitalist emphasis forces other sports clubs, franchises, and even the leagues themselves to re-think strategies and organizational structures as they attempt to control the financial and operational aspects of their sport.

The exceptions, however, are notable and important:

- The successful NFL franchise, the Green Bay Packers, is owned by the community of Green Bay, Wisconsin, rather than by an individual or corporation.
- In the United Kingdom, lower-league soccer teams in Northampton, York, Exeter, and Lincoln are among a number of examples of supporters' trusts, therefore fans effectively operate as stakeholders. This government funded scheme aims to increase supporter influence within their local team. While this directly affects notions of ownership, it is noteworthy that such concessions will not be applied at the top end of sport, as the finances at the elite level are far more secure and stable.



Ownership

Landing a Franchise

Obtaining a team was what made someone an owner. To do so required the approval of the existing team owners. This account from the Chicago Tribune of February 10, 1886 indicates some of the issues considered and which influenced the decision.

It is quite safe to say that there were few happier men in Chicago yesterday than were those composing the delegation from Kansas City in attendance upon the league committee meeting held at the Tremont House yesterday, and at which the metropolis of Western Missouri was chosen as the eighth member of the league circuit for 1886. The committee, composed of Messrs. Spalding of the Chicago Club, Lucas of the St. Louis Club, and Marsh of Detroit, met in Parlor A yesterday morning, the session being a private one, with President Spalding in the chair. The Milwaukee delegation, composed of Messrs. Forth, Harry Quinn, and G.M. Kipp, were first admitted and their claims for representation listened to and discussed for an hour or more. The advantageous location of the Cream City, the rivalry that had existed between its club and the Chicagos in days gone by, the alleged willingness of the people to support a National

League team there, and their readiness to give to the league such reasonable guarantee as it might ask for the faithful fulfillment of their contract were all gone over, after which the Milwaukeeans were permitted to withdraw. Kansas City was then called, and while the members were awaiting the appearance of those representatives President Spalding read to the committee a letter from the Indianapolis Club voicing its claim to recognition. The committee's attention was then given to the Kansas City delegation. . . .

The new league city has a population of about 135,000, and that of the suburbs within a radius of ten miles will swell it to fully 180,000. Within two-hours' ride of the city are the populous cities of Lawrence, Atchison, Topeka, St. Joseph, and Leavenworth, with an aggregate population of 140,000. All of these points, it is promised by the Western delegates, will send down generous delegations to the league games. With the advent of league games at Kansas City it is predicted that the game will receive a boom there which it has not before know (sic) west of Chicago.

Source: Kansas City selected to fill the vacancy in the base-ball league. (1886, February 10). *Chicago Tribune*, p. 3.

The key to the success of such organizations seems to be a broad mix of individuals making decisions. The situation in different sports is also illustrative, in that depending on the activity, the diversity of ownership can be more extensively considered. For example, horse racing is a sport where owners are feted openly at presentation ceremonies as equal partners in the venture alongside the trainer and the jockey. The historical development of an activity determines the form of ownership that predominates as the sport progresses.

Some of the more notable historical aspects of how notions of ownership have continued to develop, particularly in the United States, relate to the slow shift

from traditional notions of sport history. The focus was often based on a history of social processes; however, current research considers the influence of economic and commercial factors on sport history. More generally, the importance of such ownership models and notable examples to current research within sports can also directly affect social change within the social sciences themselves. The commercialization and commodification of sports increased throughout the twentieth century. As society in general has developed a more businesslike focus and, particularly since the end of World War II, sports organizations have also adopted business and commercial practices more like that of the business world.



Ownership

The First Female Owner

In the excerpt below, Helene Britton, St. Louis Cardinals' owner from 1911–1917, reflects on being a woman in baseball.

I can honestly say that I have always loved baseball. My father and uncles talked about baseball ever since I can remember. My father insisted that I keep score. . . . I grew up . . . in an atmosphere of baseball. I even played it when a girl and am glad to know that the game is played in a somewhat modified form in hundreds of girl camps and elsewhere by young ladies all over the United States. Played in that way, I believe

it is a healthful and interesting diversion though I realize that anything which resembles a professional type is distinctly a man's game. . . .

I realize that my position as the only women owner in the major leagues is a peculiar one. And I don't pretend to know the game as intimately from a playing stand-point as a man might do in my place. I appreciate the fact that baseball is a man's game, but I also appreciate the fact that women are taking an increasing interest in the sport.

Source: My experience as a league owner. (1917, February). *Baseball Magazine*.

It is also important to consider the darker side of ownership and consider how corruption throughout history has been relevant to notions of ownership. In some cases, the owners of sports teams take advantage of situations, but end up harming the team and the sport, such as the following:

- In 1998, the Olympique de Marseilles association football team was relegated to second division from the top league of French football, following a match-fixing scandal involving Bernard Tapie, the president and owner of the club. He was eventually convicted and sent to prison.
- The Chicago Black Sox scandal of 1919 is another instance when the negative side of commercialism and gambling impinged on the sporting arena. In that case, a betting conspiracy led to eight members being banned from the Chicago White Sox baseball team.

The Future

Those who own a sports club or franchise have the opportunity to shape both their organization and the direction of the sport itself. Responsibility for individual sports often lies in the hands of a few, yet issues related to ownership allow us to question who the owner actually serves. Their financial backgrounds and the self-

imposed requirement that they maximize their investment act as strong motivating factors for many owners. Significant issues present themselves within the prevailing capitalist model of sports remain the following:

- Who is going to pay for the development of future sports stars?
- How should sports exist within their social context?
- What should be the balance between profit and filling a social, or other, need?

Sports are currently regulated by the laws that govern the operations of businesses and organizations, meaning that sports teams have become corporate enterprises legally. This is a telling and significant indicator of how sports and notions of ownership relate to the wider society.

Jonathan M. Thomas

See also Economics and Public Policy; Franchise Relocation; Revenue Sharing; Salary Caps

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Ownership

The Legendary Steinbrenner

Perhaps no team owner has gained more notoriety than George Steinbrenner. Since he bought the New York Yankees in 1973, Steinbrenner has enraged his managers and players, as well as the media and the fans, with his no-holds-barred comments and actions. As Steinbrenner puts it, “Look, I’m not saying that I’m a calm, peaceful guy. I’m not Marian the Librarian. I’m a hard-driving guy, and sometimes I get upset.” And many would agree with former Yankee Graig Nettles’ comment, “It’s a good thing Babe Ruth isn’t still here—George would have him bat seventh and say he’s overweight.” And the media had a field

day with the fact that Yankee managers have come and gone so often—most notably Billy Martin, who was hired and fired five times by Steinbrenner, who denied that these were publicity stunts, noting:

I did not fire managers to get the headlines. Never did. The thing is, New York’s a very demanding city. You’ve got three tabloids battling with one another: the *Post*, the *Daily News* and *Newsday*—all good papers. All you have to do is walk into New York on any given day, look at the newsstand and see the headlines. All sensationalism. Some of it accurate, some of it not, but *all* of it meant to do one thing: sell those papers.

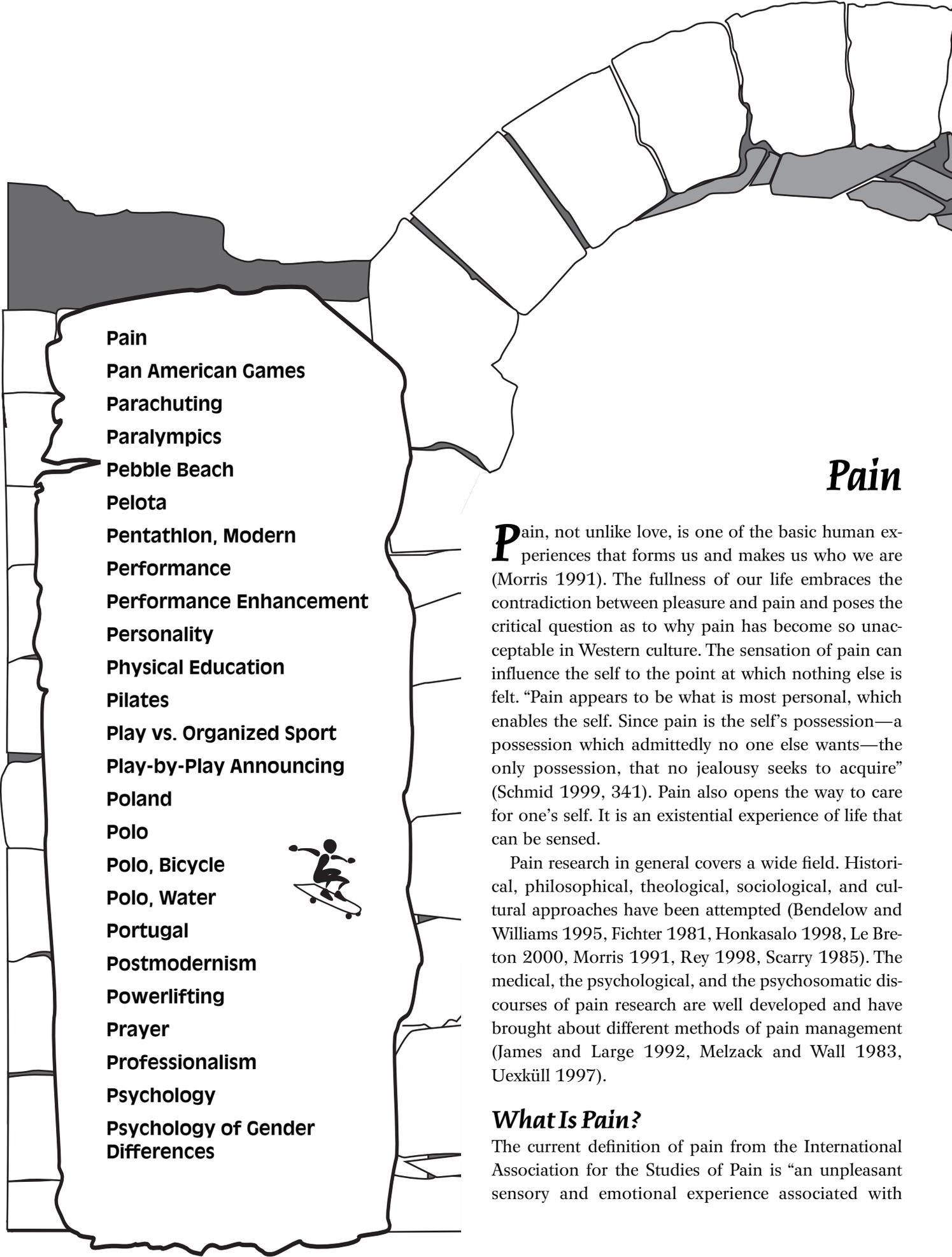
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Pain
Pan American Games
Parachuting
Paralympics
Pebble Beach
Pelota
Pentathlon, Modern
Performance
Performance Enhancement
Personality
Physical Education
Pilates
Play vs. Organized Sport
Play-by-Play Announcing
Poland
Polo
Polo, Bicycle
Polo, Water
Portugal
Postmodernism
Powerlifting
Prayer
Professionalism
Psychology
Psychology of Gender Differences



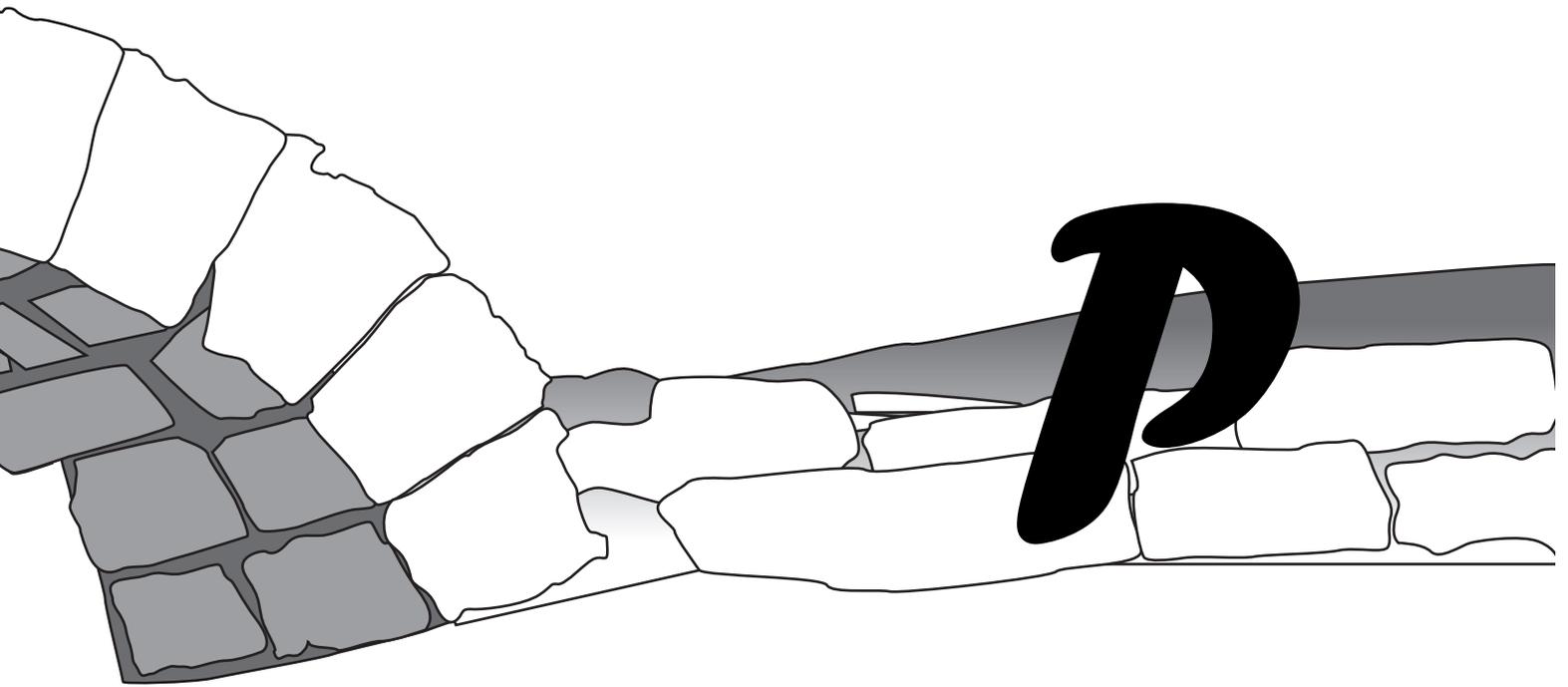
Pain

Pain, not unlike love, is one of the basic human experiences that forms us and makes us who we are (Morris 1991). The fullness of our life embraces the contradiction between pleasure and pain and poses the critical question as to why pain has become so unacceptable in Western culture. The sensation of pain can influence the self to the point at which nothing else is felt. “Pain appears to be what is most personal, which enables the self. Since pain is the self’s possession—a possession which admittedly no one else wants—the only possession, that no jealousy seeks to acquire” (Schmid 1999, 341). Pain also opens the way to care for one’s self. It is an existential experience of life that can be sensed.

Pain research in general covers a wide field. Historical, philosophical, theological, sociological, and cultural approaches have been attempted (Bendelow and Williams 1995, Fichter 1981, Honkasalo 1998, Le Breton 2000, Morris 1991, Rey 1998, Scarry 1985). The medical, the psychological, and the psychosomatic discourses of pain research are well developed and have brought about different methods of pain management (James and Large 1992, Melzack and Wall 1983, Uexküll 1997).

What Is Pain?

The current definition of pain from the International Association for the Studies of Pain is “an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with



actual or potential tissue damage, or described in terms of such damage” (Pain Terms 1979). This definition is the background of a larger part of the research studies.

Using this definition as a starting point, it will be enlarged by discussing pain as an expression of a communication. Parts of the communication are the subject, the health system, and the social surroundings. (This communication is discussed in the section below on sport and pain.)

The History of Pain

The story of pain can be told in different ways and marked with different causes and by different periods. Recent pain research locates pain and its sensation in DNA. In this way pain is associated with smaller and smaller physical units, even though it includes more than medical causes. Yet pain is more than a matter of neurotransmitters and pain receptors.

Historically, pain has also always been a magical and/or religious concept. Suffering could be seen as an unavoidable part of existence, but also as something that, when it gives meaning, needs to be worked through. The history of pain also includes a story that is seldom told by the history of medicine—namely, the story of the healers and midwives who effectively administered their knowledge and craft independent of prevailing medical discourse.

Changing Pain Paradigms

Until the 1960s a split between physical and psychological pain shaped the dominant pain paradigm. In the tradition of Descartes, it was normal to separate the

body from the psyche and correspondingly also to separate physical pain from psychic pain. In this respect pain is either a sign of tissue damage or, as in the Austrian psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud’s thinking, an injury of the psyche. Pain has the important function of warning the body and protecting the body and the psyche.

In the 1960s the traditional dualism was challenged by the gate control theory of Ronald Melzack and Patrick Wall (1983). This theory postulated that pain was not a simple mechanical process between a stimulus and a response, but rather a complex event. Otherwise, it would not be possible to explain phenomena like the anaesthetic reaction when pain disappears though the existing tissue damage remains present, nor the opposite phenomena, like the phantom pain in an amputated limb, when pain is present without a somatic basis. Pain can be described in many different ways: as a sensory quality (sharp, burning, pulsating), as an affective quality (merciless, punishing), or as a relative quality (uncomfortable, unbearable). What is important is that these qualities are subjective. The experience of pain depends on individual factors.

Melzack and Wall used the metaphor of a “gate” in the spinal cord that controls and regulates whether pain impulses are sent on to a higher cerebral level or not. The intensity of the pain impulse will depend on factors like awareness, fear, or concentration. There is no such thing as objective pain; instead, the experience of pain depends on subjective factors. That is why in the highly emotional atmosphere of competition or sexual activity, a person can cross over limits and only later—occasionally painfully—first become aware of it.

*There is no coming to consciousness
without pain.* ■ CARL JUNG

The gate-control theory has become a dominant paradigm in recent pain research, though, since the 1990s, theories that attempt to base pain sensitivity and pain memory in genetic factors (the so-called neuromatrix theories) have gained in importance. But due to the gate-control theory, it became possible to explain many phenomena that could not be understood within the Cartesian paradigm. For example, in sports athletes experience in different ways the pain that arises in situations of competition as compared with the pain that is part of training.

Sport and Pain— Coping with Sport Injuries

The definition of pain as an “unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with tissue damage” seems to be too narrow when applied to the pain in sport. Take, for example, the case of Kerri Strug. In the 1996 Olympics the American gymnast Kerri Strug was turned into a media star because she took a running approach to a jump over the horse although she had an ankle injury. Her technique brought the American team the gold medal.

How can we explain that Kerri Strug could run although she was heavily injured? According to the gate control theory of pain, we can explain her actions by her high degree of concentration. She focused on the jump, not on her injury.

Pain in sports tells us many stories. Modern performance sports demands time and resources. The pressure can lead to major psychic and social burdens. Recent sport research refers to this milieu in terms of stress, social pressure, and plain “burnout” (Nixon 1994). Raedeke 1997).

Since the subjectivity of pain and injury plays a central role in recent sport psychology literature (Brewer 2001, Nixon 1996, Taylor and Taylor 1998, Udry 1997, Williams 2001, Williams and Roepke 1993), a

deeper analysis of the psychological aspects of sport injuries is necessary. Precisely who is injured when or how a rehabilitation process will proceed is not simply a matter of coincidence

One model that has proven valid over the years is the *stress and athletic injury model* of Williams and Anderson (in Williams 2001). Recent research has applied this model in many different ways to different populations. The research around the Williams and Anderson model is mainly concentrated on coping of pain and on pain prevention following a sport-medical intake. But it is also interesting to analyze how sport *expresses* pain. Sport is—besides masochism—one of the few fields where pain is expressed or accepted voluntarily.

The research on pain in the field of sport psychology is mostly connected to injuries. Injuries can have a negative impact on the mind, the emotions, and the body of an athlete. The rehabilitation period after an injury is



An injured skateboarder.

Source: [istockphoto.com/elDivino](https://www.istockphoto.com/elDivino).

*Suffer the pain of discipline or suffer
the pain of regret.* ■ ANONYMOUS

often a time of emotional distress. Interventions stemming from sport psychology can minimize these negative experiences and maximize recovery from injury.

By the 1960s it was postulated that the personality of the athlete had an influence on the rate of injuries and pain (Ogilvie and Tutko 1966). In 1993 Heil's *Psychology of Sport Injuries* offered the first general view of the role of personal and social factors, coping-strategies, and possibilities of interventions. The last decade produced much follow-up research in the field of the psychology of pain and injury, focusing especially on the ways of coping with the injuries (Brewer 2001, Taylor and Taylor 1998, Udry 1997, Williams 2001, Williams and Roepke 1993). Relevant personal factors were named, and stress, anxiety, and coping strategies connected with pain were analyzed for a lot of populations (e.g., Johnson 2000). Sport psychology showed that factors like stress and burnout can lead to overtraining and loss of balance in an athlete's life.

While it is true that pain in sport is usually connected with injuries, other aspects of pain should not be overlooked. When athletes experience pain, their experiences can have very different meanings. Besides being a sign of injury, pain can also provide a "kick" and become the ultimate limit in the experience of the self. Runners especially often describe the "high" experienced as part of an endurance event. The limits of the body are explored out of a simple desire to do so or out of curiosity about how far a person might extend his or her own limits, how far a person can grow beyond his or her "normal" self. It appears as though pain serves as an indicator that the limit has been reached and "self-enhancement" has begun (Roessler 2004).

To overcome pain and to exceed one's limits is another characteristic of the attractive and voluntary aspects of pain. People often tell the story of establishing their own psychological and physical limits, for example, when they run a marathon or compete in a triathlon. They control the pain by an act of will, and they experience this pain as a way of testing the limits of their self-control. Sports can be intoxicating activities that evoke pleasure even when they hurt. It is not a

product (performance), but rather an *activity* itself (the delightful search for limits) that is the key. One not only has to be in the best possible physical condition, but also in top mental form. The winner must be able to cope with the pain in order to integrate the pain. The 3,000-meter steeplechase runner has to integrate the fact that running rhythm is broken by hurdles and by a water jump. It hurts to have the rhythm broken because these interruptions jar and detract from the trance of long-distance running.

Different Ways of Reacting to Pain

There are different ways to react to pain in sports. The most obvious way (from a medical perspective) of dealing with pain is to look for *treatment*. The athlete who trails his leg alongside a hurdle and stumbles is hurt. The injury is probably to the knee. This kind of pain is quite mechanical, we can call it an objective pain, one that can be localized in physical receptors.

Pain feels like an unpleasant stimulus, like an unpleasant sensation. The athlete is hurt and the injury can be acute or chronic. The control of this kind of pain is a success story for medical science. Help in dealing with these injuries is also a success story in sport psychology.

Understanding the *expression* of pain and the general significance of pain events in the life of an athlete, however, is more complicated. Runners in a 400-meter race have to decide at the 300-meter mark if they want to overcome the pain—if they wish to "run through the pain barrier." This kind of pain has quite another quality than pain calling for a treatment. To establish one's own psychological and physical limits is a challenge. The pain is controlled by an act of will, and the experience of pain is a way of testing the limits of self-control.

Understanding the experience of pain demands on further analysis a focus on the individual and cultural processes of communication. Pain not only can be experienced as an individual trauma, but also as an accepted by-product of sport ("no pain, no gain"), especially achievement sport; as a way of finding one's self (e.g., the kick of running); or as a narrative (Allen

2003). To find out which it is, we have to ask the athlete of his or her own interpretation of pain.

The Future

Future challenges in the pain research of sport science and especially sport psychology should focus more precisely on the aspects of communication and culture. Pain and injury in sport might fruitfully be analyzed as an expression of a communication problem between the athlete and his or her body, between the athlete and the trainer, and/or between the athlete and the surrounding culture.

Kirsten Kaya Roessler

See also Injury

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Be patient and tough; some day this pain will be useful to you. ■ OVID

Pan American Games

The Pan American Games are the grandest sports festival of the Americas, offering a large Olympic-type program, with additional disciplines reflecting special sports interests of the region for all countries of the hemisphere (more than forty now eligible to participate). The games' slogan, "América, Espíritu, Sport, Fraternité" (America, Spirit, Sport, Fraternity), uses the hemisphere's principal languages: Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French.

History

Discussions of regional games for the Americas were held during the 1932 and 1936 Olympic Games. In 1937 several Latin American countries, Canada, and the United States competed in Dallas, Texas. The first Pan American Sport Congress, held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1940, established the games on a four-year cycle starting in 1942, but World War II interrupted these plans. Since 1951 the Pan American Games have been held every four years, with the athletic program and numbers of participating countries and athletes expanding dramatically.



Pain is inevitable; suffering is optional. ■ UNKNOWN

The Pan American Sport Organization (PASO) is headquartered in Mexico City. Early leaders of PASO (known until 1955 as the “Pan American Sports Committee”) were Avery Brundage (United States, 1940–1951), José de Jesus Clark Flores (Mexico, 1951–1955 and 1959–1971), Douglas Roby (United States, 1955–1959), Sylvio de Magalhaes Padilha (Brazil, 1971), and José Beracasa (Venezuela, 1971–1975).

In the first games (Buenos Aires, 1951), twenty-one countries (approximately twenty-five hundred athletes) participated in nineteen sports: baseball, basketball, boxing, cycling, equestrian events, fencing, gymnastics, modern pentathlon, polo (never again included), rowing, yachting, shooting, soccer, swimming and diving, tennis, track and field, water polo, weight lifting, and wrestling. Only a few U.S. athletes attended these games. The United States won men’s basketball but lost baseball to Cuba. Argentina won boxing, soccer, water polo, polo, rowing, tennis, shooting, and cycling and ended well ahead of all others in gold and total medals. Outstanding men athletes included Brazilian triple jumper Ademar Ferreira da Silva (winner also in 1955 and 1959), sprinters Rafael *Fortún* (Cuba), Arthur Bragg (United States), and Herb McKenley (Jamaica), shot and discus athlete James Fuchs and pole vaulter Bob Richards (both United States), and diver Joaquín Capilla (Mexico). Women participated in track and field, fencing, swimming, diving, and tennis. In their four track and five field events, women athletes from the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile figured most prominently. U.S. women won the 4 × 100-meter relay, as they would in many future games. Pat McCormick (United States) won diving gold and silver medals, and U.S. men and women exhibited an overall superiority in swimming that lasted throughout later years. The United States was second in shooting but dominated this sport in future games.

The 1955 games in Mexico City dropped polo and yachting and added women’s basketball and synchronized swimming and men’s and women’s volleyball. Twenty-one countries (2,583 athletes) participated.

The United States won the most gold and total medals, as in all future games except for 1991. Guatemala’s Mateo Flores won the marathon, Brazilian da Silva’s triple jump was a world record, and Argentinean Osvaldo Suarez won the 5,000 meters and 10,000 meters (winning gold or silver in both events again in 1959 and 1963). Rodney Richard (United States) won three sprint events. Boxing was dominated by Argentina and United States. Dominican Republic won baseball. U.S. women won basketball, as they would in many later games. Mexican women and U.S. men won volleyball.

For the 1959 Pan Ams, designated host Cleveland, Ohio, and alternates Guatemala City, Guatemala, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, withdrew, and Chicago was chosen over São Paulo, Brazil. Synchronized swimming was left out and yachting renewed. Women began competing in gymnastics and equestrian events. More than two thousand athletes from twenty-four countries participated. Oscar Robertson led the U.S. men’s basketball team to victory. Venezuela won baseball. The United States and Canada began a dominance in gymnastics that would last until 1971. Lucinda Williams and Wilma Rudolph (both United States) finished first and second, respectively, in the 100 meters, and Williams repeated her victory in the 200 meters. Both were on the winning 4 × 100-meter team. Althea Gibson (United States) won tennis singles and second place in doubles. Brazil won women’s volleyball, and the United States won women’s basketball (second of three consecutive victories in the games).

In 1963 for the São Paulo games, men’s judo was introduced, and the women’s program added yachting and restored synchronized swimming. The new 800-meter race was the first women’s track event longer than 200 meters. Twenty countries (1,665 athletes, the smallest number ever) participated. Impressive victories by host Brazil included three first places in boxing and the soccer championship. The Brazilian Maria Bueno won tennis singles, and Darlene Hard (United States) won third in singles and first in doubles. Mexico won its fourth consecutive title in tennis mixed doubles.

Winnipeg in 1967

At the Winnipeg, Canada, games in 1967 new sports included men's field hockey (won by Argentina at four consecutive games) and women's pentathlon. Modern pentathlon, women's yachting, and again synchronized swimming were dropped. Canoeing was a demonstration sport. More than two thousand athletes from twenty-nine of the thirty-three eligible nations participated. The United States won ten times the number of gold medals won by second-place Canada. U.S. athletes Don Schollander (three golds) and Mark Spitz (five golds) starred in swimming. Cuba's three boxing victories (Rolando Garbey's gold medal to be repeated in the next two games) presaged Cuba's future dominance in this sport.

For the Cali, Colombia, games in 1971, judo and tennis were dropped and synchronized swimming restored. Women's track added 400-meter, 4×400-meter, and 100-meter hurdles. Thirty-two countries (2,935 athletes) participated. Cuba doubled the number of medals it won in 1967 to begin challenging U.S. supremacy. Cuban triple jumper Pedro Pérez Dueñas set a world record, and gymnasts Jorge Rodríguez and Jorge Cuervo won a total of eleven medals, beginning years of strong Cuban performances in men's gymnastics. Cuba's successes in men's and women's fencing would accelerate in future games. Frank Shorter of the United States set records in the 10,000 meters and marathon, and Jamaican Donald Quarrie won the 100 meters and 200 meters, tying the world record in the 200 meters. Brazil won men's basketball—the first time the United States had not won. Cuba won women's volleyball, and Brazil won women's basketball.

Greco-Roman wrestling was added, and tennis and judo returned to the program in 1975. These games were originally awarded to Santiago de Chile, but Chile's new military government declined to hold the games. First alternate, São Paulo, withdrew, and Mexico City stepped in with only ten months left for preparation. CBS-TV covered the first of three games. More than three thousand athletes from thirty-three countries participated. Brazilian Joao Carlos de Oliveira (who

won again in 1979) had a world-record triple jump. Janice Merrill (United States) won the new women's 1,500 meters. U.S. women won basketball and continued to dominate gymnastics. Ray Leonard (United States) won light welter boxing.

Sixty million dollars went into facilities constructed for the 1979 games in San Juan, Puerto Rico. New events were men's and women's archery, softball, and roller skating (including men's hockey on skates). Thirty-four countries (thirty-seven hundred athletes) participated. Cuba won baseball and five gold medals in boxing and dominated fencing, weight lifting (eight of the ten categories), and men's gymnastics. The United States won most wrestling medals and dominated tennis, roller skating, shooting, and swimming and diving. Pan Am records were set by U.S. women runners Evelyn Ashford (100 meters and 200 meters), Essie Kelley (800 meters), Mary Decker (1,500 meters), Janice Merrill (3,000 meters; her record in this new event was never broken), and the 4×400-meter team. Records were set in all throwing events (by three Cuban women, three U.S. men, and a Canadian man) and by U.S. high jumper Louise Ritter. Cuba's María Colon won javelin. Colon became the first Latin American woman to win an Olympic gold medal (1980). U.S. women won softball (repeating in most future games). Tracy Caulkins of the United States won four individual swimming medals and two relays. She would repeat her gold medals in the 200-meter and 400-meter medleys in 1983. Brazil won soccer, tying with Argentina at four games victories each. Archery was dominated by the United States in these and all later games. Canada won men's softball (repeating through 2003).

The program for the 1983 games in Caracas, Venezuela, dropped roller skating and added men's and women's Sambo wrestling (a Venezuelan specialty, never again included) and table tennis. Other new women's events were the 400-meter hurdles, heptathlon (replacing the pentathlon), shooting, judo, and rowing. Women's yachting was restored. Thirty-seven countries (3,426 athletes) participated. Drug testing was initiated, and several athletes left the competition before testing or



Pan American Games

Latin American Sport Festivals

Since the early 1920s a variety of Olympic-type sport festivals have been established for the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean basin. The first was the Central American Games, held in Guatemala City in 1921 as part of Guatemala, and the region's, independence centennial celebration. Athletes representing Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador, and the host nation competed in six sports. The series failed to develop in the 1920s, and the project was dropped until 1973 when it was renewed on a much larger scale in Guatemala. Subsequent CA Games were held in San Salvador, El Salvador (1977); Guatemala City (1986); Tegucigalpa, Honduras (1990), which was the first inclusion of all seven countries of the region; San Salvador (1994); San Pedro Sula, Honduras (1997); and Guatemala City (2001). This festival was established for the purpose of providing athletic competition at levels attainable by most Central American countries, without the dominating influence of sport powers in their region, such as Cuba and Mexico (as well as the United States, Canada, and powerful South American nations in the Pan American Games).

The first South American Games were held in Rio de Janeiro in 1922 as part of Brazil's centennial celebration of independence. This series also failed to develop fully at the time but was reestablished in 1978 in Bolivia and continued without interruption to the present (Rosario, Argentina, in 1982; Santiago, Chile, in 1986; Lima, Peru, in 1990; Valencia, Venezuela, in 1994; Cuenca, Ecuador, in 1998; and Rio de Janeiro in 2002).

The Central American and Caribbean Games began in Mexico. Inspired by a visit from International Olympic Committee (IOC) Vice President Henri Baillet LaTour in 1923, promoted by the IOC and with preliminary planning during the Paris Olympics of

1924, the "First Central American Games" were held in Mexico City in 1926. Fourteen countries were invited from Central America, the northern tier of South American countries, and the Caribbean. Only Mexico, Cuba, and Guatemala participated. However, the series became well established, with subsequent sites in Havana (1930); San Salvador (1935); and Panama City (1938). With the fourth set of games in Barranquilla, Colombia, in 1946, the event was renamed Central American and Caribbean Games, to reflect the actual geographic region of the participants. Subsequent games have been held in locations from Puerto Rico to Panama. This festival has expanded to more than thirty nations and a large sport program. Cuba has dominated the competition with Mexico usually occupying second place.

The Central American and Caribbean University Games were held first in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in 1972, with eight nations participating in four sports. Subsequently the festival has grown in participation and sports program, being held in Mexico City (1975); Santo Domingo (1977); Barquisimeto, Venezuela (1982); Havana (1986); Guatemala City (1990); Guadalajara, Mexico (1997); and San Germán, Puerto Rico (2000). The Games scheduled for 2002 in Medellín were canceled due to security concerns in Colombia. Cuba has dominated the University Games.

The Bolivarian Games include the six nations whose wars of independence from Spain were led by General Simón Bolívar: Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Panama (formerly part of Colombia). This festival was first held in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1938, and subsequently in locations ranging from Lima, Peru, in 1947 to Ambato, Ecuador, in 2001.

Richard V. McGehee

were disqualified. Mexican men set records in race walking, continuing the tradition they started in 1975. Canada's Charmaine Crooks set a record in the women's 400 meters. Cuba won men's volleyball for the fourth consecutive games. Cuba, the United States, and

Brazil (and Peruvian women) have dominated volleyball overall.

Political conflict between the United States and both Cuba and Nicaragua was played up by the media during the tenth games in Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1987.



Modern pentathlon and men's and women's roller skating were restored. Men's and women's team handball, men's taekwondo and canoe-kayak, and women's cycling, field hockey, kayak, marathon, 10,000-meter run, and 10-kilometer walk were introduced. Thirty-eight countries (4,453 athletes) participated. Brazil won men's basketball. Carl Lewis of the United States bettered the long jump record by 0.45 meters, and Cuba's Javier Sotomayor set a record in the high jump. Ana Fidelia Quirot won the 400 meters and 800 meters (setting records and setting records again in both events in 1991). Jackie Joyner Kersey (United States) won the women's long jump (a record). Costa Rica's Sylvia Poll won eight medals (three gold) in swimming (and another gold medal in 1991). The United States dominated women's cycling (continuing in future games).

The first winter Pan American Games, canceled the previous year, were held in September 1990 in Las Lenas, Argentina, and included Alpine skiing for men and women. Other events had to be eliminated because of poor snow conditions, and no results were officially recorded for skiing competition. Winter games were planned again for 1993 in Chile but canceled because of poor snow conditions.

Cuba in 1991

Cuba hosted the games in 1991, and records were set in the numbers of countries (thirty-nine) and athletes (4,519) participating. The U.S. economic embargo and travel restrictions made financing of the games difficult for the host. Initially the U.S. Treasury Department would not allow any payments to Cuba, but after court contests, ABC-TV and Turner Network Television were allowed to send personnel and equipment with severely restricted crew sizes and spending limits. The events were held in new facilities, such as the Pan American Stadium, a velodrome (a track designed for cycling), and tennis and swimming complexes, as well as many existing sports facilities in Havana and Santiago de Cuba. Modern pentathlon was dropped; new sports were rhythmic gymnastics and men's and women's bowling. Seventy-four Pan Am records were set. Pro-

fessionals were allowed to participate in tennis, and Pam Shriver (United States) won women's singles and doubles. Puerto Rico won men's basketball. Cuba won eleven of the twelve boxing categories, all ten weight-lifting golds, and the men's 4×100-meter relay (marking only the second time the United States had not won). Overall, Cuba passed the United States in gold medals (the only time the United States was not first since 1951) and was second to the United States in total medals.

The games returned to Argentina (Mar del Plata) in 1995. New sports included men's and women's badminton, karate, racquetball, squash, triathlon, water skiing, and women's taekwondo. The women's 3,000 meters was replaced by the 5,000 meters. Jai alai was a demonstration sport. More than five thousand athletes from forty-two countries participated. Women's basketball was canceled because of the small number of entries, but U.S. women again won softball. Argentina won men's basketball and volleyball. The United States sent a record 746 athletes and won an all-time high of 424 medals (169 gold).

The 1999 Pan American Games were held in Winnipeg, Canada. About five thousand athletes from forty-two countries competed in forty-two sports. Men's and women's beach volleyball and women's soccer (won by the United States) were introduced. Modern pentathlon returned to the program and was offered for the first time for women. The women's 20-kilometer walk replaced the 10-kilometer walk. Brazil won women's volleyball (and beach volleyball), ending Cuba's string of seven consecutive victories begun in 1971. Canada won men's beach volleyball. Pan American and world record-holding high jumper Javier Sotomayor (Cuba) tested positive for cocaine and was disqualified after winning what would have been his fourth consecutive title.

Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, held the 2003 games. More than five thousand athletes from forty-two countries participated. The host nation won ten gold and forty-one total medals, its best Pan American performance to date. Dominican world champion hurdler Felix Sanchez won gold, and his nation took sil-

ver in men's basketball and gold in women's volleyball. Cuba won baseball (the eleventh time) and women's basketball. Only Cuba, Brazil, and the United States have won more women's basketball. Argentina won men's soccer, and Brazil won women's soccer. Four doping violations were detected, and as a result the United States had to forfeit gold medals in the 100 meters and the 4×100-meter relay.

Through 2003 the United States had won far more Pan American medals (3,787) than any other nation, followed by Cuba (1,671), Canada (1,456), Argentina (859), Brazil (758), and Mexico (705). Gold medals follow the same trend. Countries winning the fewest or no medals tend to be relatively poor and/or small, such as Guyana and some Central American and Caribbean nations. However, some small countries, such as Jamaica and Costa Rica, commonly figure in the medal counts.

PASO also offers Pan American Wheelchair Games and Pan American Games for the Blind. The Wheelchair Games have been held twelve times between 1967 and 2003, not always in the same year as the regular games or using a four-year interval. Former sites include Winnipeg; Buenos Aires (twice); Kingston, Jamaica; Lima, Peru; Mexico City (twice); Rio de Janeiro; Halifax, Canada; San Juan; Caracas; and Mar del Plata. Winning over strong competition from San Antonio, Texas, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, will host the 2007 Pan American Games. The 2007 Wheelchair Games, to be held two weeks after the regular competitions, will be hosted by Rio de Janeiro.

Significance

At a lower level than the Pan American Games are national competitions, university games, and several regional festivals (South American, Central American and Caribbean, and Central American Games) for Latin American and Caribbean countries. These regional events are lead-ups to the Pan American Games and Olympics and thus are accorded high regard in the region. For most Latin American and Caribbean athletes, the Pan American Games represent the highest level of athletic competition to which they can aspire. Thus,

these games are of great importance in the sporting life of their nations, and the preparations for, daily progress, and results of the competitions receive wide coverage in the media. Those countries that offer monetary compensation to their medalists consider Pan American Games victories inferior only to Olympic victories. On the other hand, the United States commonly places less value on Pan American Games results and may send athletes of less than Olympic caliber. The U.S. news media rarely give much attention to the games. However, hosting the Pan American Games is considered a prize by all nations of the Americas.

Richard V. McGehee

See also Central American and Caribbean Games

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Parachuting

Parachuting as a modern sport began during the early twentieth century and was a crowd pleaser at air shows that featured aerial stunts and aerobatics such as formation flying and wing walking. In 1930 the first competition in parachuting took place in the Soviet Union. Two years later forty parachutists took part in the U.S. National Air Races.

Experience is a hard teacher because she gives the test first, the lesson afterward. ■ VERNON LAW

Parachuting initially revolved around target jumping, but, thanks to French experimentation during the late 1940s and early 1950s, freefalling was introduced, leading to the addition of style and “relative jumping” competition. Five European countries took part in the first world championships in 1951 in France. The Federation Aeronautique Internationale has supervised biennial world championships since 1954.

Origins

Parachuting began as early as the twelfth century, but until the invention of the hot air balloon and the airplane, parachuting served no purpose other than to display inventiveness and provide simple entertainment. In China people amused themselves by jumping from high places with early parachutes that were constructed like umbrellas. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), the Italian Renaissance man and innovator, designed a wooden, pyramid-shaped parachute during the late fifteenth century. In 1595 the Hungarian mathematician Fausto Veranzio created a wood-framed canvas parachute, which he used to leap from a tower in Venice. During the 1600s tumblers from royal courts launched themselves from high places holding two large umbrellas. In 1783 Sebastian Lenormand of France jumped from a tower in Paris using a parachute.

Also in 1783 the parachute made an important transition from a means of entertainment to a means of safety. In that year the Montgolfier brothers of France made their first balloon flight, which made the escape means provided by a parachute important. Another significant development in that year was a collapsible silk parachute, designed by J. P. Blanchard (1753–1809) of France. Earlier parachutes had been held open by a rigid frame.

The French aeronautical pioneer Andre Jacques Garnerin (1769–1823) in 1797 made what scholars consider to be the first parachute jump when he jumped from 600 meters over Paris from a hot air balloon. In 1802 he jumped from more than 2,400 meters above London. Jodaki Kuparento of Poland in 1808 became the first person to use a parachute to escape death when

he jumped from his flaming hot air balloon over Warsaw. Confidence in the parachute as a safety device grew, and in 1838 John Wise of the United States intentionally exploded his balloon nearly 4,000 meters above ground and parachuted to safety.

Development

A series of developments transformed da Vinci’s wood-framed parachute into the modern parachute. The first development was Blanchard’s creation of the collapsible silk parachute. The second development was the harness that replaced the basket structure of parachutes. Captain Tom Baldwin of the United States created the harness in 1887. The next development was the coatpack, a parachute worn on the back like a modern parachute. Charles Broadwick of the United States designed the coatpack in 1901. A. Leo Stevens invented another device, the ripcord, in 1908. Broadwick’s adopted daughter, Georgia “Tiny” Broadwick (1893–1978), was the first person to jump with a manually operated parachute after her parachute line caught on the tail of her airplane in 1914, and she cut the line.

Parachuting was being transformed from a safety precaution into a military maneuver as well as a popular sport. In 1928 U.S. Army General Billy Mitchell demonstrated the military effectiveness of the parachute as he deployed airborne soldiers (paratroopers). Both sides would use paratroopers during World War II. At a festival in the Soviet Union in 1930 parachutists competed in a landing accuracy contest.

As parachuting gained popularity, in 1951 the first World Parachuting Championships were held. Four years later the United States formed a team and competed in the world championships in 1956. The United States fielded a women’s team at the sixth world championships in 1962.

During the mid-1960s the challenge of parachuting in formations was added to the sport. A six-man star-shaped formation was achieved in 1964 and, a year later, an eight-man star. In 1970 a twenty-person star was achieved in the United States. The sport was flourishing by 1978.



A parachutist just before landing. Source: [istockphoto.com/TerryHealy](https://www.istockphoto.com/TerryHealy).

Practice

Relative work—the maneuvering of two or more parachutists close to one another during freefall—is one of the most popular forms of parachuting. Relative work began as two people parachuting together but now can involve as many as 150 people. Body position is the key to relative work. To drop from the airplane and become level with the rest of the group, parachutists use the “delta” position. The “boxman” position is a series of 90-degree angles. The parachutist arches the back and raises the legs and torso to create a U shape or a 90-degree angle. Parachutists can also spread their legs at a 90-degree angle and hold both arms in an L-shaped 90-degree angle. In the boxman position parachutists close their legs and hold their arms against their sides and assume a dive position toward the meet-up area.

Participants must flare (open the arms and legs) before reaching the meet-up area so as not to go too far off course or collide with fellow parachutists. After reaching the meet-up area, parachutists need to dock. To dock, parachutists use a no-tension grip, that is, the parachutists fly in close proximity without touching. After the parachutists are in place the grip is used to keep the formation steady. Relative work can yield extraordinary results. For example, above Quincy, Illinois, in 1988 a 144-person formation was achieved.

The popularity of parachuting is growing because of the thrills that it provides. One of its greatest thrills is the experience of altered states of consciousness. For example, on exiting an airplane a parachutist experiences the excitement of feeling one’s body accelerate from 0 to 175 kilometers per hour in a matter of seconds.



Moreover, technological advances make parachuting safe, and modern lightweight sport parachutes make soft, stand-up landings reasonably easy.

Competition

More than three hundred people competed in the 1995 National Skydiving Championships in Florida, and when fifty-four teams registered for the four-way event, they broke the record of forty-seven set in 1978. The championships offered medals to the winners of four-, eight-, and ten-way competitions, as well as a twenty-way competition.

At Raeford, North Carolina, in 1995, during only twenty-four hours Cheryl Stearns of the United States, considered by some people to be the most successful competitive parachutist in the world, broke three world records. On 8 and 9 November she broke the women's record for jumps in a twenty-four-hour period (352) and the overall record (331). She also set a record for the most dead-center landings on an electronic sensor pad (188).

Freestyle competition is another element of parachuting. Freestyle parachuting is essentially a choreographed repertoire of creative movements.

Parachuting is still a minority sport and does not have the popular appeal of major sports such as track and field or soccer. Nonetheless, it can be found in all corners of the globe. Hundreds of clubs exist in the United States and in other countries in Europe, South America, and Asia.

Parachuting has also caught on in Australia, where the first parachute club was formed in Sydney in 1958. That year the Federation of Parachute Clubs and Centres, later called the "Australian Parachute Federation" (APF), was formed. A number of states have parachute councils. Interested persons can become involved in relative work, canopy relative work, classical style and accuracy, and freestyle. Clubs under the APF exist across Australia for beginners and professionals.

Virtually anyone can participate in parachuting. Jim Thomas of the United States says parachuting requires neither athleticism nor physical skills. He took up the

sport at the age of thirty-four to overcome his fear of heights. Clearly he achieved his goal and, after more than forty jumps, continues to love the sport's "sensory overload." He said, "Sport parachuting is all about an adrenaline rush and a thrill a second. At the completion of each jump there is a euphoric sense of achievement." However, he pointed out that the equipment for parachuting (such as main canopy and reserve canopy) can cost \$5,000.

Simon J. Crawford

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Paralympics

During World War II, Dr. Ludwig Guttmann (1899–1980) worked as a physician at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital and introduced physical activity and sport as part of the physical and psychosocial rehabilitation of wounded soldiers, mainly those with spinal cord injuries. He was also the first to organize competitions in wheelchair sport and initiated the first multi-sport games at Stoke Mandeville. These games started on the same day as the opening of the Summer Olympic Games in London, 28 July 1948, and marked the beginning of the Paralympic movement. Four years later, athletes from England and the Netherlands competed in the second Stoke Mandeville Games, following the four-year period of the Olympiad.

It was the vision of Dr. Guttmann that athletes with physical disabilities should be given the same opportunity for international competitions as able-bodied



Paralympics

Winter Paralympic Games

Year	Location	Disability Categories	Countries	Athletes
1976	Omskoldsvik, Sweden	VI, A	14	250
1980	Geilo, Norway	PI, VI	18	350
1984	Innsbruck, Austria	PI, VI	22	350
1988	Innsbruck, Austria	PI, VI	22	397
1992	Albertville, France	PI, VI	24	475
1994	Lillehammer, Norway	PI, VI	31	1,000+
1998	Nagano, Japan	PI, VI, ID	32	571
2002	Salt Lake City, USA	PI, VI	36	416

Abbreviations—Physical impairment: PI; visual impairment: VI; amputee: A; cerebral palsy: CP; intellectual disability: ID.



Paralympics

Summer Paralympic Games

Year	Location	Disability Categories	Countries	Athletes
1960	Rome, Italy	SCI	23	400
1964	Tokyo, Japan	SCI	21	375
1968	Tel Aviv, Israel	SCI	29	750
1972	Heidelberg, FRG	SCI	41	1,004
1976	Toronto, Canada	SCI, VI, LA	42	1,657
1980	Arnhem, Netherlands	SCI, A, VI, CP	42	1973
1984	Aylesbury, UK	SCI, A, VI, CP	41	1180
	New York		45	1800
1988	Seoul, Korea	SCI, A, VI, CP, LA	61	3,053
1992	Barcelona, Spain	SCI, A, VI, CP, LA	82	3,020
	Madrid	ID	74	1400
1996	Atlanta	SCI, A, VI, CP, LA, ID	103	3,195
2000	Sydney, Australia	SCI, A, CP, LA, ID	123	3,430
2004	Athens, Greece	SCI, A, CP, LA	130	4,000

Abbreviations—Spinal cord injury: SCI; visual impairment: VI; les autres: LA; amputee: A; cerebral palsy: CP; intellectual disability: ID.

athletes at the Olympic Games, and that they should receive worldwide recognition for their sporting excellence.

In 1960, for the first time in history, the Stoke Mandeville Games were held outside of England in Rome, Italy, following the Summer Olympic Games in the same

city. During an audience at the Vatican, Pope John XXIII received Dr. Guttman and the athletes and recognized the remarkable contribution of Dr. Guttman by calling him the “Coubertin of the Paralyzed,” after the founder of the modern Olympic movement.

A woman racing in the Olympic Stadium in Athens, Greece.

Source: istockphoto/vasiliki.

The year 1960 marked the beginning of the Summer Paralympic Games, which are held every four years. Since 1976, Winter Paralympic Games have been organized, also with growing numbers of participating nations and athletes.

In 1952, based on the initiative of Dr. Ludwig Guttmann the International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation (ISMGF), later renamed the International Stoke Mandeville Wheelchair Sports Federation (ISMWSF), was founded for persons with spinal cord injury. This was followed, again on the initiative of Dr. Ludwig Guttmann, by the foundation of the International Sports Organisation for the Disabled (ISOD) in 1964, which was open to persons with amputation and other physical disabilities (*les autres*).

In 1968 the International Cerebral Palsy Society was established in England, which ten years later led to the Cerebral Palsy-International Sport and Recreation Association (CP-ISRA).

In 1981 a separate organization was established for visually impaired and blind people, the International Blind Sport Association (ISBA), while in 1986 the International Sports Federation for Persons with Mental Handicap (INAS-FMH) was formed. This organization was renamed in 1999, replacing “Mental Handicap” with “Intellectual Disability.” It is now known as INAS-FID.

In the early 1980s a number of communication and coordination difficulties existed between the various organizations, both with regard to internal processes and communication with the International Olympic Committee (IOC). This led to the creation of an International Coordinating Committee (ICC) in 1982.

Under the rotating leadership of the presidents of the different international organizations of sport for the disabled, several meetings were held to reach agreement among themselves and with the IOC, in particular with regard to the organization of the Paralympic Games.

A meeting of the ICC in September 1989 in Düsseldorf, Germany, culminated in the foundation of the In-



ternational Paralympic Committee (IPC). The first president of the IPC was Dr. Robert Steadward (Canada). In addition to the national sport organizations for persons with a disability, six international disability sport organizations became members of the IPC: ISMWSF, ISBA, ISOD, CP-ISRA, INAS-FMH, and CISS (Comité International des Sports des Sourds—The International Sport Organization for the Deaf). In 1995 CISS decided to leave the IPC, because of their strong desire for more autonomy and interest in keeping their long tradition of organizing their own World Games for the Deaf, which started in 1924.

Following the Summer Paralympic Games in Barcelona in 1992, for the first time in history, games were held (in Madrid) for athletes with intellectual disabilities. This event was called Paralympiada.

During the 1996 Summer Paralympic Games in Atlanta, athletes with intellectual disabilities were included with full medal status, but this changed following the 2000 Summer Games in Sydney due to problems related to clear eligibility criteria.

Significance of the Paralympic Movement

Since its beginning, the Paralympic movement has rapidly developed, with the Paralympic Games now bringing together athletes with a disability at the highest level of performance.

Among the most important issues and challenges facing the Paralympic movement are the following:

- The relationship of the Paralympic movement and Paralympic Games to the Olympic movement and Olympic Games
- The development of fair classification systems for athletes with different disabilities
- An increased efforts toward inclusion (e.g., demands for the introduction of events for athletes with a disability in Olympic Games and World Championships with full medal status)
- Media, marketing, and sponsoring
- Professionalization of the whole Paralympic sport system
- Ethical aspects of Paralympic sport
- Discrepancies between “developed” and “developing” countries (e.g., with regard to the availability of sport equipment, wheelchairs, prostheses, etc.)
- Doping and performance-enhancing methods
- Eligibility criteria
- Barriers to sport participation and retirement from high performance sport
- High performance sport for children and youth with disabilities
- The voice and the role of athletes with a disability

Since the foundation of an IPC Sport Science Committee in 1993, important initiatives have been undertaken toward the development of scientific knowledge and increased research efforts in Paralympic sport. This effort is also reflected in the close cooperation that exists between IPC and the International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE).

Close cooperation also exists between the IPC and the IOC, based on formal contracts. The current president of the IPC, Philip Craven (England), is a member of the IOC, and future host cities of both Summer and Winter Olympic Games will also organize Paralympic Games in the same venues.

The Paralympics and the Paralympic movement have made tremendous progress with regard to the level of performance by athletes with disabilities and recognition given by the public and media. The number of participating nations in the Paralympics has grown remarkably

since the 1970s, reaching 136 at the 2004 Paralympic Summer Games in Athens, Greece.

Gudrun Doll-Tepper

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Pebble Beach

Pebble Beach Golf Links, located near Monterey, California, is one of the most beautiful golf courses in the world and has been the location of many important golf events, including several memorable U.S. Open Championships.

History

The first golf course in the Monterey area was the Del Monte, opened as a nine-hole course in 1897 and extended to an eighteen-hole course in 1903, but the origins of the Pebble Beach course lie in the appointment of Samuel F. B. Morse in 1915 as manager of the Pacific Improvement Company's land holdings, which included the whole Pebble Beach area. After starting to sell off the land holdings as housing plots, Morse had a vision of developing a scenic and challenging golf course along the edge of the ocean. He formed the Del Monte Properties Company, bought a 7,300-hectare unit including the Hotel Del Monte, and began to buy

If you think it's hard to meet new people, try picking up the wrong golf ball. ■ JACK LEMMON

back the plots he needed for the course. Two amateur golfers, Jack Neville and Douglas Grant, were employed as course architects, and the Pebble Beach Golf Links was opened in 1919.

Course

The intention of the architects was to locate along the ocean as many of the holes as possible, and so imaginatively were the holes laid out that most of them have remained largely unchanged ever since. Jack Neville said in later years that the terrain was such that nature seemed to have intended the land to be a golf course and that the architects had to do relatively little, but he was almost certainly being overly modest.

However, the eighteenth hole was initially a 315-meter par four and was considered too easy for championship golf; it was extended twice, and on the second extension in 1922 William Herbert Fowler changed it to a 501-meter par five, one of the best finishing holes in the world. Seven years later, prior to the first U.S. Amateur Championship on the course in 1929, the greens were reshaped and rebunkered, several holes were reconfigured, and length was added to a few others.

The only really significant further change to the course came in 1998. Samuel Morse had been unable to buy back one piece of land overlooking Stillwater Cove, and so the original fifth hole had to be built away from the shoreline. However, during the 1990s the Pebble Beach Company managed at last to buy back that piece of land, and the U.S. golfer Jack Nicklaus was asked to design a new fifth hole, which was opened in 1999. This development finally fulfilled the vision that Morse had had for the course more than eighty years earlier.

The Monterey Peninsula Open was held at Pebble Beach in 1926, the U.S. Amateur Championship in 1929 and 1947, and the U.S. Women's Amateur Championship in 1940 and 1948. However, despite the stature of these and other tournaments, the course was

not in those years crowded every day with golfers as it is today and was inexpensive to play—a green fee was as little as \$5 well after World War II. However, in 1947 the Bing Crosby National Pro-Am moved to Pebble Beach, and the renown of the course grew rapidly after televising of this tournament began in 1958. In 1986 the “Crosby Clambake,” as it was informally known, became the AT&T Pebble Beach National Pro-Am.

The Pebble Beach Resorts now comprise four courses; in addition to the original Del Monte Golf Course and the Pebble Beach Golf Links itself are the Links at Spanish Bay (opened in 1987) and Spyglass Hill Golf Course (opened in 1966). The latter, together with the Poppy Hills Golf Course, opened by the North California Golf Association in 1986, are used along with Pebble Beach for the AT&T pro-am.

U.S. Open at Pebble Beach

Jack Nicklaus won the U.S. Amateur Championship when it was played for the third time at Pebble Beach in 1961, and he figured largely in the first two U.S. Opens to be played at the course in 1972 and 1982. In each case the par-three seventeenth hole was crucial. In 1972, in windy conditions on the last day, Nicklaus hit a one-iron to within a few inches of the hole, and this shot gave him a margin over his nearest challengers that secured his victory. In 1982 he had already finished his round and was tied for the lead with Tom Watson when Watson came to the seventeenth hole and hit a two-iron into the rough beside the green; at this point Nicklaus

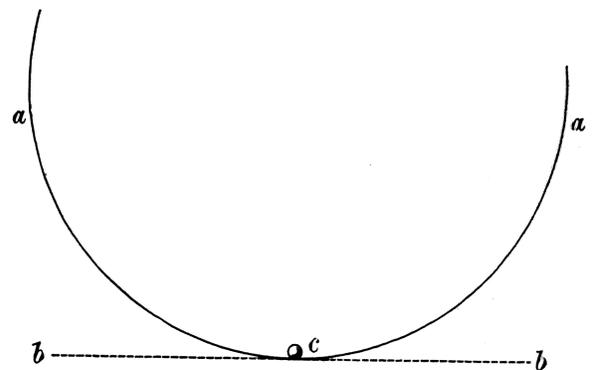


Diagram of the half swing in golf.

The harder you work, the luckier you get. ■ GARY PLAYER

Pelota

looked to be the likely winner, but Watson sank his sand-iron shot from the rough for a birdie and went on to win.

In 1992 the U.S. Open was played at Pebble Beach for a third time, and playing in high winds in the final round Tom Kite achieved a par score of seventy-two, most remarkable in the conditions, and won his first major championship. Equally remarkable was the play of Tiger Woods in the hundredth playing of the U.S. Open in 2000, when his opening score of sixty-five was the lowest round ever recorded in a U.S. Open at Pebble Beach, and he went on to not only equal the lowest-ever total score for the tournament—272—but also to finish fifteen shots ahead of his nearest rival—a margin of victory four shots greater than in any other U.S. Open.

The Future

Pebble Beach has been long regarded as one of the best courses in the United States; it is ranked the number one public course in the country. Given its great natural beauty and the presence of a number of other high-quality courses nearby, golfers of all standards will always be drawn to play at Pebble Beach regardless of expense, and it will continue to be a regular venue for important championships.

Tony Sloggett

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Pedestrianism

See Race Walking

Pelota is a sport in which players propel a ball with their hand or an instrument. The antecedent of pelota is *jeu de paume* (French for “palm game”), a sport that spread rapidly throughout Europe during the thirteenth century. In the rural Basque (relating to people inhabiting the western Pyrenees on the Bay of Biscay) provinces of northwestern Spain and southwestern France pelota acquired a unique identity.

People came to play two forms of pelota on three types of courts: the *place libre*, an open outdoor court with a single wall at one end; the fronton, which includes both covered and outdoor courts with two or three walls; and the *trinquet* (or *tripot*), a small, rectangular covered court. In the villages of Basque country most often the wall or arches of a church were used for pelota. Courts were “never more than a stone’s throw from the church” (Gallop 1970, 49) because the fronton and the church were the two centers of village life.

The original form of pelota is *jeux directs* or *juegos directos*. This form is descended from the outdoor game of *jeu de paume* known as “*longue paume*,” which two or more players played by facing each other and beating a ball back and forth across a net or line in any convenient open space. *Rebot*, for example, was a five-per-side form of *jeux directs* played with leather gloves or *chisteras* (baskets) in a *place libre*. A ceremonious and traditional game, *rebot* is now played only rarely on Sundays after Mass in Basque villages.

Basques also play *pasaka*, a two-per-side version of *jeux directs*, only rarely now. Bare hands or leather gloves are used to propel the ball over a net inside a *trinquet*. Playing in *trinquets* became popular in France during the fourteenth century, and many spaces were enclosed and roofed in for the sport. Although *trinquets* were eventually standardized, the earliest courts were rarely identical either in size or detail because most were converted from stables, barns, or unused houses. Nets were high and strung



Pelota

Pelota among the Basques in Chino, California

The first handball court in Chino was built around 1927 or 1928 by Loran Arretche on an empty lot on Ford Street next to his house. Handball games were held at the fronton on Sundays. Basques came from Los Angeles and the surrounding area to play. This lasted one year and then the court fell down in a strong Santa Ana windstorm. This was during Prohibition and Mr. Arretche sold beer and wine, at least, during the games. These Sunday handball games drew large Basque crowds and the neighbors and a church complained about the noise so Mr. Arretche never repaired the fronton.

Mr. Arretche sold the blocks from the ruined fronton to a Mexican, Julian Montez, and he constructed the second handball court in Chino. Although it was used by Mexican players, the Basques played there every Sunday. In time, Montez sold the court to another Basque, Joaquin Ezurdiag.

Source: Eagle, S. J. (1979). *Work and play among the Basques of southern California* (pp. 161–162). Ann Arbor, MI & London: University Microfilms International.

across the center of the court. In both *rebot* and *pasaka* scoring is similar to tennis, and a match consists of thirteen games.

Rebot and *pasaka* were played before the introduction of rubber balls during the eighteenth century. Such balls may derive from Mesoamerican (relating to the region of southern North America that was occupied during pre-Columbian times by peoples with shared cultural features) rubber ball games observed by Spanish conquistadors. The introduction of the rubber ball revolutionized pelota. It not only modified existing games, but also set off a whole range of new games. The new games came to be known as “*jeux indirects*” or “*juegos indirectos*,” meaning that the ball was hit “indirectly” to the opposing player by the use of walls.

Variations

The new games were much faster and were normally played with only one or two persons per side, whereas the older games required more players. The new games were so popular that they almost completely displaced the older games. Many variations of *jeux indirects* exist, including *main nue*, *cesta punta*, *remonte*, *yoko garbi*, and *grand chistera*. They share similar tactics and strategies.

People play *main nue en place libre* (bare hand in open court) either in singles or doubles against a single wall in an open court similar to that used for *rebot*. The game is simple: The ball must remain within the limits of the court and of the wall. *Main nue en trinquet* or *en fronton* (bare hand in court or fronton) is a more popular form of handball for singles, doubles, or three-per-side because of the hazards of the walls. In Basque countries the champions of *main nue* are the elite of *pelotaris* (ball players) because *main nue* is not only a physically demanding game but also wearing on bare hands.

Cesta punta, known as “jai alai” in other countries, is a two-per-side game played with a long *chistera* (basket) in a three-sided court. *Remonte* (Spanish for “to return”) is similar, but the basket-glove used for *remonte* is narrower and less curved than that used in other *chistera* games. Rattan canes replace the osier (a type of willow) twigs of the standard *chistera*, and the inside curve is polished. The ball appears to rebound instantaneously, but in fact hits the *chistera* near the wrist, travels down it, and flies out the far end. The rubber ball, the length of the court, and the pace are demanding. *Remonte* and *cesta punta* are pelota’s fastest and most difficult games.

Yoko garbi (pure game or clean game) is a three-per-side form played with a small *chistera* in an open court with a single wall. The court is like that used for *main nue en place libre* except it is longer. *Yoko garbi* is played with two players near the wall and one in back. The game is fast because of the shallow curve of the small basket-glove. *Grand chistera* is a three-per-side variation played with even longer *chisteras*. These games are played most often by professionals in Spain, where gambling is popular and demands a consistently high standard of play.



Basques venerate the best *pelotaris*. The first was Perkain, born in the French village of Les Aldudes about 1765. Perkain helped to put pelota on the map. The balls used by Perkain weighed as much as 907 grams and were hit back and forth. Perkain was succeeded at the top by two Spanish Basques: Jose Ramon Indart, called “Michico,” and Bautista de Arrayoz. Then came the French Basque Jean Erratchun, born in 1817 and known as “El Gaskoina” (the Gascon). Gaskoina played games that were basically the same as those played by Perkain, except for the change in the shape of the glove. He used a longer glove with a deep curve in its end in which the ball could be held for an instant before it was hurled back against the wall. This slice shot was known as “*atchiki*” (to hold). The Spaniards took advantage of the new glove and began to dominate the sport.

Although the new glove made pelota faster and more spectacular, its popularity declined for physical and economic reasons. When *chisteras* and rubber balls were introduced almost simultaneously, the impact on pelota was revolutionary. The final decade of the nineteenth century was a significant period for pelota as it developed into a sport of worldwide renown. Expansion took place mainly in South America, particularly in Argentina, which became a mecca of the sport. The new way of swinging the *chistera* led to pelota’s vogue as a spectator sport, which increased its professionalism and, in turn, gambling.

Governing Body

The Federacion Francaise de Pelote Basque, led by the French Basque Jean Ybarnegaray (1881–1956), was formed in 1921. This federation codified the various forms of the sport, wrote the rules, classified the players, and generally gave the sport a responsible authority. Spain and the South American countries followed suit. In 1924 pelota was included in the Olympic Games held in Paris, and five years later the Federacion Internacional de Pelota Vasca was founded and, with Ybarnegaray as president, became fully operative in 1945. The federation organized its first world championship in 1952 in San Sebastian, Spain. The federation

also gave pelota a patron saint: the sixteenth-century Basque Jesuit missionary, St. Francis Xavier, the co-founder of the Jesuit order. (St. Francis was a *pelotari*: A commission found on his skeletal right hand the tell-tale deformation of the phalanges that marks all hand-ball players.)

People now play pelota in countries wherever the Basques immigrated, including South America, Cuba, Mexico, and the United States. Although its popularity is worldwide, nowhere does it remain more popular than where it evolved—in the Basque provinces of Spain and France.

Teresa Baksh McNeil

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Pentathlon, Modern

The history of modern pentathlon, unlike that of most sports, is well documented. For the program of the 1912 Olympic Games at Stockholm, Sweden, the French educator and sportsman Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937), founder of the modern Olympics, suggested the addition of a multisport competition for soldiers, referring to it as a “military pentathlon,” probably to distinguish it from the five-event competition that was already a part of the program.

De Coubertin based modern pentathlon on the series of challenges that a military courier or spy might have encountered during the Napoleonic era. Such a person,

alone behind enemy lines, might have to ride a strange horse over broken country, fight a variety of opponents with a rapier and a pistol, ford a deep river, and run cross country over unfamiliar terrain.

By the 1920 Olympic Games at Antwerp, Belgium, people were referring to the competition as the “modern pentathlon” to complement the ancient or classic pentathlon with its military overtones. Until 1952 most pentathletes were military men.

Development

The modern pentathlon has always consisted of the same five events, although the specifics and scheduling of each have changed over time. The events are (1) riding cross country for a distance of between 2,500 and 5,000 meters over unfamiliar ground, on a horse drawn by lot, against time and with penalties for faults; (2) fencing with an epee (a fencing or dueling sword), with a round-robin during which every pentathlete fences every other sometimes lasting fourteen hours; (3) shooting twenty shots at a silhouette target from a distance of 25 meters with a .22-caliber rapid-fire pistol; (4) swimming freestyle for 300 meters against time, conducted in heats; and (5) running cross country for a distance of about 4,000 meters over unfamiliar ground against time.

Through the years the order of pentathlon events changed occasionally, but one event was held per day for five days until 1984, when two important changes were made. First, the five events were compressed into four days, with the fourth day beginning with shooting and ending with running. This change was made to counteract any attempt by pentathletes to take sedatives or beta-blockers (drugs that decrease the rate and force of heart contractions and lower high blood pressure) to steady themselves for the pistol shoot because this would have had an adverse impact on their running. Second, to create a more dramatic finish, the cross-country run was conducted with a staggered start; the leader after the first four events started first, and each competitor followed at a handicapped lag that

The winners in life think constantly in terms of I can, I will, and I am. Losers, on the other hand, concentrate their waking thoughts on what they should have or would have done, or what they can't do. ■ DENIS WAITLEY

reflected how far behind the leader each was. As a result of this change, the order of finish in the run was the order of finish for the entire competition.

In 1988 another change converted the cross-country riding competition into a stadium jumping competition. The jumping course now consists of twelve obstacles over a course of between 350 and 450 meters. Also, effective with the 1996 Olympics at Atlanta, Georgia, the .22-caliber rapid-fire pistol event was converted into a 10-meter air pistol event. Moreover, the five events have been further compressed into a single day. All these changes reflect the continuing pressure on the Olympics to emphasize events that are more suitable for televising.

Practice

Until 1956 modern pentathlon scoring was determined by adding the places that a competitor earned in each event, with the lowest score winning; a perfect score would be five. The finest performance ever turned in under this method of scoring was by Captain Willie Grut of Sweden at the 1948 Olympics in London. He won riding, fencing, and swimming and took fifth at shooting and eighth at running for a total score of sixteen.

Scoring for the modern pentathlon now resembles that of the decathlon (a ten-event athletic contest). A set of charts assigns one thousand points to a standard result, and a competitor receives more or fewer points depending on how the competitor's result compares with the standard result.

Modern pentathlon is, by its nature, a competition among individuals. However, adding the individual scores of three competitors from each nation creates a team event. This practice was done on an informal basis for many years before the 1952 Olympics at Helsinki, Finland, at which time it was formalized and a medal event created. The team event was discontinued in 1996, in part because the International Olympic Committee (IOC) decided to discontinue what are considered to be artificial events created by adding results from disparate competitions.

When de Coubertin introduced his new sport at Stockholm, it proved to be very popular with the host nation: Swedes took six of the first seven places. In first place was Gustaf Lilliehook; in fifth place was Lieutenant George S. Patton (1885–1945) of the United States, the future World War II general. Patton might have won had he not done so poorly in the shooting event, where he insisted on using his service revolver while the remainder of the field used target pistols. Patton also insisted that he was wrongly penalized by the judges, who failed to detect that he put a second shot through a previous bull's-eye.

Sweden continued to dominate modern pentathlon during the ensuing decades, producing eight of the first nine Olympic champions. Hungary and Russia have dominated since the 1950s; Poland, Finland, Italy, and occasionally the United States also have done well. The Olympic community has long recognized the modern pentathlon champion as the best all-around athlete in the world. When recruiting pentathletes, coaches have traditionally looked for prospects who excel at running and swimming. Coaches believe that shooting, fencing, and riding can be taught to athletes who have a solid background in the first two activities.

The first nonmilitary modern pentathlon champion was Lars Hall of Sweden. He was also the first modern pentathlon champion to win the Olympics twice: in 1952 and 1956. Andras Balczó of Hungary won three Olympic championships: two team in 1960 and 1968 and one individual 1972.

The modern pentathlon until 1949 was the only event at the Olympic Games that was actually conducted under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee itself—a tribute to de Coubertin, the founder of both. In that year the International Modern Pentathlon Federation was created, and it now conducts the world championships, the junior world championships (for competitors under twenty years of age), and the pentathlon events of the Olympics.

Modern pentathlon, like many other sports, has endured its share of scandal. The most notorious scandal

in the history of modern pentathlon occurred at the 1976 Olympics at Montreal, Canada, when Boris Onischenko of the Soviet Union, a member of the defending Olympic championship team and the defending individual silver medalist, was discovered to be using a rigged epee during the fencing event. The epee contained a switch that enabled Onischenko to register a touch without actually hitting his opponent. His deceit was detected by James Fox, a British pentathlete, and the Soviet was disqualified.

A variation of modern pentathlon was featured as a demonstration event at the 1948 Olympic Winter Games at Saint-Moritz, Switzerland. The winter pentathlon consisted of Nordic (cross-country) skiing, Alpine skiing, pistol shooting, riding, and epee fencing. The winter pentathlon was held only once, and Sweden took the first three places. The winner was Gustaf Lindh, and one point behind in second place was Captain Willie Grut, only six months before his triumph in the modern pentathlon in London. This winter pentathlon undoubtedly served as a model for the biathlon, combining Nordic skiing and rifle shooting, which was introduced at the 1960 Olympic Winter Games at Squaw Valley, California.

The Future

The future of modern pentathlon is not especially bright. It is an expensive sport for a person to pursue. It is not “mediatique” (readily broadcast on television); thus, commercial sponsorship is unlikely. Modern pentathlon's public image has been repeatedly damaged by cheating and other scandals. Finally, the advent of triathlon events (swimming, cycling, and running) threatens the continuation of modern pentathlon on the Olympic program.

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*We are judged by what we finish,
not by what we start.* ■ ANONYMOUS

Performance

Performance can be defined as an accomplishment or how someone functions during a given task. Performance is often used as a measure of one's success at accomplishing one's mission—that is, good performance is synonymous with success, and poor performance is akin to failure.

Early History of Performance

Athletic ability, physical fitness, competition, and play have always been major components of our world's culture. Performance has often been linked to an individual's physical ability and success in athletic competitions. As early as 3000 BCE, however, performance was linked with a much more essential element of life: survival. Civilizations relied predominantly on the physical ability and performance of their people for survival. People needed to be able to find and kill food to survive during dangerous times. Successful performances led to more food and greater chances of survival, according to English scientist Charles Darwin's "survival of the fittest" theory, which states that survival depends on people's ability to adapt to their environments. As sport moved into the modern age between 1820 and 1870 CE, however, performance became linked more heavily with sport success rather than survival. Successful performances were no longer necessary for survival; rather, performance started to bring great wealth and fame.

SUMER

From 3000 BCE to just after 2500 BCE Sumer was the world's predominant society. Hunting and warfare were key components of Sumerian life; thus, performance was easily measured: If you were able to hunt and fight without dying, you were successful. There were no statistics or competitions: performance was judged by life and death. Those who were most proficient at hunting and warfare were looked upon with great honor.

One of the most popular sports in Sumer was lion hunting because it was thought to teach men bravery

and prepare them for war. Groups of men were asked to surround several lions to prevent them from escaping until the leader of the men was able to kill the lions. Many men were killed during these hunts, and performance was assessed by the soldiers' ability to live. Sumerians also competed in other combat sports such as wrestling and boxing where performance was again linked to survival.

EGYPT

Like the Sumerians, Egyptians were exceptional warriors and placed value on one's ability to fight. From 3000 BCE to 30 BCE, the Egyptians showed their ability to fight and survive. Skills with a bow and arrow and foot speed were highly desired characteristics. Similar to the Sumerians, performance was judged by survival. Although successful performance was easily judged by life and death, the Egyptians were also one of the first civilizations to keep performance records. Scribes accompanied soldiers during combat and kept records of every spoil taken during battle. They also recorded the numbers of captured soldiers. This bookkeeping served as an additional way to measure performance.

The Egyptians were also accomplished hunters and, much like the Sumerians, judged performance on a man's ability to provide food for his family. Unlike combat situations, records were not kept during hunting trips, so performance was gauged solely by one's ability to gather food. Much like the Sumerians, Egyptian measures of performance were easy to assess: The most successful performers were those who were alive.

CHINA

Ancient Chinese history runs from approximately 2500 BCE to 900 CE and contains many components of performance that are similar to those of both Sumer and Egypt. Combat was an important aspect of the Chinese life, and soldiers often had only their athletic prowess and skill with weapons to keep them alive. In addition to the bow and arrow used by Egyptians, Chinese warriors were skilled with axes, spears, and daggers.

An English country footrace in which the thinner man carries a human jockey.



This focus on fighting led the Chinese to incorporate combat sports such as boxing to their daily lives. The predominant focus on boxing was on appropriate offensive tactics, thus making skilled boxers better soldiers. Similar to combat situations, performance during boxing was gauged by survival. Martial arts were thought to build more potent warriors. This focus on building successful soldiers through boxing and martial arts highlights the link between performance and survival.

GREECE AND ROME

Much like civilizations before them, the ancient Greeks (1000 BCE–300 CE) competed in combat sports. These warrior sports included chariot racing, wrestling, boxing, javelin throwing, and foot races. Severe injury and even death were commonplace during these competitions. Although the Greeks participated in many activities in which performance success was gauged by survival, they also began competing in more modern sporting activities.

Starting in 1000 BCE, the Greeks competed in games at Olympia every four years; these games were the beginnings of the modern Olympics. Success in these games, which were less combat-like than previous activities, was connected with glory, honor, and prizes; successful athletes received cash prizes as well as living

expenses. Although no records were kept to measure performance, the most successful athletes at these competitions were given great power and advantages over the less-dominant athletes. Performance during ancient Greek civilization became less about survival and more synonymous with honor and power.

Ancient Romans (500 BCE–500 CE) participated in more dangerous games than the Greeks did. Romans viewed athletic events as preparation for combat, therefore, they competed in warrior games. Their competitions included mortal combat with lions, tigers, and panthers as well as gladiator fights.

For the most part, women were not allowed to participate in Greek or Roman games. Athletic performance was not thought to be a feminine characteristic, thus women were discouraged from competing in athletic competitions. However, evidence indicates that a small number of female gladiators did exist during Roman times.

A few Greek women held their own games at Olympia, but their reputations were seriously damaged as questions were raised about their femininity and sexual orientation. In addition, the achievements and performances of these women were not publicized as were those of their male counterparts.

Sport Performance in the Middle Ages

The most popular sporting activities during the Middle Ages (500 CE–1453 CE) were warrior games designed to prepare soldiers for combat. Tournaments were quite similar to actual battles. Death and serious injuries were common, and the victors often left with the loser's possessions and took the defeated as prisoners. These competitions were drastically different from modern sporting events. There was no measurement or record keeping of athletes' performances during these events; the only way to measure the competitors' performance was through their ability to survive.

Athletic prowess was not a desired characteristic of women during this period, either. Thus, women did not take on many athletic endeavors. They were expected to

Peak performers develop powerful mental images of the behavior that will lead to the desired results. They see in their mind's eye the result they want, and the actions leading to it. ■ CHARLES A. GARFIELD

be subservient and rarely left their homes because physical activity was not thought to be feminine. Overall, women avoided physical activity, and the few activities they did take part in were considerably less physical and dangerous than those of their male counterparts.

Sport Performance in the Twentieth Century

As sports moved into the twentieth century, more formal methods for gauging performance became popular. With the advent of professional leagues in baseball, football, basketball, and hockey and professional tours in sports including tennis, golf, and volleyball, sport performance began to be quantified through statistics and record keeping. Instead of gauging performance through one's ability to survive combat-like contests, modern sport performance is measured by wins and losses and how individuals compare with their competition. Books, newspapers, and websites are replete with statistics and records from every sport imaginable. These performance measures provide valuable information and are studied by sport fans around the world. Performance records are well known by both fans and competitors, and an athlete's value is linked with these records.

Unlike previous centuries when successful performance led to survival, triumphant performances in the twentieth century, and moving into the twenty-first century, provide wealth, honor, and recognition. The athletes who perform at the highest levels make enormous salaries and are looked up to by thousands of fans. Thus, it is not surprising that many athletes use several methods designed to improve their performance, including proper nutrition, strength and conditioning, and mental training.

NUTRITION

Recently, there has been increasing interest in the positive effects nutrition can have on performance. Athletes have begun to monitor their diets in attempts to stay in ideal physical shape and improve their performance. Proper nutrition has also been shown to reduce the risk of injury and help speed injury recovery.

The two major categories of food that athletes use for energy are carbohydrates and fat. Athletes report receiving 45 to 55 percent of their energy intake from carbohydrates and 35 percent from fat. Nutritionists suggest meals high in carbohydrates eaten three to four hours before exercise can improve performance. In addition, carbohydrate intake during activity can further enhance endurance, work output, and performance. Despite opinions to the contrary, no evidence indicates that carbohydrate intake thirty minutes or less before exercise has adverse effects but, rather, often has a positive effect. Diets high in carbohydrates have been shown to have the most positive effect on endurance sports.

Fat is twice as energy dense as carbohydrates and is the predominant source of energy for those engaging in moderate levels of activity for extended periods. Despite the predominance of low-fat diets, many nutritionists have suggested that diets high in fat can improve performance for athletes who engage in regular activity. However, several studies have shown that diets high in fat provide no more positive effects than high carbohydrate diets do. Over time, high-fat diets have been shown to have negative effects on performance when compared with diets high in carbohydrates. Therefore, many nutritionists have concluded that there is no performance advantage to high-fat diets when compared with high carbohydrate diets and, thus, suggest that athletes should be getting 60 to 65 percent of their energy intake from carbohydrates.

STRENGTH TRAINING

Strength has always been synonymous with survival and athletic success. Since 2500 BCE, athletes have used strength training to improve performance. Strength training was initially used to improve health, strength, and performance on the battlefield; athletes competing in warrior games used strength training to increase their chances of survival.

More recently, strength training has been used as another way for athletes to gain an advantage over their competition and improve their performances. Currently, every professional and college team and many high

An acre of performance is worth a whole world of promise. ■ RED AUERBACH

school teams employ at least one strength coach and encourage their athletes to take part in a strength training program. In recent years, strength training has become more sport-specific to improve performance in specific sports. Athletes competing in sports that require muscle mass and quick bursts of power (weight lifting, football, sprinting) employ different strength programs than do those competing in endurance sports (swimming, cross country). As a result, strength coaches have begun to specialize in different sports, helping athletes to improve their performance.

MENTAL TRAINING

Mental training, or sport psychology, is a relatively new field aimed at studying how people behave in sport and exercise. The aim of mental training is to help athletes achieve effective mental states and peak performance. In 1898, Norman Triplett began the first investigations into the psychological aspects of sport. Triplett studied why cyclists seemed to ride faster in groups than when they were alone. Coleman Griffith continued to study the mental aspects of sport performance and developed the first sport psychology lab in 1921. Griffith was also one of the first sport psychology consultants to conduct applied work with coaches and teams—he provided services to the Chicago Cubs Professional Baseball team and Notre Dame Head Football Coach Knute Rockne.

In 1917, the Soviets began to study the psychological aspects of performance. Attempting to develop elite soldiers, the Soviets used mental training with their military personnel. After World War II, the Soviets began using mental training to improve the performance of their Olympic athletes.

Modeling the Soviet system of mental training, several Eastern European countries began to offer sport psychology services to their athletes.

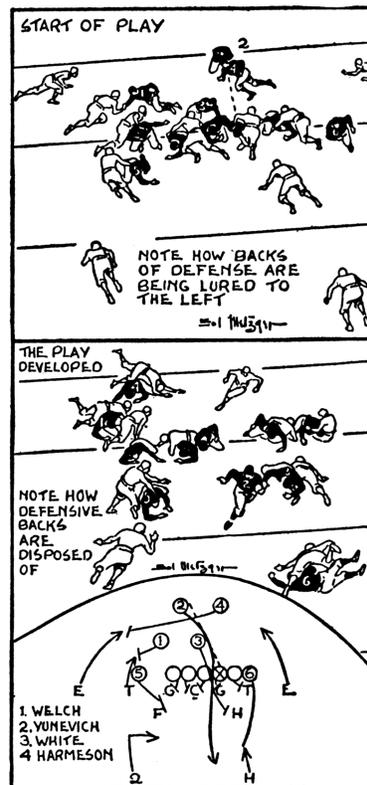
Noticing the success of Soviet Olympians (80 gold, 69 silver, and 46 bronze medals in 1980), the United States began to extensively integrate sport psychology into their athletic programs in the 1980s. The United States Olympic Committee now employs several sport psychology consultants to improve U.S. athletes' performance.

During the last twenty years, increasing numbers of athletes and coaches have begun to use sport psychology in attempts to improve their athletic performance. Sport psychology consultants work with athletes on various issues including concentration or focus, confidence, relaxation, goal setting, performance preparation, anxiety or arousal, positive self-talk, stress management, career termination, injury rehabilitation, burnout, dealing with distractions, imagery, leadership, and group or team dynamics.

Sport psychology consultants teach various mental skills to athletes to help them become self-sufficient and have begun to branch out into other performance domains, such as working with business executives, surgeons, actors, and other performers to improve their professional enjoyment and performances.

The Future

With the increasing emphasis on winning and the opportunities for earning money and fame in modern sports, it is not surprising that athletes have begun to seek out numerous performance enhancement techniques. Athletes at all levels



The inside guard plunge play requires each player to perform his specific assignments.

have begun employing their own nutritionists, strength coaches, and sport psychology consultants to work with their sport coaches. In addition, many parents are sending their children to specialized sports camps and academies where they work with nutrition, strength training, and sport psychology specialists. Methods of performance enhancement have become an inextricable part of athletics and will continue to grow in years to come.

Noah B. Gentner

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*When you stand on the victory stand,
you must be able to ask yourself:
"Did I win this medal?"* ■ KIP KEINO

Performance Enhancement

Performance enhancement in sports has taken on added importance during recent years as athletes try to gain an edge over opponents in an increasingly cut-throat sporting environment. In an effort to enhance their performance, athletes have turned to nutritional supplements, a variety of drugs, physiological agents, and even sports psychology.

Ancient Times

The record of performance-enhancing drugs dates back to 400 BCE in Greece, when achievements in sports were first found to increase social status, political power, and economic well-being. Although the crown of olive leaves was the only "official prize" for an Olympic victory, records indicate that Olympic winners could gain great wealth from lucrative prizes awarded by their city-state. In addition to money, winners might receive homes, food, tax breaks, and even exemption from duty in the armed services. Because the stakes were high, athletes were open to any means that gave them the edge over opponents, such as ingesting mushroom extracts, plant seeds, or any concoction thought to enhance performance.

During the Roman period chariot races and gladiator competitions filled the stands with spectators. Knowing that a victory could be their ticket to social and economic prosperity, competitors fed their horses potent mixtures of herbs and other plants to make them run faster. They also fed themselves herbal substances that acted as doping agents to make for a more intense and bloody battle, one that would satisfy the adoring crowds.

Ancient games were ended during the Christian era in 396 CE when the Roman Emperor Theodosius banned all forms of "pagan" sports. People were encouraged to develop their minds during this time. Because physical development was viewed as a hindrance



A hypodermic needle injecting steroids into a baseball.

Source: *istockphoto.com/imbarney22*.

Steroids Become All the Rage

Anabolic steroids were introduced during the 1950s. A synthetic form of the male sex hormone testosterone, anabolic steroids increase muscle mass, strength, and endurance capacity while facilitating in the recovery period after ex-

hausting workouts or training sessions. In 1956 at the World Games in Moscow, U.S. doctor John B. Ziegler learned of steroids after watching Soviet athletes urinate using a catheter because their prostates had become so enlarged that urination was difficult. Overshadowing the negative side effects, Ziegler was more impressed as the Soviets shattered all of the weight-lifting records. When Ziegler returned to the United States, he helped a team of scientists develop the steroid dianabol, hoping to help U.S. athletes compete against the Soviets. Dianabol was immediately embraced by the athletic world, and use was widespread.

Because succeeding in sports had reached new proportions in terms of political, social, and economic power, athletes were largely unconcerned with side effects of steroids and instead considered them just another sacrifice in reaching the top.

Media's Influence on the Reemergence of Sports

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sports in North America became increasingly popular because of coverage by mass media such as newspapers and magazines, and spectator sports such as football and soccer attracted hundreds of thousands of fans. As more stadiums were built and international play increased, sports became more than just a frivolous activity to be played during free time. Instead, the professional athlete was born, and with the professional athlete, a life of fame and fortune.

During this time athletes began to use pain killers and stimulants to gain an edge over unsuspecting opponents. In 1886 cyclist Arthur Linton died from an overdose of the stimulant trimethyl during a race, the first recorded drug-related death in sports. Marathon runner Thomas Hicks nearly died during the 1904 Olympics in St. Louis, Missouri, after ingesting a mixture of brandy and strychnine, a drug used in "street" varieties such as LSD, heroin, and cocaine. Using a combination of alcohol and strychnine as a perceived performance enhancer was popular during the early twentieth century, along with heroin, caffeine, and cocaine, which were available without a prescription. During the 1930s amphetamines—stimulants that increase mental alertness, elevate mood, decrease the sense of fatigue, and produce a sense of euphoria—began to replace strychnine as the drug of choice.

Some countries sponsored drug use as they strived for the international recognition that often accompanied achievement in individual and team sports. The former head of the East German sports federation, Manfred Ewald, and medical director Manfred Hoepfner gave what they called "vitamins" to unknowing athletes as young as eleven years old. The athletes later found that the "vitamins" were heavy doses of steroids and other performance-enhancing drugs. As a result, East Germany became a sports powerhouse during the 1970s and 1980s, but not without a price. The physical and psychological damage done to the more than ten thousand athletes who were systematically doped was

Steroids—A State-Sponsored Affair

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Performance Enhancement

Cocaine and Horse Racing

Within a recent period cocaine has come into use on the race track, as a stimulant. Horses that are worn and exhausted, or are uncertain as to speed and endurance, are given ten to fifteen grains of cocaine by the needle under the skin at the time of starting, or a few moments before.

The effects are very prominent, and a veritable muscular delirium follows, in which the horse displays unusual speed, and often unexpectedly wins the race. This agitation continues and the driver has difficulty in “slowing down” the horse after the race is over; not unfrequently the horse will go half round again before he can be stopped. The exhaustion which follows is not marked, except in the great thirst and loss of appetite. Sometimes diarrhea and trembling follow. But good grooms give unusual attention to rubbing and bathing the legs in hot water and stimulants. The general effect on the horse is depression from which he soon recovers but it is found essential to give cocaine again to make sure of his speed. The action of cocaine grows more transient as the use increases, and when a long period of scoring follows before the race begins, drivers give a second dose secretly while in the saddle. Sometimes the horse becomes delirious and unmanageable, and leaves the track in a wild frenzy, often killing the driver, or he drops dead on the track from the cocaine, although the cause is unknown to any but the owner and driver. Some horses have been given as high as twenty grains at a time, but this is dangerous and only given to worn-out animals, who may by this means win a race. It appears that cocaine is only used in running races, and as a temporary stimulant for the time. It is claimed that the flashing eyes and trembling excitement of the horse is strong evidence of the use of cocaine.

Source: Use of cocaine on the racetrack. (1896, January 4). *Scientific American*, p. 9.

horrific. The long-term medical effects of steroid use included increased aggression, testicular atrophy, masculinization in women, personality disorders, liver damage, and cardiovascular disease. Some of the athletes died prematurely. East German shot-putting champion Heidi Krieger eventually had a sex change because of the physical changes her body endured because of extensive drug use and now goes by the name “Andreas Krieger.” In July 2000 Ewald and Hoepfner each received suspended jail terms of one to twelve years.

The use of steroids continued to grow despite increasing evidence of harmful side effects and the sanctions put into place by sports authorities. Nineteen athletes (including two U.S. athletes) willing to risk their health and reputation to earn a place on the medals stand during the 1983 Pan-American Games were disqualified for steroid use. Five years later Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson—who raced to a world record finish in the 100-meter dash—was stripped of his Olympic gold medal in Seoul, South Korea, after testing positive for the anabolic steroid stanozolol.

Athletes Turn to Supplements

In 1998 St. Louis Cardinals first baseman Mark McGwire and Chicago Cubs outfielder Sammy Sosa of Major League Baseball broke New York Yankee Roger Maris’s home run record, a record that had stood for thirty-seven years. People later discovered that both players were using an over-the-counter supplement called “creatine,” a protein-based ergogenic aid that has been shown to increase strength and muscle mass. McGwire was also taking androstenedione, better known as “andro,” which is said to increase testosterone levels. McGwire’s home run record was challenged by opponents who said he did not earn the record without the help of a questionable substance, which is banned by the International Olympic Committee but not by Major League Baseball. After much debate officials resolved the issue by placing an asterisk next to his name in the record books, noting the use of supplements.



Judo athletes pose in this poster to help combat doping.

national sports organizations followed suit by banning illegal substances so all athletes could compete fairly.

BALCO Debacle

In June 2003 track coach Trevor Graham, who once trained Olympic sprinters Marion Jones and Tim Montgomery, called the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency (USADA) and told it that an anabolic steroid was being distributed to athletes by Victor Conte Jr., owner of Bay Area Laboratories Co-operative (BALCO) in San Francisco. Graham sent the agency a syringe of the clear liquid, which was identified by scientists as tetrahydrogestrinone (THG). Referred to as a “designer steroid” because it is synthetically created by chemical engineers, THG is a steroid that builds muscle mass and strength, allowing athletes to train harder for longer periods of time. Although not specifically banned at the time, THG was a derivative of other steroids that had been banned by the USADA. Al-

Sports Authorities Take a Stand

Although athletes today are well aware of the health risks of taking performance-enhancing drugs and supplements, many are willing to take those risks if the result is athletic success. During the late 1990s Dr. Robert Goldman surveyed 198 past and aspiring Olympians, asking them if they would take a banned drug with the guarantee that they would both win the competition and not get caught. Only three said they would not take the drug.

In 1968 the International Olympic Committee was the first sports organization to compile a banned substances list and began testing athletes after years of drug use suspicion. Many professional and inter-

though tests on possible side effects have been limited, the USADA has warned that THG can cause liver toxicity, excessive hair growth in women, and infertility and baldness in men, based on its similarities to other steroids. Although the athletes themselves were not under investigation, several Olympians, NFL players, MLB players, and even a professional boxer were subpoenaed to testify against BALCO, which was under investigation by federal authorities as to the source of numerous illegal performance-enhancing substances. Among those subpoenaed were Jones and Montgomery, Oakland Raiders linebacker Bill Romanowski, and All-Star San Francisco Giants outfielder Barry Bonds.

If you don't do what's best for your body, you're the one who comes up on the short end. ■ JULIUS ERVING

Ephedrine—A Deadly Risk

Ephedrine, also known as “ephedra” or “ma huang,” is a stimulant that is often found in asthma medications and is structurally similar to amphetamines. Athletes began using ephedra in the form of pills or drinks during the early 1990s to lose weight and improve their athletic performance. In the sports world ephedra-containing products have been blamed for the death of several up-and-coming athletes. In July 2001 Minnesota Vikings tackle Korey Stringer collapsed during a training camp session and later died after taking an ephedra supplement prior to practice. A month later Northwestern University football player Rashidi Wheeler collapsed and died during a workout after drinking an ephedra-based sports drink before practice. In February 2003 Baltimore Orioles pitcher Steve Bechler collapsed on the mound and died after taking an over-the-counter ephedrine supplement sold to boost energy and help in weight loss. Ephedra was banned by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), IOC, the National Football League, and minor league baseball, prior to a ban by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration in 2004.

Human Growth Hormone

Athletes also have used human growth hormone (hGH) as a performance enhancer, largely because it was undetectable by the International Olympic Committee until 2004. Produced by the pituitary gland, hGH was originally used to stimulate the growth of muscles and bones in children suffering from a deficiency of the hormone. Over time medical officials determined that hGH increases lean body mass and reduces fatty tissue, which was attractive to elite athletes. Some athletes also believe that hGH increases energy, a claim unsubstantiated by the limited research conducted on the hormone. Although it is expensive (reportedly in excess of \$1,000 a unit on the black market), some elite athletes opted for the hormone because it was more difficult to detect than steroids. Marion Jones was accused by her ex-husband, Olympic shot putter C. J. Hunter, of using hGH, an allegation she repeatedly denied.

Blood Doping—Elite Athletes' Newest Rage

Tempted by the lure of big contracts and lucrative endorsements, many athletes have also turned to blood doping. Athletes will donate their own blood months in advance, then receive a transfusion of their own blood prior to a major competition to increase the volume of red blood cells in their body. Studies have found that as little as one pint can increase the blood's oxygen-carrying capacity, resulting in increases in maximal oxygen uptake, time to exhaustion, and actual performance. This technique is particularly attractive to athletes in endurance sports such as marathon running or cycling. Blood doping can result in blood clotting or heart failure, challenging the popular credo of athletes that “more is better.”

Erythropoietin (EPO), a naturally occurring hormone that stimulates red blood cell production, is reproduced in a synthetic form that can be injected by a syringe. EPO has been the blood doping method of choice in the cycling world since it was introduced fifteen years ago. Although dozens of elite cyclists have died from complications attributed to EPO, many continue to take the risks that they believe are necessary to win. In the 1998 Tour de France bicycle race the grueling competition was overshadowed by drug allegations surrounding EPO after officials found bottles and bloody syringes near a hotel where several teams were staying. Seven people were placed under investigation, one team was expelled, and six teams dropped out in protest. Some high-profile athletes claimed they used the hormone and never tested positive for it because the test is effective only if given within seventy-two hours of an injection.

At the 2002 Olympics in Salt Lake City, Utah, a new blood-boosting substance, darbepoetin, was discovered by drug testers. A drug similar to EPO, darbepoetin in its medical form is used to treat anemia and severe kidney problems. Athletes used darbepoetin because of its longer-lasting effects and because they falsely believed it is undetectable by drug testing.



Performance Enhancement

Performance Enhancing “Medicine” in Alaska

Like many other drugs, those that enhance performance can be found in nature. Below are anthropological accounts of “medicines” used by the Tlingit of Yakutat Bay in southeastern Alaska in the early 1950s.

This magical root does not have to be procured from a shaman; in fact, some old men and women in Yakutat are reputed to know what plant to take and to have gathered it on Haenke Island, although our informants could not identify it for us. “If you know about it, you can go out, get it yourself before you eat.” It must be gathered early in the morning. “Just the way they say, that kayaní strong when you get it in the morning before you eat. After you eat it wouldn’t help you.” The gatherer did not have to fast the previous day, but was supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse, although the informant did not know for how long.

After the user has been successful, he must dispose of the root. This rule applies to all kayaní. “When he gets his wish, he puts it under a rotten tree. If he keeps it, it will bring bad luck.” It was never speci-

fied, however, whether the magical root could be used only for a single hunt or contest, or whether it might be employed for a whole season.

Another medicine was used to shoot straight, although I did not learn its native name. It was effective for basketball. “I know a boy from southeastern Alaska. He graduated from college. He is thinking about his uncle, and about basketball dope. And his uncle said, ‘If you live right and take my word, you’re gonna make it.’ So he takes his uncle’s word. He told me all the story. By the time his uncle made it for him (in 8 months) he feel like he’s going to fly. He can catch the ball and put it in the basket from anywhere. And he wins two stripes at college. And after, when it was condemned for him (you must destroy it before it’s too late) he tried to play basketball and he couldn’t play it at all. . . . They wanted to make that medicine for the Yakutat Basketball Team, but they wouldn’t live pure 8 months keep away from their wives and keep clean, and so on.”

Source: De Laguna, F. (1972). *Under Mount Saint Elias: The history and culture of the Yakutat Tlingit*. (p. 661). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Teens and Performance-Enhancing Drugs

Although the focus of illegal drug use tends to be on elite athletes, many athletes begin experimenting with performance-enhancing drugs during adolescence. Millions of athletes—both men and women—use steroids regularly, and the majority are in their late teens. Children as young as thirteen have been known to use steroids to enhance their performance at the high school level. No matter what the risk, teen athletes are even more likely to take performance-enhancing drugs and supplements as they strive to mimic their idols: Olympians and professional athletes who live lives of fame and fortune. Infrequent testing and peer pressure are additional factors contributing to teen use.

Sports Psychology—A Safer Avenue to Athletic Success

Sports psychology has been practiced since the turn of the twentieth century but has greatly increased in popularity during recent years. Sports psychology is a means by which athletes prepare their minds for competition, and successful implementation can give them a safe and legal edge over competitors. Ninety-five percent of athletes blame their mistakes during competitions on mental errors, although these same athletes say they prepare mentally for competition only about 5 percent of the total time they practice.

Norman Triplett conducted the first known sports psychology experiment in North America in 1897. Testing cyclists during racing conditions, he obtained results that indicated that paced bicycle races result in faster

You have to be suspicious when you line up against girls with moustaches. ■ MAREE HOLLAND

times than do individual efforts and that the presence of an audience enhances arousal levels of cyclists.

During the 1920s Coleman Griffith opened the first sports laboratory at the University of Illinois, conducting psychological research on the psychomotor skills of athletes, as well as their performance, personality, and motivation. Later he served as a sports psychologist for the Chicago Cubs. Interest in sports psychology plummeted for decades, likely because of the Great Depression and World War II. Although sports psychology did not regain popularity until the 1960s, Griffith is often referred to as the “father of sports psychology.”

In 1967 the sports psychology movement began to make headway, highlighted by the first annual meeting of the North American Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity (NASPSPA). Bruce Ogilvie, a leader in the advancement of applied sports psychology, began to work with athletes one-on-one, helping them to understand that their minds are just as important as their bodies when it comes to performance. Ogilvie worked as a consultant with multiple professional teams, including the San Francisco 49ers, Oakland Athletics, Dallas Cowboys, Portland Trailblazers, and the U.S. Olympic Team. He was known for helping athletes make the necessary adjustments between collegiate and professional athletics as well as helping create facilitative team dynamics.

By the 1984 Olympic Games sports psychology consultants were working with U.S. athletes from the track and field, volleyball, weight lifting, skiing, synchronized swimming, fencing, cycling, archery, shooting, and boxing teams. However, a rule stipulated that none of the consultants could provide on-site services for the athletes during competition because none was credentialed by the United States Olympic Committee (USOC). That rule was changed for the 1988 Olympic Games.

Sports psychologists, sometimes referred to as “head” coaches, work with athletes and teams on a variety of mental skills. Goal setting, self-talk, imagery, and relaxation are just a few of the techniques on which sports psychologists may focus to improve motivation, self-

confidence, mental toughness, and concentration while decreasing stress and anxiety. Team dynamics can be an ongoing struggle, particularly among professional athletes because they rarely remain with the same team throughout their career. Job security in professional sports is nearly nonexistent, trades are commonplace, and retirement because of injury is frequent.

Fear of the Sports Psychologist

Although many athletes won’t think twice about trying a drug that could seriously harm them, those same athletes may be apprehensive about seeking help with their mental skills because they fear that their teammates will view them as weak or incompetent. This stigma has diminished slowly through the years, however, as more professional and elite athletes seek the help of sports psychology consultants.

The USOC has its own sports psychologist on staff. Most Olympic sports teams have their own sports psychology consultant as well. Sports psychology also is popular in Canada and many parts of Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. Professional, elite, and amateur athletes are increasingly seeking the help of sports psychology consultants as they realize the importance that mental skills play in achieving a peak performance.

The Future

Sports officials have faced an uphill battle in a quest for drug-free athletics. Although antidoping initiatives have reached an all-time high within the professional sports world, chemists are creating undetectable drugs faster than sports laboratories can create tests to detect them. Newer drugs mimic natural bodily processes and are becoming more difficult to detect. With the possibility of genetic enhancement (genetically stimulating muscle growth in athletes) in the years to come, detection and elimination of performance enhancement will become an even tougher challenge.

More and more athletes will explore the world of sports psychology in an effort to hone their mental skills.



However, if the current trend continues, they likely will do so in conjunction with performance-enhancing drugs, supplements, or physiological processes as they go for the gold.

Libby Albers

See also Nutrition; Psychology; Technology

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Personality

Marathon runners are loners and introspective; football players are extroverts. Such stereotypes pervade popular thinking about personality and sports, but do these labels have any basis in fact? For decades people have debated whether aspects of people's personalities influence their choices of which sports to play and their success in those sports. A bias behind part of this debate has been the idea that sports build character. Much research has been conducted to determine the role that personality plays in sports. This research has been framed within three major theories of psychological thought: psychodynamic, dispositional, and phenomenological. Although personality traits may be associated with sports in some way, thus far no conclusive evidence indicates that popular stereotypes have any validity.

Personality Defined

Personality was defined in a variety of ways during the last century. Common aspects of these definitions include a focus on psychological aspects (thoughts, emotions, behavior, motives) that make up a person's identity, on how people differ from one another, on behavior that is controlled from within people rather than from the environment, and on how different aspects of a person form an integrated whole. An example of a definition of *personality* comes from Lazarus and Monat, who defined it as "the underlying, relatively stable, psychological structure and processes that organize human experience and shape a person's activities and reactions to the environment" (Lazarus and Monat 1979, 1).

Psychodynamic Theory

Psychodynamic theory emphasizes the importance of early life experiences in determining current psychological makeup and the role of the unconscious. During the first three decades of the twentieth century the Austrian psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud laid the foundations of psychodynamic theory, and theoretical



Personality

Are Athletics Making Girls Masculine? (1912)

Some of the specific mental and physical qualities which are developed by athletics are increased powers of attention, will, concentration, accuracy, alertness, quickness of perception, perseverance, reason, judgment, forbearance, patience, obedience, self-control, loyalty to leaders, self-denial, submergence of self, grace, poise, suppleness, courage, strength and endurance. These qualities are as valuable to women as to men. While there is some danger that women who try to excel in men's sports may take on more marked masculine characteristics . . . this danger is greatly lessened if the sports are modified so as to meet their peculiar qualifications as to strength, height, weight, etc.

Inasmuch as the average woman is inferior to the average man in nearly all physical qualifications, all the apparatus used and the weights lifted, as well as the height and distance to be attained in running, jumping, etc., should be modified to meet her limitations. Considering also the peculiar constitution of her nervous system and the great emotional disturbances to which she is subjected, changes should be made in many of the rules and regulations governing the sports and games for men, to adapt them to the requirements of women.

Source: Sargent, D. A. (1912, March). Are athletics making girls masculine? *The Ladies' Home Journal*.

development was continued by Adler, Erikson, Fromm, Horney, and Jung. Although some authors in sports psychology have speculated that psychodynamic theory may contribute to understanding why people tend toward participation in some sports and not others, no evidence has been provided to support their speculation.

Dispositional Theory

Dispositional theory focuses on the characteristics of a person's behavior that are relatively consistent through time and between situations. Personality represents a combination of these characteristics. Four theories that focus on a person's stable and enduring characteristics are trait, dispositional state, biological, and motive or need theories.

TRAIT

Traits are those internal characteristics of a person that are highly stable between situations and over time. Trait theorists (such as Allport, Cattell, Eysenck, and Guilford) contended that traits lie beneath people's behavior.

During the 1920s Coleman Griffith conducted some of the first research into personality and sports. To determine the personality profile of the successful athlete, Griffith observed and interviewed college and professional athletes. Eleven traits were common among them:

ruggedness, courage, intelligence, exuberance, buoyancy, emotional adjustment, optimism, conscientiousness, alertness, loyalty, and respect for authority.

During the 1960s and 1970s research on personality in sports, based on trait theory, was prolific, with more than one thousand studies conducted. Research could be conducted relatively easily, with investigators administering personality questionnaires from mainstream psychology (such as Hathaway and McKinley's *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory*, Cattell's *16 Personality Factor Questionnaire*, Eysenck and Eysenck's *Eysenck Personality Inventory*) to athletes. In 1969 a sports-specific questionnaire (Tutko, Lyon, and Ogilvie's *Athletic Motivation Inventory*) was developed to assess eleven personality traits (drive, determination, leadership, aggressiveness, guilt proneness, emotional control, self-confidence, conscientiousness, mental toughness, trust, and coachability), which have some similarity to the traits that Coleman had identified more than forty years earlier.

Using these questionnaires, researchers looked for differences between athletes and nonathletes, between athletes from one sport type and athletes from another sport type, and between athletes at different levels of ability. Although various studies have identified differences between groups (e.g., athletes versus nonathletes),

Concentration is the ability to think about absolutely nothing when it is absolutely necessary. ■ RAY KNIGHT

no consistent findings have come from this research. That is, no clear and enduring personality differences have been found between athletes and nonathletes, between athletes from different sports, and between athletes of differing ability.

Some researchers have speculated that personality may be connected with various sport behaviors (e.g., successful sporting performance). To date, no evidence supports this claim.

Another subject of research has been whether sports build character. Although a small number of studies have been conducted on this subject, they have consistently concluded that no relationship exists between sports and the development of character.

DISPOSITIONAL STATE

Dispositional state theories consider the interaction between personal characteristics and the environment. Dispositional state theorists consider dispositions to be less rigid than traits. Both these personal dispositions and the environment determine personality. Two models that have received extensive research attention in sports are Morgan's mental health model and the individual zones of optimal functioning (IZOF) model, applied by Hanin and Syrjä in their research on emotion and sport.

In 1980, with the mental health model, Morgan proposed that positive mood states facilitate higher athletic performance than do less positive mood states. Morgan and later researchers measured mood using the six subjective mood states of the *Profile of Mood States* questionnaire, developed in 1981 by McNair, Lorr, and Droppleman. These mood states include tension-anxiety, depression-dejection, anger-hostility, vigor-activity, fatigue-inertia, and confusion-bewilderment.

Through research with different athletic populations, a distinct athletic profile was developed. The profile was characterized as higher vigor-activity levels than the population norm and lower levels of tension-anxiety, depression-dejection, anger-hostility, fatigue-inertia, and confusion-bewilderment than the population norm. Based on the graphical representation, this pattern was named the "iceberg profile."

The iceberg profile, however, is not related to sporting performance. Some athletes perform well despite having a profile that is considered to be "negative." Issues that may confound the mood-performance relationship include athletes' perceptions of their moods and the type of sports they play. Athletes' perceptions of their mood as facilitative or deliberative may influence performance to a greater extent than does the mood itself. Some sports may require mood profiles different from those of the iceberg profile. The mental health model may be more useful for charting differences between athletes and relating these differences to performance than for relating the profiles of many athletes to performance.

In 1995 Hanin and Syrja developed the IZOF model. With this model as a base, Hanin asked athletes to rate previous successful performances with regard to the intensity of a range of positive optimal emotions (i.e., eager, sure, determined), negative optimal emotions (i.e., tense, furious), positive dysfunctional emotions (i.e., calm, nice, content, pleasant), and negative dysfunctional emotions (i.e., slack, lazy, unwilling, tired). Greater success was associated with positive and negative optimal emotions of a high intensity and positive and negative dysfunctional emotions of a low intensity. The few studies that have been conducted have shown the IZOF model to be predictive of performance. Although not a personality theory, consistency of emotional state was being examined with the collection of data on successful and poor performances.

BIOLOGICAL

Some theorists (e.g., Kretschmer during the 1920s and Sheldon during the 1940s) have contended that personality is related to bodily configuration. For example, people with lean, linear body types were suggested to be tense, inhibited, and introverted. Later researchers during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s reasoned that personality is related to nervous system function.

Few biological studies have been conducted in sports. Studies have tended to investigate whether physiological and psychological processes are associated

Mental will is a muscle that needs exercise, just like muscles of the body. ■ LYNN JENNINGS

and whether physical and psychological measures, in combination, can predict behavior. A study conducted by Hardy, McMurray, and Roberts in 1981 exemplifies the first type of research. These researchers investigated whether people with type A personalities (i.e., people who tend to be strict, rigid, perfectionistic, and mindful of time) respond differently to exercise than do people with type B personalities (i.e., people who tend to be more relaxed). The results showed that people with type A personalities experience greater negative psychophysiological responses, at higher intensities of exercise, than do people with type B personalities. At light and moderate intensities, people with type A personalities had greater positive psychophysiological responses than did people with type B personalities.

MOTIVE OR NEED

For motive or need theorists (e.g., Murray, McClelland, Atkinson), specific motives or needs are the drivers of personality. In 1957 Atkinson published his achievement motivation theory, which grounded later sports research. The need to achieve formed the basis of Atkinson's theory. The theory has received some empirical support. For example, in 1965 Ryan and Lakie found that people with a need to avoid failure that is stronger than their need to succeed perform better in noncompetitive situations than do people whose need to succeed is stronger than their need to avoid failure. In competitive situations the reverse was true.

Zuckerman's work on sensation seeking, conducted during the 1970s, has been the foundation of several sports studies. Sensation seeking is the need for intense, novel, and varied sensations. Several studies have found sensation seeking to be higher in people involved in high-risk sports. Some evidence also indicates that sensation seeking can explain people's degrees of involvement in high-risk sports as well as the sports they choose.

Phenomenological Theory

Phenomenological theory emanated from the initial writings of Husserl in 1911 and is based on the premise that all people perceive the world and themselves dif-

ferently. Behavior is shaped by people's subjective understanding of themselves and the world in which they live. Personality is assessed by asking people how they would feel or behave in a given situation. Three phenomenological approaches are actualization/self-determination, cognitive information processing, and social-cognitive.

ACTUALIZATION/SELF-DETERMINATION

Theories developed during the 1960s, such as Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs and Rogers's self theory, focused on people's achievement of their own potential. Although Maslow's theory does identify some basic human needs, experts assumed that everybody has the same needs. The emphasis was on the fulfillment of those needs in an attempt to achieve self-actualization.

In sports, research has been based on the cognitive evaluation theory of motivation, which Deci developed in 1975 and elaborated on with Ryan in 1985. Core to their theory is the idea that people have an innate psychological need to show competence and self-determination. Competence is people's perceptions of their ability to interact successfully with their environment. Self-determination is the degree to which people perceive that they are free to choose their own behaviors. People will be intrinsically motivated (that is, engage in an activity for the pleasure associated with the activity itself) to the extent that they are able to show competence and that they are free to choose to engage in an activity.

COGNITIVE INFORMATION PROCESSING

Cognitive information-processing theory emphasizes the individuality of how people actively make sense of their own behavior and the world around them. In 1955 Kelly developed the personal construct theory, in which he hypothesized that the dimensions of personality are constructed on an individual basis. These dimensions act as lenses through which people view the external world. If people's lenses continue to help them to predict the world around them, then people see no need to change these lenses.



Few studies have been conducted on personality and sports using the personal construct theory. In 1976 Lerch explored how four track athletes perceived their preseason, in-season, and postseason experiences and found that each athlete had unique perceptions of his or her athletic involvement.

In sports a greater amount of research has been conducted using Weiner's attribution model, which he developed and refined during the 1970s and 1980s. The central aspect of this model is that, following achievement behaviors, people will search for causes of those behaviors. The three general causes that experts have identified are controllability, locus of causality, and stability. Controllability is the degree to which the cause of the achievement behavior is under the control of the person making the attribution or under the control of other people. Locus of causality is whether the cause of the behavior is internal or external to the person making the attribution. Stability is the consistency of the cause over time.

Sports researchers have also investigated cognitive consistency theory. The premise that underlies this theory is that people strive for consistency in their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Sports performance has been associated with less cognitive conflict and the greater use of methods to reduce conflict, whereas dropping out of sports has been associated with cognitive conflict.

SOCIAL-COGNITIVE

Social-cognitive theories explain behavior as the interaction between behavioral, cognitive, and environmental factors. In 1986 Albert Bandura described self-efficacy theory, which is a social-cognitive theory that has, during the last twenty years, underpinned more research than any other personality theory. Self-efficacy is people's perceptions of their ability to perform desired tasks. Much of the research using self-efficacy theory, however, was not directed toward investigating differences in people's personalities.

Reminiscent of researchers conducting trait studies during the 1960s and 1970s, researchers using social-cognitive concepts have outlined the characteristics of

successful athletes. These characteristics include self-confidence, the ability to stay focused, the capacity to regulate arousal, positive emotions and thoughts toward sports, high commitment to excellence, and determination.

Implications

People harbor popular notions that personality traits are connected to sports, and maybe in some ways personality traits and sports *are* connected. No evidence indicates, however, that our popular notions have any basis in reality. With the lack of a "sports personality," the common argument that sports build character also seems tenuous. People with a broad range of personality characteristics participate in and are successful in sports.

Cadeyrn Gaskin

See also Motivation; Psychology; Psychology of Gender Differences

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Physical Education

H *Healthy People 2010*, published by the United States Department of Health and Human Services, placed physical activity at the top of its list of leading health indicators. Articles in the *International*



Physical Education

Extract from *Tom Brown's Schooldays* by Thomas Hughes (1857)

In the extract below from this classic English novel, Tom Brown—the main character—wonders about school customs for a type of English football that evolved into rugby (the name of the school Tom attends).

“But why do you wear white trousers in November?” said Tom. He had been struck by this peculiarity in the costume of almost all the School-house boys.

“Why, bless us, don’t you know? No; I forgot. Why, to-day’s the School-house match. Our house plays the whole of the School at football. And we all wear white trousers, to show ‘em we don’t care for hacks. You’re in luck to come to-day. You just will see a match; and Brooke’s going to let me play in quarters. That’s more than he’ll do for any other lower-school boy, except James, and he’s fourteen.”

“Who’s Brooke?”

“Why, that big fellow who called over at dinner, to be sure. He’s cock of the school, and head of the School-house side, and the best kick and charger in Rugby.”

“Oh, but do show me where they play. And tell me about it. I love football so, and have played all my life. Won’t Brooke let me play?”

“Not he,” said East, with some indignation. “Why, you don’t know the rules; you’ll be a month learning them. And then it’s no joke playing-up in a match, I can tell you—quite another thing from your private school games. Why, there’s been two collar-bones

broken this half, and a dozen fellows lamed. And last year a fellow had his leg broken.”

Tom listened with the profoundest respect to this chapter of accidents, and followed East across the level ground till they came to a sort of gigantic gallows of two poles, eighteen feet high, fixed upright in the ground some fourteen feet apart, with a cross-bar running from one to the other at the height of ten feet or thereabouts.

“This is one of the goals,” said East, “and you see the other, across there, right opposite, under the Doctor’s wall. Well, the match is for the best of three goals; whichever side kicks two goals wins: and it won’t do, you see, just to kick the ball through these posts—it must go over the cross-bar; any height’ll do, so long as it’s between the posts. You’ll have to stay in goal to touch the ball when it rolls behind the posts, because if the other side touch it they have a try at goal. Then we fellows in quarters, we play just about in front of goal here, and have to turn the ball and kick it back before the big fellows on the other side can follow it up. And in front of us all the big fellows play, and that’s where the scrummages are mostly.”

Tom’s respect increased as he struggled to make out his friend’s technicalities, and the other set to work to explain the mysteries of “off your side,” “drop-kicks,” “punts,” “places,” and the other intricacies of the great science of football.

Source: Hughes, T. (1856). *Tom Brown's schooldays* (Part 1, Chap. 5).

Journal of Epidemiology, European Journal of Applied Physiology, British Journal of Sports Medicine, and scores of other publications now provide extensive evidence that validates physical education’s importance. The basic components of healthful living remain those set forth in the writings of Hippocrates and the Greco-Roman physician Claudius Galen: exercise, proper diet, rest, cleanliness, control of the emotions. The field that historically has been most concerned with exercise—

and with related health and developmental matters—is *physical education*, now often called kinesiology, exercise science, or one of several other designations.

Earlier referred to as gymnastics or sometimes physical training, physical education has a long, albeit uneven, tradition. In the *Republic*, Plato set forth two branches of education: that over which the Muses preside for the mind, and *gymnastics* for the body. The desired goal was balanced development of the two.

Although it may not be readily apparent, contemporary physical education retains certain aspects of classical approaches to health and hygiene. Since the late 1800s, as physiology and psychology took form as experimental fields, efforts have been made to incorporate relevant findings into the various programs that have been designed for children, youth, and sometimes adults.

National interests, cultural traditions, politics, the economy, matters pertaining to class and gender, and much more have influenced views of physical education. Efforts to integrate it into the school curriculum have been affected by contending beliefs regarding what is the best form of exercise, issues related to public health, long-standing beliefs that matters pertaining to body are less important than those pertaining to mind, and many other things. During times of conflict such as World War I and World War II, physical fitness (especially muscular strength and endurance) has received particular attention. In the 1930s and 1940s, Fascist regimes promoted both sport and physical education for military preparedness and to advance their authoritarian goals.

At Rugby, Harrow, and other English “public schools,” athletics (which were believed to develop “manly character”) became part of the school experience considerably earlier than elsewhere. By contrast, the typical form of exercise in British state-supported schools was gymnastics/calisthenics. Thomas Hughes’s *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* (1857), which romanticized games-playing at Rugby, was enormously popular for decades on both sides of the Atlantic. Although Archibald MacLaren, director of the Oxford Gymnasium, acknowledged their value, he was concerned that athletics did not adequately develop all parts of the body—a belief that many American physical educators held in the late 1800s. In most English-speaking countries athletics remained the province of students, but in the United States highly organized intercollegiate programs with “professional” coaches were well established by the 1890s. Interscholastic programs (for boys), which sought to emulate these, grew rapidly in the twentieth century.

Although they may seem similar, physical education and interscholastic/intercollegiate athletics differ in their goals and in other significant ways. By 1920, organizations such as the philanthropic Carnegie Foundation became concerned about commercialism and various excesses associated with intercollegiate sports. The 1923 formation of the Women’s Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation, which had been created the previous year, provided a useful focus for those who already were rejecting the male model in favor of a broadly based “A Sport for Every Girl: Every Girl in a Sport” approach and the creation of play days and sports days in place of intercollegiate/interscholastic contests.

Although not accepted by all female physical educators, this philosophy dominated during the middle decades of the twentieth century.

Eighteenth-Century Antecedents

As new ideas about human nature emerged during the Enlightenment, a remarkable number of treatises declared that exercise appropriate to a child’s age was an essential part of education:

- John Locke’s *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), which opens with the words *mens sana in corpore sano* [a sound mind in a sound body], was frequently cited.
- Physician Jean Charles Desessartz’s *Traité de l’Éducation Corporelle des Enfants en Bas Âge* [*Treatise on the Bodily Education of Young Children*] (1760), which some suggest influenced Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Émile* (1762), would have boys engage in activities such as running, jumping, shuffleboard, skittles, swimming, and fencing.
- Desessartz and the Comtesse de Genlis (*Leçons d’Une Gouvernante à ses Élèves*, 1791) were among several who declared that girls should receive much more exercise than their education typically provided.
- In *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), early feminist Mary Wollstonecraft insisted that girls should be allowed to engage in the same exercises as boys.

- Johann Basedow's *Philanthropium* (1774) gave three hours a day to recreations.
- *Gymnastik für die Jugend* (1793), one of several books written by Johann Christoph Friedrich Guts Muths (a respected teacher at the Schepfenthal Educational Institute), divided exercises into three classes—gymnastics, manual labors, social games—and was influential in several countries.

Nineteenth-Century Developments

Seeking to revitalize the strength, will, and patriotism of the German people following victories by Napoleon's armies in 1806, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn established a program of outdoor exercises (e.g., running, jumping, vaulting over apparatus, games) to which he gave the name "Turnen." Adolph Spiess, who is usually credited with introducing gymnastics (*Schulturnen*) for girls as well as boys into German schools, emphasized their pedagogical rather than political aspects. Ferdinand A. Schmidt—physician, Turner, and an early leader of the sport movement in Germany—subsequently challenged what he considered to be the empiricism of Spiess's system and began to advocate the value of folk games and English sports. By the 1920s, large numbers of German youth and adults were engaging in sports and recreations in natural settings.

Following the Revolution of 1848, many Turners immigrated to a number of countries. The Cincinnati Turnverein (Gymnastic Society), founded in 1848, was the first of more than 150 Turnvereins that were established in the United States, where Turners campaigned vigorously to have their form of gymnastics become the basis of the public school program.

The major competition was from the Swedish system Per Henrik Ling created in 1814. Educators and physicians in several countries considered this system better designed to systematically exercise each part of the body and more appropriate for females. Nils Posse and Claes Enebuske (who both taught at the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics) brought this Swedish system to American attention. During a several-month tour of Europe, where he investigated various aspects of medi-

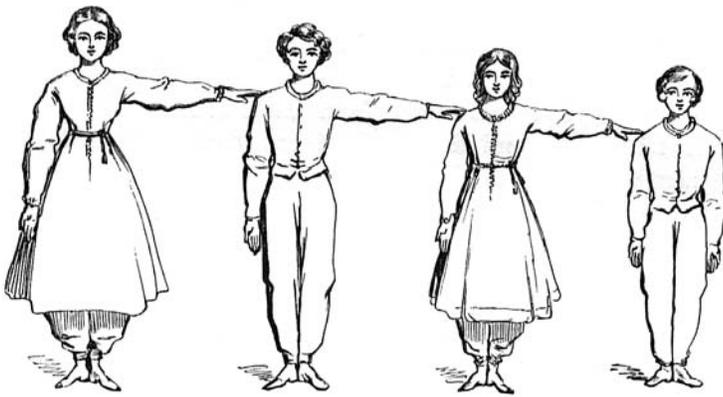
How you respond to the challenge in the second half will determine what you become after the game, whether you are a winner or a loser. ■ LOU HOLTZ

cine and physical training, Edward M. Hartwell (PhD in biology from Johns Hopkins University; MD from Cincinnati's Miami Medical School) visited Stockholm's Royal Central Gymnastics Institute (RCGI). Following Hartwell's appointment in 1890 as director of Physical Training for the Boston Public Schools, Swedish gymnastics became the basis of the program. Hartwell's contemporary Lillian Welsh, MD, Director of Physical Training at Goucher College, recruited her instructors from the Stockholm's RCGI and from England's Dartford Physical Training College, founded by Martina Bergman-Österberg and built upon the Swedish system. (Women trained in Swedish gymnastics were among the first to become "reconstruction aides"—a precursor to the physical therapist—following World War I.)

Links to Health Reform and Public Health

In 1826, the *American Journal of Education* declared, "The time we hope is near, when there will be no literary institution unprovided with proper means of healthful exercise and innocent recreation." Although it would take decades before anything approaching this goal was attained, numerous antebellum physicians and health reformers urged parents and teachers to pay attention to the laws of growth, health, and exercise. Articles appeared in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (today's *New England Journal of Medicine*) as well as in educational and literary publications. Catharine Beecher's popular *Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families* (1856) included chapters on the circulatory and other systems of the body and described (with illustrations) many schoolroom exercises for girls and boys. Men and women with medical training were directors of many college and university departments organized before 1915; one example is Harvard Medical School graduate Edward Hitchcock who headed the Department of Physical Culture, which opened at Amherst College in 1860, for nearly fifty years.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, as public health received increasing attention in several



Students in nineteenth century Europe line up in physical education class.

countries, sections dealing with physical education were included in meetings such as the International Hygiene Congress held in connection with the 1878 Paris International Exposition. Physician Eugène Dally spoke favorably of developments in Belgium and Germany and called on his compatriots to create normal schools to prepare teachers of gymnastics. The final report of a French Gymnastic Commission headed by physiologist Etienne-Jules Marey was published in 1889. That same year, the well-attended Conference in the Interest of Physical Training was held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to assess which “system” of exercise was the best: German gymnastics, Swedish gymnastics, that devised by Dudley Allen Sargent, MD (director of the Gymnasium at Harvard University), or military training. The opening remarks by United States Commissioner of Education William T. Harris, who observed that an important aspect of physical education was to understand how involuntary functions (e.g., heart, lungs, digestion, nervous system) “may be assisted and influenced by voluntary action” (muscles, skeleton) reflected embryonic efforts to bring experimental science to the study of exercise.

The American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (AAAPE, but today known as the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance) was founded in 1885. Nine of the first ten AAAPPE presidents possessed medical degrees. Among active members in the late 1800s and early 1900s were individuals like the neurologist D. F. Lincoln and the anthropologist Franz Boas. Membership of Britain’s small National Society of Physical Education (founded 1897) consisted largely of teachers in government schools and commercial establishments;

the Ling Association (founded 1899) was open to women who had completed the two-year course at Dartford Physical Training College or Stockholm’s RCGI. In France, the Ligue Nationale de l’Éducation Physique (1888) competed with the hygiene-oriented Ligue Girondine de l’Éducation Physique, founded by physician Philippe Tissié, and the Comité pour la Propagation des Exercices Physiques dans l’Éducation, created by Pierre de Coubertin to advance what would become his Olympic ideal.

Connections with Many Fields

Over the decades, physical education has developed important connections with other fields and organizations, but the nature and extent of these vary from country to country:

- Luther Halsey Gulick (president of the American Physical Education Association, 1903–1907) was the first president of the Playground Association of America (founded in 1906), and for several years secretary of the Physical Department of the International YMCA of North America.
- In 1913, the YMCA sent Charles McCloy to China, where he trained teachers, founded the journal *Tiyu jikan* (*Physical Education Quarterly*), and developed physical ability tests for boys and girls, among other significant contributions. Programs that he devised during the 1920s were used in Nationalist Chinese Schools through the 1940s.
- In 1878, the Japanese Ministry of Education established the Gymnastic Institute to train instructors for primary schools. Its first director, George Leland, had been a student of Hitchcock at Amherst College.
- In Russia, the biologist Pyotr Lesgaft founded the Society for the Encouragement of the Physical Development of Student Youth in 1892. Its courses were reorganized following the 1917 Revolution and became Leningrad’s Physical Culture Institute.

Physical educators also have been associated—more in some countries than in others—with organizations



Physical Education

First Day's Order at Harriet Trask's School (1904)

Attention! Class—stand! One! Two! Three!

Order. Class—attention! Left foot in place—rest!

Leg. Class—attention! Feet—close! Feet—open! Right foot in place—rest!

Head. Head backward—bend! Raise!

Arm. Hips—firm! Position!

Breathing. Deep breathing—One! Two!

Class—sit! One! Two! Three! Rest!

In sitting, “attention” means to sit well back in the seat, but not to lean against it, back erect, hands on top of the desk. Class—stand! One! Two! Three! On “one” bring the hands to the sides; on “two” the left or right foot into the aisle; on “three,” stand in the fundamental position.

Order. Class—attention! Brings to the fundamental standing position, which is: heels together and toes turned out, knees straight, body erect, with chest high, head up and hips back, arms, straight at the sides, fingers straight and close together, palms toward the body. “Class—attention!” is always given after “In place—rest!” to call the class to the fundamental position.

Left foot in place—rest! Place the left or right foot diagonally forward and stand at ease, but never in a lounging position. Do not give the rest position with one foot more often than with the other. “In place rest” must always be given after each exercise—after

the order, the leg, the head, etc. It is always taken from the fundamental standing position.

Legs. Feet—close! Bring the inner sides of the feet together. In doing this, raise the balls of the feet and use the heels as pivots. The feet must not slide along the floor; the heels must be kept together; there should be a little motion of the body as possible.

Head. Head backward—bend! Start by pulling the chin back and then bend the head back as far as possible without relaxing the neck muscles. In raising the head, stop at the highest point. “Head backward bend” may be given in a lesson whenever it is needed to correct a bad head position.

Arm. Hips—firm! Place the hands upon the hips, thumbs back, fingers together, to the front and pointing obliquely downward, wrist straight and elbows back. Position! Brings to the fundamental standing position.

Breathing. On “one” inhale, on “two” exhale. Give this movement, always in the rhythm of deep breathing, several times. The arms may be turned, palms forward, as the breath is taken in.

Class—sit! One! Two! Three! On “one” place the foot toward the seat, on “two” sit, on “three” take the fundamental position, which is the position of attention.

“Rest!” is the word for ending the lesson. Sit as ease.

Source: First day's order. (1904). *Badminton*, p. 29.

whose declared focus is sports medicine. During the late 1800s, German-speaking countries led the world in experimental physiology. Ferdinand Schmidt's comprehensive *Unser Körper* (1899/1909) was more informed by relevant scientific findings regarding the effects of exercise on the body than any book in English-speaking countries would be for a number of years. American naval surgeon Henry Beyer considered the 1911 Dresden International Hygiene Exhibition superior with regard to the study of hygiene and physical education to anything that existed in the United States. It included a sports division, organized by physician (and Olympian)

Arthur Mallwitz, with a special laboratory where things like the effects of exhausting exercise could be studied.

The Deutscher Ärztbund zur Förderung der Leibesübungen [Association of German Physicians for the Promotion of Physical Exercises] (founded 1924) preceded by three decades the British Society of Sports Medicine (founded 1953) and the American College of Sports Medicine (founded 1954). ACSM membership, a substantial portion of which consists of dietitians, physical therapists, sport psychologists, physical educators, and so on, now exceeds 20,000. The Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen [German College for

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Physical Education], which opened in Berlin in 1920 with the physician August Bier as director, offered perhaps the most comprehensive training program that was then available. The inspiration for its founding had come from Carl Diem, whose membership on the German Olympic Committee in 1906 began his many significant contributions to physical education and sport. Diem was instrumental in reopening it as the Sporthochschule (sports College) in Köln in 1947. The Deutsche Hochschule für Körperkultur in Leipzig (DDR) received the right to award the Pedagogical Doctor degree in 1955.

A Multidisciplinary Field

Physical education draws from both the biological and the psychosocial sciences. Like medicine, physical education has significant applied aspects. At the 1890 AAPE meeting, Gulick delivered a paper titled “Physical Education: A New Profession” setting forth a message that is remarkably similar to that which Franklin Henry (a major contributor to motor control research) articulated three-quarters of a century later in his influential paper, “Physical Education—An Academic Discipline.” This “new profession,” Gulick declared, offered “a large and broad field of intellectual activity, involving . . . physiology, anatomy, psychology, history, and philosophy.”

The achievement of the research bases Gulick called for—now an essential component of departments of physical education, kinesiology, human performance, and so forth at major universities in several countries—was not easy to accomplish. One and two-year courses offered by teacher training schools were the norm. These involved, at best, very limited study of physiology and psychology. An exception was the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics (1891), which subsequently became the Department of Hygiene and Physical Training at Wellesley College, which called on faculty from Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard to teach courses in anatomy, physiology, and sanitary science and required some laboratory work of its female students.

The four-year BS degree that George Fitz, MD, established at Harvard in 1892 (terminated in 1898/99) to prepare men to be gymnasium directors or enter the third year at the Harvard Medical School was rigorous even by late twentieth-century standards. Belgium’s Higher Institute of Physical Education, founded in 1908 at the University of Ghent within the faculty of medicine, offered candidate, licentiate, and doctoral degrees.

The University of Birmingham initiated physical education as an academic study in 1946; however, British teachers of physical education continued to be educated at specialist colleges until the 1970s when several were incorporated into polytechnics.

In the United States, the University of California and the University of Nebraska created programs to prepare teachers of physical training in 1897. In 1929, thirty-six state universities and colleges, forty-nine endowed colleges, and thirty state teachers colleges were preparing physical educators; the emphasis was training teachers, supervisors, and administrators. Fifteen institutions offered graduate work. New York University and Teachers College, Columbia University had the largest enrollments. By 1942, fifty-six institutions of higher learning had master’s degree programs; of these, twenty offered doctoral work.

Conceptional and Curricular Changes

During the twentieth century, games, sports, and dance increasingly replaced gymnastics/calisthenics as the focus of the curriculum. In the 1890s psychologist G. Stanley Hall and his students at Clark University began investigating psychosocial aspects of childhood play. In 1891, Hall initiated *The Pedagogical Seminary* (today the *Journal of Genetic Psychology*) to disseminate the results of numerous diverse studies. Inspired by Friedrich Froebel’s “kindergarten,” cities in several countries developed playgrounds, cités-jardins, and similar facilities. Young people found the activities these offered to be more appealing than routine exercises. Gulick established the New York City Public School

Dumbbell exercises for young women and men.

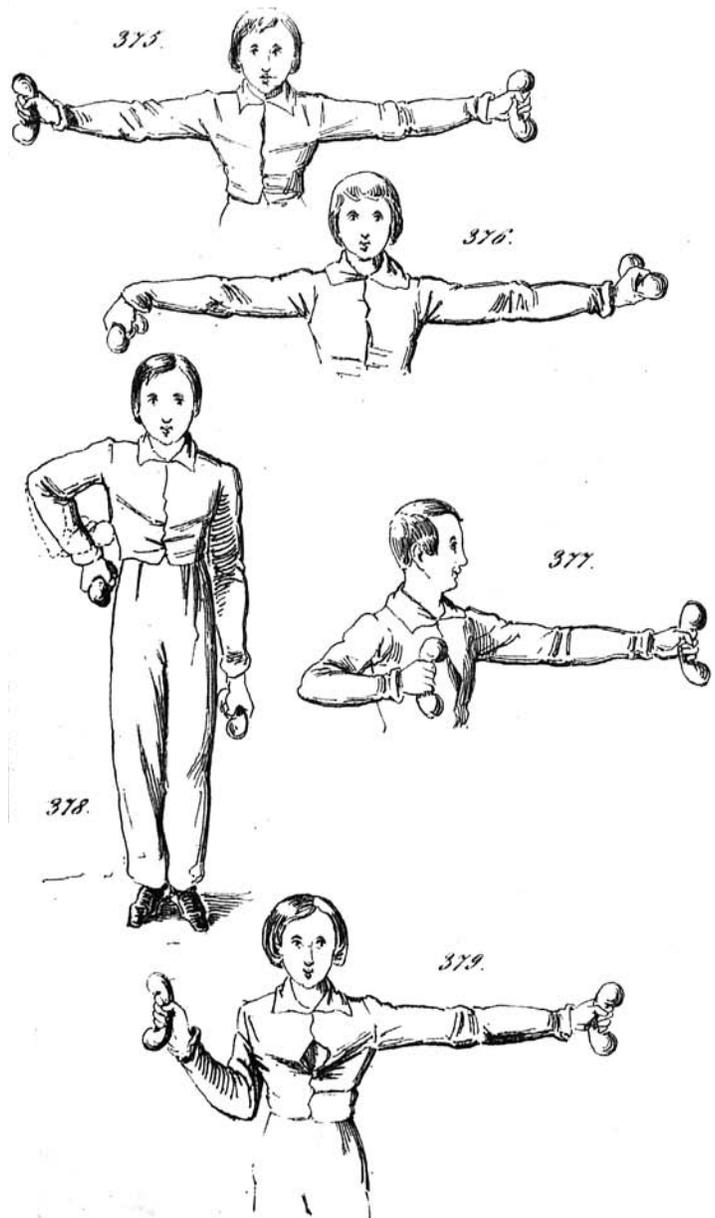
Athletic League in 1903 to provide “educational athletics” for large numbers of boys and girls.

“Health and Education,” which Thomas Denison Wood, MD prepared for the *Ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (1910), has been credited with helping to establish the rationale for what became known in the 1920s as “the new physical education.” This gave particular attention to personal and social development. Clark Hetherington’s *School Program in Physical Education* (1922) and other writings set forth the objectives: organic, psychomotor, intellectual, and character development.

Wood (for many years an officer of the American Child Health Association) was one of several physical educators who developed important connections with the school health movement of the 1920s and early 1930s. Thomas Storey MD, the first State Director of Physical Education (New York in 1916), was among those who believed that the goals of school hygiene and physical education (which put textbook information into practice) were identical because the object of both was health. By 1930, thirty-six states had enacted laws requiring physical education in public schools.

Rhythmic activities (e.g., folk and clog dancing) had been taught in the early 1900s. Following World War I, modern dance increasingly became an important part of the curriculum for college women and at some high schools. Visits by noted artists such as Germany’s Mary Wigman helped foster its growth. Margaret H’Doublér created the first dance major in the United States in 1926 at the University of Wisconsin.

During the 1950s, “movement education,” which drew from Rudolph von Laban’s approach to dance, attained a notable following among British physical educators. In the United States, followers considered its experiential approach (especially for young children) a palliative to the overemphasis on routine activities and the competitiveness of sports. A 1953 report that asserted that European and Japanese children had scored



better than American children on a series of flexibility and power tests, as well as Soviet successes in space and at the Olympic games, prompted a resurgence of “physical fitness” during the 1960s.

Early Research Efforts

During the late 1800s, considerable attention was given to anthropometry, the assumption being that a symmetrically developed body was important for health and that proper exercise could help achieve this. Over the decades, a small, but growing, number of individuals associated with physical education conducted exer-

cise and pulse rate, reaction time, metabolic, growth, motor development, and other investigations. Articles appeared in a variety of journals, including the *American Physical Education Review* (1896–1929). The *Research Quarterly* (today the *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*) was initiated in 1930. In 1949, the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation (AAHPER) Research Council published *Research Methods Applied to Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* to assist the growing numbers of faculty and graduate students who now were engaging in such work.

The comprehensive 1960 book *Science and Medicine of Exercise and Sports*, which brought together contributions from leading researchers on topics ranging from physiological, psychological, and therapeutic dimensions of physical activity to cultural and historical aspects of sports, opened with the observation that physical education, like medicine, “reaches into many fields for much of the data upon which it bases its practices.” Henry’s 1964 article “Physical Education—An Academic Discipline” launched two decades of discussions and disputes about the nature of such a discipline. As more physical educators began to engage in research in a particular area (e.g., exercise physiology, sport psychology, biomechanics), concerns arose that faculty were abandoning what had once been a reasonably unified vision—and that this could lead to fragmentation and the ultimate demise of the field.

Similar concerns were occurring elsewhere (e.g., Canada, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands). The first international discussions of such matters appear to have been in Israel at the Wingate Institute for Physical Education and Sport in 1974. Agreement has not yet been achieved. Since the 1970s, the volume of research across subdisciplines has increased enormously, as have the number of national and international organizations and journals (e.g., *Journal of Sport Psychology*, *International Journal of Sport Biomechanics*, *International Review of Sport Sociology*, *International Journal of the History of Sport*) dedicated to the various scholarly and scientific

areas that constitute what was once known as physical education.

Outlook

During the last three decades, the opportunities for females to participate in highly competitive sports have grown rapidly, at least in some countries. Paradoxically, this same period has witnessed a decline of opportunities and incentives for large numbers of children and youth. Since 1990, growing concerns have been expressed in many countries about obesity. These frequently are accompanied with proclamations about the importance of regular physical activity (e.g., “Epidemic Increase in Childhood Overweight, 1986–1998,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* [2001]). Although the data supporting the importance of regular physical activity are now extensive, the programs to put “theory into practice” seem too often to be missing. The title of an article published in the *International Journal of Sports Medicine* in 2000 aptly reflects current needs: “The Integration of Clinical Practice and Research: The Challenge of the New Millennium.”

Roberta J. Park

See also Human Movement Studies; Kinesiology

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Pilates

Pilates (pronounced Pi-LAH-tes) is a body conditioning system that focuses on strengthening and lengthening muscles while alleviating back pain and protecting against injury. Often described as a cross between yoga and weight training, pilates works to bring balance to the body, promotes correct alignment, and improves muscle strength, balance, coordination, and flexibility without dramatically increasing muscle mass.

Pilates is seen as useful for both men and women of all ages, however, it has been noted as an effective anti-aging exercise because it strengthens muscles with very little stress on the joints. Pilates has also been used as an effective rehabilitation aid for hospitalized patients. Recently, the benefits of pilates on pregnant women have been widely discussed. In addition to its traditional benefits, pilates can help pregnant women improve their concentration and balance as well as improve their muscle tone after pregnancy.

From a Fragile Childhood to Hollywood

Born in Germany in 1880, Joseph Pilates was a fragile child who suffered from several physical limitations. He was able to overcome his physical shortcomings through vigorous exercise and strength training and became accomplished in several sports including gymnastics, skiing, boxing, and diving. In 1912, he moved to England and became a self-defense instructor for detectives working at Scotland Yard.

At the onset of World War I, Pilates was detained in England because of his German heritage. During this ordeal, he shared his beliefs on exercise and strength conditioning with his fellow detainees. In addition, he helped those suffering from disease and physical injury with their rehabilitation by focusing on improving their abdominal and lower back strength. His ideas were based on principles of yoga, Zen, and physical fitness programs used in ancient Greece and Rome, and they later became the foundation of his pilates exercise program.

He returned to Germany after being released from England and continued to refine his methods of exercise. His methods became very popular with dancers in Germany, and in 1926, he decided to bring his techniques to the United States.

Pilates opened up his first studio in New York in 1926. By the early 1960s, his studio became very popular with actors, dancers, and athletes. Two of his students, Carola Trier and Bob Seed, opened their own studios in New York in an attempt to further the growth of pilates. Pilates died in 1967, but his exercise method continued to gain followers. In 1970, another of Pilates' students, Ron Fletcher, opened the first studio in Los Angeles where the pilates method became very popular with Hollywood celebrities.

With an increasing number of Hollywood stars practicing pilates, its notoriety began to swell. By the late 1980s, pilates started to reach the mainstream media. Currently more than five million Americans practice pilates.



A back stretch over a Pilates ball.

Source: istockphoto/lovleah.

Pilates is seen as a safe alternative to traditional methods of exercise because it puts very little stress on joints, and people who practice pilates report very low incidence of injury.

Unlike most exercise and strength methods, which tend to increase muscle strength of the already strong muscles while ignoring weaker muscle

groups, pilates focuses on creating an evenly toned and conditioned body. Muscular imbalance can cause undue stress on joints and can lead to injuries and chronic pain. Therefore, pilates aims to balance muscle tone throughout the entire body, thus promoting proper posture, balance, and flexibility.

The breathing exercises included in pilates exercises support a mind-body connection that improves body awareness, relaxation, and levels of stress. Those who practice pilates become more aware of how their bodies feel and how to control their movements in an efficient and powerful manner.

Implications

Although widely accepted as a beneficial exercise and rehabilitation technique, pilates is not recommended as a substitute for physical therapy. In addition, because of its low-impact nature, pilates does not provide a truly effective cardiovascular workout. However, pilates can be an effective method of general fitness because it offers an effective alternative to traditional exercise and strength training for a variety of individuals including athletes, dancers, and those looking to get in shape and avoid the effects of aging.

Noah B. Gentner

Pilates Principles

Borrowing from both Eastern and Western philosophies, pilates focuses on breathing, balance, coordination, body movement and positioning, and strength. Similar to yoga, pilates promotes individual improvement in a nonthreatening, noncompetitive environment. Pilates includes more than five hundred exercises based on the following eight principles: (1) concentration; (2) control; (3) centering; (4) stabilizing; (5) breathing; (6) alignment; (7) fluidity; and (8) integration.

Pilates instructors generally assess their clients' posture and movements during their initial meetings and then design a specific program to fit their client's needs. Exercise sessions generally last twenty to forty-five minutes and focus on smooth movement and breathing.

The two primary exercise machines used in pilates are the Universal Reformer and the Cadillac. These machines allow people to perform several different exercises from varying positions, including lying down, so they are effective for bedridden patients.

Benefits of Pilates

Pilates offers a viable alternative to traditional strength training and conditioning, as well as improvements in flexibility, core (abdominal and lower back) strength, balance, posture, circulation, coordination, range of motion, mobility, agility, stamina, injury prevention, rehabilitation, increased strength without unnecessary muscle mass, and reductions in stress.

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Play is the only way the highest intelligence of humankind can unfold. ■ JOSEPH CHILTON PEARCE

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Play vs. Organized Sport

Play is exercise or other action for amusement or recreation. The sociologist Jay Coakley provides a more enlightened definition: “Play involves expressive activity done for its own sake; it may be spontaneous or guided by informal norms” (Coakley 2004, 23). In considering physical activity that people engage in as play, as opposed to physical activity organized as sport, the key element is the idea of engaging in play for its own sake. All children engage in play—society sanctions childhood as a time when play is appropriate. As one grows older (into adolescence and adulthood), play is less appropriate, seen as not serious enough to warrant taking time from other pursuits. Yet, play is important at all ages—the idea of doing something for its own sake, for the pure fun and enjoyment of the activity, seems a necessary part of life whether one is a child or an adult.

Although one can discuss play in terms of childhood activity with dolls or trucks or building sand castles or playing hide-and-seek and the like, the focus is on physical activity. People often talk about playing a sport, clearly integrating the two concepts of play and sports into one entity.

Many of the games and other activities that people play as children quickly become sports at an early age. Coakley defines *sports* as “institutionalized competitive activities that involve rigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by participants

motivated by internal and external rewards” (Coakley 2004, 21). Activities such as baseball, softball, soccer, basketball, and football are most commonly played by children and adolescents. At seemingly earlier and earlier ages (T-ball leagues for four- and five-year-olds), sports become institutionalized by the following characteristics: (1) The rules of the sports become standardized, (2) official regulatory agencies take over rule enforcement, (3) the organizational and technical aspects of the sports become important, and (4) the learning of sports skills becomes formalized. Although these characteristics are not all seen among four- and five-year-olds, by the time children reach adolescence, the leagues in which they play (e.g., Little League baseball, Pop Warner football) do reflect these characteristics.

Good Old Days

The distinction between play and organized sport is seen more clearly in differentiating between what Coakley calls “informal, player-controlled sports” and “organized, adult-controlled sports.” Sports psychologists and sociologists wax nostalgically about the “good old days” when children were engaged in informal, player-controlled sports to a much greater extent than they are today. Informal, player-controlled sports are close, if not identical, to what people generally think of as “play.” Children would just hop on their bikes and ride to the nearby schoolyard or play in the streets outside their homes for hours, adjusting games such as baseball or basketball or football to meet their needs in terms of number of participants, playing field available, equipment, and so forth. Informal, player-controlled sports are “primarily action-centered,” whereas formal, adult-controlled sports are “primarily rule-centered” (Coakley 2004, 139). A considerable amount of action always results when children engage in informal, player-controlled sports.

Coakley and his students identified four elements as characteristic of informal, player-controlled sports: “(1) action, especially leading to scoring, (2) personal involvement in the action, (3) a challenging or exciting



A young girl swinging her doll.

Source: istockphoto.com/vhsrt-just.

supervised by adults, so that they know where the children are at all times. Even the possibility that keeping one's children inside the home might lead to a more sedentary lifestyle (with the attractions of television, computers, and video games) seems to outweigh the perceived risks of letting one's children play outside.

Scheduling comes into consideration with both parents working in many households, having several children, and all family members having different activities at different times and needing to keep track of one another. Knowing that Johnny or Susie is at soccer practice from four to six o'clock on Tuesday is more comforting and fits into people's seemingly more organized lifestyles than does the idea that Johnny or Susie is off playing in the neighborhood somewhere until dinner.

Stars in Their Eyes

Visions of college scholarships and even professional careers also drive parents to sign up their children for sports leagues in the hopes that their children will be the ones lucky enough to "make it." Making it means not having to pay for college (a considerable expense these days) or even reaping the benefits of a professional career. Of course, few children receive scholarships, and even fewer make it to the professional ranks, but each parent thinks that her or his child might be "the one" and that participating in an organized league, rather than letting Johnny or Susie just play in the neighborhood, is the path.

Formal, adult-controlled sports take on the characteristics of the institutionalized sports noted earlier. This is not to imply that anything is wrong per se with formal, adult-controlled sports. They have their place in society and can serve an important function in teaching children and adolescents the rules of games, helping children develop skills, teaching children how to work together as a team, and other aspects of "learning the game." However, formal sports leagues are only as good as the parents and coaches who organize them, and too often parents and coaches adopt an almost professional sports model, emphasizing winning above all else and

experience (for example, a close score in a competitive contest), and (4) opportunities to reaffirm friendships during games" (Coakley 2004, 139). This is play at its best—sports being engaged in for their own sake. Children (and adults, too) engage in these activities to have fun, to be active, to meet the challenges of the activities, and to be with friends. One learns to get along with others (otherwise one cannot play), organize a large group of children (if lucky enough to have many children playing), adjust rules as needed to account for varying skill levels or changing environments, change teams in the middle of the game if the score is lopsided, negotiate disagreements as they arise, solve problems as they come up, and so forth.

Why does it seem that today only formal, adult-controlled sports exist and that we rarely see informal, player-controlled sports? The issues of safety, scheduling, and scholarships come into play here. Parents are more worried about letting their children just play "in the neighborhood," be it out front of the home or at the local playground. They would rather have their children inside the home or in the backyard or at a game



Play vs. Organized Sport

Sacrilegious Sunday Baseball

In the 1908 poem below, author William Kirk pokes fun at the proper lady who is outraged by the “frolicking urchins” who play ball on Sunday.

The East Side Terrors were playing the Slashers,
Piling up hits, assists and errors.
Far from their stuffy tenement homes
That cluster thicker than honeycombs
They ran the bases 'neath shady trees
And were cooled by the Hudson's gentle breeze.

Mrs. Hamilton-Marshall-Gray,
Coming from church, chanced to drive that way.
She saw the frolicking urchins there,
Their shrill cries splitting the Sabbath air.
“Mercy!” she muttered, “this must stop!”
And promptly proceeded to call a cop,
And the cop swooped down on the luckless boys,
Stopping their frivolous Sunday joys.

Mrs. Hamilton-Marshall-Gray
Spoke to her coachman and drove away
Through beautiful parks and shady roads
Past splashing fountains and rich abodes.
Reaching home, she was heard to say
“How awful to break the Sabbath day!”

The Terrors and Slashers, side by side,
Started their stifling Subway ride
Down through the city, ever down
To the warping walls of Tenement Town.
Reaching their homes, the troublesome tots
Crept away to their shabby cots,
And thought of the far off West Side trees
And the cool green grass, and the gentle breeze,
And how they had played their baseball game
Till the beautiful Christian lady came.

Source: Kirk, W. (1908, May). Sunday baseball. *Baseball Magazine*, p. 29.

behaving in ways (Little League Parent Syndrome) that would be embarrassing even in professional contexts. Administered correctly, with coaches and parents emphasizing having fun, participating, learning skills, and being active, organized sport can be a wonderful adjunct to the informal, player-controlled sports that are so important in the psychosocial development of children.

Ideally, the goal should not be debating play versus organized sport, but rather achieving a combination of the two wherein children and adolescents reap the benefits of both to facilitate their psychosocial, physical, and skill development.

Michael Sachs

See also Youth Sports

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Play-by-Play Announcing

Few sports fans in the twenty-first century could imagine watching or listening to their favorite sporting events without commentary. No matter whether they are listening in the car or glued to the TV screen, it is the voices of the announcers that take them to where the action is. On radio the announcers' voices create the pictures that allow listeners to imagine the play. On television the announcers bring meaning to the kaleidoscope of images and sounds that make up live sports coverage. They turn the mix of slow motion, instant replay, and close-up images, graphics, and high-quality sound into a coherent narrative that is a large part of the enjoyment of televised sports. As media scholar David Rowe summarizes: “What is required of the sports commentator . . . is to enhance the experi-

Sports is the toy department of human life. ■ HOWARD COSELL

ence of watching by various means—through poetic powers of description and evocation . . . to provide supplementary information . . . to supply the kind of ‘insider,’ expert knowledge that is gained by playing sport at the highest levels” (2004, 122).

In most Western nations today, more spectators experience their sports via television than attend events live. Advances in technology have also meant that viewing at home is a superior experience to watching live in the stadium. “Viewers may lose out on uniquely atmospheric moments of the sporting drama, but their perspective is enhanced in other ways which can make live spectating a humdrum experience” (Barnett 1990, 155).

The Broadcast Team

Live sports television is a high-pressure, high-stakes environment, particularly for announcers who are the public faces and voices of the production team. Overall, their role is to describe and dramatize the action, provide historical and contextual information, and evaluate performance and game flow. Getting all this correct is a challenging task, made no easier by the knowledge that their every word is avidly picked over by fans who take great pleasure in noting mistakes.

The usual mix includes two announcers—a play-by-play announcer and an expert analyst, also known as a color commentator. The play-by-play announcer is usually a trained broadcaster whose primary role is to anchor the narrative of the game, calling the action as it occurs, identifying key plays and players, and providing regular updates on the score and time remaining. The analyst, usually a former athlete or coach, contributes when play has stopped, adding insider information and taking the audience into the minds of the athletes and coaches playing the game. “The advantage in this practice, and one still put forward by media organisations, is that the expert knows what it is like to be ‘in the middle’ of high-class sports action” (Stoddart 1986, 94). Increasingly, televised major sports also include a sideline announcer, who may be either a trained broadcaster or former athlete, who explains the state of the playing sur-

face and the game-time atmosphere, provides updates on substitutions, chats with famous people in the crowd and, in sports like football and rugby league, conducts postgame interviews with players and coaches.

The Beginnings of Play-by-Play Announcing

From their beginnings with radio broadcasts in the 1920s, announcers have tried to recreate the atmosphere of “being there” for their audiences. The first significant live sports broadcast—a heavyweight boxing match in the United States between Jack Dempsey and French champion Georges Carpentier—was broadcast in 1921 primarily to theaters across the United States and Europe because so few people owned radio receivers. Major J. Andrew White, the announcer, prepared for the event by shadowboxing in front of a mirror and singing out each move to himself. Realizing that he could not describe each blow individually, White devised the practice of “collecting” punches that remains familiar to boxing fans today. Historian David Halberstam argues that “the experiment was such a success and showcased radio in such a glittering and indispensable light that it resulted in a proliferation of radio stations and spiraling consumption of radio receivers” (1999, 3).

Despite this early success, regular live announcing of out of town events did not occur until the mid-1950s, when telephone technology developed to the point that it was cheaper and easier to send an announcer on the road. Before that, much “live” commentary was in fact a re-creation in the studio, based on information transmitted by telegraph from hundreds of miles away and embellished by the announcer to create the illusion of actually being at the game. Former baseball broadcaster Byrum Saam said, “Re-creations planted the seeds of our coverage—they were the nectar from which most listeners drank” (Schultz 2001, 4). Australian radio announcers are credited with one of the most ingenious broadcasts in radio history—the 1934 ball-by-ball descriptions of cricket Tests held in England that were

Books had instant replay long before televised sports. ■ BERT WILLIAMS

recreated in Australia by the Australian Broadcasting Commission. “Short, descriptive telegrams were sent from the grounds to the Sydney studio where they arrived approximately five minutes apart. Scores, weather, field placings and other aspects of the game were all included. A studio team of commentators then ‘described’ play to an enthralled audience. Sound effects heightened the dramatic impact—a pencil tapped against a piece of hollow wood reproduced bat on ball, a sharp click of the pencil did for a boundary” (Stoddart 1986, 93).

Early Resistance

In the early days of announcing, when sports organizations resisted rather than welcomed the broadcast media, access to events was never guaranteed. Many sports organizations so feared the impact of live broadcasts on gate receipts that they denied announcers access to competition sites or at least tried to prevent transmission of home games to local audiences. This meant, for example, that early Australian horse-racing announcers went to extraordinary lengths in their attempts to cover events. “Many commentators had to describe races while clinging to trees outside club premises or perched on shaky scaffolding erected in the front yards of houses overlooking the course. Authorities switched the race order at the last minute to create confusion. The callers developed marvellous skills under these conditions” (Stoddart 1986, 96). Even when they gained access, announcers seldom had the best seats. Instead, they were located far from the play with a poor view of the action. In American football “simply following the ball and identifying the players correctly were achievements for the first football broadcasters” (Oriard 2001, 46).

Since early announcers described only what they saw on the field, their commentaries bear little resemblance to what listeners expect today. Analyzing radio broadcasts from 1926, Michael Oriard writes, “What’s missing is most striking: no ‘expert’ analysis, no prediction, no comment on who’s favored, what the

teams’ records are, what the game means in the standings” (2001, 47).

An Entertaining Style

Maintaining the right balance between information and entertainment has long provided a tension within sports announcing. As Garry Whannel describes it, “there is on one hand the impulse to describe the scene, show what’s happening, give the audience an accurate picture, and on the other the impulse to get people involved, keep up the interest, add suspense, shape the material and highlight the action (1992, 26).

American announcers are credited with the fast-paced, entertainment-oriented style of sports broadcasting that dominates television coverage today. The seeds for this style emerged early in radio when the personality of the announcers became as important as the news they were conveying. Beginning in 1923, American announcer Graham McNamee attracted radio audiences for the next nineteen years with his vivid, breezy, and colorful delivery despite grumbles from experts that he did not know the sports he was describing. *Time* put him on its cover on October 3, 1927, noting that McNamee’s bosses felt that “colorful, general reports are more satisfying to the masses than accurate, technical descriptions” (Oriard 2001, 42). Such was the popularity of boxing in 1927 that McNamee spoke to “more people at any one time than any man ever had” when he called the Gene Tunney versus Jack Dempsey heavyweight boxing match. “Beyond Soldier Field, 50 million people gathered by their home radios as announcer Graham McNamee . . . blurted out the news in his cracked, quavering voice. . . . Nine people died of heart attacks listening to that broadcast, three of them during McNamee’s blow-by-blow of the seventh round” (Nack 1997).

However, the market-driven American model was not the only influential approach to announcing. The public service environment of British broadcasting resulted in a slower paced commentary style that focused on educating the audience. In 1952 the BBC guide to



A press box above the stadium. *Source: istockphoto/Saturated.*

As technology developed, television's offerings improved from distant, black-and-white, blurry pictures to clear, close-up, and colorful images enhanced by slow motion and instant replays. By the 1970s, when color television became more widely available throughout the world, "TV wasn't as good as being there anymore—it was better" (Sugar 1978, 287).

the new practice of television commentary "stressed the need to watch the monitor, to add to the picture rather than interrupting it, not to be afraid of silence, to leave the picture to tell the story" (Whannel 1992, 28). British announcers also recognized that differences between sports required a variety of announcing styles. "Cricket . . . needed an adequate supply of background information and the ability to keep the commentary going without obvious padding, without making the listener feel bored. With rugby football, the difficulty was to keep up the pace—getting out the words swiftly and accurately enough to tell people what is going on without lagging behind the play" (Whannel 1992, 27).

Early radio and television announcers in sports such as cricket, motor racing, cycling, baseball, and football have built lengthy careers, some spanning fifty years. Some, like British motorsport announcer Murray Walker who broadcast Formula 1 from 1949 to 2001, became so associated with the sports they covered that fans could not imagine the event without them: "The drivers and teams changed, but for as long as most people can remember, Murray Walker—fast, furious and very flappable—was the voice of Formula One" (Hankin 2002). Racing driver David Coulthard said, "Murray made every race like losing your virginity. It was always that exciting" (Henry 2001).

By the 1950s television had challenged radio's position as the national provider of live sports coverage.

Monday Night Football: Attracting Casual Viewers

In many countries live sports played and broadcast at night are now taken for granted. Yet, when *Monday Night Football* debuted in 1970 during prime time evening viewing in the United States, it was a radical break from traditional weekend afternoon games and largely expected to fail. However, under the guidance of ABC head of sports Roone Arledge, *Monday Night Football* took the focus on spectacle and excitement to new heights. It introduced three announcers, rather than the usual two, including Howard Cosell, whose critical comments on the first broadcast drew thousands of angry letters from fans. Cosell—"the man Middle America loved to hate"—so polarized viewers that he received death threats and verbal and physical abuse from football fans, but at the same time became a celebrity in his own right (Sugar 1978, 280).

As Cosell describes it, in order to succeed, *Monday Night Football* had to transcend sport in order to attract casual male viewers and women as well as those who already knew the game. "Survival would depend, in large measure, on the guys in the booth and the entertainment value of the show" (Cosell 1985, 86–87). The show became an American institution by dramatizing the event and humanizing the players and coaches through stories that brought them to life and allowed viewers to empathize with them.

The success of shows such as *Monday Night Football*, *Hockey Night in Canada*, and events such as Australia's one-day *World Series Cricket* that focused on a showy entertainment style quickly showed that television could use this approach to expand its core audience of committed sports fans. As Steven Barnett points out, channel-hopping American viewers are unlikely to continue watching games with little obvious action, "hence the need to exaggerate the artificial drama, to contrive excitement, glamour and spectacle where none might naturally exist" (1990, 127). However, Britain has resisted this approach with cricket announcers showing "no compulsion to fill in the action gaps" and commentary directed toward fans rather than "the sporting ignorant" (Barnett 1990, 168).

Former Athletes and Coaches in the Broadcast Booth

There has been much debate over the practice of using popular retired athletes and coaches as announcers. As Jay Coakley describes it: "Some people complain that ex-athletes have few skills to make them successful broadcasters, but most television executives realize that media spectators identify with athletes and also with coaches. So they put former athletes or coaches in the broadcast booth for entertainment purposes" (1999, 355).

Most athletes and coaches move into the expert analyst role where they are expected to take viewers "inside the game." Successful analysts have both firsthand experience of their sports and the ability to explain to viewers what they can see happening. One example is Marcus Allen who became a studio analyst in 1998 after sixteen years as a top NFL running back. CBS Sports president Sean McManus said, "Ninety seconds into Marcus' audition, you could see that he had all five of the qualities we were looking for: high credibility, deep understanding of the game, ability to express that understanding, star quality and personality" (Lainson, 1998).

Those taking up the role of former-athlete-as-analyst have faced criticism for their lack of training in the basic principles of journalism. For example, in comparison with newspaper journalists, they are seldom critical of

Men forget everything, women remember everything. That's why men need instant replay in sports. They've already forgotten what happened. ■ RITA RUDNER

sport or sports organizations, in part because of their loyalties to former teammates, teams, and leagues. With huge sums paid for television rights to prestigious sports and the need to retain the goodwill of the sporting organizations who grant those rights, television companies in the United States have often acceded to sports organization demands for input into the selection of announcers, further reducing the likelihood of critical commentary. This means the announcer's role "is seen as more closely resembling an ambassador and enthusiastic follower of the sport than an objective reporter" (Barnett 1990, 163).

Women Announcers

Announcing continues to be dominated by men although women have made some inroads, particularly in televised sports that women play such as swimming, tennis, netball, and basketball. *Women in Sportscasting: A Brief History* identifies eighteen women, including Gayle Sierens (NFL, 1987), Robin Roberts (NCAA basketball, early 1990s), and Suzyn Waldman (New York Yankees baseball, mid 1990s) who are among the first women to have done play-by-play announcing for major men's sports. However, the general industry belief remains that "when women call games which do not include female athletes, the listening audience does not accept women sportscasters as readily as men" (Schwartz 1999).

Influencing Viewers

Announcers have considerable power to influence audience interpretations and understandings of sport. American research in the late 1970s and early 1980s showed that commentary that stressed rough or violent play, even when it did not exist, led viewers to see the play as rougher than it actually was and appeared to increase their enjoyment. Other research consistently shows that although commentary differs by nation, as announcers unconsciously reflect the values that are important in their countries, in each case it tends to reinforce rather than challenge dominant cultural ideas about issues such as race, gender, and national identity.

Poland Olympics Results

2002 Winter Olympics: 1 Silver, 1 Bronze

2004 Summer Olympics: 3 Gold, 2 Silver, 5 Bronze

The Future

While the visual presentation of live sports continues to push the boundaries of what is possible—such as miniature cameras worn by baseball catchers or suspended trapeze-like above open-air rugby fields—the basic expectations of television commentary have changed little. However, with growing media consolidation and satellite technology taking nationally produced broadcasts worldwide, it is possible that existing cultural differences will gradually disappear in favor of something approaching an international announcing standard.

Toni Bruce

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Poland

In Poland, sport fulfilled—and still fulfills—an important role as a means of national identification because the state's sovereignty and the unity of the nation have been historically uncertain. The Republic of Poland is located on the Eastern border of Central Europe. In July 2004, it had a population of 38,600,000 people and the city of Warsaw as its capital. Since 1 May 2004, Poland has been a member of the European Union.

Physical Culture

By the eighteenth century, during the last years of the Republic ruled by Polish nobility, the first European Ministry of Education, Poland's Komisja Edukacji Narodowej (Commission of National Education, 1773–1794), required the development of physical culture in the school system. From 1795 until the creation of the second Republic of Poland in 1919, the country was divided between Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Russia. Each part of the country took part in the process of social and political modernization in a different manner according to the policies of the rulers. This was a determining prerequisite in the nineteenth century for the development of sport and physical culture. The cultural



Poland

Key Events in Poland Sports History

- 1780s** Physical education is made compulsory in the schools.
- 1867** The first Sokol club is established.
- 1912** Poles participate in the Olympics as members of the Russian and Austrian teams.
- 1919** The Polish Track and Field Association is established.
- 1924** The Polish Olympic Committee is established.
- 1928** Poland wins its first Olympic gold medal, by Halina Konopacka in the women's discus.
- 1945** Under Communist rule, sports are encouraged.
- 1974** Poland finishes third in the soccer World Cup.
- 1990** With end of Communist rule support for sports declines.
- 2000** Robert Korzeniowski wins the Olympic walking competitions for both distances—20 and 50 kilometers.

autonomy was greatest in the Austrian part of Poland. In Galicia, a regional Board of Education (Rada Szkolna Krajowa), under Polish leadership, was created as early as 1867. In the city of Lwów, the first Sokol club for gymnastics was created the same year. The Polish Sokol followed the tradition of the Czech Sokol, which was created in 1862 with the goal of emancipation from the Austro-Hungarian predominance. By 1884, Sokol clubs had also been created in the parts of Poland ruled by Germany, but the clubs were forbidden in the Russian part of Poland, except for a short period following the 1905 revolution. The Sokol movement in Poland tried to follow the traditions of the German "Turnen," of "Turnvater" Friedrich-Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852), with its nationalistic revolutionary nature. At the same time, the Polish Sokol adapted an eclectic ap-

proach to physical activities. Whereas German "Turnen" was adapted by the army as well as by the school system, French and Scandinavian influences could also be found in the Sokol. In Galicia, paramilitary exercises were also added to the program. Especially in the Polish diaspora in Germany and in the United States, track and field as well as soccer entered the curricula as pioneers of modern sport. By the nineteenth century, sport clubs, not connected with the Sokol movement, were established in Warsaw, Kraków, Poznan, and Łódz. One of the most important pioneers of the Polish sport movement was the physician Henryk Jordan (1842–1907) from Kraków, who established playgrounds for children and youth, according to the American model, and who fought for the introduction of mandatory physical activities in high schools and for the employment of school physicians. The "skauting" movement, an adaptation of the Boy Scouts movement, fulfilled an important role in the physical education of the youth.

Given the partitioned country, representatives of Polish origin could be found in the Austrian and Russian Olympic teams in the 1912 Games in Stockholm.

Participant and Spectator Sports

The Second Polish Republic, created following World War I, was characterized by high percentages of national minorities, Jews, Germans, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians, representing about 30 percent of the total population. Sport was to assist in integrating those minorities, both in daily internal life and in representing the state in the international scene. Many modern sport clubs and associations, both national and ethnic in nature, were created. The Polish Olympic Committee (Polski Komitet Igrzysk Olimpijskich; since 1924, Polski Komitet Olimpijski) and the Polish Track and Field Association (Polski Związek Lekkiej Atletyki) were created in 1919. The first organizations of female sports catered to the spread of sports among women. Polish athletes of both sexes participated in the Olympic Games with success, gaining twenty Olympic medals between 1924 and 1936. The first Olympic gold medalist was Halina

Just play. Have fun. Enjoy the game. ■ MICHAEL JORDAN

Konopacka, who won the women's discus throw in 1928. The long-distance runner Janusz Kusocinski, who won the 10,000-meter race at the Los Angeles Olympics in 1932 and who was killed while fighting against the German occupiers of his country in 1940 near Warsaw, fulfills a special role for the cultural commemoration of Polish sports. An important international track and field meeting, the Kusocinski-Memorial, takes place annually in the Polish capital.

World War II and the German occupation were a national catastrophe for Poland, including the sports movement. An enormous number of people were killed and murdered. Fifty percent of the athletic infrastructure was destroyed. Under the leadership of the Communist administration following 1945, however, a phenomenal rise of the sport movement occurred because of the centralized direction of sports and massive financing of them.

- The Polish track and field "Dream-Team" earned seventeen Olympic medals between 1956 and 1968.
- Irena Szewinska was the outstanding figure of female track and field from the 1964 Tokyo Games through the 1976 Montreal Games—she gained, in the sprints and in long jump, three Olympic gold medals and two silver and two bronze medals. Szewinska, who is now a vice-president in the National Olympic Committee and has been a member of the International Olympic Committee since 1998, built the bridge between the Communist and post-Communist eras in Polish sports.
- A further positive example of the "state-sports" era were the achievements of the national soccer team, which captured third place in both world championships of 1974 and 1982. Grzegorz Lato, Kazimierz Deyna, and Zbigniew Boniek were the stars of the team, and Lato is credited with the title of the top scorer of the 1974 world championship.

Sports in Society

Following the political changes of 1990, the difficult transition from state-run sports into sports financed by private financial sources and organized by nongovern-

mental bodies took place. Poland could not compete with the monies offered in other countries, so large parts of the youth training programs disbanded and an exodus of top athletes into the professional ranks abroad started. Accusations of corruption and hooliganism prevailed in the sport of soccer, which had previously been a positive example. As a result, spectators began to stay away from the games. Conversely, further improvements could be seen in individual sports.

- Robert Korzeniowski, who won four gold medals in the Olympic competitions of 1996 (Atlanta), 2000 (Sydney), and 2004 (Athens) soon turned into a national hero, especially when he became the first athlete to win the walking competitions for both distances—20 and 50 kilometers—which he achieved in Sydney in 2000.
- Adam Ma'ysz was world champion in ski jumping three years in a row (2001–2003) and winner in the famous international competition "Vierschanzen-tournee" in 2000/2001.
- In female sports, the swimmer Otylia J'drzejczak has captured world and European titles since 1999 and won the gold medal for the 200-meter butterfly in the 2004 Athens Olympics Games.

The Future

The further development of sports in Poland will depend largely on the success of Poland's economic integration into the European Market and political integration into the European Union, and this is being recognized by ever-growing parts of the population, including those responsible for sport politics.

Governing Bodies

Sports in Poland are organized by the Ministry of Education and Sport (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu, www.menis.gov.pl), the Polish Sport Confederation (Polska Konfederacja Sportu, www.pkSPORT.pl), and the Polish Olympic Committee (Polski Komitet Olimpijski, www.pkol.pl).

Diethelm Blecking and Bernard Woltmann

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Polo

Polo is probably the oldest ball game in the world and is the only major “goal sport” to be played on horseback. It has been traced back to nomadic peoples from the steppes of Central Asia. From there it spread quickly throughout the Persian Empire, China, India, and as far as Japan. Usually played by mounted tribesmen, there were a number of brutal, local variations of the activity. Polo often enjoyed aristocratic support and was popular as a method of military training throughout Central Asia.

The Practicalities of Polo

The dynamic spectacle of both rider and animal straining to remain controlled while striving to gain an advantage makes polo unique. The rules of polo are simple for the uninitiated to understand, yet the tactical side of the activity and the handicapping system are increasingly complex. In practice polo is a game played between two teams of four players with each player fulfilling a specific role in attack, midfield, or defense. Each player is on horseback, and using a mallet the player attempts to strike a ball between goalposts at opposite ends of the field of play. The best polo ponies are specifically bred and trained for use in polo as agility is as important as speed.

The basic rule in polo that contributes to the spectacle and the uniqueness of action, relates to “right-of-way.” This rule states that the right-of-way extends ahead of the player and in the direction in which that player is riding. Players must only hit the ball on the right side of the pony. Safety of both players and ponies are key to the application of this rule. Matches last between four and eight periods of seven minutes each, depending on the event. Players have an official handicap that corresponds to their general standard of play. Ten goals are allocated to the best players, with minus two being assigned to beginners. It should be remembered that polo still retains a traditionally amateur aura throughout its organization and participation.

Historical Background

The first record shows polo being played in approximately 600 BCE, with the Turkomen defeating the Persians in what is considered to have been a diplomatic match. Indeed, many of Central Asia’s key historical figures are associated with the sport. Alexander the Great and Darius of Persia were both known to have played the game in the fourth century BCE. Variations on polo are known to have existed in China, Japan, and Russia, but it was in Persia’s ancient capital of Ispahan that a sixth-century BCE polo ground was found.

The British in northern India first encountered polo during the 1850s. History credits Lieutenant John Sherer with further popularizing it with British planters and soldiers. The pastime and its accompanying social aspects rapidly spread throughout India. Indeed, the Indian ruling classes and the British on empire duty enthusiastically took up the game. After Indian independence in 1948, polo almost vanished entirely from the subcontinent. This was partly due to the costs involved as well as due to the activity’s associations with the British Empire. In the United Kingdom, civilian clubs were formed from the 1870s onward by many who had returned from service abroad. It was not long before they had established their own match dates, which eventually led to the rules of the game being formally instituted.



This Japanese woodcut from 1877 shows a British-style polo match.

International Diffusion

The growth of polo was static throughout the years between the First and Second World Wars, but polo in the United Kingdom continued to be organized along clearly demarcated class-based lines. Nowadays in the UK at least, this is less rigid a divide than it once was. While polo has traditionally been a game of the affluent, it remains a popular sport for those who have a link with either the farming tradition of working on the land or those from a military background. Many participants are dedicated to polo due partly to the excitement involved, but also due to the social distinction associated with the sport. For many the high cost of involvement is simply accepted as the price of participating in their chosen activity. It is worth noting that since the 1880s, there have been attempts to promote a version of polo among the working classes, using bicycles rather than horses. Despite having peaks of popularity in the early decades of the twentieth century, and having an international federation since the 1960s, bicycle polo remains a largely peripheral pastime.

The proprietor of the *New York Herald*, James Gordon Bennett, is credited with bringing polo to the United States in 1876, where the sport developed quickly. The main polo centers are located in the north and east of the country. Polo continued to spread in countries that had

been British or European colonies to such an extent that the game is now regularly played in more than forty nations across the world. In terms of an international ranking order, Argentina is consistently ranked first in the world, followed by the United States. The other notable polo-playing nations include England, Mexico, Uruguay, and Spain. Despite the ongoing process of cultural exchange, and while many of these nations view polo as a spectacular sport, it remains a relatively minor one in terms of ascribed importance within many societies.

At the top level of competition are such events as world championships, and the different championships between nations. These are followed by national championships of which the Argentine, U.S., and British Opens are the most prestigious. At a lower level are many and varied tournaments, ranging from gold cups just below open level to more minor interclub events. The only world polo championship took place in Argentina in 1949 with a victory for the host country. The prevailing amateur character of polo seems to have affected the attempts by those in control of the sport to significantly expand the number of participants.

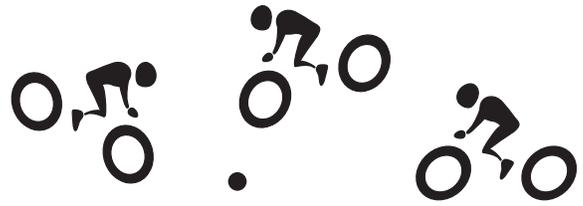
The Future

The underlying tension between popularizing the sport and maintaining its distinctiveness is best illustrated in the attempts to have polo included in the Olympic Games. Notably, to date these efforts have not yet been successful. It is important to recognize the specific structure of the sport and the related experiences of amateur and professional polo players today. Despite the undoubted spectacle involved, economic and conceptual barriers act as fundamental structural issues that will affect any initiatives to promote polo to a wider international and less-class-based audience.

Jonathan M. Thomas

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Polo, Bicycle

In bicycle polo, which derived from pony polo, riders on specially adapted bicycles use long-handled mallets to move a ball along a grass field, scoring goals through a defended goalpost. Skill and daring are required to move the ball down the field and to avoid collision.

History

The first reference to bicycle polo described a game played in the United States during the early 1880s by the trick cyclists Kaufman and MacAnney, who rode Star brand bicycles. Star bicycles, used for bicycle polo during that era, were invented by W. S. Helley in Burlington, Vermont. Similar to a high-wheeler bicycle but with the smaller of the two wheels at the front, a Star was treadle-driven at the rear, not driven by cranks, chain wheel, or chain and sprocket, as are modern bicycles. The Star driving mechanism consisted of two ratchet-and-pawl clutches, one on each side of the rear wheel. When the pedal was depressed, a leather connecting strap caused the drum to revolve. A pawl on the wheel spindle engaged with one of the ratchet teeth inside the drum, and the road wheel was rotated. On the upward stroke of the pedal, the clutch went out of action in a manner similar to that of a modern ratchet-and-pawl free-wheel. Thus, both pedals could be at the top of the stroke, enabling greater thrust.

In Ireland during the 1890s R. J. Macredy, editor of the periodical *Cycling*, took up bicycle polo after he re-

tired from bicycle racing. Macredy's touring club, Ahne Hast (Hasten Slowly), first played bicycle polo on or about 5 October 1891, while on a Saturday trip in County Wicklow, near Dublin. Although some people considered it a dangerous pursuit, even women took up the new sport, complete with loop frames and full-length dresses.

Within four years bicycle polo had also become established in England. As it spread to other parts of Europe, an international match between Ireland and England was played at the Crystal Palace in London on 28 September 1901 (Ireland won 10 goals to 5). In 1908 Ireland played Germany at an exhibition match at Shepherds Bush Stadium in London as part of the Olympic Games.

In the beginning European bicycle polo (played in France, Britain, Ireland, and Belgium) modified the rules of pony polo to accommodate the use of bicycles, whereas in the United Arab Republic, India, Pakistan, Singapore, Ceylon, and Malaysia the sport was based strictly on the rules of pony polo.

During its early years bicycle polo was an exuberant game. One goalkeeper named "Andrews" frequently saved a sure goal by his uncanny trick of swinging the mallet behind his back and backhanding the ball out of the goal—with both feet on the pedals. Another player, Len Baker, would ride straight through a group of players, flattening opponents left and right. He would then return, pick up a winded and muddled opponent, and politely announce, "It's all in the game, ol' man." Ching Allin of the Norwood Paragon cycling club in England possessed the ultimate ability: He would scoop the ball up onto his mallet, cycle with it the length of the pitch (playing field), toss the ball into the air, and smash it into the back of the goal; the goalkeeper was powerless to stop it.

Practice

Bicycle polo is played on a pitch that is a rectangular grass field 100 meters long. At each end are upright bamboo goalposts 3.5 meters apart and 2.7 meters high. The pitch is divided by a center line and 23-meter

Things could be worse. Suppose your errors were counted and published every day, like those of a baseball player. ■ UNKNOWN

lines between the center and goal lines. A semicircular penalty area with a radius of 4.5 meters is located in front of the goalposts; in this area the goalkeeper is protected from being charged or obstructed. The mallet has an 81-centimeter or 86-centimeter leather-bound cane handle and a boxwood head that is 15 centimeters in length and 6.3 centimeters in diameter. Players must hold the mallet in the right hand. They cannot use wrist straps, and metal must not be incorporated into the mallet head, although this restriction does not apply to the shaft. The ball is made of bamboo root and is painted white; it must not exceed 112 grams in weight and 8 centimeters in diameter. Recently players have had limited success using a plastic ball, which tends to last several games, as opposed to a bamboo ball, which usually must be replaced every fifteen minutes.

As many as eight players—of either gender—make up a team. An ideal number is six, four of whom take the field (the fullback, halfback, and two forwards) along with a goalkeeper. The referee (on foot) is usually assisted by two judges and two linesmen, who are necessary because of the fast pace of the sport.

Periods of play are called “chukkers”; a game consists of six fifteen-minute chukkers separated by one-minute breaks. At the beginning of each chukker or after a goal is scored, the players from each team line up on their respective goal lines to the left of the goalposts. The referee places the ball at midfield (the sprinters’ line), and at the referee’s whistle one player from each team sprints for the ball while the other three players ride down the field in covering positions to intercept the ball or the opposing sprinter, if he or she should gain possession of the ball first. Players must not cross the sprinters’ line until one team has possession of the ball to avoid collisions. Players then drive the ball up the field toward the goal. Players can use not only their mallets, but also their hands (but not to catch the ball), their feet (only if the ball is in the air, not on the ground), and the front wheels of their bicycles to block the ball. Players must not be dismounted while playing the ball (not even a foot on the ground), and playing the ball includes any contact with bicycle or body. Defenses in-

clude tackling (with the bicycle), shoulder charging, hooking a mallet, and riding off an opposing player challenging for the ball. Strict rules of play help minimize collisions, and penalties are levied for stealing ground before the whistle, playing dangerously, and deliberately obstructing. The two teams change ends when a team scores a goal and at midgame.

Speed and maneuverability are most important; thus, the modern polo bicycle has a shortened wheelbase, fixed wheel, no brakes, and a low gear ratio.

Anthony Bush

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Polo, Water

Water polo can be traced back to Great Britain, where it has roots in both England and Scotland. In November 1868 the heads of six London swimming clubs met and founded the Metropolitan Swimming Association (MSA). At the same time they drew up an inventory and established a code of rules for all issues relating to amateur races, notably including a number of aquatic games. In what was called “water derby,” for example, swimmers rode astride barrels with wooden horse heads attached and used a crude type of oars to move around. Other games like a so-called “water polo” imitated polo, where the players perched on barrels to compete for control of a floating ball, using their oars as a crosse. And then there was “football in the water,” which consisted of two teams competing to carry an object to a determined place (often a boat), however they could. On 12 May, 1870, those in charge of the MSA (which soon metamorphosed into the Swimming Association of Great Britain, or SAGB and, later on, the Amateur Swimming Association, or



Polo, Water

An Olympic Victory Becomes a Political Message

The Hungarian men's water polo team won medals in twelve successive Olympic Games between 1928 and 1980. As the Athens 2004 Olympic website points out, among all these victories, the Hungarian win in the summer of 1956 over the Soviet team was especially important for Hungary's national identity. That fall, Hungarian citizens would launch a heroic (though ultimately ill-fated) revolt against Soviet rule.

The Magyar supremacy continued in Melbourne in 1956, in a tournament held in the shadow of the Soviet invasion of Hungary. The game between Hungary and the USSR was a bloodbath, with fighting breaking out between the two teams. The Swedish referee was forced to suspend the game, which Hungary won

4-0. It was a victory with a political message because, as the Hungarians later pointed out, they wanted to use the match to raise the morale of their people. For them, victory over the Soviets and winning the gold was a matter of life and death. They became Olympic champions without losing a single match.

The political events of 1956 had their effect on the national Water Polo team as well. Half of the champions at Melbourne refused to return to their country, while the captain, Dezso Gyarmati, who opposed the regime, went into self-imposed exile in the United States in 1957, and was barred from re-entering the country for two years.

Athens 2004. (2004). Hungarian men's water polo. Retrieved November 29, 2004, from <http://www.athens2004.com/en/HungaryMensWaterPolo>

ASA) more closely defined the rules for this last game, taking their inspiration from the "football of Rugby." Even so, until 1888 clubs practiced "water-baseball" or "aquatic handball" games that often departed significantly from the rules set by the MSA.

This relative failure to enforce MSA rules left the way open for other initiatives. In Glasgow the president of Associated Swimming Clubs of Scotland, William Wilson, sought ways to spark interest in the swimming competitions put on by local clubs. In 1877 he used his knowledge of popular games to invent a set of rules for aquatic football. Two teams of three players each competed to capture a bladder ball. As this initial experience was rather unimpressive, Wilson worked to make the game more interesting and spectacular, this time using a basin and fresh water and changing the rules somewhat. He introduced a goalkeeper based on the football association model, increased the number of players to nine, and barred standing on the pool bottom. In 1879 this set of rules was distributed to all Glasgow swim clubs.

From 1885 to 1888, the SAGB worked to integrate the English and Scottish sets of rules. An analysis of the eleven rules from the original water-polo code shows the influence of both rugby and football (soccer). As the rules evolved, however, references to football (soccer)

gradually won out over rugby. Handling the ball with more than one hand was prohibited, as in football (soccer), and the goals resembled those in football (soccer). Water polo became less of a combat game and more of a passing game as free throws and out-of-play rules were established and the number of players dropped to seven. With a more or less stabilized set of rules, by the 1890s the game was winning over countries where there was a tradition of aquatic sports meetings. It became an appealing and spectacular "extra" in swimming events. In Europe it became established in Germany (1893), Austria (1894), France and Belgium (1895), and Hungary (1897). In the United States, it was practiced in Boston as early as 1888, and later on the West Coast. However, since it focused on a rougher game and rules that were influenced by American football, American water polo (still also called "softball" water polo) began to move away from the original principles as the Federation Internationale de Natation (FINA), the international swimming association, began in 1908 to enforce the British rules internationally.

Nature of Water Polo

Although the techniques, strategies, and rules for water polo were initially modeled after rugby and then



football (soccer), since the 1970s the influence has come more from handball. Basically, the game features two teams of seven players each, competing in an area 20–30 meters long, 10–20 meters wide and at least 1.8 meters deep. The ball is 68–71 centimeters in circumference and weighs 400–450 grams. Two referees and two goal judges are required for a match, which has four periods of live time (actual play) lasting seven minutes each. Besides the offside rule, the major aspects concern the ball, which may not be held underwater or touched with both hands at once (except by the goalkeeper). It may be thrown or pushed during dribbling but kept no longer than thirty-five seconds at a time. Any direct action on a player without the ball is prohibited, but the ball handler may be pushed underwater. Fouls are penalized by a free throw or a penalty throw, depending on how serious they are.

Water polo is a sometimes violent contact sport, and women were left on the sidelines for a long time. Women's teams have existed since the early 1900s, but only the Dutch during the 1950s, the Australians during the 1960s, and the Americans during the 1970s were able to pull women's water polo out of the torpor it went into in the period between the World War I and World War II.

Competition at the Top

Water polo is the oldest Olympic team sport. Although it was already around in 1896, it was not actually organized before 1900. Given the geographical origins of water polo, it follows that the most difficult regional competition is the European championship (created in 1926). A world championship has been held every two years since 1976.

Except for the Olympic Games held in Saint Louis in 1904, the major international competitions of the early 1900s were won hands down by the English, who were Olympic champions from 1900 to 1920, followed by the Belgians. The French briefly picked up the torch in 1924, and then the game's techniques and strategies were totally renewed by the Hungari-

ans, who powered their way past the ever-increasing competition (first from the Germans and Italians in the 1930s and 1940s, then from the Yugoslavians and Russians during the 1950s and 1960s) to become the world's top players. In 1956 their legendary match against the USSR—after the invasion of Hungary by the Soviets—at the Melbourne Olympic Games contributed to reinforce the Hungarian national identity around the sport. From the 1970s up to now, besides the United States, the water polo elite include mainly the Central and Southern European nations: Hungary, Italy, Spain, Greece, Russia, and the Baltic states. These are also the countries where the sport is practiced the most and where the only professional players are to be found. Women's water polo also follows this pattern, with the addition of Holland and Australia.

Governing Bodies

In the different countries where it is practiced, water polo is governed either by an independent federation or the national swimming association. Since 1908 water polo has answered to the FINA at the international level. In 1928, however, the sport was provided with an International Water Polo Board, which was created for the purpose of unifying the rules. In 1951 the board made an important break in tradition by ending the obligation for players to stop moving after the referee blows the whistle. Before, as long as the players were immobile for a free throw, the only possible defensive tactic during play was to stay in contact with the offense's players to avoid being left, in case of foul, with an isolated player to whom the ball might be passed. From then on it became possible to use a defensive style of play whereby the offense's players without the ball theoretically had more incentive to distinguish themselves. Throughout the century most of the changes proposed by the board were influenced by preoccupations with decreasing the violence, accelerating the game, and making sure all action is seen by the referees.

Thierry Terret

Portugal Olympics Results

2004 Summer Olympics: 2 Silver, 1 Bronze

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Portugal

Located in extreme southwestern Europe, Portugal has a population of 10.5 million, including its capital city of Lisbon. Portugal's sport history reflects European aristocratic sport and leisure traditions, with influences from other nations such as Sweden, Belgium, and Britain. During the Estado Novo dictatorship, sport and physical education became a political tool of the state. The end of the dictatorship in 1974 began a new era with renewed interest in the Olympics and in international sports such as soccer.

Middle Ages

Fencing and horse riding, as well as dance, were a significant part of education for the nobility, from the eleventh to the end of nineteenth century. Hunting on horseback (*montaria*), with birds (*cestaria*), or with hounds, was an important activity. During the Middle Ages several books recorded the lifestyle of the nobility for future generations. For example, *Livro da Montaria* by D. João I (1356–1433) describes hunting wild boar on horseback with spears and a pack of hounds. Falconry was a popular form of hunting, and falconry books were popular, each one rich with details about bird behavior, diseases, and feeding. Hunting also prepared men for battle by providing practice with the bow and arrow, and was encouraging especially for

young men. Horseback riding was another important activity and a noble duty. Tournaments and jousting were always accompanied by other activities such as horse races, running and jumping games such as páreo, canas, tavoloado, or bafordo. King D. Duarte's (1391–1438) *Livro da Ensinanca de Bem Cavalgar toda a Sela* written in the 1430s is considered the first horse-riding book in European literature

Archery, péla (throwing a small ball sometimes with secret love messages on it), hand-to-hand fighting, and bullfighting were common physical activities. Other common recreational activities were ball dancing, feasting, music and singing, and games like chess, dice, and playing cards.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Fencing was another physical activity of the nobility and a symbol of their high social status. Several books were written on fencing, and one of the more interesting was by D. Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608–1667) —*O Fidalgo Aprendiz* (1665). It was a satire about all those who without any noble ancestry or fortune sought to social climb by learning to fence.

In the eighteenth century the image of the nobleman was central to a philosophical debate in Europe. In this context three Portuguese intellectuals expressed concern about the education of youth by the dominant group. Martinho de Mendonca e Melo (1693–1720), António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches (1699–1783), and Luís António Verney (1713–1792) called attention to the need of developing a curriculum that valued experience. Dance, horse riding, fencing, and swimming were some of the activities presented as having a positive influence on character building and health.

In 1761, the Real Colégio dos Nobres de Lisboa (1761–1837) was founded to teach young aristocrats the liberal arts as well as introducing them to new areas of study, like geography, physics, and natural sciences, to prepare them properly for a changing society. Dancing, horseback riding, and fencing were part of the curriculum.

*The country is full of good coaches.
What it takes to win is a bunch of
interested players.* ■ DON CORYELL

Modern Sport

Modern sport has evolved through five phases. The first period, from 1855 to 1875, was marked by the founding of the first sport association and the publication of the first sports newspaper. The second, from 1875 to 1900, was a period of rapid growth with the founding of more associations, the appearance of more newspapers, and the spread of sports across the nation. The third period was from 1900 to 1925 and was marked by the consolidation of rules and regulations and cooperation among sporting associations. It was also during this period, after World War I, when aristocratic influence in sports declined. During the fourth period from 1926–1974 the Estado Novo dictatorship took control and used sport as a tool for political and ideological control with a focus on youth and worker sports. The final period began with the 25th April Revolution in 1974 and continues to the present.

As elsewhere in Europe, sports developed in the last half of the nineteenth century. By that time, concerns with health led aristocratic and wealthy people to the seaside. In 1850 they organized the first yachting race

and others soon followed. The first Portuguese sports club, the Real Associacao Naval, was founded in 1855 and others followed: Real Club Naval de Lisboa (1892), Liga Naval Portuguesa (1902), Grupo Náutico Português (1925), the Federacao Portuguesa de Vela (1927).

Sport took a bit longer to attract large numbers from the lower classes. Cycling became popular in the 1890s and soccer in the 1920s. Several newspapers were devoted to cycling: *O Velocipedista*, *A Bicicleta*, *O Ciclista*. The *União Velocipédica Portuguesa* was founded in 1900. Sports associations then appeared in greater numbers. By 1902, Porto had five sporting clubs (hunting, rowing, sailing, gymnastics and fencing); in 1903 Lisbon had seventeen, and twenty-three one year later. Sports books also proliferated, from five in 1885 to eighty-eight in 1936.

The Estado Novo dictatorship (1926–1974) considered health and education as the primary national problems. Hygiene, health, and physical education became one of the major areas of political ideology. The goal was to change the old order so that Portugal would remain independent. Sport was seen as an instrument of ideological action, both in national and international terms, and promoting youth and worker (men and women) sports was a main concern. An athletic elite was seen as the symbol of national power. Sports medicine was used to find and select the best *materia prima* backed by support for sports such as athletics, yachting, rowing, swimming, and gymnastics in the schools. The 25 April Revolution



**A golf course on
Algarve, Portugal.**

Source: istockphoto/silikonski.

ended this approach and soccer and the Olympics regained a new importance.

Gymnastics and Physical Education

In 1836 Dr. Guilherme Centazzi wrote *Consideracoes Gerais Sobre os Exercícios Gymnasticos e as vantagens que delles resultão* calling the attention to the advantages of regular exercise for health and education. This brought gymnastics to the attention of education officials and it was introduced into the curriculum in 1836. Through the influence of Jean Roger, Paulo Lauret, and then Adolfo Filipe Simões gymnastics became more popular and a component of the curriculum for boys and girls. For years, gymnastics was mainly military and acrobatic. In 1903 the Real Gymnasio Club Portugues (founded in 1875) adopted Swedish gymnastics. The publication of the *Regulamento Oficial de Educacao Física. Gimnástica Educativa. Jogos. Gimnástica aplicada*, in the year 1920, underlined the interest of the state in a gymnastics in public education to build national health and education. The plan followed closely the work of the Belgian Lefebure (*Une Méthode de Gymnastique Educative*), and was totally inadequate for Portugal, which lacked a central education system and adequate facilities. In 1932, the National Assembly established a new policy based on Swedish Gymnastics. Sport was considered to be too liberal with gymnastics preferred because it encouraged structure and discipline. In 1935 the Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho (FNAT) was founded to integrate gymnastics, folk dance, sports, and outdoor activities to control leisure activities.

In 1936 the Junta Nacional de Educacao was created as the central sports authority with control over all aspects of sports and physical education. The agency utilized sports medicine to identify the best youth athletes. Arsénio Cordeiro and José Salazar Carreira were two of the best-known directors of this center. Carreira took part in athletics, fencing, swimming, handball, rugby, and tennis competitions. He was the Portuguese champion of 100m, 200m, 800m and 400m, as well as in

400m hurdles. In 1944, he was nominated Inspector dos Desportos da Direcção Geral de Educação Física, Desportos e Saúde Escolar. Carreira was also a physician and wrote several books on physical education, sport medicine, and athletic training.

The Organizacao Nacional da Mocidade Portuguesa (ONMP, or simply MP) was created in the same year to promote civic and patriotic pride as well as physical and pre-military training. Girls were included, for the very first time, in the national organization through the female section, the Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina (MPF), created in 1938. Gymnastics, games, swimming, and outdoor activities such as camping, walking, snow skiing, were promoted until the MP closed in 1972. In 1938 the Swedish teacher, Anna Ingrid Ryberg, was hired to develop girls physical education for the MPF. In 1940, the Instituto Nacional de Educacao Física (INEF) was established to train physical education teachers. Half the students were women. In 1944 the Estádio Nacional was opened.

Olympics

Portugal first participated in the Olympics in 1912 in Stockholm, with six athletes competing in track and field, boxing, and fencing. Since then, Portuguese involvement has increased, both in the number of sports and number of athletes.

Women competed for the first time in 1952. The first Portuguese gold medalist was Carlos Lopes in the marathon in 1984 and the first woman gold medallist was Rosa Mota in the marathon in 1988.

Sports Today

Sports and physical activity is now important across Portuguese society. Soccer is the most popular sport and many Portuguese closely follow their favorite teams—Porto from Porto and Sporting or Benfica from Lisbon. Track and field, auto racing, wind surfing, yachting, and inline hockey are also popular. Watching sports on television is often a group activity in restaurants and bars. The government has been promoting golf to attract tourists and there are many courses near the

**Table 1.***Portuguese Olympic Participation from 1920 to 2004*

Year	Location	Number of Sports	Number of Athletes
1920	Antwerp	2	14
1924	Paris	8	24
1928	Amsterdam	8	32
1932	Los Angeles	3	6
1936	Berlin	5	19
1948	London	7	46
1952	Helsinki	9	71
1956	Melbourne	2	12
1960	Rome	11	65
1964	Tokyo	7	20
1968	Mexico City	6	20
1972	Munich	8	29
1976	Montreal	6	19
1980	Moscow	6	11
1984	Los Angeles	11	38
1988	Seoul	12	66
1992	Barcelona	18	103
1996	Atlanta	18	108
2000	Sydney	14	61
2004	Athens	16	79

Algarve and the Estoril coasts. Maintaining an ancient tradition, in the fall people hunt for wild boar, partridge, and pheasant. Swimming, boating, surfing, and wind surfing are popular summer sports. Portugal continues to host bullfighting, although it is far less popular than in Spain. It differs from Spanish bullfighting as the fighters ride on horses and the bull is not killed in the ring.

Manuela Hasse

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Postmodernism

The term *postmodern* has become a buzzword, and people often declare that we live in a postmodern society. Despite the fact that theories of postmodernism have secured a prominent place in mainstream sociology, only recently have sociologists of sport turned toward such theories to explain sports or even the emergence of "postmodern" sport in society.

What Is a Postmodern Society?

The term *postmodern* refers, at its simplest, to an era after modernity. The term originated in the artistic world, in which *postmodernism* emerged as a term that expressed dissatisfaction with traditional literary models, art, and dance. In terms of academia, and in particular sociology, the term was borrowed from the artistic world to express a concern, dissatisfaction, and frustration with existing modernist theories and modernist thought.

Modernism refers to an era when people tried to organize society rationally, an era that has been referred to as the "enlightenment period." It was an era when people thought that we can easily categorize society and that one truth exists about how society functions. In contrast, a postmodern society is considered less regimented. Social life and culture are deemed disjointed and fragmented. Some theorists celebrate this aspect of a postmodern society because it means in



Postmodernism

Postmodernism and Sports

In the extract below, writer Nathan Bierma muses about being a postmodernist and a sports fan.

Can a true postmodernist yell at the refs? Isn't that forcing your beliefs on others? Is there such a thing as a bad call in the age of virtual reality? Or does it all depend on your point of view, your background, your bias, as so much supposedly does these days?

Could it be that sports are the last part of society where objective truth is the norm? I'm not kidding around: I'm wondering what it says that the solid, fixed foundations of organized sports, where baselines and sidelines are columns and pillars of certainty, have endured in an age of questioning, satirizing and re-imagining our basic assumptions about the rectitude of social institutions.

Organized sports were established in the 19th century in schools as a way to teach discipline, morality and character. With their straight lines, umpires and thick rulebooks, sports are now a throwback to an age of reason, staying alive in an age of relevance.

The court and the field are still rigidly rectangular. A first down is still ten yards, a made jump shot is still two points (except for the very postmodern three-pointer, converted behind a brash curved line), and if you have a problem with that, you don't play. [. . .]

Sports have not been untouched by postmodernism. Changing stadium architecture, athletes recording rap albums, the rise of ESPN and the upheaval of gender roles have turned what was once a predictable, monotone, masculine sector of society into a maelstrom of change and a laboratory of social trends.

Still, in a Western world that spells "truth" with a small "T" and where skepticism and skewed reality trump history and heritage, the pillars of sports stand firm. The sideline is still out of bounds and a swing and a miss is still a strike, no doubt about it. You either crossed the goal line or you were down at the one. No non-linear reality here.

Source: Bierma, N. (2001, May 4). Two-point conversion: Sidelines, absolutes and post-modernism. *Chimes*, 95(27).

society "anything goes." This suggestion would indicate a mixture of tastes and cultural lifestyles as well as alternative lifestyle choices that have been widely accepted.

Sociology and the Postmodern Invasion

We might fairly say that no definition of *postmodernism* exists, the term is so diverse that one author declared that "postmodernism is like jelly, not at all easy to nail down." The term means different things to different people; however, certain ideas in postmodern thought differ from ideas in modernist thought.

Sociology, including the sociology of sport, during modernism was dominated by the theories of the German political philosopher Karl Marx, the German sociologist Max Weber, and the French sociologist Emile Durkheim. These theories are known as "grand narratives" because they concentrate on how aspects of soci-

ety "fit" together as a whole, specifically the way people are constrained by the society they live in. As a result, these theories are often referred to as "macro" because they focus on the structure of society rather than on the individual. These theories have one grand theme or model, and this model is used to explain all aspects of society. For instance, theorists working within the Marxist paradigm (framework) would apply the ideas of Marx to understanding sports in the same way that they would apply them to making sense of, for example, the criminal justice system. Thus, what is being studied does not matter; the application of the theory remains the same. One model was followed because of the underpinning belief of modernism that one definite truth exists about society and that how it works is waiting to be discovered. After this discovery, a "better" society, one without inequalities such as class and race, can be created.

How does postmodernism differ from modernism? Postmodernists reject these "grand narratives" because

Modern bodybuilding is ritual, religion, sport, art, and science, awash in Western chemistry and mathematics. Defying nature, it surpasses it. ■ CAMILLE PAGLIA

these theories are applied in order to find fixed meanings, certainties, and truths. Postmodernists do not believe that one all-encompassing truth is waiting to be discovered, and they criticize modernists for not understanding that society is too complex to be explained by one theory.

Another shortcoming of modernism, according to postmodernism, is that it has failed to understand that different people experience different inequalities. Therefore, we cannot suggest that people from lower working-class groups have less access to sports because this suggestion ignores the fact that some working-class families may also face race and gender discrimination.

The closest that we can come to defining postmodernism is to say that it is a rejection of the modernist search for truth and the era of “grand narratives.” For those people who embrace postmodernism, truth is relative, and they suggest that we would more adequately speak of multiple truths, which are situational. The impact of postmodernism on, for instance, social research is to cause people to consider research to be a representation of a reality and at best a partial and biased one. However, as Best and Kellner have suggested, “there is no unified postmodern theory, or even a coherent set of positions. Rather, one is struck by the diversities between theories often lumped together as ‘postmodern’ and the plurality—often conflictual—of postmodern positions.”

Postmodernism versus Poststructuralism

Some people have suggested that some of the influential postmodernist theorists are Foucault, Baudrillard, Jameson, and Derrida; however, some people disagree about whether these theorists should be identified as poststructuralists as opposed to postmodernists. Andrews criticizes the tendency of authors who use these two terms interchangeably. He argues that postmodernism is an ambiguous term that refers to changes in social life from art, architecture, and cinema to sociology. Poststructuralism, according to Andrews, is a distinctly intellectual movement, and despite the fact that

poststructuralist theories are postmodern in the sense that they reject objective truths, the extent to which they engage with postmodern philosophy differs.

Andrews seems to be suggesting that poststructuralism is a more precise analysis of academic theories and that poststructuralism can perhaps be considered as a subdivision of the postmodern movement. Therefore, he argues that Baudrillard and Foucault are poststructuralists. Such an argument demonstrates a lack of clarity and agreement among those working within the postmodern movement, especially with regard to defining terms.

Power, Sports, and Foucault

The work of Michel Foucault has been influential in the sociology of sports because Foucault’s main work, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Modern Prison* (1970), alongside *The History of Sexuality*, focused on understanding how bodies have historically become subjected to disciplinary procedures.

According to Whitson, Foucault’s understanding of the “discipline and pleasure that surround the body in modern societies has much to offer students of sport” because sports can be seen as a product of a disciplinary society. Sports, according to Pronger, no longer promote freedom of movement. Sports are subject to and a product of scans, electromagnetic tests, training programs, and computer simulation. This fact means the sporting body has become strictly regulated by technologies, which in turn dominate the way physical educators and sports professionals practice.

Markula, a sports feminist, uses Foucauldian concepts to understand the experiences of women who participate in aerobics. She discusses the way that these women, despite wishing to have an ideal woman’s body shape, ridicule the shape of women models and actresses as being unobtainable. This fact highlights women’s ability to resist dominant notions about them because they do not accept unquestioningly the notion of a perfect woman’s body. Power, according to Foucault is diverse and is operated in a variety of ways by a variety of people. Having total power is rare, and we

*Men are the sport of circumstances
when it seems circumstances are
the sport of men.* ■ LORD BYRON

cannot create counter ideologies and therefore contest power. He also argues that power is not always negative because “where there is power there is resistance” (Markula 2003, 93). In every relationship power exists; yet, power, although it may appear unequally, is never uncontested and can be resisted.

The work of Rail and Harvey offers an in-depth understanding of Foucault’s concepts, especially in relation to sports, power, and the body. They highlight the fact that in France a number of theorists use Foucault to analyze the nature of sports; yet, these theorists have been ignored by English-speaking sports sociologists. They also highlight the four strands of research utilizing Foucauldian concepts, which are cited in Andrews as (1) work that highlights the importance of Foucault’s work to academics working within the sociology of sport, (2) studies that use Foucault’s early work and archaeological approach, (3) research that uses Foucault’s concept of Panopticon and examines the way sports have become a “modern disciplinary power,” and (4) studies that examine Foucault’s work on technologies of the self and apply this to the study of sports.

Foucault has become a popular theorist for those people turning to postmodernism to analyze issues of sexuality, power, and the body in sports.

Baudrillard, “Hyperreality,” and Sports

Another major contributor to postmodern thought is Jean Baudrillard, whose research suggests that society has become so dominated by signs that nothing is real. As a result of the domination of signs he argues that everything that we think that we see is merely an image of reality and is “hyper real.” *Hyperreality* refers to the problem of distinguishing between reality and appearance. Baudrillard uses Disneyland in the United States as an example of hyperreality. Disneyland, he argues, is a place where nothing is real; it is made up of signs and images. Yet, because Disneyland presents itself as a fantasyland, people must assume that everything outside of Disneyland or any other theme park is real. Baudrillard argues that this assumption itself is an illusion because

U.S. society is so made up of images that each image is made up from a different image or from a variety of images. If this argument is true, then everything we understand about the society we live in, from the sports on TV or the Gulf War, is influenced by the images we are presented with. If we accept this theory, then we can’t distinguish between the reality of the game of football and the television, magazine, and billboard image of football.

Because Baudrillard’s work has focused on examining and understanding events that are “mediatized,” and because we could argue that sports are a media spectacle, his work has attracted interest among sociologists of sports. For instance, Redhead says that because of the globalization of football, many people experience the sport only through television viewing. We may think that watching the sport on television is “better” than watching the sport in real life because of the benefits of replays and new technology such as Hawk Eye in cricket. Hawk Eye can “tell” the viewer whether the umpire’s “leg before wicket” (LBW) decision was correct. By computer simulation the program predicts whether the ball actually would have gone on to hit the stumps. This situation has led to media speculation about the role of the umpire in cricket and whether the umpire will be replaced by television cameras.

Baudrillard, unlike mainly social theorists, comments directly on the culture of sports in relation to his theory. He cites a European match played between Real Madrid and Naples that, because of violence at previous matches, was played without spectators. Instead, the match was shown to fans on television. Baudrillard predicts that postmodern sport will have no spectators and that no one will experience the real event. Instead spectators will see only images of the real event. He is suggesting that sports will become “a pure event . . . devoid of any reference in nature, and readily susceptible to replacement by synthetic images” (Baudrillard 1990, 80).

In some respects events such as the Olympics have already been replaced by “synthetic images.” Despite the fact that the Olympics are watched worldwide on television, because of the cost of traveling to the event and the cost of tickets, relatively few people are able to



experience the event itself. As a result, everything we think we know about the ethos (distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or guiding beliefs) of the Olympic games is presented to us via the images we are given in newspapers, television programs, and magazines. These images, although presented as real versions of the event, are partial and themselves are based on other images and representations. Thus, Baudrillard would argue that we never truly know what it is like to experience the Olympics, that we experience only the image of the event.

Baudrillard's model suggests that the image has become the reality. For instance, from television programs that show live police officers in action, "real police" officers may get ideas about how to behave, so the virtual representation of what it is to be a police officer is simulated and becomes the actual model. If we relate this notion to sports, Baudrillard seems to be suggesting that the television model of sports has become the actual model that people would expect when they see live events.

Researchers such as Rail have used the work of Baudrillard to look at sports culture and consumption. Andrews has used it to look at how the 1996 Summer Olympics were designed to encourage women viewers. Wenner has used it to study the hyperreal nature of sports bars. Despite the fact that these researchers have expressed caution about some aspects of Baudrillard's theory, they insist that aspects of his work can help to explain the nature of certain aspects of postmodern sports.

Postmodern Controversies

One of the main concerns that people have with postmodernism is the lack of consensus about what actually constitutes postmodernism. The term itself is "discontinuous," and for this reason Dunning (1996) suggests that the term fails to "capture the balance between continuity and change in the processes which have contributed to the development of the present-day world" (Dunning 1996, 185). He goes on to argue that because social life will always change, why create

a term such as postmodernism that suggests a static moment in time? Surely, he argues, to do so would mean that after social life changes again, soon we would have to speak of a post-postmodern society and then a post-post-postmodern society, and where would this end? Although careful not to dismiss postmodernism altogether, he criticizes the movement for being overly philosophical and theoretical and thus failing to provide research grounding for its claims.

Do we really live in an "anything goes" society? Have the inequalities of modernism been overcome? In sports, in particular, we can point to continuing gender inequalities. Stereotypes remain about the capabilities of black and Asian people. Furthermore, homosexuality in sports is still considered a taboo. If these inequalities exist, then do we too soon speak of "postmodern" sports? To what extent can postmodernism explain these inequalities and ultimately eradicate them? These issues and controversies need to be addressed and clarified by scholars using postmodern theories.

The Future

Researchers working in the sociology of sports inevitably will increasingly use the postmodern theories of Foucault, Haraway, Derrida, Butler, Lyotard, Baudrillard, and Jameson to understand social issues in sports. Some theorists may continue to dismiss these theories and pursue a modernist agenda, whereas others may adopt certain aspects of postmodern theories and fuse them with modernist theories. The sociology of sports inevitably will follow in the footsteps of mainstream sociology in developing more eclectic ways of understanding the complexities and contradictions evident in "postmodern" sports.

Philippa Cook

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Powerlifting

Powerlifting is an offshoot of weightlifting and weight training that emphasizes pure strength more than speed, flexibility, and technique. It is also an exercise format that promotes health and fitness, and its movements are utilized in bodybuilding and strongman competitions. At first limited to North America and Northern Europe, powerlifting achieved worldwide popularity by the late twentieth century.

History

The historical roots of powerlifting are identical to those of weightlifting, traceable to strength feats that were practiced by the ancient Chinese and Egyptians and the Homeric Greeks. The legend of Milo of Crotona, the Greek strongman who devised progressive resistance training by carrying a calf daily until it became a bull, is also relevant to powerlifting. The powerlifter’s physique,

however, would resemble more the mythical representations of the Farnese Hercules than the streamlined musculature of Apollo, an archetype for Olympic weightlifters. Likewise, at the dawn of modern weightlifting in the late 1800s, the so-called strongman era, powerlifters would find greater inspiration in the ponderous strength of the Quebec colossus Louis Cyr than the more versatile showmanship of Eugen Sandow. But powerlifting as a separate athletic endeavor did not emerge until the mid-twentieth century.

What did exist were various health, fitness, and training movements that resembled powerlifts. Most of them related to the dead lift. One of the earliest exercises was the health lift, introduced by Harvard-trained physician George Barker Windship in Boston in the 1860s. A partial dead lift, it utilized the large muscle groups of the hips and thighs. Later versions were often done with machines, using handles, yokes, and harnesses. Windship once harness-lifted 2,600 pounds. Another variation, once barbells came into general use, was the Jefferson lift, a dead lift done while straddling the bar. German-born Hermann Goerner was the greatest practitioner of the two-hand dead lift. At 6'1" and 220 pounds, “Goerner the Mighty” dead lifted 360 kilograms (794 pounds) in 1920. Only occasionally was the dead lift performed competitively.

Similarly, the squat (deep knee bend) was never contested and rarely used to build basic lower body strength. One of the first weightlifters to realize its importance was Henry Steinborn who, as a German prisoner of war in Australia during World War I, became the first man to squat 500 pounds. Given the nonexistence of squat racks, he had to set the barbell on end, lean under the bar, and tilt it on his shoulders before executing the lift. Steinborn also performed a single leg squat with a 192-pound barbell. But the strongman most responsible for popularizing the squat was Joseph Curtis Hise of Homer, Illinois, in the 1930s. His technique of using squats to develop the lower *and* upper body was spread by Peary Rader, editor of *Iron Man*, in subsequent decades. Remarkably, the bench press, eventually the most popular barbell exercise, was not done.



Powerlifting

Costumes for Powerlifters on a Budget

From the humor section of e-normous.biz, a website for and about powerlifters:

Like anyone, I like a good Halloween party. Sometimes times get tight though, and you don't have a lot of money to spend on elaborate costumes. Well we've got some good news for you. We have some great halloween ideas for powerlifters that won't break the bank. We're not suggesting that you go as a powerlifter, that's too obvious. We do have some suggestions on how to incorporate your gear though.

THE HULK: This one is very simple. 1. Buy some cheap green paint. 2. Throw on some clothes you used to wear before you started powerlifting and flex. 3. Paint any exposed skin once your clothes are sufficiently torn and you are instantly Lou Ferrigno himself.

FRANKENSTEIN: So you want to pull off a classic like it has never been done before. Powerlifters can pull this one off better than anyone. Break out that old suit of yours and a pair of work boots. Before putting them on, simply put on your squat suit, your bench shirt and knee wraps. Have someone help you get the suit on over top of this gear and you will have the Frankenstein walk down to perfection. To add to the effect, you'll grunt every time you need to bend over to pick something up or sit down. The discomfort will eventually drive you insane until you take out your rage on all of the town's people at the party. This could easily be the most frightening of all Halloween costumes this year.

Source: Costumes for powerlifters on a budget. Retrieved March 8, 2005, from <http://www.e-normous.biz/powerliftinghumor-10.asp>

Most resembling it was the supine press, with the lifter lying flat on the floor. Joe Nordquest of Ashtabula, Ohio, prone-pressed 388 pounds during the World War I era, but it was rarely practiced thereafter.

THE PRECOMPETITION ERA

What brought the powerlifts into vogue after World War II was the increased popularity of bodybuilding. Then called the odd lifts, or strength sets in England, the squat, bench press, dead lift, and curl were utilized to develop the most fundamental (and showy) muscle groups of the thighs, chest, back, and arms, respectively. While they also promoted Olympic weightlifting (press, snatch, and clean and jerk) in their muscle magazines, Joe and Ben Weider of Montreal were the foremost proponents of this new approach to using barbells.

POWERLIFTING BECOMES A SPORT

During the 1950s the popularity of the Mr. America contest, sponsored by the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) and promoted by Bob Hoffman of York, Pennsylvania, drew further attention to powerlifting. But it was Peary Rader who first suggested the idea of a power-

lifting championship. By this time Hoffman, Rader, and the Weider brothers were marketing apparatus, squat racks, and benches with stirrups, for powerlift training. Finally, Georgia strongman Paul Anderson, a gold medalist at the 1956 (Melbourne) Summer Olympics, was a major source of inspiration. His unofficial 1,200-pound squat, performed at a Reno hotel, had a profound impact on a generation of future powerlifters.

The transformation of "odd lift" training into a sport occurred during the early 1960s, largely as a spin-off of Olympic weightlifting. In 1963 Hoffman launched *Muscular Development* as "the powerlifter's organ," and in the following year, he conducted a national tournament in York, consisting of the bench press, squat, and dead lift. At the first national powerlifting championships, sponsored by the AAU in 1965, superheavyweight Terry Todd of York narrowly defeated Gene Roberson of Birmingham, with a final dead lift of 740 pounds. By this time a national rules structure was in place, and powerlifting was administered by the national AAU weightlifting committee. The new sport grew rapidly, and the number of participants soon surpassed those engaged in Olympic lifting. In 1971 Hoffman hosted



Powerlifting

Powerlifters of Old

These lines from Sir Walter Scott's The Lady of the Lake (canto V, verse 23) immortalize the prowess of the participants in an ancient contest of strength.

Their arms the brawny yeomen bare
To hurl the massive bar in air.
When each his utmost strength had shown,
The Douglas rent an earth-fast stone
From its deep bed, then heaved it high,
And sent the fragment through the sky
A road beyond the farthest mark.

Source: Scott, W. (1887). The lady of the lake. In H. Peek, (Ed.), *Poetry of sport* (p. 28). London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

the first world powerlifting championships at York. The following year witnessed the formation of the International Powerlifting Federation (IPF), consisting of twelve countries, with Bob Crist of Hampton, Virginia, as its president. Increasingly, powerlifting was becoming popular in other countries, especially England, Canada, Scandinavia, Japan, and Australia. In 1975 the world championships took place outside the United States for the first time, in Birmingham, England.

By the end of the 1970s, women were also becoming powerlifters. In 1977 Joe Zarella, AAU powerlifting chairman, organized the first women's championships at Nashua, New Hampshire. It included twenty-seven lifters, the best lifter being Cindy Reinhoudt in the 165-pound class, with a 360 squat, 210 bench press, and 375 dead lift. In 1978 women's powerlifting gained official (AAU) status, with Jan Todd as first chair of the women's committee. At the ensuing national championships, she deadlifted a record 453 pounds. In 1980 the first world powerlifting championships for women was staged at the University of Lowell (Massachusetts). Terry Dillard in the 114-pound class was the outstanding lifter with a 765-pound three-lift total.

GROWING PAINS

Powerlifting, however, was plagued by image problems from the outset. As a result of its sudden growth and in-

formality, it was stereotyped initially as a junk sport whose participants showed up in bare feet, cut-off jeans, and tank tops. And since flexibility, speed, and free movement were not required, powerlifters adopted extensive knee and elbow bandages, oversized belts, stiff work boots, body wraps, and even bedsheets to add tensile strength and boost the number of pounds they could lift. Briefly in the early 1970s, the AAU national committee restricted such practices, banning knee and elbow wraps, but with the creation of the IPF, knee wraps were brought back at the insistence of the British. This compromise led to the addition of a host of other supportive aids over succeeding decades.

No less serious was the problem of drug use, especially steroids, to induce strength. Although powerlifters were not subjected to the experiments of Dr. John Ziegler, "Father of Dianabol," at York, steroid use rocketed through the sport during the 1960s. And not being an Olympic sport, powerlifting escaped the drug testing imposed by the International Olympic Committee in 1976. A 1983 report from the National Strength Center at Auburn University estimated that competitive powerlifting (at 99+ percent) had the highest ergogenic drug use of any sport. Not until the 1985 world championships in Espoo, Finland, did the IPF institute drug tests.

POWERLIFTING'S BREAKUP

By this time drug and supportive apparel problems were exacerbated by a proliferation of powerlifting federations. This devolution of authority began when the National Sports Act (1976) separated weightlifting, powerlifting, and bodybuilding into autonomous bodies, with minimal AAU influence, resulting in the United States Powerlifting Federation (USPF). Then, in a dispute over lifter representation at the 1980 world championships, nine-time world champion Larry Pacifico formed a rival organization. Although a compromise was reached, further disputes over drug testing resulted in the formation of the more loosely regulated and lifter-friendly American Powerlifting Federation (APF) by Pacifico and Ernie Franz in the mid-1980s.



The parent USPF remained more prestigious, with its IPF ties, but these internecine struggles led to the formation of other federations, including an American Drug Free Powerlifting Association, which, by the 1990s, had 5,000 registered lifters. When Franz relinquished his organization to Kieran Kidder in 2003, APF lifters were making the most spectacular gains, but by this time there were sixteen national and eleven international federations, including one for raw (nonsupportive apparel) competitors, vying for attention. Seemingly, their only common bond was *Powerlifting USA*, a periodical edited by Mike Lambert that covered all federations.

Prodigious Performances

Despite drugs, supportive gear, and interminable controversies, the feats of individual powerlifters have been impressive. Most notable were those of Lamar Gant, who was world bantam/featherweight champion fifteen times from 1975 to 1990. At the 1979 world championships in Dayton, Ohio, Gant made a five-times-bodyweight dead lift of 617 pounds, nearly 70 above the world record. Ed Coan of Chicago was another all-time great, credited with a 2,403-pound total including a 959 squat, 545 bench press, and 901 dead lift (at 220 bodyweight), at the 1991 USPF nationals. But a three-time (1985, 1989, 1996) drug suspension in world competition hampered his brilliant career. Only in December 2000 was the 2,500-pound barrier broken by 375-pound Gerry Frank, with a 940 squat, 675 bench press, and 890 dead lift at an APF meet in Indiana.

With continued advancements in supportive apparel, produced mainly by Inzer Designs of Longview, Texas, it is not surprising that records soared in the twenty-first century. In September 2000 Markus Schick, at 4'8", 152 pounds, bench-pressed 562 pounds, pound for pound the best bench press ever. At the 2003 Arnold Classic in Columbus, Ohio, Steve Goggins, weighing only 265, squatted 1,102 pounds, while Frank, in April 2004, squatted 1,085, bench-pressed 837, and dead-lifted 881 for a 2,803-pound total. Most remarkable,

however, is the 975-pound bench press performed by Gene Rychlak, 6'1", 380 pounds, at an APF meet in October 2004.

Rapidly rising records were no less evident in women's competitions. In December 2002 Becca Swanson, at 220 pounds bodyweight, laid claim to the title of world's strongest female by squatting 705 at an APF meet in Nebraska, and Tina Rinehart, weighing only 132 pounds, bench pressed 402 at the Arnold Classic in March 2004. At the 2003 IPF women's world championships, Svetlana Dedyulya of Russia totaled 1,449 pounds, exceeding Cindy Reinhoudt's best lifter total in the same class at the first women's competition by 504 pounds.

Strongman competitions, an important spin-off of powerlifting, were first staged at Universal Studios in Hollywood in 1977 and broadcast on *CBS Sports Spectacular* for ten successive weeks. The first winner was Olympic lifter Bruce Wilhelm, but it was an IPF world champion powerlifter, Bill Kazmaier, who contributed most to the sport's popularity by winning the title of world's strongest man in three successive years in the early 1980s. Eventually, strongman events, featuring an international field of contestants and broadcast regularly on ESPN, exceeded Olympic weightlifting and powerlifting in audience appeal.

Powerlifting Basics

The objective of powerlifting is to register the highest three-lift total in the squat, bench press, and dead lift. Each lifter gets three attempts in each lift, with the highest weights respectively added to his/her total. If a lifter misses all three attempts in either lift, he/she is eliminated from competition. In the event of a tie, the lighter bodyweight lifter receives higher placement. Officiating is carried out by a head referee and two side judges. At least two of three white signal lights are required for a passing lift. Strategy in powerlifting comes into play toward the end of the competition when each athlete tries to choose a final dead lift that will yield a total that other lifters cannot surpass.

In the first lift, the squat, the lifter takes the weight on the shoulders from the racks and, on a signal from the

referee, lowers it until the tops of his thighs break parallel. Then he or she lifts the weight to a standing position and, with a second signal, returns the barbell to the racks. The lifter may not move his or her feet, and the bar may not move downward during the lift. In the bench press, the lifter lies on the bench, removes the weight from the stirrups, and lowers it to the chest until it is motionless. On a signal from the referee, the lifter raises the barbell until the arms are locked out and, with a second signal, returns it to the stirrups. Feet, buttocks, and shoulders must remain in place, and the bar may not move downward while being pressed. In the dead lift, the lifter bends over, grasps the barbell with both hands, and pulls it until standing erect. On a signal from the referee, the lifter returns it to the floor.

Weight Classes and Equipment

Men's competitions usually consist of eleven body-weight classifications: 52 kg (114 pounds), 56 kg (123 pounds), 60 kg (132 pounds), 67.5 kg (148 pounds), 75 kg (165 pounds), 82.5 kg (181 pounds), 90 kg (198 pounds), 100 kg (220 pounds), 110 kg (242 pounds), 125 kg (275 pounds), and over 125 kg. There are ten weight classes for women: 44 kg (97 pounds), 48 kg (105 pounds), 52 kg (114 pounds), 56 kg (123 pounds), 60 kg (132 pounds), 67.5 kg (148 pounds), 75 kg (165 pounds), 82.5 kg (181 pounds), 90 kg (198 pounds), and over 90 kg.

Equipment employed in competitive powerlifting consists of the barbell, a steel bar that weighs 25 kg (55 pounds) and measures 2.2 meters (7 feet) to which cast-iron or steel disk weights are attached at each end on a revolving sleeve. The range of weights added are 50, 25, 20, 15, 10, 5, 2.5, 1.25, .5, and .25 kilograms. All lifts are performed on a square platform that measures no more than 4 meters on each side.

Perspectives

Since its emergence from Olympic weightlifting in the 1960s, powerlifting has attracted a large number of enthusiastic competitors worldwide. It has been dominated by the United States since its inception, the

twenty-first century epicenter of the sport being the Westside Barbell Club, coached by Louie Simmons, near Columbus, Ohio. Powerlifting has always been highly individualistic, attracting competitors who seek greater self-esteem, eschew team sports, and do not want to master the more technical Olympic lifts. Despite a promising beginning, the image of powerlifting became tarnished by problems involving drug use, supportive apparatus, and governance. And with an endless variety of federations and competitive subdivisions in the 1980s, the sport was trivialized, losing audience appeal and any possibility for television contracts or financial gain for its participants. Most seriously, as long as powerlifting is viewed by the general public as a subculture and a sport out of control, it will unlikely gain the status of an Olympic event. But as a training aid for athletes in other sports (including bodybuilding) and as a means to improve health and general fitness, powerlifting will continue to earn the respect it deserves.

Governing Bodies

Powerlifting is administered by sixteen national federations in the United States and eleven international federations, the most notable being the International Powerlifting Federation (IPF, www.powerlifting-ipf.com) and the World Powerlifting Congress (WPC, worldpowerliftingcongress.com), with affiliations to the United States Powerlifting Federation (USPF, www.uspf.com) and the American Powerlifting Federation (APF, www.apa-wpa.com), respectively. Additionally, there are national federations in other countries and state committees in the United States.

John D. Fair

See also Weightlifting

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*The only time my prayers are never answered
is on the golf course.* ■ BILLY GRAHAM

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Prayer

Prayer is a concept with many meanings. It can be a mental or spoken communication made to God or another object of worship. It can also be the asking of a favor, a petition, or a request to God or some other object of worship. Additionally, prayer may be initiated by individuals or groups and may be planned or spontaneous.

People have responded to the implementation of prayer in sports with a wide array of emotions. Some people see prayer as an important part of the athletic experience, whereas others see prayer as pushing religion into sports environments, especially in public schools. In such instances the concept of the separation of church and state has built a large barricade on both sides of the issue.

Coaches commonly have implemented the use of religious practices to supplement practical athletic tech-

niques or to help coaches and athletes deal with stressful situations. According to the sociologists D. Stanley Eitzen and George H. Sage, prayer is “perhaps the most frequently employed use of religion by coaches and athletes” (Eitzen and Sage 1997, 163). Prayer is used throughout professional sports, collegiate sports, interscholastic sports, and municipal adult and youth sports. People sometimes initiate prayer to develop a “we” feeling, using prayer as a form of team ritual, a means of dealing with the uncertainties of sport, a vehicle for bringing forth God’s intervention, or a way of making a variety of requests such as for safety in competition, good performance, and even victory.

Prayer and the Personal Freedoms

The issue of prayer as it pertains to athletics is centered on the personal freedoms. We can trace efforts to establish the appropriate relationship between government and religion in the United States back to the nation’s origins. A central concept of the U.S. Constitution is that a civil society and civil religion need to be separate entities to function effectively.

In issues of religion the federal government is to serve in a state of “benevolent neutrality,” establishing a foundation in which government is not to promote any specific line of religious participation, nor is government to stand in the way of people’s right to practice their religious beliefs.

Religious Freedom Clauses

The First Amendment of the Constitution, as it applies to the protections of freedom of religion, provides two clauses: the establishment clause and the free exercise clause. By establishing the freedom to exercise one’s religion and by prohibiting government’s establishment of religion, these clauses have established separate issues of case law (law established by judicial decision in cases).

The basic concept of the establishment clause is that government is not to establish religion or force religion onto people. “The Free Exercise Clause embraces a freedom of belief and conscience that has close parallels in the speech provisions of the First Amendment, but the



Prayer

From an Ancient Tablet in Carthage

I swear, whoever you are, invisible spirit . . . [horses' names]. Bewitch their gait, their feet, the victory, the start, the life, their speed. Take away their victory, hobble their feet, trip them up, slice their sinews, cripple them, so that they can't get to the circus tomorrow. They shouldn't run or move about or win or make it out of the starting gates . . . nor should they round the turning column. They should crash together with their charioteers Dionysios of the "Blues" and Lamarus and Restituanus.

Establishment Clause is a specific prohibition on forms of state intervention in religious affairs with no precise counterpart in the speech provisions" (Sawyer 1997a, 355).

The free exercise clause basically allows people to freely exercise their religious beliefs and "embraces the concepts of freedom to believe and to act." These concepts establish that civil authorities are not to "intervene in affairs of the church from exercising its authority through the state" (Sawyer 1997b, 27).

Taking the Issue to the Courts

"In the United States, many of the battles to establish the boundaries of religious influence on civil government have been fought on the playing fields and in the classrooms of public education" (Alexander and Alexander 2000, 130). The First Amendment's protections of religious freedom, and more particularly the considerations pertaining to the establishment clause, were addressed in the court case *Santa Fe Independent School District v. Jane Doe, et al.* in 2000. Among the issues addressed by this case were the acceptability of "private speech." The establishment clause protects speech by not allowing the government to endorse religion in the form of public speech.

The *Santa Fe* case revolved around pregame prayers that were delivered over the public address system at

high school football games, administered by a student-elected student council chaplain. Two students—one Mormon and one Catholic—and members of their families objected to this use of prayer and filed suit under the establishment clause.

In deciding the *Santa Fe* case, the U.S. Supreme Court made its most definitive decision to date pertaining to prayer in public school sports. In a 6-3 ruling the court held that public school districts are not allowed to let public, student-led prayers occur at high school games. The ruling established that prayers such as those at issue in the *Santa Fe* case are, in fact, public prayers and are not properly considered private speech. The court felt that even though the prayers were delivered by an elected student representative, they filled the role of public, rather than private, speech.

The court's decision was guided by the decision in the court case *Lee v. Weisman* (1992). That case held that a graduation ceremony prayer led by a rabbi violated the establishment clause. The court held that the government is not to coerce people to participate in or to support religion or the exercise of religion and that if such coercion were to occur it would establish a state religion of sorts.

People have debated the role of the establishment clause and the free exercise clause. Many people feel that the abolishment of public prayer restricts people's right to freely exercise their religious beliefs. Such was the feeling of U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist in his dissent of the *Santa Fe* decision when he stated that the decision was flawed and contradictory. He stated that if that line of reasoning is used, even the national anthem would violate the First Amendment. The split in the court's opinion is illustrative of the larger split in the public concerning the issue of prayer. Furthermore, the *Santa Fe* case concerned the rights guaranteed by the free exercise clause. People such as Attorney Misti Weeks (2000) stated that the *Santa Fe* decision shut the door on true freedom of religion as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Some sports teams and organizations have attempted to maneuver around such court decisions. For example,



An ancient prayer temple for priests at Tulum, Mexico, perhaps used in association with Mesoamerican ball court games.

Source: istockphoto/
john@ladoicevita.com.

pression opens the door to a variety of problems, including dissention, resentment, and administrative and even legal concerns.

Concerns about the violation of constitutional rights, team disunity, individual isolation, and other issues have

schools have ignored such decisions, fought them, and tried to invoke their own policies. People probably will continue to battle, ignore, and subvert the *Santa Fe* decision.

Additional Issues

People need to address other issues that relate to school athletics and religion, particularly prayer in athletic settings—issues such as the risk of coercion, the risk of team conflict and disunity, and the risk of making students feel isolated and ostracized.

Coercion has been a major issue in prayer in athletics. Courts have ruled against practices that are coercive, but coercion can be a double-edged sword. Coercion has been addressed in settings such as school classes that include subjects such as evolution—subjects that may be in direct conflict with students' religious beliefs.

In addition to the presence of team prayer, concern has also been expressed over silent prayer and casual religious conversation. Though individuals may decide to take part in private, silent prayer, such actions may be objected to if it is endorsed by team or league representatives. Such prayer may be viewed as a violation of the First Amendment if it promotes religion.

Individuals should assess situations regarding tolerance and the acceptance in terms of the use of prayer and other forms of religious expression. Stifling religious ex-

pression opens the door to a variety of problems, including dissention, resentment, and administrative and even legal concerns.

Concerns about the violation of constitutional rights, team disunity, individual isolation, and other issues have caused administrators to shy away from the issue of prayer, but administrators, as well as athletes and coaches, need to address the issue rather than ignore it.

Prayer in sports is an issue of risk management. For example, denying people the right to pray could lead to litigation, as could leading a team prayer, game invocation, or other religious action. Indeed, the emotional and legal components of the issue of prayer in sports probably will create a tremendous "gray" area for some time to come.

Jason Lee

See also Religion; Rituals; Sport as Religion

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Professionalism

The level of professionalism within sports relates to status behaviors associated with the formulation of class and social groups within sports and is affected by the following:

- Eligibility criteria and status traditionally associated with sports
- Moral ambiguity
- Amount of commercialism
- Development and change within the historical context

In current notions of sports eligibility, merit often defines status, although not in every national, social, or sporting context. There is a significant degree of difference when comparing the practicalities related to professionalism. What further complicates this is that over time the emphasis on elements of eligibility has changed.

What Is Professionalism?

Amateurism and the notion of the “gentleman” in sport became important at the turn of the twentieth century, particularly in Britain and the United States. The Henley-on-Thames Rowing Regatta was an annual

event that was patronized by the moneyed (or amateur) classes. The Henley Rowing Stewards were charged with ensuring the amateur and social standards of the event were upheld. The role of the Henley Rowing Regatta Stewards and the definition of eligibility criteria at the Olympic Games were crucial in separating notions of what constituted amateurism and, by extension, professionalism. The traditional notion of amateurism can be summarized in the following quotation:

An amateur oarsman or sculler must be an officer of her Majesty’s Army, or Navy or Civil Service, a member of the Liberal professions, or of the Universities or Public Schools, or of any established boat or rowing club not containing mechanics or professionals; and must not have competed in any competition for either a stake, or money or entrance fee, or with or against a professional for any prize; nor have ever taught, pursued, or assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercises of any kind as a means of livelihood, nor have been employed in or about boats, or in manual labour; nor be a mechanic, artisan or labourer. (Lowerson 1995, 159)

In current usage, the term *professional* often acts as a compliment, although the specific use of the term can provide insights into the changing position of the professional within society. For example, golf retains some moral values and qualities related to amateurism while remaining openly professional in organization.

The primarily English notion of the “gentlemen amateur” influenced the traditional Olympic notion of eligibility and, particularly, the status as described in the preceding quotation. The associations with the lofty ideals of muscular Christianity and the cult of athleticism developed within the English public schools during the late nineteenth century. The ongoing situation regarding the status and eligibility of athletes and performers was significant, in the sense that any infringements of the amateur code and its associated values usually resulted in banishment from competition. This was generally part of a haphazard process that emphasized the desirable aspects of getting involved in sport and doing so for the love of the game itself rather than

*It's not the load that breaks
you down, it's the way you
carry it.* ■ LENA HORNE

for any particular result or reward that may accrue. These values became subject to change and adaptation at an increasing rate, especially as capitalism began to dominate the political economy of sport. As different sports federations began to establish their own eligibility criteria, however, inconsistencies and problems became obvious.

The International Olympic Committee's (IOC) attempts to control this issue were not always successful. Certain Olympic presidents have been notable in their stances regarding the eligibility criteria within world sports.

- The founder of the modern Olympic Games and first hands-on president of the IOC, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, viewed sport as an end in itself. He believed that a person could not want more reward than to be able to participate in friendly and constructive competition within sports. This Corinthian ideal has looked increasingly dated once the different practices within affiliated nations became known, particularly following World War II.
- The American Avery Brundage, who served as IOC president from 1952 to 1972, was staunchly conservative in his views related to relaxing the amateur eligibility criteria. He even banned athletes for displaying sports logos on their clothing at the 1972 Winter Olympic Games in Sapporo, Japan. Brundage was a controversial figure because he displayed little flexibility in seeking to keep professionalism out of the games.

The situation regarding professionalism in different nations is directly related to how early in their histories each nation's sporting structure incorporated an openly commercial emphasis. The precursor to open acceptance of a professional emphasis is the development of a commercial dynamic within the sporting context. Each sport has been influenced by professionalism in very different ways; for a significant number of sports and activities, professionalism is not an issue because they have not developed commercially orientated structures. Comparing fencing, archery, and rifle shooting

with the more high-profile professional sports such as tennis, baseball, and football shows that the former activities have not developed a commercially dynamic structure. This has been affected by the level of television and media coverage different sports enjoy and, in turn, has precluded some sports from developing professionalism. The quadrennial Olympic Games remain the pinnacle for those sports that have not yet developed a commercial emphasis.

Current terminology suggests that something described as amateurish denotes that it is flawed or has obvious deficiencies. Notably, within sports reference it is occasionally made to a "model" professional, which refers to a talented player or competitor whose conduct on and off the field fits desirable values within society, invariably including fairness and politeness. Furthermore, reference is often made to the "professional foul" where cheating occurs in the interests of one's team. The inference is that the professional foul is not something likely seen from a model professional. However, we should guard against transposing the situation at the elite level of sports to all those who participate in and clearly enjoy their sports. For many fans and occasional players, the act of competing is still the main pleasure of sports. Sports provide a means of detaching and distancing ourselves from the workplace and its environment.

As sports performers participate in an event where revenues are generated, it is only a short step for them to demand recompense because those revenues depend on their involvement in the sport or activity. The process of change and adaptation within sports has been a slow yet inexorable one overall; however, the rate and acceptance of change has varied for different sports. In rugby, the split between the northern English clubs and the southern English clubs in 1895 led to the formation of two distinct sporting forms: a union of amateurs and a league of professionals. The eligibility criteria imposed by the southern amateurs were so strict that even playing on a rugby league pitch could lead to banishment from the union game. Given the fractured nature of class relations in late nineteenth century England, it is not surprising that attitudes hardened on both sides.

The difference between the impossible and the possible lies in a man's determination. ■ TOMMY LASORDA

Notably, almost 100 years following the split, the amateurs of the Rugby Union decided to open their sport and allowed professionals both on and off the field. There has since been an increasing amount of cross-fertilization between the codes. The importance of this example, however, relates to the timescale involved.

Practicalities

The exact relationship between the notion of professionalism and the development of commercialism within sports can be seen in the growth of professional organizations within the sports context. This process can be best described as the professionalization of the sporting structure. Many believe that amateurism within sports is still desirable. This is evident within the Olympic context, where the authorities still relate some of the robust and worthy qualities associated with amateurism to the ongoing Olympics project, even though the term *amateur* was officially removed from the Olympic Charter in 1972.

Professionalism as a concept that affects the sporting context was first developed during the early stages of commodification and codification of sports in the United States. The team owners and governing bodies were quick to emphasize the business and commercial aspects of sport, but professional players in the main team sports have only had a significant role in controlling their careers since the early 1970s. The anachronistic position of the reserve system was partly perpetuated by the antitrust exemption enjoyed by professional sports and by the paternalist position of many sports franchise owners. The development of sports as an integral part of U.S. culture (as well as the association of particular sports and pastimes with notions of American citizenship) gathered momentum following World War I.

The legal position of professionals in individual sports differs depending on the activity and even, on occasion, between athletes in the same sport. Their legal status often depends on what athletes must do to train and qualify for competition in their sports. This can depend on individuals such as a manager or promoter in boxing

or membership in a professional organization that restricts eligibility such as in golf or tennis. Professional sports make some pretensions to the notion of what constitutes professionalism within the wider society, with coaching certificates and a distinct language of technicality. As a distinct cash-flow dynamic develops, there is more open acceptance of commercial structures within sports. The lack of reverence associated with professionalism develops because the activity and its outcome are not ends in themselves. Traditionally, people are fearful of commercialism within sports because of an implicit belief that commercialism has the capacity to infect and destroy those institutions in which commercialism has become increasingly central to their culture.

The centrality of gambling within East Asian sports places the commercial dynamic at the center of why sports are popular. The increased injuries in the Rugby Union since 1995 provide an interesting example of how this shift can have a detrimental effect on the practicalities of sport. *Rugby World* magazine has estimated that the incidence of incapacitating injuries in the English Rugby Union has risen fivefold since the open acceptance of professionalism. Current research suggests that a player's livelihood can be affected adversely by not performing to a given standard. The implication is that a more professional emphasis in sports directly affects the practicalities of the sport itself. This example has significant implications for the players and the clubs, and, it can be argued, affects the ability of the sport to provide a spectacular product for the fans and spectators on television. Jonny Wilkinson's ongoing absence from England's international rugby team because of a recurring shoulder injury illustrates this issue. Of great concern is the reaction and attitude of younger, developing athletes because they must determine for themselves what is acceptable.

Including professional athletes in the Olympic Games provides noteworthy examples. At the 1992 Barcelona Games, the U.S. basketball "Dream Team," which included Larry Bird and Magic Johnson, signaled the end of amateurism as a philosophy influencing

Olympic eligibility criteria. Notably, and rather predictably in this instance, the competition was little more than a procession toward the gold medal for the U.S. basketball team. However, the concessions made to tennis professionals at Barcelona meant that the quality of competition improved significantly, which the media coverage reflected.

There are still differences in the practice of professionalism, with specific governing bodies of each sport determining their own rules and regulations. Although greater regulatory consistency within sports will remain an issue, it is not the biggest issue in this area. The status issue that underpins this topic and the significant influence of social control between the diverse groups within the sports context directly influence the development of amateur and professional practices. In many ways, the uneven distribution of revenues associated with professional sports forces a decline in the unpredictability of outcomes. This uncertainty remains vital to the success of sports and crucial to the revenues that sustain them. Without a broad range of uncertain outcomes, sports become predictable. The role of the amateur in sports is still significant, if only to provide some form of perceived moral strength and legitimacy for those professionals who, by implication, may have lost their moral direction and sense of sportsmanship.

Implications

Professionalism within sports remains only a minor dimension in the decline of amateurism, especially compared with the more comprehensive opposing force of commercialism. Significant differences between national cultures usually affect those values related to sport. The professional emphasis in sports has led to increasing specialization by athletes. The downside of commercialism, and the attendant concentration of revenues at the peak of sports, means that to achieve success and access the associated rewards, some participants may consider trying to enhance their performances by resorting to illegal means. The effect of such professionalism on the actual daily practice of sports varies. Yet, the influ-

ence of professionalism on sport is largely negligible—most participants will continue to remain involved because of their love of the game.

Jonathan M. Thomas

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Psychology

The rapid evolution of individual and team sports, as one of the most popular human activities in modern society, has attracted the attention of researchers as well as practitioners in a variety of domains such as education, medicine, psychology, sociology, industry, and, more recently, molecular biology and genetics. Sport and exercise psychology is the scientific study of individuals and their behavior in sports and exercise contexts—the academic discipline and profession in which the principles, methods, and findings of psychology are applied to sports and exercise settings.

Sports as a worldwide cultural phenomenon has stimulated individuals to study its ancient roots, impact on human behavior, and contribution to human

*Your body hears everything
your mind says.* ■ NAOMI JUDD

development. However, formal sports such as basketball, boxing, soccer, and track and field are only part of active human life. Individuals also take part in other activities that demand physical and mental effort, such as scuba diving and mountain climbing. These individuals are searching for new adventures and challenges to meet their unique personal goals. Other individuals show interest in moderate physical activities such as yoga, Feldenkrais, and tai chi, or in recreational and leisure activities such as walking and fishing. Researchers and practitioners want to understand the motives for participation in these types of activities and their influence on the active participant's behavior.

The increased number of individuals who have become active in sports and exercise has led to other worldwide phenomena: The number of spectators who watch sports events, either at the stadium, gym, or pool or on their home TV screens, has increased dramatically, and large parts of the population—male and female and young and adult—now spend a great deal of time watching sporting events, many of them on a daily basis. Given that the annual number of national and international sport events has gradually increased, and that many of these events are frequently televised worldwide, many individuals from countries all over the globe have become addicted to watching sporting events. Researchers and practitioners are interested in studying why sport has become such a powerful attraction for sport spectators and have attempted to explore why, for many spectators, sport has emerged as a secondary or even a primary religion.

The physical activities of the body are planned, directed, and controlled by the human mind. Thus, biological and physical factors must be involved in any theoretical discussion aimed at understanding why individuals decide to participate in a sports activity or in any activity that requires exercise. Sport scholars agree, however, that psychological factors are also involved in the selection of the activity and in other decisions made by the individual that are related to the selected activity, such as the following:

- Number of activity sessions in which the individual participates
- Amount of time he or she spends on the selected activity
- Intensity level involved

The discipline of sport and exercise psychology attempts to study those psychological factors involved in sports and exercise, as well as in other modes of physical activity to understand the following:

1. *Why* individuals and groups are eager to invest so much time and energy in improving their kicking, jumping, running, throwing, and other sporting skills
2. *How* individuals who are involved in sports activities can enhance the physical, motor, cognitive, and social skills that are related to sporting activities
3. *What* the impact of the sports activity is on those individuals and teams

Scope

During the second half of the twentieth century, sport psychology began to emerge from its origins in the academic interests of physical educators. Slowly at first, and then ever more rapidly, sport psychology influenced elite sports and mass participation before expanding more generally into exercise and physical activity. Starting largely in Western countries known for their high involvement in sports, sport psychology has spread around the world, closely following the globalization of sport.

The discipline of sport and exercise psychology denotes a subcategory of psychology that focuses on athletes, exercisers, and physical activity participants. Researchers and practitioners aim to identify principles and guidelines that can be applied by professionals such as coaches, physical educators, consultants, and administrators in helping individuals benefit from the experience of sports and exercise. Sport psychology knowledge is applied to a broad range of individuals. Elite athletes have benefited from theoretical and practical knowledge in sport psychology, as have children, youth, disabled individuals, children-at-risk, seniors,



and individuals who participate in sports and exercise “just for the fun of it.”

Theoretical and practical knowledge in sport and exercise psychology is necessary for those involved in sport and exercise settings, as the following examples show:

- *Case 1.* Tom is an eighteen-year-old basketball player on a high school team. In the final games of the season, he did poorly when standing on the line; he made the basket only five of seventeen attempts. His self-confidence dramatically decreased, and he realized that poor free-throw performances would lessen his chances of playing for the team.
- *Case 2.* Natalie is a nineteen-year-old soccer player and a member of the college team. During her first year, she was highly motivated to excel. She performed well on and off the court and became a role model for the other players. However, at the start of the second year, she had lost her mental energy for playing. Her motivation was low; she missed many practices and arrived late at many others.
- *Case 3.* David is a forty-five-year-old pharmacologist. He had been working in a large firm and had become a manager of a large pharmacy store in his hometown. He knew most of his clients personally and used to spend a few hours each day talking to them. However, during the last several weeks, he preferred to be left alone in his office. He started to feel unhappy about his body and gained 15 kg during the last two years. Although he had started to exercise in the local fitness club, he did not lose any weight.

Sports and exercise psychologists could help the performance of these individuals and help improve their attitudes and mental outlooks.

Research, Teaching, and Consultation

Within sport and exercise psychology subdivisions, contemporary sport psychologists pursue and serve three major professional roles: conducting research, teaching, and consulting

RESEARCH

To advance theoretical and practical knowledge in the area of sport and exercise psychology, laboratory and field investigations have been conducted on a variety of issues, including the following:

- *Motivation in sports and exercise*—intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, achievement motivation, and attributions in sport
- *Psychological techniques for individual performance*—goal setting in sports, imagery, self-confidence, and self-regulations techniques
- *Skill acquisition*—feedback, attention, and developmental stages in motor learning
- *Psychological characteristics of high-level performance*—modeling, personality and the athlete, development of talent in sports, stress and anxiety, self-efficacy, and psychophysiology of sports and exercise
- *Exercise and health psychology*—physical activity and mental health, injury risk and prevention, and injury rehabilitation
- *Life-span development*—moral development and behavior in sports, career termination among athletes, and psychological considerations in youth sports

Research findings emerging from laboratory and field inquiries can be found in a variety of international scientific journals in sport and exercise psychology, including the following:

- *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*
- *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*
- *Sport Psychologist*
- *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*
- *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*

Scientific and applied texts on sport and exercise psychology are also widely available today for sport psychology students, professionals, and the public at large.

TEACHING

Academic programs in sport and exercise psychology exist in almost every country. Students can study courses

in many areas related to sport and exercise psychology, such as the following:

- Sports psychology
- Exercise psychology
- Psychology of coaching
- Applied sport psychology

These courses are taught at both undergraduate and graduate levels.

Certification in sport and exercise psychology can be obtained in only a few countries (e.g., Australia, Canada, Germany, and Italy). The reason for the low number of certification processes is that many countries have disputes about which organization may provide certification in sport and exercise psychology: Psychology departments within the academic institutions insist that the certification process should be under their academic representation, whereas the human movement departments believe that they should provide the certification process.

CONSULTATION

Athletes and coaches have become aware of the benefits that can be achieved by effective implementation of sport-enhancement psychological techniques such as imagery, goal-setting, focusing attention, and biofeedback. These techniques provide the athletes with instructions as well as training directions regarding the use of effective strategies during practices and competitions.

Sport psychology consultations are not only for the benefit of elite athletes. Clinical sport psychology consultations are available today for all athletes and exercisers, even those who develop serious emotional disorders such as depression and suicidal tendencies. Clinical sport psychologists are trained in clinical psychology but specialize in sport and exercise. In addition, educational sport psychology consultations are available for young athletes and exercisers as well as for school-age participants in physical activity. The main objective of these psychological consultations is to assist young sport participants in developing basic psychological skills, such as anxiety management, confidence development, and com-

munication. Another educational objective is to emphasize a fair play approach among competitive athletes and teams, as well as among spectators. Educational sport psychologists are not required to be clinical psychologists. Instead, they should have extensive training in sport and exercise science, physical education, and kinesiology. In addition, they are advised to take advanced classes in psychology and counseling.

Sport Psychology Societies

Interest in sport and exercise psychology can be found all over the globe. Interaction between sport psychologists from different countries is frequent, often occurring at scientific and applied conferences. A few active worldwide and continental societies provide professionals from different parts of the world with opportunities to exchange ideas, promote theoretical and practical knowledge, present new research findings, and seek new, effective interventions, strategies, and techniques.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF SPORT PSYCHOLOGY (ISSP)

ISSP, the major international professional organization for sport psychology, was founded in 1965 at the First World Congress of Sport Psychology in Rome to promote the development of sport and exercise psychology around the world through a wide range of activities. The principal activity of ISSP is the organization of the World Congress of Sport Psychology every four years. World Congresses have been held in Washington, D.C. (1968); Madrid (1973); Prague (1977); Ottawa (1981); Copenhagen (1985); Singapore (1989); Lisbon (1993); Netanya, Israel (1997); Skiathos, Greece (2001); and Sydney (2005). The *International Journal of Sport Psychology* (IJSP) was first published by ISSP in 1970. In 2003, the *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology* (IJSEP) was established and became the major scientific communication of ISSP. The IJSEP provides an opportunity for sport psychologists from all over the world to publish their work and provides opportunities for communication, whether it is face-to-face or in print, and has been and remains the major

Sport inevitably creates deadness of feeling. No one could take pleasure in it who was sensitive to suffering; and therefore its pursuit by women is much more to be regretted than its pursuit by men, because women pursue much more violently and recklessly what they pursue at all. ■ OUIDA

mechanism by which ISSP encourages the development of the field internationally. More information on activities and initiatives of ISSP can be found in its website: www.ISSPonline.org

ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF APPLIED SPORT PSYCHOLOGY (AAASP)

AAASP is an independent, multidisciplinary organization of professionals and students interested in applied sport research and service. AAASP is the largest sport psychology organization in North America and encourages membership of professionals and students from around the world. The Association's annual meetings and publications (such as the *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, a biannual journal that focuses on empirical and applied articles highlighting the application of research to practice) provide a forum for discussion on applying psychology and sports science research to promote performance excellence in the athlete, the performer, and the person. See the AAASP website (www.aaasponline.org) for more information.

ASIAN SOUTH PACIFIC ASSOCIATION OF SPORT PSYCHOLOGY (ASPASP)

ASPASP is a relatively recent addition to the roster of regional organizations that aim to coordinate the development of sport and exercise psychology across a number of countries within a specific geographical area of the world. The mission of ASPASP is to promote sport psychology in Asian and South Pacific countries and territories. Among its purposes are to

1. Facilitate information, documentation, and dissemination services among members with respect to sport psychology,
2. Organize regular ASPASP congresses and support the organization of symposia devoted to topics in sport psychology,
3. Advise and facilitate the establishment of national societies of sport psychology.

For more information about ASPASP, contact Tony.Morris@vu.edu.au.

EUROPEAN FEDERATION OF SPORT PSYCHOLOGY (FEPSAC)

FEPSAC is composed of national societies for sport psychology in European countries; its mission is to

- Promote scientific, educational, and professional work in sport psychology;
- Maintain social and scientific relations between individuals and groups working in sport psychology;
- Encourage young scientists in sport psychology to be productive and active in the field.

FEPSAC organizes a European congress of sport psychology every four years, which is the most important scientific function of the federation. Visit the FEPSAC website (www.fepsac.org) for more information.

SOUTH AMERICAN SOCIETY OF SPORT PSYCHOLOGY (SOSUPE)

SOSUPE helps organize and lends its support to the various sport psychology congresses that occur in South America. The society also organizes introductory and advanced seminars for psychologists, physicians, physical education teachers, trainers, coaches, and physiotherapists. Most of the academic activities of SOSUPE relate to providing introductory courses in sport and exercise psychology and seminars in psychology of coaching. For more information on SOSUPE, contact lgrabin@psi.uba.ar.

The Future

Sport scientists and sport scholars have predicted that sport will continue to be a worldwide cultural, economical, and political phenomenon. Sports, as well as any other type of physical activity and exercise, will probably maintain and even strengthen its highly regarded status within the modern society. Therefore, researchers and practitioners in sport and exercise psychology will continue their quest to provide athletes, exercisers, and the sport community at large with updated theoretical and practical knowledge through the following avenues:

Success must be felt within before it can be seen on the outside. ■ UNKNOWN

1. Sport psychology will be actively marketed to professional athletes, professional teams, young athletes, and exercisers of all ages, particularly the middle-aged and elderly population.
2. Graduate programs in applied sport psychology will become accredited. More certification programs will be available for professionals in the future. These programs will enable professionals to provide athletes, coaches, teams, and exercisers with theory-based psychological services.
3. Technology will play a major role in the practice of sport and exercise psychology. More athletes and exercisers will use microcomputers and minicomputers to record their psychological responses before, during, and at the end of the activity, and to be provided with instant feedback and advice about enhancing performance.
4. Sport and exercise psychologists will emphasize a health-related approach. Particular interest will be directed to the youth and the geriatric populations, with attempts to promote healthy lifestyles in early years that will be maintained in later years when exercise often decreases.

Ronnie Lidor

See also Motivation; Performance Enhancement; Personality; Psychology of Gender Differences

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Psychology of Gender Differences

In a television advertisement a few years ago young women argued that they would be better physically (have less risk of cancer and heart disease, for example), mentally (experience less depression), and socially (enjoy better grades, less teenage pregnancy, and greater career success) “if you let me play sports.” That ad indicates the corporate world sees females as athletes and athletic consumers. Moreover, a growing research base documents these claims and supports the many benefits of sport participation for women. Women’s sport participation has exploded in the last generation. Still, the numbers of female and male participants are not equal, and, more important, women athletes are not the same as men athletes. Gender does make a difference. To fully understand the psychology of gender in sport one must look beyond numbers, biological sex, simple sex differences, and individual differences between women and men to the powerful, gendered social context of sport.

Gender in Women’s Sport

The Olympic motto, “Citius, Altius, Fortius” (“swifter, higher, stronger”), calls attention to the physical and biological nature of sports. That motto also defines sport as competitive and hierarchical. So defined, sport emphasizes sex differences, but most scholars who take a feminist or social dynamics approach to gender and sport argue that sport does not have to be higher, faster, stronger—on the contrary, sport might call for fun, flair, and friendship.

Gender is a key feature of social context and social processes in sport. Gender varies with culture, and in fact, culture defines gender. Although biological sex is innate, all the meanings, social roles, expectations, standards of appropriate behavior, and ideas of beauty, power, and status are created by culture. Women are not born to wear high heels or high-top sneakers. And gender also varies with other cultural categories. For

example, in the United States, field hockey is almost entirely a women's sport whereas in India field hockey is largely a men's sport, and in Australia and New Zealand both women and men play.

To illustrate the influence of gender on social context, consider how gender affects interpretations, responses, and the possible approaches to the following athletes:

- A soccer player who lacks control and is prone to angry outbursts,
- A basketball player who is tentative and lacks confidence, and
- A sixteen-year-old figure skater with signs of an eating disorder.

Would a coach, sport psychologist, trainer, or parent behave the same with a female as with a male athlete? Trying to be nonsexist and treat everyone the same ignores the powerful influence of gender. Gender is so pervasive in society that it is impossible to pinpoint that influence. Sport is no exception, and anyone seeking to understand the psychology of women in sport must consider gender influences in the larger society and within the sport world.

Sport Psychology Research

Research on gender in sport psychology largely follows gender research within psychology. Generally, that research has progressed—from sex differences, to an emphasis on gender role as personality, to the more current social psychology model that emphasizes social context and processes.

SEX DIFFERENCES

The early sex-difference work, summarized in Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin's classic 1974 review, assumed dichotomous biology-based psychological differences—male and female are opposites, and in practice we should treat males one way and females the other way. Today, however, most experts hold that psychological characteristics associated with females and males are neither dichotomous nor biology-based, and that even most biological factors are not dichotomously divided either.

For example, while the average male basketball center is taller than the average female center, the average female center is taller than most men.

For psychological characteristics such as aggressiveness and confidence, even average differences are elusive, and the evidence does not support biological dichotomous sex-linked connections. Serious criticisms of the sex-differences approach were made, and the failure of this approach to shed light on gender-related behavior led psychologists in the 1970s to turn to the study of personality.

PERSONALITY AND GENDER-ROLE ORIENTATION

Psychologists focused on gender-role orientation as the relevant personality construct, with Sandra Bem's 1978 research leading the way. The basic proposition was that gendered personality is *not* a function of biology. Instead, both males and females can have masculine, feminine, or androgynous (both) personalities. Advocates of androgyny argued that "masculine" and "feminine" personalities should be encouraged in all people. However, the masculine and feminine categories and measures were widely criticized as imprecise, and in a 1993 book Bem herself moved to a more encompassing gender perspective. However, most sport psychology gender research is still based on her early work.

Overall, this research suggests that women athletes possess more masculine personality characteristics than do women nonathletes. This conclusion has been criticized as not particularly enlightening. Sport, especially competitive athletics, demands goal-directed assertive behaviors, and the higher masculine scores of female athletes probably reflect an overlap with competitiveness. Today most psychologists recognize the limits of earlier sex-differences and gender-role approaches, and look beyond the male-female and masculine-feminine dichotomies to social processes for explanations.

For example, gender issues emerged in 1993 research by the author that used a multidimensional measure (competitiveness, win, and goal orientations) to examine competitive orientations. As might be expected,

Tough-guy boy football players.*Source: istockphoto.com/ pbcpa.*

males were more competitive than females in almost all the samples tested. Male college and high school students were more competitive, and especially higher on win orientation, than females, but females were just as high, and sometimes higher, on goal orientation.

Research on high school students who participated in competitive sports, non-competitive sport activities, or nonsport activities showed similar results. Boys were more likely than girls to participate and have experience in competitive sports, but girls were just as likely or more likely to participate in noncompetitive sports and nonsport activities, and scored as high or higher on general achievement orientation. Overall then, the gender differences in competitiveness did not seem to reflect either achievement orientation or an interest in sport and physical activity per se, but a specific emphasis on competitive, win-oriented sport competition.

Extension of the research to intercollegiate men's and women's athletic teams, elite athletes in Taiwan, and ultramarathoners found the same trend. Athletes were much higher than nonathletes on all scores, and overall men were higher than women on competitiveness and win orientation. But those gender differences were minimal with the athletes. The women athletes were higher on competitiveness than male nonathletes and similar to men athletes. Gender differences were greater for nonathletes. Similarly, in Taiwan, intercollegiate athletes were higher than nonathlete students, and international caliber athletes were even higher. Moreover, gender differences were minimal in Taiwan.

The ultramarathoners, a unique sample in many ways, were competitive, extremely high on goal orientation, but quite low on win orientation in comparison to other samples. And there were not the same gender differences as in the other groups. In fact, the women ultra-



marathoners were slightly higher than the men on competitiveness and win scores.

Overall, the gender message from the competitive orientation work is that experience and opportunity have a much greater influence on competitive orientation than does gender. When women and men have similar sport experiences, the competitive orientation is similar. But the catch is that women and men rarely have similar sport experiences, even when it appears that they do.

GENDER AND SOCIAL PROCESSES

In the 1980s gender research moved away from the sex-differences and personality approaches to a more social approach that emphasized gender beliefs and stereotypes. The basic proposition was that how people think males and females differ is more important than how they actually differ. Although actual differences between females and males on such characteristics as independence and competitiveness are small and inconsistent, people maintain their stereotypes. People

If a woman has to choose between catching a fly ball and saving an infant's life, she will choose to save the infant's life without even considering if there are men on base. ■ DAVE BARRY

often exaggerate minimal differences into larger perceived differences through social processes. These perceptions exert a strong influence that may lead to further gender differences. This cycle reflects the feminist position that gender is socially constructed.

These persistent gender beliefs and stereotypes are found everywhere. Socialization pressures are pervasive and strong and begin early. Parents, teachers, peers, and societal institutions treat girls and boys differently from birth. Overall, differential treatment is consistent with producing independence and efficacy in boys, and emotional sensitivity, nurturance, and helplessness in girls.

Sport confidence provides a good illustration of the role of social context. Considerable research suggests that females typically display less confidence than males across varied situations (and sport is certainly one of those situations). Ellen Lenney, in the 1970s, concluded that the social situation was the primary source of gender differences—specifically, that gender differences emerged with masculine tasks in competitive settings when clear, unambiguous feedback was missing. Several studies with motor tasks, and some of the author's own research, confirm Lenney's propositions. But all this research involved experimental studies with novel motor tasks in controlled lab settings that purposely stripped away social context. In the real world sport is typically seen as masculine, competition is the norm, and males and females develop their confidence along with their sport skills and behavior patterns through radically different experiences and opportunities—in different worlds.

If experience and opportunity are the keys to competitive orientation and, in turn, participation and behavior in physical activity, then we might expect few gender differences after more than thirty years of mandated nondiscrimination. The number of girl's and women's sport teams in public schools has exploded since 1972, and we see athletic shoe ads promoting the benefits of sport and exercise activities for girls and women. But the real world with its pervasive gendered social context continues to exert strong influence on both women and men in sport. The real world, and par-

ticularly the real world of sport, is not gender-neutral. According to noted sociologist Jessie Bernard in her 1981 book, women and men live in different worlds, even when the situation seems to be the same. For example, the world is different for starting centers on the men's and women's basketball teams, for the boy and girl pitching the Little League games, and for the woman and man jogging in the park. The real worlds of sport are gendered.

Although the number of females in high school and university athletics has increased about six-fold since 1972, to about one-third of the total number of participants, the numbers are not equal. More telling, the numbers of females in other sport roles has not increased so dramatically, and in several ways women and girls have lost ground. Most dramatically, the number of women coaches and athletic administrators has decreased since Title IX. Competitive sport retains a gendered, hierarchical power structure. And it maintains the emphasis on and channels resources to competitive, elite sports, reducing the options and alternatives for both females and males.

Even a casual review of media reports on sport reveals gender influence, and research evidence confirms the bias. Females received less than 10 percent of the media coverage in terms of column space, photographs, and television time. Moreover, coverage is different; athletic ability and accomplishments are emphasized for men athletes, but femininity and attractiveness are emphasized for women athletes. For example, a *USA Today* report on figure skating (20 March 1997) opened with the line, "Tiny Tara Lipinski, figure skating's high-jumping sweetheart, can become the youngest world champion in history Saturday." The emphasis on young and petite contrasts with an accompanying photo insert caption reporting that Elvis Stojko (the male skater) hits quad, triple jump, and wins his third world title.

Observations of recent Olympic and NCAA tournaments suggest less stereotyping and trivialization of female athletes, but institutional change is slow and overall, gendered beliefs seem alive and well in the sport



Psychology of Gender Differences

The Girl and Her Recreations

The following excerpt describes an early attempt to explain the differences in recreational patterns between girls and boys.

Some manifest differences have been noticed between the relation to play of women and girls and that of men and boys. Some plays are more natural to boys than to girls, possibly because of the fact that the fighting element does not enter into the play of girls. This is decidedly a boy trait, and comes perhaps from the early days when men engaged in battle while women superintended the work of the home. The team game has its place, however, in the sports of girls,—not for competitive excellence, but for that association and co-operative play which shall prepare the players for the place in social life which women are more and more destined to fill. Woman's place in athletics and physical education is also different from man's, for many of the more strenuous exercises helpful to men are not recommended for women, Elizabeth Burchenal, prominent in the physical education of girls in New York City, recommends as sports for women: Basket-ball, indoor baseball, field-hockey, tennis, golf, walking running, climbing, skating, horseback riding, snowshoeing, skiing, paddling, and

coasting. At the same time she discourages participation in track athletics and record contests. Most women, however, are inclined to take too little physical exercise of the exhilarating sort. Our American girls need to cultivate that hearty love for the athletic which is shown in English women who walk miles for the love of walking "hike" are antidotes to the headaches caused by poorly ventilated rooms, and melancholia yields to the healthful association with congenial companions in the recreational life.

Noting the further difference between girls and boys in relation to amusement, it is of value that we see the kind of organizations into which girls combine. According to Dr. Sheldon, girls form three times as many secret societies as boys, five times as many social societies, three times as many industrial, twice the number of philanthropic, and three times as many literary societies, but only one-fourth as many predatory, and one-seventh as many athletic societies. Physical activity is found prominent in only ten percent among the boys. The study of the voluntary organizations of boys and girls shows that the two sexes seldom organize themselves together.

Source: The girl and her reactions. (1915). *The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes: Athletics/Football* (p. 192–193). London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

world. Sport activities are gender-stereotyped, and the sex-typing of sport activities seems linked with other gender beliefs (for example, physicality). Stereotypes are of concern because people act on them and thereby exaggerate minimal gender differences and restrict opportunities for both females and males. Overt discrimination is unlikely, and participants may not recognize the influence of gendered beliefs in themselves or others. Both girls and boys can participate in youth gymnastics or baseball, and at early ages physical capabilities are similar. Yet children see female gymnasts and male baseball players as role models, peers gravitate to sex-segregated activities, and most parents, teachers, and coaches support "gender-appropriate" activities for children. Similarly, many sport administrators and

participants fail to recognize gender beliefs operating when athletic programs developed by and for men, stressing male-linked values and characteristics, are opened to girls and women.

So the research does not support dichotomous sex differences; males and females are not opposites. But women and men are not the same and gender cannot be ignored. Gender is part of a complex, dynamic social network, and a particularly salient, powerful force within sport. Clearly, recognition of gender and diversity is critical to effective sport-psychology practice.

Sport-Psychology Practice

Applied or practical sports psychology involves using psychological principles and methods to enhance sport

performance or make it more meaningful. The gender social process approach to gender differences in sport has encouraged what can be called a feminist approach to applied sport psychology. Feminist practice incorporates gender research, emphasizes often ignored women's experiences (for example, sexual harassment), and takes a more nonhierarchical, empowering, process-oriented approach that shifts the emphasis from personal change to social change.

The feminist approach suggests going beyond gender awareness in the scenarios presented earlier. An aggressive soccer player could be male or female, but a male soccer player is more likely to grow up in a world that reinforces aggressive behavior, and a male athlete is more likely to continue to have such behaviors reinforced. The less aggressive, more tentative approach is more typical of women. Even talented, competitive female athletes are socialized to keep quiet, be good, and let others take the lead. Moreover, most women athletes have a male coach, trainer, athletic director, and male professors, and deal with males in most other power positions.

Overly aggressive, uncontrolled behavior is not exclusively male, nor are tentative styles exclusively female. Still, gender-sensitive sport psychology will work more effectively if gender influences in the athlete's background and situation are recognized. Anger control or confidence building has a different context, and probably requires different strategies for women and men. Behavior is not just within the athlete, but within a particular sport context, and within a larger social context, and both the immediate situation and the larger context are gender-related.

Consider a scenario with clear gender implications—a figure skater with a potential eating disorder. Information on psychological disorders and diagnoses indicates that females are nine times as likely as males to exhibit anorexia or bulimia. Moreover, the incidence is increasing, the disorders are more prominent in adolescence and early adulthood, and participants in certain activities, including dance and sport, may be at higher risk. The figure skater is much more likely to be female than male (as well as white, middle-to-upper-

middle class, and adolescent). But personality and gender are not the only considerations; eating disorders are social phenomena and body image plays a major role. Those who take a more active feminist approach suggest that professionals might move to social action—by educating others and trying to change the social system that leads athletes to pursue an unhealthy body image.

The Future

Gender makes a difference. Gender is a pervasive social force in society, and the sport world reflects society's gender hierarchy. Gender is so ingrained in sport structure and practice that we cannot simply treat everyone the same. But neither can we assume that women and men are dichotomous opposites and treat all males one way and all females another way. Gender is a dynamic influence that varies with the individual, situation, and time, as well as with sociocultural characteristics.

Diane L. Gill

See also Gender Equity

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Public Policy

See Economics and Public Policy

Race Walking

Racism

Racquetball

Radio

Religion

Reproduction

Revenue Sharing

Ringette

Rituals

Rodeo

Romania

Rome, Ancient

Rope Jumping

Rounders and Stoolball

Rowing

Rugby

Russia and USSR

Ryder Cup



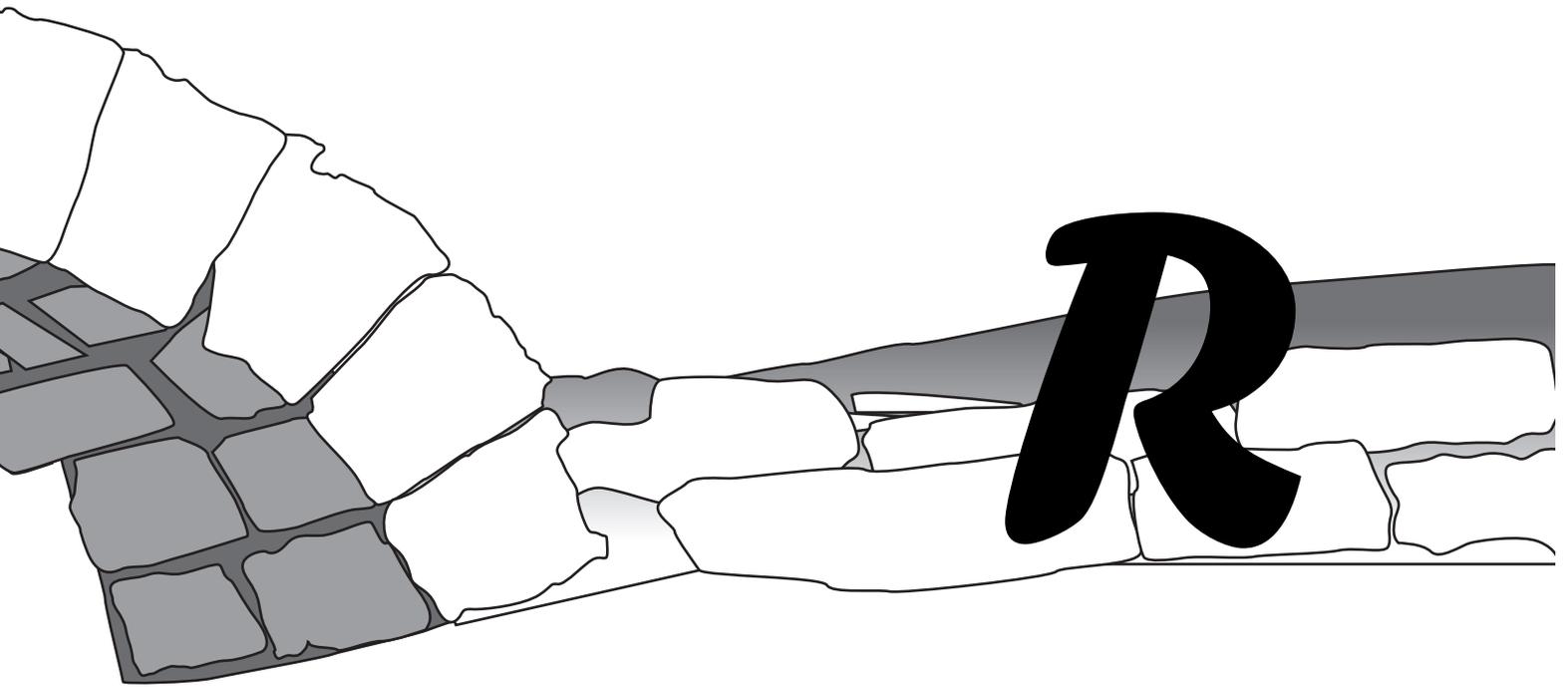
Race Walking

Walking is commonly known as a low-impact form of aerobic exercise that's enjoyed by millions of people. It is also a competitive track and field event as race walkers compete in local 5Ks, college track meets, the Olympics, and ultramarathons.

Early Years

Competitive walking traces its roots back to eighteenth-century England. One notable "pedestrian," as they were called at the time, was Foster Powell (1734–1793), who twice walked from London to York and back, a total of four hundred miles, in less than six days. Powell, who wore knee-length breeches, a jacket, and buckled shoes and drank brandy and water for sustenance, also clocked one hundred miles in twenty-one hours and twenty minutes.

Another famous early pedestrian was Captain Robert Barclay (1779–1854), who, in 1809, accepted a challenge to walk one thousand miles in one thousand hours. Barclay rented a house in Newmarket, a town north of London, measured out a one-mile path through the heath, installed gas lamps to light his way at night, and walked that path once an hour. After each loop, he'd retire to his room to rest, eat, and be administered to by doctors. Thousands of people gathered, from dukes and earls to commoners, to watch the Scotsman, who had lost thirty-two pounds during the effort, walk the final mile. Barclay won the bet, earning the equivalent of twenty years' income in just under



forty-two days in what was hailed then as the “greatest ever sporting event.”

In America, Edward Payson Weston (1839–1929) was the most famous walker. He had bet that Abraham Lincoln would lose the 1860 election. When Lincoln won, Weston made good on his bet by walking from Boston to Washington, D.C., in 1861 to witness the inauguration. Although he arrived in the capitol several hours after the event, that walk launched his career as a professional pedestrian. He went on to earn \$10,000 in 1867 for walking from Maine to Chicago in a month. Weston, who never walked on Sundays, trekked from coast to coast several times, earning thousands of dollars each time. He even had a business sponsor: the makers of Weston Heel and Toe Walking Socks. Up into his seventies, he was still walking long distances, including a sixty-day walk from New York to Minneapolis at the age of seventy-four.

These solo feats led to races between multiple competitors. Of note are the numerous Six Day Races that took place on indoor tracks. The winner was the person who walked the most miles over the course of six days. These events drew thousands of spectators, many of whom had wagered on the outcome. Bands provided live music as walkers logged more than five hundred miles. These races were a top spectator sport in Europe and America during what’s now known as the “Pedestrian Age” (1860–1903).

Twentieth Century

During the 1900s, the sport of walking lost its spot as a popular spectator sport and became more formalized

with international competitions and rules. Two walking races were added to the 1908 Olympics with Brits taking home five of the six medals. Four years later in 1912, a Canadian won the one Olympic walking race and the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF), the organization that governs international walking events, established a Walking Commission to develop rules for the sport.

There are two rules in race walking: one foot must always be touching the ground and the advancing leg must remain straight while striding forward. These rules are designed to make sure competitors are walking and not running. During official events, between five and nine judges closely watch the walkers. If a judge sees a loss of contact with the ground or a bent knee, the judge cautions the athlete either verbally or by holding up a card or paddle. If three different judges warn the same competitor, that athlete is disqualified.

Race walking differs from ordinary walking. The arms are bent at the elbows and pump back and forth while the hips are pushed forward to gain extra inches with each step. This unusual-looking stride earned walkers the name “wobblies” in the nineteenth century. Still today unflattering things are said about race walkers. A *Sports Illustrated* writer reporting on race walking at the 2000 Olympics wrote, “It isn’t fast. It isn’t graceful. It isn’t even natural. It’s a Fourth of July picnic event.” However, journalists in countries that win walking medals don’t dismiss the sport. The Greek press lauded Athanasia Tsoumeleka’s gold in the 20K in 2004; one article in the *Athens News* hailed her and a medal-winning female hurdler as “Greco-Girl power at its best.”



Race Walking

Endurance Records

In the 1800s race walking often took the form of endurance contests in which a single walker would walk for many hours back and forth over a short course. The following is a newspaper announcement of an upcoming endurance walk to be performed by the well-known pedestrian, Mrs. Bentley.

In our last we stated that Mrs. Bentley has arrived in town, and would perform a pedestrian feat in a few days, but her agent not furnishing the information, we were unable to say where. It was announced in one or two of the morning papers, at the close of last week, that the female pedestrian would perform the laborious feat of walking thirty consecutive hours, without rest, at the Broadway tabernacle, commencing at 4 o'clock, Monday evening, April 27th, and closing at 10 o'clock Tuesday evening, the 28th. She commenced the feat at the appointed time, under the care of Mr. And Mrs. Post, of Ohio, her attendants, and walked through the night, and up to our present writing—late Tuesday afternoon. She is, however, greatly fatigued, and illustrates the peculiar and manifest effect upon exhausted nature, by outward circumstances such as the elivening music of the band, the cheerful conversation of friends, and other seductive influences. We have but little doubt but that she will succeed in completing the thirty hours, as she is a woman of proverbial fortitude and untiring energy.

Source: Kirsch, G. B. (Ed.). (1992). *Sports in North America—A documentary history*. Vol. 3: *The rise of modern sports 1840–1860* (pp. 329–330). Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press.

Walking races range in distance from 1,500 meters to 50,000 meters and take place on indoor tracks, outdoor tracks, and roadways. College athletes typically compete in three-kilometer and five-kilometer races while twenty kilometers and fifty kilometers are the standard distances in men's international events and ten kilometers

and twenty kilometers the standard for women. The men's 50K is the longest event in the Olympics, outdistancing the running marathon by five miles. The first Olympic 50K in 1932 was walked in four hours and fifty minutes. By 1992, the winning time was three hours and fifty minutes, a full hour less.

From walking's first Olympic showing in 1908 through the 2004 games, Russia, Great Britain, Italy, Germany, Mexico, and Sweden have claimed the most medals in the men's events. Repeat winners include Italy's Ugo Frigerio (two golds in 1920, a gold in 1924, and a bronze in 1932), Russia's Vladimir Golubnichiy (a gold in 1960, bronze in 1964, gold in 1968, and a silver in 1972), and most recently Poland's Robert Korzeniowski, who won three straight 50K races (1996, 2000, and 2004) and also won the 20K in 2000 in record-breaking time. Women's races entered the Olympics in 1992, first as 10Ks and then lengthened to 20K in 2000. In the first four Olympic contests for women, China won one-third of the medals. Race walking world championships have been held every other year since 1961 for men and 1979 for women. Walking races are also held during regional competitions such as the Asian, European, and Pan American Games. Since race walking entered the Pan American Games in 1984, Mexico has dominated both the men's and women's events. Two standout American walkers are Ron Laird, the four-time Olympian who won sixty-five national championships, finished third in the 1967 and 1973 world championships, and wrote an early textbook on race walking, and Larry Young, a two-time Pan American gold medalist and the only American to win two Olympic medals, taking the 50K bronze in 1968 and 1972.

The Future

The future will likely bring more controversies about how race walking events are judged. In the 2000 Olympic games, Mexico's Bernardo Segura crossed the 20K finish line first, completed a victory lap, and was being interviewed when the judges notified him that he had been disqualified. In the women's 20K that same year, the first three athletes to enter the stadium for the

Don't look back. Something might be gaining on you. ■ SACHEL PAIGE

final stage of the race were disqualified before the finish line. The possibility of using video cameras or installing an electronic device on the competitors' shoes to detect loss of contact with the ground may become a reality by the 2008 games when walking begins its second century as an Olympic sport.

Kelly Nelson

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Racism

The term *racism* is used widely and in many cases loosely in accounts of world sport. This is one reason why it matters. It is often associated with many other terms, most notably, *race*, *racial*, *ethnicity*, *multiculturalism*, *multiracial*, and *discrimination*. The literature and research on racism in sport is also dominated by the use of certain terms such as *black*, *white*, *Afro-Caribbean*, *African*, *African-American*, *Asian*, *people of color*, and many other terms that are used in campaigns to symbolize and assert differences between people in sport and in other areas of life (Coakley 2003, Eitzen 2003, Jarvie 2002). The terminology is in constant flux, and historically the generic term black has at times included and excluded different groups of people. There is also instability in the capitalized “Black” and “White” that has served as a reminder of the historical and social fluidity of the terms while at the same time being used to distance discussions of racism in sport from the logical and historical fallacy of treating “racial” terms as if they were natural categories. In the literature about racism and sport, the term racism then very specifically refers to a belief system or systems that sustain racial-

ism, often linking certain characteristics with negatively valued social, psychological, or physical traits. Racism in sport is often closely linked to notions of prejudice and the unequal distribution of power resulting from racist behavior. It is crucial not to generalize and in this sense it is important to be aware of *racisms*.

Influences of Racisms

Racisms in world sport have shaped both the literature and practice of sport in a number of ways (Bass 2002, McRae 2003, Plowden 1996, Remnick, 2000). The following introductory list includes some but not all of the most prominent areas of print, discussion, legislation, and injustice:

- In the period of *apartheid* sport in South Africa from 1948 to 1992, specific racial legislation that separated the practice of sport by racial groupings gave rise to the international slogan, “You cannot have normal sport in an abnormal society.”
- The practice of *colonialism* in many parts of the world formed the backdrop to sporting relations between many countries. For example, during the 1960s and 1970s the cricket rivalry between England and the West Indies reflected racial tensions and racism rooted in years of colonial struggle. Terms such as *White Wash* and *Black Wash* were used to refer to English or West Indian victories, while at the same time, sport took on the mantle of symbolic colonial/anticolonial struggle not only in the rivalry between the two teams, but also in the selection of the West Indian cricket team, as is explained in C. L. R. James’s (1963) classic period account of West Indian cricket, *Beyond the Boundaries*.
- The popularity and worldwide coverage of sport has meant that *sport as vehicle for protest* has been a successful medium for drawing attention to racism—in the treatment of black Americans as second-class citizens in the United States and in American sport, for example, by the “Black Power” protests at the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games; or the extent to which Aborigines or Inuit peoples have been marginalized

Racism is not an excuse to not do the best you can. ■ ARTHUR ASHE

in mainstream Australian or Canadian sport, for example, by the fact that much of the coverage of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games revolved around the coverage of the 400-meter Olympic gold medalist Cathy Freeman and the plight of Aborigine's living in contemporary Australia.

- Legislation such as the Race Relations Acts of 1976 and 2004 in Britain provides the legal machinery of the law to investigate and act against racism in all walks of life in Britain, including sport.

SYMBOLIC MILESTONES

Equally, there are important historical moments that can symbolize a prejudice, a protest, an ideology, or a breaking down of barriers. Historically, sport has been racist, but it has also provided some of the most poignant anti-racist moments. In 1881 Andrew Watson became the first black player to play football (soccer) for Scotland. In August 1936, Jesse Owens won an unprecedented four gold medals at the Nazi Olympic Games in Berlin. Two years later, Joe Louis crushed Max Schmeling to signal the end of white supremacy in boxing.

In 1967 Muhammad Ali, boxing's world heavyweight champion, condemned the war in Vietnam, arguing that he did not have any quarrel with the Vietcong. One year later, in October 1968 three American black athletes protested from the Olympic medal rostrum against the treatment of black people in America and elsewhere, notably South Africa. Evonne Goolagong Cawley became the first aboriginal Australian to play in a Wimbledon tennis final in 1971, four years before Arthur Ashe became the first black American to win the Wimbledon Men's Tennis Championship in 1975.

In 1995 Nelson Mandela, following South Africa's victory in the rugby's World Cup, talked of sport as a force that could mobilize the sentiments of a people in a way that nothing else could. Three years later, when Zinedine Zidane lifted the football (soccer) World Cup for France, the French president talked of the French team as being symbolic of the new multiracial integrated France. In 2001 Pele, arguably the world's greatest footballer (soccer player), endorsed a worldwide

antiracist campaign in his sport, saying that racism is cowardice, and cowardice comes from fear, a fear of difference. In February 2002, Vionetta Flowers became the first African-American to win a gold medal at the Winter Olympic Games.

Forms of Racism

The popularity and social significance of sport has meant that it often has been influenced by a multitude of racial contexts and tensions at different points of time in different parts of the world. Sport itself has had to address and think about challenging specific problems emanating from at least three forms of racism. *Structural racism* refers to racism embedded within the history of societies and the extent to which this structural racism has had an impact on sport. Factors commonly associated with structural racism include gaps between different racial and ethnic groups in terms of income, education, health, and employment. *Institutional racism* refers to the practices and procedures within sport that discriminate against people. Areas commonly associated with institutional racism in sport include the gaps between different discriminated-against groups in terms of holding positions of influence and power in sport or the extent to which tensions between different groups become visibly crystallized at sports events because of institutional racist practices and procedures. *Individual racism* refers to the actions and attitudes of individuals toward members of ethnic or racial groups. Such actions and attitudes support and often reproduce discrimination and racism through sport.

Racism and Ethnicity

There is no simple answer to what constitutes racism and yet it is important not to confuse the two terms *racism* and *ethnicity*, which are often used interchangeably. Both ethnicity and racism have been used in a multitude of ways. Even those who argue that ethnic minorities are united by a common experience of racism often fail to be sufficiently alert to the diverse ways in which racism has an impact on different social divisions in sport.



Racism

Native Americans as Mascots

Resolution to eliminate the use of depictions of and cultural references to American Indians as mascots, logos, and team nicknames in Wisconsin public schools.

WHEREAS, The Great lakes Inter-Tribal Council, Inc., is a consortium of twelve federally recognized Indian Tribes native to the region of the North American continent and the area around Lake Superior; and

WHEREAS, the strength of GLITC lies in the resolve of the tribes to be independent, yet to come together in a unified forum to address those issues which require intertribal unity and attention, and

WHEREAS, “Indian” mascots and logos are offensive, disrespectful, and demeaning; “Indian” logos mock Indian people, cultures, and traditions; “Indian” logos contribute to a societal environment that is racist, oppressive, and harmful to harmonious relationships between people; and

WHEREAS, all children in schools depicting “Indian” stereotypes are encouraged to tolerate, perpetrate, and maintain racist practices against a group of people, and

WHEREAS, children in Wisconsin schools have been exposed to this form of racial, ethnic discrimination since the early 1920’s, and continue to be exposed to such racism today, although other forms of stereotyping such as blackface minstrel shows have long since disappeared from the American landscape, and

WHEREAS, the presence of these symbols in state-supported schools, at the expense of Indian and non-Indian taxpaying constituents constitutes state-supported racism, and

WHEREAS, appropriate means of recognizing Native American people exist through teaching Native American history accurately, by treating Native American students with the same respect afforded other students, and by removing “Indian” mascots and logos, and

WHEREAS, Native American Indian Tribes and other organizations have voiced their condemnation of such images by adopting similar resolutions, providing education, and taking political action.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council, condemns the use of “Indian” logos as offensive and will work alone and in concert with other organizations to eliminate the use of depictions of and cultural references to American Indians as mascots, logos, and team nicknames in Wisconsin public schools.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this form of racism which damages Native American children and cultures be removed from Wisconsin Public Schools before the new millennium.

Source: Resolution of the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council, Inc. (1999). Retrieved from <http://aistm.org/glitc-resolution.htm>

The case of Hassiba Boulmerka—a much loved Arab-African sportswoman who was forced at a particular point in her career to leave Algeria for France in order to escape a backlash from Muslim zealots—may be illustrative. Winner of the women’s 1,500-meter final at the 1991 World Athletic Championships, Boulmerka became the first Algerian, first Arab, and first African woman to win a gold medal at any world athletic championship. On her return to Algeria, the then-president, Chadli Benjedid, greeted her as a national heroine. But Muslim zealots denounced her from the pulpit for bar-

ing her most intimate parts (her legs) before millions of television viewers. President Benjedid was himself publicly denounced for embracing a woman in public. The row at the time underscored the clash between modernity and Islamic fundamentalism. It was a clash that was all the more surprising given Algeria’s position in the Arab world as the torchbearer of modernism, socialism, and the successful struggle for independence from colonial rule. Hassiba Boulmerka moved to France, and Islamicists lost an opportunity to promote national unity in Algeria during the early 1990s. What

There is no room in baseball for discrimination. It is our national pastime and a game for all. ■ LOU GEHRIG

is the best way to study this event, from the standpoint of ethnicity or gender or colonialism or racism—all of which would only provide a partial explanation?

The “New Politics” of Race

Mention must also be made of what came to be called in the early 1990s the “new politics” of race and racism. A number of commentators suggested that while black physical prowess had in the 1990s been acknowledged and exploited as a fertile zone of profit within American society, the symbolic dangers of black sporting excellence needed to be highlighted (Cashmore 1997, Dyson 1994, Markovits 2003). Because of the marginalized status within the overall sphere of American sports, black athletic activity, argued Dyson (1994), often acquired a social significance that transcended the internal dimensions of the game, sport, and skill. Black sport then becomes an arena for testing the limits of physical endurance and forms of athletic excellence, while repudiating or symbolizing the American ideals (often mythical) of justice, goodness, truth, and beauty. It also becomes a way of ritualizing racial achievement against socially or economically imposed barriers to sporting performance. That is to say that many sports celebrities or athletes of color may be equal when they line up at the start of an Olympic final, but the social, economic, political, and emotional struggles that any given athlete has to overcome to get to that final are far from equal.

There is a danger too in celebrating uncritically any black or other sports industry. The question that is posed in both Hoberman (1997) and Cashmore (1997) is whether there can be such a thing as an authentic black sports culture when so many white-dominated corporations control the sports industry that produces it. Is this a form of institutional racism? In developing a history of black culture in the West from 1960s to the present, Cashmore (1997, 172–181) argued that inflating the value of a commodified black sports culture may actually work against the interests of racial justice. Black entrepreneurs, when they have reached the top,

have tended to act in much the same way as their white counterparts in similar circumstances. They failed to destabilize the racial hierarchy and yet remained part of an African-American elite. Add to this the fact that Arthur Ashe used to be critical of any policy that specifically channeled minorities into particular sports because it often closed off other channels of social mobility. In that same year, Ashe pointed out that of the 3 million black kids in America who committed themselves to the athletic dream, only 900 managed to make a professional living from sport. Thus the “sport as a field of dreams” thesis has to be qualified because for many it can lead to dangerous fantasies.

Empirically, there is also the danger of overstating the athletic, physical dominance of black athletes in American sport. Statements such as those made by John Hoberman in *Darwin’s Athletes: How Sport Has Damaged Black America and Preserved the Myth of Race*—that “there is not a white star left in the National Basketball Association” (1997, 64) or that “the idea of a white quarterback in today’s National Football League” (1997, 85)—have to be treated as historically specific to a particular year or phase or even sport. Both statements, several years later, are untrue, with Jason Sehorn, the white defensive back of the New York Giants up until March 2003, being known for his natural athletic ability, while a white player, Brent Barry, won the 2002 National Basketball Association’s annual slam dunk competition, the league’s purest test of exuberant physical creativity. The influx of white European stars into American basketball has also offered renewed evidence that athletes are produced by complex cultural, social, and physical interactions and not simply racial differentiation. Thoughtful black and white players have taken the occasion to dispel racial/ethnic myths. At the end of the 2001 season, Chris Webber said of Turkish guard Hidayet Turkoglu, “This summer I am taking Hedo the hood with me to play. By the end he will be the god of my hood” (Markovits 2003, 153). Of course to the extent that such claims perpetuate the stereotype, the white player’s brilliance can only be viewed in



the context of black athleticism. The point guard Jason Williams was dubbed “white chocolate” to reflect what was seen as an element of African-American improvisation in his style. Yet the point to be made is that such examples may belong to transitional stages of hybrid sports that may eventually dissolve rather than reinforce notions of racial differentiation.

At times it may be useful to think of forms of racisms in sport in terms of the politics of identity and differences. First, there is racism as legitimizing identity produced by the dominant institutions of society aimed at extending and rationalizing their domination. Second, there is racism as resistance identity generated by people concerned with challenging and freeing sportspeople from the logic of racism that supports legitimizing racist identities. Finally, there is racism and antiracism as project- or social-movement identity through which actors or collective groups aim to build new types of identities through specific projects such as the “Kick Racism Out of Football” campaign in Britain (www.thefa.com/TheFA/EthicsAndSportsEquity/RacialEquality/).

What Can We Say About Sport and Racism?

Many popular arguments about sport and racism have contributed to a number of racist beliefs about different peoples’ sporting abilities. A number of popular arguments have contributed to particular explanations of race relations within discussions of sport, culture and society. The coverage of sport and racism in this article is by no means exhaustive, but it might be suggested that core arguments have tended to rely on some of or all of the following arguments: that sport (a) is inherently conservative and helps to consolidate patriotism, nationalism, and racism; (b) has some inherent property that makes it a possible instrument of integration and racial harmony; (c) as a form of cultural politics has been central to processes of colonialism, imperialism, and postcolonialism in different parts of the world; (d) has contributed to unique political struggles that have involved black and ethnic political mobilization

and the struggle for equality of and for black peoples and racial minority groups; (e) is an important facet of racial identities; (f) has produced stereotypes, prejudices, and myths about groups that have contributed both to discrimination against and an underrepresentation of ethnic minority peoples within certain sports; (g) is not immune to the cultures of racism and anti-racism, and that race and ethnicity continue to affect peoples’ decisions to join or not join certain sports clubs; (h) needs to develop a more complex set of tools for understanding the limits and possibilities that influence and combat sport and racism, in particular the ways in which such categories historically articulate with other categories and social divisions.

Grant Jarvie

See also Multiculturalism

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Racquetball

Many people consider racquetball to be the fastest racquet sport in the world. Indeed, some have called it “high-speed tennis in a box.” At the elite level the speed of a serve can near 320 kilometers per hour, but even in amateur competition diving retrievals and heated rallies characterize the sport.

Players use a strung racquet to serve and return a ball. The objective is to win each rally by serving or returning the ball so that the opponent is unable to keep the ball in play. A rally ends when a player (or a team in doubles) is unable to hit the ball before it touches the floor twice, is unable to return the ball in such a manner that it touches the front wall before it touches the floor, or when a “hinder” is called. Only the serving side scores points—when it serves an irretrievable serve (an ace) or wins a rally. Losing the serve is called a “side-out” in singles.

History

Joe Sobek invented racquetball in 1949 on a Connecticut handball court. He designed the first short strung paddle, created rules combining the basics of handball and squash, and called his modification “paddle rackets.” The sport caught on and evolved into racquetball as we know it today. By the early 1970s every state had court clubs, and the sport enjoyed a steady rise in popularity. When the fitness craze began, and people in the United States began searching for challenging athletic activities, the timing was perfect for racquetball; court clubs were available throughout the country, and racquetball was easy to learn and fun to play. During the late 1970s and early 1980s racquetball became one of the fastest growing sports in the United States; thousands of racquetball courts were built to satisfy the demand.

However, the sport saturated the market and reached its peak during the mid-1980s; the sport’s popularity waned, and many clubs either closed or began converting courts to other uses. By 1987, however, the

decline leveled off, and racquetball regained a steady growth rate.

The growth of the sport during a short time can be attributed to the relative ease with which the sport can be enjoyed. It has been designated one of the best all-around sports for aerobic development. People use racquetball as a conditioning sport for swimming, football, basketball, track and field, and many other Olympic sports. A tournament-caliber player burns more than eight hundred calories per hour.

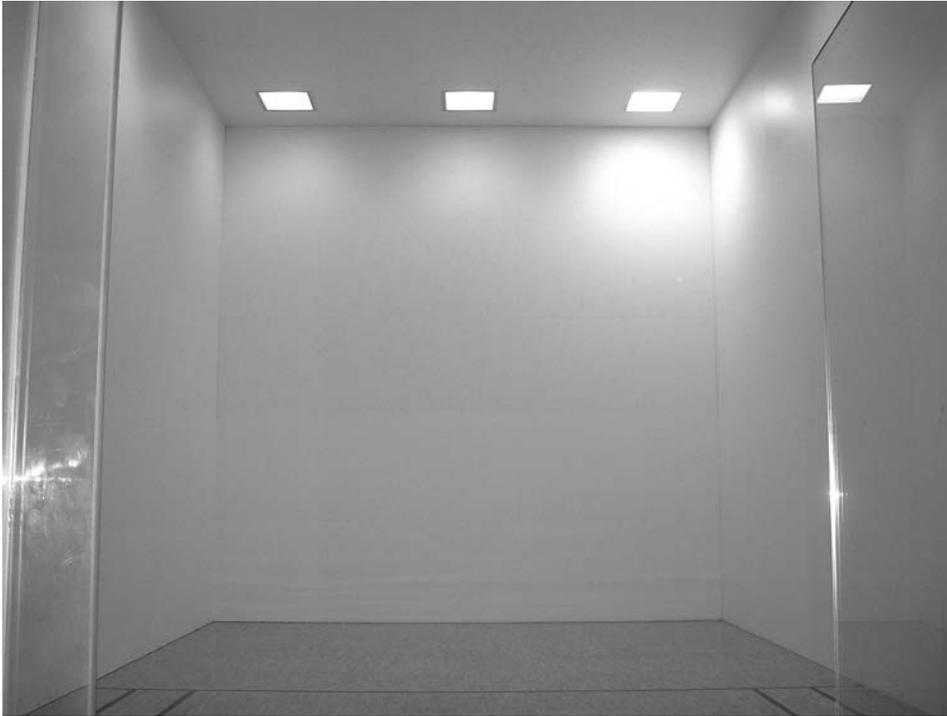
Courts are located all over the world, and equipment is easily accessible at minimum cost. Internationally approved competition sites are located near major metropolitan areas throughout the world, and the number of courts worldwide is estimated at fifty thousand.

During racquetball’s formative years its leadership recognized the need for international development and decided to try to have racquetball recognized as an Olympic event. The first racquetball world championship was held in 1981; one year later the United States Olympic Committee recognized the American Amateur Racquetball Association (AARA) as the national governing body for the sport. Racquetball continued to advance in the Olympic structure and in 1989 became the youngest sport to achieve full member status on the U.S. Olympic Committee. This status brought new levels of exposure to the sport, which is now featured in U.S. Olympic Festivals and in the planning phases of future Olympic Games. More recently racquetball debuted as a full medal sport in the 1995 Pan American Games.

Practice

Power and speed aside, racquetball in its basic form shares strategies with other racquet sports. For example, as in tennis, a player retrieves each shot on one bounce. Unlike in tennis, points are scored only by the server. As in squash, players use the walls strategically to place the ball, and themselves, in scoring position. Unlike in squash, the lower the shot, the better.

To begin, the server stands between two solid lines at midcourt that mark the service zone. The service motion is limited to that area, and the ball is put into play after



A state-of-the-art racquetball court.

Source: istockphoto.com/Empath.

contacting the racquet, hitting the front wall, and passing into the back court. During its course, the ball can touch one side wall but no more. If the ball hits three surfaces (including the ceiling or back wall) before bouncing, a “long” or fault serve is called. A serve that does not carry beyond the midcourt service line is “short” and is also a fault. The server is given two chances to put the ball into play (although international rules permit only one serve to put the ball into play).

After the ball is put into play, no limit exists on the number of walls that can be used for shot variation during a rally. A side-wall-to-front-wall shot is called a “pinch,” and a slow series of high ceiling-to-front-wall combinations is called a “ceiling ball rally.”

In a standard fifteen-point game players earn points or win the serve by ending a rally. “Good shots” hit the front wall so low that they can’t be returned before the second bounce. Errors, or “skipped” balls, hit the floor before reaching the front wall.

Two or four players can play racquetball. When played by two, it is called “singles,” and when played by four, “doubles.” A nontournament variation played by three players is called “cutthroat.” A doubles team consists of two players who meet either the age requirements or player classification requirements to participate in a particular division of play. In tournament play a team with

different skill levels must play in the division of the player with the higher level of skill.

A match consists of the best two out of three games. A game is won by the first player to reach fifteen points. If each side wins one game, the two sides play a tiebreaker game to eleven points. No human error is possible except when the referee makes a subjective decision, but this rarely happens. Time is not a factor. To study the play-by-play action, one should remember these basics:

(1) Watch the ball, (2) players must retrieve the shot on one bounce, (3) only the server scores points, and (4) the ball must reach the front wall to remain in play.

Governing Body

The American Amateur Racquetball Association (AARA) is a not-for-profit corporation that promotes the development of racquetball in the United States. Since 1968 the AARA has offered a broad base of programs for competitive and recreational players; state associations; certified instructors and referees; disabled athletes; junior, high school, and intercollegiate athletes; undergraduate scholars; and U.S. adult and junior national teams. The association also maintains programs for state, regional, and national rankings; elite training camps; court club facilities; a six-event series of national championships and U.S. team qualifiers; and a regional qualifying series.

The International Amateur Racquetball Federation was founded in 1979 in Memphis, Tennessee, with thirteen charter countries and took over the leadership role in guiding the worldwide development of the sport. The federation dropped the word *Amateur* from its name after the phenomenal growth of the sport during the 1980s and thereafter was known as the “International Racquetball Federation” (IRF). The sport’s original base

of fifty thousand players in the United States in 1968 has grown to more than 5.6 million in the United States and 14 million players in more than eighty-three countries on five continents.

The IRF held its first World Congress in 1980 and its first world championships in 1981, attracting full teams from six countries. Worldwide growth has continued to be steady, with attendance increasing at each successive world championship. Racquetball complies with the Olympic Charter, particularly in regard to all competition being conducted under the auspices of the IOC and the spirit and letter of its rules and regulations. Racquetball is now a full medal sport in the Pan American Games, the South American Games, the Central American Games, the Pacific Rim Championships, and the Bolivian Games.

The Future

Racquetball holds the promise of exciting competition well into the twenty-first century. With increasing exposure to a previously untapped market of recreational players, combined with the sport's record of steady growth and the promise of becoming an Olympic event, racquetball is well positioned for the future.

Linda L. Mojer

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Radio

The relationship between the U.S. mass media and sports is a long and intimate one. Details of sporting events, athletes, and other people involved in sports fill the pages of newspapers, magazines, books, and In-

ternet websites as well as countless hours of radio and television programming. People in every community around the country form long-lasting bonds with sports teams and athletes. These bonds are exemplified by the inhabitants of "Red Sox Nation": Millions of fans arrange their daily schedules around listening to, watching, and reading about Boston baseball games. The mass media play an important role in these bonds. All forms of mass media bring athletic events to the fans, no matter where the fans are.

Conceivably radio has had more impact on sports and audiences than has any other form of mass media. Perhaps no other form of media covers the levels and varieties of sports more than does radio. Everything from high school basketball to professional auto racing fills the airwaves of many of the more than thirteen thousand radio stations in the United States and the newest creation, satellite radio.

Radio also has traits that other forms of mass media don't have. The first trait is the connection formed between the broadcaster and the audience. Former Major League Baseball (MLB) player and long-time announcer Bob Uecker says he prefers radio to television. "You paint a picture in the mind. It's a kick to make baseball come alive to a guy hundreds of miles away who's never seen your home park" (Smith 2001, 267). Jimmy Dudley, voice of the Cleveland Indians for twenty years, recounts a letter he received from a fan. The fan was a blind boy who wrote in Braille. "[The fan] signed off by saying, 'Remember, Jimmy, you are my eyes. Don't ever let me down.' It taught me never to forget my obligation as a representative of the fan" (Smith 2001, 267).

The second trait is accessibility: People can consume radio where they cannot other media. Besides being able to listen to radio at home, people can listen as they work, as they exercise, or as they drive. Other forms of media, such as television and the Internet, require unmanageable devices for use or are intrusive in their use. Kenneth Costa, former marketing vice president of the Radio Advertising Bureau (RAB), contends that "there are twice as many car radios in use (approximately 140 million) as the total circulation (60 million) of all



daily newspapers” (Keith 2002, 1). Costa further asserts that radio reaches four out of five adults each week.

Since the 1950s radio has splintered into many formats, most of them centering on music. However, during the last twenty years an explosion has occurred in the number of stations that specializes in sports-only content. “[T]he proliferation of the all-sports format has boosted the popularity” of nonmusic-format radio (Keith 2002, 90). Thus, we should ask when this relationship between sports and radio began, who some of the important people are, and where this relationship is headed in the future with the rapid development of digital television and the Internet.

Beginnings of Radio and Sports Programming

Three sports and four electronics manufacturers/communications companies dominated early mass broadcasting in the United States. According to Michelle Hilmes (2002, 106) sports were professional boxing, professional baseball, and college football and that the World Series attracted “by far the most radio attention” and inspired “the earliest networking experiments.” The four companies were Westinghouse, General Electric (G.E.), American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), and Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Much of the early sports content was scores of games or re-creations of games.

The original radio technology did not allow live broadcasting from the site of an athletic event. Radio station operators had to rely on reports and scores of an event to be either telephoned or telegraphed to them after the conclusion. Historians consider experimental radio station WWJ, in Detroit, Michigan, to have been the groundbreaker in bringing sports to the U.S. public. Announcers from the station gave the results of the Jack Dempsey–Billy Miske heavyweight fight in September of 1920. Less than a month later the station’s listeners heard the first scores of a World Series to be broadcast.

The era of commercial radio began in the autumn of 1920, and sporting events were prominent. Westinghouse engineer Frank Conrad built the first nonexperimental

licensed station, KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and it began broadcasting on 2 November 1920 with music and presidential election results. Five months later the station broadcast a blow-by-blow account of the Johnny Ray–Johnny Dundee prize fight. RCA station WJY cemented the sports–radio relationship with the broadcast of the Jack Dempsey–Georges Carpentier heavyweight title fight in July of 1921. Smith (2001, 19) says this broadcast is “one of the two key events in the development of sports broadcasting” because it fixed the nation’s interest on radio.

Westinghouse officials were not to be outdone as they introduced the national pastime to the airwaves. The seemingly unimportant game between the first place Pittsburgh Pirates and the last place Philadelphia Phillies ranks as one of the most historic events in broadcast history. Westinghouse engineer Harold Arlin sent details of the game back to KDKA for broadcast through a converted phone. “Arlin’s play-by-play demonstrated to the public that baseball could be brought into the American living room with immediacy and intimacy” (*Sports Illustrated* 1991, 19). WJZ in Newark, New Jersey, another Westinghouse station, was the first to broadcast the 1921 World Series. Tommy Cowan re-created the games between the New York Yankees and New York Giants from reports that were phoned in from the stadiums. The next year WJZ broadcast the entire series using renowned sports journalist Grantland Rice as lead announcer.

College football games also produced a big impact on radio broadcasting. Although the first broadcast of a college football game occurred in 1912, a decade would pass before the impact would be felt. KDKA aired the 1921 game between the University of Pittsburgh and West Virginia University, known as the “Backyard Brawl,” as a commercially sponsored game. This game is important for two reasons. First, AT&T-owned station WEAJ is considered to have been the first station to introduce advertising in 1922, which this game predated. Second, most college football games in the 1920s were aired on what was termed “sustaining broadcasts.” This meant that colleges were not charged

for airing rights, nor did stations receive income from advertising during the games. Smith points to the WEAF broadcast of the 1922 Princeton University–University of Chicago football game as one of the key events in the development of radio and college sports. He asserts that starting with this game “radio had made itself part of the nationalization of football, by making interregional competition immediately available to masses through the airwaves” (Smith 2001, 17).

Chicago Tribune-owned radio station WGN (World’s Greatest Newspaper) began to compete with its East Coast rivals on a significant basis in 1924 and 1925. The station aired the 1924 Indianapolis 500 auto race, marking the first auto race broadcast in history. That autumn the station broadcast football games from all the Big Ten campuses, as well as University of Nebraska, University of Pennsylvania, and University of Southern California games. The next spring WGN brought the Kentucky Derby into homes across the Midwest.

Concern over a U.S. government investigation changed the structure of U.S. broadcasting. AT&T used its ownership of phone lines to build a twenty-six-station network that stretched across the nation, with WEAF in

New York City as its flagship station, by 1924. Because of fears of a monopoly in network broadcasting, AT&T sold its stations to RCA in 1926. David Sarnoff, RCA chairman, created the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the NBC-Red network. The network proved so successful that a second network, NBC-Blue, was created shortly afterward. The initial broadcast was the 1927 Rose Bowl game between the University of Alabama and Stanford University. This was the first coast-to-coast broadcast in U.S. history.

The relationship between sports and radio has not always been smooth. Major League Baseball owners and officials from various colleges and athletic conferences across the nation began expressing concern over radio’s impact on game attendance. Smith says that the emergence of radio sportscasting encountered hostility from baseball team owners. Many teams banned the broadcasting of home games in their cities, despite the increasing number of people who listened to regular season games and the World Series each year. By 1932 the owners saw the advantages of game broadcasts and voted to allow each team to adopt its own policy. The largest media market in the United States, New York City, did not have daily game coverage until after the 1938 season. The owners of the Yankees, the Giants, and the Dodgers all felt that fans wouldn’t come to the games if they could sit at home and listen. Sponsorship of games by General Mills cereal changed their minds.

College officials had no consensus about radio broadcasts of football games. Some colleges sold their rights to individual stations, whereas others voted on a conference-wide basis to restrict or ban broadcasts. The biggest argument against the broadcasting of football games was the shift by U.S. radio stations from sustaining broadcasts to advertiser-supported broadcasts. Prior to the 1930s colleges did not ask for compensation because they received free promotion during game broadcasts. Now people on both sides realized that broadcasters were making money; the issue was no longer promotion. The Southern Conference (now the Southeastern Conference) was one of the first to ban the broadcast of inter-sectional games. The ban had to be

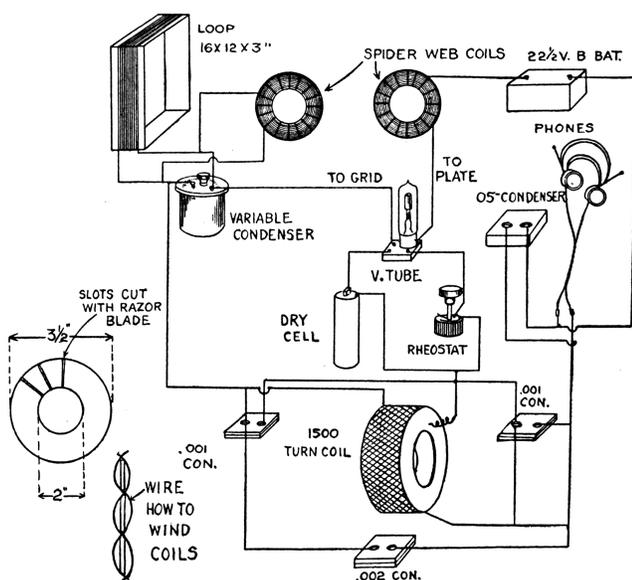


Diagram of a portable radio used by sportsmen in the 1920s.



lifted so that the Alabama–Stanford Rose Bowl game could be aired on NBC.

Because of the Depression, which began in 1929, game attendance began to decline, and many institutions and conferences banned radio broadcasts. In 1932 the Eastern Colleges Athletic Conference, the Southern Conference, and the Southwest Conference voted to ban or restrict game broadcasts. Individual colleges began selling game broadcast rights. The University of Michigan sold its rights in 1934 to WWJ for \$20,000, and the next year the Big Ten Conference proposed selling its rights to all games for \$100,000. By the end of 1935 all conferences had lifted bans and restrictions on radio game broadcasts, and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) appointed a committee to study the effect of radio broadcasts on game attendance. The positive relationship between radio and sports would flourish for decades, despite the introduction of television.

Important Radio Sportscasters

The historical landscape of sports broadcasting on radio is populated with significant people. The late President Ronald Reagan began his media career as an announcer of University of Iowa football games in 1932 and later re-created Chicago Cubs games for station WHO in Des Moines, Iowa. Former CBS-TV *Nightly News* anchor Walter Cronkite's first venture into broadcasting involved college football games on WKY in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Many of the most important people involved with radio gained notoriety for their later work with television.

Any discussion of the most prominent sportscasters has to begin with Graham McNamee. Lou Schwartz, president of the American Sportscasters Association, calls McNamee “the best in the business” and says that McNamee “started everything.” Although McNamee would become the preeminent radio sportscaster, spending decades covering sports for NBC, he intended to become a professional musician and had taken his first announcing job until a better music position opened. He was thrust into the spotlight when Grant-

land Rice suddenly “retired” during the fourth inning of the third game of the 1923 World Series. McNamee never looked back as he brought events such as the Kentucky Derby, flier Charles Lindbergh's return from France, and “one of his most vivid experiences”: covering both 1924 political party national conventions for AT&T.

Ted Husing's sportscasting career began in 1925 when he re-created the World Series for WJZ from ticker tape reports. He worked closely with Major Andrew White, another early and influential sportscaster. Husing joined the fledgling Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System (now CBS) shortly after it formed in 1927 and spent two decades with the network. He is best known for the creation of the annunciator or spotter board. This electronic device allowed the announcer's assistant to quickly identify players on the field for the announcer. Husing claims to have first used the annunciator at a Princeton–Navy football game in 1926.

Mel Allen's familiar voice called out to TV viewers of *This Week in Baseball* for years, but older fans recall his decades-long radio work with the New York Yankees. His signature “How about that!” was familiar to baseball fans across the country. Allen called more World Series (twenty) and All-Star Games (twenty-four) on radio than anyone else in history. From 1939 to 1942, while working for CBS, he was the main radio announcer for both the Yankees and Giants baseball teams. Famed sportscaster Lindsey Nelson called Allen “the best *ever* to broadcast the game” (Smith 1995, 56).

Bob Costas may be best known for his NBC television talk show or his documentary-style interview program on Home Box Office (HBO), but his work on radio is formidable. Costas began his broadcast career on KMOX-AM, the home of Hall of Fame broadcaster Jack Buck, announcing American Basketball Association (ABA) Spirit of St. Louis games. He was the voice of University of Missouri basketball games and also did regional reporting on the National Football League (NFL) and National Basketball Association (NBA) for CBS radio until 1979. During his one season as the radio voice of the NBA's Chicago Bulls, Costas joined

It is not heroin or cocaine that makes one an addict, it is the need to escape from a harsh reality. There are more television addicts, more baseball and football addicts, more movie addicts, and certainly more alcohol addicts in this country than there are narcotics addicts. ■ SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

NBC. A repeat winner of the Sportscenter of the Year and Emmy Award, Costas has covered the World Series, the Super Bowl, and the Olympics and hosted a weekly sports-related radio call-in program.

Rise of Sports-Only Radio

The concept of a radio station that caters to sports fans was a dream only twenty years ago. The RAB's *2004–2005 Marketing Guide and Fact Book* lists all-sports radio as the seventh most applied format, with 470 stations. Brown says this “format has been on a record-breaking pace for the past ten years” (Brown 1998, 50). The programming content of these stations ranges from game coverage to “sports news” updates and programs to call-in shows. Networks such as ESPN Radio, Fox Sports Radio, and Sporting News Radio have been created during the last decade to meet the growing demand for this type of programming. The two major satellite radio companies, XM and Sirius, have also joined the sports-content revolution by entering long-term agreements with major sports associations such as the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) and Major League Baseball.

The groundbreaker in the all-sports format was WFAN-AM in New York City, which went on the air in July 1987. In its first decade the station became the first to top \$50 million in advertising billing. Its website boasts that WFAN is the flagship of four New York professional sports teams. The explosion of this format is not limited to large cities/markets. All-sports radio stations have started in Gainesville, Florida; Atlantic City, New Jersey; and Chattanooga, Tennessee, and none of these cities has major sports franchises. Perhaps the biggest surprise is Salt Lake City, Utah, where four radio stations have started or switched to the all-sports format. Salt Lake City has only one major sports team, and other cities/markets with multiple teams may have only two or even only one radio station with this format.

However, when games aren't being played, what is the programming content of all-sports stations? The answer is simple: the fan and the host of the call-in show. We can compare this situation to “playing the

hits” if the station had a Top 40 music format. ESPN Radio executives Pete Gianesini and Bruce Gilbert believe that sports talk-show topics are like records and that stations have to keep finding the right one. The search for the “hit” is even more difficult when one considers the amount of sports-talk programs or what is called “sports chatter” in the market today. The *Dan Patrick Show*, the *Jim Rome Show*, the *Mike and the “Mad Dog” Show*, and the *Mike and Mike Show* are just a few of the nationally syndicated programs. Radio stations also have local sportscasters who host programs to give their stations local appeal for the audience.

The Future

The future of the all-sports radio station looks bright. Lou Schwartz of the American Sportscasters Association says that although “no one knows the impact of satellite radio,” radio may “increase its influence.” Griggs says “sports radio fills a growing demand . . . for sports scores, news and analysis around the clock” (Griggs 2004, D1). The satellite radio companies will continue to expand the available content, which includes a new contract for NFL and MLB games. The Internet will be available on cellular phone to deliver messages about the latest trades. Despite these developments, sports radio will thrive because people like to talk to each other, especially about sports.

Eric Covil

See also Media-Sports Complex

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Religion

As the Fellowship of Christian Athletes and other evangelical sports groups thrive, chaplains have become a fact of modern life for professional sports teams of all kinds. Displays of religion abound at every level of sport and in every discipline, from amateur high schoolers to elite professionals, from the golf course to the boxing ring. Signs with biblical references sprout like mushrooms among the fans; coaches and athletes participate in highly visible pregame and postgame prayer, in pious gestures of supplication, and in televised nods to God for games won. Religion and sport march hand in hand, each reinforcing the other.

Old Gods and Games

Although this union of religion and sport manifests itself in a uniquely modern form, it represents nothing new in world history. Except for rare moments of antagonism, sport has always been closely aligned with religious mythology and ritual. Through ceremonial dances and competitive games, the ancients sought to appease their deities in order to win fertile wombs, good crops, successful hunts, and victorious wars. Native Americans surrounded various kinds of ball games and foot races with religious ritual; Central American Mayans and Aztecs built elaborate stone courtyards adjacent to their religious temples, and on those courts they competed fiercely with a solid rubber ball that they could hit only with their hips.

Ancient religious myths often explained the origins of things with stories about competitive games. For example, some Central and South Americans accounted

for the existence of the sun and moon with a bizarre tale about a ball game that took place at the dawn of civilization. Twin brothers challenged the gods to a game. The brothers lost the game, then their heads on the sacrificial altar. One of the heads was placed in a tree, and it began spurting a stream of sperm when a virgin girl passed that way. Impregnated, the girl bore twins. After they were grown to young manhood, the twins challenged the gods to yet another ball game. This time the gods lost the game, whereupon the severed heads of the two original twins ascended into the heavens and became the sun and the moon.

Ancestor worship joined fertility rites to produce funeral games in honor of deceased kin and chieftains. Feasts, music, prayers, and tests of strength and speed celebrated the vigor of the departed; commemorative festivals kept fame alive. In a portrayal of Greek life around 1000 BCE, the Greek poet Homer's *Iliad* gives a richly detailed account of some funeral games held in honor of a Greek soldier slain in battle at the gates of Troy. As young warrior-athletes engaged in chariot races, boxing and wrestling matches, and discus and javelin throws, they affirmed life in the face of death.

In Homer's rendition the gods took active interest in the events. Like modern athletes who chalk up wins or losses to "the will of God," those ancient young Greeks blamed or praised the gods depending on the contest's outcome. An archer supposedly missed his target because he had failed to promise the god Apollo a sacrificial offering. Presumably, Apollo begrudged him victory. When a chariot driver dropped his whip in the midst of a race, he blamed Apollo for knocking it out of his hand but thanked the goddess Athena for helping him retrieve it. As early as 1000 BCE athletes looked to their deities for assistance. Eager to win the prize for a foot race, the Greek leader Odysseus charged down the stretch praying to Athena, "O goddess, hear me, and come put more speed in my feet!" Old funeral games and religious festivals provided the basis for the first organized sport in ancient Greece. Hundreds of local religious-athletic festivals thrived around the Greek-influenced rim of the Mediterranean, each one in honor of a Greek god. For



Religion

Character Through Recreation

Various influences have led the Church to a larger regard for the play life of mankind. The Young Men's Christian Association was probably the most effective teacher of the need of a gospel that reached the physical and the social side of young men and boys. For many years past it has appealed to the physical side of young life with gymnasiums, and to the social side by an active interest in sports and amusements.

It may be said that with the organization of the wide-spread young people's movement in our churches began the first serious effort to furnish an all-round development of the youth under Christian auspices. Though there were several organizations more or less local in character previous to that time, the new era of the Church's interest in youth began with the rise of the Christian Endeavor movement in 1881. A number of denominational societies also sprang up, each, in common with the Christian Endeavor, having a department of work specially devoted to the directing of the recreation of its members. Valuable suggestions concerning proper amusements are constantly given in the periodicals of these young people's societies, and various books of games and plays furnish the basis for a healthy amusement life.

Source: *Badminton*. (1915), p. 30.

all their emphasis on rationality and human achievement, the Greeks were polytheists; they looked to specific gods for assistance in specific spheres of life. They appealed to Artemis to help them in the hunt, to Poseidon to help them sail the seas, to Aphrodite to help them in matters of love. The Greeks firmly believed that all the gods, whatever their specialty, look with favor on the male warrior virtues of physical strength, agility, and endurance. These warrior skills were best taught and practiced in athletic contests such as wrestling, chariot

racing, and throwing the discus and javelin. By the fifth century BCE four major festivals dominated the Greek athletic circuit: (1) the Pythian Games at Delphi in homage to Apollo, (2) the Isthmian Games honoring Poseidon at Corinth, (3) the Nemean Games in Nemea, and (4) the Olympic Games at Olympia, the latter two in the name of the mighty Zeus.

Zeus, reckoned to be a vigorous warrior god who cast thunderbolts like javelins from the sky, bestrode the Greek pantheon just as surely as the Olympic Games dominated the athletic circuit. Sometime around 1000 BCE myth and ritual established him as the patron deity at Olympia. The actual origins of the games are shrouded in mystery, but one legend depicts Zeus and a rival god, Cronus, engaged in a wrestling match in the hills above Olympia. Zeus won the tussle, inspiring religious ceremonies and quadrennial athletic contests as testimonies to his prowess. By the supposed authority of Zeus, athletes, trainers, and spectators were guaranteed safe passage every four years to Olympia, even in times of war.

After they arrived at Olympia, athletes had to swear by Zeus that they had been in training for the past ten months and that they would play fair and obey all the rules. If they broke their oaths, they were required to pay fines, which went toward the building of statues in honor of Zeus. During the fifth century BCE a huge temple was erected of local limestone for the worship of Zeus. Shortly thereafter the most famous sculptor of the day, Phidias, constructed a magnificent statue seven times larger than life, encased in gold, silver, and ivory. It depicted Zeus sitting on a throne in the inner chamber of the temple. Visitors never failed to comment on its memorable finery and proportions. Admirers thought it to be one of the Seven Wonders of the World; critics complained about its outlandish size. If Zeus stood up, they noted, he would poke his head through the roof.

Of the five-day program of Olympic events that became fixed during the fifth century BCE, athletic contests consumed only two and a half days. The entire first day was devoted to religious rituals—a kind of prolonged opening ceremony when religion mattered more than patriotism or commercial glitz. Athletes and

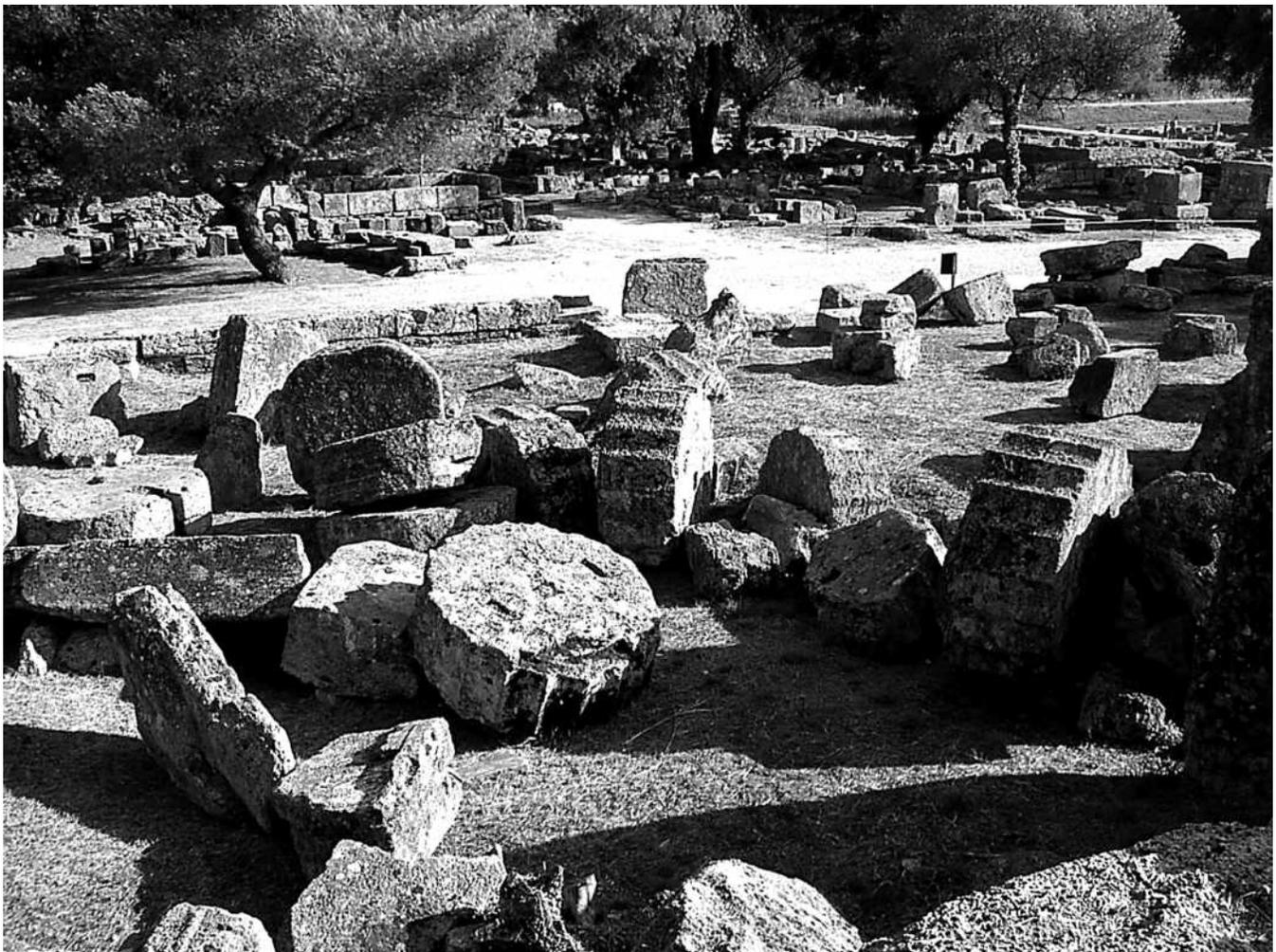
*As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods;
They kill us for their sport.* ■ WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

their trainers offered oaths, prayers, and sacrifices to Zeus. They presented gifts at the statues of past Olympic victors who had been deified, at the shrines of various lesser gods, and especially at the altars and statues of Zeus. Well into the first evening, Olympic participants marched in solemn processions and sang hymns of praise and devotion.

Then came a full day of athletic contests: chariot races and horse races in the morning, the pentathlon (discus and javelin throws, a broad jump, a sprint, and wrestling) in the afternoon. As soon as the sun set, however, attention shifted back to religious activities. By

the light of a midsummer full moon, a ram was slain and offered as a burnt sacrifice to the accompaniment of prayers and hymns. On the following morning priests led Olympic judges, Greek city-state officials, athletes and their kin, and trainers in a colorful procession to the altar of Zeus, where one hundred oxen were ceremoniously slain. The legs of the oxen were burned in homage to the gods; their carcasses were roasted for a big banquet on the last day of the festival.

Confirming this conjuncture of religion and athleticism, the Greek poet Pindar lauded “the expense and toil” that enabled the athlete to take advantage of his



The pillars of the temple of Zeus, collapsed in an earthquake, 2003.

“high gifts shaped by the gods.” Olympic laurels set an athlete “on the farthest edge of bliss,” insisted Pindar, “and the gods honor him.” Long before the Greek Olympics came to an end in the fifth century CE, faith in the old gods waned to such an extent that Olympia’s religious trappings lost much of their original meaning. Other gods beckoned in the Greco-Roman world. The Romans largely took their gods from the Greeks, changing merely the names. In Roman hands, Zeus became Jupiter, but with a difference: Jupiter never became associated with competitive sport. Although some Roman “entertainments” were also based on ancient religious festivals, religion and sport momentarily parted company in the brutality of the Colosseum and amid the gambling frenzy that surrounded the Circus Maximus.

Sport and Spire

Early Christians largely accepted Greek athletics. The apostle Paul frequently mentioned them to illustrate the spiritual race to be run and the incorruptible prize to be won by Christians. Roman sport was another matter. For well more than two centuries, Christians were unwilling participants in Roman spectacles. Thrown into the arena as punishment for their unorthodox religious beliefs, they inevitably lost the lions-versus-Christians game. Yet, even when the persecution ceased, Christians continued castigating Roman sport’s “pagan” basis, its open association with gambling and prostitution, and its inhumane brutality. The North African theologian Tertullian was the harshest critic of all. In a treatise entitled *On Spectacles*, written around 200 CE, he urged Christians to have “nothing to do, in speech, sight, or hearing, with the madness of the circus” or “the savagery of the arena.”

With the collapse of the Roman empire, the interaction of religion and sport shifted to northern Europe. Ancient games such as German *kegels* (bowling), French *soule* (association football), and the stick-and-ball games of Irish hurling and Scottish shinty all had religious associations akin to the competitive fertility rites of Native Americans. Light toyed with darkness, warmth with cold, and life with death in the pre-Christian mytholo-

gies of Europe. Muslims contributed during the eighth century when they brought old Egyptian fertility rituals across the narrow neck of the Mediterranean into Spain. For several centuries Muslim, Christian, and pre-Christian practices blended harmoniously, especially around the annual rites of spring renewal that Christians called “Easter.”

Various forms of ball play became an integral part of Easter season ceremonies all over Europe. Colorfully garbed French priests near Paris chanted a traditional liturgy and passed a ball back and forth as they danced down the church aisle celebrating springtime signs of Christ’s resurrection. An archbishop near Lyon, France, regularly led a ball game immediately after an Easter meal. As late as 1165 a theologian at the University of Paris protested church-sponsored ball play at Poitiers and Rheims. It derived from old pagan customs, he insisted. He was right, of course, but no one seemed to share his alarm.

While incorporating ball play within its religious program, the medieval church helped to popularize ball games and other recreational activities. The church provided a time for parishioners to play. For six days of the week peasants and household servants worked. On Sunday they were expected to worship at the village church, yet no puritan pall hovered over Sunday. After the morning sermon and sacraments, villagers lounged or played in the afternoon. Because the church’s holy days aligned with ancient seasonal holidays, villagers also played at festive occasions around Easter, during the harvest season, and at Christmas time. On such holidays various regional versions of competitive sport flourished. Italians regularly scheduled *palio* (horse races) on several of their many saint’s days; each spring in England peasant football thrived around the food, drink, music, and dance of Shrove Tuesday, just before the onset of Lenten austerity.

In addition to providing a calendar that allowed time for play, the medieval church provided physical space. In that time before public parks, playgrounds, and schoolyards, villagers usually played on a village green or some other “commons” normally set aside for grazing cattle. In



Religion

Tossing on the Walrus Hide

The extract below describes a sports ritual of the Chukchee of Siberia:

The “tossing on walrus-hide” forms among the Maritime Chukchee, and especially among the Asiatic Eskimo, an extra ceremonial, which is arranged in early or middle summer in order to ward off danger from contagious diseases or to assuage too long and violent tempests. The “tossing on the walrus-hide” is considered akin to the races, and the family who arrange the ceremonial are called simply “racers” or “masters of the race” . . .

On the day chosen for the ceremonial, numerous guests gather at the house of the “racers.” The women of the family bring sacrifices to “all the directions.” Then a feast follows, at the end of which the housemaster, or still better a shaman from among his nearest relatives, if there be any such, paints with red ochre the faces of all those who have recently been taken ill; also those who look sickly, and concerning whom there might be apprehension of an attack by ke’let [evil spirits]. Small children, with hardly an exception, are painted. The marks of the painting are varied, and closely resemble those of the painting with reindeer-blood in the “slaughtering-ceremonials” of the Reindeer Chukchee.

After that [the painting with red ochre], the tossing begins. Men and women seize a big walrus-hide (split in two; make it thinner), grasping it firmly by loops

cut around its outer edge, and lift it from the ground. Then the young men and girls, one by one, or in pairs consisting of a man and a woman, try their skill. For this, the performer plants himself firmly in the middle of the hide, and with a sudden jerk those who hold it send him upward, often to the height of five metres. After that involuntary jump, he falls back on the skin, and is safe from harm. The greatest skill is in coming down on the feet without losing one’s equilibrium. Women are more clever than men at this, and there are those who can keep upright for three successive jumps. The “tossing on walrus-hide” often assumes the character of a contest, in which a prize is offered to the winner. Every one who has taken three jumps successfully may stop, and wait his turn to compete with a performer who has achieved a similar success. . . .

Like the reindeer-races of the Reindeer Chukchee, the “tossing on walrus-hide” of the Maritime people takes on the character of a sport, and is frequently arranged merely for amusement, without connection with any religious or superstitious purpose. From the Maritime people the “tossing on walrus-hide” spread to the Reindeer Chukchee, among whom it is, however, much less in use, and serves only for a merry social exercise.

Source: Bogoras, W. (1904–1909). *The Chukchee: material culture* [part 1], *religion* [part 2], *social organization* [part 3] (pp. 410–411). *Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*; vol. XI. New York: G. E. Stechert and Co.

those villages that had no commons, the churchyard or cloisters often served as the venue for mass recreation. Spires and stained-glass windows served as backdrops for wrestling matches, juggling exhibitions, and board games. A fourteenth-century English clergyman unintentionally admitted the popularity of these practices when he attempted to banish “dancing,” playing at quoits (throwing iron rings onto a peg, similar to the U.S. frontier game of horseshoes), bowling, tennis, handball, football, stoolball, and all sorts of other games on church property.

Medieval football, an ill-organized, uncodified game that had no physical boundaries or limits on team size, required open land. That land was also owned by the church and rented out to wealthy landlords, who traditionally turned it over to peasant sport shortly before spring crop planting and just after the autumn harvest. English and French clergymen frequently complained about property being damaged by hordes of drunken football players. A few critics pointed to the roughness of the game. In 1440, for example, a French bishop denounced football as a “dangerous and pernicious”

I believe God made me for a purpose, but he also made me fast. And when I run I feel His pleasure. ■ IAN CHARLESON AS ERIC LIDDELL
IN "CHARIOTS OF FIRE" (1981)

activity that caused "ill feeling, rancor and enmities" under the guise of "a recreation pleasure." He banned football games within his diocese. Medieval church leaders looked more benignly on upper-class sport. Like modern ministers who cater to early Sunday morning golfers, priests happily dispensed "quickie" communions at the break of dawn to aristocrats eager to get to the fields for hunting and hawking. Bishops sat jowl to jowl with the castle crowd at ceremonious jousting contests. Churchmen especially looked with favor on royal tennis because the game apparently originated with French monks, abbots, and priests in monastic and church cloisters as *le jeu de paume* (palm game). Players hit a small ball with their open hand over a rope stretched across the middle of the space available. They played the ball off walls and onto sloping roofs that efficiently kept the ball in play. According to legend, a French king visited a monastery, saw a game of tennis, and admired it so much that he had it copied in his royal palace. The term *tennis court* probably derives from the game's early location in the courts of European monarchs.

Renaissance churchmen enthusiastically linked tennis to the Renaissance ideal of well-balanced mental and physical skills. The Christian humanist Desiderius Erasmus, a former monk, lauded tennis as an ideal game for exercising all parts of the body; England's Cardinal Thomas Wolsey arranged the construction of an indoor tennis court for King Henry VIII at Hampton Court. An Italian monk, Antonio Scaino da Salo, produced a treatise in 1555 that established the first simple set of written rules, a standard court size, and a scoring system. Tennis was "the most appropriate sport for the man of letters," Scaino insisted.

Puritans Make Their Mark

Protestant reformers gave a more mixed message about sport. The German Reformation leader Martin Luther encouraged his followers to participate in "honorable and useful modes of exercise" such as dancing, archery, fencing, and wrestling. For his own exercise, Luther engaged in the old German game of bowling. When the bowling ball banged against the pins, it reminded him

of the Christian's duty to knock down the devil. The French reformer John Calvin, too, enjoyed bowling. He also played quoits, but he was critical of most other sports. Zealously devoted to the task of cleaning up the morals of the city of Geneva, Switzerland, he saw sport as a hindrance to holy living. Most games seemed too intimately associated with carnal pleasure on the one hand, idleness on the other. Competitive games also meant gambling and desecration of the Christian Sabbath, two of Calvin's great taboos. For Geneva's public policy as well as for private piety, Calvin was quite prepared to lump most sports with thievery and prostitution and to ban them all.

Protestant exiles from England, Scotland, and Holland flocked to Geneva, where they imbibed Calvin's ethical mandates as well as his theological beliefs. Most of all, they partook of his supreme self-confidence that came from believing in the notion that each human being acts as an agent of divine redemption before acquiring eternal bliss. When they turned northward to home, they put their shoulders to the task of moral reform. English Calvinists led the way. Their zealous crusade to purify both church and society provoked people to call them "Puritans."

This Puritan sect represented no monolithic bloc of opinion or practice. Its members often disagreed with each other over specific evils that needed to be eradicated. Puritan merchants and businessmen thought and acted quite differently from village farmers; ministers sometimes preached one thing, while their congregations did another thing. When a preacher in the 1600s denounced "wakes or feasts, may-games, sports and plays, and shows, which trained up people to vanity and looseness, and led them from the fear of God," one could be sure that many people in England were still finding pleasure in these traditional pastimes.

Popular or not, folk games closely resembled old pre-Christian fertility rites and Roman Catholic holy days, inspiring the Puritans all the more to suppress them. The Puritans first tried moral preachments in the home, at church, and in the marketplace. When sermonizing met with negligible success, they went after the political



This woodcut from 1488 shows Lidwina from Schiedam at the age of fifteen having fallen on the ice. She is probably the only saint in sports history.

work ethic made sense, was to enjoy a renewal in Victorian England, but it was much too ethically rigorous for the more traditional, casual life of preindustrial England. In the end only the Puritan Sunday survived the Restoration of 1660. Until late in the twentieth century, Sunday remained sacrosanct in a fashion uniquely English, free of public amusements and sports as well as commercial activity.

means of reform. English Puritans during the early seventeenth century put themselves forward as city councilors, mayors, and members of Parliament. They also seized positions of power in the army and rode that horse to victory in a civil war that appropriately began while King Charles I was on the links of Leith, near Edinburgh, Scotland, playing golf.

Briefly in power for a decade or so during the mid-seventeenth century, the Puritans appointed army officers to serve as guardians of public morality. They struck at the heart of old church festivals and folk games by leveling fines and imprisonment against any display of public intoxication or gambling and against any desecration of the Sabbath. People, however, clung to their playful ways. Rigid prohibitions occasionally stirred hostile protests. According to a report from an Essex village, when the local Puritan vicar began the Sunday morning service in the parish church, “the people did usually go out of church to play at football, and to the alehouse and there continued till they were drunk, and it was no matter if they were hanged.”

This rural resistance to Puritan reform finally won the day. English villagers continued living out their lives in seasonal cycles with periodic festivals and games compensating for times of intense agricultural labor. Puritanism, largely confined to urban merchants and business classes for whom moral discipline and the

Puritanism also met with mixed success in the English colonies of North America. Passions waxed and waned against activities reminiscent of old village pastimes. Moreover, in their prohibitions against gambling and Sunday amusements, New England clergy were joined by Pennsylvania Quakers and New Netherlands Dutch Calvinists. Only those diversions that demonstrably led to the fulfillment of one’s “call” to work found favor in earnest colonial eyes. Eighteenth-century Bostonian John Adams phrased it best in his diary entry on 24/25 May 1773: “I was not sent into this world to spend my days in sports, diversions, and pleasures. I was born for business; for both activity and study.” The Great Awakening, a religious revival during the middle years of the eighteenth century, produced an even dimmer view of sports, as did the Second Great Awakening during the early years of the nineteenth century.

Muscular Christianity

Finally, rapid industrial and urban growth fostered a reassessment of the relation of religion and sport in Victorian England and the United States. Medical as well as moral concerns prompted liberal Anglicans Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes (author of *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*) to articulate a “muscular Christianity” for Britain; Boston Unitarians Edward Everett Hale and Thomas Wentworth Higginson did the same in the



An ancient statue at Olympia depicting the Hydra, a mythical many-headed monster, slain by Heracles, son of Zeus.

United States. All the while a new international organization, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), added health programs and competitive sport to its pietistic, evangelical purposes. Exposure to the YMCA convinced a Canadian ministerial student, James Naismith, that "there might be other effective ways of doing good besides preaching." While at the YMCA training college in Springfield, Massachusetts, Naismith invented the game of basketball.

Sport and recreation programs became central features of the social gospel espoused by turn-of-the-century liberal churches. Ministers as diverse as Washington Gladden, a Congregationalist pastor in Columbus, Ohio, and William S. Rainsford, rector of St. George's Episcopal Church on the Lower East Side of New York City, nudged their churches to sweeten the gospel with

church gymnasiums and bowling, softball, and basketball teams sponsored by the church. The movement for urban parks and public playgrounds, too, stood high on the social gospel agenda.

Whereas the social gospel was largely a Protestant commodity in most U.S. cities, in Chicago it was primarily associated with the Roman Catholic Church. By 1910 Chicago's Catholics boasted the largest church-sponsored baseball league in the United States; two decades later Bishop Bernard J. Sheil founded the Catholic Youth Organization with the intention of using boxing and basketball programs to prevent juvenile delinquency. During the 1920s a nearby little Catholic college, Notre Dame, emerged as a national football power. Religious and sport mythology mingled freely in the virtual canonization of all-American

halfback George Gipp and coach Knute Rockne; the famous metaphor of the Four Horsemen came right out of a biblical text.

For American Jews, too, religious traditions blended with the immigrant need to adopt sport as a means of Americanization. Jews especially took to the favorite immigrant sport of prizefighting, frequently with the Star of David emblazoned on a boxer's trunks. Less predictably, they also competed enthusiastically in the YMCA game of basketball, particularly in the New York City area. For purposes of becoming fully American, however, the "national pastime" of baseball was essential. Many Jewish authors feature baseball games and allusions to the game in their stories. Two Jewish baseball stars—Hank Greenberg in 1934 and Sandy Koufax in 1965—established themselves as ethnic heroes by refusing to play ball on the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur.

Until shortly after World War II, Protestant evangelicals refrained from mixing religion and sport. Southern Baptists and Methodists especially had a long history of hostility toward competitive sports. They saw college athletic contests as occasions for raucous partying; they viewed professional sport as a Yankee invention for purposes of gambling, strong drink, and desecration of the Sabbath. After 1945, however, southerners took the lead in yoking sports to evangelical Protestantism. The evangelist Billy Graham initiated the practice of having star athletes publicly "share" their conversion experience. Graham appropriately thought of his evangelistic organization as a "team" and frequently used sports stories and metaphors in his sermons. For purposes of association as well as mere space, he selected famous sports venues such as Yankee Stadium, Madison Square Garden, Wembley Stadium (London), Boston Garden, and the Los Angeles Coliseum for his early crusades.

Mixed with Cold War rhetoric and a market mentality that hawked Jesus as if he were a breakfast cereal or bar of soap, this marriage of sport and born-again religion produced several new organizations. Sports Ambassadors (founded in 1952), the Fellowship of Christian Athletes (1954), and Athletes in Action (1966) are merely the top three of many booster

groups that capitalized on athletics as a means of winning converts to Christ. These groups catered primarily to high school and college athletes, but by the 1960s the evangelical spirit had also invaded professional locker rooms. It began with National Football League (NFL) teams, then moved to Major League Baseball. By 1975 every major professional football and baseball team employed a chaplain or at least scheduled religious services of worship prior to Sunday games.

A small but prominent group of athletes has turned from Judeo-Christian traditions to a Black Muslim allegiance to Allah. Heavyweight champion Cassius Clay led the way during the 1960s, changing his name to "Muhammad Ali." College basketball great Lew Alcindor similarly converted to Islam and took the name "Kareem Abdul Jabbar" for his professional career. In the spring of 1995 boxer Mike Tyson emerged from prison wearing the garb and speaking the language of Islam. Racial pride apparently weighs heavily in the decision to become a Black Muslim.

Religion, Sport, and Women

Religion also determines what opportunities and barriers women encounter in physical education and sport. Women play particular roles in each religion, and those roles influence if and how women may be physically active.

Among Christians for centuries the attitudes of the Catholic church toward sports in general and women's sports in particular determined whether women participated in sports and, if they did, when and how. During the Middle Ages, for instance, a strong strain of asceticism physically immobilized many women in convent cells, but the church had no objection to other women participating in Whitsuntide ball games or in aristocratic pastimes such as falconry. In early modern times the church tended to adopt conservative attitudes toward social change. From the middle of the nineteenth century to the latter half of the twentieth century, the church demonstrated mistrust in sports. The church viewed the body with suspicion and perceived sports as sensual if not positively sinful. Church doctrine, too,



prized the soul above the body; consequently, the church had little interest in physical education for boys and even less for girls.

Today the influence of the Catholic church in sports has greatly diminished. Recent popes have softened traditional views of human sexuality, and the sensuality evident in sports is now widely accepted—within limits.

Protestant churches were, on the whole, quicker to accept sports, including women's sports, as a legitimate activity. Seventeenth-century Puritans admitted that men and women needed "lawful recreations"—as long as the Sabbath was not disturbed. During the eighteenth century Anglican ministers looked kindly upon women cricketers (but disapproved of lower-class women boxers and wrestlers). Although the "muscular Christianity" of the nineteenth century was meant primarily for men, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the church-related women's colleges of Great Britain and the United States advocated field hockey, basketball, and other appropriate sports for young women.

Jewish women's participation in sports has changed through time and still differs within the Orthodox and more liberal sectors of the religion. Orthodox Jewish attitudes are sticking to the same rules they had a hundred years ago—even turning on the lights is forbidden on the Sabbath. However, most Jewish women and girls who are not Orthodox would generally participate in any sporting event, even those that might take place on the Sabbath.

Islam has no general interdiction of sport, even for women, and the Prophet Muhammad apparently favored physical activity for girls and women. However, through time, this early openness has been transformed to a far more restrictive outlook.

Perspective

Religion has certainly weighed heavily in the history of sport through the ages. Religious folk have frequently supported and even lauded sport as an ally that supports social cohesion and moral principles. Sometimes they have protested sport's specific violations of current religious principles; occasionally they have lambasted

sport in its entirety. Yet, never have religion and sport been totally separate or indifferent to each other.

William J. Baker

See also Prayer; Rituals; Sport as Religion

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It's a little like wrestling a gorilla. You don't quit when you're tired you quit when the gorilla is tired. ■ ROBERT STRAUSS

Reproduction

The reproductive health of women participating in sport has been a controversial area of discussion for many years. One such controversy was the issue of jumping. Based on myths and theories, the medical profession suggested that jumping displaced the uterus and caused reproductive abnormalities (Lenskyj 1986). Because of this medical advice, it was 1992 before women were able to compete in the triple jump at the Olympics. As modern medicine advanced and scientific evidence accumulated, this issue has been somewhat resolved. Exercise in moderation can be beneficial, and more women are leading active, healthy lifestyles with little or no problems with reproductive health.

An active lifestyle is important for women of all ages, particularly because regular physical activity has been associated with the prevention of osteoporosis, breast cancer, heart disease, and depression (Charkoudian and Joyner 2004). Regular activity does not affect the menstrual cycle, and it is only when rigorous training is coupled with inappropriate energy-intake compensation, in which reproductive hormones are affected, that problems with the menstrual cycle are observed (Harber 2004).

Benefits of Exercise During Pregnancy

For women with a normal menstrual cycle, moderate physical activity should play no role in preventing conception. Once conception has occurred, recreational activity in moderation has not been linked to early pregnancy wastage or miscarriage (Clapp 1996a). Traditional medical advice has been for women to rest during pregnancy (Wolfe et al. 1994). That outdated medical advice does not address the increasing participation of pregnant women in sports and recreational activities; in addition, there is a growing population of women who work throughout pregnancy in strenuous, nontraditional occupations (such as police work, firefighting, and military service).

Because pregnancy is a unique process in which almost all of the physiological systems of the body are modified in an attempt to maintain the maternal and fetal environment, the addition of exercise may represent a significant challenge to maternal and fetal well-being, especially at higher intensities of physical work. The scientific literature suggests, however, that mild- to moderate-intensity exercise in a healthy pregnancy can be beneficial to mother and baby. Some of these benefits include improved physical fitness and muscular endurance, improved stamina for labor and delivery, the promotion of appropriate maternal weight gain throughout pregnancy (Kardel and Kase 1998; Wolfe et al. 1994; Wolfe and Mottola 2002), improved mood and decreases in states of anxiety and depression following pregnancy (Koltyn and Schultes 1997).

Guidelines for Exercise during Pregnancy

According to recent medical advice from the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG 2002), a woman with a low-risk pregnancy can participate in moderate exercise for thirty minutes or more a day on most, if not all, days of the week. Although this advice is more modern than the traditional advice of "resting," it does not give pregnant women concrete guidelines for exercise. No formal guidelines for exercise during pregnancy existed until 1985, when ACOG published a bulletin that suggested guidelines for exercise during pregnancy.

The most controversial guideline for exercise was that a pregnant woman should not let her heart rate rise above 140 beats per minute (ACOG 1985). Even though these guidelines caused quite a discussion amongst physicians and health care professionals, ACOG was the first organization to put any guidelines for exercise during pregnancy in writing and to publish and distribute them to other organizations. In 1994, ACOG released another bulletin on guidelines for exercise during pregnancy. The controversial issue of exercise heart-rate guidelines is ignored in this bulletin (ACOG 1994) and also the latest (ACOG 2002), so



there are now no guidelines in the United States for target exercise heart rates during pregnancy.

In Canada, exercise and pregnancy guidelines are found in the “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” document, developed by Dr. Larry Wolfe from Queen’s University and Dr. Michelle Mottola from the University of Western Ontario, which was published by the Canadian Society for Exercise Physiology (CSEP) in 1996, endorsed by Health Canada, and revised (Wolfe and Mottola 2002). The “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” includes a medical prescreening questionnaire to identify contraindications to exercise during pregnancy, a list of safety considerations, and aerobic- and muscle-conditioning guidelines. The “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” document was endorsed by the Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists of Canada (SOGC) (Davies et al. 2003) and the CSEP (Davies et al. 2003a). These documents are available on the CSEP website: www.csep.ca, which also includes the “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” document, free of charge. Recently, the American College of Sports Medicine (ACSM) has also endorsed the SOGC/CSEP joint position paper, “Clinical Practice Guidelines for Exercise in Pregnancy and the Postpartum Period” (Davies et al. 2003a), in which the “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” document is highlighted (ACSM 2004).

Need for Medical Prescreening

It is important to confirm a healthy pregnancy with a physician or midwife before engaging in an exercise program. In the “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” document there is a list of contraindications to exercise for the health-care professional to check. Medical prescreening is recommended due to several potential risks that have been identified in the early scientific literature, and each appears to have a dose/response relationship to the intensity of maternal exercise, in that, as the intensity of maternal exercise increases, the risk of the hypothetical effects also is augmented. Wolfe et al. (1989), Wolfe et al. (1994), Clapp (1996b) and Wolfe and Weissgerber (2003) provide excellent reviews on the effects of maternal exercise on maternal and fetal well-being. In a healthy pregnancy, mild- to moderate-intensity exercise

appears to pose no threat to mother or fetus (Wolfe et al. 1994).

Since no threshold has been determined for intensity and duration of maternal exercise above which problems occur, it is important that medical screening take place before maternal exercise begins to ensure a healthy pregnancy. Guidelines promoting exercise intensities of 60 to 70 percent of maximum oxygen consumption (moderate aerobic exercise) are within accepted levels for healthy pregnancies (Wolfe and Weissgerber 2003). The “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” document provides guidelines within these intensities. “Aerobic activity” is defined as exercise in which large muscle groups are being moved to improve heart and lung health, such as walking, stationary cycling, swimming, aquatic exercise, or low-impact aerobics.

Monitoring of Intensity

Monitoring of intensity of exercise is extremely important for pregnant women. The “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” form provides three ways to check that the aerobic activity is not too high. The first is through a chart of exercise heart-rate (pulse-rate) guidelines based on the age of the pregnant woman. Women who are younger than twenty should exercise between a target heart rate of 140 and 155 beats per minute; women twenty to twenty-nine years old should exercise between the ranges of 135 and 150 beats per minute; women between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine should exercise from 130 to 145 beats per minute target heart rate; and women forty and older should stay within the range of 125 to 140 beats per minute (Wolfe and Mottola 2002).

The second way to ensure the appropriate intensity for exercise is to ask the pregnant exercising woman how hard she perceives she is working. On a 20-point scale (rating of perceived exertion scale, Borg 1962), she should be within 12 to 14, which is labeled as “somewhat hard” (Wolfe and Mottola 2002). The final check for intensity is called the “Talk Test,” in which the exercise intensity is excessive if the pregnant woman cannot carry on a verbal conversation while she is exercising (Wolfe

and Mottola 2002). If she is out of breath, is breathing heavily, and cannot talk, she must reduce the intensity to lower her heart rate. A healthy pregnant woman who has not exercised before should begin at the lower end of the target heart-rate zone for her age (Mottola and Wolfe 1994) and monitor her intensity closely.

A pregnant woman should exercise at a frequency of three times per week, especially if she is just beginning an exercise program, increasing to a maximum of four times per week. Caution is suggested with exercise frequency of five or more times per week, as this has been associated with an increased risk of delivering small-for-gestational-age babies (Campbell and Mottola 2001). Perhaps the best way to begin an exercise program is to have a day of rest in between the exercise days to avoid undue fatigue. The time of each exercise session should be approximately fifteen minutes at the target heart-rate intensity, increasing the time of the exercise session by two minutes every week until a maximum of thirty minutes per session is achieved. Intensity and time of each exercise session should not be increased past the twenty-eighth week of gestation (Wolfe and Mottola 1993) because of the possibility of fatigue. Many women in the third trimester decrease intensity and duration of each exercise session because they tire more easily.

Each exercise session should start with five to fifteen minutes of warm-up and five to fifteen minutes of cooldown at a lower intensity of activity. All pregnant women should know the safety signs and consult a physician should any contraindications to exercise occur. These are listed in the “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” document (Wolfe and Mottola 2002).

THOSE WHO EXERCISED PRIOR TO PREGNANCY

Women who have been exercising prior to pregnancy have been advised by the medical profession to continue exercise during pregnancy. However, it is necessary to determine frequency, intensity, duration, and type of exercise before advising pregnant women to continue exercising. In addition, medical prescreening must occur to rule out contraindications to exercise. The aerobic guidelines presented above for women who have not exercised

before pregnancy are also suggested for the recreational athlete, but the recreational athlete may be able to exercise at the higher end of the target heart-rate zone based on age, for the maximum of thirty minutes—three to four times per week. If a woman has been jogging before pregnancy, she may continue within the aerobic-exercise guidelines, unless she develops joint problems or is uncomfortable with this mode of exercise. Switching to a stair climber (with no jarring movements) or to body-weight-supported exercise (such as swimming or biking) would be recommended.

Muscular-strength or -conditioning exercise is activity that includes stretching, abdominal exercise, and resistance or weight-lifting exercise. The “PARmed-X for Pregnancy” document also includes suggestions for these activities. The major precaution for muscular-conditioning exercise is that no activity should be performed lying on the back past four months into pregnancy. This guideline has also been suggested by the ACOG (2002) because of possible blocking of the inferior vena cava or the abdominal aorta (major vessels in the abdomen) by the weight of the pregnant uterus pushing on them while the mother exercises on her back. The inferior vena cava is the major vein that returns blood to the heart, and the abdominal aorta is a major artery that supplies the lower body with blood, including the pregnant uterus. As a precaution, sit-up exercises for the abdominal muscles can be done in a side-lying, sitting, or standing position instead of lying on the back, past four months into pregnancy.

THOSE WHO DID NOT EXERCISE PRIOR TO PREGNANCY

Previous medical advice suggested that women who have not exercised should not start an exercise program during pregnancy. However, recent scientific literature and guidelines would suggest that if no contraindications to exercise exist and if the pregnancy is healthy, women may start an exercise program in the second trimester (Mottola and Wolfe 1994). Exercise should not be started in the first trimester because of potential risks. In addition, many women do not feel well in the

first trimester and may be discouraged from continuing to exercise if the activity program is started at that time. The best time to start an exercise program is in the second trimester, around twelve to thirteen weeks.

Athletic Competition

Pregnancy is not the time for engaging in athletic competition or strenuous activity that would place the mother at risk for bodily injury (Mottola and Wolfe 2000). This includes avoiding activities or sports in which there is a potential for falls or body contact. Women who have been exercising strenuously prior to pregnancy should reduce the intensity, frequency, and duration of exercise to follow the exercise guidelines recommended above. There are no known benefits to the fetus from strenuous high-intensity maternal exercise. In this situation, the risks to the fetus far outweigh any maternal benefits, and reduction in intensity and duration are highly recommended. The literature describing the effects of strenuous exercise on mother and fetus are limited. Most of the studies presented are case studies that describe the efforts of one individual or are reports of past activity and not scientifically controlled experiments. Thus, no guidelines exist for pregnant women who engage in strenuous exercise, although scientific investigations are currently being conducted in this population group of pregnant athletes.

Effects of Strenuous Occupations

The "PARmed-X for Pregnancy" document has a question about activity performed during the pregnant woman's occupation, whether she is a homemaker or working twelve-hour shifts and lifting heavy objects. Determining the activity level of the pregnant woman as she performs everyday activities is important and must be considered when prescribing an exercise program. If the pregnant woman is engaging in high-intensity physical activities in her occupation, it is important that a recreational-exercise program complement the activities performed in everyday life. This will prevent unnecessary fatigue and overuse injuries and will decrease the potential risk to the fetus.

The effects of occupation on pregnancy outcome are reviewed in Wolfe et al. (1994). Additional recent studies suggest that physical activity on the job may play an important role in pregnancy outcome. Military women on active duty who gained less than twenty-five pounds during pregnancy developed an earlier labor more often (Magann et al. 1996). The risk of early labor was also increased in women who worked regularly in the evening or at night and had occupations with long hours of standing and who continued work through late gestation. These conditions increased the risk of delivering an infant before forty weeks (the due date) (Fortier et al. 1995). However, in an epidemiological analysis of 529 women, there was a lack of association with occupational exposures, physical exertion, and low birth weight (Campbell and Mottola 2001).

In a national survey of U.S. nurses, factors significantly associated with earlier birth included number of hours worked per week, per shift, and while standing. Other factors were noise level, physical exertion, and occupational fatigue (Luke et al. 1995). In addition, Spinillo et al. (1995) associated moderate- to high-intensity physical activity in the workplace with a twofold increase in the risk of severe high blood pressure compared to mild activity on the job.

In a review article on physical work and pregnancy outcome, epidemiological evidence would suggest that occupations including prolonged standing or walking that continued into late gestation, as well as work encompassing several strenuous factors in combination, appear to increase the risk of earlier delivery (Ahlborg 1995). It was also recommended in the same article that working pregnant women avoid extremely heavy physical exertion (that is, close to maximum) in early pregnancy and late gestation.

Studies on the results of heavy lifting on the job and the impact on spontaneous abortion are inconclusive and require further study. Thus, because of the varied conclusions on occupation and birth outcome, before exercise can be prescribed for pregnant women in the work force, it is important to determine how physically

When you're having fun, you have a lot of heart and desire. Winning breeds winning. Losing breeds losing, and when you're losing, you don't think of anything else. ■ ANGELINA WOLVER

active they are in their current occupation so that overexertion and undue fatigue are avoided.

Returning to Exercise after Pregnancy

Many pregnant women are concerned about when they can safely return to exercise after the baby is born. The timing of return to exercise depends upon the number of complications during labor and delivery. If labor and delivery are uncomplicated, a postpartum (post pregnancy) woman normally can return to aerobic exercise once vaginal bleeding from delivery has stopped, and her postpartum check-up with her physician is normal (usually between six and eight weeks after delivery).

It is recommended that she begin an exercise program at the lower-intensity heart-rate range based on age and follow the same guidelines as if she were pregnant (Mottola 2002). Avoiding unnecessary fatigue is an important consideration for any new mother, and starting off with walking while pushing a baby carriage is an excellent way to regain activity. If the postpartum woman has had a cesarean section or complications during labor and delivery, it is recommended to wait at least ten weeks or until labor and delivery complications have been resolved and the woman's health has returned to normal.

Muscular-conditioning exercises are also recommended for the postpartum woman, and returning to these exercises is suggested after the first postpartum checkup with the physician and vaginal bleeding due to delivery has stopped. Abdominal exercises can be started as well and may be performed while lying on the back (Mottola 2002).

Breast-feeding and Exercise

Women who breast-feed and choose to exercise usually have no problems (Carey and Quinn 2001). Postpartum exercise of mild or moderate intensity has little adverse effects on milk quality (Carley et al. 1997), quantity, or infant weight gain (Dewey et al. 1994). Infants detect sweet and sour tastes (Wallace et al. 1992), and the literature has suggested that infants may refuse to nurse or

may fuss during a feeding after the mother has been exercising due to an increase in the lactic-acid content of the breast milk, which may produce a sour taste (Wallace et al. 1992).

Maximal exercise has been shown to increase the amount of lactic acid in breast milk postexercise, which leads to decreased acceptance of the postexercise milk (Wallace et al. 1992). However, aerobic exercise of mild to moderate intensity performed four or five times per week beginning six to eight weeks postpartum had no adverse affect on breast-feeding (Dewey et al. 1994). In a more recent study that was well controlled, moderate- or even high-intensity exercise during lactation did not change the infant acceptance of breast milk taken one hour postexercise (Wright et al. 2002). Thus, maternal exercise is well tolerated postpartum, but strenuous (near-maximum) aerobic activity should be avoided until breast feeding is terminated, due to the potential of fatigue of the new mother.

Making Lifestyle Habits Permanent

Engaging in mild- to moderate-intensity exercise should not be a problem for the reproductive health of active women. Pregnancy is a time when women make beneficial alterations in health habits to provide a good environment for the unborn. These changes include adopting improved eating habits, abstaining from smoking and alcohol consumption, and starting or continuing an exercise program. All of these changes can be carried forward into the postpartum period, and many health professionals believe that pregnancy is a good time to incorporate healthy lifestyle habits that are permanent. Integrating activity into a healthy, active lifestyle leads to healthy moms and healthy babies.

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Revenue Sharing

In professional team sports leagues revenue-sharing rules are applied to gate revenue, local revenue (concessions, premium seating, parking, other venues, and local TV), and league revenue (national TV broadcast rights, team license fees, and league sponsorship). In the early years gate revenue was the dominant source of revenue, but in recent years other revenue sources have increased dramatically, especially TV revenue.

Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing. ■ VINCE LOMBARDI

Revenue sharing is undertaken by sports leagues for two main interrelated reasons. The first is to ensure financial stability of teams and the second is to improve competitive balance (the evenness of competition) by offsetting the inequality in market size in which teams are located. Revenue sharing improves the financial stability of teams (the ability of teams to survive financially), but the impact on the distribution of player talent and hence competitive balance is less straightforward.

Gate- and Local-Revenue Sharing

The extent of gate-revenue sharing varies across sports, but teams in the National Basketball Association, the National Hockey League, and European soccer and Australian leagues typically keep 100 percent of their home gate.

In the National Football League the split is 60:40, where the home team keeps 60 percent of the gate with the remaining 40 percent pooled and distributed equally, a so-called straight-pool system. Prior to 2001, owners received an equal share of other teams' contributions of 40 percent of their gate revenue, but not of their own contribution. The net result of the 2001 change was to lessen the amount of revenue redistributed from large gate-revenue teams to small gate-revenue teams.

From 1995, Major League Baseball changed from the 80:20 home-visitor split of gate revenue in the American League and the 95:5 split in the National League to a more general revenue-sharing arrangement of all net local revenue (such as from local television, cable, radio, gate, concessions, premium seating, parking, and sponsorships, less stadium-operating, debt-service, and rental costs). There is a huge variation in local TV revenue of teams in MLB. This system taxes each team a percentage of its reported net local revenue (initially 17 percent in 1995), which is pooled and shared equally. Under the so-called split-pool system introduced in 2001, 75 percent is shared equally and the remaining 25 percent distributed to teams in proportion to how much their net local revenue is below the league mean. The immediate effect is to increase the contribution of large-revenue

market teams and the amount received by small-revenue market teams. But, competitive balance might actually worsen if it gives (profit-maximizing) small-revenue market teams the incentive to reduce payrolls, perform poorly on the field, underperform financially as a result, and so collect more from the pool. From 2003, a 34 percent net local revenue tax has been distributed equally on the straight-pool basis, with additional central MLB funds distributed on a split-pool basis.

In English soccer, the net gate was split 80:20 from 1920 until 1983, but since 1984 teams have kept their home gate, as have teams in the Premier League, which was formed in 1992. Gate revenue constituted as much as 80 percent of total revenue in the 1950s, but by the 1990s had fallen below 40 percent. Another scheme was the payment of 4 percent of all national receipts into a pool that was distributed equally among the league teams, reduced to 3 percent in 1987 and abandoned for Premier League teams from 1993.

Leaving aside the greater likelihood of financial survival provided for small-revenue market teams, economic theory suggests that no matter how gate revenue is divided, there is no effect on the distribution of talent and hence competitive balance in a league comprised of profit-maximizing teams. However, the greater the degree of gate sharing the lower is the value of acquiring extra talent (and hence wages) to win more because teams only capture a fraction of any increased revenue at home games. Moreover, this fractional increase in revenue is also offset by a loss of revenue from the away teams, which win less. The impact of local revenue sharing under profit maximization is less clear, but in general, unless the sharing involves revenue that depends on winning, local-revenue sharing will not improve competitive balance.

By contrast, in a league comprised of win-maximizing teams, the greater the degree of gate sharing the greater is the move toward competitive balance. The effect of both gate- and local-revenue sharing is to decrease the average revenue of large-revenue market teams and increase the average revenue of small-revenue market teams thus tending to equalize teams' ability to acquire talent.

League-Revenue Sharing

League-negotiated broadcasting revenue is typically pooled and distributed equally in the United States, Europe, and Australia.

In the NFL the only TV contract is a league-negotiated national TV contract, which is shared equally. There is therefore much less revenue disparity between teams in the NFL than in other leagues, such as MLB, the NBA, and the NHL, where there are separate national and local broadcast agreements, and often significant variation in local broadcast revenue. Despite MLB's sharing of net local revenue, the New York Yankees' local TV revenue is so large the Yankees still have much greater revenue than other teams in smaller-revenue markets.

In England's Premier League, and some other European soccer leagues, revenue from the sale of broadcast rights is not shared equally but roughly split into three parts. About a third is shared equally, another third distributed according to the on-field performance of the team and the final third is distributed according to how many times each team has been seen on television. By contrast, in Italy's Series A, every team sells its own broadcasting rights (to its home matches), while in the Spanish Primera League, the most popular teams sell their rights individually and the least popular teams sell their rights collectively.

The effect of sharing league-negotiated (say, national TV broadcast) revenue is to change the distribution of revenue from what it would be if, for example, teams generated their own (say, local TV) revenue. Revenue from a league-negotiated contract is likely to be greater than that if all teams negotiated their own individual local contracts. Furthermore, large-revenue market teams, which contribute more than small-revenue market teams, subsidize the latter because each team receives an equal share of league revenue, thereby improving the financial stability of small-revenue market teams.

However, an increase in shared league revenue should have no effect on competitive balance. A lump-sum transfer from the league will not change the incentives for a profit-maximizing team owner, leaving competitive balance unchanged. Under win maximization, however, the effect of a lump-sum transfer is to in-

crease the average revenue of small-revenue market teams more than it increases the average revenue of large-revenue market teams, with the result that competitive balance increases.

The Future

Revenue sharing improves the financial stability of teams in the league, but the economic literature is less clear in its conclusion about the impact of revenue sharing on competitive balance in a league. In particular, exactly which factors affect teams' revenue and whether teams are profit- or win-maximizers are both crucial in determining whether various types of revenue sharing will improve competitive balance.

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See also Economics and Public Policy

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Ringette

Ringette has adapted the aspects of older sports, including ice hockey, basketball, soccer, and team handball. It requires complex motor skills within an



environment of explosive speed and finesse and is one of the fastest sports in the world.

Ringette combines skating on ice in full equipment (helmet with face mask; skates; elbow pads; neck protector; girdle with genital, hip, and tailbone protection; shin pads; and gloves) with carrying a stick, controlling a ring, reading and reacting to a changing environment, receiving and delivering passes, and starting and stopping at full speed.

Origins

Sam Jacks of Canada invented ringette in 1963 to provide girls with a safe winter activity that does not involve body contact but that they can play to develop their skills, court sense, and fair play. The first set of rules was developed in 1965 and has been revised during the past forty years. Ringette has evolved in response to the women who play it: Players today are faster, stronger, and more strategic than their predecessors were.

Ringette's inaugural season was 1963–1964, and the sport grew from slightly more than four thousand registered players in 1979 to more than twenty-one thousand in 1985. During the early and mid-1980s ringette was one of the most popular team sports in Canada and *the* winter team sport for females in Canada. That time was the height of ringette's growth phase—the sport increased fivefold in seven seasons. During the mid-1980s Ringette Canada, the association governing the sport in Canada, used the slogan “the winter sport for females.” However, today, with more sports opportunities available, that slogan is not accurate. Nonetheless, Canada today has twenty-five thousand players.

The rules of ringette have evolved to meet the needs of the players, and so have the events. The first Canadian Ringette Championships were held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1979. These championships have grown to become the annual elite ringette showcase. Players at lesser levels also compete in tournaments and other events. In all countries where people play ringette, most clubs offer or attend some type of organized tournament each season.

In the 2002 Canadian Ringette Championships in Saskatchewan, Ottawa defeated Alberta in the open division (age nineteen and older), Alberta defeated British Columbia in the junior division (ages fourteen and fifteen), and Manitoba defeated Alberta in the belle division (ages sixteen through eighteen).

The International Ringette Federation (IRF), ringette's international body, was established in 1986 by six countries under the direction of Betty Shields, president of Ringette Canada. The IRF sanctions the World Ringette Championships, which have been held every other year since 1990.

In the 2004 World Ringette Championships, Finland finished first; Canada, second; the United States, third; and Sweden, fourth.

Along with Canada, Finland has long been an international leader in ringette. Finland was the first European country to play ringette—in 1978. A hockey coach, Juhani Wahlsten, developed the sport in Finland and helped found the first ringette club, Turku Ringette. Since then, ringette and its infrastructure have developed steadily. In 1983 the Ringette Association of Finland (renamed the “Finnish Ringette Association”—FRA) was formed, and in 1985 the Finnish Central Sports Federation accepted the association as a member, making ringette an official sport in Finland. The Finnish team won the world champion title in 1994 and the 1998 Summit Series. Three thousand members support the FRA and its national team program (since 1990), junior national team program (since 1996), and a strong grassroots youth leadership program, Nuori Suomi (Young Finland). Players age twelve and younger, called “E Juniors,” wear arm bands that determine with whom they play. This arm band system ensures that all players have equal playing opportunities. It teaches fair play and team skills.

People in the United States have played ringette since at least 1986, and Minneapolis, Minnesota, hosted the 1994 world championships. The sport is also expanding in France, Sweden, Germany, and Russia, and all of these nations compete at the international level.

In order to win you must be prepared to lose sometime. And leave one or two cards showing. ■ VAN MORRISON

Play and Rules

Ringette has gained attention mostly for its scoring object and the method of controlling that object. Ringette is played without pucks or balls. Instead it is played with a ring, made of blue rubber for ice or hard plastic for gym and asphalt. Players control the ring with a straight stick whose shaft tapers slightly at the tip for better control. Many sticks are wooden with tips of aluminum, steel, or hard plastic.

A ringette team has five players and a goaltender. Much as in indoor soccer or basketball, the five skaters or “out players” are broken down into two defense players, two forwards, and one center. Players wear long pants and loose-fitting jerseys. Most players wear smaller equipment to balance safety with agility. For example, hockey players may wear wide shin pads to help block shots, whereas ringette players lean toward narrower shin pads to allow better speed and agility. Regardless of the position they play, players must wear full face mask, helmet, padding, gloves, and skates. The object of the five skaters is to move the ring toward the opposition’s net with control, with the ultimate goal of shooting and scoring. The goaltender’s job is to prevent the opposition from scoring and to assist in the team’s defensive unit breakout.

Ringette’s equivalent of a jump ball or face-off is the free pass. The free pass allows a player from one team five seconds of protection to make a pass from a predetermined spot on the ice. Many teams use this possession to key on set plays or skating patterns that enable the other four skaters to become open. One of the original ideals of ringette was team play. When Sam Jacks devised the first set of rules, he had the players pass over a blue line. In soccer or basketball players can control the ball and make their way down the court or field without having to pass to any teammates. In ringette players may not carry the ring from end to end. Players must pass over each blue line because they are not allowed to carry the ring across these lines. The ring must touch another player (of either team) before the player can again touch the ring on the other side of the blue line. Today that emphasis on team play continues.

The ring must be passed, shot, batted, deflected, or legally kicked to another player across each blue line.

Ringette has received some attention because its target group is women. Although no competitive events exist for coed teams of any age, some recreational tournaments allow coed teams. Internationally, organizers have made few attempts to include male players, nor have any national or international events allowed male participation.

Some proponents of ringette cite the lack of male participation as an explanation of why the sport is not more popular. Others disagree, pointing out the positive: Ringette has evolved from a slow and controlled sport to a fast-breaking, dynamic sport of ring skills and skating and has gained many female participants. For either argument, ringette is based on speed and fitness, not gender.

Tamara McKernan

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Rituals

Scholars in anthropology and the sociology of sport often tap into functionalist frameworks such as that of Durkheim (1976), which provide insight concerning the value of rituals in ceremonies. Faure (1996, 89) refers to Durkheim as “the zealous propagandist of national consensus” because of his interpretation of ritual as affirming group solidarity. In this sense, Durkheim identified the symbolic role of elite athletes as serving as a unifying and identification symbol for the collective imagination that conveys a collective identity for citizens and other aspiring athletes within a given social and cultural context. Acknowledging the “integration and consensus” framework, Light (2000) illustrated the interrelatedness of intra- and inter-group social integration through ritual activity in the sporting context.



A baseball ritual in which players line up along the foul lines when introduced at the start of the game.

known rainmaking rituals, first-fruit ceremonies, and hunting rites were performed to symbolically demonstrate the significance of the worship and “magic power” to be evoked.

In traditional African societies today, rituals are performed to mark special occasions, celebrations, and a change of lineage-composition, status, and identity during

The strength of Durkheim’s interpretation of ritual lies in the reality of people acting together in rituals that bind them (Kertzer 1988). Durkheim’s discussion on rituals and Goffman’s theoretical work broaden the argument and interpret ritual activity in sport as social products that positively affect support and performance of sport teams (Ward 1998). The public expression of group solidarity, according to Bourdeau (1991), also signifies a contextual group identity that is ritually expressed and confirmed. The experience of “emotional flows” and the perception of togetherness, are thus affirmed through different ritual pathways (Maguire 1992, 104).

Behavior and Social Construct

In *From Ritual to Record* (1978), Guttman suggests that the ritual dimension of sports held special significance in primitive and ancient civilizations such as in the ancient Greek religious festivals in which artistic expressions and physical body culture were intertwined. In the traditional society, ritual life is centered in the religious belief of the ancestor cult in which ancestors were daily worshipped through offerings and rituals acknowledging their influence in the lives of their descendants. Rituals in the African traditional religion mainly include rites of passage, calendrical rituals, and crisis rituals (Olupona 1990). Calendrical rituals ensure the continuity of life force, whereas crisis rituals prevent annihilation of human life by supernatural agents. Well-

births, marriages, deaths, and initiation ceremonies. Traditional values and tribal laws are still taught and gender-specific roles are enforced through ritual behavior and specific rites. Rituals of kinship, also known as “ancestor rituals,” stressed kinship, and the local structure expressed “symbolically the unity of family and descent group and handling the problems of individuals in the specific domestic sphere” (Hammond-Tooke 1974, 354).

Moving beyond the restrictive definition of ritual that carries overtly religious content and identification with the supernatural, *ritual* also refers to culturally standardized, repetitive activity that is primarily symbolic in nature and aims to influence human affairs; it may involve the supernatural realm or may be merely profane in nature (Kertzer 1988, 8–9). In a religious context, rituals with religious or supernatural content may carry symbolic meanings in which a god, ancestors, or a society worships it(self) and thus gives expression to a social dependence. Blanchard (1995, 54) suggests that “secular ritual” is such an “all-compassing category that it may have limited utility in understanding sport.” Despite the parallels between ritual and sports, ritualistic elements in sports are mainly symbolic statements that express a social message of significance to the structure and cohesiveness of a group or groups within a given society or context. The ritual symbol often provides an understanding of the cultural meaning of a physical



Rituals

The Ritual of Sport

Unlike any other business in the United States, sports must preserve an illusion of perfect innocence. The mounting of this illusion defines the purpose and accounts for the immense wealth of American sports. It is the ceremony of innocence that the fans pay to see—not the game or the match or the bout, but the ritual portrayal of a world in which time stops and all hope remains plausible, in which everybody present can recover the blameless expectations of a child, where the forces of light always triumph over the powers of darkness.

Lewis H. Lapham

contest such as in public hunting traditions (Blanchard 1995) or warlike nature and the celebration of masculinity in modern sports (Light 2000).

The symbolic meaning of rituals and ritual behavior is imbedded in the culture of a particular group that is also referred to by Blanchard's (1995, 51) description of ritual as "a facet of culture" to be "viewed as the symbolic dimension of social activities." Sporting rituals are evident in the expression of "brotherhood" and within the global sphere of modern competitive sport, as seen at the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games.

At such events, the ritual content is mediated for entertainment as social theatre, and the ritualistic displays have become significant in portraying a contemporary social order in a global context, of awarding recognition for local and global order through cultural content and symbols of the host nation, and for Olympism as a global sporting culture. In this instance, a symbol such as the five Olympic rings signifies "unity between the contents" (Olympism) and simultaneously signifies the ancient "pattern of five intersecting rings inscribed on an altar at Delphi" where each ring represents a solar year between the Ancient Games in the worship of Zeus. The five rings instead of "four," which were the cycle of the Games, were used because the Greeks reckoned inclu-

sively. It also referred to the eligibility of athletes to compete as boys (from ages seventeen to twenty) and then as men (four years later) (Robertson 1988, 22).

Public rituals in Athens conveyed the rich heritage of Greek life through the ages and demonstrated the interconnections of ancient rituals with myth, magic, and the supernatural. In such secret ceremonies, "ritual power" was evoked for divination, healing, protection, exorcism of evil, and love (Meyer and Mirecki 1995). These rituals can be viewed as coping mechanisms in which the actors' intention is to create order and seek assistance from a source beyond what is perceived to be humanly possible. Public rituals are more susceptible to social change than are secret ones—the latter are often based on faith because of the supernatural and sociopsychological implications for the participants (Akong'a 1987).

In defining the concept of ritual, Thompson (1992) refers to meaning and form by discussing rituals as static repetitions of the social order in southwestern Nigeria which is increasingly being transformed through play and improvisation. Such ritual behavior reflects the cultural, political, and religious context in which symbolic meanings and forms are acted out to express ritualistic and ceremonial behavior. Kertzer also stresses the concept of social order by defining ritual as "an analytical category that helps us deal with the chaos of human experience and put it into a coherent framework" (1988, 8). The culturally standardized, repetitive activity that conveys meaningful symbolic content may thus be performed to evoke ritual power.

Symbols and Symbolism

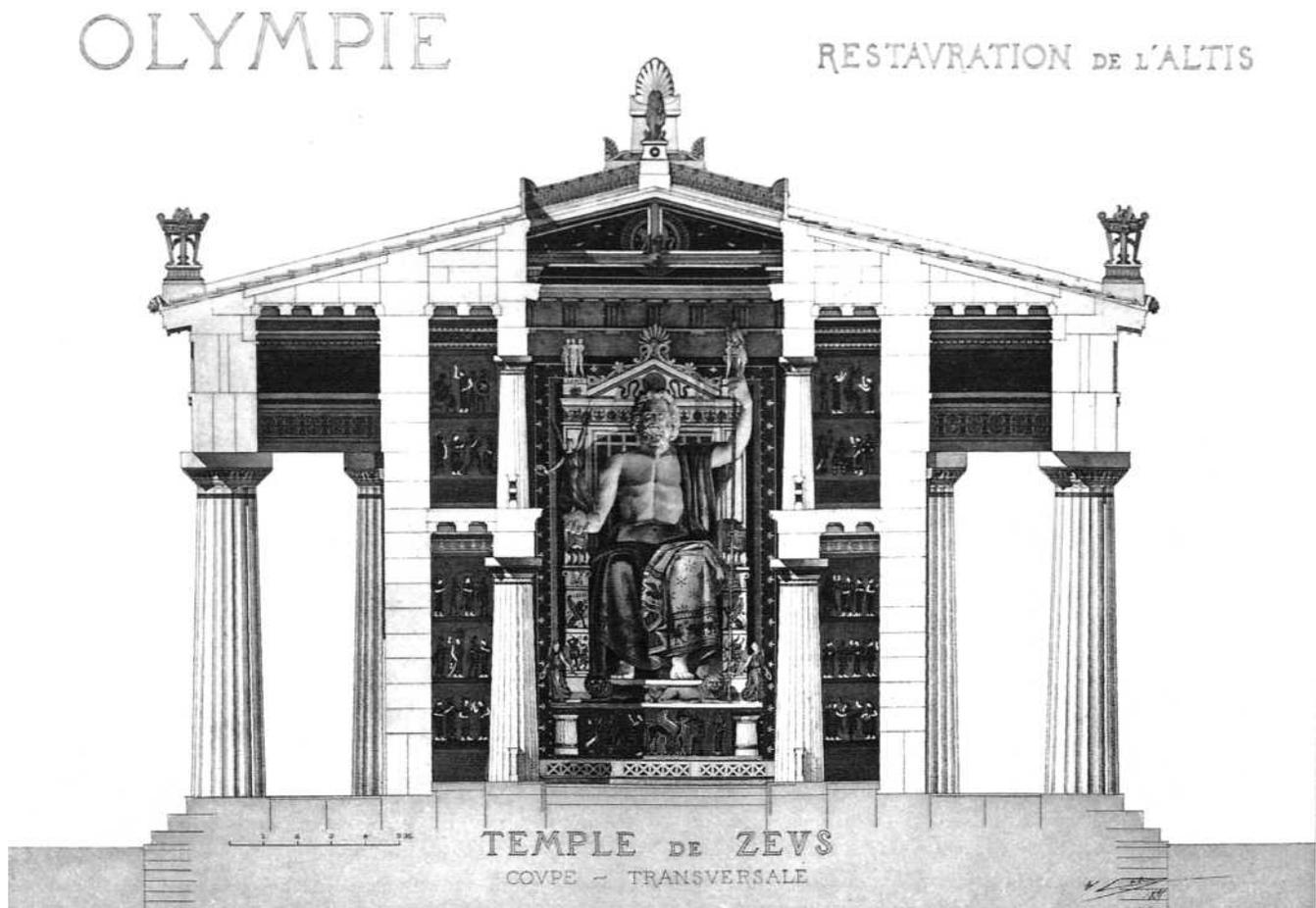
Kertzer described ritual behavior as "action wrapped in a web of symbolism" (1988, 9). The subjective world picture becomes a social reality through the meaningfulness of social symbols. The individuals' subjective experience is thus molded by the social meanings ascribed to the rituals that stem from the social matrix with meaningful psychological dimensions that reflect the understanding of reality and significance of the ritual. As symbols represent other meanings by association, resemblance,

or convention, according to Turner, they are “*multivocal*—speaking in many ways at once; *multivalent*, having various meanings or values, and *polysemous*, having or being open to several meanings” (1984, 16). The symbolic meanings are commonly understood and convey essential messages that may serve the strategic end or purpose of the ritual. Ritual celebrations provide the framework for identification, critique, and emotional involvement in which “meanings” are constructed (Platvoet 1995).

The transmission of messages through ritual dramatization is powerful and persuasive and is thus a significant vehicle political or religious leaders employ to legitimate their authority. Through ritual, followers are

guided, emotions are channeled, and loyalty and solidarity are created. “Insider–outsider” identities are established, such as is with the *Palio* celebration that is held in the central Italian city of Siena. In this celebration, different neighborhoods compete in various activities, building up to “a horse race through the centre of town.” In this competition, insider affiliations and bonds are strengthened as neighborhoods are ritually marked as people sharing the same social identity and who “express a sense of communion with others” (Kertzer 1988, 75).

Ritual behavior thus finds an expression in social life, and because competitive sport has become a highly contested terrain in which success, identity, and excellence



A reconstruction of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.



are celebrated and rewarded, rituals have found special meaning in local and global sporting events. The constructions of culturally meaningful symbols in and through sports and the symbolism of sport competitions are constructed and deconstructed by a variety of stakeholders in all spheres of society. Pregame rituals, rituals on the field of play, and the ritualistic nature of sport events draw on shared meanings and symbols and present unique dynamics as cultural and global products.

Constructing Ritual Pathways in and through Sport

The parallels between religious and sporting rituals and the ritualized practice of sports have attracted scholarly interest (Guttman 1978; Light 2000; Maguire 1992). From the early roots of ritualized contests to the global idiom of modern sport, inherent meanings of the ritual have survived. Interaction rituals that convey a shared reality and rituals as coping mechanisms in which individuals (in the case of sports, athletes) use rituals to manage moments of stress and anxiety, are transforming the perceived reality and competencies of athletes and role players in the sporting sphere (Firth 1996; Giddens 1995).

PREGAME RITUALS

Pregame rituals and ritualistic behaviors play an important role in the belief of creating a competitive edge. Such behaviors include the eating of specific foods, abstinence from alcohol and sex (Fischer, 1997), and superstitious rituals of athletes that are practiced in all sports and across all cultures (Bleak and Frederick 1998). Such rituals are perceived to be effective in ensuring success in sporting competitions, or serve as a catalyst in relieving anxiety or gaining an advantage over an opponent or opposing team. Such rituals may include not stepping on lines, wearing only certain colors, or executing pre-performance routines (Jackson and Baker 2001). Set patterns of pregame preparations may include traveling arrangements, specific meetings, motivational sessions, sharing hardships or excursions to

promote “mateship,” and battle cries as expression of unity and “group power” (Light 2000).

One of the most famous pregame rituals in the Rugby Union is undoubtedly the performance of the *haka* by the All Black (New Zealand’s national team) rugby players just before an international match. On the field, this ritual dance or routine symbolizes the “might” and “warrior tradition” of the indigenous Maori that are differently perceived by opponents (threat), supporters (affirm national identity and affirm group solidarity), and players (affirm identity as player and “warrior” in preparation of the contest) (Renner 1999).

The significance of fanatical sport fans’ sport rituals is invariably linked to the supporters’ sense of associating and building identity through perceived bonding and affiliation with specific players, athletes, or teams. Bonds and ties (*esprit de corps*) are strengthened by creating an “us” and “them” or insider–outsider affiliation (Van Beek 1998).

GLOBAL ENTERTAINMENT

The creation of global entertainment, as in the case of the European Superleague by the English Rugby Football league in association with media magnate Rupert Murdoch’s News Corporation in 1995, eroded the cultural attachments to the sport of rugby league (Falcous 1998). Global symbolism of sport consumerism and high entertainment are created through persuasive media images and messages. In this sense, sport events and competitions are symbols that carry multiple meanings and allow diverse association and identity formation of a broad spectrum of stakeholders.

Sport as Ritual

Modern sports rituals carry functions of integration and resistance locally, nationally, and globally. Kertzer (1988) believes that the multivocality of symbolic behavior in sports relative to personal interpretations is less important than are the public declarations of solidarity and identity that are conveyed symbolically. Stevenson and Alaug discuss sporting contests “as secular rituals that engender local and national identity” (1997, 251), in which

*If all the year were playing holidays, to sport would
be as tedious as to work.* ■ WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

case, social solidarity between players and supporters is expressed through shared symbols, ideology, and membership. Explicit or subconscious messages of insider's affiliation may find expression in sport as a national entity.

A national team symbolizes the aspired national identity of a nation, and team members are the bearers of national pride that is propagated by the playing of the national anthem and flag as significant national symbols if teams or athletes achieve success for their country in international competitions. High-profile male sports, which are most often considered the national sports, carry relatively more symbolic meaning of a nation's prestige in the global arena, where competition is fierce and victory a token of ideological and political superiority. The rituals and victory celebrations go beyond a sporting victory to serve as symbols of excellence, self-determination, and unification.

In many African countries, following independence from "foreign rule," sport has become a political tool to national unity and nation building.

- In Yemen, football rituals were used to promote national identity, and the selection of the national team with equal representation from clubs in the South and North was an incentive to cultivate such unity (Stevenson and Alaug 1997).
- Similar policy implementations found expression in South African sports in which racial quotas were enforced in the Rugby Union (rugby is regarded as a predominantly white Afrikaner sport).

In both cases, severe local resistance was experienced, and cultural symbols were endorsed by various groups in those societies.

More overt resistance is evident in the traditional sporting tradition of Ireland, known as the Gaelic Games, which predated the plantation and introduction of British colonial rule and British sports and pastimes (Sugden and Bairner 1993). These games became the symbol of sporting self-determination and an expression and ritual celebration of Irish culture as celebrated by the dominant Catholic inhabitants of Northern Ireland. The participants of such indigenous games and rit-

uals embrace the identity of local heroes and custodians of traditional body culture. They are often regarded as symbols of regional or nostalgic village identity and local resistance, for example, elderly, lower-class males participating in Belgium in traditional Flemish folk games such as Kaatsen (team handball), Struifvogel (bird darts), or Gansrijden (goose pulling) (Renson, De Cramer, and De Vroede 1997).

The Future

Scholarly work in the construction and deconstruction of rituals and ritual behavior in sport and other social contexts provides an understanding of the meaningful role of symbols in evoking and portraying strategic ends. Since ancient times, rituals have signified group identity and affirmed solidarity within insider-outsider affiliations. Secret and public rituals found their way into sports through meaningful social symbols. These social messages and dramatized patterned ritual behavior are employed to:

- Influence human affairs (religious content)
- Project communal identity
- Celebrate and propagate meaningful social, political, and cultural content

The symbolic transmission of messages through ritual dramatization is powerful and finds expression in pregame rituals and sporting practices for enhancing solidarity from the local to the international level or serves as symbols of resistance against hegemonic forces and practices embedded in commercialized modern sport forms.

Cora Burnett

See also Mascots; Prayer; Sport as Religion

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Rodeo

Rodeo developed in the cattle country of the American West during the post–Civil War era. An Anglicized version of the Mexican equestrian event *charreada*, rodeo became a professional sport during the 1880s, and became a modern, centrally governed sport during the 1930s. Today more than sixty thousand men, women, and children compete in nearly three thousand amateur and professional rodeos in North America each year. Men outnumber women approximately 10 to 1 at the top professional level; equal numbers of girls and boys participate in high school rodeo. Although the sport is popular with spectators in most of the United States and western Canada, more than 90 percent of rodeo participants come from the western half of North America.

Rodeo events are classified as timed events, in which athletes try to beat the clock, and rough stock events, in which athletes attempt to ride a bucking animal for a specified time. The standard timed events are calf roping, steer roping, team roping, steer wrestling, and barrel racing. Rough stock events are bull riding, saddle bronc riding, and bareback bronc riding. In Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA) rodeos, riders must stay on the animals for eight seconds. Different organizations have different rules, and several have additional timed events.

The most profitable rodeos are the more than seven hundred rodeos sanctioned by the PRCA, but part-time and amateur athletes far outnumber the full-time professionals. The richest rodeo in the United States is the PRCA’s National Finals Rodeo (NFR), held since 1984 at Las Vegas, Nevada. The nearly \$3 million purse is six times larger than that of its closest rival, the Houston

Livestock Show and Rodeo. Early stars competed for saddles and belt buckles, whereas today's stars earn more than \$100,000 annually. The PRCA, formed as the Cowboys Turtle Association (CTA) in 1936, is largely responsible for the professionalization and standardization of the sport and for the huge increases in prize money.

The biggest issue that rodeo has faced throughout its history is opposition from humane societies and animal rights groups. Despite almost a century of opposition, efforts to shut down rodeos have largely failed, and rodeo organizations have enacted strict rules to protect their stock. Athletes are much more likely to be injured or killed than are livestock. During the wide-open days before the PRCA, integrity problems dogged some rodeos, but those problems were solved by the 1950s.

U.S.-style rodeos also take place in Australia and New Zealand, and similar, related sports are popular in several Latin American countries. However, the sport thrives only in the cattle country where youngsters are born to the saddle. Elsewhere it remains largely a novelty or amateur hobby.

Origins

All rodeo events except women's barrel racing have counterparts in the *charreada*. U.S.-style steer wrestling, however, is radically different from the Mexican *cola* (bull tailing). Bull riding, an event whose origins have long baffled historians, was a central feature of the *charreada* and the Mexican bullfight. Those two sports had parallel and overlapping histories through the late nineteenth century. *Charro* contests came to the United States with the cattle business and were transmitted from Mexican vaqueros (cowboys) to Anglo and black cowboys along with the skills, terminology, and costumes of the range. Ranch-versus-ranch rodeos and informal contests among ranch hands helped spread the competition throughout the western United States and Canada.

Western fairs and holidays often featured rodeo and *charro* contests in which persons of diverse ethnicities competed for prizes. The major impetus for the com-

mercialization of rodeo came after the closing of the frontier when western communities began seeking ways to perpetuate their unique heritage. Historians credit Buffalo Bill Cody for staging both the first professional rodeo and the first Wild West show at North Platte, Nebraska, on 4 July 1882. Hoping to show spectators scenes from life in the "real West," Cody hired cowboys, Native Americans, and Mexican ropers and riders to reenact stagecoach robberies, war dances, a buffalo hunt, and Pony Express rides. Merchants donated prizes for the winners of contests in roping and animal riding. This successful "Old Glory Blowout" drew the largest crowd in the history of the Nebraska territory. Cody then became a Wild West show entrepreneur rather than a rodeo producer, while western communities followed his lead in developing contest rodeo into a viable sport. Rodeo and Wild West shows enjoyed a symbiotic relationship for the next thirty years, with a majority of professionals active in both. The international popularity of the Wild West shows did much to create the audience for professional rodeo and make the once-maligned cowboy into a national hero. The term *rodeo* did not become standard until after World War I; prior to that time the contests had various names, including *frontier days*, *stampedes*, *cowboy contests*, and *roundups*.

Early rodeos had much greater diversity than do their twenty-first-century counterparts. Women, Hispanics from both the United States and Mexico, Native Americans, and African-Americans participated. Because of similar rules, persons of all ethnicities and nationalities competed throughout North America during the pre-World War I era. Native Americans competed in events reserved only for those people who camped on the rodeo grounds and entertained the crowds but were also free to enter the other contests. Bill Pickett (1870–1932), an African-American cowboy from central Texas, gets credit for inventing bulldogging or steer wrestling. Rodeo and *charreada* were quite similar until after World War I, when the *charreada* was reorganized into an amateur team sport, while rodeo remained an individual, professional sport.

The only correct actions are those that demand no explanation and no apology. ■ RED AUERBACH

Development

When Wild West entertainment expanded during the late nineteenth century, local cowboy contests gradually got more publicity and bigger prizes all over the West. Ranch-versus-ranch rodeos grew into community celebrations. While these contests multiplied, a few major rodeos came into existence. The Cheyenne Frontier Days, introduced in 1897, became the most prestigious of the early contests, followed by the Pendleton, Oregon Roundup and the Calgary Stampede in Canada. Competition often lasted for days, with as many as twenty events in a single day. Besides the rough stock and timed events, early rodeos included races, trick and fancy roping and riding competitions, and novelty contests such as nightgown races and wild-cow milking. Races, the most popular, included chariot races, chuck wagon races, stage coach races, and relay races in which riders changed horses after each lap of the arena. In the dangerous Roman standing race, riders stood with one foot on the back of each of a pair of horses. During this era cowgirls often competed against cowboys, enjoying unprecedented success in Roman racing.

Trick and fancy roping contestants had to make figures and shapes with the lasso before unleashing it to capture one or several persons or animals. The most famous trick roper was unquestionably the humorist Will Rogers. The top rodeo trick ropers were Chester Byers (1892–1945) and Florence LaDue (1883–1951). Trick and fancy riders circled the arena on their speeding horses while performing a variety of gymnastic feats. Judging of both contests resembled that of contemporary figure skating or diving. Many call Leonard Stroud (1893–1961) the greatest trick rider among cowboys, while all-around cowgirl Tad Lucas (1902–1990) was the most successful woman in that event. Other stars of the pre–World War I era included Lucille Mulhall (1884–1940), a versatile athlete most famous for defeating cowboys at steer roping, Bill Pickett, Enos Edward “Yakima” Canutt (1895–1986), and Hoot Gibson (1892–1962).

Rodeo was a hand-to-mouth existence for most performers, although combined with Wild West entertain-

ing it could provide a few with full-time employment. Many early hands had unsavory reputations for drinking and carousing, which made rodeo unwelcome in some communities. The economic outlook improved with the introduction of the Madison Square Garden Rodeo in New York City in 1922. Its success spawned a series of lucrative eastern rodeos that capped off the season and provided top hands with large paydays. The Madison Square Garden Rodeo soon became the foremost contest, but eastern indoor rodeos required adjustments of time and space, leading to the gradual demise of races, novelties, and trick and fancy competitions. Tex Austin (1887–1941) introduced rodeo to Madison Square Garden, but the major producer of the 1930s was Col. W. T. Johnson of San Antonio, Texas. His eastern rodeos set records for attendance that stood for years and enabled the sport to survive the Great Depression. Among the dominant stars of the 1920s and 1930s were Lucas, roper Bob Crosby, and all-around hand Bob Askin.

Rodeo long defied modernization, lacking central governance, standard rules, or record-keeping. This situation led to a plethora of world champions and an environment in which fraud thrived. Of particular concern were unscrupulous promoters, who advertised staged events as legitimate contests, and “bloomers,” who collected entry fees, gate receipts, and services for their rodeos and then fled during the final go-round, leaving local businesses and contestants unpaid. These problems led western producers in 1929 to form the Rodeo Association of America. The RAA established regulations and official rules, devised the first official system for naming world champions, and published a blacklist of unscrupulous promoters. The RAA certified no contests for women, and Johnson and other big operators failed to join the organization, which was most influential in the West.

Johnson himself became the target of the biggest controversy in rodeo history—the 1936 strike of cowboys against his Boston (Massachusetts) Garden Rodeo. The cowboys refused to compete unless Johnson increased their take. Although initially resistant, Johnson faced an

ultimatum from the venue's management that produced a settlement—the first time in U.S. sports history that athletes staged a successful strike and wrested control from wealthy businessmen. The jubilant cowboys formed the Cowboys Turtle Association (CTA) but struggled for years. Last-minute strikes caused chaos, leaving Turtles banned from some major contests. Ultimately, the CTA forged an agreement with the RAA that enabled the cowboys to take control of the sport by 1955. With the ability to sanction rodeos and decertify contestants, they eliminated the corruption in the sport and ultimately became the PRCA.

By the end of World War II rodeo was a different sport, thanks to the influence of Gene Autry, the Hollywood singing cowboy who purchased most of the major rodeo companies during the 1940s. Stressing pride, patriotism, and masculinity, he produced elaborate rodeos with only six or seven contests. Autry played a key role in sustaining rodeo through World War II and establishing the tradition of headlining singing stars rather than athletes. His productions never included women's contests, and cowgirls vanished from the big-time circuit, where blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans had already become almost nonexistent.

In 1948 a group of Texas women founded the Girls' Rodeo Association (GRA), later renamed the "Women's Professional Rodeo Association" (WPRA), and began working with both local rodeo committees and the PRCA to ensure cowgirls a place in the sport. In 1955 WPRA President Jackie Worthington and PRCA President Bill Linderman signed the agreement ensuring that all women's contests at PRCA rodeos would have the WPRA sanction. Cowgirl barrel racing quickly became a standard contest at most PRCA-sanctioned rodeos. In order to provide women with opportunities to compete in roping and rough stock events, the WPRA sanctioned all-women rodeos. Extremely popular during the late 1940s and 1950s, these rodeos today draw limited crowds, making prize money insufficient to meet expenses.

By the late 1950s the Madison Square Garden Rodeo had declined, and the PRCA decided to establish a le-



A Western saddle and lasso.

Source: istockphoto.com/Peter_Liewellyn.

gitimate means of determining world champions. In 1959 the first National Finals Rodeo took place at Dallas, Texas. The NFR, run by the PRCA itself, is now the premier rodeo in the United States and certainly the richest. The top fifteen money winners in six cowboy events—bareback and saddle bronc riding, bull riding, calf and team roping, and steer wrestling—compete in the week-long rodeo. Women's barrel racing joined the program in 1967. The total purse for the first two NFRs was \$50,000. During the NFR's tenure in Oklahoma City (1965–1984), its purse rose from \$44,500 to \$901,000. In 1984 Las Vegas made the PRCA a better offer, and the NFR moved to Nevada. There the 1985 purse was \$1,790,000, reaching \$2,886,269 in 1994. During that same period the number of PRCA-sanctioned rodeos grew from 493 to more than 700,



while the total prize money increased sevenfold to more than \$23 million. Commercial sponsorship has become increasingly important since 1971, when the R. J. Reynolds Corporation contributed more than \$100,000 in cash prizes. Today numerous sponsors and television contracts enrich successful contestants.

Cowboy Jim Shoulders won his fourth all-around title in 1959, collecting a total of \$32,905. The top single-event winner, calf-roping champion Jim Bob Altizer, won \$24,728. Individual winnings rose along with purses and rodeos, and by 1995 fifteen athletes had reached the \$1 million mark in rodeo winnings. Charmayne James, who won ten consecutive barrel racing titles before relinquishing her crown in 1994, is the lone cowgirl in the fifteen. James' success is due in great part to the leadership of the WPRA, which in 1980 issued an ultimatum to more than six hundred rodeo committees that if women's purses did not equal men's by 1985, the women would not ride. The committees complied, and in 1985 James earned more than \$150,000, triple her 1984 winnings.

Tom Ferguson in 1976 became the first cowboy to surpass the \$100,000 mark in annual winnings. Roy Cooper, who competes in steer wrestling as well as all three roping events, has the highest total career winnings, followed by rough stock specialist Ty Murray, the youngest man ever to reach the \$1 million figure. In 1993 Murray set several records, including the most money ever won at the NFR (\$124,821) and the most in a single season (\$297,896). Murray, Ferguson, and Larry Mahan share the honor of having won the most all-around titles with six apiece, while Jim Shoulders' total of sixteen world titles remains unsurpassed.

Few African-Americans followed Bill Pickett into rodeo, perhaps because local committees and judges exhibited significant racism. Biographers suggest that Pickett would have been a major contestant had he been permitted to enter more often. Although PRCA records reveal no institutional racism, minority athletes, sometimes barred locally, often felt doomed, especially when events required subjective judging. Even today African-Americans make up less than 10 percent of

PRCA members and less than 1 percent of WPRA members. Only two black cowboys have ever won world championships—bull rider Charles Sampson in 1982 and calf roper Fred Whitfield, who won the title in 1991 and 1995, qualifying for every NFR since 1990. In an effort to help more African-American cowboys have successful PRCA careers, a series of Bill Pickett Rodeos takes place each year.

Hispanic and Native American athletes also felt unwelcome at many rodeos. Hispanics who joined the major circuit concentrated on their specialty, roping, which is scored by the clock, not by judges. From 1972 to 1986, Leo Camarillo won the PRCA team roping title five times, making the top fifteen every year. He finished in a tie for the 1975 all-around title, thus earning a place in the National Rodeo Hall of Fame at Oklahoma City. Hispanics elected to that hall include pioneer roper Vincente Oropeza (1858–1923) of Mexico and Texas roper Juan Salinas (1901–1995). Camarillo, team roper Jim Rodriguez (b. 1941), and bronc rider James Charles “J. C.” Trujillo (b. 1948) are honored by the Pro Rodeo Hall of Fame at Colorado Springs, Colorado. Both halls also honor Bill Pickett and cowgirl Tad Lucas, one of only two women honored at Colorado Springs. Lucas is also among the honorees at the National Cowgirl Hall of Fame at Fort Worth, Texas.

Organizations

Numerous rodeo governing bodies exist in North America, each with slightly different rules. However, the richest and most powerful is the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association, which sanctions seven events and allows barrel races sanctioned by the Women's Professional Rodeo Association as the only women's contest at its rodeos. Other organizations include the American Junior Rodeo Association (AJRA) for contestants under twenty years of age, Canadian Professional Rodeo Association (CPRCA), National High School Rodeo Association (NHSRA), National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association (NIRA), National Little Britches Rodeo Association (NLBRA) for contestants eight to eighteen years old, Senior Pro Rodeo (SPR) for contestants forty

years old or more, International Rodeo Association (IRA), Indian Professional Rodeo Association (IPRA) for Canada only, and All Indian Rodeo Cowboys for the United States. Although women make up less than 20 percent of all rodeo contestants, girls outnumber boys in the eight- to twelve-year-old ranks, and their numbers equal those of boys in high school rodeo. Regardless of the association involved, athletes must have membership cards or permits in order to compete and must limit their participation to rodeos sanctioned by their governing body or one having an agreement with their governing body. Local rodeo committees are the lifeblood of the sport. They pay sanctioning fees to the appropriate governing bodies and hire approved stock contractors, judges, announcers, clowns, and barrel men. For many small western communities, the annual rodeo is the biggest event of the year, and the Fourth of July is the biggest rodeo day in the United States.

Events

The most popular timed events in rodeo are steer wrestling, calf roping, steer roping, team roping, and barrel racing. Barrel racers try to ride a cloverleaf path around three barrels placed at set distances around the arena without toppling them. Steer and calf ropers try to rope the animals, jump from their horses, and tie the animals so that they remain tied for a specified time. Team ropers work in pairs, the header roping the front of the animal, the heeler roping the rear. Steer wrestlers must jump from their horses, grab the steer's horns, and wrestle the steer to the ground. Animals get a head start, and contestants must stay behind a barrier until released or be penalized. Some rodeo organizations have additional events such as goat tying and breakaway calf roping, in which animals are not tied; many organizations omit steer roping, which is illegal in some states.

Rough stock events include bull riding, saddle bronc riding, and bareback bronc riding. In PRCA rodeos riders must stay on the animals for eight seconds. Those riders who succeed receive scores from the judges, who award scores of 0 to 50 points to both the animal and the rider, for a possible high score of 100 points. Dif-

ferent organizations have different minimum time limits, and some organizations omit some of these contests. Most organizations regulate attire, and many conduct drug tests.

World champions are typically decided at a finals rodeo. In the WPRA and PRCA the top fifteen money winners in each event participate in the finals, with money won there added to the year's total to determine the world champion. High school and college rodeos have different means of determining finalists. Amateur organizations often award scholarships rather than money. Usually the athlete with the most money or points acquired while competing in more than one event is named the all-around champion, the sport's highest honor.

The biggest issue facing rodeo is opposition from animal rights groups. Rodeo has faced the wrath of humane societies in North America and abroad since the late nineteenth century. Producer Tex Austin had to drop some events from his famous 1924 London rodeo for this reason. The tactics of opponents have changed recently. Besides picketing and demonstrating, opponents have successfully lobbied state legislatures to outlaw certain contests, as happened with steer roping years ago. The PRCA has responded with educational programs and legislation. The PRCA now has more than sixty rules, endorsed by the American Veterinary Medical Association, to protect livestock. Administrators are quick to note that rodeo is much more dangerous to humans than to animals. The injury rate for animals is a statistically negligible .00045 percent. Although no one has calculated the injury rate for cowboys and cowgirls, rodeo deaths continue to make headlines. Two top bull riders, Lane Frost (1963–1989) and Brent Thurman (1969–1994), suffered fatal injuries at major rodeos.

Rodeo outside the United States

U.S. rodeo is popular with international audiences. The 1887 European tour of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show generated great enthusiasm. During the next forty years numerous Wild West shows and exhibition rodeos

traversed the globe, leaving behind pockets of interest on every continent except Antarctica. Ultimately, many equestrian, cattle-raising cultures devised their own similar sports rather than copy the U.S. model. Events that U.S. residents sometimes call “rodeos” take place in Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, but these events have different rules and contests in each country and owe more to local developments than to U.S. rodeo. Little effort has been made to record their history. Chile’s *la fiesta huaso* contains but two events, and neither is like any U.S. contest. The older Mexican *charreada* maintains its popularity in both Mexico and the United States, but it is a different sport from U.S. rodeo. U.S.-style rodeos do occur sporadically in disparate locations such as Japan and France, but like the South American events and *charreada*, they are amateur amusements. The International Rodeo Association turns down numerous invitations annually to exhibit rodeos abroad because of expenses and logistical problems.

U.S.-style rodeo is practiced primarily in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Inspired by the formation and success of the Cowboys Turtle Association, Australian hands formed the Australian Rough Riders Association (ARRA) in 1945 and have held national championships in the standard rodeo contests since that time. The ARRA changed its name to the “Australian Professional Rodeo Association” (APRA) in 1988. Also active is the Australian Bushmen’s Campcraft and Rodeo Association Ltd. Still, U.S. rodeo is the most lucrative in the world, and skilled athletes from other countries often relocate to the United States to compete on the PRCA, IRA, or WPRA circuits, hoping to become full-time professionals.

Rodeo Today

Today the PRCA sanctions rodeos in forty-six states and four Canadian provinces. Although recalling a simpler time, major contests are sophisticated productions featuring computerized entry systems and electronic timing. Rodeos have long drawn big crowds in the major eastern cities. During the heyday of the Madison Square Garden Rodeo, cowgirls found they could not

even shop in Manhattan in western attire without attracting crowds of curious onlookers. However, rodeo’s appeal to the eastern urban spectator is much the same as the appeal of western films: nostalgia for a mythical past and a chance to see “real cowboys” in action.

Rodeo is as much a part of life in the ranching West as skiing is in Norway. As they have done for more than 150 years, ranch children begin riding before they can walk, and many begin roping posts and household animals in early childhood. They are socialized into competitive rodeo at a young age through Little Britches and other youth rodeos with the enthusiastic support of their parents. They can progress to NHSRA and NIRA rodeo without moving far from home. Rodeo is also a family affair, with many current contestants representing the third or fourth generations of their families to be active in the sport. Most rodeos take place in rodeo country, where fans and contestants share a culture. Big-time U.S. rodeo does not flourish without community support, specially bred rodeo stock, and men and women born to the saddle.

Mary Lou LeCompte

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Romania Olympics Results*2004 Summer Olympics: 8 Gold, 5 Silver, 6 Bronze*

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Romania

Romania is located in southeastern Europe and its capital is Bucharest. It borders Russia on the north and east, Bulgaria on the south, Serbia in the southwest, and Hungary in the west. Although Romania is close to the Slavic region, the Romanian language belongs to the Romance family. In addition to the Romanians, there are Hungarian, German, and Ukrainian minorities among an estimated population of 22 million.

From Independence to World War II

Modern Romania was born in 1859, when the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia merged into one state under Russian influence. In 1879 European powers recognized the independent Kingdom of Romania. The development of a state based on agriculture with little industrialization progressed with difficulty until World War I, with Romania having continuously to balance its interests between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires and their expansion.

The aristocrats loved horseracing, in particular flat racing and trotting, and Bucharest was a profitable venue for both. At the turn of the nineteenth century, cycling, football, and athletics were practiced in Bucharest, where

in 1904 a central sport club was established. In 1909 the Romanian Federation of Football was formed and a year later the first National Cup took place. In 1912, a national board assumed the control of all sports. In 1914 the first national championships for athletics took place. The Balkan Wars (1912–1914) and later World War I interfered with the development of sports.

The Treaty of Versailles (1919) changed the borders of Romania and the new kingdom, soon renamed Greater Romania, encompassed Transylvania, formerly part of Hungary, and Bessarabia. The larger nation absorbed the town of Arad, which had two important clubs, one for gymnastics and one for football, which later would have great impact. Romania signed the Petite Entente in 1922, a treaty that connected it with France. This choice also had an impact on sport; as some middle-class people went to study in French universities and learned the rudiments of rugby, which then became popular in Romania. Moreover, the football federation changed its name and its internal organization and controlled handball, another sport that grew in the coming years.

In 1924, Romania debuted in the Olympics. However, previously, in 1900, Georghe Plagino, one of Romania's International Olympic Committee members, competed in shooting's clay trap event. In the 1920s and 1930s, some Romanian professional boxers achieved success. On the occasion of the first World Cup of soccer in 1930, the best European teams refused to sail for the host country, Uruguay, but the Romanian football body accepted the warm invitation of the president of the International Federation, the Frenchman Jules Rimet, and took part to the finals. Romania also participated in the World Cups of 1934 and 1938. Romanian football became professional in 1933.

In 1940, with Nazi support, General Ion Antonescu took power. In 1944 King Michael recaptured the throne and joined the Allies against Germany. During the Nazi period, the rising star of women's table tennis, a Jewish player named Virgilia Rozeanu, was imprisoned. Later, she came back to reign in table tennis into the 1950s.



Romania

Key Events in Romania Sports History

- 1904** A central sports club is founded in Bucharest.
- 1909** The Romanian Federation of Football is founded.
- 1912** A national governing board assumes control of sports.
- 1914** The first national championship in athletics takes place.
- 1924** Romania competes in the Olympics for the first time.
- 1933** Football is professionalized.
- 1947** Romania comes under Soviet control and sports is reorganized following the Soviet centralization model.
- 1968** Romania wins its first European Cup in rugby.
- 1972** Tennis player Ilie Nastase wins the U.S. Open and then the French Open in 1973.
- 1976** Nadia Comaneci gains international attention for gymnastics performances at the Montreal Olympics.
- 1984** Romania breaks with other Soviet bloc nations and competes in the Olympics in Los Angeles.
- 1989** Nadia Comaneci defects to the United States.
- 2004** Romanian women win eight gold medals at the Athens Olympics.

Under Communist Rule

The Communist Party won the election of November 1946 and, under Soviet influence, forced King Michael to abdicate a year later. Sport was reorganized in accord with the Soviet Union model, with a large investment in facilities, compulsory youth participation, and more recruitment youth to sports. Women's sport was promoted, with particular attention to team sports like handball and volleyball, but also gymnastics and rowing.

Between 1950 and 1960, Romania industrialized. In 1965, Nicolae Ceausescu took power and, although maintaining the Warsaw Treaty, which connected Romania to other Eastern European Communist countries, he expressed disagreement on the occasion with Soviet policies such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and he also recognized West Germany. On the sport side, the boldest act of independence from Soviet influence was the decision to participate in the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles.

Romania gained attention in rugby when, in 1968 and 1975, it won the European Cup, defeating previously unbeaten France. On the other hand, some Romanian athletes were involved in scandals. One was the two-time Olympic champion and record holder in the women's high jump Iolanda Balas who refused to take

a gender test before European Championships of Budapest in 1966. In 1969 and 1972 Romania reached the finals of the Davis Cup, both years against the United States. On the second occasion, the match took place in Bucharest and, according the unanimous judgment of international experts, the Americans were penalized by several unjustified decisions in favor of Romania. However, United States won the Cup. One of the Romanian players, Ilie Nastase, became an idol in Romania. Winner of the men's singles in the U.S. Open (1972) and the French Open (1973), he displayed a mix of talent and a theatrical style.

The greatest Romanian champion was the gymnast Nadia Comaneci. At the 1976 Montreal Olympics, she astonished the world with her skill and earned seven judges' scores of ten. In 1989 she defected to the United States and claimed to have been abused by the Ceausescu family. In 1986, the Steaua Bucharest club won the European Cup for National Champions, but some months later three players were injured and disabled by Ceausescu's sons. One of first signals of the end of Ceausescu's power was the unexpected protests of some Steaua players against the rigged refereeing of Romanian Cup 1989 in favor of Ceausescu's preferred team, the Dynamo Bucharest.

Hail Caesar, we who are about to die salute you. ■ GLADIATORS' SALUTE IN ANCIENT ROME.

Romania after 1989

When Ceausescu fell from power on 25 December 1989, Romania began a difficult transition to democracy and capitalism. Sports continued to be popular and organizations remained active. Women's victories, especially in gymnastics, rowing, athletics, and swimming, represent over the half of the honors won by this country in the Olympics. At the 2004 games in Athens women won all of the eight gold medals for Romania.

The Future

No longer under state control, sport still has some privileges because it brings prestige. Professionalism now faces fewer restrictions and the state gives only limited assistance to many Olympic sports, encouraging private sponsorship. Some athletes emigrate, and in some cases change their citizenship so as to compete in better-paying professional leagues and competitions.

Gherardo Bonini

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Rome, Ancient

In contrast to physical education in ancient Greece, games and exercises in ancient Rome were intended only to make men strong and skillful warriors. The Romans of the republic and the early empire were selectively enthusiastic about Greek athletic contests. Emphasizing physical exercises for military preparedness, the Romans preferred boxing, wrestling, and javelin throwing to running foot races and throwing the discus.

Ball Games

Ball games were popular with the ancient Romans throughout their history. They used different types and sizes of balls, some being filled with hair, others with feathers or air. Throwing or catching formed the basis of most games. Playing, catching, and juggling two or more balls in the air and similar activities were popular as light exercises. More active games played by Roman youth included "handball," *trigon*, *sphaeromachia*, and *harpastum*. In "handball" the players attempted to hit a ball with their open hand so that it struck against a wall, then permitted it to bounce on the ground, and attempted to repeat the process as long as possible. Descriptions of *trigon* are confusing, but apparently three men stood at the corners of a triangle and played with two or more balls. Frequently they had to catch and toss simultaneously because the balls were not thrown in any definite order but rather at the caprice of the server. In *sphaeromachia* the ground was marked off somewhat as in lawn tennis, and the players took sides. *Harpastum* was played with a small ball filled with air. Two or more players threw the ball to one another in such a way as to avoid a player between them.

Games and Politics

Under the empire the Romans promoted games and festivals for political purposes rather than for athletic ideals. To win support, politicians vied with one another, attempting to produce the most ostentatious games to delight the thrill-hungry mobs. In later times noblemen maintained schools of gladiators, often with the idea that these men could be utilized as private armies. The state kept voting greater and greater sums to be spent on public games. To capture public favor, ambitious young politicians in charge of the holidays supplemented the government appropriations with funds from their own pockets and privately sponsored additional games. Frequently men incurred huge debts in this manner, but they hoped to recoup their losses by securing profitable political appointments to provinces as a result of their public popularity. With the increased

It is a rough road that leads to the heights of greatness. ■ SENECA

interest in such lavish entertainments, new facilities were provided for the comfort of the pampered patrons of sporting events.

Besides the Circus Maximus and Circus Flaminius, another racetrack was erected in Rome, and three others were constructed a short distance from the city. Usually these tracks consisted of tiers of seats built around three sides of a long, level track. At first they were built of wood, but after fire, decay, and accidents had wrought much damage, stone seats were provided. The Circus Maximus was about 600 meters long and 182 meters wide and in the times of the emperor Augustus could accommodate 150,000 spectators. The charioteers raced around a fence, or *spina*, that was built down the center of the arena.

Chariot Races

The state or private citizens financed the races at the circuses, but racing syndicates provided the entertainment. Their stables housed horses imported from every part of the empire and employed a huge staff of trainers, coaches, doctors, and attendants. Each syndicate was identified by the colors its drivers wore. In the early days anyone could race, but by the end of the republic men of repute did not race. The drivers in the races were usually slaves, although a few won their freedom through exhibitions of skill. The more successful charioteers were the pets of society and received extravagant gifts from wealthy gambling fans.

Gladiatorial Combats

The gladiatorial combats were more popular even than the chariot races because they provided the chief spectacles for the populace. Indeed, the *munera*, which pitted man against man, and the *venationes*, which pitted man against animals, became popular even in the Greek-speaking eastern empire, which historians once had thought immune to the lust for blood. The gladiatorial games, however, had a powerful religious dimension. The first Roman combats, in 264 BCE, were derived from Etruscan funeral games in which mortal combat

provided companions for the deceased. In the early days the gladiatorial combats were held at the graves, forums, or circuses, but none of these places offered the most convenient facilities. In about 50 BCE men began to experiment with building tiers of wooden seats around an oval arena in order to offer a better view of the hand-to-hand fighting and the gory exhibitions. Later these amphitheaters were constructed of stone and served as public recreation centers resembling modern football stadiums. The Colosseum amphitheater covered 2.4 hectares, had walls 48 meters high, and could accommodate ninety thousand spectators.

Its subterranean area contained chambers for gladiators, dens for animals, and labyrinths of pipes to flood and drain the arena for water battles. Its marble seats were covered with cushions, awnings protected the citizens from the sun and rain, the air was refreshed by perfumed fountains, and sixty-four exits minimized congestion as the crowd left at the conclusion of the combats. The *editor* who staged the games usually rented the gladiators from a *lanista* (the manager of a troupe of gladiators) and was required to reimburse him for losers executed in response to a “thumbs down” sign. The performers in the gladiatorial combats were slaves, criminals, or captives, but some voluntarily joined the schools of gladiators.

During the reign of the emperor Nero (54–68 CE), women gladiators were introduced to the arena. The professional gladiators, most of whom were owned by wealthy men or dealers, received their professional education in private schools. Several of these schools received some support from public funds during the empire. At least four schools were located in Rome, and some were maintained in other cities. The emperor Caligula had twenty thousand gladiators in his school. The dormitories were constructed around a square exercise field where the gladiators received their strict training under the master and special teachers. Originally the combatants, attired in armor and employing various types of weapons, customarily fought man against man, but afterward the more thrilling mass bat-



tles were fought. Usually the fighting continued until death decided the victor, unless the mob gave the “thumbs up” sign, which indicated a popular decision to spare a wounded man’s life. In addition to the combats of men against men, combats of men against beasts and beasts against beasts were added. Even mock naval battles were instituted: The floor of an amphitheater was flooded. In one event nineteen thousand men were forced to participate in a miniature war in which hundreds lost their lives.

Late Antiquity

The Roman circus and the Byzantine (relating to the ancient city of Byzantium, now Istanbul, Turkey) hippodrome (an oval stadium for horse and chariot races) continued to provide chariot racing long after Christian protests (and heavy economic costs) ended the gladiatorial games, probably early in the fifth century. The less obtrusive pagan religious associations of the chariot races helped them to survive centuries after the emperor Constantine’s conversion to Christianity in 337 CE.

Angela Teja and Alberto Jori

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Rope Jumping

Rope jumping has been popular, especially among children, in many areas of the world, from the Polynesian islands to Korea to Colombia. In Europe, too, rope jumping has a long history. In 1657 Jacob Catsen published a book about pastimes of children in Zurich, Switzerland, and this book included a picture of a boy rope jumping.

Rope jumping played an important role in the concepts of the so-called philanthropists who developed an educational program based on the ideas of the French philosopher and writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau at the end of the eighteenth century. One of the most famous philanthropists was Johann Friedrich GutsMuths, who published his book *Gymnastics for Youth* in 1793. This book was translated into numerous languages and influenced the development of physical education in many European countries. However, “youth” for GutsMuths meant “boys only”—girls were excluded from gymnastics. GutsMuths devoted a whole chapter to “the dance in the rope and in the hoop” (GutsMuths 1793, 455).

Rope jumping also had a place in the concept of German gymnastics (*turnen*), which was developed by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and his adherents at the beginning of the nineteenth century. German gymnastics, which had educational and political aims, included a variety of physical activities. In 1816 Jahn and his co-author, Ernst Eiselen, published the “bible” of the German turners, *Deutsche Turnkunst* (Art of Gymnastics). This book contained many exercises, including short rope jumping with two swings of the rope, crossing the arms while swinging, running and jumping, and turning while jumping. Exercises with a long rope included running through or jumping above the rope. In the guidelines for the installation of gymnastic grounds, Jahn demanded specific places for rope jumping, and in his list of equipment he included long and short ropes.

During the first half of the nineteenth century in many Western countries educational programs began to

Each fresh peak ascended teaches something. ■ SIR MARTIN CONWAY

offer physical activities for girls to increase health and grace. Girls were to be “protected” from strenuous, dangerous, and immoral activities. Rope jumping did not offend propriety and femininity and thus was looked upon as especially suitable for the “weaker sex.”

During the second half of the nineteenth century physical education began to be integrated in schools in Europe as well as the United States. Rope jumping was a popular exercise in physical education because it does not require expensive equipment or facilities and because all pupils can exercise at the same time.

Rope jumping also was recommended in books about games published by the education, health, and lifestyle reformation movements at the end of the century. In Germany, for example, a games movement recommended games and other activities for young people in fresh air. One of the reformers was Adolf Netsch, who praised rope jumping in his book about games for girls. For him girls, ropes, and youthful joy were as closely connected as spring and flowers. However, he also warned against dangers if girls jump until they are exhausted or if “they stamp and throw their body from one leg to the other” (Netsch 1895, 49). Rope jumping was also recommended for boys. Bancroft, for example, wrote (1922, 117): “Jumping a rope is admirable for boys and girls, combining much skill with invigorating exercise.”

After the turn of the century people employed rope jumping in new areas. Gymnastics schools used the rope in rhythmic exercises. Rope jumping also was used in other sports, such as in boxing, to improve endurance and mobility.

During the 1970s rope jumping was rediscovered in the United States when people were

encouraged to rope jump to strengthen their hearts and to improve their blood circulation. In addition, police officers and social workers used rope jumping to engage children in minority areas of cities. Rope jumping was an excellent way to support cooperation, strengthen self-esteem, and contribute to the resocialization of troubled children. Antidrug campaigns recommended rope jumping with the motto, “Rope is better than dope.”

Benefits

Rope jumping is recommended for all age groups but attracts mainly young people, especially girls. Proponents say rope jumping benefits health and improves motor skills and coordination. Rope jumping not only increases gymnastic and acrobatic skills, but also supports strength and endurance. In addition, rope jumping allows people to be active with others. It also is inclusive: Anyone can participate and be part of a performance which is attractive to spectators. Last but not least, rope jumping does not require sports facilities or expensive equipment.

Rope Skipping

Such initiatives were successful: Young people participated in rope jumping with increasing enthusiasm. They invented variations of jumps and swings; they loved the rhythm. Rope jumping received a new image, and a new sport was created: rope skipping. The most important difference between rope jumping and rope skipping is the rope, which has handles that allow the rope to turn, allowing faster and more precise swings. A plastic rope for individual jumping is lightweight and can be moved using only the wrists.



Girls in Germany jumping rope.



Beaded ropes have been developed to allow people to jump in pairs. Beaded ropes have a slower and more regular swing. Cloth ropes are long and made of a heavier material; they are used for jumping in groups.

Rope skipping uses music—the faster the better. The beat increases with the skill of the skipper. Beginners start with a slow rhythm and in the training process they increase the speed gradually with the aim to skip as quickly as possible. Rope skippers might start with basic skips and graduate to skips with a partner or to complex exercises with a group (up to eight partners) who performs routines. In addition, skipping can be combined with performing tricks (forms of swinging the rope), gymnastic exercises, and even with playing with a ball or with break dancing.

The evolution of rope jumping to rope skipping was a sportification process. The process included the standardization of tricks, exercises, and routines; the development of systematic learning and teaching methods; the publication of teaching manuals; the education of trainers and teachers; and the organization of competitions. Clubs and federations were formed on the national level and the international level.

Competition at the Top

Rope skipping as a competitive and performance-oriented sport is new. In individual competitions the number of double or triple swings is counted. In speed competitions contestants skip as fast as possible in a given time. In other competitions the number and difficulty of tricks are judged. The most spectacular events are group competitions with up to eight athletes using the long rope. In 1991 the first European championship took place in Ghent, Belgium. Since then, the number of national and international events increased and even world championships were organized. The last world championship took place in 2004 in Australia.

Governing Bodies

The governing bodies of rope jumping and rope skipping are the International Rope Skipping Federation

(IRSF) (www.irsf.ca), with headquarters in Canada, and the European Rope Skipping Organization (ERSO) (www.erso.org).

Gertrud Pfister

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Rounders and Stoolball

Rounders and stoolball are bat and ball games that, like many of today's sports, originated in Britain in the late eighteenth century. It has been claimed that rounders was the precursor of American baseball, and the games do have similar elements: a bowled (pitched) ball struck with a wooden stick (bat), a home base, four posts (bases) around which players run, and nine players. Rounders and stoolball were first played by men and women. They soon became primarily women's sports and are played predominantly by women or mixed teams on a recreational level, or by students in physical education programs. Young women who can now play soccer (association football), basketball, or cricket associate rounders with old-fashioned school games. Rounders is played mostly in primary or elementary schools, while stoolball is a traditional English summer game for women.

It is the greatest shot of adrenaline to be doing what you have wanted to do so badly. You almost feel like you could fly without the plane. ■ CHARLES LINDBERGH

History

Rounders and stoolball share a number of features in early history and styles of play, but diverge in the way their growth was stimulated in modern urban society. Both emerged as loosely structured spring and summer pastimes in rural England by the later eighteenth century. There have been several attempts at antiquarian reconstruction, as part of an attempt to locate them in broader national folk roots, but the earlier evidence is sparse and its terminology unreliable. One assertion that continues to provoke angry disagreement is that both contributed to the remarkably separate rise of cricket and baseball; it often seems to be the case that broadly similar activities are harnessed together to satisfy a hunger for origins. The use of wooden bats and wickets and thrown balls on grass fields may well be all these two games have in common with their supposed descendants. In England they often share the same grounds as cricket but are physically as well as symbolically marginalized because of their assumed feminine domination. When compared with cricket they fall into an uneasy divide between sport and pastime.

Both sports owe their modern followings to late Victorian attempts to reconstruct an imagined country past and, particularly, to improve the health and leisure activities of young girls and married women. Both owe a subsequent rise in popularity to a growing emphasis on physical recreation as an essential part of education in English state schools after World War I; their relative cheapness and team involvement made them particularly attractive, as did the fact that they could be played on asphalted urban yards if necessary. But they were never quite wholly gender-limited; at times there have been confusion and even conflict as to whom they were designed for and that is still far from resolved. The actual scale of participation, which is probably in thousands, is very difficult to reconstruct because relatively small national organizations exist alongside a wide range of informal participation.

Modern Play

Rounders is played on a five-sided pitch, three of whose sides are 12 meters long, whilst the other two are

8.5 meters. The bat holder stands in an approximately 2-meter square at the junction of one of the longer with one of the shorter sides, opposite a bowler in a central 2.5-meter square. Each team has nine players, and the various roles, bowling, batting, and fielding, are rotated so that all share as a team; whatever the individual skills, play does not generate specialties. A game consists of two innings, in which each side bats twice. A hard leather ball up to 19 centimeters in circumference and weighing up to 80 grams is bowled underarm to a round wooden bat or “stick” about 46 centimeters long.

After the strike, the bat holder runs, counterclockwise, round four posts 1.2 meters tall, hoping not to be caught or bowled out. Each successful run scores a “rounder” and the next team member steps forward until all have completed or been caught out. The team with most rounders wins. Two umpires watch for rule infringements. No special dress is required, although most players wear some version of decorous sporting wear and teams may wear sweatshirts. The rounders rules are reviewed every three years, with occasional minor revisions.

In stoolball, two teams, normally of eleven a side, play with two wickets (30-centimeter square boards) mounted on poles 1.37 meters tall and 5 meters apart. Soft balls, derived from tennis, are bowled underarm from one wicket to a bat holder standing at the other. The bat is normally wooden, shaped like a rather heavy table-tennis bat—it is often claimed that the game’s name derived from the fact that the first bats were three-legged milking stools, from which modern bats were developed. After striking the ball, the bat holder runs between the two wickets unless bowled or caught out. The winning team scores the highest number of runs, hence the claimed similarities with cricket. There are two umpires who are normally male, whatever the gender of the players, who are predominantly female. The rest of the bowler’s team are spread out as fielders.

Formalization, Eccentricity, and Gender Confusion

Rounders had a relatively quiet history until the later nineteenth century, when it was adopted loosely as a

useful game for younger boys and girls in some schools and as a team game for uniformed youth organizations. Some of the major new girls' private schools, such as Roedean in Sussex, adopted it, but often as a poor second to games such as hockey, which were regarded as more character-forming. Despite its reputation as a girls' game, it appeared in a number of contemporary texts as an option for "young sportsmen," a gentle preparation for more demanding and manly games. Rather grandiosely titled governing bodies appeared in 1889, when proper rules were drawn up. In that year, in Scotland and the urban north of England, two bodies appeared, the Scottish Rounders Association and the National Rounders Association of Liverpool. They were joined eventually by the more rural Gloucester Association and concocted the rules more or less as they still stand. It was 1943 before a proper National Rounders Association was formed, well away from London, as the country's governing body. It controls the rules and allows the formation of leagues for which a minimum of three local clubs is required; there are now forty leagues. The game also received a boost by being recognized as a useful way of keeping soldiers fit in both world wars, being cheap, easily organized, and requiring little specialized equipment. As such, it featured with stoolball in a number of military handbooks as a means of useful and impromptu morale building between bouts of fighting. There, an essentially female game was harnessed to become a lesser recreation for men when more complex sports were difficult to organize. Although it has had some success at national and even some international levels, particularly in Australia, where it proved popular in new private girls' schools for the socially ambitious around 1900, it remains essentially a localized game in which fun matters as much as seriousness. The National Rounders Association continues to promote it as ideal for all ages and both sexes, but especially as a family bonding activity. Its literature shows young men playing, but it is difficult to see it as other than a pastime for young women, away from its value in primary schools. It is essentially amateur.

Stoolball, by comparison, has a more checkered history. It was largely refounded in southeastern England in the 1840s by rural social matriarchs as a means of filling the little spare time of village girls with activities they could supervise. The daughters of the wealthy were also encouraged to play in teams, which were occasionally drawn from mixed social classes, using country house lawns as part of rural fetes. Some village clubs grew on the edge of cricket fields and men occasionally joined in, usually with one hand tied behind their backs. Small county organizations emerged, but most competitions took place between neighboring villages.

It would probably have remained very localized had it not attracted the attention of an eccentric lawyer, country landowner, and part-time soldier, William W. Grantham of Sussex, who saw in it both a means of reviving a local patriotism threatened by social and cultural changes and a means of helping wounded soldiers recuperate in preparation for returning to the trenches of World War I. He organized hospital teams between patients and nurses and used his aristocratic connections ruthlessly to develop it as a fund-raiser for veterans' charities. For some years it was even played in the grounds of Buckingham Palace, when the royal family was away. Grantham had it filmed and broadcasted, and took sets on his travels round the world. Reduced versions were played on ocean liners and scratch teams were formed wherever he turned up, in Geneva, Iceland, and the United States amongst others. He developed strong links with Japanese diplomats in 1930s London, who formed their own teams; and he made the mistake of seeing it as a means of generating international friendship to head off a Pacific war. Tireless as he was, Grantham made two serious mistakes in his attempts to revive stoolball as a national game. He used the game to promote a rather dotty revival of "Merrie England," in which male players such as he played wearing idealized peasant costumes, opening the game to ridicule. Much worse, he alienated the social matriarchs, who regarded it as essentially a women's game and found him autocratic.

The real popularity of stoolball after 1920 lay with local women's organizations, since it was offered as a game for virtually all ages and as a refuge from male interference. By the 1930s there were around one thousand clubs scattered throughout England, but the battle for control was fought out in the southeast of its roots. In 1923 Grantham formed a Stoolball Association of Great Britain, but it was male-dominated, and women in local federations fought shy of it, even pushing Grantham out of his own county federation. They did not, however, bother to found a rival national organization, leaving Grantham to flounder on; when he died in 1942 his creation died with him.

England's postwar revival saw stoolball reemerge rather more quietly. Most of the international dimension had gone but the game was still played occasionally in schools throughout the country as part of a diet of physical recreation. The main focus was in local clubs and leagues in southeastern England, some village-based, others attached to employers as distinctive as banks and food factories. At the end of the twentieth century mini stoolball was introduced for children and an indoor version was developed to allow year-round play.

The Future

In the late 1970s a new National Stoolball Association emerged, dealing largely with the southeast and some two hundred clubs—though many more clubs remained without affiliation, and do so to this day. One major difficulty continues; the new association recognizes the major changes that have taken place in both sporting practice and alternative attractions for young women, so it allows mixed teams. Some of the older members will not countenance this and insist on playing all-female teams, nor will they accept a change in catch rules. The memory of Grantham lives on as disagreement about gender-specific play thrives. Nonetheless, it remains as a much-loved amateur game primarily for women, as important a symbol of the English summer locally as cricket is for men.

John Lowerson

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Rowing

Rowing is the method of propelling a boat across water along a set course, involving the use of the whole body to work a pivoted oar, with various combinations of participants in the boat. Its geographical spread is only limited by access to suitable water and extends across the world, reflecting the sport's distant origins as a means of transport.

History

Much of the history of rowing is uncertain; there are next to no reliable written records before about 1800, and even after that date, professional secrecy meant that much information was never passed on. The activity of paddling a boat as a means of transportation reaches back to Egypt and must predate the appearance of the first sails, that is, around 3500 BCE. Boat construction, rowing instead of paddling, and different uses for rowing boats, such as troop, cargo, and passenger transport, developed in many ways in a wide variety of locations. Probably the most noteworthy contributors to the development of rowing were the Athenians of the fifth century BCE, and the Vikings between roughly 750 and 1150 CE. Both relied on ships, either rowing or sailing as conditions dictated. The Athenians developed the trireme, with three levels of oarsmen, which en-



abled the city-state to maintain its supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean from around 480 BCE. The technology was lost after the rise of Roman civilization, and only incomplete written records survived. The Vikings are notable for their wide-ranging expeditions to almost all the coasts of northern Europe, the inland seas of eastern Europe, parts of the Mediterranean, and even as far as the New World—to the popular and partially correct image of raiding parties associated with them should be added their contributions to trade and settlement. It is easy to conjecture about various informal competitions among those who made a living on a river or along a coast, but the first events on anything approaching a formal basis were Italian in the fourteenth century, hence the word *regatta*. The first recorded regatta to feature racing in England is believed to have been at Ranelagh (west of London) in 1775, although the term had for many years been used for a formal waterborne entertainment.

The Doggett's Coat and Badge was founded in 1715 by Thomas Doggett, an actor-manager, to be competed for by Thames ferrymen; still competed for annually, it is the oldest annual competition in the world.

Social Context

In many countries the first rowing was done by workmen as part of their livelihood and only “adopted” and reshaped comparatively recently. The first races were between professionals—people who made their living on the water—and once this practice died out toward the end of the nineteenth century, the sport remained amateur almost up to the present day.

COST OF EQUIPMENT

The origins of “modern” rowing in English public schools and universities immediately imparted a class bias to the sport in that country that took more than a century to recede to any great extent. Such was not the case in other nations. However, it has always been the case that the equipment to compete at the highest levels is expensive by any measure; currently, typical prices

for a top-quality eight are in the range \$20,000–\$25,000, for a single scull \$7,000–\$8,000, and a single oar approximately \$300.

The establishment of new clubs—calling for some kind of permanent structure and initial stock of boats—was and is expensive. It is therefore often the case that the most successful clubs are those with a long history that have managed to accumulate funds and boats sufficient to maintain stocks of equipment for top-class crews.

ADOPTION BY OTHER NATIONS

Although the earliest developments toward the modern version of the sport took place in England, the ideas were quickly adopted abroad; the first clubs in New York being formed in 1834, and the first college club at Yale in 1843.

The spread of the sport to other countries is a long and fascinating story. The first stimulus usually came from by rowing expatriates, mostly from England and usually involved in diplomacy, trade, or the Church. Among the countries so influenced were Germany, where the first club—the English Club—was founded in Hamburg in 1830, Australia (1835), France (1838), Russia (c. 1842), India (1845), Argentina (1857), South Africa and New Zealand (1861), and Japan (1866).

Evolution and Development of Construction and Materials

Although many types of boats have been and still are rowed on rivers, seas, and lakes, four specific developments produced what is now immediately recognizable as a racing boat. All four changes occurred during the nineteenth century and were the results of intense research and experiment.

BOAT DESIGN

Because the oar has to pivot about a fixed point, the most effective arrangement is for the portion of the oar on the rower's side of the pivot to be about 30 percent of the total length. It had always been the case that the



Rowing

Shakespeare on Rowing

THE TEMPEST, ACT II. SCENE I.

Fran. Sir he may live,

I saw him beate the surges under him

And ride upon their backes; he trod the water

Whose enmity he flung aside: and brested

The surge most swolne that met him: his bold
head

'Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oared

Himselfe with his good armes in lusty stroke

To th' shore; that ore his wave-worne basis
bowed

As stooping to releeve him: I not doubt

He came alive to land.

Source: Peek, H. (Ed.). (1901). *The Poetry of Sport* (p. 48). London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

pivot (the fixed, rigid oarlock) was mounted on the side (thwart) of the boat, but the development of a metal arm fixed to the side of a boat to hold the pivot meant that the hull width could be reduced.

The next logical development was the sliding seat. With a fixed seat the stroke length is determined by the rower's ability to bend the upper body forward and backward while keeping the lower body fixed. It was obvious to the earliest rowers that the ability to somehow move the seat by flexing the legs would extend the length of the effective stroke in the water; the Athenians sat on fleeces that allowed a certain amount of sliding movement along their fixed seats. The first fully sliding seat was devised in Chicago in 1857—as now, it involved small wheels fixed to the underside of a seat, traveling in metal grooves.

These two changes naturally produced a longer and much narrower boat than previously, at the same time calling for a much-changed rowing technique to gain the maximum benefits. The least noticeable of the four developments (c. 1870) was to turn the fixed oarlock open at the top into a swiveling “gate,” with a lockable

mechanism to keep the oar in place; this gate is able to move around a vertical pin to allow maximum reach forward and backward.

Finally, the removal of the keel made for a much smoother hull shape at the cost of a loss of stability—the result being a gradual modification from a rounded to a V-shaped cross section.

These developments were specific to rowing; other general boat-building techniques were also adopted—smooth (carvel) replaced overlapping (clinker) construction, and internal load-bearing frameworks permitted thinner hulls. As with all waterborne craft, the precise design of any hull is a compromise between speed, weight distribution and stability, and manufacturers are continually seeking a “good” compromise for the mass market while being able to offer boats individually tailored to specific requirements.

The most recent stage of development has involved plastics and carbon fiber to provide—according to the specific use—greater strength and/or lower weight.

OARS

Oars underwent a later but equally remarkable series of changes. The traditional shape of the spoon (the part going through the water) had always been “pencil” or “barrel” shape—that is, long and thin. The oarloom (the long, thin section connecting handle and spoon) had to be comparatively thick to bear the stresses, but this implied extra weight and hindered boat speed by creating turbulence next to the spoon. Over the space of some twenty years beginning around 1950, spoons became broader and shorter, to reach the approximate proportions of a shield (Macon pattern) and then the wooden loom began to be reinforced with carbon fiber, until the wooden blade was finally abandoned. The next development in spoon shape, beginning during the 1980s, was the “meat cleaver”; approximately a broad rectangle, this specific, modern spoon shape is offset on the oarloom with the double result that only the effective part of the oar is in the water and greater effort can be applied at the start of the stroke.



A female rowing team in Dorset, UK.

Source: istockphoto/Gards.

The introduction of lightweight classifications to the Olympic program has provided a stimulus in many countries; the maximum weights permitted are men: 72.5 kilograms individual, 70 kilograms crew average; women: 59 and 57 kilograms, respectively.

Across the four groups of events raced at world championships, there are a total of twenty-four events; men race all eight boats, women and lightweight men do not race in coxed pairs or coxed fours, and lightweight women race the three sculling events and the coxless pair. From this list fourteen events are offered at Olympic regattas.

TECHNIQUE AND STEERING

In a sculling boat, each member of the crew has two oars, and each oar is pulled and controlled by a single hand and arm. In a rowing (sometimes called “sweep”) boat, one oar per crew member—with

both hands controlling—allows a greater pull but requires rather more concentration on the balance of the boat as the action is asymmetric.

The coxswain can sit either upright facing the rearmost rower (Stroke) or lie down in a small compartment between the bow of the boat and the leading rower (Bow). For the coxless boat, steering is achieved by the designated person looking over his or her shoulder at the end of the stroke and taking action by adjusting the amount of power delivered by the blade or blades; this action is generally preferred over the alternative of a movable footplate pulling rudder lines. On a straight course all that is necessary is to maintain a position midway between the two lines of buoys marking the lane.

Nature of the Sport

There are eight boat types in regular use, although pressure from Olympic authorities to reduce the size of the Olympic Regatta has resulted in a number falling-out of general favor since 1996: Single Scull (abbreviated 1x); Coxless Pair (2-); Coxed Pair (2+); Double Scull (2x); Coxless Four (4-); Coxed Four (4+); Quadruple Scull (4x); and Eight (8o).

EVENTS AND WEIGHT CLASSIFICATIONS

Events may be offered for men, women, and mixed crews, for age groups such as Juniors (under eighteen) and Veterans/Masters (over twenty-seven), which are further classified by age.



A boat without a coxswain will go faster than the equivalent with, but there is a benefit from the input of someone with a view of the course ahead and a prepared race plan, and steering in this situation—especially on a winding course—is much easier and more precise.

BOAT HANDLING

Each boat type has its handling characteristics due to the weight distribution of the crew, the point in the stroke cycle at which maximum power can be applied and buoyancy requirements. Handling characteristics can be further modified by the hull profile and—for the four- and eight-oar boats—the amount of torque generated at certain points in the cycle that gives a slight side-to-side “wobble.” To reduce the effects of torque, it is quite usual to see arrangements where two consecutive oars appear on the same side instead of in the more usual alternating scheme.

Racing

The first racing distances were by mutual agreement—between landmarks and for one race only. The usual distance appears to have been a number of miles (the distance for the Doggett’s, referred to earlier, is approximately 5 miles [8 kilometers], from “London Bridge to Chelsea”). The practicalities of a regatta, involving a number of races over the same course within a day or an afternoon, would have forced adoption of a much shorter distance. Local—river—regattas now typically vary between 500 meters and 1,500 meters and have two or three boats racing abreast. The increasing popularity and availability of the multilane, international-standard 2,000-meter course, with facilities for six abreast, has drawn top-level domestic competition away from the smaller venues.

Women compete over the same distances as men. Juniors are usually restricted to a maximum of 1,000 meters.

TACTICS AND PROBLEMS

At the highest levels of competition, over 2,000 meters, given that boats are so closely matched, racing tactics are

a trade-off between strength and stamina, coupled with a strong element of psychology. The classic race-winning strategy is to start strongly enough to take a lead well within the first thirty to forty-five seconds—certainly by the 250 meter mark—and stay sufficiently clear of the opposition to be able to match any increases in their speed all the way down the course. This requires a well-drilled crew with sufficient reserves of energy to last the full distance—it is far from unknown for a crew to lead to 1,500 meters or even 1,750 meters but be overhauled when their reserves prove to fall slightly short.

There are other complicating factors that may come into play. If conditions are windy, not only will the water surface be choppy, requiring concentration to be diverted to keeping the oarblade clear of the water on the return cycle, but the balance may well be affected as the boat is blown about. A headwind will slow forward progress and add a variable amount of extra time to a carefully planned expenditure of energy.

If there is one crew leading and a chasing group in close touch, members of the latter are often able to use each other as pacemakers and wear down the leading crew by a number of attacks at different points, usually leading to a blanket finish.

OTHER RACES

The other widespread type of event is the processional or “head of the river” format. This is a time trial, with competing crews given a rolling start, ten to thirty seconds apart, depending on the course, conditions, and skill levels involved. As “head” courses are significantly longer than those for regattas—typically being between 5–10 kilometers, but often much longer—overtaking will frequently occur, offering crews a chance to react to a challenge and raise the level of their performance.

In this type of race, a new set of abilities is called for, primarily stamina and sustained concentration. The concept was the brainchild of Steve Fairbairn, an Australian coaching in England, who wished to create an event to encourage winter training, against the pattern of training and racing between May and September only. The Head of the River Race, on the Thames



Rowing

Rowing in the South Pacific

The rowing races are the most beautiful and exciting. What zeal among the rowers, as if it were the most important thing in the world. The canoes come rushing along in a line. Quick as lightning the oars dip into the water. From the mouth of the crew is heard incessantly the “iefot, iefot.” The spectators on the shore shriek, run up and down, and express their opinion about the individual canoes. When the first canoe has reached the goal, the people lift the oars, and the steersman cries “ieko,” which everybody answers with “o.” One day from the veranda of my house I watched a rowing race by my Christians. Two canoes tipped over, and the whole crew fell into the water; the third one went on calmly, without bothering about the victims. But the latter knew how to help themselves. They turned the canoes over and emptied them by pushing them back and forth; then they climbed in and came to the shore, greeted with howling laughter.

They also have many sayings which they shout at the opponent during the contest in order to provoke him. Thus, they say during a sailing race:

Wotama wotam
Sail only onward, only onward,
Wodedotok fan i ebäb.
Straight ahead under the canoe house.
Sön nan fan?
Who is there below?
Uan nimo[unknown]ö bi.
The canoe of the sand eater.

Here the opponent, whose canoe lags behind on account of his clumsiness, is mockingly called sand eater, because he scarcely seems to get away from the sand of the shore.

During a rowing race they call out:

Mei da äten, mei da sob.
Smashed is the decoration, smashed the beak,
Faben nigokop mei tere[unknown]ä[unknown]ä.
The canoe of the nigokop is roaring.

The canoe of the victor darts through the waves with such speed that it roars, and individual parts break due to the force of the pounding.

According to our views, the defeated canoe should pay something to the victor. But it is different on Truk. The victor has the honor and must pay an epilas (literally: spot) to the vanquished. That is a consolation prize for the defeat. Namely, a true Kanaka is seriously hurt if a kuf or a su is said of him, both of which means “vanquished.”

In former times women danced on the shore while the men rowed in races, in order to encourage them. Each woman naturally tried to show off in this and to impress her “lover,” which the latter’s wife did not want to permit. The jealous women insulted each other, tore each other’s hair, scratched and bit each other, until the men separated their darling wives.

Source: Bollig, P. L. (1927). *The inhabitants of the Truk Islands: Religion, life and a short grammar of a Micronesian people* (pp. 151–153). Munster i W, Germany: Aschendorff.

Tideway, was the first to be held in 1926. The longest race in Europe is an annual 160-kilometer international “Tour du Lac à la Rame, a full clockwise circuit of Lake Geneva, which generally takes from twelve to seventeen hours.

CREW CONSIDERATIONS

A major factor in racing is crew selection. Not only must competitors possess both strength and stamina,

but they must also have sufficient psychological resilience to adapt to changing circumstances during a race. In larger boats, also, individual attributes come into play. With all boats it is always the case that the lighter crew members must be toward the bow for the optimum progress through the water. At the same time, the rower in the Stroke (sternmost) position must be technically outstanding and have a good “racing brain” to set the pace for the rest of the crew. The person

It is a sublime thing to suffer and be stronger. ■ HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

behind the Stroke (usually designated “7” in an eight and “3” in a four), because his or her blade is on the opposite side, cannot see the Stroke’s blade action, so he or she must be able to pick up on body movement to transmit a reliable signal to the other rowers on that side. With this in mind, in an eight the next two to four places will be filled by the strongest individuals, and at the bow the requirement is for a “thinker” who can feed back useful criticism. Within the four the roles are less clearly defined, although the two central rowers are very much the powerhouse.

Social Rowing

While social (as opposed to competitive) rowing is a well-established feature in Europe, with annual rowing tours offered by FISA (Fédération Internationale des Sociétés d’Aviron), it should be noted that a great deal of rowing activity takes place in many other craft.

Craft embodying traditional seagoing designs can be found in regular use around almost all the coastline of Europe, and on both seaboard of the United States; although the building and rowing techniques rarely died out completely, regattas and rallies have staged a revival in the last fifteen to twenty years. Boat types tend to be restricted to a single country or region, although handicapping parameters exist to enable fair racing at large, international events.

At the same time, there has occurred a revival in old-style—sometimes rather obscure—racing craft such as the dongola (a wide, flat-bottomed rowing boat originally found in the Dongola province of the Sudan) and the randan—from the Far East—which requires two oarsmen to row with one oar each and a sculler with two blades in between them.

ERGOMETERS

There has been an explosive growth in recent years in ergometer competition. Despite a number of “rowing machines” achieving limited success over the years, the ergometer was devised in the early 1980’s as a rowing simulator for training, and thanks to its combination of a sliding seat with a heavy flywheel producing a good

approximation to a rowing action, it rapidly became very popular. Ergometers were also adopted by (non-rowing) health clubs and private individuals, and national and world championships are held annually. The machine has the obvious advantage of being usable almost anywhere, and various PC-based options permit the user to compete against others, with relative placings displayed to an audience as the “race” progresses.

Competition at the Top

The annual World Championships usually takes place in late August, although an Olympic regatta takes precedence over that year’s event, and a reduced program is offered a few weeks before the Olympics. Women’s events were introduced to the Olympics in 1976, when the standard distance for their races was 1,000 meters and moved up to the full 2,000 meters for the 1985 World Championships.

- The Olympic events are as follows:
- Men: 8o, 4-, 4x, 2-, 2x, 1x
- Women: 8o, 4x, 2-, 2x, 1x
- Lightweight Men: 4-, 2x
- Lightweight Women: 2x

There are no restrictions on the numbers of entries for the World Championships, but at the Olympics there are quotas of entries allowed for each of the fourteen events. For example, in Men’s 8o the total entry is nine crews—seven of which qualify by finishing 1 through 7 in the previous year’s World Championships, and a further two crews via a qualifying regatta some two months before the Games.

In Women’s 1x, nine qualify the previous year; a further twelve places are awarded via three continental qualification regattas for Asia, Africa, and Latin America; and the last three qualifiers come from the final qualifying event, making a total of twenty-four competitors.

REGATTA FORMAT

The typical World Championships or Olympic regatta will extend over eight days and may possibly add on a spare day to allow for poor conditions. This time frame

allows for two distinct groups of events to proceed in the sequence of heats, repechages, semifinals, and finals, with a day between each. FISA prescribes the number of races at each stage according to the total entry, and how winners are to progress to further rounds. Within the rules there is sufficient flexibility to cope with a number of days lost to the weather by, for example, rowing two days of events on the same day or arranging for an early start if the weather forecast is poor.

Team and Individual Successes

The sport has been almost completely free of cases of cheating, and although the remarkable success of Eastern Bloc crews—most notably those from East Germany—in the period 1945–1990 was undoubtedly partially due to the use of performance-enhancing drugs, it was also the result of a great deal of very thorough and imaginative research into what is now referred to as “sport science.”

The pattern of Olympic success over the years has followed three broad trends. These were echoed in the other annual competitions. The “old guard” countries—United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands—prevailed at first, although a significant factor for the first few Olympics was the difficulty of travel and so, for example, at the 1904 Olympic regatta at St. Louis, the United States and Canada were unchallenged, and in 1908 (Paris) there were no North American entries.

After the 1948 Olympics, the USSR and other Eastern Bloc countries generally prevailed, although their success tended to be in the smaller boats (the first East German success in Olympic eights was in 1976, the United States having won the event 1920–1956 and 1964).

Since the advent of doping controls and more recently the collapse of the USSR, success has been more evenly spread, with honors being shared widely, going to Australia and New Zealand as well as the European names from a century ago. A certain amount of this success is due to the diaspora of Eastern Bloc coaches who have found positions in other countries.

In women’s Olympic rowing, the first successes (1976–1988) went overwhelmingly to East Germany

and Romania; more recently other nations have come to prominence, although Romania continues to show strongly (three out of a possible six golds at Sydney 2000).

ROWING PERSONALITIES AND COMPETITORS

Famous names in other fields who enjoyed fame or success in rowing include the artists Thomas Eakins (United States) and Alfred Sisley (France), Dr. Benjamin Spock (Olympic gold in eights in 1924), and Jack and John Kelly (father and brother of Grace Kelly, competitors at Olympics 1920–1924 and 1956).

Given the extent to which each member is required to sacrifice some of their individuality to allow the crew to function as a single unit, it is perhaps not surprising that notable figures are few and far between, except in the area of single sculling—in this particular event the rivalry between Pertti Karppinen (Finland) and Peter-Michael Kolbe (Germany) in the 1970s and 1980s.

A small number of oarsmen and oarswomen have won gold at three different Olympics. Steven Redgrave (Great Britain) established a unique record by winning gold at five consecutive Games 1984–2000 (plus a bronze in 1988); his record is paralleled by Elisabeta Lipa (Romania) who over the same sequence of Games won 4 golds, 2 silvers, and 1 bronze.

Among coaches, the leading names have been Hiram Conibear (United States, from 1906), Karl Adam (East Germany, from 1952), and Thor Nilsen (Norway and Italy, from 1960).

Governing Body

Based in Lausanne, Switzerland, the international governing body FISA (Fédération Internationale des Sociétés d’Aviron), was founded by representatives from France, Switzerland, Belgium, Adriatica (now a part of Italy), and Italy in Turin, in June 1892; it is the oldest international sports federation in the Olympic movement.

Andrew Ruddle

See also Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford); Henley Regatta

I prefer rugby to soccer. I enjoy the violence in rugby, except when they start biting each other's ears off. ■ ELIZABETH TAYLOR

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Rugby

It is important to recognize the specific differences between Rugby Union and Rugby League. Rugby Union is a fifteen-a-side game played with an oval ball on a large rectangular pitch. It is a running, passing, tackling, and kicking game. Five points are awarded for a try (when a team manages to touch the ball to the ground across their opponents' goal line) and two points for the following conversion. Penalty kicks and drop goals carry a three-point tariff each. A match lasts for two halves of forty minutes, and is played between two teams comprising backs and forwards. Generally the larger and slower the player, the more likely they are to be a forward. A forward's job is to engage the opposition's forwards, win possession for the team, and provide a controlled mode of attack. The backs remain the main attacking force as they are usually the quicker runners. Backs attempt to exploit the spaces outside the forward clashes; consequently, the backs usually top the lists of try-scorers. A key rule of note in both forms of rugby is that the ball can be kicked forward but must be passed backward.

Rugby League has a similar look to Rugby Union, but there are number of significant differences between the two codes. Essentially the object of both codes is the same in terms of invasion of opposition territory; how-

ever, in Rugby League there are only thirteen men per side. There is also less distinction between forwards and backs. In terms of the practicalities of play, each team takes turns to complete a series of tackles. After each tackle, the player tackled "plays the ball" by tapping it back to a teammate. On the sixth tackle, possession reverts back to the opposition. Points are scored on a similar sliding scale to Rugby Union. Generally, Rugby League is faster than Rugby Union, with more open attacking and quick-break tactics. The use of a slightly smaller ball and the wearing of shoulder pads are a few of the more subtle differences between the codes.

Historical Development

Notably, there had been no attempt to codify generally accepted rules related to playing such games as rugby and other forms of football until the mid-nineteenth century. It was the English public schools that introduced formal practices and established codes of behavior and regulation for the form of games that they played. Initially, these rules differed from school to school, as they had been developed to suit the particular area on which the game itself was played. The codification of the sport into generally accepted norms of play was a key element in its development. More generally there was an ongoing process of the adaptation of traditional, folk modes of play into newer, more organized forms, as it was seen as a priority to attempt to regulate the increasingly violent behavior of players on the field-of play. As the game played at Rugby School grew in popularity throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, specific regional differences related to the interpretation of amateurism, although slight, began to develop. During this period, the Rugby Football Union (RFU, also referred to as Rugby Union) was formed in 1871 to act as the steward of the development of the sport in England. Initially, all of the rugby authorities in Britain sought to preserve the amateur ethos and its associated values of fraternity, innocence, fair play, and gentlemanly conduct as core values within the sport. However, to suggest that there was consistency or consensus in the stance taken by the governing

bodies related to amateurism and player eligibility would be incorrect.

Power Struggles

The RFU's fear of working-class domination of the game was heightened by the growing success of northern teams on the pitch in the 1880s and early 1890s. There was a general fear that if the southern amateurs at the RFU could not hold their own against the northern working-class players on the field of play, then southern control of the game would inevitably come into question. This would in turn have fundamental and possibly terminal implications for the amateur code. The constant RFU search for "veiled professionals" put pressure on many clubs. Indeed, the clubs that relied on regular matches and a high attendance for their income had difficulty in reconciling that dynamic with the policy of the governing authorities. Survival in such an unstable and uncertain environment was a pressing issue for many clubs. Broken time acted as "opportunity cost" payments and was seen by the northern clubs as a measure solely to benefit working-class players by ensuring that they would not suffer financially from their involvement in the game. Crucially, the northern clubs attempted to provide assurances that the nature of the game would remain true to the amateur principles.

Such notions, and the attendant uncertainty of the volatile industrial climate of the early 1890s, were viewed by some as inflammatory. The establishment of a governing body to act on behalf of the northern clubs began a process of differentiation and divergence that was to come to a head in 1895. The RFU clearly began to view the Northern Union (NU) as an extension of working-class unrest. The response of the RFU to the northern proposals was unambiguous. Arthur Budd, who was later to become the president of the RFU, stated, "If blind enthusiasts of working men's clubs insist on introducing professionalism, there can be but one result—disunion" (Delaney 1993).

It can be argued that the tensions giving rise to the subsequent split were directly related to the struggle for control of the sport, rather than the issue of pay-

ments to players. The RFU soon drew up a list of activities that they viewed as protecting the amateur ethos. Seventeen specific acts were listed, whereby any player contravening such regulations would have violated the amateur code and would be banned from the Union game. In doing so, the RFU had forced the issue with battle lines effectively being drawn between the two rugby codes. Whilst there has undoubtedly been a process of diffusion and democratization downward within society, Rugby Union (particularly in the United Kingdom) since 1895 has developed under predominantly middle-class control. This was especially the case regarding the majority of administrators and participants. However, the working-class players in the north of England happily left the southern administrators to their own devices amid bitterness and recrimination. The Northern Union developed separately in an openly professional manner and became known as the Rugby League in 1922. From this point on the positions of the two different codes became increasingly entrenched.

Transition and Structural Uncertainty

Immediately following the split of 1895, Rugby Union experienced a period of waning support and as spectator numbers declined so did the sport's finances. During the interwar years there was a general growth in interest, which was in no small part due to the application of the amateur ethos and its associated robust yet desirable principles. The first decades of the twentieth century saw Rugby Union—playing businessmen and empire-builders travel extensively throughout the world, introducing locals to the sport and forming clubs as they went. However, the international spread of Rugby Union was not mirrored in the fortunes of Rugby League. Indeed, Rugby League became confined to a small number of nations and enjoyed only minimal growth. Clearly the two codes were now developing in very different directions. The largely passive role of the governing bodies in developing Rugby Union since the latter half of the nineteenth century is an excellent example of what occurs when a largely amateur leisure pursuit with a robust



Rugby

Trying to Understand Rugby

In his novel Very Good, Jeeves (1930), the British writer P.G. Wodehouse muses on the complexity of rugby:

Rugby football is a game I can't claim absolutely to understand in all its niceties, if you know what I mean. I can follow the broad, general principles, of course. I mean to say, I know that the main scheme is to work the ball down the field somehow and deposit it over the line at the other end and that, in order to squaleh this programme, each side is allowed to put in a certain amount of assault and battery and do things to its fellow man which, if done elsewhere, would result in 14 days without the option, coupled with some strong remarks from the Bench.

and worthy image grows into a far larger and more seriously organized concern.

The issue of gate money that accompanied the enclosure of Rugby Union grounds was something that fundamentally challenged the structure of the game as it had been originally constituted and codified. Throughout the 1980s, clubs and international unions began to benefit financially from the efforts of the players on the pitch and a distinct dynamic was in place. It would only be a matter of time before the players themselves sought some form of recompense for their efforts, which were providing profits for their clubs and Rugby Union's governing bodies. While this developmental process occurred slowly over a number of decades, the die was cast early on. Paradoxically, the hard-line attitude and approach to eligibility taken by the RFU seemed to strengthen the integrity of the amateur ethos. It became viewed as increasingly robust and worthy in part due to the associations with gentlemen amateurs well into the 1970s. Rugby Union authorities bowed to pressure from an increase in spectator numbers in the post-World War II period by

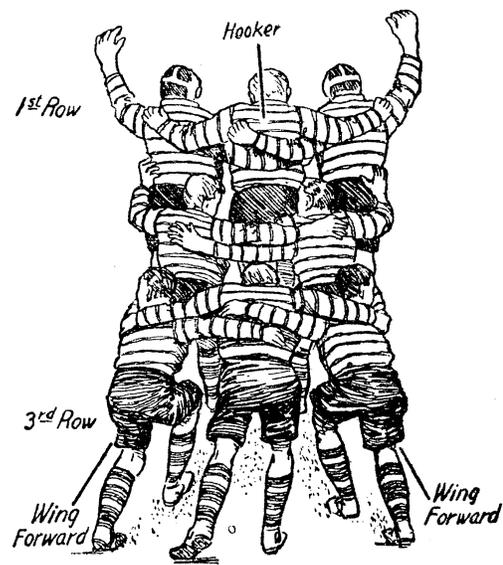
initiating rule changes that were designed to make the game more spectacular. This indicates the gradual movement away from the previously ubiquitous and all-pervasive amateur values.

These rule changes took the form of new offside laws that provided a clearer demarcation between the participating teams. Furthermore, there was greater opportunity for teams to introduce more expansive running plays and more attacking enterprise in general with penalties now having to travel ten yards, and the modification of the "knock-on" law, meaning when caught, the ball goes forward from a hand or arm and hits the ground or another player before it is regathered. Unless the defensive team gains an obvious advantage, a scrum is awarded in favor of the defensive team. Modifications to this law were particularly notable during the 1950s. In part they related to enforcing the laws more tightly. This was likely to open out the field of play for the backs, by involving the forwards in a scrum. It was hoped by governing bodies that this would in turn lead to more expansive and exciting tactical opportunities. When coupled with the added incentive of the try now being worth four points instead of three, tactics and strategic planning became increasingly important. These changes allowed the game to develop into a more dynamic sporting event throughout the 1950s, which was reflected in a growth in both spectatorship and participation. Despite the expansion of revenues resulting from the growth in spectacle and popularity, Rugby Union became relatively stagnant in terms of equality of competition. A number of meaningless fixtures and one-sided results led to calls from many players and the media for centrally organized, national leagues. Given the tensions related to the issue of professionalism and payments to players, it is ironic that Rugby Union's success as a spectator sport and the increasing importance of the Five Nations on television was to transform revenues. Notably, there had remained a close relationship between Rugby Union and the media throughout the late 1970s and into the 1980s. The Five Nations championship comprised the nations within the UK (England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales)

who were joined by France. More recently this has become the Six Nations, with the inclusion of Italy. Alongside the southern hemisphere tri-nations series (involving Australia, New Zealand, South Africa), the Six Nations championship is the most popular annual event in world rugby.

The core amateur principles, upon which so much of this success was based, have come under increasing pressure since the mid-1980s as certain high-profile players began to benefit financially from opportunities outside of the game. As the public personas of many rugby stars had been developed following their rugby activities, the governing bodies believed that they should exert a degree of control over the earnings of top players. As the move toward open professionalism became a stampede, the governing bodies of the sport struggled to maintain control particularly in the southern hemisphere dominated by New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa. Concessions to the new financial pressures have slowly changed the whole structure and bargaining position of the governing bodies. Gradual pressure was forcing a policy shift in the form of a move from player-structured to spectator-oriented amateurism. The officially stated rationale for actions taken by the governing bodies was that they were acting to preserve the validity of the amateur ethos. This approach of the governing bodies did little to enhance their position or image as guardians of the sport.

For Rugby League, development was slow and largely confined to their traditional regions. Certainly, the fact that the majority of Rugby League players were working class hindered efforts at international diffusion. Whereas Rugby Union began to spread relatively quickly, Rugby League had neither the means nor the message to replicate such developments. Consequently, Rugby League has never attracted the same diversity and extent of funding as Rugby Union. Within Rugby Union, the almost constant pressures that were placed on the amateur philosophy were partly a result of the broad appeal that the amateur ideals had within the wider sporting society as well as society as a whole. Indeed, this appeal has allowed the governing bodies def-



Rugby players in position for a scrum.

inite, unique commercial opportunities as the game has grown in sophistication. Those authorities affiliated to the International Rugby Board (IRB) have slowly embraced expanding revenues and forms of financing, including significant television rights.

International Spread

Rugby Union's inherent popularity among the more privileged within society undoubtedly helped to diffuse the game abroad. The adherence to the philosophy of amateurism can be viewed as hindering the progress that the sport could have made whilst also maintaining its distinctiveness from Rugby League. We should remember that the sport was globally structured in commercial and professional terms at an early stage. Being able to draw upon the popularity of the sport in the former Commonwealth territories was vitally important in terms of such international growth. There are now over 120 nations affiliated to the IRB, with nations such as Argentina, Fiji, Ivory Coast, Georgia, and Samoa having recently participated in the finals of the Rugby World Cup.

During the 1980s the influence of sponsorship and the further promotion and selling of the sport was carried out in a more deliberate manner. Sponsorship of Rugby Union had only really become recognizable in a modern sense from the early 1970s. Initial deals were limited to



Rugby

Rugby in Somaliland

A ball-game is the very last kind of game one would expect to find being played by a savage uncivilized race, and yet there is a game, which might be termed hand-ball in contradistinction to foot-ball, played by the Esa and Gadabursi tribesmen, which is quite as rough a game as our Rugby football.

The game is called "Gonso," and the ball used is very similar to the ball used for cricket on board an ocean liner. There are an equal number of men on each side, and the object of the game is for the third consecutive man of the same side who handles the ball, to bounce it on the ground, and catch it on the back of his hand; if the ball fails to pass through the hands of three members of the same side, the original thrower being one of them, it is handed over to one of the opposing team to throw to one of his friend; neither the original thrower nor the second is allowed to bounce the ball, nor is it allowed to touch the ground.

The game starts by the winner of the toss going to the centre of the group of players and carefully marked by one of the opposing side who has to try to prevent him throwing the ball in the direction of one of his own side; immediately the ball is thrown there is a dash made for it, and if one of the thrower's side gets it, he has to try to pass it to any one of his

own side, who has, in his turn, to try to get away and bounce it on the ground, catching it on the back of his hand. Each time it is successfully done, it counts one, ten being the winning total, and each failure lets the opposite side in. Once the man with the ball is collared fairly, the ball must be at once handed over to the other side.

The tackling is usually very good indeed, and at times gets exceedingly rough.

It is a common sight, when a man has succeeded in bouncing the ball, to see him throw it into the air, leaping up at the same time and coming down, giving his thighs a severe smack with the palms of his hands.

Not the least amusing part of the proceedings is the amusement and interest of the spectators who crowd round, gradually drawing, in their excitement, a regular cordon round the players, who have no compunction in running headlong through them, upsetting men and boys in their endeavour to either get away and pass the ball or bounce it.

The game, so as to prevent intertribal conflict, is usually played by sides composed of the sons by mothers of the Esa tribe and sons by Gadabursi mothers, so that Esa and Gadabursi are mixed up.

Source: Drake-Brockman, R. E. (1912). *British Somaliland* (pp. 135–137). London: Hurst & Blackett, Ltd.

international or representative matches and key international tours. By the early 1980s, the main Rugby Union-playing nations in the southern hemisphere (South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand) had been operating a well-established system of illicit payments to international players, thereby circumventing the amateur ideals. The IRB unsuccessfully tried to discipline them for infractions of the amateur ethos on a number of occasions. Indeed, most Rugby Union authorities were finding ways of paying players "in kind," as nonexistent jobs and generous expenses were organized with friendly and accommodating companies. During this period there were also a number of instances of international rugby players

being employed by the game's sponsors. The sport star would be paid by the business for promotional work, while pursuing his rugby career full time. Indeed, other notable players were accepted into universities on rugby scholarships. What this period shows is the relatively ineffective position of the IRB, as they did little to halt such practices of creeping professionalism. International Rugby Board intransigence had allowed the sport to develop within its amateur parameters but the rate of change was still being stifled. What should be emphasized is that this was a relatively haphazard process with practices and structures that were pushing the limits of the amateur eligibility criteria.

It was in 1987 that the first Rugby Union World Cup was held in New Zealand. It proved so popular that there was simply no going back in terms of the open acceptance of financial structures within the sport. It is crucial to recognize that in the face of such expansion, the sport has managed to maintain its link to the image of amateurism relatively intact. Even when full professionalism was accepted by the IRB in 1995, the sport still benefited from the notion that many of the positive and desirable values associated with a century of the amateur philosophy still remained. In many ways the Rugby Union authorities seem to have enjoyed success because of their commitment to amateurism and the values associated with that philosophy. It is clear that with a degree of well-positioned marketing, the Rugby Union game and its administrators can also benefit from such associations in future. The increasingly precarious financial position of many top clubs raises concerns for Rugby Union in the medium term.

In Rugby League, the issue of cash flow was even more pronounced. Apart from Australia, where the league version of the sport remains more popular than Rugby Union, Rugby League has struggled to expand beyond its regional base. The limited success of the Rugby League World Cup series provides testament to some of the structural difficulties faced by the sport. When the Rugby League authorities in England moved the sport from winter to summer, partly to secure a lucrative television contract, this was accepted as a desperate and yet necessary measure. The additional rebranding of the sport as “Superleague” was far from universally popular and caused animosity among many in the Rugby League fraternity. However, this move has certainly secured the short-term future of the sport in the United Kingdom, especially when coupled with the growing popularity of the playoffs at the end of each Superleague season.

The Future

Despite a degree of structural uncertainty over the form that the new professional sport is likely to take, the general process of change occurring within Rugby

Union is best understood by considering the approach of the rugby authorities and the broader issues affecting the development of the sport. Even a cursory glance at the development of Rugby Union suggests that differing historical approaches by the sport’s governing bodies have clearly affected subsequent developments. While the situation in Rugby League is informative from a comparative point of view, it remains a less well-established or widely dispersed activity despite the undoubted strength and skills on display. Rugby League remains hugely popular in Australia but beyond that country and the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and France it is a largely peripheral pastime.

There is little doubt that it was necessary for Rugby Union to move on from amateurism as a core value in the development of the sport. However, future development and expansion within the Rugby Union is to some degree still dependent on the appeal of the values associated with the amateur philosophy. Rugby Union and Rugby League will enjoy closer links in future. The crossover of players, coaches, and trainers began before the acceptance of professionalism in Rugby Union, but it is only now that freedom of movement is widely accepted. How this process is managed and how the amateur ethos is applied to the playing and organization of the game at all levels remain crucial for the future of the sport.

Jonathan M. Thomas

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Russia and USSR

For much of the twentieth century, the Soviet Union dominated Olympic sport; it also pioneered a new pattern of sport with its main function being part of a program of “nation-building” as set and controlled by the state.

Soviet sport had its roots deep in Russian history, in the people’s traditions, the climate, fears about internal and external foes, the organized sports pioneered largely by Britain, the gymnastics schools of Germany (founded by Jahn), Scandinavia (Ling and Nachtegall), and the Czech lands (Tyrs), and in Prussian military training. The pattern of Soviet sport was shaped as much by these factors as by political ideals.

As an industrial society developed in nineteenth-century Russia, liberal noblemen and native industrialists, with foreigners resident in Russia, began to set up private sports clubs in the major cities. They embraced sports such as yachting (the Imperial Yacht Club, dating from 1846), ice skating (the Amateur Skating Society, 1864), fencing (the Officers’ Fencing Gymnasium, 1857), gymnastics (the Palma Gymnastics Society, 1863), and even cricket (the St. Petersburg Tennis and Cricket Club, 1868). Commercial promoters were also providing, for spectators and gamblers, such professional sports as horse racing (the St. Petersburg Horse Racing Society, 1826), boxing (Baron Kister’s English Boxing Arena, 1895), cycling (the Tsarskoye Selo Cycling Circle, 1880), and soccer (the Victoria Football Club was the first established soccer club, founded by Germans, in 1894). Various displays of strength were popular in circuses, featuring such world-famous performers as the Estonian Georgi

Russia Olympics Results

2002 Winter Olympics: 6 Gold, 6 Silver, 4 Bronze

2004 Summer Olympics: 27 Gold, 27 Silver, 38 Bronze

Hakkenschmidt and the Russian Ivan Poddubny and his wrestling wife Masha Poddubnaya.

At the turn of the century, there were several Russian sports associations and, on the eve of World War I, as many as 1,266 Russian sports clubs existed, with an average membership of sixty persons. Although many of these clubs were located in the principal Russian cities (Moscow and St. Petersburg), the industrializing provinces also accounted for a growing number of them. For example, the Ukraine had 196 sports clubs with 8,000 members, and Belorussia had 1,000 members in Sanitas, Sokol, Bogatyr, and the Jewish Maccabee sports clubs (Jews being barred from membership of many Russian and Ukrainian clubs). In 1912 the government set up its quasi-military Physical Fitness Committee under General Voyeikov, which took control of all major sports clubs. The Bolsheviks therefore would inherit a developing sports movement that was already largely centrally controlled.

Sport in Revolution

The first steps to be taken after the Bolsheviks seized power in October 1917 were by no means clear, for there was no pattern to follow. The changeover from criticism of czarist sport to action in an 80 percent peasant, illiterate country in the throes of a world war and civil war presented considerable problems.

However, the crucial question being debated was not what form sport should take, but whether competitive sport should exist at all in the new workers’ state. After all, some revolutionaries argued, sports such as track and field, soccer, rowing, tennis, and gymnastics were invented by the industrial bourgeoisie for their own diversion and as character training for their careers as captains of industry and empire. It was thought natural by some after the Russian Revolution that a new pattern of recreation would emerge, reflecting the dominant values and needs of the new socialist state.

The two main groups that regarded competitive sport as debasing workers’ physical culture and inculcating nonsocialist habits were the Hygienists and the



Russia and USSR

Key Events in Russia/Soviet Union Sports History

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1826 The St. Petersburg Horse Racing Society is founded. | 1928 The First Workers' Spartakiad is held as an alternative to the Olympics. |
| 1846 The Imperial Yacht Club is founded. | 1931 The national fitness program is designed to train people for military preparedness and work. |
| 1857 The Officers' Fencing Gymnasium is established. | 1946 The Soviet Union becomes more involved in international sports. |
| 1863 The Palma Gymnastics Society is founded. | 1951 The Soviet Olympic Committee is formed. |
| 1864 The Amateur Skating Society is founded. | 1952 The Soviet Union competes in the Summer Olympics for the first time. |
| 1868 The St. Petersburg Tennis and Cricket Club is founded. | 1956 The Soviet Union competes in the Winter Olympics for the first time. |
| 1912 The quasi-military Physical Fitness Committee is set up to control all major sports clubs. | 1980 The Summer Olympics are held in Moscow. |
| 1920 The All-Russia Pre-Olympiads and the First Central Asian Olympics are held. | 1991 With the demise of the Soviet Union, the teams of the now independent nations begin to compete separately. |
| 1925 "Physical culture" is placed under Communist Party control. | |

Proletkultists (from "proletarian culture"). To the Hygienists, sport implied competition, games that were potentially injurious to mental and physical health. These included boxing, weightlifting, wrestling, and gymnastics, which were said to encourage individualist rather than collectivist attitudes. They condemned the emphasis on record breaking and the professionalism of Western sport, and they favored noncommercialized forms of recreation that dispensed with grandstands and spectators. To the Proletkultists sports that derived from bourgeois society were remnants of the decadent past and part of degenerate bourgeois culture. A fresh start had to be made through labor exercises and mass displays, pageants and folk games. In the decade after the revolution, many factory yards and farm meadows full of muscular men and women rhythmically swinging hammers and sickles, simulating work movements in time to music, could be seen.

Essentially, however, sport during the first few years came to be geared to war needs. All the old clubs and their equipment were commandeered for the Universal Military Training Board (Vsevoluch) whose main aim

was to supply the Red Army with contingents of trained conscripts as quickly as possible. Vsevoluch took over the czarist Physical Fitness Committee and coordinated its activities with those of the education and health commissariats. A second major consideration then was health. Regular participation in physical exercise was to be a means of improving health standards rapidly and of educating people in hygiene, nutrition, and exercise. This campaign could only succeed, in the opinion of the Vsevoluch chief, Nikolai Podvoisky, if the emotional attraction of competitive sport was fully exploited.

Competitive sports began to be organized from the lowest level upward, culminating in the All-Russia Pre-Olympiads and the First Central Asian Olympics of 1920. Sports were taken from town to country, from the European metropolis to the Asiatic interior, as an explicit means of involving as many people as possible in organized sport and exercise. A third function was integration. What was significant about the First Central Asian Olympics, held in Tashkent over ten days in early October 1920, was that for the first time Central Asian

peoples, as well as Russians and other Europeans, competed in sporting events together.

Sport against the Background of Forced Industrialization

The big sports contest of the 1920s was the First Workers' Spartakiad of 1928, with some 4,000 participants, including 600 foreign (Communist) athletes from twelve countries. In view of the fact that the USSR had few contacts with international sports federations and none with the Olympic movement, this Spartakiad was intended to be a universal workers' Olympics—in opposition to the “bourgeois” Olympics held that year in Amsterdam, with roughly the same program of events. Although Soviet sports performance was understandably below top world standards, in some events the USSR did have world-class athletes. Yakov Melnikov (1894–1960), for example, had won the 5000-meter speed-skating event at the Stockholm World Championships in 1923.

In 1925 the Communist Party made clear its views on “physical culture” and took it completely under party control. Physical culture was to be an inseparable part of political and cultural education and of public health. Sport was given the revolutionary role of being an agent of wide-ranging social change. Participation in sport was to develop healthy minds in healthy bodies; it stood for “clean living,” progress, good health, and rationality, and it was regarded by the party as one of the most effective instruments in implementing its social policies.

The implications for the sports movement of the economic and political processes (industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and political dictatorship) of the late 1920s–1930s were extremely important, for it was then that the organizational pattern of Soviet sport was basically formed—with sports societies, sports schools, a national fitness program, and a uniform rankings system for individual sports. The new society of the 1930s saw the flourishing of all manner of competitive sports with spectator appeal, of leagues, cups, championships, popularity polls, and cults of sporting heroes. All were designed to provide recreation and diversion

The first gold medal we [Gordeeva and husband Sergei Grinkov] had won for the Soviet Union. This one we won for each other. ■ EKATERINA GORDEEVA

for the fast-growing urban population. The big city and security forces (Dinamo) teams, with their considerable resources, dominated competition in all sports (for example, the Premier Division soccer league of 1938 contained six Dinamo teams).

The many sports parades and pageants that constituted a background to the sports contests were intended to create a “togetherness” and patriotic feeling (for the new unitary state, the USSR, overriding Russian/Armenian/Ukrainian allegiances). Significantly, sports rallies often began to accompany major political events and festivals (May Day, Anniversary of the Revolution, Constitution Day), thereby linking members of the public, through sport, with politics, the party and, of course, with their leader, Joseph Stalin.

A relatively close link was reestablished in the 1930s between sport and the military, stemming from the conviction that a state surrounded by unfriendly powers must be militarily strong. Sport openly became a means of providing premilitary training and achieving a relatively high standard of national fitness and defense. The two largest and most successful sports clubs were those run by the armed forces and the security forces: the Central House of the Red Army—later the Central Sports Club of the Army, CSKA—and Dinamo, respectively. After 1931, moreover, the national fitness program (based on Baden Powell's Boy Scout program) was expressly intended to train people, through sport, for military preparedness and work—the Russian abbreviation GTO (*Gotov k trudu i oborone*) standing for “Prepared for Work and Defense.”

Postwar Sports Competition

With the conclusion of the World War II and the setting of a new national target—to catch up and overtake the most advanced industrial powers, in sport as in all else—Soviet leaders felt it possible to demonstrate the pre-eminence of sport in Soviet socialist society. Given the limited opportunities elsewhere, sport seemed to offer a suitable medium for pursuing this goal as an area in which the USSR did not have to take second place. This aim presupposed a level of skill in a wide range of

sports superior to that existing in the leading Western states. Sport was seen as “one of the best and most comprehensible means of explaining to people throughout the world the advantages of the socialist system over capitalism.”

So, immediately after the war, Soviet sports associations established affiliations with nearly all the major international federations, and Soviet athletes competed regularly at home and abroad against foreign opposition. Soviet sport became an instrument of foreign policy, both to advertise the advantages of socialism among capitalist and the new socialist states in Eastern Europe and Asia and to influence Third World countries through the provision of assistance in building sports programs. Between 1946 and 1958, the USSR joined thirty international federations and, by 1975, as many as forty-eight. Further, 236 Soviet officials held posts in international sporting organizations in 1978.

Not only were affiliations established, but Soviet athletes also quickly achieved world dominance, often on their debut in world sport. In 1948 Botvinnik won the world chess title, and in 1949 Ludmilla Rudenko won the women’s world chess title. In 1945 the Moscow Dinamo soccer team came to Britain and played four matches without defeat against leading British clubs (Chelsea, Arsenal, Cardiff, and Glasgow Rangers). In weightlifting, wrestling, volleyball, and ice hockey, Soviet teams established a supremacy that they were to maintain.

Despite these initial successes, the USSR moved cautiously into Olympic competition. Only in April 1951 was a Soviet Olympic Committee

formed and, in May, accepted by the IOC. The USSR made its debut at the Fifteenth Summer Olympics, held in Helsinki in 1952. Soviet athletes contested all events with the exception of field hockey and, although they gained fewer gold medals than the United States (22 to 40), they gained more silver (30 to 19) and bronze (19 to 17), thereby tying with the United States in points allotted for the first six places (according to the system used in the Olympic Bulletin).

The USSR took no part in the 1952 Winter Olympics and made its winter debut in 1956 at Cortina d’Ampezzo in Italy. There it amassed most medals and points. From the debuts in 1952 and 1956, up to its final participation in Barcelona in 1991 as the Unified Team, the USSR “won” every Olympic Games with the sole exception of 1968 when it came second to Norway in the Winter Games and the United States in Summer. It also provided the most versatile performance in the Olympic Games.

The Twenty-second Olympic Games were held in Moscow from 19 July to 3 August 1980. Despite a partial boycott led by the United States over the USSR’s invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, a total of sixty-eight nations attended the games; notable absentees with the United States were West Germany and Japan. A number of national teams participated against the advice of their governments.

Post-Communist Developments

With the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, fifteen constituent union republics gained autonomy as independent nations, henceforth competing in sports competitions as



This magazine cover from the Soviet Era encourages participation in sports by men and women.



Russia and USSR

Folk Sport and Self-Determination in Tatarstan

In the extract below, the sports historian Henning Eichberg discusses the folk sports of the Tatars, an ethnic minority group in Russia:

We see a wrestler walking proudly around the arena, surrounded by thousands of spectators. He bears a sheep on his shoulders, the prize of his victory, he laughs and waves to the enthusiastic crowd. He has just won the final match in belt wrestling, the Tatar *korash*, where one puts one's girdle or towel around the waist of the opponent, tries to raise him from the ground and to throw him down on his back. After old Tatar tradition, the winner of the last fight has won the ram, which he is bearing triumphantly through the crowd, as well as an embroidered towel. And he obtains the title of a *batyr*, a Hercules, a strong man.

The triumph of the *batyr* is a central event in the springtime holiday which the Tatars call *Sabantuy*, the "ploughman's festivity." This ancient cultural event had been suppressed for generations as being "reactionary," "religious" or "separatist," anyway as "un-Sovietic." But the peoples' rising of 1989/91 brought it to life again. By the festivity, a people expressed its cultural survival. It showed that a new—and old—nation was striving for self-determination, Tatarstan. [...]

The Tatar springtime festivity includes besides *korash* wrestling: running competitions and horse races, performances of strength (as weight lifting),

jumping and several types of games. Many of the competitions have a humorous character, provoking laughter and enjoyment. They display the grotesque sides of the human body—by sack race, pole climbing, balancing on a swinging beam. These performances do not only put on stage the success, but also the failure, the stumbling, the comic and the ridiculous. Some of the dances, too, are part of the popular culture of laughter. We see a woman showing vements, which a man tries to imitate—and all burst into fun. By this sexual parody, the tensions and unbalances between the genders in Tatar patriarchy [are] displayed and exposed to common laughter.

Other dances have a more formalized and folkloristic character. This is reminiscent of the Soviet period when state ensembles demonstrated "living folk culture" by measured choreographies, theatrical pathos and reconstructed costumes. Again other performances are more sportive in character, such as parachute jump.

The Tatar *Sabantuy* festivity, as it reappeared after 1990, is, thus, compiled from many elements and different sources, often in a contradictory way. Features from modern sport and from traditional folk practice clashed and mingled—competition, dance and folkloric arrangement—national demonstration and popular joke.

Source: Eichberg, H. (1992). Traditions of the Tatar cultural minority. In L. Laine (Ed.), *Sport and cultural minorities* (pp. 282–284). Helsinki, Finland: Finnish Society for Research in Sport and Physical Education.

independent teams. All the state and trade union subsidies for erstwhile Soviet sports clubs were discontinued, and the sports system began to take on the same shape as commercialized sport in other capitalist countries. In the initial transition period, several sports that were not commercially viable, like chess and volleyball, swiftly lost ground, the top sportsmen and sportswomen went overseas to compete for the best-paying clubs in the West, and the "New Russians" (often Mafia) invested in domestic clubs that exuded the healthy odor

of sport and fitness. It is too early to predict the final contours of the new Russian sport. It is highly likely, however, that it will become an appendage of wealthier and stronger sports systems in the West, as well as developing the characteristics of sport driven by the profit motive and globalized competition.

For the newly independent states (like the Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, and Estonia), although they will not see so much success as they had when part of the mighty Soviet Union, at least they have the satisfaction of cheering



Running in the Moscow Marathon.

Source: istockphoto/barsik.

Origins

Samuel Ryder (1858–1936) was a wealthy seed merchant from St. Albans, England, who took up golf at the age of fifty and became fanatical about the game. In 1926 Ryder announced that he would present a trophy for annual competitions between Great Britain and the United States, and in June that year at Wentworth, England, a

match was held, taking advantage of the presence in England of many U.S. players who had come over to qualify for the British Open Championship. The British won the match by a margin of 9–3, but because not all members of the U.S. team were born in the United States, participants decided to view the match as “unofficial,” and no trophy was presented. After the match Ryder; the leading U.S. player, Walter Hagen (1892–1969); and the British players George Duncan and Abe Mitchell (1887–1947) decided to hold matches on a biennial basis, with the first match for the Ryder Cup taking place the next year in the United States. The famous gold trophy, which cost 250 British pounds, was produced in time for that match.

on their own teams under their own flags and national anthems. For the public at large, there is also the satisfaction of being able to pursue sports, whether as players or spectators, that are genuinely popular and not imposed by a bureaucracy in faraway Moscow.

James Riordan

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Ryder Cup

The Ryder Cup is the trophy that professional golfers have played for since 1927 in a biennial competition between the United States and Europe.

Prewar Era

The playing format initially adopted was a two-day competition with four foursomes on the first day and eight singles on the second; all matches were over thirty-six holes. Some people have suggested that when the 1927 match was played, the British had not recovered their “land legs” after the Atlantic crossing, and the U.S. team won 9½–2½. The British captain, Ted Ray, made a comment that would be repeated many times through the years when he ascribed the British failure to the superior putting of the U.S. team. The first four matches were all won by the home team, but 1937 produced the first away victory when the U.S. team won at Southport and Ainsdale.

[Golf is] a sport for liars, drinkers and cussers who like to walk two or three miles belaboring an object 1/45th their size with a loaded cane. ■ VESTA M. KELLY

1947–1977: U.S. Dominance

With Britain still suffering economic hardship after World War II, the Ryder Cup matches were resumed in 1947 largely because of the generosity of an Oregon fruit grower and canner, Robert A. Hudson, who funded the British team. The match was played at Portland, Oregon, and the U.S. team won 11–1.

In 1947 U.S. golfers adopted a points system for selecting their team; the British followed suit in 1957. The selection methods have been revised frequently through the years; the basic aim has been to reward those players who have performed most consistently during the qualifying period while leaving scope to select a few players who are clearly among the best available but have not accumulated sufficient points.

The 1949 match was closer, but even without several leading players, the U.S. team had sufficient depth to win the singles 6–2 and secure a victory. Comfortable U.S. wins in 1951 and 1955 bracketed a tight match in England at Wentworth in 1953, but in 1957 at Lindrick under the captaincy of Dai Rees (1913–1983) the British finally gained their first win since 1933, taking 6½ points in the singles and winning 7½–4½. In 1959, however, the U.S. team regained the cup with an 8½–3½ victory.

Beginning in 1961 all the matches were played over eighteen holes instead of thirty-six; in that year two sets of foursomes and singles were played, making the number of points available twenty-four, and in 1963 the match was extended to three days with two sets of four-ball matches played on the middle day. The change to eighteen-hole matches was expected to help the weaker side, the British, but nevertheless the U.S. team won from 1961 to 1967 with some ease.

The 1969 match produced the first tie in the cup's history. Eventually, all depended on the last match between Tony Jacklin (b. 1944) and Jack Nicklaus (b. 1940). In a memorable act of sportsmanship, Nicklaus conceded a 60-centimeter putt to tie the match on the last green. After the excitement of the 1969 match, however, the old pattern was reestablished, and the United States won the next four matches by good margins.

1979–Present: Continental Europe Joins In

For some time people had suggested that little point existed in continuing with such a one-sided competition. During the 1977 match the Professional Golfers Associations of the two countries discussed the possibility of including golfers from continental Europe. This inclusion was approved, and in 1981 the present format of twenty-eight matches was adopted, with two sets of foursomes on the first day, two sets of fourballs on the second day, and one set of twelve singles on the final day.

The balance of power was not immediately altered; the U.S. team won comfortably in the United States in 1979; at Walton Heath in Surrey in 1981 the United States achieved its last overwhelming victory to date with what was perhaps the strongest team it had ever fielded: Among themselves these players had amassed forty-nine major championship wins.

From 1983 onward the matches were all closely fought and highly competitive; in that year Europe came closer than ever to winning on U.S. soil, losing by only one point. Finally in 1985 in England, at the Belfry, Europe achieved its first victory in twenty-eight years, and Europe followed this victory in 1987 with its first win in the United States. Since then the cup has changed hands four times, and on three occasions the winning margin in the match has been the narrowest possible: 14½–13½.

The strict biennial pattern of the matches was broken because of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001, after which the match was postponed for a year. In 2002 Europe won 15½–12½, and in 2004 18½–9½; those results mean that since continental Europe joined the fray, the United States has won six times, and Europe has won five times, with one match tied.

The Future

The Ryder Cup has become one of the most keenly anticipated and closely fought sporting competitions between the United States and Europe. Indeed, some controversy surrounds the degree of fervor generated

among the spectators and even the participants; in one or two recent matches some players have not been shown the courtesy normally associated with golf. However, players in both continents strive to be selected for the teams; whereas the U.S. team usually has on average higher world rankings and favorites “on paper,” the Europeans sometimes appear to combine more readily into a bonded team. The Ryder Cup, as a competition that is played for prestige rather than money and that uses the gladiatorial match-play format, will continue to provide golfing excitement.

Tony Sloggett

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Sail Sports	South Africa
Sailing	South East Asian Games
Salary Caps	Spain
Scholar-Baller	Special Olympics
School Performance	Spectator Consumption Behavior
Scotland	Spectators
Senegal	Speedball
Senior Sport	Sponsorship
Sepak Takraw	Sport and National Identity
Sex and Performance	Sport as Religion
Sexual Harassment	Sport as Spectacle
Sexuality	Sport Politics
Shinty	Sport Science
Shooting	Sport Tourism
Silat	Sporting Goods Industry
Singapore	Sports Medicine
Skateboarding	Sportsmanship
Skating, Ice Figure	Sportswriting and Reporting
Skating, Ice Speed	Squash
Skating, In-line	St. Andrews
Skating, Roller	St. Moritz
Ski Jumping	Stanley Cup
Skiing, Alpine	Strength
Skiing, Cross-Country	Stress
Skiing, Freestyle	Sumo
Skiing, Water	Sumo Grand Tournament Series
Sled Dog Racing	Super Bowl
Sledding—Skeleton	Surf Lifesaving
Snowboarding	Surfing
Snowshoe Racing	Sweden
Soaring	Swimming
Soccer	Swimming, Synchronized
Social Class	Switzerland
Social Constructivism	
Social Identity	
Softball	

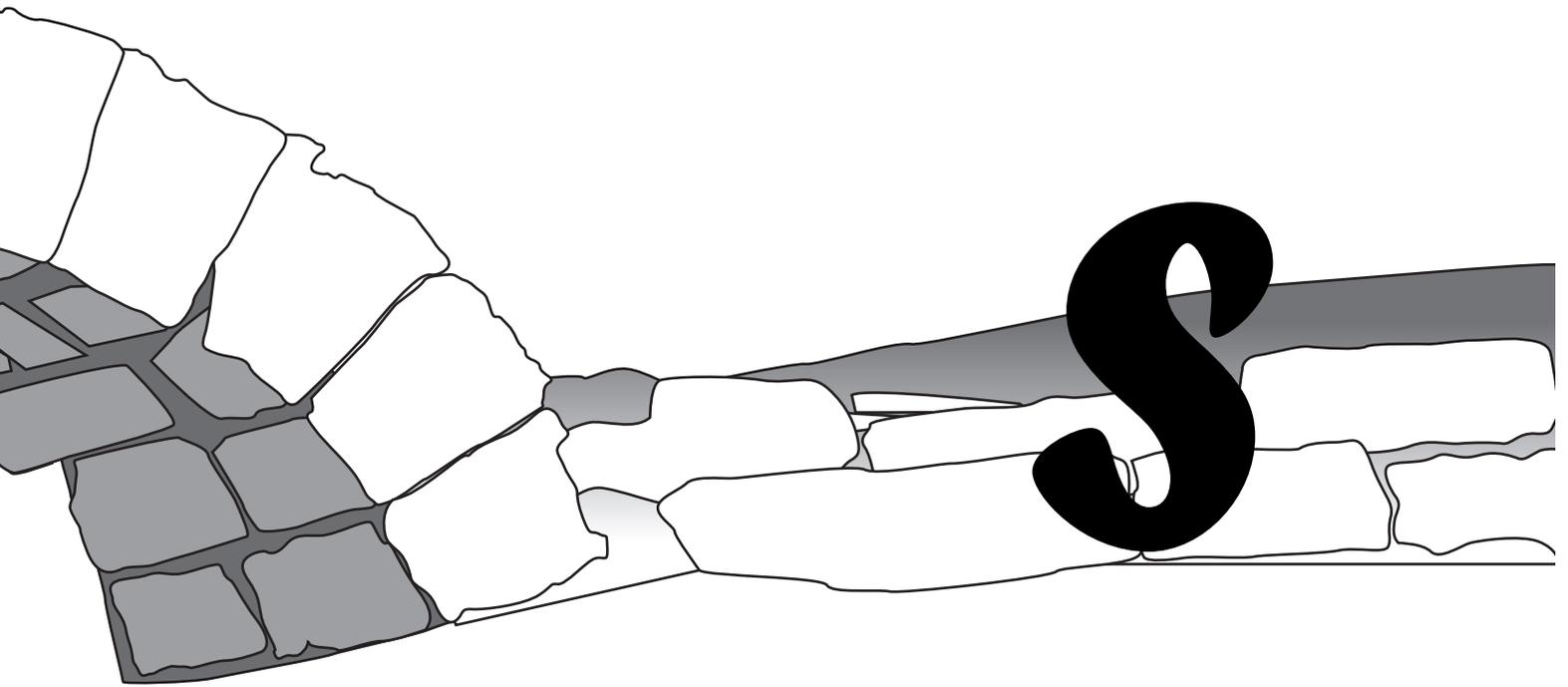
Sail Sports

Sail sports involve a wind-propelled sail that is either attached to a yacht or held by the sailor on sand, ice, water, snow, or other land surfaces. The following sail sports proliferated in the twentieth century throughout North America, Europe, and Australia:

- *Sandyachting*, which uses wind power to propel wheeled yachts on sand
- *Iceboating*, also called ice yachting, a winter sport in which iceboats are sailed on frozen lakes, rivers, or bays
- *Sailboarding*, also called boardsailing and windsurfing, which involves attaching a mast and sail to a surfboard
- *Parawing* sailing, which takes place on diverse terrain while the sailor wears various sliding or rolling devices on his feet
- *Ice skate, icewing, roller skate, and ski sailing*, which all require hand-held sails propelled by wind, a standing sailor, and special footgear

Sandyachting—Origins

Sandyachting can be traced back to sixth-century China, where the first wind-driven carriages and sail-powered chariots were developed for battle. Competitively, sandyachting began in 1898 in Belgium. Sandyachts were popular at French and Belgian beach resorts during the 1930s. Employees of the *Detroit Evening News* introduced a light, efficient yacht in the early 1960s that



revolutionized the sport. In 1975, the Windskite, a tiny yacht of tubular construction, initiated a new phase of sandyacht design. Sandyachting competitions exist in most countries where there are suitable beaches for racing: the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and Australia.

Iceboating—Origins

Modern iceboating began in eighteenth century Holland, where people sailed wind-powered boats on the ice. In the nineteenth century, iceboating was practiced in the river regions of New York and New Jersey. The Poughkeepsie, New York, Ice Yacht Club, founded in 1869, was the first formal iceboating group in the United States. In the twentieth century, iceboating gained more widespread popularity with the development of small boats that were inexpensive and portable. Designs formulated in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the 1930s made it possible to build small iceboats that were both fast and stable, known as Sketers. Among the most popular modern iceboat designs was the DN, which was created at the *Detroit News* in 1937. Iceboats are now sailed primarily in the northern regions of Europe and North America.

Sailboarding—Origins

Sailboarding was invented in California, but it grew rapidly in Holland, Germany, and France during the 1970s. Adapting the sailboard to the big waves of Hawaii, Larry Stanley developed footstraps in 1977. Footstraps, along with shorter boards, made aerial maneuvers possible and changed the sport. Harnesses were

designed to fit around the chest or hips, thereby removing strain from the arms. Sails, wetsuits, and the variety of gear associated with the sport are often quite colorful. Popular places to sailboard include Oahu, Hawaii; the Columbia River Gorge in Oregon; Lake Garda and northeast Sardinia in Italy; Brittany and the Riviera in France; the Canary Islands; the west coast of Cornwall in Great Britain; and Perth, Australia.

Parawing Sailing—Origins

German sports enthusiast Wolf Beringer invented parawing sailing in the early 1980s, when he developed the unique control system that allowed changing the angle of attack of a parafoil wing. He became a European legend with his graceful and athletic stunts, including airborne lifts, jumps, and glides, and along with other early parawing sailors, developed competition events and rules. In 1992, kite designer and builder Hans Schepler and skier George Theriault designed and produced parawings in the United States.

Skate Sailing—Origins

Ice skate sailing is a Northern European and North American winter recreation exclusively practiced outdoors in the daytime. It began in the seventeenth century, when Dutch skaters began using sharp-edged iron blades, instead of broad bone blades. The Swedish botanist and explorer Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778) sighted skaters “with sails like wings.” Skate sails in the mid-nineteenth century carried fowlers across the ice separating Denmark from Sweden, bearing the hunters to their prey. Organized races began near Stockholm in



1887. Wally van B. Claussen devised the popular Hopatcong skate sail, named for the largest lake in New Jersey, in 1917. Skate sailors on Lake George, New York, hurtled at more than 110 kilometers (70 miles) per hour in the 1930s.

Anders Ansar invented the icewing in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1973, which consists of two cloth sails, a solid top, and a rigid, curved leading edge. The icewing, a semi-rigid craft that is aerodynamically efficient, resembling the upturned tip of an airplane wing, encloses the sailor completely and represents the greatest twentieth century innovation in ice skate sailing.

Roller skate sailing dates from the 1930s in the United States but takes place internationally. The sport is versatile because many hard surfaces are suitable for roller skate sailing. Ski sailing began as early as 1917 in North America and northern Europe. A variety of sail types are used, including the kite-like American Hopatcong, the dihedral Finnish Skimbat, and the inflatable German parawing.

What Are Sail Sports?

Sandyachting uses the wind to propel a wheeled craft along a sandy surface at speeds of up to 130 kilometers (80 miles) per hour. The sail is mounted on a wheeled framework capable of carrying at least one person. Modern sandyachts are either small or large, with the same basic three-wheeled configuration. Sandyachts can sail three or four times the speed of the wind. Serious, competitive sandyacht racing occurs during the winter months in Europe, when the beaches are less crowded but invariably wet. A typical race is thirty minutes long.

Early iceboats were very basic, with crude skate-like runners, simple sails, and rigging. Some iceboats were merely conventional sailboats with runners attached. Larger and more complex boats were built in the mid-nineteenth century. Iceboats reach very high speeds, so their sailors wear helmets and other protective equipment. Iceboaters sit in a small cockpit in the hull or on a seat attached to its surface. Courses for iceboat racing are determined by the direction of the wind and are marked by buoys placed about a mile apart. Judging is

based on a combination of speed and the ability of the sailor to control the craft and follow the course as closely as possible.

Sailboarding, a mix of surfing and sailing, requires a board, rig (sail, mast, and boom), wetsuit, and wet suit booties. Some sailboards are designed for racing; competitors sail these around a series of buoys in a predetermined order and direction. Rules are similar to those of sailing. Other variations are the following:

- Speed sailing
- Freestyle sailing, in which performers attempt intricate maneuvers
- Sailboard jumping, which is another branch of freestyle and sometimes competitive
- Sailing indoors, using jet engines to provide wind
- Tandem sailboards, with two or three sails and sailors

Parawing sailing provides a highly maneuverable way for people to sail on land during all seasons. The sailor uses the parawing as a sail for propulsion, converting the pull and “lift” of the wing to forward motion. The parawing consists of a ram-air inflatable soft-fabric wing attached by multiple lines to a control bar held by the sailor and sometimes attached to the sailor by a quick-release snap swivel and body harness. Parawings are sailed:

- Over snow or ice with the sailor wearing skis or skates
- Over sand beaches or salt flats with the sailor wearing land or sand skis or foot-steered “buggies”
- Over paved surfaces with the sailor wearing in-line skates
- Over turf with the sailor using grass skis, buggies, or various roller devices

Parawing sailing appeals to many age groups and can be adapted to various skill levels.

Ice skate sailors stand erect, wear ice skates on their feet, and hold sails with their hands and shoulders. They sail round trips, reaching speeds than more double the true wind velocity. Ice skate sailing requires smooth, thick, snow-free ice occupying at least ten acres, and steady winds. Frozen lakes, ponds, and reservoirs lend themselves to the sport, as do icy estu-

aries and the Baltic Sea. Stiff, high boots provide warmth and ankle maneuverability. The sport appeals to male and female skaters of all ages, who must be capable of skating without extending their arms. Flat, sharp, long blades on the ice skates minimize sideslipping and lend stability over rough ice or at high speeds. The shapes of many contemporary skate sails resemble parallel trapeziums.

The icewing sailor also wears ice skates and sails on frozen lakes. Entering an icewing requires assistance because the craft lacks any opening except the bottom. Once a helper has placed the icewing over the squatting sailor, who faces into the wind, the sailor rises to his feet and steers by maneuvering a horizontal control bar located at waist height. Icewing sailors can move four times faster than the true wind speed.

Most roller-skate sailors wear in-line skates with plastic wheels, smooth bearings, and rigid boots, and usually sail on paved lots and rural roads. Hopalong skate sails, which are often homemade and are popular in the eastern United States, can be used with roller skates. Triangular roller-skate sails are popular in California.

Ski sailors wear downhill skis and Alpine boots. Ski sailing requires a faster wind and a larger sail than ice skate sailing. Wind-packed snow 5 centimeters (2 inches) thick offers an ideal surface for fast ski sailing. Loose, deep snow reduces speed, and a hard, icy surface affords too little traction. Snow-covered fields and golf courses offer large suitable areas for ski sailing. Some ski sailors combine high speeds with horizontal leaps from platforms made of snow.

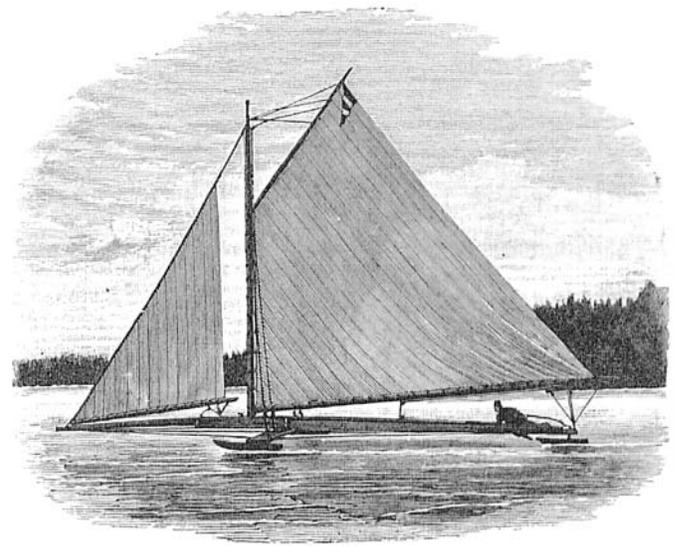
Competition at the Top

The International Land and Sandyachting Federation (FISLY) was formed in 1962 with representatives from France, Germany, Belgium, and Great Britain. The first official European sandyachting championships were held in 1963, with all yachts racing together in an open class. The fleet was subdivided in 1965 into three classes according to sail size. The speed record for a landyacht is 152.13 kilometers (94.55 miles) per hour, set by Frenchman Bertrand Lambert in May 1991.

Important iceboating championships include the Hearst Cup, the Ice Yacht Pennant, and the Ford Cup. Ice sailors compete in local and regional races and in national and international championships, called regattas. Some races are open to all boats with similar sail sizes. One-design events are limited to a specific type of boat. The National Iceboat Authority establishes basic racing guidelines in the United States.

Olympic sailboarding began in the Los Angeles Summer Games in 1984, with thirty-eight countries participating. The board chosen was the Windglider, and events were held for both women and men. Another major sailboarding competition is the Pan Am Cup, sailed off the Hawaiian island of Oahu. It has three competitions: races around triangle-shaped courses, a long distance race of 20 miles, and ins-and-outs (sailing back and forth through surf). Sailboards earned the world speed record for all forms of sailing craft when Eric Beale of Great Britain achieved a speed of 76 kilometers (47 miles) per hour in November 1988 at les Saintes Maries de la Mer.

The World Ice and Snow Sailing Association divides its ice sailing competitions into three classes: open class (sailboard class), hand-held sails (free-sail class), and



The "Icicle" for ice sailing.

kites (such as parawings). In the world of icewing competitions, national icewing races take place annually, often near Stockholm on the Baltic Sea.

Governing Bodies

Overseeing organizations include: International DN Ice Yacht Racing Association (www.sailingsource.com/ice); International Land and Sand yachting Federation (FISLY) (www.fisly.org); International Sailing Federation (www.sailing.org); International Windsurfing Association (www.internationalwindsurfing.com); Australian Windsurfing Association (www.windsurfing.org); New Zealand Windsurfing Association (www.winzurf.co.nz/windsurf/nzwa/nzwa0000.htm); United States Windsurfing Association (www.uswindsurfing.org); and World Ice and Snow Sailing Association (www.wissa.org).

*Richard Friary, A. R. Parr,
Shirley H. M. Reekie, George Theriault,
John Townes, and Robin O'Sullivan*

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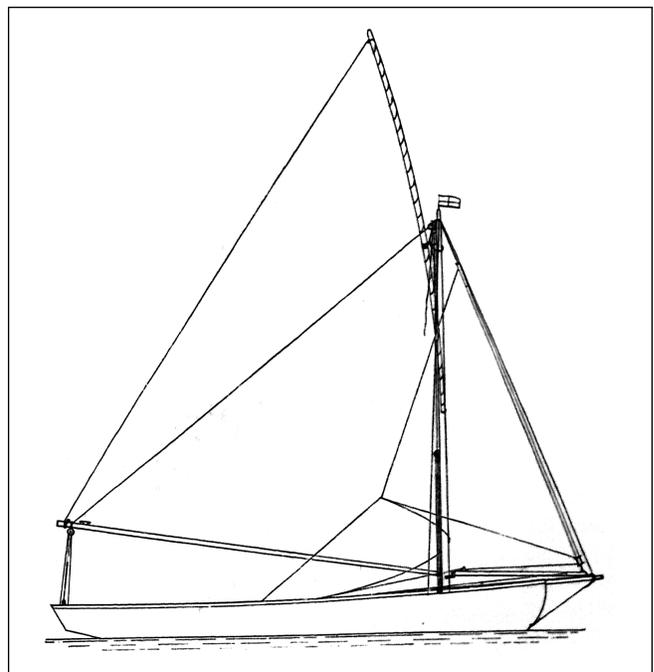
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**“Mosquito” with roll foresail,
designed in 1892.**

Sailing

Sailing is a way of moving across water by using wind to power sails on a boat. People likely invented sailing in a variety of forms across the world. Sailing first became a sport of the wealthy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It developed rapidly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, branching out into various forms. Some sailors choose the competitiveness of racing, and others choose the freedom of cruising.

Today larger sailing boats can remain at sea for months, but many people sail smaller day boats, or dinghies, on lakes or close to the seashore. Mass production and use of new materials, such as fiberglass, have brought the price of small boats within the range of many buyers. In the Olympic Games yachting has been present continuously since 1908. Sailing is a sport in which women can compete against men and in which young and old and people with disabilities can compete. On windy days sailing is a physical challenge, but on calmer days the sport is an excellent form of relaxation.



*A ship in the harbor is safe.
But that's not what ships are
built for.* ■ ANONYMOUS

Sailboats come in a variety of sizes, rigs (mast and sail configurations), and prices. To people outside sailing, possibly the best-known aspect of the sport is the America's Cup series of races in which extremely costly, state-of-the-art boats are used. Most sailors, however, sail smaller, much less expensive dinghies or keelboats. Sailing as a sport, being based on an ancient form of transportation, has a rich vocabulary of its own. Although sailing is usually not physically difficult, it requires an understanding of the forces and effects of wind and water. Rules are designed to keep boats from colliding with each other. A more detailed set of rules for racing has been developed to cover the closer encounters of competition. An understanding of when a boat has the right-of-way and when it must yield is crucial to safe sailboat handling.

Origins

Possibly the first type of sailboat was a simple raftlike structure from which people raised a mast on which they hung a cloth sail. Many cultures developed their own kinds of sailing craft. People of the Middle East sailed boats made of reeds about 3500 BCE and today still sail the distinctive dhows; Greeks and Romans sailed galleys about 1000 BCE; the Chinese developed the distinctive junk about 300 CE; and the Vikings sailed longboats from 700 CE. The rig gave each type of sailing boat unique and recognizable characteristics. Each sailboat was designed to work well in the prevailing conditions of wind direction and strength, number of crew members available, and locally available construction materials.

Sailing as a sport, as distinct from a mode of transportation, possibly began in the Netherlands. Many words (including *yacht*) are derived from Dutch words. During the 1660s a race took place in London between King Charles II's boat (a gift from Holland) and a boat owned by the duke of York. The first regatta (a rowing, speedboat, or sailing race or a series of such races) was organized in 1720 at the Water Club of Cork, Ireland. Sailing as a sport remained the province of the wealthy, however, until the late nineteenth century, when smaller

dinghies were built and raced. Certainly the sport had, and continues to have, patronage from the royal families of Europe and the socially prominent and wealthy families of the United States, so that the sport has always had somewhat of an aura of wealth and exclusivity. The oldest sailing club in continuous existence was founded as simply "the Yacht Club" (the first to use such terminology) in London in 1815. It received royal patronage and became known as "the Royal Yacht Club" in 1820 and "the Royal Yacht Squadron" in 1830.

Before sailboats were mass produced, each was completely unique; consequently, people developed systems of handicapping (assessing the relative winning chances of contestants) to obtain some kind of meaningful racing. The first successful system was developed in 1886 by the yacht designer Dixon Kemp. A boat's waterline length in feet was multiplied by the sail area in square feet and divided by 6,000.

In 1907 handicapping by rating was replaced by handicapping by meters, in which the handicap was determined by boat length, sail area, and a variety of other measurements. Yachts were 6-, 8-, 12-, and 15-meters. The 12-meter yachts survived to become the prototype for much of the twentieth-century America's Cup boats, and various meter classes became early Olympic classes.

Boats

Boats are made in a variety of sizes, shapes, rigs, and costs, each designed for a different purpose. People have designed boats for children as young as six to sail and race alone; children's requirements are clearly different from those of a wealthy business owner taking out clients for a day's sailing. Sailors with disabilities include people who are blind, who often have a keen sense of wind direction (and who have a sighted crew member on board), and quadriplegics, who sail in a wheelchair on board boats designed for their needs.

Regardless of differences, however, certain principles apply to all types of sailing boats. One way to understand the principles of sailing is to first examine the earliest boats and then see how modifications during the



Sailing

Rules for the N. Y. C. C. Challenge Cup of 1886

1. The canoes competing must come within the limits defined by the N.Y.C.C. rules.
2. The cup is to be held as a perpetual challenge trophy.
3. The competition is open to not more than three authorized representatives of any canoe club sailing under foreign colors, as many canoes representing the club holding the cup as the challenging club.
4. Two victories to be necessary to either win or hold the cup, the same canoes competing in each.
5. The races to be sailed on the waters of the club holding the cup.
6. Races sailed in the United States to be contested on waters in the vicinity of New York city under the auspices of the N.Y.C.C.
7. The distance sailed over in each race must not be less than eight nor more than ten miles, and within a time limit of three hours. The course to be mutually agreed upon.
8. The races must be sailed at a time mutually agreeable to the challengers and the holders of the cup; but one series of races to be sailed in any one year.
9. The N.Y.C.C. rules to govern the races.
10. The club holding the cup to be responsible to N.Y.C.C. for its safe keeping. Should it dissolve its organization, the cup will then revert to the N.Y.C.C.
11. The representatives of the holders of the cup must be selected after a series of trial races open to all members of canoe clubs in the United States. The regatta committee of the club holding the cup shall have the right to select the competitors for the international races irrespective of the result of the trial races.
12. Should the cup be won by the American contestants in the international race: First, an active member of the club holding the cup must score one victory to entitle that club to retain it. Second, if a member (or members) of any other club wins two races, his club will hold the cup. Third, should the two races be won by members of two clubs, neither being the holder of the cup, the tie will be sailed off subsequently to determine which club shall take the cup.

Source: Conditions governing the races for the N.Y.C.C. Challenge Cup. (1886, November). *Outing Magazine*, p. 171.

years have enabled sailboats to increase the range and efficiency of what can be achieved. Early boats were probably able to sail only in the direction that the wind was blowing. This direction, or point of sailing, relative to the wind is called “running.” The boat was merely blown along, and the direction of travel was wherever the wind blew. It is still a relatively slow direction to sail because although the sail is pushed along by the wind, the sail also encounters much resistance from the air in front of it. The sail works most efficiently when it is out at 90 degrees to the boat to catch maximum wind.

Through the years advances in rig design allowed sailors to sail perpendicularly across the wind. This point of sailing is called “reaching.” Although the sideways force on the boat is quite great, the boat’s hull

(body), plus the centerboard or keel (central underwater fin) and rudder (a pivoted underwater fin at the back that allows the boat to be steered) all help to redirect the sideways force of the wind into forward motion of the boat. The most efficient sail position is half out; any farther out, and the sail would luff, or flutter; any farther in, and the sail would not catch so much wind.

Eventually boats were designed to be capable of making forward progress in a direction 45 degrees to the wind. This forward progress is called “beating” or “sailing close hauled.” This term is used because the most efficient sail position is hauled in close to the boat; any farther out, and the sail would luff and lose power. Again, the boat’s resistance to going sideways enables the boat to make some forward progress and also to slip



slightly sideways (called “leeway”). No boat can sail directly into the wind because on that heading the sail would act like a flag, with wind on each side, and harness no power. Boats can, however, make indirect progress into the wind by zigzagging back and forth.

The principle of the Swiss physicist Daniel Bernoulli, which explains how airplanes are able to achieve lift, can also be used to explain how a sail works. If one imagines the sail to be like a wing, the curved surface makes air travel over it faster than over a flat surface, so that in front (or on top in an airplane) of the curved surface is fast-moving air at low pressure, whereas the other surface has slower-moving air and higher pressure. This situation gives an airplane lift and a sail forward motion.

In addition to knowing how to sail in the various directions of a run, reach, and beat (and all those in between) a sailor should know how to turn the boat around in two different ways that have crucially different components. The choice is to turn the bow (front) into the wind or to turn the stern (back) into the wind. The results may be the same, but the processes are different. When turning the bow into the wind (called “coming about” or “going about”), a time comes when the sail flutters like a flag, and only momentum allows the boat to complete its turn. In turning away from the wind (called “jibing” or “gybing”), the wind is always filling, thus propelling, the sail, first on one side and then, after the sail is forced by the wind to swing across, on the other side. Old sailing ships, such as square riggers, had to turn by this method (called “wearing ship”) because they were too heavy and slow to come about. Modern sailing boats can do either type of turn, and skippers usually choose whichever is the quicker or smaller rotation. To make the boat come about, the tiller (steering stick) is moved toward the sail side. The turn happens quite slowly, relying on the boat’s momentum. To make the jibe turn, the tiller is moved away from the sail side. The sail can swing across quickly, and unless the skipper knows what to do, jibing can put a lot of force on the boat, resulting in either damage or a capsize.

Unlike many other vehicles, a sailboat has no brake. As long as wind is in the sail, the boat will move. To slow or stop, one must angle the boat or sail so that wind power is no longer caught by the sail. This can be achieved by either turning the boat into the wind or by letting out the sail. Either way, the sail loses power as a driving force and begins to act like a flag, with the wind passing over both sides. Getting started again involves trapping wind in the sail by angling the sail more across the wind. This can be achieved by either using the tiller and rudder to turn the boat or by pushing the sail out by the boom (the pole along the foot of the sail) at an angle to the wind.

Sailing Categories

Sailing can be divided into several categories according to the type of boat and usage. All sizes of boat may be either raced or just sailed from place to place. Dinghies, considered to be day boats, usually stay close to shore. Larger boats, such as keelboats, cruisers, or ocean racers, may go far offshore.

Cruising is a nonracing branch of sailing in which larger boats, usually with sleeping accommodation, are sailed on voyages ranging from short distance to around the world. Some smaller cruisers can be trailered, but usually cruisers are kept moored at anchor or in a marina. Most cruisers have fixed keels rather than movable centerboards. Keels are heavy and give the boat much greater stability than a dinghy has. After a knockdown, or capsize, a keelboat should right itself. Cruising requires not only sailing skills, but also knowledge of navigation, anchoring, meteorology, or indeed any fixing skill needed when out of sight of land miles from outside assistance. Cruisers are usually equipped with a variety of instruments, ranging from a compass and depth sounder to sophisticated Global Positioning System (GPS) navigation aids. Because of their size and weight, cruisers have a range of devices to help the crew gain a mechanical advantage in their work. These devices include winches for hoisting sails or pulling them in and capstans or windlasses (both are types of winches) for hoisting the anchor and chain. Most cruisers also are outfitted with engines.

Cruisers usually carry a variety of sails. These sails are changed to suit the prevailing weather conditions. Generally, as the wind rises, smaller sails are used to keep the boat from being overpowered. Because cruising may include sailing at night, in fog, and on the open sea, the crew should know the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea (COLREGS). The first rules of sailing were probably developed by the ancient Romans, but the current rules were agreed to by international charter in 1972. These rules include the requirements to display and recognize appropriate lights at night, to make and understand relevant sound signals in fog or in close proximity to other boats, and to keep a good lookout at all times. Sailors must know when the burden is on them to take action to avoid other boats. Even though sailors generally understand that power gives way to sail, many situations exist where the sailboat must give way. Two examples are when the powerboat/tanker is dredging or in a narrow channel. In general, the boat with the greater maneuverability keeps out of the way of the boat with more restricted maneuverability.

Three basic right-of-way rules apply to sailboats meeting other sailboats. These rules are the opposite tack rule, the overtaking rule, and the windward rule. In order to understand these rules, one must appreciate that when a sailboat has the wind blowing over its starboard side (and thus its boom is on the port side) the

boat is said to be on “starboard tack.” A boat with the wind blowing over its port side (with its boom to starboard) is said to be on “port tack.” When boats on opposite tacks meet, the one on port tack is required to keep clear of the one on starboard tack. When one boat is overtaking another, and they are on the same tack, the overtaking boat must keep clear. When two boats meet on the same tack, the one to windward (closer to the wind, that is on the nonsail side of the other) must keep clear of the one to leeward (downwind).



A modern, racing sailboat.

Source: Stephen Matthews.

You are what you are. ■ BILL PARCELLS

Some of the most popular designs of keelboats, some for racing and some for cruising, are the Catalina 22, Contessa 32, J24, and 12 meter. Many America's Cup races of the mid- to late twentieth century were raced in the 12-meter class. The America's Cup is probably the most famous yacht race.

Ocean, or offshore, racing began in October 1866 as the result of a wager. Three boats raced across the Atlantic, from New York to the Isle of Wight, England. *Henrietta* (32.6 meters) beat *Vesta* (32 meters) and *Fleetwing* (32.3 meters) in a close race. Crews of early ocean racers were usually professional seamen, and sometimes the owner was not even on board. During the 1920s amateur sailors took over much of ocean racing, and the sport was not without controversy. Some sailors felt that racing in the open sea is too dangerous, and, as a result, ocean racing grew up as a sport somewhat removed from dinghy and inshore keelboat racing. The Offshore Racing Council (ORC), headquartered in England, organizes the sport. Ocean racers are divided into classes for racing purposes: Class I, 21–10 meters; Class II, 9.9–8.8 meters; Class III, 8.7–7.6 meters; Class IV, 7.5–7 meters; and Class V, 6.9–6.4 meters.

A 1,014-kilometer race from Newport, Rhode Island, to Bermuda was first held in 1906 and since 1924 has been held every two years (except during World War II). Since 1925 the Fastnet Race has been held on the other side of the Atlantic in years when the Bermuda Race is not held. This race starts at Cowes on the Isle of Wight, off England's south coast, goes west past Plymouth, Devon, and up to the southwest coast of Ireland. Boats there round the Fastnet Rock and lighthouse and return to finish in Plymouth for a distance of 973 kilometers. The Fastnet Race has long had a well-deserved reputation for encountering heavy weather, but during the 1970s a series of races took place in light wind. However, perhaps designers forgot too soon the potential power of the sea because in 1979, after a light-wind start, hurricane-force winds blew over the largest fleet ever assembled for the race: 303 boats. The boats were scattered all over the southern Irish Sea, and many broke apart or were dismasted

in the steep, breaking waves. Fifteen crew members lost their lives; only eighty-five boats finished. People learned many lessons about boat design, rescue operations, and life rafts from this notorious race. The Fastnet Race is one of a series of races in the Admiral's Cup, one of the premier trophies in offshore racing. The 1,013-kilometer Sydney-Hobart, Australia, race, first held in 1945, is the third major offshore race. It always starts on Boxing Day (26 December). Another major ocean race is the Transpac, or Transpacific (held every two years in the odd-numbered years), which starts in Los Angeles and finishes in Hawaii, 3,580 kilometers away. An unusual feature of this race is that the wind usually blows in the same direction as the race, making it a run across the ocean.

Sponsorship has become a major feature of offshore racing. The Volvo Ocean Race (first held in 1973 and 1974 when it was known as the Whitbread Round the World Race) is for fully crewed boats, whereas the Vendée Globe (begun in 1989) is for single-handed racing around the world. Single-handed sailing around the world began in 1895 when Joshua Slocum (1844–1909), a U.S. sea captain born in Nova Scotia, Canada, started his voyage aboard *Spray*, a 11.2-meter boat. He went counterclockwise around, making use of prevailing winds and currents, and took three years, with many stops. His book, *Sailing Alone around the World*, has become a classic in sailing literature.

Dinghies are the smallest, but most numerous, type of boats and are distinguished by having retractable centerboards. They are usually raced by one-design class, which means that all boats in the race fleet are of the same type and exactly alike. The oldest one-design centerboard dinghy class boat still raced is the 4-meter clinker-built (overlapping planks) Water Wag from Ireland. These boats date from 1887 but were redesigned in 1900 by Mamie Doyle, the daughter of the original designer. In 1897 the A Scow was designed and raced on the Great Lakes of North America, and several still race. The Seabird Half Rater, designed in 1898 but not raced until 1899, takes its name from the handicapping system then used. Continuously sailed, raced, and built



without major redesign, a fleet of more than thirty is raced at Trearddur Bay, Wales, and all bear the names of seabirds.

Some dinghies have a simple rig—one sail—but others have a mainsail (a jibsail), a spinnaker (a balloon-like sail used in front of the mast on downwind legs, often brightly colored), and even a trapeze (a device that allows crew members to hook on to a wire, stand on the edge of the boat, and lever their weight over the side to assist in keeping the boat upright in windy conditions). Some of the more modern and popular dinghies of the hundreds of classes worldwide are the Optimist, Mirror, Sunfish, 420, 5-0-5, Snipe (all one-hulled boats) and the Hobiecat 16 (a catamaran, or twin-hulled boat). Another branch of dinghy sailing is made up of restricted or development classes. Boats in these classes are definitely not like each other because, although certain restrictions apply to what may be changed, the whole point is to encourage change and development.

Racing

Several types of sailing races exist. In fleet races boats of the same type race against each other. In handicap races boats of different types race against each other. Boats may start together, have their finish times recorded, and then work out who won on handicap. Sailors may use a visible handicap in which the slower boats start first and the faster boats start last at time intervals based on their handicap; the first boat over the finish line wins. Racing may also be subdivided into fleet racing, match racing (one-on-one races, such as used in America's Cup races), and team racing (in which boats race as members of teams, instead of individually; tactics between and among teams add to the interest).

A sailboat race is overseen by a race committee who issues instructions about the start procedure, the course to be raced, the finish, and the scoring. A sailing race is unusual when compared with races in other sports because the start is with competitors (boats) in motion. The race begins with a countdown (of ten, five, or three minutes) to the start, which is signaled to the boats by flags and/or sound. During this time the boats time and

practice starts and jockey for position, each one trying to be in the most advantageous place exactly on the start line, going fast in the direction of the first buoy, when the starting signal is made. The course is predetermined and is most often triangular. It is between a series of buoys that must be rounded in an agreed-upon order and direction for a certain number of laps. The point of sailing that requires the most skill and that gives the most opportunity for individually different courses is a beat. The start line is thus usually set perpendicular to the wind, giving a beat to the first buoy. The next leg may be a reach or a run.

The rules for sailboat racing include the three basic right-of-way rules described earlier plus many others necessary for sailing at close quarters. Because the rules may seem complex and intimidating to beginning racers, officials have been attempting to simplify the rules since 1997. Rules are always revised in the year after the Olympic Games by the London-based International Yacht Racing Union (IYRU). The rules cover, for example, starting, handling an obstruction (such as a rock) and rounding buoys. Additionally, the rules include precise definitions, prohibitions on certain forms of propulsion (such as fanning or rocking), and details on penalties. For example, if a boat hits a buoy, the boat must execute a 360-degree turn (come about, then jibe or vice versa in the same direction) to give itself a time penalty before continuing. If a boat hits another boat and admits it was in the wrong, it may usually put itself right by completing a 720-degree-turn penalty.

Another unusual feature of sailing races is that usually no referee is present. In fact, a referee would not be able to see every situation anywhere on the course. Instead, all competitors are honor bound to try to sail by the rules to the best of their knowledge and ability, but if one sailor thinks another has wrongly interpreted a rule, the only remedy is to protest. This protest involves flying a small flag on board and telling the other boat of the intention to protest. Protesting is not unsportsmanlike behavior because it is the only way, after the race, to get a ruling on a situation. At the protest hearing, a committee establishes the facts from the evidence

of both parties and decides what action to take. This action can range from doing nothing to disqualifying a boat or boats.

People also sail on land and ice, but the rules for these forms of racing are completely different from those of water sailing. Speeds in land-based sailing are usually much higher than those in water-based sailing because of the lower resistance needed to go over a hard, flat surface. Top speeds for sailing on land approach 110 kilometers per hour, whereas the top speeds for sailing on water in time trials are around 70 kilometers per hour. The fastest sailing craft are sailboards and catamarans.

Women in Sailing

Superstition and folklore have long held that to have a woman on board a boat is to court disaster. In light of this and other arguments against women participating in sport of any type, perhaps one should not be surprised that women have faced difficulty gaining acceptance in some branches of sailing, notably among the larger racing yachts. Women have nevertheless long participated in sailing.

Among the first women known to have sailed were a few women pirates. Alvilda, a Goth pirate from southern Sweden, went to sea to escape an arranged marriage and took with her an all-woman crew. During the seventeenth century, because of the relative inefficiency of sailing rigs, boats of all sizes often had to be rowed, making the all-woman makeup of the crew all the more remarkable. Around the same time, off the southwest coast of England, when the men of the villages were forced into King Henry VIII's navy, women took over their fishing boats and continued to make a living for their families.

The women sailors who have received the greatest recent publicity were those assembled by the America³ Foundation to try out for an all-woman crew in the America's Cup of 1995. They were not the first women to participate in this event, however. In 1895 Hope Goddard Iselin participated in an America's Cup race. She acted as timekeeper then and also in 1899 and 1903, when the U.S. defender boat was successful every time.

Outlook

The construction of sailboats has changed greatly during the last fifty years. Before then, most boats were built of wood, and the two major methods of construction were carvel (in which planks were laid edge to edge) and clinker (in which planks were overlapped). Next came the use of marine ply, and with that, boat building began to be something that people without great woodworking skills could do. Most boats today are made of fiberglass; some are made of aluminum or cement, and a few from expensive new materials such as Kevlar. However, many people continue to think that wood looks the best. Sails, traditionally made from flax or cotton, both of which tend to rot if left wet, have also become dependent on technology. Today sails are made from Dacron or sometimes Kevlar; the lighter spinnaker sails are made from nylon or Mylar.

As a sport, sailing is enjoyed around the world, and 108 countries are affiliated with the IYRU. Until recently sailing has been a difficult sport to watch because the boats cover a wide area and sometimes take different paths to the next buoy, making it hard even for experts to know which boat is leading. As with so many other sports, television may hold the key to the sport's increased popularity. Use of microcameras mounted high in the rigging or at deck level may be part of the solution. Another solution, long fought by some people in sailing but now seemingly here to stay, may be the growth of professional sailing opportunities.

Shirley H. M. Reekie

See also America's Cup

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I really don't like talking about money. All I can say is that the Good Lord must have wanted me to have it. ■ LARRY BIRD

Salary Caps

A salary cap limits the compensation an employer may provide to its employees. In sports, a salary cap is designed to restrict salaries for teams across an entire league—ideally creating an economic environment in which every team can be assured of cost containment as well as an opportunity to compete for player services.

NBA Salary Cap

Although there had been unofficial and official salary caps in professional baseball before the 1930s, the first modern salary cap was implemented in the National Basketball Association (NBA) in 1983. Numerous NBA teams had been struggling financially in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and concern existed that teams in larger United States markets (Los Angeles, Boston, New York, Philadelphia) would be able to outspend teams in smaller markets (Utah, Indiana, Cleveland) to the point that smaller market teams would cease operations and declare bankruptcy. NBA owners and NBA players agreed to a salary system that established a team salary floor (minimum amount paid in salaries per team) and salary cap or ceiling (maximum amount paid in salaries per team). Each year the NBA owners and players determine the league salary cap based on overall league revenues.

The NBA salary cap was designed, in theory, to maintain a level salary field for every team in the league. However, given the nature of the sport of basketball, it quickly became apparent that the loss of one or two players from a twelve-player roster could radically alter the quality of a team's performance. For this reason the NBA instituted a variety of rules that allowed individual teams to circumvent the cap. Most notable of these rules was the "Larry Bird" exemption, so named because the Boston Celtics were concerned that the potential loss of Larry Bird to free agency would devastate their team. The NBA allows teams, in most cases, to resign their own potential free agents for salaries that

may exceed the designated yearly salary cap. This exception has created an environment in which teams drafting quality players typically have an advantage in future salary negotiations, as free agents can usually resign with their original team for greater compensation than they can receive from other franchises.

Under the salary cap system, NBA popularity and salaries grew tremendously in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1998, NBA owners, tired of rapidly escalating player salaries, locked out the players at the start of the season. The negotiations to end the lockout resulted in new components being added to the salary cap agreement. Not only would NBA teams have a salary cap, but also individual player salaries would be capped based on their service time in the league. Although a few prominent players such as Shaquille O'Neal and Kevin Garnett had salaries exceeding the newly established individual limits, the NBA elected to grandfather their contracts and those players can continue to exceed the maximum individual salary limits. However, for the vast majority of players individual salary ceilings cannot be exceeded.

NFL Salary Cap

The National Football League (NFL) implemented a salary cap system in 1993 in an effort to maintain competitive balance among its franchises. The NFL cap system, similar to the NBA's, has a minimum and maximum team salary and is based each year on the overall league revenues. Unlike the NBA salary system in which numerous loopholes exist to exceed the cap, the NFL cap has a "hard" ceiling that must be maintained each year.

The NFL cap can be circumvented with the use of signing bonuses. If an NFL player signs a five-year contract worth \$5 million, each year his salary will count \$1 million against the NFL team's salary cap, and the player will receive \$1 million dollars each season. Unfortunately, since NFL contracts are usually not guaranteed, the player risks not receiving all of the money if he is hurt or is terminated by the club before each year of the contract is fulfilled. For this reason players like bonuses that are paid immediately on signing the con-

tract. If the aforementioned example is augmented with a signing bonus of \$5 million on top of the \$5 million for the five year contract, the player receives \$6 million in the first year of the contract, and the team is able to allocate \$2 million a year to its salary cap total.

Since a signing bonus in the NFL must be allocated to each year's salary cap for the length of the player's contract, the use of signing bonuses to circumvent the NFL cap is not without long-term repercussions. When a player who received a signing bonus retires, is cut, or is traded, his initial signing bonus must continue to be applied to that team's yearly cap. In the 1990s the San Francisco 49ers and other teams utilized signing bonuses to pay numerous players large salaries in the hopes of winning championships. In the case of the 49ers, they were able to field successful teams in the short term, but as players retired, became injured, and so on, the team was unable to sign other players under the cap as they had "mortgaged" their future with signing bonuses in the present.

Future of Salary Caps

Although not a perfect mechanism for limiting salaries and creating competitive balance, salary caps in the NBA and NFL have helped to create an economic environment in which all teams in the league have an opportunity to compete for player services. Major League Baseball (MLB) and the National Hockey League (NHL) owners have attempted to create a salary cap system for each of their sports, but they have been rebuffed by their players associations. In 1994 MLB players went on strike to protest a potential salary cap, and in 2004 NHL owners locked out the players in the hopes of implementing one. In both instances a salary cap was not instituted. MLB owners have continued to insist that a salary cap is needed at some point in the future, despite the protests of the players. NHL owners have insisted that too many teams are losing money due to high player salaries, and in February 2005, the NHL cancelled its 2004–2005 season after the players' association failed to accept the NHL owners' final offer of a \$42.5 million salary cap per team. In addition nu-

merous NFL and NBA players have remarked that they do not like the current salary caps in their leagues. Given the financial climate in which owners want player cost certainty and players want to maximize their career earnings, salary caps and the fight to implement or maintain them are likely to remain important topics in sport business well into the twenty-first century.

Mark S. Nagel

See also Collective Bargaining; Revenue Sharing; Unionism

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Scholar-Baller

Historically the athletic talents of African-American male student-athletes were marketable as cultural capital only if they were founded on intellectual and academic achievement. Before formal integration, African-American male athletes were not driven by money and commercial values but used their participation in sport to gain access to educational training and earn personal recognition.

These early pioneers, who lived during a period of reconstruction and the legalized separation of human beings in society based on phenotype and skin color, have been called "scholar-baller." Scholar-baller were young men with long-term goals and pursuits beyond their



participation in athletics; they were known at their colleges for both academic and athletic achievements. William Henry Lewis (at Amherst College and Harvard University), Paul Robeson (at Rutgers University), and Ralph Bunche (at UCLA) are perfect embodiments of the African-American scholar-baller—student-athletes who successfully balance cultural elements such as family and community with athletic and academic excellence.

Despite racist attitudes during the early twentieth century, African-American college students such as Lewis, Robeson, and Bunche were heavily involved in extracurricular activities, including the student newspaper and debate teams, and became part of an in-crowd composed primarily of scholars who happened to be outstanding athletes. Though each of these men faced discrimination from his white teammates and opponents, each went on to become an accomplished athlete and the valedictorian of his class.

African-American male student-athletes are no longer expected to combine academic excellence with athletic prowess. Somewhere on the continuum between Lewis and contemporary athletes like LeBraun James and Emeka Okefor, the expectation for black male student-athletes to succeed academically gave way to today's dumb-jock stereotype.

From Scholar-Baller to Baller

There are at least three major reasons for the shift in identity from scholar-baller to baller. The first one arises from the social and historical context, the second one reflects shifts in the structural context of intercollegiate athletics and higher education's reward system, and the third reason concerns notions of occupational success for African-American males. A shift in structural and cultural factors may be signaling a return to the original scholar-baller identity for all student-athletes, particularly in higher education and revenue sports. This shift may also impact the retention and graduation rates that the NCAA Academic Reform Movement (ARM) and higher education seek to rectify.

SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

First, what has been the historical paradigm of African-Americans in sports and higher education? Academic and athletic ideology shifted for African-Americans at the height of social integration in 1954. Previously only a selected few African-American male student-athletes—who were commonly referred to as “handpicked”—would grace the playing fields. By 1970, however, African-American athletes had power on the playing field. Their numbers were increasing at all levels in basketball, football, baseball, boxing, and track and field. As the mood of the country shifted slightly toward giving blacks access to educational opportunities, coaches with an eye toward the scoreboard took advantage of open admissions policies.

STRUCTURAL CONTEXT

This shift led some to argue that African-American athletes in revenue sports were afforded a great opportunity in higher education while other, more critical observers of graduation and retention rates insisted that exploitation was the pattern and the outcome of participation in football and basketball. Some scholars have used empirical evidence to show that student-athletes in revenue sports were not unmotivated and negligent about their academic priorities but that their poor performance was rather the result of extrinsic barriers based on the current intercollegiate athletics model. While universities continue to benefit from the talent of African-American male student-athletes, the integration-without-education paradigm remains a tremendous challenge for athletes who do not perform beyond athletics.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN VISUAL LITERACY

As one scholar described the phenomenon, “In the 1970s black players enabled college football players to field exciting teams that employed daring option and pitchout plays such as the ‘I’ and the ‘veer’ which often depended on the physical skills of African-American athletes. The freer and spontaneous celebration of black

players after they scored provided almost as much entertainment as the scores themselves. The ‘Hi-Mom’ and high-fives soon embedded themselves into American culture” (Watterson 2000, 326–327).

There is an important connection between the cultural production of black athletic talents for competitive teams, the commercial ideology of big-time college athletics (football and basketball), and the early failure of faculty interinstitutional control. Some researchers have argued that black athletes are more visible to black youths than, say, black doctors or black lawyers because racial discrimination has limited black access to the full spectrum of high-prestige occupational opportunities. What are the consequences of this media bombardment of blacks in sport and entertainment rather than in education, science, or business?

RETENTION AND GRADUATION RATES

Between 1990 and 1991 nearly twice as many white athletes as African-American athletes graduated from college (52.2 percent versus 26.6 percent). Was the disparity due to social class, race, gender, or all three?

A 1997 study of African-American male student-athletes found that 1 out of 9 African-American students at predominantly white four-year institutions was an athlete. It also found that half of football and basketball players came from the lowest socioeconomic quartile; most athletes came from homes headed by women and many were first-generation college students. These athletes had to face the negative stereotypes and expectations associated with both student-athletes and men of color.

A 2003 study of over five hundred intercollegiate student athletes revealed a trend for black student athletes to choose between a strong athletic identity with a weak racial identity and a weak athletic identity with a strong racial identity. Unlike African-American scholar-ballerers of the past who excelled in both sports and academics, the majority of modern black student-athletes choose between academia and athleticism and rarely focus on both.

African-American male student-athletes are showcased as commodities on college campuses. While the median enrollment of African-American students at Division I universities is approximately 4 percent, blacks represent 12 percent of the student-athlete population (the overall population of blacks in the United States is 13 percent). As one researcher put it, “The problem is not that Blacks are overrepresented in college athletics, the problem is that African-American students are underrepresented in college” (Sellers 2000). The NCAA reported in 1995 that roughly 1 out of 9 African-American males on Division I campuses were scholarship athletes, compared to a ratio of 1 out of 50 for white males.

A 2003 survey by the American Football Coaches Association (AFCA) found interesting differences based on race and ethnicity. The purpose of the survey was to provide information to college administrators and coaches to help them better understand college football players. Responses were received from 5,474 football players from sixty-six teams and represented a cross-section of the Division I-A membership. Here is a summary of some key findings:

- When asked who influenced them most in making their decision on which university to attend, 43 percent of white Americans said it was their father. Among African-American players, the mother had the greatest influence, 32 percent, with the father at 25 percent.
- Earning a degree is foremost on the minds of today’s college football players. When asked the importance of graduating from college, 95 percent, regardless of race or ethnicity, said it was very important.
- White American athletes earned higher GPAs than African-Americans. Forty-one percent of white American players and 14 percent of African-American players earned a GPA of 3.0 or better, while 25 percent of white American players and 53 percent of African-American players registered a GPA of 2.5 or less. The relationship was similar for high school GPAs. Respondents from a two-parent family registered higher

He who stops being better stops being good. ■ OLIVER CROMWELL

high school and college GPAs than those who lived with one parent or with others.

- When asked why they play college football, respondents reported the following:
 1. In 2002, 60 percent said enjoyment of the game, 15 percent necessity of aid for education, and 19 percent opportunity for a professional career;
 2. In 1996, 66 percent said enjoyment of the game, 15 percent necessity of aid for education, and 15 percent opportunity for a professional career;
 3. In 1991, 65 percent said enjoyment of the game, 20 percent necessity of aid for education, and 11 percent opportunity for professional career;
 4. In 1986, 72 percent said enjoyment of the game, 16 percent necessity of aid for education, and 9 percent opportunity for a professional career.

Recommendations for improving the future of African-American male student-athletes include eliminating athletic scholarships, removing athletics from the university structure, and paying student-athletes. However, this data suggests that these recommendations might exacerbate the situation of athletes who already suffer from disparities of income and social class, family support, and educational and racial perceptions, as well as from the impact of popular stereotypes.

An experiment at Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona, is attempting to solve these problems by working within the system.

Scholar-Baller: ASU Case Study

Major Division I college football brings to mind sell-out crowds, great athletes, lots of money, and hard work in the weight room and on the football field. Competing in the classroom at the highest level is never part of the image. However, in classrooms at Arizona State University, the scholar-baller paradigm is challenging Sun Devil football student-athletes to tap into the same competitive fire that makes them great athletes.

In urban hip hop vernacular, a “baller” is someone who excels in a given activity (for example, sports or earning money). A baller competes for the highest prize

and wins. At ASU the academic support staff and football coaches work together to set high standards for the performance of football student-athletes in the classroom.

The term “scholar-baller” was coined in 1996 by C. Keith Harrison, director of the Paul Robeson Research Center for Leadership, Academic and Athletic Prowess at ASU, and the implementation of the scholar-baller program has been a collaborative effort of Harrison, Jean Boyd, assistant athletic director for student-athlete development, and Dirk Koetter, head football coach. The implementation involves rewarding ASU footballers in several ways for their academic success:

- The football team is divided into academic teams that compete against each other in the spring semester, with the winners earning scholar-baller sweat suits.
- Scholar-baller awards (such as T-shirts and backpacks) recognizing a GPA of 3.0 and above by student-athletes are given out every year at Camp Tontozona.
- Scholar-baller are invited to a special dinner with the director of athletics.
- This year ASU will become the first Division I school in the country to acknowledge football student-athlete academic success with a scholar-baller patch designed to be worn on the front of jerseys at every game.

This system of rewarding academic prowess counteracts the notion that participation in college football is primarily a training ground for a career in the NFL and that academics is only important to maintain a player’s eligibility. The reality is that most college football student-athletes will not play the sport after college. The scholar-baller paradigm teaches that performing well in school and earning a bachelor’s degree are victories that last a lifetime.

ASU’s scholar-baller paradigm serves as a model for what Myles Brand, president of NCAA, called a “landmark academic reform package aimed at dramatically strengthening the educational success of student-athletes and holding universities and teams accountable. This comprehensive, three-year effort to improve the academic progress, retention and graduation of

student-athletes is the most far-reaching effort of its kind in the history of the association” (NCAA 2004, 1).

Robert Hemenway, chair of the NCAA Division I board of directors and chancellor of the University of Kansas, summarized the synergy of the scholar-baller and the NCAA’s new academic policies in this way: “The reform package fulfills the NCAA’s mission of making the education of student-athletes paramount in collegiate sports. With these proposals, institutions, teams and coaches will know exactly what they need to accomplish to ensure their student-athletes are progressing in a timely fashion toward completing a degree. If they do not meet the requirements, they will suffer consequences” (NCAA 2004, 1).

Since implementation of the scholar-baller concept, ASU football has experienced significant improvement in the retention rate of football student-athletes and in the academic performance of the entire team:

- ASU football’s retention rates for the 2001, 2002, and 2003 recruiting classes are significantly above the PAC-10 average (85 percent to 75 percent as of spring 2004).
- Retention rates for the 2000, 2001, and 2002 recruiting classes are also above the national average according to the American Football Coaches Association survey (80 percent to 73 percent).
- The cumulative GPAs for ASU football teams rose substantially from 2000 to 2004.
- In 2001 there were nine football student-athletes with a GPA of 3.0 or better, and in 2004 thirty-seven football student-athletes achieved a B average or better.
- Only 1 out of 63 football student-athletes recruited between 2000 and 2004 has been declared academically ineligible.

While winning on the football field is an important aspect of becoming a competitive team in the PAC-10 conference, the definition of success for a Division I football program should include the preparation of young men for life. Promoting the scholar-baller image does just that—it prepares ASU football student-athletes for the greatest competition of all, life. The ex-

perience at ASU also suggests that the scholar-baller paradigm could bring similar benefits to young man on athletic teams in elementary and secondary schools.

The Future

The scholar-baller paradigm is designed to help athletes escape the stereotyping that confines their talents to athletics and hinders their personal, social, cultural, and educational development. The new paradigm retains the current visuals but includes academic excellence. This transformation could lead to a different type of interaction between the public and the student-athlete. When asked, “Hey, are you a scholar-baller?” student-athletes—black, white, and brown—would be proud to say, “Yes, I am.”

This reframing must be sensitive to the needs of the student-athletes themselves. Part of integrating them into the university community will involve fusing their desires, connections, technologies, and artifacts (including video games, language, and fashions) with academic reform initiatives and policies. A key component of the NCAA academic reform movement is the concept of contemporaneous penalties in which real-time evaluations will be made in order to improve the academic retention and matriculation rates of student-athletes in all sports. A contemporaneous reward system for academic achievement will also be established.

Urban culture and hip hop have moved into the center of American popular culture. This makes it possible to imagine a synergy of education, sports, and entertainment creating a new paradigm in which athletics, education, and popular culture are united into an indissoluble whole. This is the goal of the scholar-baller covenant with the NCAA.

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*Losing a game is heartbreaking.
Losing your sense of excellence or
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School Performance

Participation in school-sponsored sports activities benefits students' academic and non-academic achievement, particularly in high school. But this view is recent, and theoretical models of the effects of participation in sports lead to conflicting predictions. The *zero-sum model* suggests that time spent on sports detracts from time that is available for schoolwork. Historically, based substantially on this rationale, many educators were critical of participation in all extracurricular activities—but particularly sports. Subsequently, educational practitioners and researchers have taken a more positive perspective, arguing that sports participation may have positive effects on life skills and the total development of students (*development perspective*) that are not at the expense of academic achievement. According to the *identification/commitment model*, athletic participation enhances identification, involvement, and commitment to a school's values and goals in a way that enhances both academic and nonacademic outcomes—a win-win situation. Following from this debate, research has evaluated the impact of high school athletic participation in relation to a wide variety of outcomes and policy implications. These results show that participation in sports has generally positive effects on a variety of academic, social, and psychological outcomes, whereas there is little or no evidence of negative effects.

Recent Studies

There has been, however, a valid concern that some of the benefits attributed to athletic participation might simply represent differences that already existed in students who chose to participate in sports rather than being effects because of participation in sports. Hence, stronger studies are based on large, representative samples of students; employ longitudinal designs in which the same outcomes are measured on multiple occasions; and control for the effects of preexisting differences on background variables such as socioeconomic



status (SES), ethnicity, gender, parental education, and type of schooling (e.g., private versus public, rural versus urban, large versus small school).

Recent studies consistently support the *identification/commitment* model. In particular, students who participated in athletics were less likely to drop out of school. Participation in sports also had positive effects on school attendance, being in the academic track, taking more demanding coursework, spending more time on homework, and having more positive general, academic, and especially social self-concepts. Further positive effects of sports included liking school more and having better than expected school grades, higher educational aspirations, greater parental involvement, and higher expectations from parents and teachers. The positive effects also extend beyond high school. Students who participated in sports applied to more universities and were more likely to attend a university. Fifteen years after graduation from high school, students who had participated in high school sports had higher occupational status and income levels. Furthermore, the post-secondary benefits remained even after factors such as ability and secondary educational attainment were controlled. There was, however, some indication that benefits were larger for males and for students from lower SES backgrounds. Overall, however, the effects of athletic participation generalize reasonably well across the different student characteristics.

An interesting pattern of results emerged when effects of sports participation were considered separately and in combinations for intramural, extramural, individual, and team sports activities:

- Participation in extramural sports was significantly more beneficial than that with intramural sports, particularly for more narrowly defined academic outcomes (e.g., grades, being enrolled in more demanding courses, time spend on homework, educational aspirations, and subsequent university attainments).
- Participation in extramural sports was also beneficial for internal locus of control, self-esteem, and parental expectations.

- To a lesser extent, there were more positive benefits associated with participation in team sports than in individual sports.
- Overall, there were more benefits associated with participation in extramural/team sport activities than in intramural/individual sports participation.
- The effects of in-school sports activities were more positive than were those of the out-of-school sports activities.

All these overwhelmingly positive effects appeared across different students' characteristics and remained even after accounting for background characteristics and parallel outcomes in grades 8 and 10.

Reasons

To understand these outcomes, it is important to consider the various influences of factors such as the following:

- Peer and social network and the culture it reflects
- Opportunity to develop identification and commitment to school values
- Interaction with nonparent, competent adults
- Promotion of developmental benefits

INTERACTIONS WITH PEERS

The interactions that students have with peers facilitate the development of self-identity, which in turn leads to adopting particular social roles and behaviors associated with a membership (or its absence) in a particular group. Not surprisingly, adolescents involved in delinquent social networks are more likely to drop out of school, have substance-abuse issues, and have disciplinary problems, and students without any group affiliation tend to suffer emotional problems and have a higher risk of suicide and dropping out. The identities that adolescents form have powerful effects on their behavior during high school and beyond. For instance, students were asked to describe their identities in terms of the characters of the popular movie, *The Breakfast Club*: the "Brain," the "Jock," the "Basket Case," and the "Criminal." Although the Jock and the Criminal groups



A high school cloth letter for a letter jacket.

Source: *istockphoto/seanami*.

were similar in some ways (both consumed more alcohol than other students did), the two groups were radically different in their academic and future outcomes. The Jock type had the highest level of self-esteem and reported the lowest level of social isolation, whereas the Criminals were less likely to finish the school and had the highest level of depression. The two groups differed in the type of extracurricular activity they took part in—Jocks were predominately involved in sports, largely being engaged in a positive network and high status activities, whereas Criminals largely belonged to the groups that were engaged in some delinquent and low-status activities. In other words, Criminals did not belong to the school culture, were more likely to drop out of high school, and were less likely to attend college. Jocks were involved in a social network of peers who valued schooling and planned to go to college.

Importantly, however—addressing concerns of psychological and social consequences of sport participation, that is, impact on image and stereotypes of social behavior of athletes—many students who participated in sports did not identify themselves as being Jocks. Furthermore, with respect to educational and occupational success and subsequent college attendance, sports par-

ticipation itself predicted advantages better than the Jock identity did. Nevertheless, interaction with peers and values play an important role in students' adopted patterns of behaviors. Participation in sports activities

- Fulfills students' need for social relatedness
- Increases their social status
- Contributes to formation of their identities as valued members of the school community

Hence, sports participation generally, and participation in extramural team sports in particular, appears to provide an important positive network that reinforces school values and has positive effects on many academic and non-academic outcomes.

IDENTIFICATION AND COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL VALUES

Participation in extramural high school sports provides a social context, socialization experiences, and social networks that lead to the following:

- Stronger identification with the school
- Greater reinforcement of school values
- Stronger commitment to academic accomplishments

Participation in extramural sports is more intense—it requires higher levels of commitment and higher intensity of peer interactions—and may result in more support from teachers, peers, and coaches. Similarly, participation in team sports—through greater levels of shared interaction with school peers and emphasis on cooperation with the team and team leaders—should also result in more identification with and commitment to school than would participation in individual and, especially, out-of-school sports. Moreover, participants in team sports might be more willing to help each other and thus acquire different social skills than would participants in individual sports. All these factors should result in a greater identification with school and its values, providing mediative, positive effects on many non-academic outcomes but particularly on more narrowly defined, academic outcomes. Hence, representing one's school in extramural, team sporting events is

likely to engender a sense of commitment and identification with one's school, leading to more positive effects than are other types of sporting participation across a diverse range of academic and nonacademic outcomes.

INTERACTION WITH NONPARENT, COMPETENT ADULTS

Participation in extramural or structured sports is more intense, it requires higher levels of commitment, and its outcomes are perceived as more important for the status of the school than is participation in intramural and out-of-school sports. Many schools have adopted “no pass, no play” policies that limit participation in athletic activities if students fail courses or do not achieve sufficient academic standards. Such policies are designed to reinforce the connection between athletic participation and more narrowly defined academic values of schooling, particularly for disadvantaged students who might not otherwise value the maintenance of acceptable levels of academic achievement. This may result in more support from teachers, peers, and coaches. The interaction with competent adults—typically teachers and coaches who place a high value on education—who are outside of the student's immediate family is particularly important for educational motivation in general, and especially for educational aspirations.

Furthermore, extramural sports are typically coached and supervised by competent adults who are part of the school structure (e.g., teachers, coaches). This leads to a stronger identification with the school, greater reinforcement of school values, and a stronger commitment to academic accomplishments that may not be directly relevant to the specific goals of the particular sports activity. Participating in sporting activities outside of school, in contrast, may enhance many other values, but is less relevant to the commitment to school and the promotion of school values. Hence, in-school and out-of-school sports activities differ not only the setting in which these activities take place but also in the values and goals that they promote.

In addition, extramural sports participation increases student's social connections and opportunities to a larger degree than does participation in intramural or out-of-school sports. That is, often school coaches and school counselors act as advisors and referees for receiving scholarships and college admission. These social networks are more developed with the extramural and, arguably, team sports, hence enhancing postsecondary outcomes.

PROMOTION OF DEVELOPMENTAL BENEFITS

Participation in sports activities has positive effects on social self-concept, yet these effects are reasonably independent of the effects on other variables. In the studies, students perceived themselves to be more popular with peers, but these effects of participation in sports did not necessarily lead to more positive academic outcomes. The effects of participation in sports were actually smaller for academic self-concept and educational aspirations, but these effects appeared to be more important in mediating the effects of sports participation. Participation in sports led to higher levels of academic self-concept and educational aspirations, and these effects led to a variety of other positive academic outcomes (e.g., better school grades, greater likelihood of going to a university).

Too Much Participation and Potential Problem Behaviors

Researchers have also been concerned that too much participation in sports may have negative effects—that small to moderate amounts of participation in sports up to some optimal level may have benefits, but that participation beyond this optimal level has diminishing returns. However, there is little support for these predictions; positive effects of participation in sports are evident for the entire range of typical levels of sports participation, with no evidence of diminishing returns associated with very high levels of participation.

There are also concerns that participation in sports may be associated with problem behaviors such as eating disorders, drug use, and alcohol consumption. For

example, increased consumption of alcohol might be a result of peer pressure or a particular culture present in some sports. Sports participation has been linked to eating disorders and drug use when the athlete feels pressure to lose or gain weight, to maintain an “ideal” weight or shape, or to achieve some higher level of performance. These pressures may be self-imposed, or may come from coaches, parents, or peers. Indeed, intense exercising and dieting may be seen as appropriate behaviors associated with some sports. Although such reports are often anecdotal and may be limited to very small number of athletes, schools need to realize the importance of preventative education as well as providing timely, effective, and confidential treatment options available to affected athletes. Coaches, trainers, families, and peers need to be aware of symptoms of such problem behaviors and to be informed of appropriate procedures to help athletes if such symptoms do occur. There is also a need for further research to determine how widespread such problems are, particularly among high school athletes, and how best to deal with such problems that do exist.

The Future

A growing body of research shows that participation in athletics has many benefits in both academic and non-academic achievements, both in high school and beyond. These results are consistent for students from different sociocultural backgrounds, races, genders, and school characteristics. The results are also evident even after controlling background variables and prior levels of achievement on the same outcomes. Participation in school-sponsored sports activities was more beneficial for academic and non-academic achievements than was participation in out-of-school sports. Consistent with the identification/commitment model, extramural and particularly extramural/team participation had more positive effects than did other types of sporting participation for a wide range of academic and nonacademic outcomes. Implications of this model for educational practice are that strategies to foster identification with school and commitment to school-related values are likely to have benefits across a range of academic as well

as non-academic outcomes. Particularly in times of tight educational budgets and achievement-test-score rationalism, it is important that cost-cutting measures do not force schools to eliminate sporting activities, especially extramural and team sports. The development of an exciting program of athletic activities is likely to benefit all students.

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Golf: A plague invented by the Calvinistic Scots as a punishment for man's sins. ■ JAMES RESTON

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Scotland

Scotland is the most northerly nation in Britain. It has a population of 5 million people. Its capital city is Edinburgh in the east of the country, though the most densely populated center is around the Glasgow area to the west. In sporting terms, Scotland views *shinty*, a fast-moving game similar to lacrosse, as a unique indigenous activity, generally sees itself as the home of golf, the originator of the sport of curling, and the provider of some of Europe's greatest footballers and highest-ever attendances at football matches. Partly through playing an integral role in the creation and sustenance of the British Empire, Scotland has acquired a significant place in the development of modern sports history and development.

History

According to available records, King James IV (1488–1513) is one of the first people associated with sport in Scotland. Around the time of his reign tennis became popular among the aristocracy. Hawking, hunting, horse racing, and shooting were fashionable, too. A game similar to modern putting was also played, though it remains debatable whether golf itself is Scot-

tish or Dutch in origin. Among the lower classes in pre-Reformation Scotland, a type of football was played, as were forms of handball. For many years, sports and games occupied religious and other holidays and celebrations. The distinctively Scottish activity of curling can be considered the first modern sport to be played widely there. It was the most popular sport in the country from about 1780 until late in the nineteenth century. One of the most important figures in curling history is John Cairnie (1769–1842); among his contributions to the sport was the introduction of the first artificial rink in 1827.

Sports Clubs and Spectators

In the past, the influence of the national Church of Scotland in relation to sport was important. The Church decreed that no such activities should take place on a Sunday; the influence of the Kirk also meant that sports betting took place to a far lesser degree in Scotland than in England. It wasn't until late in the twentieth century that sports became a part of regular Sunday activity in Scotland.

As sport began to develop as a substantial social activity, sports clubs were initiated. The first sporting club in Scotland was the Company of Archers founded in 1676. Another landmark was reached with the instigation of Edinburgh's gymnastic club in 1770. Activities such as these gradually took on a more regulated format, and playing codes and rules emerged to fit their growing popularity and importance. The activities of many sporting clubs increased and the size of crowds of spectators followed suit. A horse-racing meeting at Ayr in 1834 had twenty thousand people in attendance on one day. Highland Games, the origins of which are clouded in myth, expanded to the Lowlands of Scotland after 1820. Characterized by caber tossing, pipe playing, and other indigenous activities, Highland Games have come to symbolize images of sporting Scotland, especially among ex-patriot communities in North America.

The importance that Highland Games increasingly enjoyed in the rest of Scotland serves as an opposite



Scotland

Scotland in New York City

The Scot sporting tradition remained an important link to Scot culture in overseas Scot communities. The following is an announcement of an annual Scot games festival placed by the New York Caledonian Club in the New York Clipper in 1858.

The second annual celebration of the games of the "New York Caledonian Club" came off on Thursday, the 23d., at Jones' Wood. This club was only organized last year, on which occasion the games were held in Hoboken. So rapid, however, has been the progress of the club, and the accession of members; (who must be natives of "stern Caledonia," and resident in New York,) so numerous, that this year it was determined to hold the festival on a larger scale, and more in accordance with the importance and high condition of the society. The grounds attached to Jones' Wood were engaged for the purpose, and the members of the club assembled at their head quarters at the Mercer House, and at 8 o'clock a.m. proceeded to the place appointed. The day was remarkably fine, and although in the early part of the day there was a slight tinge of frost in the air, yet the sun's rays soon dissipated it, leaving the weather all that could be desired for the enjoyment of the sports.

The proceedings commenced shortly after 10 o'clock, a portion of the level ground having been enclosed thus forming a ring for the performance of the exercises. The sports opened with a Highland fling, reel and strathspey, in which both members and guests joined with the greatest spirit. The programmed of the games, and the rules for the government of the competitors, were as follows:

1. The Heavy Hammer is to be thrown without turning; each competitor [makes] the throw once before any one makes a second throw. Three throws to each competitor.
2. Putting the Light Stone—same arrangement as above; toe the mark, without a race, neither foot

to cross the mark before the stone strikes. Three trials each.

3. Throwing the Light Hammer — same arrangements as heavy hammer—three throws to each competitor.
4. Putting the Heavy Stone—arrangement same as for light stone—three trials each.
5. Tossing the Caber, each competitor to make one trial after it is turned once.
6. The Standing Jump—without weights—three trials to each.
7. The Running Jump—without weights—three trials to each.
8. The Running High Leap—without weights—three trials to each.
9. The Short Race—100 yards.
10. The Highland Fling, one dance each.
11. The Scottish Song or Ballad, optional.
12. The Long Race, say 600 yards.
13. Ghillie Caltum, or Broad Sword Dance, over two broadswords, crossed—one dance each.
14. Running Hop. Step, and Jump (omitted).
15. Wheeling the Barrow Blindfolded. The competitors to be blindfolded with back to Barrow, then turned around and placed before it, starting at the third call.
16. The Scotch Reel, one dance each.
17. The Sack Race—the first at the winning post, by any means without assistance, to win the race.
18. The Shinty—omitted.

The rules provided that no one shall be eligible to a prize without being a member of the club in good standing at the time of competing.

The following are the results of the different sports, and the awards of the judges, Messrs. Gibson, Innes, Shillinglaw, Mason, and Lines, were in every sense most just and impartial.

Source: *New York Clipper*. (1858, October 2), pp. 186–187.

example of how Highland culture was appropriated in the Lowlands and Borders to become a dominant part of Scottish national identity. The creation, sustenance, and expression of Scottishness and Scottish national identity have long been associated with sport. In the nineteenth century John Murdoch, a cultural and political activist, looked to sports like *shinty* as quintessentially Scottish and as the true expression of a Celtic past. In the twentieth century other sports were also given this role.

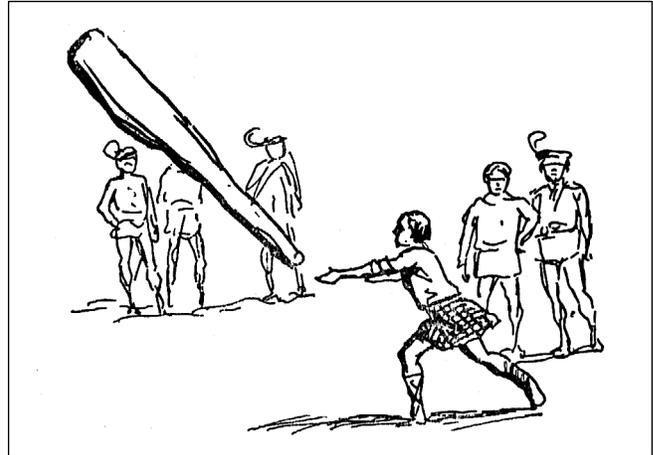
Women in Scottish Sports

Notably, it wasn't until the late twentieth century that women began to participate in sports; until then they were usually only spectators. A great Scottish sporting heroine in the mid-twentieth century was Nancy Riach from the Lanarkshire town of Motherwell. Riach won numerous Scottish and British titles and became a focus of Scottish national identity and pride until her untimely death from polio in 1947.

Policy, Young People, and Sport Today

The participation in sports and physical activity of children and young people is viewed by policy makers and politicians in Scotland as an opportunity for encouraging personal and social development. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, increasingly materialistic and sedentary lifestyles have led to a decrease in the physical-activity levels of children and young people. Scotland's health statistics are among the worst in Western Europe. A decline in the participant sports culture in Scotland, once characterized by mass activity in popular and accessible sports such as boxing, football, and swimming, has proved difficult to reverse. Numerous local and national programs have been created to reinvigorate sport in Scotland.

Also created was the Scottish Sports Council, a national body dedicated to increasing participation in sports by all citizens, from primary school children trying a sport for the first time to elite athletes seeking success on the world stage. The Council plays a leading



Tossing the caber at the Highland Games.

role in driving forward *Sport 21*, the national strategy for sport in Scotland, through partnerships with the public, private, and voluntary sectors. In this role, it has a relationship with the Scottish Executive, which provides exchequer funding. The Council combines resources to develop sports programs; for example, it advises Scottish ministers on how best to implement executive policy for sports and physical recreation; through consultation with partners, it provides an overview of sports development in the country; and it plays a major role in raising the profile of sports and highlighting their benefits to society.

Achievement and Change in Scottish Sports

In Paris in 1924, Eric Liddell became the first Scot to win a gold medal at the Olympics. Born in China of Scottish Presbyterian missionary parents, Liddell was immortalized in the 1980s Hollywood film *Chariots of Fire*. He also became famous for his refusal to run in the 100 meter Olympic final because he believed that Sunday was a day for rest and worship and not for sporting activities. He died in a Japanese concentration camp in 1945. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, sports stars such as Tommy Armour and Jessie Valentine (golf), Benny Lynch and Ken Buchanan (boxing), Jim Clark (racing), Bobby McGregor and David Wilkie (swimming), Finley Calder and Andy Irvine (rugby), and Helen Elliot Hamilton (table tennis) won national, European, or world titles in their respective sports.



Scotland

Key Events in Scotland Sports History

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1060s Precursors of the Highland Games are being held.</p> <p>1457 Golf is banned by King James II.</p> <p>1500s Curling is first played in Scotland.</p> <p>1502 Golf is reinstated in King James IV.</p> <p>1587 Mary, Queen of Scots, is beheaded. She is the first known woman golfer.</p> <p>1627 The Company of Archers club is founded.</p> <p>1754 St. Andrews Golf Club is formed.</p> <p>1770 The Edinburgh gymnastic club is founded.</p> <p>1780 Curling becomes a popular sport.</p> | <p>1820 The Highland Games become popular in the Lowlands.</p> <p>1827 The first artificial curling rink is built.</p> <p>1838 The Grand Caledonian Curling Club is founded.</p> <p>1867 The Queen's Park football club is founded in Glasgow.</p> <p>1924 Eric Liddell becomes the first Scot to win an Olympic gold medal, in track and field.</p> <p>1968 Champion racecar driver Jim Clark is killed in a crash during a Formula 2 race.</p> <p>1970 Boxer Ken Buchanan wins the world light-heavyweight title.</p> |
|---|--|

Possibly the greatest change to modern Scottish sport took place with the advent of soccer. One of the world's first football clubs, Queen's Park in Glasgow, was founded in Scotland in 1867. More than any other sport, Scottish football reveals national attitudes toward identity, class, geography, nationhood, ethnic identity, racism, immigration, religious prejudice, and discrimination; it also reveals many of the differences and distinctions that exist within Scottish society. The high points of Scottish soccer were displayed in the winning of European trophies by Celtic (representatives of the Irish Catholic immigrant diaspora in the west of Scotland) and Glasgow Rangers and Aberdeen during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. World-famous players and displays from Jim Baxter (Glasgow Rangers), Jimmy Johnstone (Celtic), and Kenny Dalglish (Celtic and Liverpool) have captivated millions, while European, national, and international record crowds at matches played in Glasgow reflect the traditional popularity of the sport within the country.

Challenges

Contemporary social and economic challenges presented by modern living patterns and lifestyles have had a detrimental effect on the capacity of communities and

individual people in Scotland to continue to participate in sports and enjoy watching them. Despite some successes, Scotland's performances on national and international stages have been in decline since the late twentieth century. Nonetheless, Scotland's sporting history can never be erased and serves as a template for a more positive sporting future.

Joseph M. Bradley

See also Highland Games; St. Andrews

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Senegal

Senegal is located in West Africa and has a population of almost 8 million with its capital at Dakar. About 90 percent of the population is Muslim with the other 10 percent either followers of indigenous religions or Christianity. Senegal was a French colony from 1840 to 1960 and from 1895 it was the center of French West Africa. Senegal remains economically close to France, and many Senegalese citizens work there, including professional athletes.

French Dominance

At the time of French colonization, the native Senegalese participated in their own forms of running and wrestling competitions. In the early twentieth century the French established a few cycling, soccer, and athletics clubs in Senegal, but the indigenous population remained outside this formal sports structure.

In 1920, as French rule in the region intensified and became centered in Dakar, France sought to transmit French sports culture to West Africa. More sports clubs were founded as the French population in Dakar increased and also through physical education in the Senegalese schools, the French used physical education and sports to train good soldiers and good citizens. In 1927, Dakar became the center of the French West African Federal Committee for Sports.

Perhaps the most memorable event from this period for the Senegalese took place in 1922 when the Senegalese boxer Battling Siki defeated the celebrated French champion Georges Carpentier, and took the French, European, and world professional light-heavyweight boxing title. The victory also raised questions about the negative opinions that the French press had about him and about black people in general.

In the 1924 Olympics in Paris, Senegalese athlete Cire Samba represented France in the javelin throw. In boxing, another Senegalese athlete, Assani Diouf, won the French professional middleweight crown in 1939.

The aim of the French to host the African Games in Dakar, which would have been open to other countries under other European colonial regimes, failed to materialize in 1929.

The implementation of physical education and the related diffusion of sports facilities and the organization of competitions in football, gymnastics, basketball, swimming, and track and field was at first opposed but later accepted by Muslim leaders. In the 1930s, women were also allowed to participate in sports, especially in track, volleyball, and basketball. The first women's national basketball tournament took place in 1955. Senegal's first Olympic medal came in 1960, the year of its independence from France, when Abdouleye Seyé won the bronze medal in the 200-meter dash in Rome.

Independent Senegal

At the time of independence, athletes came almost exclusively from upper classes and proponents of sports faced a major challenge in getting more of the population involved. This was especially true for women as Muslim customs defined sports clothing as being degrading to women. The first president of Senegal, the poet and intellectual Leopold Senghor (1906–2001), strongly encouraged sports for men and women, as a means to improve one's health and physical appearance. The Senegalese Olympic Committee was formed in 1963 and since the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, Senegal has competed in the summer games and also in three Winter Olympics.

The International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) set up a center in Dakar, with track and field facilities and tuition-free training from instructors brought in from other nations in order to develop the most promising Senegalese youth. This process seemed to bear fruit in 1999 when Lamine Diack became chair of the IAAF. Diack was the first Senegalese person appointed as chief official in an international sport organization.

In athletics, Senegal achieved international honors. Amadou Dia Ba took the silver medal in the men's



Senegal

Key Events in Senegal Sports History

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|---|---|
| <p>1922 Senegalese boxer Battling Siki defeats French champion Georges Carpentier.</p> <p>1924 A Senegalese athlete competes at the Olympics for the first time.</p> <p>1927 The Federal Committee for Sports in French West Africa is established in Dakar.</p> <p>1930s Women are allowed to participate in sports.</p> | <p>1960 Senegal wins its first Olympic medal, a bronze in the 200-meter race.</p> <p>1963 The Senegalese Olympic Committee is established.</p> <p>1987 The first Paris to Dakar motor race is held.</p> <p>1999 Lamine Diack becomes the first Senegalese to chair the International Association of Athletic Federations.</p> |
|---|---|

400-meter hurdles in the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, while Amy Mbacké Thiam won the women's 400-meter dash in the Edmonton World Championships in 2001, taking the bronze medal in the World Championships of Paris in 2003. Women excelled in continental basketball, winning the Pan African Games three times and the African championships six times, but never reaching the finals of the Olympic Games.

In 1987, commercial and economic interests opened the way for the inauguration of the Paris–Dakar motor rally. The short history of the rally was marred by several tragic accidents. Apart from ephemeral and superficial publicity during the rallies, Dakar did not benefit from the event.

Work opportunities for the Senegalese are still limited and many emigrate to France and Italy seeking better opportunities. In sport too, some talented athletes acquire French citizenship so they can train and compete in Europe. In the 1990s, Jean Baptiste Mendy won the supermiddleweight professional boxing title of France. In recent years, having understood the immense impact of sport, Senegalese government leaders repeatedly asked leading athletes to maintain their citizenship, even while their training abroad.

The Future

An impressive sign of Senegalese potential was seen the finals of the World Cup of football (soccer) in Japan and South Korea in 2002, when Senegal eliminated France in the first round and reached the quarterfinals. In a bow to Senegalese culture, the French coach of the Senegalese team, Bruno Metsu, in order to make the

game more appealing to his players, ended the practice of pregame seclusion, and allowed wives and fiancées to visit their men on the eve of the match.

Gherardo Bonini

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Senior Sport

Sporting opportunities for seniors (ages fifty and older) are growing rapidly as the population of older adults increases globally. Large-scaled multisport events draw as many as 25,000 senior athletes who compete in alpine skiing, archery, badminton, basketball, bowling, cross country skiing, curling, cycling, golf, horseshoes, ice hockey, race walking, racquetball, road races, shuffleboard, snow-shoeing, softball, swimming, table tennis, tennis, track and field, triathlon, and volleyball. These events are held on international, national, regional, and local competitive and recreational levels for senior (also called golden age, masters, or veteran) men and women.

Aging and Exercise

As people age, many tend to view the process in negative terms. Physical fitness tends to decline as we become inactive. We think of getting older as losing our

When I was 40 my doctor advised me that a man in his forties shouldn't play tennis. I heeded his advice carefully and could hardly wait until I reached 50 to start again. ■ HUGO L BLACK

attractiveness and good looks, gaining weight, becoming frail, suffering, and becoming dependent.

Substantial scientific research evidence substantiates daily physical activity in improving overall health and delaying illness and disease as we age. "The National Blueprint: Increasing Physical Activity Among Adults Aged 50 and Older" was published in May 2001 by a coalition of forty-six organizations with expertise in medical, health, social and behavioral sciences, epidemiology, gerontology/geriatric, public policy, marketing, community organization, and environmental issues. The Blueprint outlined the following action steps:

- Organizations should identify which strategies they are already addressing or will address and collaborate with other groups that share an interest in those strategies. Organizations should work with existing coalitions and coordinate with other groups and organizations. Participating organizations should also identify and involve other organizations that are not working on this issue but that can play a major supportive role.
- Organizations, associations, and agencies working collaboratively should focus on activities that they can reasonably expect to accomplish.
- Organizations need to undertake detailed tactical planning to delineate the specific actions necessary to achieve the strategies.
- Organizations need to allocate money and people to help support coalition and collaborative efforts.
- Health organizations and government agencies must encourage the exchange and dissemination of best practices. These groups must establish systems to enable this.
- Evaluation should be a key tool in all implementation steps. In some cases, evaluation can be objective, based on measurable objectives. In other cases, evaluation will be a process or formative. (The National Blueprint 2001, 35)

The Blueprint's major goal was to "identify the principal barriers to physical activity participation in older adults and to outline strategies for increasing physical

activity levels throughout the population" (Chodzko-Zajko, 2001).

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations, and other prominent organizations that maintain statistics, seniors (ages fifty and over) are the fastest growing population in the world today. Studies show there will be a growth of 223 percent in the older population from 1970 to 2025. At the Second United Nations World Assembly on Aging held in Madrid, Spain, in April 2002, WHO (2002, 6) reported, "In 2025, there will be a total of 1.2 billion people over the age of 60. By 2050 there will be 2 billion with 80 percent of them living in developing countries."

Those eighty years and older are the fastest growing segment of the older population.

Effects of Aging

The effects of normal aging on physical fitness include changes in cardiovascular system, muscle mass, respiratory system, metabolism, and bone mass. Heart size decreases along with stroke volume and maximum heart rate. Heart valves and vessels become more rigid and thick with age. Normal aging also makes our hearts less responsive to the surge of adrenaline that occurs during exertion.

The aging process can cause an increase in cholesterol and blood pressure as well as decreases in oxygen consumption. The lungs decline in their ability to move oxygen to the bloodstream. This affects strength and endurance. By age sixty-five, our aerobic capacity is about 30 to 40 percent smaller than that of young adults.

Muscle mass declines between the ages of thirty and seventy by 22 percent for women and 23 percent for men (Knopf et. al. 1999). Type II muscle fibers that are responsible for high levels of strength decrease. Reduction in muscle mass results in the loss of strength, a decline in basal metabolic rate, muscle and joint flexibility and stability.

As we become older, our metabolism slows down. Older adults need to eat fewer calories (about 100 calories less each decade) to maintain status quo. If we do not, then we risk adding more body fat especially if we are sedentary and do not exercise.

If Jack Nicklaus can win the Masters at 46, I can win the Kentucky Derby at 54. ■ WILLIE SHOEMAKER

Bone mass declines as we age, more so in women than men:

- Women start to lose bone mineral mass during their thirties, and men start in their fifties.
- Women lose about 1 percent bone mass per year until menopause, and then lose 2 to 4 percent thereafter.
- Men lose about 0.5 percent bone mass per year.

Osteoporosis results in bones that have less density and tensile strength. Loss in bone mass leads to weakening of the musculoskeletal system, which in turn can lead to fractures and breaks.

Aging takes its toll on the human body. However, a sixty-year-old may function like a forty-year-old just as a twenty-year-old may function physically like a forty-year-old. The body is remarkable and responds positively to exercise. It is also very good at repairing itself despite the “wear and tear” of aging. A sedentary person will be more susceptible to health problems than will a physically active person.

- *Endurance activities* (such as cycling, walking, running, swimming) increase heart rate and breathing and strengthen the heart, lungs, and circulatory systems.
- *Strength exercises* (such as resistant bands, push ups, lifting light to heavy objects or dumbbells, barbells, or machine weights) strengthen the body overall and allow an older person to do daily tasks with less effort.
- *Balance exercises* (such as one leg stands, toe and heel stands, knee lifts,) help prevent falls that are common among seniors.
- *Flexibility exercises*, commonly known as stretching (with or without a partner), include various body parts that are stretched slowly without bouncing. These exercises improve the body’s overall flexibility and keep the body limber.

Benefits of Exercise on Aging

Exercise and sports for seniors offer a fun way to stay active, physically fit, and meet other older adults with the same interests. Participating in a daily regimen of exercise or sport enriches one’s life in many ways, in-

cluding relieving stress, helping one to relax, and enhancing self-esteem.

Research studies show that older people who are active physically tend to be healthier. Exercise can help prevent or delay some diseases and disabilities, improve one’s mood, enhance one’s lifestyle, and increase one’s life expectancy. With respect to the aging process, many benefits can be derived from participation in regular physical activities, including the following:

- *Cardiovascular System:* Increases the heart’s work capacity, increases aerobic capacity, decreases resting heart rate, decreases total cholesterol, increases HDL (good) cholesterol, and decreases blood pressure.
- *Musculoskeletal System:* Increases muscular strength, muscular endurance, metabolism, lean body mass, joint flexibility, and bone mineral content.
- *Nervous System:* Increases the speed of reaction and movement time; improves response time, visual organization, memory, and mental flexibility.
- *Pulmonary System:* Increases in respiratory function and vital capacity; decreases minute ventilation and respiratory ratio.

Interest in physical activity for older adults has grown tremendously during the past twenty years. Many gyms and rehabilitation and recreation centers have started to tailor their programs to meet the needs of the older population. Some of these programs offer discounts and other motivating factors to get seniors moving physically. Environmentally, governments at all levels are building new parks and trails near areas where there are large populations of seniors to provide opportunities for physical activities in their neighborhoods.

National Senior Games—Senior Olympics

Since the late twentieth century, there has been an explosion in competitive sports for seniors fifty and older. The earliest organized games were the Senior Olympics held in Southern California in 1969. Two hundred athletes over fifty-five years old competed in swimming, diving, and track and field events. This was followed by



A female competitor clears the bar in the high jump at the Senior Games.

Source: Phil Raschker.

pete against each other. More than 250,000 athletes now participate in the National Senior Games–Senior Olympics, which makes it the largest multisport event for seniors in the world.

The Senior Olympics are held every two years in host cities across the United States. The Summer National Senior Games are held in odd-

the National Senior Olympics Organization (NSOO), established in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1985 by a group of seven men and women. The NSOO promotes healthy lifestyles for seniors fifty and older through education, fitness, and sports participation. There is no upper age limit. The NSOO hosted the first national multisport competition in 1987 in St. Louis with 2,500 senior athletes competing in thirteen different sports.

As the organization grew, it became a member of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) in 1989. Under an agreement with the USOC, the NSOO changed its corporate name to the United States National Senior Sports Organization doing business as the National Senior Games Association (NSGA). The USOC permitted the NSGA to continue to use the word *Olympic* in its signature event: the National Senior Games—Senior Olympics (NSG-SO). The NSGA serves forty-nine states and the District of Columbia. It is a nonprofit community organization staffed by twelve full-time employees and a volunteer board of directors. Originally headquartered in St. Louis, Missouri, the NSGA is currently located in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

The NSGA sanctions senior games (more than 200) at the local, state, and regional levels. Senior athletes qualify for the national games at the state level in events that are organized in five-year age segments from 50 to 100-plus for men and women. Age-group records for both genders are kept by the NSGA. Rules for men and women are the same, although they do not com-

pete against each other. More than 250,000 athletes now participate in the National Senior Games–Senior Olympics, which makes it the largest multisport event for seniors in the world.

numbered years, and athletes compete in eighteen different sports. The NSGA anticipates approximately 12,000 senior competitors in the 2005 and 2007 NSG-SO to be held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Louisville, Kentucky, respectively.

The Winter National Senior Games are held in even-numbered years, and athletes compete in Alpine skiing, cross country skiing, curling, ice hockey, snowshoeing, and speed skating. The inaugural Winter NSG-SO took place in Lake Placid, New York, in February–March 2000. A total of 239 athletes from twenty-two states competed in five winter sports.

Another first for the NSGA was the Senior Olympic Hockey Championships that took place in Lake Placid in 2002 between twenty-three teams representing nine states. Age divisions are 50+, 60+, and 70+ and are divided into elite- and recreational-skill divisions. The 2004 Senior Olympic Hockey Championships took place 1–4 October in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The first-ever National Senior Games Championship Festival is slated for late October–early November 2005 in Mobile, Alabama. Approximately 2,250 senior athletes will compete in cycling, golf, sailing, and tennis. This is the first time the NSGA will offer sailing. This championship festival will be an annual event and is open to both men and women fifty years and older.

Successful senior athletes who are world or national record-holders are eligible for induction into the NSGA Senior Athlete Hall of Fame. Senior athletes have been

I'd rather wear out than rust out. ■ DICK BASS

inducted in the Hall of Fame in several sports (adapted with permission from the NSGA):

- *Bowling*: Helen Duval, 79 (Berkeley, CA), the oldest woman to ever bowl a 300 game at age 65; and Joseph John Norris, 84 (San Diego, CA)
- *Pentathlon*: Melvin C. Bushman, 71 (Lansing, MI)
- *Swimming*: Dorothy Leonard Donnelly, 70 (Rutland, MA); Gustave Harold Langer, 88 (Milford, CT), who has been listed first among all-time best swimmers twenty-four times since 1988; Manuel Sanguily, 62 (Scarborough, NY); Aileen Riggan Soule, 89 (Honolulu, HI), who was the oldest living Olympic gold medalist for springboard diving when she was inducted; and Doris Cant Steadman, 71 (Monmouth Beach, NJ)
- *Tennis*: Dorothy “Dodo” Bundy Cheney, 79 (Santa Monica, CA)
- *Track and field*: Harold Chapson, 94; Helen Mary Darnall, 63 (Melbourne, AR); Clive Davies, 76 (Tillamook, OR); Frank Willard Furniss, 84 (Marion, OH); Sister Marion Irvine, 61 (Napa, CA), who is considered by the record-keepers to be the fastest female distance runner in the world; Payton Jordan, 74 (Los Altos, CA); and Shirley Matson, 55 (Moraga, CA)
- *Ultra-endurance triathlon*: Theodore “Ted” Epstein Jr., 55 (Denver, CO), who completed a grand slam of Ironman triathlons—a quintuple, a quadruple, a triple, and a double—within six months

Huntsman World Senior Games

John H. Morgan founded the World Senior Games (WSG) in 1987 in St. George, Utah, to provide competition for seniors fifty years and older from all over the world. The WSG became the Huntsman WSG (HWSG) in honor of its corporate sponsor, Huntsman Corporation, in 1989. In 2005, senior men and women athletes will compete in twenty-three sports: basketball, bowling, bridge, cowboy shoot, cycling, golf, horseshoes, lawn bowls, mountain biking, pickleball, race walking, racquetball, reining, road races, softball, square

dance, swimming, table tennis, tennis, track and field, triathlon, volleyball, and walking tours. The HWSG is governed by a board of directors, is run by a small staff led by an executive director, and includes a large number of volunteers. Since its inception, the HWSG has grown from 500 senior athletes to more than 7,000 in 2004 from all fifty states and forty-six countries. This annual event prides itself in fostering “health, friendship and world peace” by offering health screenings that include clinical breast exams for women; PSA testing for men; and blood sugar, bone density, cholesterol, glaucoma, hearing, blood pressure, and body compositions testing for men and women.

Alaska International Senior Games

The inaugural Alaska International Senior Games (AISG) took place in Fairbanks, Alaska, in 2003. Founded by Jim Madonna for seniors of all ages and abilities, the AISG differs from other senior games by dividing events into three different categories:

- Novelty games, including basketball toss, Frisbee throw, nail hammering, bean bag toss, miniature golf, softball throw, 100-yard walk, 440-yard walk, blanket toss, and high kick
- Leisure games, including bridge, checkers, chess, cribbage, dominoes, pinochle, and scrabble
- Sports, including archery, bowling, fly casting, racquetball, road races, softball, swimming, and track and field.

The first games had 150 participants, all from the United States. The oldest male was 104 years old, and the oldest female was 96 years old. The AISG’s goal is to establish a board of directors and make the event international.

Masters and Veterans Games

Many sports organizations have established masters and veterans games for senior men and women since the late 1960s. The games are competitive at the international level. Some of these athletes tend to be former Olympians who continue to compete as they grow older.



Senior Sport

A “Fifty-Seven Years New” Phenomenon

The *New York Times* has described Eileen-Philippa (“Phil”) Kersten Raschker (b. 1947) as “the most versatile track and field athlete in the world.” She has set more than two hundred U.S. and world track and field records, currently holds forty-four Masters records, named Outstanding Woman Masters Track and Field Athlete thirteen times, Outstanding Woman Masters Combined Event Athlete eight times (since the inception of this award in 1991), and Outstanding Masters Single Performance Athlete of the Year three times. This phenomenal athlete is only “fifty-seven years new” competes in 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, high jump, pole vault, long jump, shot put, javelin, discus, triple jump, hurdles, decathlon, heptathlon and pentathlon events in the USA Track and Field and international meets and in the National Senior Games/Senior Olympics.

Born and raised in Hamburg, Germany, Phil competed in gymnastics, swimming and track and field during her youth but gave up sports when she moved to the United States in 1967 at the age of twenty. At thirty-three years old, she began competing again in the 100m, long jump and high jump. Never looking back, she has set world and national records in Masters Track and Field and Senior Olympics. Among her notable “firsts” are: first female masters athlete over 40 to compete in the U.S. Olympic trials, in the triple jump in 1988; first masters athlete to compete in the open women’s pole vault competition in 1995 at age forty-seven (Phil placed third and represented the United States at the world competition in England where she was the oldest female athlete to represent the United States in international open competition); she is also the oldest athlete to be recruited for a college track and field scholarship (at fifty years old). In 2004, Phil became the oldest athlete in the seventy-three-year history of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) Sullivan Award to be nominated for this prestigious award and one of five finalists that included

basketball standout LeBron James, Olympic speed-skater Apolo Anton Ohno, Olympic swimmer Michael Phelps, and college national basketball champion Diana Taurasi.

Phil, an accountant residing in Marietta, Georgia, is motivated by her intense competitive spirit and desire for fitness and health. A humble individual with a wonderful sense of humor, she enjoys being an ambassador for senior sport. In being named as one of the five finalists of the 2004 Sullivan Award, Phil shared the recognition with “all the aging athletes out there, the ones who dare to keep testing the limits of their abilities and who DARE to stop time from robbing them of the pure joy of competing. Dreams really do come true! Proof is that I am not just a masters athlete but an athlete regardless of age.”

During the 2003 competitive season, Phil set seven world and nine U.S. records in the pentathlon, heptathlon, 60m, 200m, 400m, high jump, pole vault and long jump. She won five gold medals at the World Masters Championships in Carolina, Puerto Rico; seven gold medals at the National Masters Outdoor Track and Field Championships in Eugene, Oregon and five gold medals at the Nationals Senior Olympics in Hampton Roads, Virginia. She stars in *Racing Against the Clock* (2004), a documentary film about five women track and field athletes, ages fifty to eighty-two, who compete in masters track and field meets around the world. The National Senior Games Association inducted her into its Senior Athlete Hall of Fame during the 2005 Senior Olympics.

Phil believes that by lacing up her shoes, competing and setting records, she is breaking barriers for masters and female athletes and encouraging participation in athletics by people of all ages. She provides inspiration just by toeing the starting line for master and senior athletes.

Becky Clark



Growing numbers of baby boomers turning fifty years old are competing in these games in record numbers.

Track and field was one of the first sports to offer masters-level competition at the first National Track and Field Championship in San Diego, California, in 1968 and the inaugural World Masters Track and Field Championship in Toronto, Canada, in 1975. Other masters sporting organizations include the following:

- United States Masters Swimming (formed in 1971)
- Masters Diving
- Masters Skier
- World Masters Weightlifting
- World Masters Softball
- Masters Basketball
- Seniors Hockey
- USA Cycling
- US Tennis Association (USTA)
- International Volleyball
- Senior Golf

World Masters Games

The International Masters Games Association (IMGA) was established in 1995 from International Federations members to be the governing body of the World Masters Games (WMG). The IMGA mission is to “promote lifelong competition, friendship and understanding between mature sports people regardless of age, gender, race, religion or sport status” through the WMG. The minimum age to participate in these games is thirty but this is only a guideline. Different international sports governing bodies may permit participants as young as twenty-seven. There are no qualifying standards even though many of these masters’ events are very competitive. Mature athletes of all abilities participate in these games. Age group records are kept for each sport. All athletes participate for themselves because there are no national teams. For team sports, athletes are permitted to form multinational teams comprising several countries. Several teams from a single country are also permitted. The WMG began in 1985 in Toronto, Canada and are held every four years. After the 1989 WMG in

Denmark, the IMGA changed the event to be held in even-number years (1994 in Brisbane, Australia). The IMGA decided to return the WMG to its original odd-numbered year schedule in 2005 (Edmonton, Canada) to avoid conflicts with other major games.

The first WMG had 8,305 participants competing in twenty-two sports from sixty-one countries. The 2002 WMG in Melbourne, Australia, set a record of 24,886 participants competing in twenty-six sports from ninety-eight countries. Edmonton, Canada, will host the 2005 WMG, then the event will return to Australia for 2009 in Sydney. These games are the largest international multisport competition in the world.

National Veterans Golden Age Games

The National Veterans Golden Age Games (NVGAG) is a national multi-event sports recreational competition for military veterans fifty-five years and older who receive health care at Veterans Administration (VA) medical centers. The first NVGAG were held in Albany, Georgia, in 1985 with 115 participants. This annual event continues to grow as aging Vietnam veterans continue to enter the games. The Department of Veterans Affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Veterans of Cañteen Services sponsor this event to promote physical activity and support the VA’s rehabilitation programs. There are thirty-four competitive events and categories with six age categories (55–59, 60–64, 65–69, 70–74, 75–79, and 80+) in three different divisions (open, wheelchair, and visually impaired):

- The open division offers bowling, checkers, cycling, dominoes, golf, horseshoes, nine-ball, pentathlon, shuffleboard, swimming, and table tennis.
- The wheelchair division includes bowling, horseshoes, nine-ball, pentathlon, shuffleboard, swimming, and table tennis.
- The visually impaired division offers shuffleboard, horseshoes, and bowling.

The NVGAG is considered a model adaptive therapeutic sports competition.

Significance

As the world's population becomes older, seniors fifty and older are more health conscious and active than ever before. Masters and senior sporting events are growing in record numbers. Seniors are defying the stereotypes of aging and breaking records along the way. Exercise and sports for the mature population are prolonging life expectancy, decreasing disease and disability, relieving stress and anxiety, increasing functional ability, enhancing socialization, increasing and maintaining independence, and improving the overall quality of life.

Becky Clark

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Sepak Takraw

Some people have called *sepak takraw* “the international ball game of Southeast Asia.” *Sepak takraw* is a team sport that people play with a rattan or, increasingly, plastic ball. Players are prohibited from touching the ball with their hands.

History

The origins of *sepak takraw* are obscure. People played *kemari*, a sport similar to *sepak takraw*, in Japan from perhaps the seventh century. People also played a similar sport in southwest China in what is now Yunnan Province. However, the sport came into its own in Southeast Asia. All Southeast Asian countries where people play *sepak takraw* offer “national origin” myths for the creation of the sport, but none of them offers proof that *sepak takraw* had only one place of origin.

Evidence of sports similar to *sepak takraw* dates from the eleventh century, particularly in Malaysia and

Sumatra. These sports were apparently much like the sport of *sepak raga* (kickball) and were played in royal courts. Indeed, some connection between aristocracy and *sepak takraw* seems clear, but this fact could be only a reflection of the fact that only royal records provide surviving accounts of earlier times. However, if *sepak takraw* was not exclusively a sport of the royal classes, they at least played it seriously. For instance, a record of the Malay rajahs (princes) claimed that an heir to the sultanhip of Melaka was insulted when a player knocked off his royal headgear and that the hapless offender was executed. The same record described Sultan Mansur as kicking the ball more than one hundred times before passing it on to the young nobles with whom he played *sepak raga*, kicking the ball for as long as it would take to cook “many pots of rice.”

The ball that players use in *sepak takraw* and related sports is traditionally woven of rattan—a tough vegetable material from the climbing palm creeper of the genus *Calamus*. This fact, although it does not pinpoint any particular place of origin, may indicate that the sport is ancient. Rattan, used throughout the region to make everything from baskets to huts, was central to ancient Southeast Asian technology.

Although rattan generally disappears quickly from the archaeological record—as does all vegetable material—traces of woven hexagonal patterns in ceramics indicate that rattan was used from neolithic (relating to the latest period of the Stone Age) times. Thus, although no direct evidence for the deep antiquity of *sepak takraw* exists, the traditional rattan construction of the ball—in either hexagonal or pentagonal patterns—shows that the sport may be old indeed. Unfortunately, none of this evidence helps to pinpoint a specific place of origin for *sepak takraw*. *Sepak takraw*-like sports may have had a variety of origins, and certainly the several versions of *sepak takraw* may indicate multiple origins.

Versions

In hoop *takraw*, which is popular in Thailand, three large hoops are suspended over a circular court 16 meters in diameter, and players put the ball through the

hoops as many times as possible. The hoops, each with a radius of 20 centimeters, are made of wood, metal, or rattan and suspended from a high, tight rope so that the bottom of the hoops are 6 meters off the ground. Members of the team, usually seven, are cooperative, attempting to keep the ball “alive”—off the ground—and flying through the hoops as often as possible during a thirty-minute period.

Style counts in hoop *takraw*: Simple shots score lower, and difficult shots score higher. For example, a plain kick through a hoop is the most humble approach and thus a low scorer, whereas firing the ball off the elbow, knee, or shoulder scores higher. Naturally the fanciest shots score the most. The top-scoring shot is executed as a player stands facing away from a hoop, feet together, then jumps up, executing a tandem back-kick and directing the ball upward through a loop formed by his arms—joined at the fingers behind his back—and finally through the suspended hoop.

Hoop *takraw* was developed in Thailand during the late 1920s. People apparently played early versions with hoops of different sizes, with shots being scored differently depending on which hoop they went through.

Another Thai version is flag *takraw*, which requires a player to move as quickly as possible along a narrow track 50 meters in length while keeping the ball aloft through kicks of the foot and jerks of the head and elbows. The sport, often played at village festivals, is won by the player who reaches the end of the track without either dropping the ball or veering off the track.

People play *sepak raga*, the traditional Malay sport, on a six- or seven-man team. Men form a circle 15 meters in diameter and kick or head the ball to one another in a continuous round, the goal being to keep the ball from touching the ground. As in all versions of *sepak takraw*, elbows, feet, knees, shoulders, and head—all body parts except the hands and forearms—can be used. The winning team is the team that keeps the ball aloft for the required period of time—usually about thirty minutes—with the most kicks.

In-carrying *takraw* requires a single player to catch and carry as many balls as possible without using his hands.



This version, which seems more a form of juggling, requires the player to be ingenious about holding onto the caught balls: He may hold them with his teeth or under an arm. Twelve balls are the standard goal, but expert players have caught and held as many as seventeen.

Sepak takraw, one version of which is sometimes called “net *takraw*,” is the version that has achieved the highest international status, being played by amateur and semiprofessional teams throughout Southeast Asia. People play *sepak takraw* on a rectangular court that measures 13.4 by 6.1 meters. The court is divided by a centerline at either end of which is marked a half-circle with a radius of 0.9 meters. Across the centerline is stretched a net that is 1.52 meters from the ground. In each half-court a service circle is drawn, the center of which is 2.45 meters from the back line and 3.04 meters from either side.

Play

The most important physical skills in *sepak takraw* are used in the striking movements. Team skills, however, are also important. Players compare the required teamwork to that required of the best volleyball or soccer (association football) teams.

The sport is played between two teams—called “*regus*”—of three players each. Each team enters three *regus* during a formal competition, and the winning team is the one that hosts two out of three winning *regus*. A *regu* wins the set with fifteen points. As in volleyball, each team is entitled to hit the ball three times before sending it across the net, but the three hits can come from the same player. Points are won or lost when the ball touches the ground in or out of the court or does not cross the net after being played three times by the offensive *regu*.

A game of *sepak takraw* begins when the ball is thrown by either the left inside or right inside player, standing in one of the quarter-circles at either end of the service line, to the back player. The back player, who stands with one foot inside and one foot outside of the serving circle, must kick the ball across the net. As soon as this service has taken place and the ball has crossed

the net, all players are allowed to move about anywhere in their respective half-courts.

Faults during service can be called against the serving side for a number of reasons, including moving out of the quarter-circle or serving circle before play or delaying when throwing the ball to the back for service. During play faults include crossing either over or under the net with any part of the body, stepping on the center line, holding the ball in any way—under the arm, for example, or between the legs—and touching the ball with a hand. Faults committed during play result in a point being awarded to the opposing *regu*.

The net used in *sepak takraw* was introduced during the 1920s, and in general for many years the sport was played according to various local rules. In fact, some people for a time thought that no form of *sepak takraw* would survive to compete with the Western sports that were being exported to all parts of Asia. However, in Singapore before World War II, the main Malay form of *sepak takraw* was included in high school variety programs, and after the war the Singapore National Body of Sepak Takraw (PARSES) was formed. PARSES, with emerging *sepak takraw* organizations in Malaysia and Thailand, agreed in 1965 on a uniform set of regulations and on the term “*sepak takraw*.” These agreements were the result of negotiations that began in 1958 during the third Asian Games in Tokyo, where representatives from Thailand invited officials from Burma, Malaya (Malaysia), and Laos to consider the benefits of holding small regional events. These events, held more frequently than the Asian Games or the Olympics, would let athletes hone their skills for the more global competitions and would advance regional cultural interaction. They would also let interested countries pursue “traditional” sports—such as *sepak takraw*—that were virtually unknown in sports networks oriented to Western and Olympic standards.

The result of regional negotiations was the formation of the Southeast Asian Games Federation, which sponsors competitive events such as the Southeast Asian Games in Bangkok, Thailand, in 1965, the first to feature what one could call “world class” *sepak takraw*.

Since the mid-1960s *sepak takraw* has been a major competitive international sport in Southeast Asia.

Wider acceptance of *sepak takraw* outside of Southeast Asia has been slow but steady. The Asian Sepak Takraw Federation (ASTAF) proposed in 1967 that the sport be included in the Asian Games, and it was but only as an exhibition sport. In 1984 ASTAF proposed that *sepak takraw* be accepted as a regular competition but was rebuffed.

In 1988 ASTAF reorganized itself as the International Sepak-Takraw Federation (ISTAF) and began to campaign more vigorously for wider global acceptance of *sepak takraw*. This acceptance occurred in 1990 when *sepak takraw* was included in the eleventh Asian Games in Beijing, China. Clearly this inclusion was facilitated by the Asian Games' Chinese hosts, who displayed their confidence in the international future of *sepak takraw* by supporting nineteen teams of their own and sending Chinese *sepak takraw* players to train in Malaysia and Singapore.

In 2003 seventeen countries participated in the eighteenth King's Cup Sepak Takraw World Championship in Thailand. Thailand won the men's team event and the women's team event; Malaysia won the men's *regu* event, division 1; South Korea won division 2; Brazil won division 3. Thailand won the women's *regu* event, divisions 1 and 2. Thailand also won the men's and women's circle event.

The Future

Internationalization brings standardization, and, if *sepak takraw* continues to grow in popularity, the hand-woven rattan ball—one of the sport's most distinctive features—may become a relic. Unfortunately, the ball varies considerably in circumference and weight and is difficult to produce even within the flexible official guidelines—40 to 42.5 centimeters in circumference and 160 to 180 grams in weight. Trivial though such variations may seem, they are a challenge to the replicable criteria that increasingly govern modern sports. Not surprisingly, a company in Singapore now manufactures absolutely standard *sepak takraw* balls. They

Leadership is a matter of having people look at you and gain confidence, seeing how you react. If you're in control, they're in control. ■ TOM LANDRY

are woven in the traditional pattern but of precisely milled plastic strips and not of rattan. The Thais are already playing competitively with such balls, and the acceptance of plastic seems inevitable.

With the traditional rattan ball on its way to the museum, with international rules and established venues, *sepak takraw* seems established as an international sport. Longtime popularity in Southeast Asia and more recently in China ensures its survival as a major competitive sport. Whether it can move beyond its present level of popularity will depend more on commercial considerations and communications than on purely sporting values.

Alan Trevithick

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Sex and Performance

People have debated the impact of sex (defined in published studies as heterosexual intercourse) on athletic performance for the past two thousand years. Writer Jeff Merron notes that the Roman historian Pliny the Elder tackled the issue in 77 CE. Pliny said, "Athletes when sluggish are revitalized by love-making, and the voice is restored from being gruff and husky." The late New York Yankees manager Casey Stengel reportedly said, "The trouble is not that players have sex the night before a game. It's that they stay out all night looking for it." Several famous athletes claimed to abstain from sex for days or weeks before a race or other athletic event. The great U.S. miler Marty Liquori thought abstinence the best policy. "Sex makes you happy," he said, "and happy people don't run a 3:47 mile." Lynn

Jennings, 1993 U.S. 10-kilometer title winner, said, “I found that sex the night before solidifies my core feeling of happiness” and helped her win.

Testimonials aside, does any scientific evidence support either side of this debate? Researchers Boone and Gilmore studied the impact of sexual intercourse twelve hours prior to a treadmill exercise test to measure physical performance with a group of eleven sedentary men. The results from the test indicated that sexual intercourse had no impact on test results: Sexual intercourse did not diminish performance.

Researchers Anderson, Wei, and Shyu studied the relationship between sexual activity and four other health measures on the marathon running performance of sixty-one men and fourteen women whose ages ranged from seventeen to sixty-five. On average the subjects were forty-one years old, had been running regularly for twelve years, and had run an average of fifteen previous events. Results showed that marathon runners’ sexual activity was not related to their relative running performance. Those who slept more and took in more calories, compared with the amount they slept and the calories they consumed in previous events, performed better in the marathon, compared with their performance in previous events. Drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes were not related to self-reported running success.

Writing for the *Western Gazette*, David Lee noted that Dr. Earl Noble, a professor in the faculty of health sciences, believes no link exists between sex and decreased athletic performance. Although Noble stated that the research he was aware of was far from conclusive, he believes it points in the right direction. “Personally, I believe that anytime you start disrupting normal behavior, you’re going to start having negative effects in whatever you do, be it academics or athletics. Whatever you’re accustomed to is what you should do” (Lee 2004).

In 1999 Italian scientists found that testosterone levels in men increased as sexual activity increased. These data could suggest that a rendezvous in the bedroom might lead to higher rates of aggression the next day—and enhance athletic performance.

With little scientific evidence and conflicting opinions offered by coaches, pundits, and athletes themselves, how do athletes behave while competing? According to a report by Paul Hochman, at the 1992 winter Olympics at Albertville, France, condom machines in the athletes’ village had to be refilled every two hours. At the Olympics in Sydney, Australia, in 2000 the organizers’ original order of seventy thousand condoms went so fast that they had to order twenty thousand more. Even with the replenishment, the supply was exhausted three days before the end of the competition schedule. This anecdotal evidence does not mean that all the condoms were used for sex or that only athletes used them, but it may help us frame future research.

In conclusion, James stated that despite the fact that sexual abstinence before an athletic event has been advocated by crusty football coaches, Olympic athletes, and even U.S. boxer Muhammad Ali in his prime, no one really knows how the practice got started or whether it is in an athlete’s best interest. Depending on the athlete’s frame of mind, the little scientific evidence available supports the notion that it couldn’t hurt and it might help. In view of the lack of scientific evidence on the subject and the conflicting testimonials, athletes these days seem confused about having sex the night before an athletic contest. Although the commonly believed benefits of sexual abstinence have a long tradition, the little scientific evidence available and the majority opinion among athletes, coaches, and physicians now are that sex has little or no effect on athletic performance. The psychosocial reality is that every athlete should do what works for him or her. To discover what works may take some experimentation and a willing partner.

Peter B. Anderson

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Sexual Harassment

Sport symbolizes courage, fairness, and morality, but coaches' sexual relations with their athletes diminish this image. Together, the existing literature on sexual harassment in sports; empirical data from studies of sports clubs, coaches, and athletes; and case material from court cases illustrate the complexities and controversies involved, the various stages of the boundary erosion process, and the relevant risk factors. There are, however, prevention strategies that can be adopted to help prevent sexual harassment and abuse of athletes by their peers, coaches, or other authorities.

Most athletes are able to pursue their sporting aspirations with the positive feedback and support in their sporting environment, but others may experience various forms of sexual harassment and abuse (also named *sexual exploitation* as a collective term) such as initiation rituals, sexist jokes, and sexualized language, or unwanted touching, groping, or intercourse—either from peer athletes, coaches, or other sports authorities. Besides devastating sport careers, coaches' sexual harassment and abuse is a degrading and painful reality in the lives of too many athletes—male and female, child and adolescents. The coach-athlete relationship is an asymmetric power relation based on trust that—if not carefully administered—may easily lead to emotional or physical exploitation. Research and clinical practice outside sports demonstrate that sexual abuse is neither accidental nor spontaneous, even though perpetrators often claim this to be the case. There are always precursors to the abuse, with distinct stages of

deliberate planning, grooming, and execution. Within sports, the scenario is often the same: a conscious grooming of the family and victim to gain their complete trust. The overlapping stages of selection, building confidence, seduction, and abuse are known as the boundary erosion process. Some of the most relevant and important questions about sexual harassment and abuse are the following:

- How and why do coaches do it, and why doesn't anyone see or do anything to prevent it from happening?
- What is the prevalence of sexual harassment and abuse in sports?
- Which risk factors predominate in detecting harassment and abuse?
- What choices and narrative components cause coaches to enter the path of deviant behavior?

What Is Sexual Coach Behavior?

When speaking of sexual relations between a coach and an athlete, some of the most commonly used terms are *sexual harassment*, *sexual abuse*, *sexual molestation*, *sexual misconduct*, and *abuse of trust*. Within this article, *sexual exploitation* is used as collective term for both sexual harassment and abuse. Though often used synonymously and closely related, *sexual harassment* and *sexual abuse* are two different things with separate definitions.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment is often referred to as forms of unwanted attention such as sexually oriented comments, jokes, or bullying based on sex, whereas *sexual abuse* is mainly associated with forced or coerced physical intimacy. The Australian Sports Commission (1988) defines sexual harassment as “behaviour that has a sexual element, that is unwelcome and that could reasonably be expected, in the circumstances in which it occurs, to offend, humiliate or intimidate the person or people at whom it is directed.”

According to the Women Sport International Task Force (1998), sexual harassment may include the following:

Written or verbal abuses or threats; sexually oriented comments; jokes, lewd comments or sexual innuendoes; taunts about body, dress, marital status or sexuality; shouting and/or bullying; ridiculing or undermining of performance or self-respect; sexual or homophobic graffiti; practical jokes based on sex; intimidating sexual remarks; invitations or familiarity; domination of meetings, training sessions or equipment; condescending or patronizing behaviour; physical contact, fondling, pinching or kissing; sex-related vandalism; offensive phone calls or photos; bullying on the basis of sex.

Sexual harassment is against the law, and it conflicts with the United Nations declaration on human rights and equal opportunity acts. In most countries, sexual harassment is criminalized by laws regarding sexual indecency or equal opportunity.

SEXUAL ABUSE

Sexual abuse may be defined as an exchange of rewards or privileges for sexual favors, groping, indecent exposure, rape, or anal or vaginal penetration by penis, fingers, or objects. Summarizing the literature on abuse definitions, Riley points out, "In sexual abuse, the abuser is an adult or adolescent who uses the child for a sexual act to satisfy his need for power, bravado, tenderness and contact as well as his erotic desires to the detriment of the child. The child victim is sexually aroused or drawn into a sexual act, the meaning of which she (/he) does not completely understand, and in which is inappropriate for her age, her emotional development and her role within the family" (1991, 17). Sexual abuse violates criminal laws universally.

Sexual Exploitation Continuum

The British sport sociologist Celia Brackenridge has placed the various forms of sexual coach behaviors—such as discrimination, harassment, assault, and rape—within a continuum of sexual exploitation, with mild and severe types of sexual exploitation at the ends of the continuum. The individual may experience the behavior as exploitative, though not criminalized by law.

Such behavior may be construed to belong to a grey zone area, where the experienced behavior is highly dependent on context and individual interpretation. According to these definitions of harassment and abuse, a single accidental touch of an athlete's arm, though unwanted, would not constitute sexual harassment. Many sport clubs do not have ethical guidelines or codes of conduct, so this may be considered as a grey area. Athlete-coach relations when athletes are older than the legal age of consent form another grey area.

The legal threshold, however, defines the boundary of the laws regarding anything from sexual indecency to forced genital acts and rape. Although some athletes may feel hurt, wounded, or even abused long before the legal threshold, the opposite may also be the case—some athletes either put up with or accept behavior that is far beyond the legal threshold. Empirical data from a case study of 189 police reports validates this notion by showing that most sport-related sexual abuse cases are only detected and unfold years after the actual abuse. The typical pattern shows that old cases are regularly identified in relation to more recent abuse allegations. Research shows that some athletes, though admitting being abused, do not file a police report and avoid the emotional turmoil of going through a court process. These results illustrate that only a fraction of cases may lead to court convictions and that the problem of sexual harassment and abuse may be heavily underreported.

Myths and Taboos

The phenomenon of sexual exploitation is shrouded in myths and taboos because it includes elements of private sexuality and types of perverse behavior. Sexual harassment and abuse is generally associated with physical force, threats, and the use of force, but the contradictory reality shows that most cases of sexual harassment and abuse happen after careful grooming, where the athlete is seduced or lured into believing that sexual involvement with the coach is acceptable, unavoidable, or a normal part of training or everyday behavior. When voluntary leaders or coaches who are thought to be

representing a morally strong activity are accused of “molesting” a child, the most common reaction is disbelief or denial. The reactions to sexual exploitation often vary between extreme disbelief and the urge to punish the abuser. We want to believe that we are able to read people around us; subsequently, people ignore the fact that the abuse can happen to their children and that the abuser can be someone they admire and trust. This has to do with the way we perceive our surroundings and the cultural status of coaches and sports more generally.

Response of Sports Organizations to Harassment and Abuse

During the past fifteen to twenty years, sports organizations around the world, including the International Olympic Committee, have gone through various stages of denial, subsequently causing sports to lag behind other public organizations in defining inappropriate behavior and developing child-protection policies. Initially, sports organizations have tried to deal with cases of sexual harassment and abuse as separate or “one-off cases,” rather than recognizing that sexual harassment and abuse arise from problematic power and gender relations. Why do some coaches make it their mandate to become *the* authority on everything for the athlete such as diet, weight, dress, and social behavior? In her book *Spoilsports*, Brackenridge points out, “In considering the social process by which athletes come to be exploited sexually, and how authority figures like coaches come to assume dominance and control over athletes, it is clear that these expressions of agency arise from long-term, collective, socio-cultural influences” (2001, 127). These collective, sociocultural influences are closely connected to the implicit values of sports, such as the following:

- Sports should be a carefree meeting place between adults and children with no or few restrictions.
- Being a volunteer in sports is a quality in itself, regardless of past qualifications.

- The fear of interfering with and regulating intimacy in sports is rooted in the understanding of sport as a morally sound and apolitical institution.

Previous Research

Intrafamilial sexual abuse was established as a social problem as early as 1962, and literature on sexual harassment in the workplace and in educational settings started appearing in the early 1970s, but sexual abuse in sports was not discovered and described by academia until 1986. Since then, sport researchers have documented the problem of sexual exploitation in Canada, the United States, Great Britain, Norway, Holland, Germany, and Denmark.

Currently, there are no reliable statistics or prevalence figures on sexual harassment and abuse cases, but apparently sexual harassment and abuse is a relevant issue in all sports disciplines—in individual as well as team sports, and from beginner’s level in recreational sports to the highest elite level. Based on the existing prevalence data, researchers are suggesting that between 2 and 22 percent of athletes experience severe forms of sexual abuse some time in their sporting careers. However, a Norwegian survey by Fasting, Brackenridge, and Sundgot-Borgen (2000) indicates that the risk of harassment and abuse in sports is not significantly higher than outside sports. In sports, bodily domain boundaries are often broken down, so it is likely that athletes become more tolerant toward intimate behavior than are people who are not involved in sports.

Empirical data about the incidence of sexual abuse are difficult to collect and, because of heavy reporting, mostly unreliable. Adding to the methodological complexity are issues such as securing confidentiality for all involved informants and dealing with the problems of revelation and fear of reprisal. Furthermore, reliability and validity are flawed by differences in definitions of abuse, the source of reports, the purpose of the studies, ethics, and consent and sampling techniques. Several qualitative approaches based on interviews and smaller case studies have tried to explore important aspects

*If you are prepared, you will be confident,
and will do the job.* ■ TOM LANDRY

such as risk factors, abuse dynamics, and the personal experiences of both coaches and athletes from being involved in sexual coach-athlete relationships.

What Triggers Sexual Harassment and Abuse in Sports?

In search of an explanatory model of what triggers sexual harassment and abuse in sport, Brackenridge has introduced the contingency theory. Adding to existing abuse theories by Finkelhor (1984), the contingency theory identifies three key factors of importance:

1. *Coach inclination:* The risk is related to the coach's motivation to engage in a sexual relationship based on emotional congruence, sexual arousal, blockage, and disinhibition.
2. *Sports opportunity:* The risk is related to the normative cultures of sports and to constitutive structures.
3. *Athlete vulnerability:* The risk is related to the susceptibility of the athlete and coping with emotional pressure or sexual advances.

Who's at Risk and Who Is the Abuser?

The existing literature on child abuse suggests that one in four girls and one in nine boys will experience sexual abuse before the age of eighteen. Much of the literature on harassment and abuse in sports also suggests that these figures could apply in sports, particularly with adolescent athletes. Most existing literature has focused on competitive sports and male coach-female athlete relationships, and very little attention has been granted to recreational sports and homosexual relations or to the relations between male coaches and male athletes.

Results from a recent case study of 189 police reports (Toftegaard Nielsen, 2004), however, show that 63 percent of the abused athletes were boys compared with 37 percent girls. The average age of the abused children was found to be twelve years with a low of six years and a high of seventeen years. Even though most perpetrators target lonely children with low self-esteem, weak social

contact, poor family bonding, or who generally seek physical or emotional attention, well functioning children and adolescents may also be drawn into a sexual relationship with the coach. These characteristics appear to be more outspoken for heterosexual relationships, where coaches typically claim that the relationship is equivalent to any other romantic love affair based on mutual respect and understanding. Furthermore, the rationale used by coaches under such circumstances could also include a strategy of blaming the athletes for being flirtatious, taking initiative, or appearing to be older or more mature than their peers. According to the Danish researchers, approximately 20 to 25 percent of cases fell into the category of hebephile relationships—where coaches were sexually intimate with athletes older than the age of puberty. Conversely, 75 to 80 percent can be defined as pedophilia—where the coaches had been sexually intimate with children under the stage of puberty.

In more than 99 percent of the existing abuse cases, perpetrators have been male. This does not mean that female coaches will not engage in forbidden zone intimacy, but there have been very few allegations and no convictions of female coaches. The existing case material indicates that 69 percent of the abusers are between twenty-five and thirty-seven years old. The average age is thirty-five, with a low of twenty and a high of seventy years. Drawing on the police interrogation material of the perpetrators, very little evidence indicates that these men have gone into sports solely to be sexually involved with children or adolescents. For some coaches, sexual misconduct may develop as the result of a reach and retreat process—in which the coach learns how to use power, position, trust, and persuasion as tools to overcome the athlete's resistance. Empirical knowledge about risk factors and developmental stages is still rather scarce and needs further validation.

Context: Grooming of Athletes and Their Environments

The relationship between a coach and an athlete may develop into an intimate relationship because of a

Table 1.
Grooming Phases, Coaches, and Behavior

Grooming phases	Categories of coach behavior	Examples of behavior
Confidence and trust	Instruction related	Verbal or physical correction of technique, assisting landings, etc.
	Indirectly instruction-related	Training outside normal hours, at unfamiliar training settings, driving to and from training, competition, etc., injury treatment, massage.
Seduction	Non-instruction-related	Meeting outside the sport context, discussing private matters not relevant for sports, drinking alcohol in a sporting context.
	Verbal or physical advances	Asking the athlete out for dinner or movie or asking the athlete to massage the coach.
Abuse	Exercising powerful behavior	Threatening or using physical force to obtain compliance.

common interest and the strong commitment of both coach and athlete. Within the first phase of the relationship, the building of confidence is founded on various forms of instruction-related behavior such as giving feedback on technique, tactics, assisting on landings (gymnastics), or getting seated (horse riding). While making the athlete feeling comfortable through games and having fun, the coach will have an opportunity to spot the athlete's level of self-esteem and his or her strengths and weaknesses. Whether at a conscious level or not, the perpetrator will chose his victim carefully, and within weeks, months, or years, subtly initiate more and more ambiguous behavior. The coach may start spending more time with a particular athlete, giving extra positive feedback, telling the athlete that he or she has special talents, and encouraging the athlete to consult the coach on personal matters. Because the sport is so important, the athlete may idolize the coach and present him in a very positive light, thereby legitimizing spending more and more time doing sports. For the coach, however, this may be the first stage in isolating the athlete by setting up difficult training regimes and demanding that the athlete put the sport before family and friends. If parents start complaining about this, the coach may tell the athlete that this is normal and that parents cannot understand what it takes to become a winner. The coach may also try to isolate the athlete from friends in or outside sports, by telling lies about teammate conspiracies or asking the athlete to keep their special friendship as a secret.

Once the coach has selected and isolated the athlete, the overlapping stages of seduction and abuse may

progress. Empirical data show that this boundary erosion process often follows the same pattern (see Table 1):

- From group-oriented to personal-focused behavior
- From verbal to physical behavior
- From instruction-related to non-instruction-related behavior

The climax stage of the relationship depends highly on the maturity and strength of the athlete and the persistence and sexual preferences of the coach. Most pedophiles prefer boys younger than eleven to twelve years old and may have several parallel relations at the same time, where most hebephile abusers seem to prefer girls older than twelve to thirteen years of age. Sexual abuse can happen in seconds or last for years. In 60 percent of cases, the athletes are subjected to the coach's sexual behavior for between three and six months, and in 13 percent of cases for four to five years or longer. Many athletes who have experienced the consequences of losing access to a sporting environment, losing privileges, or being socially isolated have also experienced the revictimization of the coach. In most cases, athletes have been able to terminate the sexual relations by moving, becoming injured or sick, or simply standing up to the coach.

Personal Experiences of Athletes and Coaches

The voices of both athletes and coaches are extremely important for understanding the complex structures of the coach-athlete relationship and for identifying effective prevention measures. Athletes who have not been in a sexual coach-athlete relationship generally

have a wide tolerance toward instruction-related intimacy, whereas athletes who have come out of abusive relationships show little tolerance toward physical intimacy in sports. The following quotation from an abused athlete sums up some of the consequences and contradictory emotions after an abusive relationship:

It strikes me how strange it is that one can look so good and feel so miserable inside. I was filled up with pain. It is only just now seeping out, sometimes while I'm lying down crying, quietly or hysterically, kicking into the wall or writing about how cruel he was to destroy me this way. Now I consult a psychologist. I feel pain in my stomach and a knot in my chest. I wonder why I time upon time went along with it and even begged for it, when so many resources inside of me were trying to fight it.

Generally, coaches seem to have more liberal attitudes toward non-instruction-related behavior such as touching and hugging an athlete, flirting, or being in an intimate coach-athlete relationship, particularly when athletes are older than the legal age of consent. The results of a questionnaire among 275 Danish elite youth coaches showed that 30 percent thought it was “yes—definitely acceptable,” 36 percent thought it was “yes—possibly acceptable” to engage in an intimate relationship with an athlete older than the age of consent, and 5 percent admitted doing so. Two percent admitted having an intimate relationship with an athlete less than fifteen years old (Toftgaard Nielsen 2001). Police records show that nine of ten convicted coaches initially denied the sexual abuse charges. It is difficult to obtain an objective version of what has happened if we only listen to one side of the story. Police interrogations with coaches do not represent an objective truth because stories and statements are collected for specific legal purposes. However, the inconsistencies between the statements made by coaches and those made by athletes illustrate that the perpetrating coaches seek instruction-related explanations for their criminal behavior and that coaches rarely feel responsible for the development of the case. Apparently, few coaches have entered sport for the reason of perpetrating; moreover, coaches likely

shape their narratives to fit as they continue inappropriate behavior.

Preventing Sexual Harassment and Abuse

Besides being fun, sports should provide important opportunities for personal achievement and development. Children and adolescents are often encouraged to join sports to improve their self-confidence and physical strength, and most athletes enjoy sports for their competitive, social, or physical aspects. Although not every intimate relationship between a coach and an athlete is based on an abuse of power by the coach, such relations are a danger area where consequences can be harmful to both the sport and themselves. From an ethical perspective, coaches should observe the professional responsibilities of being authority figures and act respectfully toward their athletes—regardless of age. However novel and obvious this may seem to most coaches, the problem of prevention work is how to direct information and secure compliance among those who become emotionally and sexually involved with their athletes. Several approaches with varying success have been used to prevent sexual abuse in sports:

- In general, those who are in favor of more regulation claim that requiring a coach's license or a compulsory criminal background check will send an important message and keep perpetrators out of sports.
- Another approach is to make information campaigns about the potential problem of harassment and simultaneously reward democratic leadership and safe sports environments. Even though very little is known about the effect of prevention campaigns, the lack of evidence about their effect cannot be used as an excuse for not doing anything.

At the organizational level, it is important to facilitate an antiharassment policy and develop a complaints procedure to deal with breaches of the policy. To be effective, these must be combined with an information and education campaign for all participants in the organization. An antiharassment policy should include a

statement declaring that the sports organization is committed to providing

- A work that effectively will deal with the problem
- An outline of the organization's objectives and strategies regarding harassment
- Clear definitions of to whom and under what circumstances the organization guidelines will apply

Individual athletes may find it difficult to talk about bullying, sexual harassment, or sexual abuse and even more difficult to stop the exploitation. Before the behavior gets too far, however, an athlete should tell the coach that he or she has crossed the athlete's boundaries and simply ask the coach to stop doing it. If athletes are not comfortable doing this in person, then they should write it down, send it, and keep a copy of the letter as documentation. Athletes must also be willing to let other people see that there is a problem. Athletes who feel insecure, or fear that they may be misinterpreting something, should seek information. The more an athlete knows, the better the athlete will be able to understand the experiences—whether they are harmless or cases of harassment or abuse. Other actions athletes can take to deal with possible abuse or harassment are the following:

- Talk to a trusted adult or call a telephone hotline. Athletes should be told to provide an example of the behavior that they find unpleasant and tell how they feel and think about it. This may help them listen to themselves—athletes should not ignore their physical or psychological reactions.
- Seek professional help if the athlete continues to feel anxious, is unable to sleep, has eating disorders, or feels depressed.
- File complaints with the board of the sports club. If any legal boundaries have been crossed, the athlete may want to report it to the police. A court case does not guarantee that the abuser will be convicted, but this will likely deter the coach from continuing approaches to the athlete or fellow athletes.

Sexual exploitation is not about sex; it is about dominant power and the abuse of that power. Child

protection and athletes' rights are relatively new issues on the sports agenda. To make sports safer and more enjoyable for everyone, more information, education, and dialogue is needed on critical issues such as coach-athlete intimacy, sexual harassment, and sexual abuse.

Jan Toftegaard Nielsen

See also Feminist Perspective; Gender Equity; Sexuality

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BERKSHIRE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

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World Sport



VOLUME **4**

David Levinson *and*
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Editors

BERKSHIRE PUBLISHING GROUP

Great Barrington, Massachusetts U.S.A.

www.iWorldSport.com

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For information:

Berkshire Publishing Group LLC
314 Main Street
Great Barrington, Massachusetts 01230
www.berkshirepublishing.com

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Berkshire encyclopedia of world sport / David Levinson and Karen Christensen, general editors.

p. cm.

Summary: "Covers the whole world of sport, from major professional sports and sporting events to community and youth sport, as well as the business of sports and key social issues"—Provided by publisher.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

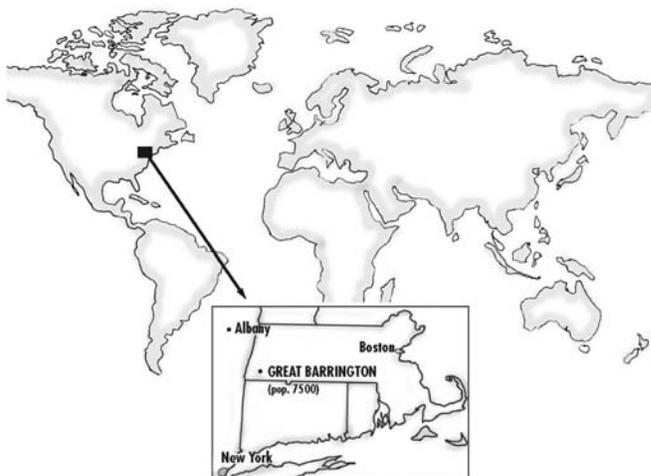
ISBN 0-9743091-1-7

1. Sports—Encyclopedias. I. Levinson, David, 1947- II. Christensen, Karen, 1957-

GV567.B48 2005

796.03-dc22

2005013050



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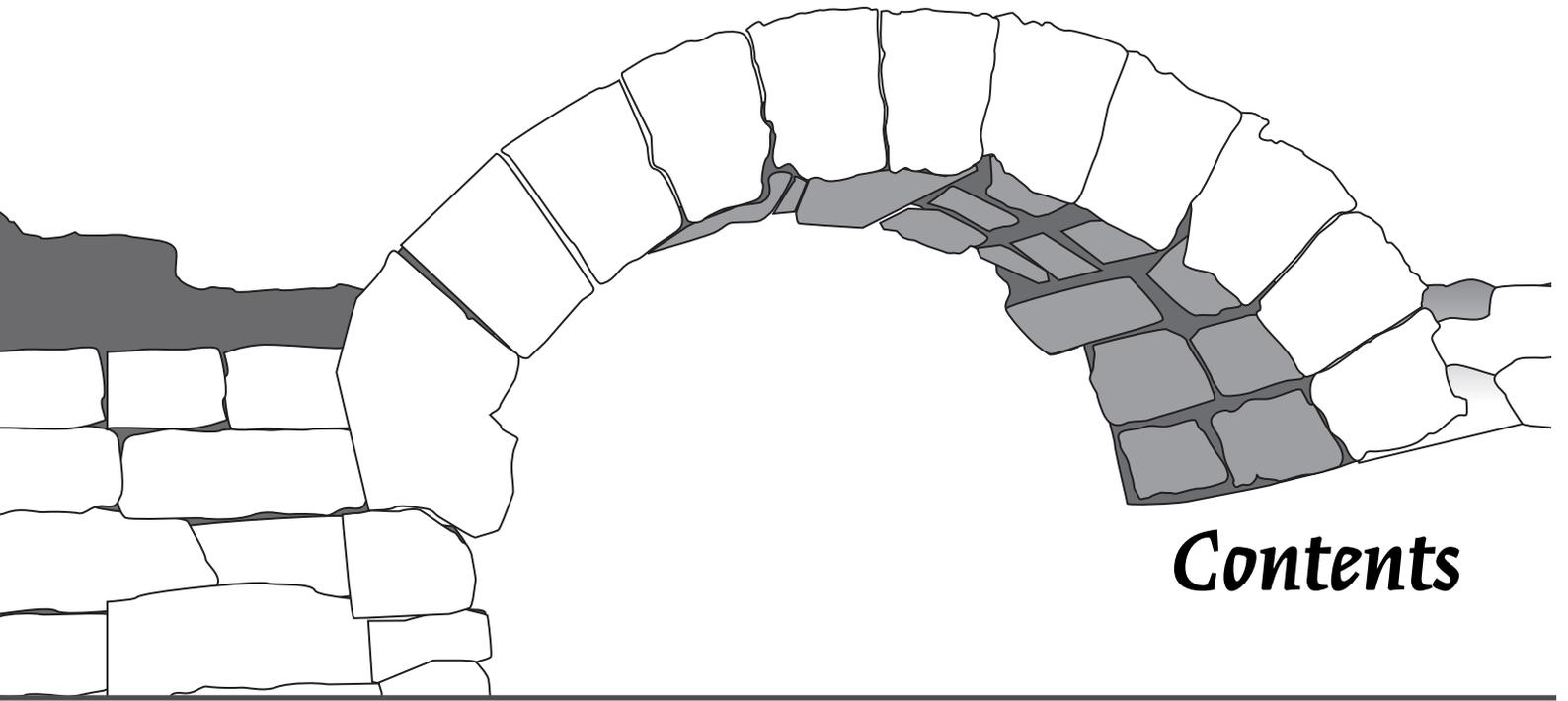
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Contents

List of Entries, ix
Reader's Guide, xiii

Entries

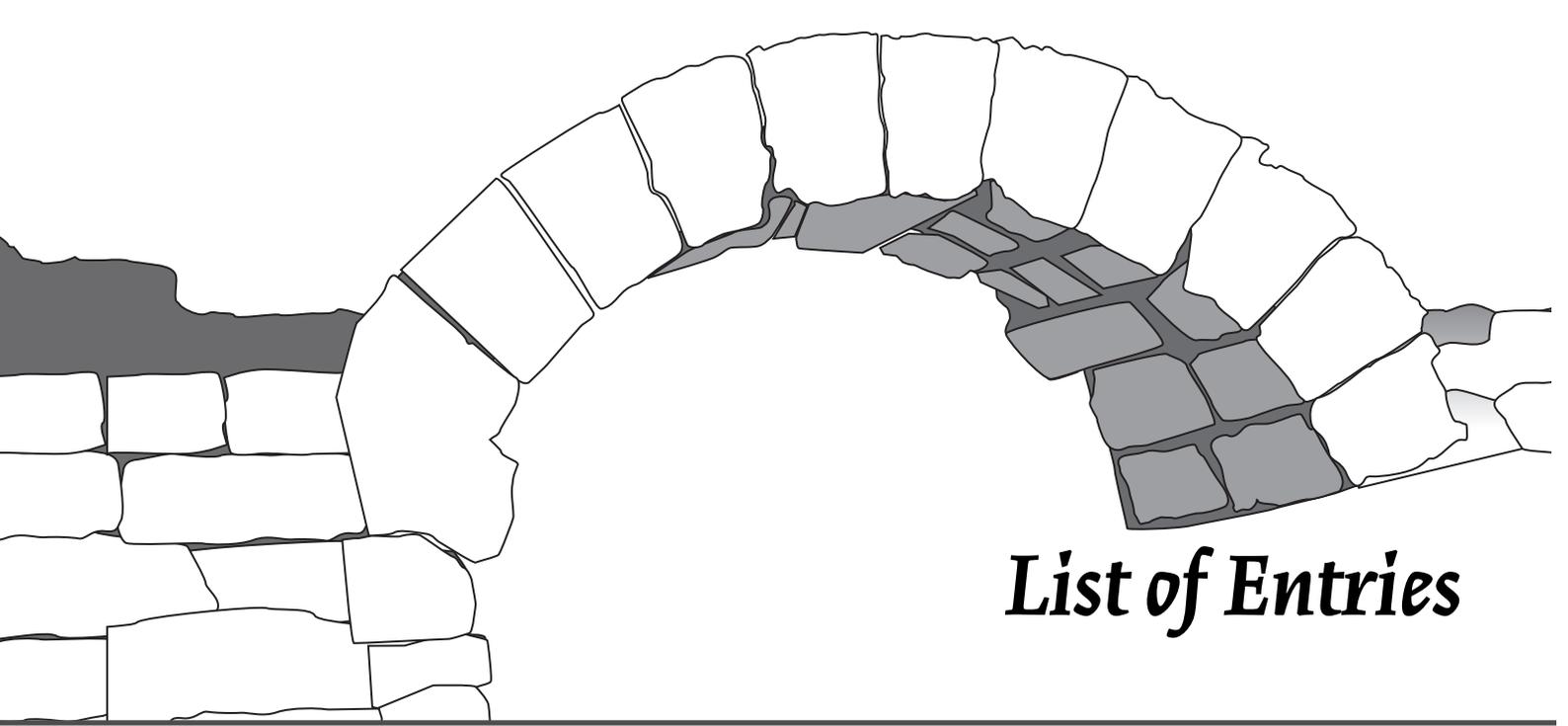
VOLUME I:
Academies and Camps, Sport–Dance
2

VOLUME II:
DanceSport–Kinesiology
443

VOLUME III:
Kite Sports–Sexual Harassment
903

VOLUME IV:
Sexuality–Youth Sports
1357

Index 1751



List of Entries

- Academies and Camps, Sport
Adapted Physical Education
Adventure Education
Aerobics
Aesthetics
African Games
Agents
AIDS and HIV
Aikido
All England Lawn Tennis and
 Croquet Club
Alternative Sports
Amateur vs. Professional Debate
American Sports Exceptionalism
American Youth Soccer
 Organization (AYSO)
America's Cup
Anemia
Animal Rights
Anthropology Days
Anti-Jock Movement
Arab Games
Archery
Argentina
Arm Wrestling
Art
Ascot
Ashes, The
Asian Games
Astrodome
- Athletes as Celebrities
Athletes as Heroes
Athletic Talent Migration
Athletic Training
Australia
Australian Rules Football
Austria
Auto Racing
- Badminton
Ballooning
Baseball
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Wives
Basketball
Baton Twirling
Beauty
Belgium
Biathlon and Triathlon
Billiards
Biomechanics
Biotechnology
Bislett Stadium
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Boating, Ice
Bobsledding
Body Image
Bodybuilding
Bondi Beach
- Boomerang Throwing
Boston Marathon
Bowls and Bowling
Boxing
Brand Management
Brazil
British Open
Bulgaria
Bullfighting
Burnout
Buzkashi
- Cameroon
Camogie
Canada
Canoeing and Kayaking
Capoeira
Carnegie Report
Carriage Driving
Central American and
 Caribbean Games
Cheerleading
Child Sport Stars
China
Clubsport Systems
Coaching
Coeducational Sport
Coliseum (Rome)
Collective Bargaining
College Athletes

- Commercialization of College Sports
- Commodification and Commercialization
- Commonwealth Games
- Community
- Competition
- Competitive Balance
- Cooperation
- Country Club
- Cricket
- Cricket World Cup
- Croquet
- Cross-Country Running
- Cuba
- Cultural Studies Theory
- Curling
- Cycling
- Czech Republic

- Dance
- DanceSport
- Darts
- Davis Cup
- Deaflympics
- Denmark
- Diet and Weight Loss
- Disability Sport
- Disordered Eating
- Diving
- Drake Group
- Duathlon

- East Germany
- Economics and Public Policy
- Egypt
- Eiger North Face
- Elfstedentocht
- Elite Sports Parents
- Endorsements
- Endurance
- Environment

- ESPN
- Euro 2004
- European Football Championship
- Eurosport
- Exercise and Health
- Extreme Sports
- Extreme Surfing

- Facility Management
- Facility Naming Rights
- Falconry
- Family Involvement
- Fan Loyalty
- Fantasy Sports
- Fashion
- Feminist Perspective
- Fencing
- Fenway Park
- Finland
- Fishing
- Fitness
- Fitness Industry
- Floorball
- Flying
- Folk Sports
- Footbag
- Football
- Football, Canadian
- Football, Flag
- Football, Gaelic
- Foro Italico
- Foxhunting
- France
- Franchise Relocation
- Free Agency

- Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0)
- Gay Games
- Gender Equity
- Gender Verification
- Germany

- Globalization
- Goalball
- Golf
- Greece
- Greece, Ancient
- Growth and Development
- Gymnastics, Apparatus
- Gymnastics, Rhythmic

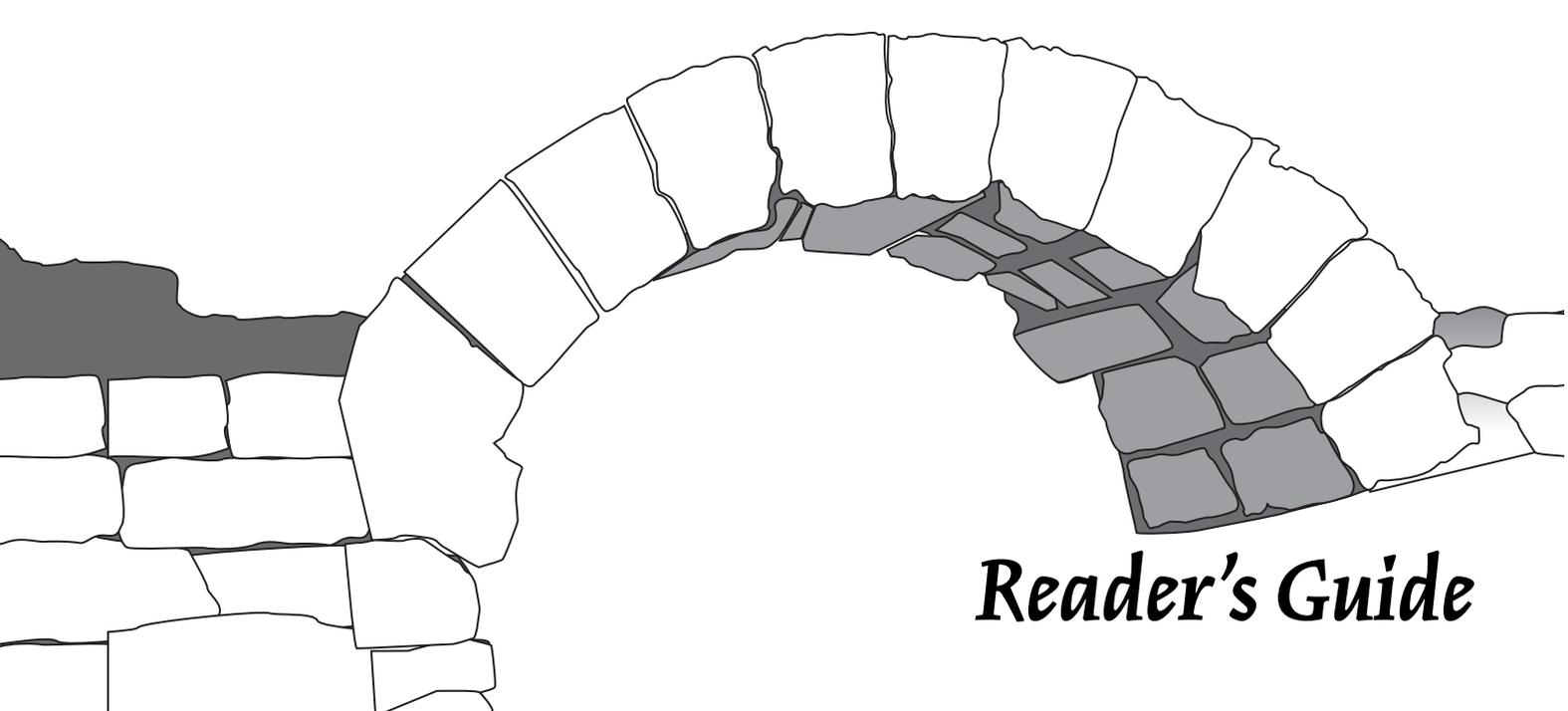
- Handball, Team
- Hang Gliding
- Hazing
- Henley Regatta
- Heptathlon
- Highland Games
- Hockey, Field
- Hockey, Ice
- Hockey, In-line
- Holmenkollen Ski Jump
- Holmenkollen Sunday
- Home Field Advantage
- Homophobia
- Honduras
- Horse Racing
- Horseback Riding
- Human Movement Studies
- Hungary
- Hunting
- Hurling

- Iditarod
- India
- Indianapolis 500
- Injuries, Youth
- Injury
- Injury Risk in Women's Sport
- Innebandy
- Interallied Games
- Intercollegiate Athletics
- International Olympic Academy
- International Politics
- Internet



- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Interpretive Sociology | Marathon and Distance Running | Pain |
| Iran | Marketing | Pan American Games |
| Ireland | Mascots | Parachuting |
| Ironman Triathlon | Masculinity | Paralympics |
| Islamic Countries' Women's
Sports Solidarity Games | Masters | Pebble Beach |
| Israel | Media-Sports Complex | Pelota |
| Italy | Memorabilia Industry | Pentathlon, Modern |
| | Mental Conditioning | Performance |
| | Mesoamerican Ball Court Games | Performance Enhancement |
| Jamaica | Mexico | Personality |
| Japan | Mixed Martial Arts | Physical Education |
| Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional | Motivation | Pilates |
| Jogging | Motorboat Racing | Play vs. Organized Sport |
| Jousting | Motorcycle Racing | Play-by-Play Announcing |
| Judo | Mount Everest | Poland |
| Jujutsu | Mountain Biking | Polo |
| | Mountaineering | Polo, Bicycle |
| Karate | Movies | Polo, Water |
| Karting | Multiculturalism | Portugal |
| Kendo | | Postmodernism |
| Kenya | Naginata | Powerlifting |
| Kinesiology | Narrative Theory | Prayer |
| Kite Sports | Native American Games and
Sports | Professionalism |
| Koreas | Netball | Psychology |
| Korfball | Netherlands | Psychology of Gender Differences |
| | New Zealand | |
| Lacrosse | Newspapers | Race Walking |
| Lake Placid | Nextel (Winston) Cup | Racism |
| Law | Nigeria | Racquetball |
| Le Mans | Norway | Radio |
| Lesbianism | Nutrition | Religion |
| Lifeguarding | | Reproduction |
| Literature | Officiating | Revenue Sharing |
| Lord's Cricket Ground | Olympia | Ringette |
| Luge | Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936 | Rituals |
| | Olympics, 2004 | Rodeo |
| Maccabiah Games | Olympics, Summer | Romania |
| Madison Square Garden | Olympics, Winter | Rome, Ancient |
| Magazines | Orienteering | Rope Jumping |
| Management | Osteoporosis | Rounders and Stoolball |
| Maple Leaf Gardens | Ownership | Rowing |
| Maracana Stadium | | Rugby |

- Russia and USSR
- Ryder Cup
- Sail Sports
- Sailing
- Salary Caps
- Scholar-Baller
- School Performance
- Scotland
- Senegal
- Senior Sport
- Sepak Takraw
- Sex and Performance
- Sexual Harassment
- Sexuality
- Shinty
- Shooting
- Silat
- Singapore
- Skateboarding
- Skating, Ice Figure
- Skating, Ice Speed
- Skating, In-line
- Skating, Roller
- Ski Jumping
- Skiing, Alpine
- Skiing, Cross-Country
- Skiing, Freestyle
- Skiing, Water
- Sled Dog Racing
- Sledding—Skeleton
- Snowboarding
- Snowshoe Racing
- Soaring
- Soccer
- Social Class
- Social Constructivism
- Social Identity
- Softball
- South Africa
- South East Asian Games
- Spain
- Special Olympics
- Spectator Consumption Behavior
- Spectators
- Speedball
- Sponsorship
- Sport and National Identity
- Sport as Religion
- Sport as Spectacle
- Sport Politics
- Sport Science
- Sport Tourism
- Sporting Goods Industry
- Sports Medicine
- Sportsmanship
- Sportswriting and Reporting
- Squash
- St. Andrews
- St. Moritz
- Stanley Cup
- Strength
- Stress
- Sumo
- Sumo Grand Tournament Series
- Super Bowl
- Surf Lifesaving
- Surfing
- Sweden
- Swimming
- Swimming, Synchronized
- Switzerland
- Table Tennis
- Taekwando
- Tai Chi
- Technology
- Tennis
- Title IX
- Tour de France
- Track and Field—Jumping and Throwing
- Track and Field—Running and Hurdling
- Tug of War
- Turkey
- Turner Festivals
- Ultimate
- Underwater Sports
- Unionism
- United Kingdom
- Values and Ethics
- Venice Beach
- Violence
- Volleyball
- Volleyball, Beach
- Wakeboarding
- Weightlifting
- Wembley Stadium
- Wimbledon
- Windsurfing
- Women’s Sports, Media Coverage of
- Women’s World Cup
- Worker Sports
- World Cup
- World Series
- World University Games
- Wrestling
- Wrigley Field
- Wushu
- X Games
- Yankee Stadium
- Yoga
- Youth Culture and Sport
- Youth Sports



Reader's Guide

College Sports

Amateur vs. Professional Debate
Carnegie Report
College Athletes
Drake Group
Intercollegiate Athletics
Racism
Title IX

Culture of Sport

Adapted Physical Education
Adventure Education
Athletes as Celebrities
Athletes as Heroes
Baseball Stadium Life
Baseball Nicknames
Baseball Wives
Burnout
Clubsport Systems
Coaching
Coeducational Sport
Fan Loyalty
Gender Verification
Hazing
Home Field Advantage
Homophobia
Mascots
Mental Conditioning
Motivation
Multiculturalism

Officiating
Performance Enhancement
Personality
Professionalism
Rituals
Sex and Performance
Spectators
Sport as Religion
Sport as Spectacle
Sport Politics
Sportsmanship

Events

African Games
America's Cup
Anthropology Days
Arab Games
Ashes, The
Asian Games
Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford)
Boston Marathon
British Open
Central American and Caribbean
Games
Commonwealth Games
Cricket World Cup
Davis Cup
Deaflympics
Elfstedentocht
Euro 2004

European Football Championship
Games of the New Emerging
Forces (GANFO)
Gay Games
Henley Regatta
Highland Games
Holmenkollen Sunday
Iditarod
Indianapolis 500
Interallied Games
Ironman Triathlon
Islamic Countries' Women's
Sports Solidarity Games
Le Mans
Maccabiah Games
Masters
Nextel (Winston) Cup
Olympics, 2004
Olympics, Summer
Olympics, Winter
Pan American Games
Paralympics
Ryder Cup
South East Asian Games
Special Olympics
Stanley Cup
Sumo Grand Tournament Series
Super Bowl
Tour de France
Turner Festivals



Wimbledon
Women's World Cup
World Cup
World Series
World University Games
X Games

Health and Fitness

Aerobics
AIDS and HIV
Anemia
Athletic Training
Biomechanics
Biotechnology
Diet and Weight Loss
Disordered Eating
Endurance
Exercise and Health
Fitness
Fitness Industry
Injury
Injury Risk in Women's Sport
Jogging
Nutrition
Osteoporosis
Pain
Performance
Pilates
Reproduction
Sports Medicine
Strength
Stress
Tai Chi
Yoga

Media

ESPN
Eurosport
Internet
Magazines
Media-Sports Complex
Newspapers

Play-by-Play Announcing
Radio
Sportswriting and Reporting
Women's Sports,
Media Coverage of

National Profiles

Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Bulgaria
Cameroon
Canada
China
Cuba
Czech Republic
Denmark
East Germany
Egypt
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Greece, Ancient
Honduras
Hungary
India
Iran
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Jamaica
Japan
Kenya
Koreas
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nigeria
Norway

Poland
Portugal
Romania
Rome, Ancient
Russia and USSR
Scotland
Senegal
Singapore
South Africa
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
United Kingdom

Paradigms and Perspectives

Cultural Studies Theory
Feminist Perspective
Human Movement Studies
Interpretive Sociology
Kinesiology
Narrative Theory
Physical Education
Postmodernism
Social Constructivism
Sport Science

Sports Industry

Agents
Athletic Talent Migration
Brand Management
Collective Bargaining
Commodification and Commercialization
Competitive Balance
Endorsements
Facility Management
Facility Naming Rights
Fashion
Franchise Relocation
Free Agency

Management
 Marketing
 Memorabilia Industry
 Ownership
 Revenue Sharing
 Salary Caps
 Spectator Consumption Behavior
 Sponsorship
 Sport Tourism
 Sporting Goods Industry
 Unionism

Sport in Society

Aesthetics
 American Sports Exceptionalism
 Animal Rights
 Art
 Beauty
 Body Image
 Commercialization
 Community
 Competition
 Cooperation
 Country Club
 Economics and Public Policy
 Environment
 Gender Equity
 Globalization
 International Politics
 Law
 Lesbianism
 Literature
 Masculinity
 Movies
 Prayer
 Psychology
 Psychology of Gender Differences
 Religion
 Scholar-Baller
 Sexual Harassment
 Sexuality
 Social Class

Social Identity
 Sport and National Identity
 Technology
 Values and Ethics
 Violence

Sports—Air

Ballooning
 Flying
 Hang Gliding
 Kite Sports
 Parachuting
 Soaring

Sports—Animal

Bullfighting
 Buzkashi
 Carriage Driving
 Falconry
 Foxhunting
 Horse Racing
 Horseback Riding
 Hunting
 Jousting
 Polo
 Rodeo

Sports—Ball

Basketball
 Bowls and Bowling
 Floorball
 Football
 Goalball
 Handball, Team
 Korfbal
 Mesoamerican Ball Court Games
 Pelota
 Netball
 Volleyball
 Volleyball, Beach
 Sepak takraw
 Speedball

Sports—Body Movement and Strength

Baton Twirling
 Bodybuilding
 Capoeira
 Cheerleading
 Dance
 DanceSport
 Gymnastics, Apparatus
 Gymnastics, Rhythmic
 Powerlifting
 Rope Jumping
 Tug of War
 Weightlifting

Sports—Combative and Martial

Aikido
 Archery
 Arm Wrestling
 Boxing
 Bullfighting
 Buzkashi
 Fencing
 Japanese Martial Arts, Traditional
 Jousting
 Judo
 Jujutsu
 Karate
 Kendo
 Mixed Martial Arts
 Naginata
 Shooting
 Silat
 Sumo
 Taekwondo
 Wrestling
 Wushu

Sports—Environmental

Fishing
 Hunting

Foxhunting
Mountaineering
Orienteering

Sports—Field

Australian Rules Football
Camogie
Football
Football, Canadian
Football, Flag
Football, Gaelic
Hockey, Field
Hurling
Innebandy
Lacrosse
Rugby
Shinty
Soccer

Sports—General

Alternative Sports
Disability Sport
Fantasy Sports
Folk Sports
Native American Games and Sports
Senior Sport
Worker Sports

Sports—Ice and Snow

Boating, Ice
Bobsledding
Curling
Hockey, Ice
Luge
Skating, Ice Figure
Skating, Ice Speed
Ski Jumping
Skiing, Alpine
Skiing, Cross-Country
Skiing, Freestyle
Sled Dog Racing

Sledding—Skeleton
Snowboarding
Snowshoe Racing

Sports—Mechanized and Motor

Auto Racing
Carriage Driving
Cycling
Hockey, In-line
Karting
Motorboat Racing
Motorcycle Racing
Mountain Biking
Polo, Bicycle
Skateboarding
Skating, In-line
Skating, Roller

Sports—Mixed

Biathlon and Triathlon
Duathlon
Extreme Sports
Heptathlon
Pentathlon, Modern

Sports—Racket

Badminton
Racquetball
Squash
Table Tennis
Tennis

Sports—Running and Jumping

Cross-Country Running
Heptathlon
Marathon and Distance Running
Race Walking
Track and Field—Running and Hurdling

Sports—Stick and Ball

Baseball
Billiards
Cricket
Croquet
Golf
Rounders and Stoolball
Softball

Sports—Throwing

Boomerang Throwing
Darts
Heptathlon
Ultimate
Track and Field—Jumping and Throwing

Sports—Water

Canoeing and Kayaking
Diving
Extreme Surfing
Lifeguarding
Polo, Water
Rowing
Sail Sports
Sailing
Skiing, Water
Surf Lifesaving
Surfing
Swimming
Swimming, Synchronized
Underwater Sports
Wakeboarding
Windsurfing

Venues

All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club
Ascot
Astrodome
Bislett Stadium
Bondi Beach



Coliseum (Rome)
 Eiger North Face
 Fenway Park
 Foro Italico
 Holmenkollen Ski Jump
 International Olympic Academy
 Lake Placid
 Lord's Cricket Ground
 Madison Square Garden
 Maple Leaf Gardens
 Maracana Stadium
 Mount Everest
 Olympia

Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936
 Pebble Beach
 St. Andrews
 St. Moritz
 Venice Beach
 Wembley Stadium
 Wrigley Field
 Yankee Stadium

Youth Sports

Academies and Camps, Sport
 American Youth Soccer
 Organization (AYSO)

Anti-Jock Movement
 Child Sport Stars
 Elite Sports Parents
 Family Involvement
 Growth and Development
 Injuries, Youth
 Play vs. Organized Sport
 School Performance
 Youth Culture and Sport
 Youth Sports

If the Bible has taught us nothing else, and it hasn't, it's that girls should stick to girls' sports, such as hot oil wrestling, foxy boxing, and such and such. ■ HOMER SIMPSON

Sexuality

As manifestations of human physical embodiment, sports and sexuality have always been intimately related. Depending on the historical era and the cultural context, this intimate relationship has been celebrated, acknowledged, condemned, or denied. These contradictory responses have often occurred simultaneously.

Greek and Roman Athletes

The Romans were less obsessed with the athletic body than were the Greeks, but they, too, understood—and for the most part accepted—the association of sports and sexuality. Odd as it may seem to us, the gladiator who entered the arena and risked his life in armed combat was a sexually charged figure whose physicality excited Roman women of every social class. The gladiator with his sword or trident—not the orator and certainly not the poet—was the embodiment of Roman masculinity. As upper-class brides were prepared for the initiation into womanhood, it was customary to part their hair with a spear that had been dipped in the blood of a slain gladiator. The word *gladius* (“sword”) was often used as a slang term for the penis.

Writing of sexuality and death in the Roman arena, the poet Ovid observed, in *The Art of Love*, “on that sorrowful sand Venus has often contested.” Gladiators were legally “infamous,” but Roman women responded nonetheless (and perhaps all the more) to their sexual attractiveness. Graffiti found in Pompeii proclaim that the gladiator Celadus was *suspirium puellarum* (freely translated: “the heart-throb of all the girls”). His colleague Crescens was the *puparum dominus* (“master of the girls”). Poets such as Juvenal were outraged when respectable women chose gladiators as their lovers: “The sword is what they dote on.” His anger was impotent. Propertius’ poems, which include rhapsodic references to athletic Spartan girls, testify that Roman men were also fascinated by the erotic dimension of women’s sports.

Christian Influences

Christianity ended the pagan adoration of the athletic body. References to the human body as a prison, a charnel house, a grave, or a sink of corruption were ubiquitous in the religious literature of late antiquity as ascetic men and women were inspired to join the ranks of “those who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven” (Matthew 19:2). Late in the fourth century or early in the fifth, Christian antipathy brought an end to the Olympic Games and to gladiatorial combats. Rather than looking to athletes and gladiators as icons of masculinity, devout Christians venerated saints like Simeon Stylites, who glorified God by spending thirty physically inactive years atop a sixty-foot-high Byzantine pillar.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TOURNAMENTS

The medieval tournament was a stage for the ostentatious demonstration of martial skill and valor. It was the preferred place for aristocratic men to vaunt—and for aristocratic women to admire—proud masculinity. Tournament lists may seem far removed from the domain of Eros, but the relationship between feats of arms and the code of courtly love was strikingly direct. The sexual aspects of the tournament were glaringly obvious when the victor’s prize was a *puellam decoram valde* (“nicely dressed young girl”), which was the case at a tournament in the German town of Merseburg in 1226. Sexuality also played a central—if more subtle—role in later tournaments, at which knights demonstrated their prowess as warriors and suggested their potential as lovers. In time, tournaments became less bellicose and more theatrical, but the erotic dimension continued to play a major role. Tournaments became allegories in which men and women masqueraded as Lancelot and Guinevere, as Tristan and Isolde, or as other suitably romantic Arthurian figures. In the typical sixteenth-century tournament, bold knights rescued distressed damsels, after which they retired to a “Temple of Love,” where the gallant men



doffed their battered helmets and received kisses of gratitude. Although the military functions of the tournament never wholly disappeared, the erotic function—properly conventionalized—became increasingly prominent.

Conventionalization of the erotic did not diminish the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church, which repeatedly—and vainly—condemned the medieval and the Renaissance tournament. Clerical hostility was aroused by the un-Christian bloodshed that characterized the earlier tournament, but sublimated sexuality was also an abomination in ascetic eyes. Illuminated manuscripts frequently depicted medieval women engaged in fabulous jousts. A marginal illustration to Pierart dou Tielt's *Saint Graal* shows a combat between two naked women armed with distaffs, one upon a goat, the other on a ram. The scene is imaginary, but it testifies to the association, in the minds of clerical misogynists, of Eros and sports.

Modern Reactions

In the modern era, as sports once again assumed the central role that they played in pagan antiquity, Christian ascetics—Protestant as well as Roman Catholic—were initially hostile. Clerical critics were not motivated to condemnation simply by profanation of the Sabbath (although that was a common theme from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries). Sports were also deplored because of their sensuality and their ability to entice, excite, and sexually arouse participants and spectators alike.

- In the Victorian era, presidents of evangelical colleges warned ominously that football games were orgiastic affairs more fit for pagan thickets than for the groves of academe. In 1892, for instance, the *Wesleyan Christian Advocate* complained that the violent game unleashed “the lower impulses of the physical man” and allowed young males to “find their pleasure in mere sensual energy.”

- When Senda Berenson introduced basketball to the young women of Smith College, in Northampton, Massachusetts, the students were chastely clothed from neck to ankle and the only man allowed in the gymnasium was the president of the college, a man whose age and dignity were thought to immunize him from the danger of sexual arousal.
- When the Australian press reported positively, in October 1907, on “the brown skinned specimens of manhood” and the “bronze Venuses” that were to be seen on the beaches and in the surf, there were immediate protests against “heaps of sprawling men and lads, naked but for a nondescript rag around the middle.”
- In 1933, when Sunny Lowry swam the English Channel, she was berated as a “harlot” because she exposed her bare knees.
- In 1934, Cardinal Rodrigue Villeneuve of Quebec, condemning the “pagan” cult of the body as manifested in sports, bemoaned the rampant concern for “hysterical strength, sensual pleasure, and the development of the human animal.”
- Meanwhile, his European colleagues thundered Episcopal anathemas against female gymnasts who performed before mixed audiences. Their denunciations are repeated today, almost verbatim, by Islamic fundamentalists horrified by the public display of female limbs.

In response to the recurrent charge that sports are a sensual if not a satanic indulgence, most athletes and spectators have defended their passion for sports as if the pleasure they derived from them had no connection whatsoever with human sexuality. Whenever outraged religious traditionalists have called attention to the erotic appeal of the human body at play, high-minded progressive reformers have blandly expatiated on the benefits of sunlight, fresh air, and unencumbered movement. In 1921, for example, the German gymnastics journal, *Die Freie Turnerin*, showed off its new logo—a youthful nude. The edi-

tors distanced themselves from imputations of pornographic intent by claiming the logo represented “a free maiden, with a joyful sense of her strength and her trained body, whose nakedness is unashamed because it is natural.” This kind of wholesome nudity was not, they emphasized, sexual. Countering allegations of prurience, a contributor to *Sport im Bild* announced in 1928 that sports participation actually dissipated “the mists of the erotic” that had enveloped German women. Thanks to sports, women were “cleaner, more free, fresher.”

YMCA workers, physical educators, and coaches went beyond mere self-deceptive denial. In response to the critics’ exasperated insistence that sports can quite obviously be an occasion for erotic play, enthusiasts for sports have propagated the modern myth that a heated contest and a cold shower divert or diminish adolescent sexuality. With luck, they assert, sports may totally extinguish sexual impulses.

This was the conventional wisdom in the heyday of “muscular Christianity,” when nineteenth-century sports were instrumentalized in a misguided effort to dampen erotic ardor and to distract young people from sexual activity. Even as British games masters and American physical educators praised sports as a healthy alternative to fornication and “self-abuse,” the cult of athleticism that they encouraged actually contributed to the sexual activity that was rife in elite British and American boys’ schools such as Eton and Groton. Memoirs of English “public-school”

life, for instance, attest to the continued prevalence of homosexuality among healthy adolescent football players (soccer and rugby) tutored by naively moralistic mentors. The English critic and editor Cyril Connolly recalled his early twentieth-century schooldays at sports-mad Eton and added that homosexuality was “the Forbidden Tree around which our Eden dizzily revolved.” (Like a typical first-year student, Connolly fell in love with a boy who was “good at games and older than I.”) American physical educators seem never to have noticed that the high-school romance of popular fiction

pairs the most athletic of the boys (the star of the football team) with the most athletic of the girls (the captain of the cheerleading squad).

Sexualization of Sports

By the end of the nineteenth century, mainstream Protestants had altered their opposition to sports to the point where YMCA workers were leading the way in inventing new sports (such as basketball and volleyball) and in propagating sports—for girls as well as boys—throughout the United States and elsewhere. Similarly, in 1945, Pope Pius XII broke ranks with his predecessors and affirmed the positive value of modern sports. By the end of the twentieth century, religious opposition to sports had all but disappeared. There is continued opposition to the association of sports and sexuality, but the opposition is motivated less by a rejection of “pagan sexuality” than by distress at levels of promiscuity and outrage at the incidence of sexual predation. “Baseball Annies”



A common sight at boxing matches, a ring girl holding a round card.

Source: *istockphoto/pcwfoto*.

Success is not the result of spontaneous combustion; you must set yourself on fire first. ■ REGGIE LEACH

and other young women eager for sexual unions with their athletic idols have, almost literally, thrown themselves at the feet of collegiate and professional athletes. Basketball star Wilt Chamberlain, who boasted of having slept with 20,000 women, is a notorious example of the athlete willing to accept sexual favors from adoring admirers. Champion boxer Mike Tyson and a number of other high-profile athletes have stood trial for rape. That a number of collegiate and professional athletes have been found guilty of rape and other forms of sexual assault, including domestic violence, has caused understandable concern. Although most athletes are not sexual predators, empirical studies have found that varsity athletes are more likely than are other college students to be accused of sexual offenses.

The negative critique of sports and sexuality is no longer a prominent part of the Christian tradition. As mainstream churches took to celebrations of the joy of sports, to the construction of basketball courts, and to the establishment of church-related sports leagues, Marxist scholars began to deplore the “sexualization” of sports in capitalist society. Drawing from Sigmund Freud as well as from Karl Marx, these scholars blamed sports, which they defined as “the capitalistically deformed form of play,” for the psychological “castration” of the male athlete and for the deflection of male sexuality into sadism, masochism, narcissism, exhibitionism, and homosexuality. Radical feminists have also condemned sports because they enhance a female athlete’s heterosexual attractiveness and thus increase her “erotic exchange-value.” (The greater the value in the sexual marketplace, the more extreme the exploitation.) Although admitting that some women have benefited from sports and from the fitness boom, the sport sociologist Nancy Theberge (1987) nonetheless alleges that sports programs promising enhanced attractiveness represent “not the liberation of women . . . but their continued oppression through the sexualization of physical activity.” The assumption behind the charge of “sexualization” is that sports are not inherently sexual.

The reticulation of assertion and denial has recently become even more bizarrely tangled as Brian Pronger,

Birgit Palzkill, and a number of other homosexual writers have condemned sports for their complicity in the social construction of “hegemonic masculinity,” “compulsory heterosexuality,” and “heteronormativity.”

The Ideal Body

The discussion of sports and sexuality must include comments on the ideal body. Young men are judged not only by their sports prowess but also by the muscularity of their bodies (enhanced, in many cases, by anabolic steroids). Young women are exposed to daily exhortations to exercise and diet. Feminist critics believe these women are coerced into in a hopeless quest for an unattainably perfect body. Crippling injuries and eating disorders are said to be among the consequences of the overemphasis on sports and fitness.

There is some truth to the critics’ indictment. Although no cultural absolute defines the ideal masculine body, the muscularity of the Greek athlete, celebrated in antiquity by sculptors and vase painters, remains the ideal promoted by modern mass media. That body seems functionally related to what were, until recently, the taken-for-granted male roles of physically active protector and provider. Although there is considerable agreement about the desirability of what might be termed the standard mesomorphic male body, cultural ideals for women have varied across a much wider range—from the sinewy bodies of Spartan girls to the debility of foot-bound Chinese brides unable to walk, much less run, on their mutilated feet. Despite the range and variation in cultural ideals, some scholars see a pattern cut by the determined scissors of patriarchal power: In their book *Face Value: The Politics of Beauty* (1985) Robin Tolmach Lakoff and Raquel L. Scherr argue that female desirability over time has stressed “feminine helplessness and passivity” while male beauty in art is rarely depicted that way.

Other scholars see quite a different pattern. The anthropologist April Fallon suggests that focus on exotic extremes, like the Karen women of Burma, whose stretched and weakened necks require the support of

twenty-four brass rings, deflects attention from the nearly universal consensus that the ideal—at least for a young woman—is “roundness rather than angularity,” a firm rather than a flabby body, health rather than sickness. The athletic female body widely prized today in Europe and North America is quite similar to the women’s bodies valorized in ancient Sparta (if not in other Greek cities). This may or may not be the “natural” body, but it is, for the moment, the dominant ideal.

Global Views

Consideration of non-Western civilizations complicates speculations about physical ideals. In the Islamic cultures of West Asia, the Zurkhanah (“House of Strength”) attracts wrestlers and weightlifters whose powerful bodies are the cultural ideal. In East Asia, however, the ideal is very different. Mark Elvin, a scholar in Chinese history, notes that in traditional China the human body was not glorified, as was the case with the classical Greek culture with its statues of young unclothed male athletes. Images of the Buddha enthroned on a lotus leaf seem effeminate to European and American museumgoers. The gates to Japanese temples are often flanked by larger-than-life carved figures—the *nio*—whose hypermuscularity and weaponry symbolizes their role as threatening guardians, but these are lesser deities whose bulky bodies mark their inferior status in the heavenly order. Ordinary men and women may idolize sumo wrestlers, but the Japanese elite has long expressed a preference for unathletic elegance. The East Asian glorification of the cerebral scholar or the otherworldly mystic can best be understood as a futile attempt to transcend the physical, whose presence and power is acknowledged by the almost superhuman effort at its suppression. Asceticism is the bitter tribute that mind pays to body. Sports—and the sexuality that inheres in sports—are, in all likelihood, here to stay.

Allen Guttmann

See also Beauty; Feminist Perspective; Homophobia

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Shinty

Shinty is Scotland’s national sport. *Shinty* (from the Gaelic word *sinteag* meaning “leap”) is first mentioned toward the end of the eighteenth century in records of the Highlands and Inner and Outer Hebrides islands of Scotland. As with mob football, which was popular on the Scottish borders, *shinty* was a highly physical contact-and-collision sport played on a vast area with a minimum of rules or rest. Its primitive structure and its amalgam of unmasked violence and community festival are summarized in this description:

Games were contested between whole clans or parishes without limit as to numbers or time until darkness stopped play among the walking wounded. The field of play was undelineated except by the occasional pail of *visge-beatha* (whisky). In an interclan match, a combatant who had failed to disable at least one opponent within a reasonable time had his curved stick (*caman*) confiscated as a punishment by the chieftain so that he could only kick the ball (*cnaige*) or his opponents. (McWhirter and McWhirter 1975)

Origins

Historians do not agree on the origins of *shinty*. R. W. Henderson, a U.S. sports historian and expert on the evolution of ball games, wrote:

It has been claimed that *shinty* came to Scotland by way of Ireland, but so far evidence is not conclusive. In Irish mythology Cuchulain, Fionn, and Fingall play huge club and ball games over the land of the Gaels, and many are the mythological men who are proficient with ball and club. Allowing for the fact that these legends date back hundreds of years B.C., we must again remember that they were written A.D. The highly imaginative, romantic, legendary accounts should not be taken as historical sources. (Henderson 1974)

Hugh Dan MacIannan, a *shinty* expert, has a differing view. He played *shinty* at Lochaber High School in Fort William, Scotland, during the 1970s and then gained a Blue (the equivalent of an athletic letter in the United States) at Glasgow University. After playing for Fort William and then Inverness, he turned to broadcasting and journalism. In 1990 he received the first Shinty Reporter of the Year Award.

MacIannan underscores the fact that *shinty* (in Gaelic the word is *camanachd*) has a long history. In the United States baseball and football have histories of between 100 and 150 years. *Shinty*, by contrast, may have pagan roots and goes back thousands of years. *Shinty* was introduced to northwestern Scotland along with Christianity and the Gaelic language nearly two thousand years ago by Irish missionaries.

Development

However, *shinty* is not a major sport. Scotland's premier sport is soccer, followed by rugby. Many more Scottish children participate in golf, swimming, netball, track and field, basketball, and other sports than in *shinty*. *Shinty* players number only in the low thousands, but forty *shinty* clubs exist, and although the regional base continues to be in the Highlands and islands, that does not tell the whole story. For example, university clubs exist at Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh; Tayforth has a Lowland club; and emigre Scots can play for London Camanachd. MacIannan cautions that one should not see *shinty* as just a minor sport played regionally in Scotland. Wherever Scots

have gone, they have taken *shinty* with them as a part of their culture. For example, soldiers of the Lovat Scouts played *shinty* during the Boer War in South Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Before World War I *shinty* developed rapidly, and rules that all players could agree to were needed. Codifying those rules helped in the sport's expansion. After World War I and up until the 1950s, however, socioeconomic factors led to the decline of *shinty*. Significant numbers of Scots moved away from the Highlands and islands and settled in industrialized Glasgow and the north of England. MacIannan quotes one *shinty* player, Roger Hutchinson, who says, "The game of *shinty* ceased to be played during the first four decades of the 20th century. It was an inexorable decline."

Originally *shinty* resembled hurling, which is Ireland's premier sport. Today the sports, as played at an elite level, have major differences in technique. In *shinty* each team has twelve players, and seven officials are required. Unlike in most field games, in *shinty* the pitch (field) size is not fixed and varies greatly from club to club. The recommended size of a pitch is 155 meters by 73 meters. This area is considerably larger than the area required for U.S. football, rugby, or soccer (association football). The goal posts may seem similar to those used in U.S. football or rugby union football, but they are actually much narrower: The cross bars are only 3.6 meters wide. The crooked, broad-bladed *shinty* stick bears some resemblance to a field hockey stick.

Practice

The twelve players on a *shinty* team are a hail-keeper (goalkeeper), a fullback, three halfbacks, a center back, a centerfield, a center forward, three half-forwards, and a full forward. A game lasts ninety minutes, with a half-time of five minutes. The game is essentially aerial, with the ball being tossed and flicked and passed. Only the goalkeeper may handle the ball. This rule is the major contrast to hurling, in which all players may catch and strike the ball. A goal is scored when the ball passes wholly over the goal line, between the goal posts, and under the cross bar, which is set at a height of 3 meters.

I think my favorite sport in the Olympics is the one in which you make your way through the snow, you stop, you shoot a gun, and then you continue on. In most of the world, it is known as the biathlon, except in New York City, where it is known as winter. ■ MICHAEL VENTRE

The ball is covered with leather and has a core of cork and worsted wool. The stick has a cylindrical shaft. The head must be able to pass through a ring 63 millimeters in diameter.

A game of *shinty* is tough. Fouls such as kicking, catching, or throwing the ball, obstructing, charging, hacking, pushing, and jumping at an opponent are penalized. *Shinty*, like hurling, is a game in which the level of ball flow, spatial movement, and player fluidity create spectator exhilaration.

Recently corporate sponsorship and segments of the tourist industry have helped to revitalize *shinty*. This revitalization has resulted in the United Kingdom's Prince Edward associating himself with the development of a youth *shinty* league, and Diana, the late princess of Wales, was given a *shinty* stick at a meeting of the Bute Highland Games during the early 1990s. English cricket star Ian Botham has played the game, and in 1991 two Scottish teams (Skye and Kinguissie) visited Cape Breton and reintroduced the sport to Canada's maritime region after an absence of 150 years.

The Future

What is *shinty*'s future? Is it to be a modern sport or a relic of Celtic culture? MacIennan (1993) makes this observation:

For life-force and continuing success, the game must continue to aspire to skill and spectacle at the highest level. If these remain the ideals of the greatest game in the world, and as long as the unique enduring comradeship "after battle" can be maintained, then *shinty* will maintain the traditions which were founded thousands of years ago and have stood the test of time. It will also remain one of Scotland's truly national assets.

Scott A. G. M. Crawford

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Shooting

Modern shooting sports evolved from the use of arms for hunting and combat. Today, sport hunters lead conservation efforts and fuel a huge industry in shooting gear. A wide variety of competitions with rifles, shotguns, and pistols entertain shooters year-round. Some of the most skilled compete at the Olympic Games.

History

Shooting sports arose from the use of weapons and hunting implements. Long before gunpowder, hunters defended themselves and killed game from a distance. Rocks and spears gave way to boomerangs, arrows, darts, and bolts. "Chinese snow" appeared in fireworks a couple of centuries before English friar Roger Bacon described gunpowder in 1249. In 1327, England's Edward II used guns to invade Scotland, but their performance didn't match their novelty.

The first guns were heavy tubes that required two attendants. One held the tube while his partner lit a priming charge with a burning stick or rope. The first lock was a lever by which a smoldering wick was lowered to the touch-hole in the barrel. Such guns were called matchlocks. Sixteenth-century German gun designers replaced the wick with a spring-loaded jaw that held pyrite (flint) against a serrated bar. Pulling the bar across the pyrite showered sparks into a pan that held a trail of fine gunpowder leading to the touch-hole. Around 1515 in Nuremberg the bar was replaced by a spring-loaded sprocket wound with a spanner wrench. Pulling the trigger released the wheel to spin against a fixed shard of pyrite held against the wheel's teeth. The

Man poised to shoot clay pigeon.

Source: istockphoto/Gards.

subsequent flintlock featured a cock or hammer with a clamped flint that struck a steel plate above the pan. In 1806 Scotch clergyman Alexander John Forsythe became the first on record to ignite a spark inside the chamber of a gun. He used an explosive fulminate to generate sparks. In 1814, sea captain Joshua Shaw of Philadelphia upstaged a host of experimenters to produce a viable percussion cap.

Columbus reached the Americas while armed with a triggerless matchlock. Pilgrims carried long 75-caliber smoothbore flintlocks, although the superior accuracy of rifled bores had been proven as early as 1498 in Germany. Americans did come to favor the jaeger (hunter) rifle with a 61- to 76-centimeter barrel of 65 to 70 caliber. To conserve lead, frontier gunsmiths made jaegers with small bores. To shave weight, they trimmed the stock. The svelte “Kentucky rifle,” derived mostly from Pennsylvania-based German gunmakers, resulted. Under-size balls in greased patches speeded loading.

As the frontier edged west, the needs of hunters changed. Grizzly bears, bison, and elk were hard to kill with Kentucky rifles, whose barrels were also awkward in the saddle. Brothers Sam and Jake Hawken of St. Louis developed a shorter rifle with a half-stock and heavy 50-caliber soft-iron barrel with a slow rifling twist. Mid-nineteenth-century mountain men coveted their Hawkens.

In 1848, New York inventor Walter Hunt developed a repeating rifle with the charge in the base of his “rocket ball” bullets. Financier George Arrowsmith and mechanic Lewis Jennings made the rifle more reliable. In 1849 Arrowsmith sold this “Volitional” repeater for \$100,000 to railroad magnate Courtland Palmer. With Palmer’s backing, Horace Smith and Daniel Wesson developed a metallic cartridge for it. In 1855 a group of



forty New York and New Haven investors bought out Smith, Wesson, and Palmer to form the Volcanic Repeating Arms Company. Their first director, shirt salesman Oliver F. Winchester, hired B. Tyler Henry to reengineer both rifle and ammo. In 1860 Henry came up with a fifteen-shot repeater that would later impress Confederates as the “damned Yankee rifle you loaded on Sunday and fired all week.”

But the Henry lacked the punch needed by buffalo hunters, who favored Remington Rolling Block and Sharps 1874 dropping-block single-shots chambered for cigar-size cartridges. When the Sharps Rifle Company folded in 1880, the sustenance and market hunting was over. Human scavengers would glean more than *three million tons* of bison bones from the plains. The days of buffalo hunting were short and shameful.

By that time Winchester had discovered John Moses Browning, a frontier gun genius working from a crude shop in Ogden, Utah. Between 1883 and 1900, Browning would deliver forty-four designs to Winchester’s New Haven plant. The Model 1886 lever-action brought Browning \$50,000 in 1885. The first successful gas-operated guns came from Browning, whose machine gun cycled 1,800 rounds in Colt’s test lab without malfunction. It weighed half as much as a Gatling. A fearsome succession of weapons followed. Hermann Goering would remark that if Germany had had Browning .50s, it might have defeated Britain’s RAF.



By 1900 three of every four guns used by American sportsmen were Winchesters of Browning design. Only Peter Paul Mauser, who developed the bolt-action rifle in Germany during the 1880s, has had such lasting impact on the design of modern sporting guns. His rifles would allow twentieth-century designers like Roy Weatherby to extend the reach of hunters, target shooters, and tactical marksmen.

The period between 1820 and 1900 was the most active in the history of firearms design. From flintlock to caplock, muzzle-loader to breech-loader, single-shot to repeater, firearms became more effective and reliable. They also determined the games that would entertain sportsmen and women.

While hunters established the rifle market on the western frontier, target shooting became popular in the East. German- and Swiss-style *Schuetzenfests* included beer, sauerbraten, and beautiful single-shot rifles. The first recorded *Schuetzenfest* occurred in New York the year after the Civil War ended. Most shooting was done at 183 meters, offhand. The rifles weighed from 5.5 to 7.3 kilograms, with 32- to 45-caliber bores and sophisticated aperture sights. Shortly after 1900, scopes were permitted in some events.

By that time, riflemen were competing in long-range matches shot prone with rifles resembling those used by buffalo hunters. In fact, Lewis L. Hepburn modified the Rolling Block as he began work for Remington on a rifle that would help beat the Irish sharpshooters who had won at Wimbledon in 1873. The Irish had subsequently challenged “any American team” to another contest. The team would comprise six men who would fire three rounds of fifteen shots, one round each at 732, 823, and 914 meters, onto targets 3.7 meters high and 1.8 meters wide, with 91-centimeter-square bull’s-eyes. The Sharps and Remington companies soon came up with prize funds and promised rifles for the event. An Amateur Rifle Club was formed to conduct tryouts. A fledgling National Rifle Association and the cities of New York and Brooklyn put up \$5,000 each to build a rifle range on Long Island’s Creed’s Farm. Deeded to the NRA for \$26,250 in 1872, it would be called Creedmoor.

Remington’s new target rifle, a .44-90 shooting 550-grain conical bullets, came off the line in March 1874. On 26 September, a favored Irish team shooting muzzle-loaders bowed to the Americans and their new Remington and Sharps breech-loaders. The score was 934 to 931. Matches held in 1875 and 1876 were won more decisively by the U.S. team. Remington Creedmoor rifles posted the highest scores.

Experiments to test and improve the inherent accuracy of rifles led, in mid-nineteenth century, to a sport that has since grown. Benchrest shooting started as a noncompetitive diversion for hobbyists in the northeastern United States. After the 1930s, when benchrest competition blossomed, participants took the science of rifle accuracy more seriously. Women participated too. Sharpshooter Mary Louise DeVito fired ten shots into a group of less than 20 centimeters at 914 meters, a world record during the Vietnam era. Shooters and rifles kept improving. In August 2003, Kyle Brown put ten shots into a 10.7-centimeter group at 914 meters.

Laurels in benchrest shooting go to competitors with the most accurate rifles and ammunition, and to those who can best read wind and mirage. In the past, however, accolades went to the most flamboyant shooters, many of whom were employed by traveling shows and gun and ammunition firms for exhibitions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Annie Oakley was one of these talents.

Phoebe Ann Moses was born in a log cabin in Darke County, Ohio, in 1860. She shot her first game, a squirrel, at age eight. Subsistence hunting refined her skills with a rifle. At a local rifle match, she beat visiting sharpshooter Frank Butler. She was only fifteen! A year later they married, and Annie joined his traveling show under the name of Annie Oakley. Later, she joined Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show. Sweet-tempered and petite, Annie became an instant star. The German crown prince, later Kaiser Wilhelm II, once asked her to shoot a cigarette from his lips. She obliged, remarking after World War I that a miss might have changed history. Her sharpshooting

demonstrations included an exhibition in 1884 when she used a .22 rifle to shatter 943 glass balls out of 1,000 tossed.

If Annie had an equal, it was Ad Topperwein, born in 1869 near New Braunfels, Texas. With a .22 Winchester 1890 pump rifle, young Ad began shooting aerial targets and wound up shooting for a circus. In 1894, he used a rifle to break 955 of 1,000 clay 5.7-centimeter disks tossed in the air. Dissatisfied with the score, he repeated twice, shattering 987 and 989. Standard clay shotgun targets proved too easy; he broke 1,500 straight, the first 1,000 from 9.1 meters, the last 500 from 12.2 meters. Ad was also a showman. Holding a Model 63 with the ejection port up, he'd fire a cartridge, then shoot the ejected case in the air. He could riddle five tossed cans before any hit the ground. He drew Indian-head caricatures in tin with up to 450 bullets fired at a shot a second. After shooting at a washer tossed aloft, he'd tell onlookers the bullet went through the middle. Challenged by the audience, Ad would stick a postage stamp over the hole, toss the washer again and perforate the stamp. Topperwein began working for Winchester, where he met, wed, and teamed with Elizabeth Servaty. To audiences, she became "Plinky," a fine shot in her own right. In 1916 she blasted 1,952 of 2,000 clay targets with a Model 12 shotgun.

Topperwein's exploits drew exciting competition, culminating with the remarkable performance by Remington salesman Tom Frye when he shot 100,004 out of 100,010 5.7×5.7-centimeter airborne blocks with Nylon 66 autoloaders. Frye missed two of his first 43,725 targets.

Other exhibition shooters entertained American audiences during the first half of the twentieth century, but such events dwindled after World War II. Herb Parsons, the last gun wizard to shoot for Winchester, recorded his stunts on film during the 1950s. Tom Knapp, who now shoots for Benelli, upstaged Parsons's feat of hand-tossing seven clay targets at once and breaking them all with seven shots from a Winchester pump. Knapp emphasizes that the autoloading Benelli he used to hit nine clays might have helped Parsons too.

The fascination of shooting as a sport depends almost wholly on whether you are at the right or wrong end of the gun. ■ P. G. WODEHOUSE

What Is Competitive Shooting?

There are three main categories of target shooting: (1) rifle and (2) pistol shooting, and (3) shotgunning.

RIFLE AND PISTOL SHOOTING

The most common rifle competition now practiced in the United States is conducted by clubs affiliated with the National Rifle Association, which has published rulebooks governing all of its sanctioned shooting events. The "black bull's-eye" matches developed for riflemen accommodate a range of shooters and equipment. A BB gun match limits competitors to smoothbore air- or gas-powered guns firing .177 steel balls. Iron sights only are permitted. Firing distance: 5 meters. A three-position match comprises ten shots each in prone, kneeling, and offhand; four-position matches add ten shots in a sitting position. Precision air rifle competitions are three-position events using iron sights at 10 meters with air- or gas-powered rifles. Sporter air rifle events mandate lighter-weight rifles. They can include four-position matches and optical sights.

Several courses of fire exist for .22 rimfires, including three- and four-position matches, prone matches, and team events. Some are fired at 15 meters on indoor ranges, others outdoors at longer yardage. Some specify iron sights; others allow scopes. A two-day prone match comprises 160 record shots each day at 46 meters, 50 meters, and 92 meters. The first day is shot with iron sights, the second with a scope.

High-power (centerfire) rifle matches require longer ranges. The National Match Course includes 183-meter offhand and rapid-fire sitting stages, plus prone stages at 274 and 549 meters, all with iron sights. Service rifle and open categories level the playing field and encourage practice with military rifles. International rules for rifles, targets, and courses of fire are generally more stringent than NRA rules. One Olympic event is free rifle, consisting of 40 shots prone, 40 offhand, and 40 kneeling at 300 meters with an iron-sighted centerfire target rifle. All bull's-eye rifle competition (NRA and international) is by the clock, though the deadline for each shot comes much more quickly in timed and

rapid-fire events. At 105 minutes, the standing stage of free rifle gives marksmen more than 2½ minutes for each record round.

Bull's-eye shooting has little to offer spectators. But metallic silhouette matches entertain. In 1967 Roy Dunlap and fellow shooters at Nogales, Arizona, imported this sport from Mexico. Original course of fire: 10 shots each at steel *gallinas* (chickens) at 200 meters, *guajalotes* (turkeys), at 385 and *borregos* (sheep) at 500. Dunlap added a bank of *javelinas* (pigs), to be shot at 300 meters. On April 12, 1969, the first American metallic silhouette match unfolded at the Tucson rifle range. An entry fee of 30 pesos, or \$2.40, included all the pit-barbecued beef you could eat. Matches that followed were for centerfire rifles only, with an increased maximum weight of 4.6 kilograms to accommodate scope sights. Still, all shots had to be taken offhand (standing), without a sling or artificial support.

The National Rifle Association has developed metallic silhouette courses for black-powder cartridge rifle, long-range pistol, short-range pistol, small-bore (rimfire) rifle, even air rifle and air pistol. Target sizes and distances vary. In centerfire and rimfire rifle matches, competitors fire 40, 60, 80, or 120 shots in five-round strings, with no sighting shots.

Approximately 17,230,000 shooters fire at paper targets each year in the United States, including 10,966,000 handgunners. Traditional bull's-eye pistol matches call for one-handed shooting, typically with autoloading guns that can be reloaded easily for ten-shot strings. The National Match Course includes a ten-shot, slow-fire string at 46 meters, plus five-shot timed-fire (20-second) and five-shot rapid-fire (10-second) strings, both at 23 meters. There are gallery events for indoor shooting, and matches for certain types of handguns (rimfire or centerfire, pistol or revolver). Most but not all matches specify iron sights. International rules apply to additional courses: rapid fire, center fire, sport pistol match, standard pistol, air pistol, and free pistol. The latter, like the free rifle event, showcases superaccurate equipment fired very deliberately. The distance in this case is 50 meters.

A practical extension of bull's-eye shooting is police combat shooting. The target is black-on-white, as in bull's-eye shooting, but it is shaped like a human torso. Prone, sitting, kneeling, and standing positions are all included in police combat. Shooters hold guns with both hands, as they would in a real emergency. In some matches, shooters use small "backup" guns. In others, caliber designations apply.

A notch up in excitement from police combat is action pistol, another series of contests emphasizing speed and precision in real-world shooting scenarios. The Los Alamitos Pistol Match includes five stages, for a total of forty-two shots at 6, 9, and 23 meters. The same distances apply to moving target, twenty-four shots. During barricade events, shooters fire from behind simulated wall corners at 9, 14, 23, and 32 meters, six shots each in five, six, seven, and eight seconds. Shooters feel the same urgency in the falling plate event, as they fire at 20-centimeter round metal disks. In some courses, competitors must use their weak hand; in others, timing starts with a holstered gun. Action pistol events have spawned a cottage industry in "race guns" tuned and modified for superior speed and accuracy. The events are telegenic and carry substantial purses. Competitors earn national recognition and endorsement packages in high-profile championships like the Bianchi Cup.

Cowboy action shooting was developed in 1979 by Harper Criegh, Bill Hahn, and Gordon Davis, who formed the Single Action Shooting Society, the sport's organizing body. Matches feature various competitions using handguns, rifles and shotguns most typical of the American West from 1860 to 1900. The emphasis is on speed and accuracy. Shooting scenarios have a Wild West theme, born from actual incidents, movie scenes, or match designers' imaginations. Participants enjoy dressing up in clothing of the Old West era, and each must have a pseudonym or "handle," adding a historical and theatrical flavor to the sport.

SHOTGUNNING

Hitting targets in the air with a cloud of pellets from a smoothbore gun was recorded as early as 1793 in

England's *Sporting Magazine*. Live pigeons were placed in shallow cavities in the ground and "trapped" there with old hats. At the gunner's signal, a jerk on the line attached to a hat released the pigeon.

The first formal trap shoot in the United States occurred in Cincinnati in 1831. The passenger pigeon, a wild bird but then plentiful and easy to catch, was the target of choice. By 1850, live pigeon shooting had drawn lots of interest—but also complaints from people who objected to wholesale killing. Also, wild pigeons had become scarce. States began outlawing the sport. Then, in 1866, Charles Portlock of Boston improved on a sling device or trap used in England to throw glass balls. The balls flew and broke inconsistently; nonetheless, the sport grew. Captain Adam Borgardus, market hunter and exhibition shooter, devised a better trap. George Ligowsky of Cincinnati developed a clay disk that flew flatter and faster. In 1880 he demonstrated the target at a live bird shoot on Coney Island. A year later his improved trap gave the disks even more appeal. An Englishman named McCaskey soon made them easier to break by substituting river silt and pitch for the ground clay and water used by Ligowsky. Limestone later replaced the silt. "Clay pigeons" or "clay birds," as they're known today, are still made of limestone and pitch.

Initially, trap shooters using the new disks participated in teams of six, one man behind each of five trap houses and an "extra" that rotated out after position number five. In 1885, W. G. Sargent of Joplin, Missouri, changed the game to incorporate three traps. Two years later, five shooters were shooting from five stations behind one trap. So the game remains.

In American or ATA (Amateur Trapshooting Association) Trap, the clay bird leaves the trap at about 65 kilometers per hour, its direction determined by the trap arm, which pivots in a 44-degree arc. The target typically sails 46 meters if not hit; most hits occur at around 32. Regulations call for the shooting pad or line to be 15 meters behind the trap. In handicap events, the starting distance is 25 meters. A round of ATA Trap consists of twenty-five shots, five from each of five stations.

Birds visibly broken, even of only chipped, count as hits. Experts commonly break twenty-five.

Doubles trap challenges shooters by lofting two birds at once. However, unlike singles trap, the doubles routine puts targets on known paths. International double trap is different still: an Olympic sport that incorporates three traps with birds traveling 16 kilometers per hour faster than in ATA events. International trap for single targets, an Olympic event since 1900, places competitors 16 meters behind a row of fifteen traps in a bunker. Extreme angles and speeds of up to 177 kilometers per hour make these targets devilishly difficult.

Skeet, a game not invented until about 1920, uses the same disks, about 10 centimeters in diameter. They streak from two traps, one in a "high house," one in a "low house," at either end of an arc-shaped firing line comprising seven stations. A final station, number eight, lies between the houses. Targets emerge on fixed flight paths, but jet across the line of fire instead of away from it. Various angles are provided by the array of firing points. On four stations, shooters must also take doubles. As in trap, a round of skeet is twenty-five shots.

Charles Davies of Andover, Massachusetts, apparently came up with the first skeet field because trap shooting wasn't giving him practice for the steep angles he encountered when hunting birds. A young friend of Davies, Bill Foster, published an article on the novel game in the February 1926 issues of both *National Sportsman* and *Hunting and Fishing* magazines. He asked that readers name the event, offering a \$100 prize to the winning suggestion. Mrs. Gertrude Hurlbutt of Dayton, Montana, came up with skeet, an old Scandinavian word for "shoot."

Unlike trap targets that quickly test the reach of a shooter's gun, skeet targets fly close. Neither a heavy charge of shot nor a tight choke, the constriction at barrel's end that squeezes a shot column together as it exits is necessary. Skeet includes games for 12-, 20-, and 28-gauge guns, even .410s.

International skeet is more difficult than American skeet for several reasons. First, shooters must start with the gun-butt at hip level. Second, the targets zoom by at



An old sign warning against entry into a firing range.

Source: istockphoto.com/eas.

89 kilometers per hour, not 65, and they go farther. Also, there can be up to three seconds' delay for target release after the shooter calls for the bird—an impediment to timing. Finally, the six easiest targets in American skeet do not appear at all on the International skeet card; they're replaced by doubles at the difficult middle stations.

A game of more value to hunters than trap or skeet is sporting clays. Originating in England, it came to the United States in the early twentieth century and has become exceedingly popular since 1989, when the National Sporting Clays Association (NSCA) was founded. Sporting clays courses are all unique, usually laid out to include field, woodland, and, where convenient, marsh. Traps are installed to throw targets at tough angles, into the sun and through thick vegetation where gunners get only a small window for the shot. "Rabbits" add variety. They're special clay disks made to launch on edge and

to scoot along the ground, bouncing unpredictably. Doubles are part of sporting clays. A "true pair" means a simultaneous toss. A "report pair" gives you the second bird at the sound of your first shot. A "following pair" puts one bird up at your call and the second target aloft at the pleasure of the trap operator. A round of sporting clays uses up fifty shot shells. Scores on most courses are much lower than on trap and skeet fields. About 5,393,000 shotgunners fired at clay targets in organized U.S. events during 2002.

Competition at the Top

The first World Shooting Championships occurred in Lyons, France, in 1897, when a local club organized a 300-meter rifle event on its twenty-fifth anniversary. Women began to compete formally in 1958. Now, world championships for men and women are held every four years.

Push yourself again and again. Don't give an inch until the final buzzer sounds. ■ LARRY BIRD

French nobleman Baron Pierre de Coubertin arranged the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, a year before the historic Lyons match. A former French pistol champion, de Coubertin urged the inclusion of shooting as one of the nine featured sports. In 1907, l'Union des Federations et Associations Nationales de Tir was established. Its successor, the UIT (Union Internationale de Tir or International Shooting Union), imposes competition rules. It is headquartered in Munich.

The number of Olympic shooting events has varied from two (in 1932) to twenty-one (in 1920). Individual and team events were slated until 1948, when UIT eliminated team matches. Women from the United States began winning in 1976, with Margaret Murdock's silver in three-position rifle. Eight years later in Los Angeles, the Olympic Games included three shooting events for women: air rifle, three-position rifle, and sport pistol. Since the first Olympics, men and women shooting for the United States have won ninety medals. Of the top U.S. Olympic performers of all time, three are shooters. Only track and field and swimming have garnered more medals for the United States than the shooting sports. In 2004, the Athens Olympics scheduled seventeen rifle, pistol, and shotgun events, in which 390 men and women competed. Ages ranged from fifteen to fifty.

The Grand American World Trapshooting Championships, hosted by the Amateur Trapshooting Association, is perhaps the premier shooting event in the world. Only the modern marathon has more participants in a single day of competition. It debuted at the Interstate Park in Queens, New York, in 1900, moved to Chicago, St. Louis, and Columbus before settling in Vandalia, Ohio, in 1923. In 2006, however, the Grand will once again move, this time to the World Shooting Complex in Sparta, Illinois. Among the tens of thousands of shooters who have participated have been celebrities such as John Philip Sousa and Roy Rogers. Annie Oakley competed only once, at age sixty-five, breaking ninety-seven of one hundred clays. She passed away the following year.

The Grand hosts seven thousand competitors annually. The facility at Vandalia features one hundred trap fields set side by side, where 5 million traps are thrown and more than a million dollars in prize money is awarded.

The National Sporting Clays Championship, hosted by the National Sporting Clays Association, attracts more than one thousand competitors annually to the San Antonio, Texas, event.

The National Skeet Shooting Association hosts the World Skeet Shooting Championship annually in San Antonio, at its National Shooting Complex, the world's largest skeet shooting facility.

The NRA National Outdoor Rifle and Pistol Championships is an annual event at Camp Perry, Ohio, during July and August. Here, the national championships in pistol, small-bore rifle three-position, small-bore rifle prone, high-power rifle, and high-power long range are established. Each of these categories encompasses a variety of individual and team championship events.

Governing Bodies

Olympic shooting in the United States got a boost in 1978 with passage of the Amateur Sports Act and establishment of national teams, national development teams, coaching staffs, and training sites and programs. In 1995 the United States Olympic Committee assembled USA Shooting, a nonprofit corporation, to be the national governing body for shooting events. Its mission: prepare athletes for the Olympic Games and promote the shooting sports at the local level. USA Shooting is headquartered at the Olympic Training Center, a sophisticated complex in Colorado Springs with 101 firing points and three 10-meter running-target ranges indoors. It is the largest indoor shooting facility in the western hemisphere. Outdoors are four trap and skeet fields. The 41-hectare Olympic Training Center hosts competitions as well as training camps, coaching seminars, and visiting athletes.

The Amateur Trapshooting Association, headquartered in Vandalia, Ohio, governs that sport's rules and regulations and seeks ways to further enhance the sport

and increase participation. It oversees more than six thousand registered shoots each year conducted by more than one thousand affiliated gun clubs.

The National Skeet Shooting Association, founded in the early 1930s, is headquartered in San Antonio, Texas. The nonprofit NSSA, owned and operated by its approximately twenty thousand members, is the largest organization in the world dedicated solely to the sport. It is dedicated to the development of the sport at all levels of competition and meaningful fellowship within its membership.

The National Sporting Clays Association was founded in March 1989 and serves as the official premier sporting clays association, dedicated to the development of the sport at all levels of participation. It, too, is based in San Antonio, Texas, a hotbed of competitive clay-bird shooting. With a total of seventeen thousand members, NSCA clubs host numerous tournaments for the serious competitor and the casual shooter.

Despite the importance of those governing bodies, the two most influential organizations in the shooting sports are the National Rifle Association and the National Shooting Sports Foundation.

A group of National Guard officers began the NRA in 1871 to emphasize better marksmanship in support of national defense. Civil War hero General Ambrose E. Burnside was chosen as the NRA's first president. Money from the NRA and the New York state government secured a 28-hectare tract on Long Island, New York, called Creed's Farm. Renamed Creedmoor, it was soon developed as a shooting facility. The first matches there commenced 21 July 1873. The NRA's first annual matches were held 8 October of that year. The 1874 contest between Ireland and the United States made Creedmoor a legendary place.

For financial reasons, the NRA deeded Creedmoor to New York state in 1890, and later moved the national matches to Sea Girt, New Jersey. In 1903 Congress approved a National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice. Subsequently, surplus arms were transferred to state militias to encourage shooting at the local level.

When Theodore Roosevelt, an ardent shooter, became U.S. president, the NRA had an ally in its drive to bridge state boundaries. By 1905, it had introduced a rifle shooting program to public schools. Meanwhile, crowding at Sea Girt forced construction of a new range near the shore of Lake Erie. Just before the 1907 matches were held there, the facility was dedicated as Camp Perry, after the commodore who triumphed over the British on Lake Erie in the War of 1812. In 1994 the NRA moved its headquarters to Fairfax, Virginia. By 2000, the NRA's membership had reached 4.3 million.

In 1961, the National Shooting Sports Foundation (NSSF) was established as a trade association for the hunting and recreational shooting sports industry. Now headquartered in Newtown, Connecticut, the NSSF promotes participation and safety in firearms use. Among the shooting sports it promotes are scholastic rifle and shotgun programs. The rifle program tests speed and accuracy. The shotgunning programs include trap, skeet, and sporting clays. These programs teach young people through high school age firearms safety and shooting fundamentals while bringing them through intrasquad practices leading to state and national competitions.

The NSSF has also embraced novice shooters through STEP OUTSIDE, a program that reaches out to experienced sportsmen to introduce and mentor newcomers to the sport. The foundation owns and sponsors the annual Shooting, Hunting, and Outdoor Trade Show (SHOT Show), which brings together all facets of the shooting sports industry. The NSSF has partnered with federal agencies and state and local law enforcement agencies to distribute free firearms safety kits, including gun locks, and to encourage safe firearms storage.

The foundation, through its range division, the National Association of Shooting Ranges, has helped upgrade and standardize environmental and professional practices to maintain the physical and fiscal health of the facilities that host the shooting sports in the United States.

Wayne van Zwoll

See also Hunting

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Silat

Silat, or *pencak silat*, is the general term for a wide variety of indigenous martial arts traditions of the Malay-speaking world, encompassing the countries of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, and to a lesser extent some parts of the Philippines and southern Thailand. Since the late twentieth century, it also has been practiced in Europe, America, and Australia. Silat is a mixture of self-defense, athletics, and dance, with strong spiritual, aesthetic, and ritual qualities. Performed in a wide variety of sociocultural circumstances, its practice settings range from small family groups to large international athletic championships. The official name currently in use is *pencak silat*. However, regional differences persist, with the term *pencak* and its dialectic variations often in use in Java and Madura, and *silat* predominantly used in other areas of Indonesia and Malaysia. Another application is to use the term *pencak* for the more artistic movements and *silat* for the actual self-defense applications.

Origins and Historical Context

Predecessors of what today is called *pencak* or *silat* were known under various names and go back hun-

dreds of years. Knowledge of martial arts traditions in the Malay world was predominantly passed on through oral tradition, hence there are very few reliable written sources about the early development presently available.

PRE-HINDU PERIOD

Reaching the furthest back in time into the pre-Hindu period are vivid origin myths and legends. One of the more colorful ones links Alexander the Great to the ur-ancestors of the Minangkabau ethnic group and to the emergence of *silat* in West Sumatra, at Pariangan near Mount Merapi. Many origin myths credit divine inspiration of a mythic or historic figure with the creation of *silat*; others weave tales of a legendary founder observing animals and nature and thereby learning the foundations of *silat* movement and spirit. One of the more widely accepted theories places the origin of *silat* in the Riau islands between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula at around the sixth century. From there it probably spread first to Sumatra and then to Sunda and Java. Typical of cultural processes in the Malay world, these early indigenous self-defense techniques adapted various streams of influence from major high cultures of mainland Southeast Asia, China, India, and the Middle East that continuously flowed through the Malay world along ancient trading routes. This process eventually created distinct local Malay martial arts through long periods of acculturation and synthesis—a process that continues to this day.

HINDU-BUDDHIST PERIOD

Various historical and archeological sources indicate the presence of highly developed, distinct martial arts systems at the court of the Malay Srivijaya empire. From the seventh to thirteenth centuries, this Hindu-Buddhist empire, centered in Palembang on Sumatra, extended its dominion over large parts of the Malay area and controlled the strategic Straight of Malacca. It was eventually eclipsed by the mighty Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit empire on Java (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries). In both courts martial arts were practiced by the court elite, guards, and military forces. Both empires had a



prolonged interchange with major cultural centers in India and Indochina, which most likely led to influences from Hindu and Chinese martial arts styles in the further development of silat.

ISLAMIZATION

With the fall of the Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit empire and the ascent and spread of Islam throughout the Malay world, martial arts also underwent changes. Especially, elements of the early mystical Sufi Islam blended well with indigenous spiritual aspects of silat. Over the centuries many Islamic doctrines and teachings found their way into silat philosophy and practice. Silat training gradually began to emphasize the development of noble character and the pursuit of a righteous path, along with the mastery of effective self-defense techniques. The development of physical as well as mental strength, outer and inner control, became strongly connected to the practice of faith.

COLONIAL PERIOD

During the early periods of Dutch colonization of Java and the British colonization of the Malay Peninsula, silat continued largely unaffected by the Western powers. With expanding Dutch colonization of the wider Indonesian archipelago in the nineteenth century, however, the colonial government tightened its control over its subjects, and silat became a source of concern as a likely source of anticolonial sentiment. Many silat schools were banned, but practice often continued in secret. When the Indonesian independence movement emerged in force in the early twentieth century, many silat masters and students joined and were subject to intensifying harassment by the colonial police and military.

During the brief interlude of Japanese occupation of Indonesia toward the end of World War II (1942–1945), silat was initially encouraged by the Japanese as a means to strengthen a native fighting force within its scheme for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere; influences of Japanese martial arts in silat stem mostly from this brief period. However, as initial enthusiasm for the Japanese presence changed to widespread re-

sentment, silat practice in turn fell under a ban on public assembly issued by the Japanese authorities.

INDEPENDENCE AND BEYOND

After the end of World War II, the declaration of independence by Indonesia in 1945, and the eventual recognition of the Republic of Indonesia as an sovereign state in 1949, the new nation sought to shape a post-colonial national identity to unify the country's many ethnic, religious, and cultural groups. Along with national efforts of the administration addressing issues of education and language, leaders also looked to pencak silat's potential as a pan-Indonesian national art and sport. Efforts were undertaken to integrate silat education into the public school system. In the late twentieth century, silat also became a competitive sport in the international arena. The emphasis in silat was again shifted, this time onto the sport aspects. (see "Official Organizations" following). Malaysia reached independence from British colonial rule in 1957 and followed a similar path to make silat a national sport.

Social and Cultural Context

The practice of silat is intricately interwoven with the cultural fabric of the Malay world. Its principles embody and perpetuate central cultural values, and silat plays an important role in the cultural identity and education of the younger generation. Proper silat practice aims at the following goals: mastery of self-defense, strengthening of mind and character, development of aesthetic/artistic sensibility, and enhancement of general fitness and athletic ability. Depending on the style or circumstance, one aspect might be emphasized more than others, however, all four aspects are always present. A master of silat is highly respected in society and often referred to by the honorary title *pendekar*. This title is reserved for masters who epitomize the core values of silat specifically and of Malay culture generally. They are recognized as elders and spiritual leaders in the community; often they are healers or believed to possess supernatural powers. In the ideal of the *pendekar* one often finds an intriguing synthesis of old animistic, Hindu,

Silat practitioners in West Sumatra, Indonesia.

Source: Kirstin Pauka.

and Islamic beliefs. Frequently, silat is performed as an integral part of traditional celebrations such as harvests, weddings, circumcisions, and many other community and religious festivals. In these cultural contexts the performances focus on the artistic and aesthetic aspect and are often accompanied by traditional musical orchestras such as *gamelan*, *kendang*, or *talempong* ensembles. However, it is not only viewed as entertainment, but also believed to bestow protection over the participants and community. Due to its inherent aesthetic qualities, silat elements have also been integrated into dance and theater genres, for example *Randai* dance-drama of the Minangkabau, various Malay and Sundanese dances, and Javanese *Ketoprak* theater.

Techniques, Styles, and Schools

Traditional silat is practiced predominantly in rural areas all over the Malay Peninsula and Indonesian archipelago where many regional styles called *aliran* have developed. Hundreds of such regional *aliran* are still practiced today and their techniques and approaches differ greatly. These countless regional styles and variations have developed over the past hundreds of years, owing to different environmental conditions, varying exposure to other martial arts traditions, contact with multitudes of philosophies and religions, and support or suppression through political and social circumstances. Last but not least manifold styles resulted from the distinct skills, inventiveness, expertise, and genius of individual teachers and masters. Several basic characteristics however are shared among silat styles. Foremost among them is its general evasive or defensive quality, in which the aim is to unbalance opponents and diminish their advantage. All styles include basic postures, steps, and greeting etiquette that precede actual attack-defense exercises. Many styles favor circular ver-



sus linear approaches, and many feature positions low to the ground. Many styles or single techniques are inspired by animal movements or other elements in nature. The training is preferably held in a natural outdoor environment, often at night, in a practice area customarily called *gelanggang*. The foundation of all silat is specific footwork called *langkah*. Basic fighting techniques include kicks, punches, grabs, blocks, parries, locks, and throws, all with the aim to unbalance the opponent and bring him into a position from which he can no longer attack. More advanced training includes techniques aiming at vital points; on the next higher level special training for inner strength (*kebatinan*) is emphasized. True masters can eventually execute long-distance strikes without physically touching their opponent. The kind of approach used depends on the circumstance. Obviously, the techniques applied in a live-threatening self-defense situation are quite different from those used in a tournament situation with strict rules or in a public performance.

Among all the martial arts styles in the world, silat employs one of the largest arsenals of weapons. Foremost among them is the *keris*. Expertly crafted, this long, wave-bladed dagger is the most important weapon in Malay and Indonesian cultures. It possesses deep spiritual and ceremonial significance. Straight-bladed versions exist as well, along with multiple other variations of knives, daggers, machetes, halberds, and swords of variable length and shape, augmented by a dizzying array of spears, staffs, tridents, chains, discs, whips,

shields, and other handheld or throwing weapons. Quite a few of these were imported from mainland Southeast Asia, China, India, or the Middle East and then adapted, while many others are of indigenous origin, highly specialized and only used in a specific region. Costuming for silat practice, performance, and competition typically consists of a long-sleeve shirt and loose trousers, preferably of black or dark cloth, a bright colored sash, and a head cloth, wrapped in the various distinct local fashions. The various styles are taught in schools or clubs, called *perguruan*, ranging in size from very small groups with just a handful of select students to large organizations with memberships in the tens of thousands and branches all over Indonesia and abroad. Some schools teach only one style under one master, with the knowledge predominantly passed on through oral tradition. Others teach several styles separately or as a synthesis. The more modern types of schools have written rules and regulations. The master teacher of a school is referred to as *maha guru* (grand master) or *pendekar*. Silat students, called *pesilat*, owe loyalty and respect to their teachers and lifelong connections are typically formed between student and master.

Competitions

There are two types of competitions: traditional ones within an *aliran*, and modern ones in the context of sports tournaments. The traditional ones are part of the standard training process and give students within a school the opportunity to compete against fellow students according to the rules of the specific aliran.

Since the 1980s modern competitions are organized regularly by the national federations and every two years world championships are held by PERSILAT. Silat competitions have been included in the Southeast Asia Games. Efforts are underway as of 2004 to make silat part of the Olympic Games as well. World championships are attended by increasing numbers of member states and participants, as the worldwide appeal of this art and sport genre grows continuously. The Twelfth World Championship in Penang, Malaysia, in 2002, for instance, attracted over 150 participants from twenty nations.

The tournament rules are set by PERSILAT to include one category for the sports silat (*olahraga*) variant of full-contact fighting and three for the arts silat (*seni*) variant. The sports competition, called *tanding*, consists of three 2-minute rounds of one-on-one full-contact fighting. The combatants wear protective gear; permissible targets include the torso and limbs, hits to the head, groin, and spine are illegal. Combatants compete in standard weight divisions for men and women. A referee and judges use a point system to determine the winner. The seni category is subdivided into three competition types. The first, *tunggal*, consists of choreographed forms, preset by PERSILAT, in which a single competitor performs one part empty-handed and two parts with weapons, using the *golok* and *tongkat* (a type of machete and staff respectively). The second type is the *ganda*, in which a duo of performers presents their own choreography, using empty-handed techniques as well as weapons. The third is the *regu*, a standardized three-person sequence performing a set choreography. In all three seni categories the competitors are evaluated by a point system for accuracy of movement, level of skill, precision, and timing. In addition, the *ganda* category is also graded for creativity of the individual choreography showcasing beautiful and effective silat moves. All seni forms are three minutes long. Both arts and sports competitions are typically held concurrently at all major championships; male and female participants compete in both. Although silat was historically predominately a male activity, many notable female silat masters are known all over the Malay world. Since the 1970s girls and women also participate in increasing numbers in competitions on the regional level as well as in national and international tournaments. The vast majority of silat practitioners are amateurs. A small elite of professional athletes and trainers has developed along with efforts to make silat a national and international sport.

Governing Bodies

In 1948 the first national silat organization was founded in Indonesia by Mr. Wongsonegoro and other leaders in the silat community. Called Indonesian

Pencak Silat Federation or IPSI (Ikatan Pencak Silat Indonesia, www.pencaksilat.co.uk/psfIPSI.htm), its goals were the coordination and systematization of silat schools and practices within Indonesia, and the consolidation of silat as a national sport.

In 1980 the International Pencak Silat Federation or PERSILAT (Persekutuan Pencak Silat Antarbangsa, www.persilat.net/persilat) was established in Jakarta in order to coordinate silat in the international arena. For this IPSI was joined by the official silat federations in Malaysia (PESAKA), Singapore (PERSISI), and Brunei Darussalam (PESIB). In addition to the four founding member states, the PERSILAT federation includes more than twenty other official member organizations in other areas, such as Pentjak Silat USA (www.pentjaksilatusa.com), the European Pencak Silat Federation (www.pencaksilat.co.uk/epsfwlcm.htm), and groups in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, North and South America, and the Pacific region. The main goals of PERSILAT and its members are to promote, develop, and disseminate pencak silat worldwide. PERSILAT issues guidelines and rules for training, promotion, and competition; organizes regular tournaments and championships; and trains and licenses coaches and judges. It also holds regular seminars and sponsors publications on silat. In 1997 the organization also established an official silat training center in Jakarta, known as Padepokan. It has to be added that there are numerous silat schools throughout Indonesia and Malaysia who do not join PERSILAT or the national federations in order to retain their individual style and training philosophy.

Kirstin Pauka

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Singapore

Singapore is an equatorial island city-state of four million people. Independent since 1965, it is a multicultural democracy, in which Chinese, Malays, and Indians are the dominant groups. Sport is seen as playing an ongoing role in nation building, with particular emphasis on sport for all, sports excellence, and sport as an industry. Most sports are of British origin with association football being accepted as the national game.

History

The indigenous sports that exist are Malay in origin. A game played with a rattan ball (*sepak takraw*) is still a popular three-person team game. Sailing and silat (a martial art) are the other traditional activities. Colonization by the British brought with it the range of team and individual sport associated with middle- and late-nineteenth-century diffusion. The games were fully adopted by the 1930s, by which time many sports had local administrative associations. A love of gambling, a trait shared by the colonial power and the migrant Chinese, has long been a complementary activity. The colonial government paid little attention to sport, considering it a fundamentally amateur activity. Funding for representative competitive sport was often the sole responsibility of the individual athlete. The system of subscription and donation did ease the burden of finance before independence.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Badminton and weightlifting were the most successful sports during the late colonial period, with Singapore sportsmen winning international honors in the Thomas Cup and Commonwealth Games respectively. Swimming, sailing, and, more recently, table tennis have been

the most productive sports in the South East Asian (SEA) Games and the Asian Games since independence. The state-operated system now recognizes the status of core and merit sports. Track and field, badminton, silat, sailing, soccer, swimming/water polo, table tennis, and bowling now receive the most emphasis within the sports excellence program. Soccer operates a professional league, which includes an additional team each from Japan and China. The major venue for international games and contests is the national stadium.

A wide range of sport is played at both competitive and recreational levels. Well-established team games (basketball, volleyball, rugby, hockey, and cricket) and individual games (golf, tennis, squash, and billiards) have been supplemented by martial arts (judo, taekwondo, and wushu). Outdoor adventure activities, water sports, and healthy lifestyle activities are available for all age groups. The most recent inclusion to the SEA games has been international chess, which has a wide following in schools. The quadrennial Asian Games and the biennial SEA Games are the most prominent regional competitions. Singapore has won only one medal in the Olympic games—a silver medal achieved in weightlifting by Tan Howe Liang in 1960.

National identity in relation to sport has become an increasingly important issue as calls for success are made. Achievement in international games is promoted through direct policies and growing expenditure. The sports excellence programs are supported by initiatives to nurture young athletes, for example in a new sports school. Talented athletes from countries like China are encouraged to develop their talent in Singaporean programs, with a view to adopting citizenship. The dilemma now exists that foreign talent is not always seen to reflect the national sporting profile.

Women and Sport

One concern has been the lack of Singaporean women's participation in sport at all forms. The Women and Sport Group, working under the auspices of the Singapore Sports Council (SSC), has become one of the foremost bodies promoting sport for women in Asia. The

pioneer female Olympian competed in Helsinki in 1952. Since then one in seven Singaporean Olympians have been women.

Youth Sports

Youth participation in sport exists within the school system and among the clubs and associations. The People's Association (a statutory body) provides extensive developmental programs at community clubs. Regional fitness and recreational centres provide a sophisticated range of facilities and amenities.

Organizations

The major national organization is the SSC, which is a statutory board of the Ministry of Community Development and Sports (www.ssc.gov.sg/SportsWeb/index.jsp).

The Vision of the SSC is to create "A Sporting Singapore! Our Way Of Life," and the mission statement elaborates the need to "develop sports champions and create enjoyable sporting experiences for Singapore." The individual National Sports Associations are affiliated to the SSC and to the Singapore National Olympic Council (SNOC, www.snoc.org.sg).

The educational arm of the SNOC is the Singapore Olympic Academy, which organizes an annual session for trainee teachers of physical education. The Academy also links the Olympic associations within the South East Asian region and Asia beyond by inviting delegates to its residential course.

Sports in Society

The general societal perception of sport is that as an institution it has to compete with the twin demands of education and employment. It has not been easy to provide a balance of emphasis. The local news media concentrate on international sporting events and leagues, while the homegrown professional scene enjoys only moderate support. Globalization has placed the English Premier League and the NBA into sharp relief for the local population.

There have been periodic examples of illegal performance enhancement, but not to a significant degree.

The most controversial issues in recent years concern the sports excellence program. Among these, the foremost has been the foreign-talent identification scheme, which is perceived by some observers to limit the potential of local-born athletes. Singaporeans do not find it easy to accept foreign talent as their own. The establishment of the new Sports School, which has a long-term plan to create champions, caused some concern about the policy to focus initially on potential entrants with above-average academic qualifications at primary-school level. The relatively low status of elite sport and the relatively high status of educational achievement in society as a whole means that the combination of sports and academic excellence is often viewed with some scepticism.

The Future

The most significant trend has been toward the creation of a sports hub as a component of a sports industry. Hosting major international sporting events has become an important item on the agenda. Sports for all remains an important pillar in the development of the culture of sport, but the perception is that excellence in competition, and the underlying commercial interest in sport, must generate gains that benefit the economy as a whole. Five hundred million dollars have been committed to the concept of “Team Singapore” over the next five years. The plan has been to steer the people toward accepting the concept of an identifiable culture known as Sporting Singapore.

Nick Aplin

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Skateboarding

Skateboarding involves riding a wheeled board. The first skateboards were created by connecting roller skate wheels to a wooden plank. Thus, the terms “skate” and “board” were also connected to name the activity. Technology has dramatically improved from these first iterations. For example, the wheels have gone through numerous upgrades from clay wheels of roller skates initially used to polyurethane ones currently used. Even though skateboards are now mass produced, there is no “official” standard for the composition or shape of boards and wheels; instead, these vary according to techniques and styles within skateboarding. Part of this flexibility can be explained by skateboarding's historical appeal to those seeking alternatives to formalized sport and its association with antiestablishment youth culture.

Brief History

Skateboarding's history began in southern California, and much of the industry is still located there. The initial popularity occurred in the early 1960s when skateboards were first mass produced. Since then, skateboarding has gone through many “boom or bust” cycles. These cycles are often linked to the legal status of skateboarding as well as the general health of the economy. During the first cycle of popularity, the infrastructure to develop safe and secure places to skate was weak. Thus, skateboarders commonly used sidewalks, school playgrounds, and parking lots as their parks. This caused concern from store owners and public officials because



A boy at a skate park.

Source: istockphoto.com/ csdesigns.

or bowl skating, but this occurred illegally in drained pools or at ramps located in private residences. Skateboarders embraced the punk rock movement as well. In a sense, skateboarding became more “underground” during the 1980s. In addition, the style became more airborne and was taking place primarily in urban settings. Christian Hosoi and Tony Hawk were considered the top ramp/bowl skaters because of their

many skaters were disrupting commercial transactions and were incurring injury. City officials were concerned, and many medical associations warned people of the inherent danger of the sport. These two widespread concerns led to waning support and participation in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Skateboarding made a comeback in the 1970s primarily through groundbreaking technology that allowed smoother and safer rides: the creation of the polyurethane wheel. The boards were long and skinny and most people rode in slalom style or freestyle. Downhill rides were common as were tricks such as doing handstands while riding on the board. Skateboarding’s commercial appeal increased as other youth-oriented products, such as soda companies, began sponsoring competitions. During this cycle, privately owned skate parks started to spring up around the United States. These parks were a sea of cement, including toboggan like runs as well as pool-like “bowls.”

Through its first two decades, skateboarding was primarily associated with suburban middle classes and gradually gained mainstream appeal. During the late 1970s and the early 1980s, however, there were widespread closures of skateboard parks because of liability issues. These legal barriers encouraged skateboarding to change in style and location, which, in turn, severed ties to the mainstream. Skaters continued to practice ramp

ability to get height above and outside of the ramps (“to get air”) and because of their creativity.

The other significant style developed in the 1980s was “street.” The crucial innovation for this style was the “ollie”: a technique that enables the skater to propel the board completely off the ground. This skill is essential for other more elaborate tricks that allow a skateboarder to “jump” onto a variety of objects. Once the board lands on an object, the skater will generally ride the board over it by sliding along the object. This style commonly takes place in everyday city settings rather than in commercially produced skateboard parks. For example, skateboarders often jump their board onto handrails, then slide their boards down those rails. The variations skaters create involving this jumping and sliding are the basis for current “street style” of skateboarding.

Skateboarding’s association with legal problems, urban settings, and punk rock and grunge music effectively helped to distance itself from the mainstream. And this “edgy” connotation was used by the industry as commercial appeal to a worldwide youth market. One chief executor officer claimed that he was selling the “California lifestyle” abroad. In the late 1980s, skateboarding reached a peak in actual participation, but the economic recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s took a toll on skateboarding: the lowest participation rates were during the early 1990s.

Twenty years ago you could win a world title with a double axel. Now they need at least seven triples. ■ ELLEN BURKA

Renewed Popularity and Cultural Appeal

The advent of the X-games in the mid-1990s catapulted skateboarding back into mainstream consciousness. This made-for-television event was the idea of an ESPN (an all-sport network) executive. The goal was to reach a young audience by creating the “Olympics” of alternative sports. Ramp skateboarding became a central feature of these games. The X-games are now a global phenomenon with competitions held throughout the world. Another broadcast corporation created a similar event, the “Gravity Games,” to compete in that market. Skateboarding has evolved with many different styles, although ramp, pool, and street skating are still the most familiar forms. Even at its height of popularity, the underlying ethos of being alternative has fueled political struggles over whether a universal governing body for the sport should be formed.

The most famous participant, Tony Hawk, represents the newfound popularity of skateboarding. In a poll conducted by a teen marketing research firm in 2002, Tony Hawk was voted the “coolest big-time athlete” ahead of more traditional sport athletes such as Tiger Woods, Michael Jordan, and Derek Jeter. The number of participants was at an all-time high at the turn of the twenty-first century, reaching approximately 12 million. Females constituted approximately 10 percent of those participants, and skateboarders such as Cara Beth Burnside and Jen O’Brien made livings as professionals.

As the sport has become popular, the clothing and lifestyle have taken on greater cultural appeal to the youth market. Currently, more money is made from sales of shoes and specialty clothing to a general audience than from the sales of boards to core participants. Skateboarding and many other alternative sports became a symbol of the active, creative, independent, and ultimately, “cool” teenager in the later 1990s. The significance of skateboarding as a cultural marker of “cool” can be demonstrated by looking at the how many different corporations use the symbols of skateboarding to sell products not directly related, such as video games, music, fast food, and drinks.

The Future

Skateboarding has historically been associated with youth who wanted to practice an alternative to mainstream sport. This is represented in the lack of formal structures and continual changes in style and technology. This alternative ethos evolved in the 1980s and 1990s to represent antiauthoritarianism. The direction of skateboarding will be affected by this most recent commercialization and use of skateboarding as a symbol of “cool.” It will be interesting to see if there is a backlash to this mainstream appeal, or whether skateboarding becomes accepted as a conventional sport.

Becky Beal

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Skating, Ice Figure

Ice figure skating is a sport that combines athletic skills, musical interpretation, and choreography. Performances and competitions are organized in four categories: women’s singles, men’s singles, pairs, and ice dancing. A judged, aesthetic sport, ice figure skating spans the borders of art and entertainment. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, ice figure skating was an elegant art practiced primarily by upper-

class men in cold climates. Today ice figure skating is a middle-class sport in which girls heavily outnumber boys at all but the highest levels. Clubs are as likely to be found in Australia or California as in Oslo, Norway, or Toronto, Canada, and spectators are as likely to watch skaters performing in competitions as in highly staged television specials.

Early History

Early skaters were sliders; they slid across frozen lakes and rivers on runners made from sharpened bone or wood, sometimes using poles or sticks to propel themselves and to maintain their balance. About the fourteenth century the Dutch replaced these runners with blades made of iron. Sharpened metal blades have distinct edges that grip the ice, allowing for stronger pushes and more speed. The edge of the blade cutting into the ice gives each stroke its distinctive sound and requires the curving step that is the basis of all modern skating.

In the Netherlands skating was both transportation and recreation. Sixteenth-century Dutch paintings show men, women, and children of all classes skating on the iced-over canals. The integration of skating into everyday life seems to have been unique to the Netherlands, as was the democracy of Dutch skating. Apart from a few attempts to use skates in the military, skating evolved throughout the rest of Europe and North America as a form of recreation that took different forms among people of different classes.

Until the late 1800s skaters were tied to the landscape in obvious ways. If no ice existed, no one skated. If the river was long, and the ice was solid, skaters might run races or use their skates to travel quickly and easily from village to village. On ponds where no distance captured their imaginations, skaters explored the technical possibilities of the blade on the ice. Different landscapes led to different forms of skating, and these different forms became associated with the people who practiced them. In the Fen District of England, for instance, where the still, flat water froze in great smooth stretches, farm laborers—mostly men—invented courses and formats for

racing on skates, a pastime that would eventually turn into the formal sport of speed skating. In London and other big cities skating was a pastime of young boys and well-to-do gentlemen. While the boys played games on frozen ditches or canals, the gentlemen practiced a sedate and dignified style of gliding on small ponds and lakes in urban parks and estates. This “gentle art” was the style of skating that would eventually turn into ice figure skating. The product of elegant and noble manners, it became a popular court entertainment, honed at ice balls and masquerades and at other aristocratic gatherings across the continent.

With few exceptions—Marie Antoinette (wife of King Louis XVI of France) being one—early practitioners of the gentle art were men. Women, bundled in fur robes, were more likely to be pushed about the ice in carved wooden sleighs. In Russia the first skating club, founded in 1865, had even a special department of “chaise” skating. Skating historians do not know why so few women outside of the Netherlands skated. Some historians suggest that feminine skating would have been considered too liberated or immoral. Others suggest that women were afraid of breaking through the ice or that women’s clothing made skating impractical.

The world’s first skating club was founded in Edinburgh, Scotland, during the mid-1700s. Until 1910 membership in the club was restricted to upper-class men. Potential members were vetted for social standing and given a test of their skating skills that required them to skate a circle on each foot and to jump over three hats stacked on the ice. Although later clubs in Europe and North America also catered exclusively to upper-class men, many began to offer memberships to women during the late 1800s. Women’s memberships, however, usually depended on the women’s ties to husbands, brothers, or fathers. In some clubs, if a woman ceased to live in the home of a male club member, her own membership would be terminated.

During the second half of the nineteenth century technical developments made skating easier, more comfortable, and more accessible. In many cities skating was moved from frozen lakes and rivers to flooded urban

fields to avoid the danger of drowning. Steel blades were developed in Philadelphia in 1848. The first covered rink (over natural ice) was built in Quebec City, Canada, in 1858, complete with gas lights to allow safe skating at night. Processes for making artificial ice were invented in London in 1876. With these improved conditions, the number of skating clubs increased dramatically, as did the numbers of women skaters.

Competing Skating Styles

During the late 1700s and early 1800s the art of skating involved little more than long rolling edges that were sometimes embellished with expressive head and arm movements. According to Robert Jones, author of the first skating textbook, published in England in 1772, the primary goal of the skater was easy movement and grace. For Jones technique was far less important than aesthetics. Skaters in France also emphasized artistic movement and expressive poses, whereas Canadian and U.S. skaters were more inclined to focus on tricky footwork combinations and spins. In England and elsewhere in Europe stunts such as jumps and spins were frowned upon and were considered by many not to be true skating.

By the mid-1800s British society was increasingly organized around industry and science. Skating reflected this organization. British skaters turned their primary interest from aesthetics toward technical innovation. What came to be called the “English style” emphasized long edges and turns, and this style is reflected in the English term *figure skating*. It demanded a stiff upright posture and tremendous control. Knees were not to bend. Arms were not to lift. Nothing fanciful was to interfere with precision. It could not have been more different from the flowing style of Robert Jones’s time nor the heavily choreographed performances of today.

While British skaters were practicing this exacting ice science, skaters on the continent were pushing their aesthetic limits. In other languages, including French, Spanish, Italian, and German, this style is known as “artistic skating”; it has evolved into the music-based ice figure skating with which we are familiar today. A U.S.

skater, Jackson Haines (1845–1879), is generally credited with creating this style. Trained as a dancer, Haines saw in skating tremendous theatrical and artistic possibilities. He fit his skating to music, developed new moves (including the sit spin, which for many years was called a “Jackson Haines spin”), and invented a one-piece skate. Although nonskating audiences found him thrilling to watch, few skaters adopted his radical style. In 1864 Haines left the United States and traveled to Europe to find a more receptive audience.

Evidence suggests that he skated to warm receptions in Norway, Sweden, and Russia and that his exhibitions in those countries prompted the founding of ice figure skating clubs and the building of ice rinks. However, in Vienna, Austria, Haines had his greatest success, and his performances changed the future development of skating. The book *Tracks on the Ice*, written in 1881 by Viennese skaters Demeter Diamantidi, Carl Von Korper, and Max Wirth, turned Haines’s technical accomplishments into a system that eventually served as the basis for international competition rules. The system provided the technical ground upon which skating could grow: edges, turns, and school figures. For the first time the turns were skated as part of large figure eights (school figures), a concept that revolutionized skating and remained fundamental to its practice until the late 1980s. *Tracks on the Ice* stressed the aesthetic component in both figures and free skating movements. The idea behind the system was that after skaters had mastered the basic techniques they could engage with ice figure skating as an art.

Institutionalization of the Sport

Eager to promote their style of skating, the Viennese organized some of the first international competitions during the 1870s and 1880s. Thus, their artistic style, which was known as the “international style,” and not the stiff English style, came to be institutionalized as a sport. English skaters were, however, the first to be governed by a national organization. The National Skating Association (NSA) was founded in England in 1879 to curb gambling and professionalism in speed skating,



but ice figure skaters joined the organization in 1880. The NSA became responsible for administering a series of graded tests to raise the level of skating skills. Such tests remain the foundation of instructional skating programs in many parts of the world today.

Outside of England most national skating organizations were founded to standardize the rules of competitions. On the encouragement of the Dutch federation, fifteen delegates from European federations came together in 1892 to found the International Skating Union (ISU). Although the ISU immediately implemented rules for speed skating, it did not implement rules for ice figure skating until 1897, a delay that signaled differences of opinion and tense relations between some of the members of the organization.

Before the founding of the ISU, competitions had been organized for women and men at both local and international levels in figure skating and free skating. In many competitions women and men competed against each other in the same events. Despite this tradition, ISU world championships, which began in 1896, were open only to men. In 1902 the English skater Madge Syers (1881–1917) challenged the ISU's restrictions and became the first woman to compete for an official world title. Unable to imagine that a woman would ever dare to skate against men, members of the ISU had no rule with which they could block Syers's participation. She went on to win the silver medal behind the great Swedish skater Ulrich Salchow (1877–1949). At the ISU Congress in 1903 members discussed (but never passed) a rule explicitly prohibiting women from competing. They argued that women's long skirts prevented judges from seeing their feet. Not until 1906 did the ISU approve a women's championship. Madge Syers took the first ISU women's championship. She won the ISU title again in 1907. She also won the first Olympic title in 1908 when ice figure skating made its Olympic debut at the Summer Games in London, one of the first sports to allow women to compete. Not until 1924 did the ISU permit women to compete for the title of world champion. Women were not permitted to judge international skating championships until 1947.

In the first ISU competitions school figures determined 67 percent of a skater's final score, whereas free skating determined just 33 percent. During that era free-skating programs included single rotation jumps and various spins that were connected with long edges, dance steps, and turns. Carriage and flow were emphasized more than athleticism. In 1882 Axel Paulsen (1855–1938) first performed the famous one-and-one-half rotation jump that would take his name. However, despite his spectacular jump and his ability to spin at blistering speed, he placed third. Dash and athleticism were not what counted most.

Until about the mid-twentieth century competitive skaters were adults. Although men and women were generally capable of the same feats, decorum and long skirts limited women's ability to practice jumps in public. The first jump by a woman in international competition was performed by bronze medalist Theresa Weld (1893–1978) of the United States during the 1920 Olympic Games. Weld was chastised by the judges for her unfeminine behavior. Some say her jump cost her the gold medal. However, her daring opened the door for further change.

At the 1924 Winter Olympics in Chamonix, France, an eleven-year-old girl from Norway stunned the crowd and the judges with her youth, her combination of athleticism and artistry, and the shortness of her skirt. Sonja Henie (1912–1969), who would become the most popular ice figure skater of all time, finished last in this first international appearance. She would eventually win ten world championships and three Olympic gold medals. To say that she changed the face of ice figure skating is an understatement. As a child participating in what had previously been an adult sport, Henie introduced an athleticism that had not been seen in women's skating. Because of her youth, she broke no rules of decorum by wearing the short skirts that allowed her to do jumps and innovative spins. She was also among the first skaters to choreograph a skating program as if it were a ballet solo. Prior to this innovation free-skating routines relied heavily on the turns and edges used in school figures, linked by a few special tricks. Henie's programs

The ten-step, showing the man's steps.

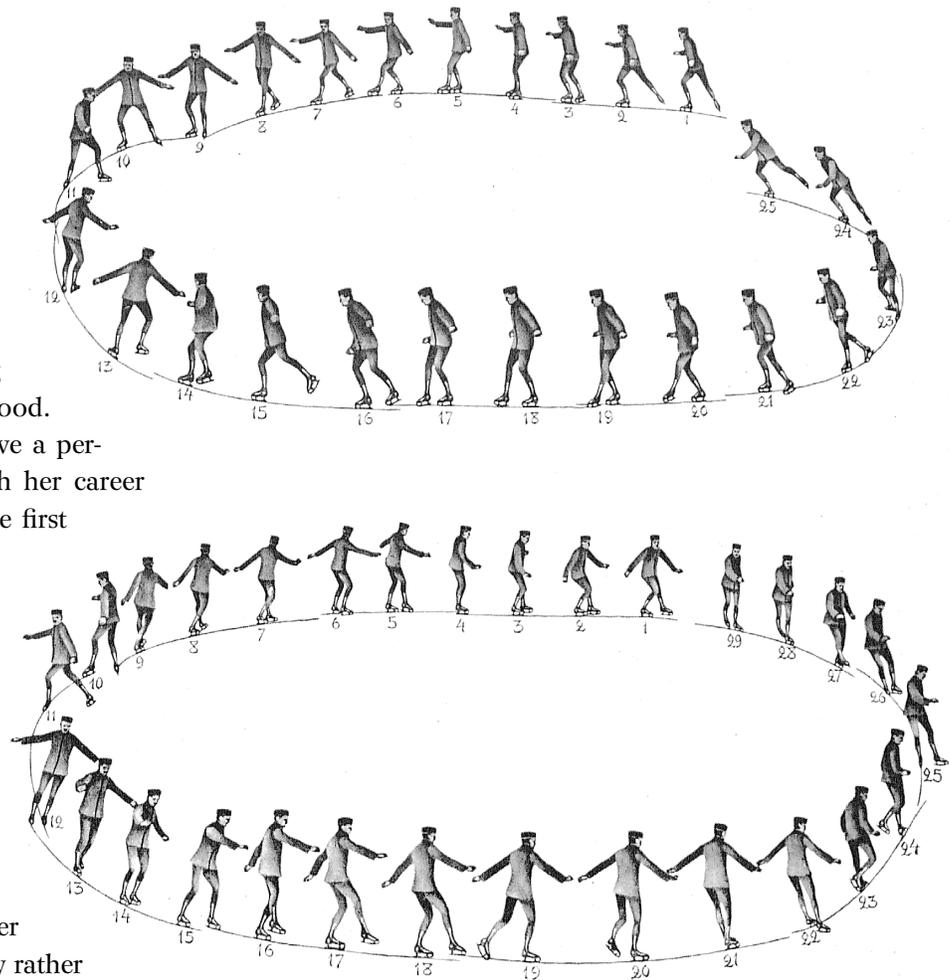
told a story with jumps and spins worked into a seamless whole.

Retiring from competition after the 1936 season, Henie toured with her own skating show before heading for Hollywood.

There she rented a rink and gave a performance that helped to launch her career with Twentieth Century-Fox. The first of Henie's eleven movies, *One in a Million*, was produced that same year. During the era before television, Henie's films brought ice figure skating to a huge public for the first time.

From its earliest days ice figure skating had been a pastime of the elite. Competitions took place in exclusive rinks and received only modest newspaper coverage—usually on the society rather than the sports pages. In such a context Henie *was* figure skating. Her sequined and bejeweled costumes, her use of toe-steps, and her often doll-like appearance led to popular understandings of figure skating as a feminine style of dancing on ice rather than a competitive sport. On the one hand, this shift led to a tremendous growth in the sport among young girls seeking to emulate their idol. On the other hand, this shift made skating seem too girlish for boys and men. Biographies of male skaters routinely speak of fathers being disappointed by their son's choice of sport. Even today, after decades of loosening gender expectations in the general culture, many people consider ice figure skating to be an effeminate sport.

In many ways women's ice figure skating has not broken the "ice princess" mold that Sonja Henie set before World War II. For the past seventy years the idealized woman skater has been conventionally pretty and feminine and, until the 1990s, invariably white. She has skated with a graceful lyricism that masks the



tremendous difficulty of what she does. Male skaters have not been similarly locked into a single mold. The two men who dominated skating during the 1920s and 1930s, Gillis Grafstrom (1893–1938) and Karl Schaefer of Austria (1909–1976), were lauded for creating poetry on ice. After World War II U.S. skater Dick Button (b. 1930), Olympic gold medalist in 1948 and 1952, was lauded for his athletic prowess, especially for being the first skater to land a double axel (1947) and a triple jump in competition (1952). In Button's wake some male skaters focused so much on the athletic content of their programs that they became wooden and uninspiring to watch. During this period jumps came to be the measure of a skater's technical achievement. Critics continue to lament this trend, arguing that skaters focus on jumps to the detriment of their other skills.

During the 1970s Canada's Toller Cranston (b. 1952) and Britain's John Curry (1949–1994) tried

to return men's skating to its more lyrical roots. Curry, 1976 Olympic champion, skated with an elegant and balletic style. His skating appeared effortless. By contrast, Toller Cranston, the 1976 Olympic bronze medalist, skated with fire and passion. His performances were full of odd angles and innovative moves. These two men were instrumental in expanding the range of acceptable styles in men's skating. Today male skaters span the gamut from the artistic Canadian Emanuel Sandhu (b. 1980), who is a classically trained ballet dancer, to the fist-pumping, Lycra-wearing U.S. skater, Michael Weiss (b. 1976), who recently performed to music by the 1970s rock group Santana. Women's skating can seem monochromatic by comparison.

Pairs

The first pairs skaters were men. They skated side-by-side, executing dance steps and gliding movements while holding hands. When the ISU established rules for pairs, pairs could be composed of two men, two women, or one woman and one man. However, by the time the ISU inaugurated the first pairs championship in 1908, mixed pairs were the only ones invited to compete. At that time pairs performances were much like dances. However, as accomplished singles skaters turned to pairs skating, the routines grew more complex. In 1923 British skaters Mildred and T. D. Richardson introduced shadow skating to world competition, performing free skating movements in close unison, an extremely difficult feat to accomplish while moving at high speed across the ice. Lifts, the moves that currently define pairs skating, were introduced to international competition in 1924 by the French skaters Andrée Joly (1901–1993) and Pierre Brunet (1902–1991), to the dismay of some judges who called the daring new moves “circus tricks.” Joly and Brunet married in 1925. They won the first of four world titles in 1926. They were also Olympic gold medalists in 1928 and 1932.

Ice figure skating is one of the few sports in which teams of men and women compete against other teams of men and women. However, unlike racquet sports, which also have mixed-gender teams, ice figure skating

pairs and ice dancing events are designed to highlight the social and physical differences between men and women—the man is required to lift the woman, he offers his partner up for display. In these events gender relations are a required part of the performance. Soviet skaters Ludmila (b. 1935) and Oleg (b. 1932) Protopopov were Olympic pairs champions in 1964 and 1968 and world champions from 1965 to 1968. They were known for extremely elegant programs that were reminiscent of ballet duets. The Protopopovs' success with judges and popular audiences ensured that of the many ways that men and women might choose to skate together, heterosexual conventions would dominate pairs competitions.

Ice Dancing

Although ice dancers were admitted to the world championships only in 1952 and to the Olympic Games in 1976, ice dancing has been important to the history of ice figure skating. People's fascination with waltzing on ice during the late nineteenth century led to the first significant increase in the number of skaters. Indeed, dancing was key to getting women onto the ice. The pleasure of dancing motivated many skaters to work hard to improve their technical skills. Their demands for reliable ice—for more than one or two months of the year—helped to prompt the invention of artificial ice.

At first skaters tried simply to transpose ballroom dance steps to the rink. Before long they began to invent dances to take advantage of the unique properties of skating. Skating clubs hired rinkside orchestras, and social dances and formal balls became regular events on the skating calendar. In England the NSA held competitions to inspire the creation of new dances. Today's skaters continue to learn the steps of some of the winning entries, in addition to those of more recent invention. These set pattern dances are called “compulsory dances.” They make up the first of the three components of contemporary ice dancing competitions.

Initially no difference existed between pairs skating and ice dancing. The two disciplines split when pairs skaters started to incorporate lifts, jumps, and throws

into their routines. Competitive ice dancers are not permitted to perform jumps or throws and may only perform small lifts. Although the specific rules of ice dancing have changed frequently through the years, the somewhat vaguely defined requirement to impart the feel of dance remains constant. Current competition involves three parts: the compulsory dances; the “original dance” which is a short program skated to prescribed rhythms (such as the rumba or the waltz or the foxtrot); and the long free program.

Judging

Like gymnastics and diving, skating is an aesthetic, judged sport. Unlike running or shot put, ice figure skating includes no single objective measure by which to determine a winner. Consequently, the sport has always been plagued by judging controversies. At the European championship of 1893 Swedish and Austrian judges could not agree on the means by which the winner would be declared and the results of the competition were annulled. In many early competitions skaters were awarded points for each aspect of the competition. The skater with the most points at the end was the winner. It seemed to be a clear and simple system. However, assigning points to something as complex as a skating performance, either in school figures or in free skating, is not easy. Which should count more—flow, speed, technique, or the overall impression left by a performance? In 1897 the ISU passed regulations that would be followed for more than a century: The winner of skating competitions would be determined not by the total marks a skater received but rather by the total of his or her placings. The skater with the lowest total—the lowest number of ordinals—would win. These regulations recognized that skaters were not being measured against an objective standard but rather against each other. The relationship between the skaters (their placings) would determine the outcome. In 1901 the ISU introduced the famous 0–6.0 judging scale, in which a mark of 6.0 represented a “faultless” performance. In the most recent version of this scale, skaters received two marks: one for technique and one for presentation. Through the years

these marks have been called different things. The former was once called “sporting merit,” whereas the latter has been called “general impression” and the better-known “artistic impression.”

Throughout its history ice figure skating has been rocked by all manner of judging scandals. At one time host countries would stack the judging panel with their own judges. During the Cold War countries on either side of the Iron Curtain commonly collaborated in vote-swapping schemes with their allies: “I’ll give your skater a good placing in dance, if you give mine a good placing in men’s.” At the 1998 Olympics in Nagano, Japan, a Canadian judge taped a phone conversation in which a Ukrainian judge asked her to agree in advance on the outcome of an event. For such a blatant breach of the rules, the Ukrainian judge received only a one-year suspension. Amazingly, the whistle-blowing judge was also suspended. The most recent scandal occurred during the 2002 Olympic Games in Salt Lake City, Utah, where a French judge admitted to marking the pairs competition according to a deal made by the French and Russian federations. After being pressured by the International Olympic Committee, the ISU eventually awarded two gold medals in the event: the first on the evening of the competition to Elena Berezhnaya and Anton Sikharulidze of Russia, the second a few days later to Jamie Salé and David Pelletier of Canada, who had originally been awarded the silver.

Notorious for ignoring the corruption in their midst, ISU officials could not ignore the public outcry that followed the events in Salt Lake City, especially the suggestion by the IOC that if ice figure skating were not cleaned up it could be pushed out of the “Olympic family.” As a response the ISU has approved a new scoring system to be implemented during the 2004–2005 season. Ironically, the new system returns to the points system rejected as unfair and unwieldy during the late nineteenth century. Judges will award points for each element of a skater’s program. The system leans heavily toward easily quantifiable technical skills rather than aesthetic achievements. Whereas some commentators believe the new system of scoring will make judging more objective and will

help clean up the sport, others worry that the system will rob the sport of its creativity. Some frustrated skaters and officials believe the problems in the ISU are greater than the scoring system alone and have given up on the ISU entirely. In 2003 they started a new governing body—the World Skating Federation.

Recent Developments

Skating continues to evolve technically and aesthetically. A slim technical gap remains between men skaters and women skaters, with women routinely performing the same jumps as men except the triple axel and quadruple jumps. If spins, for instance, were more valued than jumps, this gap would mean little. A handful of women have performed the triple axel in competition, and many more have performed it in practice. In December 2003 the first woman to perform a quadruple salchow (a jump with a takeoff from the back inside edge of one skate followed by one or more full turns in the air and a landing on the back outside edge of the opposite skate) in competition was fourteen-year-old Miki Ando of Japan at the Junior Grand Prix final in The Hague, Netherlands. For their part men at the highest levels are paying more attention to style and aesthetic concerns than they once did. Although stereotypes suggest that women are the more artistic skaters, in many instances men are pushing the bounds of the sport in artistry, for instance, by performing to a broader range of music and by designing more complex footwork.

The technical advances in ice figure skating are, in part, a result of improved coaching techniques and better facilities and equipment. They are also a result of the now-commonplace tendency of elite athletes to begin training at a young age and to train full-time. However, more importantly, free skating has benefited immensely from the elimination of school figures from competition. Where figures once counted for 60 percent of a skater's score, in 1968 they were reduced to 50 percent. In 1973 the ISU introduced the short program to singles and pairs events. The ISU was responding to public outcry after Austria's Beatrix Schuba (b. 1951) won the 1972 world championships. Schuba, unmatched in her

ability to trace school figures, placed ninth in the free skating portion of the competition—the only part of the competition seen by television viewers, who could not understand why such a lackluster skater was on the top of the podium. With the introduction of the short program, figures fell to 30 percent of the total mark. They were finally phased out altogether in 1990. Today's competitors in all events perform a short technical program that includes a series of required elements. Each missed element leads to a deduction of marks.

During the mid-1990s ice figure skating became tremendously popular as a consequence of the Kerrigan–Harding scandal. At the 1994 U.S. Nationals gold medal favorite Nancy Kerrigan (b. 1969) was hit on the knee by a pipe-wielding assailant hired by the husband of Kerrigan's main rival, Tonya Harding (b. 1970). Harding went on to win the nationals after Kerrigan was forced to withdraw. The scandal made public the cutthroat side of skating and led to massive media interest in the women's event at the 1994 Olympic Games. For competitive skaters the increase in media interest spawned an increase in the number of competitions and the amount of prize money offered. Professional skaters benefited from an increase in the number of tours, shows, and televised specials. More agents became involved in the sport, more promoters organized events, more sports journalists covered the skaters. This boom of interest lasted almost a decade. However, as television schedules became saturated with skating shows, audiences began to fall off. But while the traditional ice figure skating audience in North America and western Europe may have reached the limits of expansion, new audiences are growing in places such as Hong Kong and Brazil, where few people skate. Skating has become a global entertainment commodity, and the invention of materials that can substitute for ice now means that skating shows appear regularly in tropical environments without permanent ice rinks.

The Future

Since the days of Jackson Haines ice figure skating has spanned the boundaries of sport, art, and entertainment. Although the dictates of sport have had the greatest

Studio executives are intelligent, brutally overworked men and women who share one thing in common with baseball managers: they wake up every morning of the world with the knowledge that sooner or later they're going to get fired. ■ WILLIAM GOLDMAN

impact on the structure of ice figure skating, the artistic and entertainment aspects of skating will ensure its future. They attract the imagination of skater and spectator alike; they set skating apart from other types of athletic contests. The future of ice figure skating will be determined not by the limits of the human body, but rather by the potential of the human imagination.

Mary Louise Adams

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Skating, Ice Speed

Ice skating was born out of a need for rapid movement in the winter climates of the Northern Hemisphere. Scholars do not know the origins of ice skating. However, the oldest pair of skates found in Europe is thought to be more than four thousand years old; thus, we can trace skating to the pre-Christian era.

Modern ice skating originated in the Netherlands. During winters in Amsterdam, markets were supplied by goods that were moved along frozen canals, including eggs carried in baskets on women's heads. In the same way that cycling and running originated in practical usage, ice skating was often the only way for people to travel quickly and even to conduct business during the long winters. Most Dutch people learned to skate at an early age, holding themselves upright on the ice by pushing a chair in front of them.

Probably because of its usefulness, ice speed skating developed about one hundred years before figure skat-

ing. Whereas figure skating tended to be the domain of town dwellers and the wealthy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ice speed skating was the domain of the lower classes. Members of the lower classes competed in races in which the goal was to reach the next town before other skaters.

Britain Imports Skating

Ice skating was brought to Britain during the eighteenth century by people from the Dutch province of Friesland who came to build canals in the eastern part of England. Scholars think that the first ice speed skating competition was held on the Fens, a low-lying district in eastern England, in 1763. Skating was popular not only in England, but also in Scotland, where the first club was formed in 1742. Skaters held many competitions in Britain through the latter part of the nineteenth century, and almost every town in the north and the east of England had its own champion.

British races were largely the domain of men. However, in the Netherlands women participated in touring speed skating races. In 1805 in Leeuwarden 130 women took part in such a race. Town-to-town races and touring races were open to women as separate events; women did not compete against men. However, women's competitions became increasingly peripheral as the nineteenth century advanced, and speed skating became increasingly organized by men.

People considered ice speed skating to be unsuitable and immodest for women. However, women continued to participate, and the first official women's world record was set in Poland in 1929. Men had been setting world records since 1893 and competing internationally since 1885, but women had to wait until 1936 to have their own world championships recognized. Olympic recognition for women speed skaters came even later. Women's speed skating was a demonstration sport at the 1932 Olympics in Lake Placid, New York, but did not become a formal event until the games in 1960 at Squaw Valley, California. In contrast, men's ice speed skating had been part of the Winter Olympics since the 1924 Games in Chamonix, France.



Skating, Ice Speed

Speed in Boston in the Early 1800s

Several exciting races came off at the Skating Park, Boston, on Saturday, the 4th inst. The first was for ladies, with prizes of a silver goblet, valued at \$25, and a pair of skates valued at \$10, for the best time; distance, half-mile. The second race was for gentlemen, consisting of a goblet valued at \$35, and a pair of skates valued at \$10.

For the ladies' race there were entered, the Misses Lucy Crocker, Addis M. Fogg, Carrie St. Clair, M.B. Lunt, Eliza Yenehki, Alice Twombly, M.D. Lamb, and Mrs. John L. Brown and Mrs. Carrie Ashley of Boston; Mrs. Anna Walker, of Rosbury; Mrs. George Farnam, of Lowell; Miss W.A. Roberts, of Andover. These were Divided into two parties, Miss Alice Twombly, Miss M.D. Lamb, Miss Anna Walker, and Miss Addie M. Fogg first. After a pleasant contest, the latter won, making the half-mile in 3:11, and Miss Lamb in 3:35. The others were distanced. The

next party consisted of Mrs. George Farnum, Mrs. John L. Brown, and Mrs. Carrie Ashley. The former won in 2:59, her companions being distanced. The prize was awarded to Mrs. Farnum, and the second to Miss Fogg.

Next in order was the gentleman's race, a distance of five miles, for which appeared Wm. F. Smith, F.G. Lawrence, Emory Lawrence, Gabriel F. Worden, Edward Spencer, and George E. Lawrence. The first mile was made well together in 4:24. On the fifth mile an exciting contest took place between the two Lawrences, which was decided in favor of George. Time, 22:46; his brother was two seconds later. The prizes were presented to the winners by the judges, Messers. Wheildon, Fuller, and Cumston. The affair passed off pleasantly, and gave great satisfaction to the large crowd present.

Ice speed skating has lagged behind figure skating in recognition as an Olympic-level sport for women. Figure skating fulfills the norms of femininity and was therefore acceptable, whereas ice speed skating has elements of strength and endurance that were regarded as less suitable for women.

However, the participation of men and women in organized competition developed at the same pace in short-track speed skating. Although scholars have not documented the precise dates of short-track speed skating's origins, they think it began in indoor skating halls. Interest in indoor skating peaked during the 1920s and 1930s. Those early competitions were unorganized circuit races. The first official short-track competition was held in Ayr, Scotland, in 1948, but not until 1967 did the International Skating Union (ISU) recognize short-track speed skating. The first ISU-recognized competition in which men and women were almost equally represented was held in Solihull, England. Skaters from eight nations took part in that competition. Both men's short-track speed skating and women's short-track

speed skating debuted at the same Olympics, appearing as a demonstration sport at the 1988 Calgary Olympics in Canada and as part of the official program at the 1992 Albertville Olympics in France.

Rules and Play

The goal of ice speed skating is simple: to skate faster than competitors. All of the races in international competitions are spread over two days. Because most speed skaters compete in several races and because the sport requires high levels of speed and endurance, the number of races in which skaters compete during two days is remarkable. Their feat is comparable to runners competing in the 100-, 200-, 800-, and 1,500-meter races during two days.

Long-track speed skating consists of two skaters racing on a two-lane, 400-meter track, but they race against the clock, not each other. Racing pairs are drawn by ballot. During the race the skaters must skate in both lanes; otherwise, one racer would have an unfair advantage. Lanes are changed at a point of the track called the

“crossing line.” The rules for long-track speed skating were developed with the men’s competition in mind and were later adopted for the women’s competition. The only difference between the men’s races and the women’s races is the length. Women race in 500-, 1,000-, 3,000-, and 5,000-meter races, whereas men race in an additional distance of 10,000 meters but have no 3,000-meter race.

People sometimes assume that short-track speed skating and long-track speed skating differ only in that short-track skating takes place indoors and long-track skating takes place outdoors, but this assumption is wrong. Short-track skating takes place on a much smaller track—only 111 meters. Skaters wear more protective gear than do long-track skaters; because short-track races are peloton races (a pack of skaters racing on the same track), the chance of collision or injury is greater. The short-track races at the 1992 Olympics at Albertville included a 500-meter individual race and a 3,000-meter relay. A 1,000-meter race was added at Lillehammer, Norway, in 1994. Spectators find the pack start and the sharply angled turns of the short-track skaters more thrilling to watch than those of long-track skaters. Short-track skating is popular in countries whose climate would ordinarily not allow residents to participate in winter sports. For example, South Korea, a country not known for its success in long-track skating, won the gold medal in the women’s relay at Lillehammer in 1994 and the women’s 1,500-meter race and women’s 3,000-meter relay in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 2002.

Dutch Treat

Although people often associate ice speed skating with the Dutch, not until 1968 did Carolina Geijessen, a twenty-one-year-old Dutch secretary, win Olympic gold in the 1,000-meter race. During winters in Amsterdam Geijessen skated to work each day, a mirror of the seventeenth-century women carrying

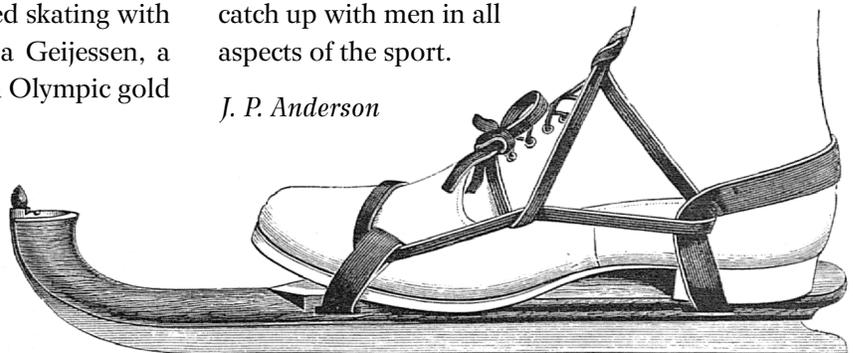
their eggs to market on the frozen canals. The Soviet Union, East Germany, and United States have dominated long-track skating. Lidia Skoblikova of the Soviet Union won two gold medals in the 1960 Squaw Valley Olympics and gold in all four events at the next Olympics in 1964 at Innsbruck, Austria. Like runners, ice speed skaters must concentrate on their particular talents, and multidistance champions such as Skoblikova are a rarity. Bonnie Blair is the most successful winter Olympian for the United States, having won six medals during four Olympics. Although Blair won the same number of medals as Skoblikova, Blair won her medals over a greater number of Olympics. Blair dominated the 500- and 1,000-meter races.

At the 2002 Winter Olympics at Salt Lake City, Utah, short-track speed skating gold medal winners were: men’s 500-meter, Marc Gagnon of Canada; men’s 1,000-meter, Steven Bradbury of Australia; men’s 1,500-meter, Apolo Anton Ohno of the United States; men’s 5,000-meter relay, Eric Bedard, Marc Gagnon, Jonathon Guilmette, Francois-Louis Tremblay, and Mathieu Turcotte of Canada; women’s 500-meter, Yang Yang of China; women’s 1,000-meter, Yang Yang of China; women’s 1,500-meter, Gi-Hyun Ko of South Korea; and women’s 3,000-meter relay, Min-Kyung Choi, Min-Jin Joo, Hye-Won Park, and Eun-Kyung Choi of South Korea.

The Future

Ice speed skating is a demanding and at times dangerous sport that is never likely to attract great numbers of participants of either gender. Women, however, after starting late, have begun to catch up with men in all aspects of the sport.

J. P. Anderson



A Friesland skate.



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Skating, In-Line

In-line skating is a type of roller skating that uses skates that have wheels, generally four or five, that are set in a straight line, mimicking an ice skate. However, in-line skates are freed from the necessity of a frozen surface and sacrifice the precise control of dual-axle roller skates for superior adaptability to a variety of surfaces, greater speed, and easier mastery.

The popularity of in-line skating developed in the United States and has spread to Europe and parts of Asia. The most popular form is recreational outdoor skating. Roller hockey, speed skating, and stunt or “aggressive” skating are other forms. As in other skating sports, in-line skaters receive the benefits of low-impact cardiovascular exercise and toning of all major muscle groups. In-line skating is open to people of all ages; industry figures indicate an even split between male and female skaters; the average age is twenty-seven.

History

In-line skates are the oldest type of roller skate, although in-line skating did not have widespread popularity before the 1980s. The earliest recorded attempt to move skating from the winter ice was made by Joseph Merlin (1735–1803), a Belgian maker of musical instruments. He introduced roller skating to the public at a reception in London in 1760. As he played the violin and skated about for the crowd in front of a large mirror, Merlin discovered that he could not turn or brake on his new invention. Merlin survived the discovery. His violin and the mirror were not as fortunate.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in-line skates were used in theatrical productions as a substitute for ice skates. Experiments with different configurations eventually led to the cushioned dual-axle roller skate with its superior maneuverability. The in-line form survived into the 1970s largely as an off-season training tool for ice skaters and skiers. It also benefited from the introduction of polyurethane wheels and plastic components. Scott Olson, a nineteen-year-old U.S. semiprofessional hockey player, in 1979 discovered the in-line skate as an off-season training tool. He modified the design for use in hockey and in 1984 sold the patent rights to a private investor. Rollerblade, the resultant company, began a major marketing campaign that popularized in-line skating and made the company’s name synonymous with in-line skates.

Development

The modern in-line skate bears little resemblance to its nineteenth-century predecessor. Early in-line skates were wooden platforms mounting wooden wheels, attached to the skater’s feet with straps of leather or fabric. Modern in-line skates are made of space-age materials. The boot, or shell, encases the skater’s foot. Recreational in-line skates and their heavier stunt versions generally have a plastic outer shell and a removable lining for comfort, offering stability and support. Hockey skates and racing skates have leather or leather and nylon boots, which sacrifice some stability and support for decreased weight and increased flexibility. Beneath the boot is the frame, which mounts the wheels and can be constructed of metal, plastic, or nylon. The frame can incorporate a number of features depending on its purpose, including “rocker” features to enhance maneuverability, brake pads, and even active braking systems. A skater chooses wheels to suit the intended surface and activity, with variations in size and hardness.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s in-line skating had an explosive growth of popularity. In 1993 in the United States an estimated 12 million people tried the sport at least once. Now in-line skates are found around the world and are used for both practical and

recreational purposes. The U.S. Amish community, famous for its rejection of modern technology and recreational pursuits, has adopted in-line skates as a means of transportation. The Amish continue to shun the use of automobiles, electricity, and most modern conveniences, but they have accepted in-line skating because of its practicality and simplicity. However, the Amish still frown on use of the skates for pure entertainment.

In-line skaters are not limited to tamely rolling down sidewalks and around skating rinks. Those uses, although the most popular activity, often serve as merely the introduction to a number of organized forms of in-line skating. The least regulated form is “aggressive” skating—performing acrobatic stunts. Aggressive skating is similar to stunt skateboarding in its nature and its largely adolescent demographics. Aggressive skating also shares some of skateboarding’s negative reputation because of their close relationship and the damage each inflicts on public property through stunts and the often rebellious actions of youthful subcultures. In 1992 the in-line industry formed the Skatesmart program, which promotes skating safety, to improve the reputation of aggressive skating.

Competition

The Federation Internationale de Roller Skating (FIRS) governs organized competitive roller skating internationally. The FIRS accepts in-line skates in all categories and has established hockey and speed divisions for in-line skaters. The regimented and codified nature of these forms of in-line skating stands in sharp contrast to the more informal world of stunt skating, as does organized skating’s popularity among people in a broader range of age groups.

The introduction of in-line skates gave roller hockey a substantial boost in popularity. The 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain, featured an exhibition of roller hockey, the first roller sport featured in the Olympics. The sport is based on ice hockey, with a few modifications pertaining to the different surfaces involved. In-line roller hockey, in keeping with its early ties to the ice hockey community, has

formed professional leagues and includes professional ice hockey players.

In-line skates quickly replaced traditional roller skates in speed competitions sanctioned by the FIRS and national governing organizations and in less formal competitions, which increased in number as the popularity of in-line skating increased. The configuration of in-line skates allows for larger wheels and a reduced area in contact with the skating surface, allowing greater efficiency and decreased drag in comparison with the configuration of traditional roller skates. In addition, larger wheels tolerate rough surfaces better, improving the appeal of outdoor and long-distance competitions.

Artistic roller skating is the only form of internationally organized skating that remains untouched by in-line skates. Artistic roller skating remains dominated by dual-axle skates because of their superior control and maneuverability. However, artistic skating events are open to in-line skates, and inventors continue to improve in-line designs. One European innovation demonstrated at the U.S. national championships in 1994 featured a modified four-wheel in-line configuration designed for artistic skating. Perhaps in time even the conservative world of figure skating will welcome in-line skaters.

The popularity of in-line skating may be attributed to its close relationship with the international ice skating and roller skating communities and to in-line skates’ outdoor adaptability. Beyond the appeal of exhilarating motion to young skaters, in-line skating offers a mode of transportation that is almost as efficient as bicycling but in a more compact form. That factor may help explain in-line skating’s urban popularity because it reduces the security and logistics concerns associated with bicycling.

The Future

In-line skating has not spread far into cultures that are not familiar with ice skating or roller skating and/or bicycling. However, the sport continues to grow in popularity, with participants and manufacturers in Europe, Asia, the Americas, and Australia.

Jeffery Charlston

*Sports do not build character.
They reveal it.* ■ JOHN WOODEN

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Skating, Roller

Roller skating for sport developed from roller skating for transportation and recreation and is modeled on ice skating. In 1760 Joseph Merlin, a Belgian maker of musical instruments, created the first roller skates with metal wheels. He demonstrated his invention in London at a reception by skating across the floor while playing an expensive violin. Because his skates could not be turned or braked, he glided gracefully into a huge mirror and was seriously injured.

In 1849 roller skates were first successfully seen in public when Louis Legrange of France used them to simulate ice skating in the play *Le Prophete* (The Prophet). He devised his skates by mounting tiny rollers to the center of ice skates. During the mid-1800s a number of inventors produced several types of roller skates. All of these skates, however, suffered the problem of Merlin's skates—the inability to be effectively turned or braked.

Problem Solved

In 1863 James Plimpton of New York solved the problem of controlling roller skates. His skates had a rubber cushion to anchor the axles. This cushion compressed when a skater leaned, enabling the wheels of the skates to turn slightly as the skater shifted his or her weight. Plimpton's design is considered the basis of the modern roller skate.

Plimpton opened a number of skating rinks across the United States and Europe, envisioning roller skating

as a pastime of the rich. However, soon after his patents expired, cheap imitations of his skates were produced, and skating became popular with all classes.

Development

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries organized roller skating sports developed as the popularity of roller skates increased. As early as 1901 roller hockey teams played throughout Europe. Although the popularity of roller hockey waned during World War I, it quickly regained its momentum, and in 1936 the first world championship of roller hockey was held in Stuttgart, Germany. A year later the first speed roller skating world championships were held in Monza, Italy. Although competitive artistic roller skating existed at the time, the first artistic roller skating world championships were not held until 1947 in Washington, DC.

World championship competitions in all three recognized disciplines of competitive roller skating—artistic, speed, and hockey—have been held annually (with a few exceptions) ever since. The first U.S. speed roller skating championships were held in 1937 in Detroit, and the first world dance and figures championships were held in 1947.

The United States Amateur Confederation of Roller Skating (USACRS) governs all three disciplines in the United States. USACRS is recognized by the United States Olympic Committee as the national governing body for all roller sports. The Federation Internationale de Roller Skating (FIRS) governs roller skating internationally.

Artistic roller skating is further broken down into dance, singles and pairs freestyle, and figures. Dance skating requires skaters to perform preannounced dance programs, which are detailed series of steps at various points around the floor. Each dance has its own steps, rhythm, tempo, and progression. Judges evaluate skaters on their performance of the steps and their adherence to the music. Artistic skating—both singles and pairs freestyle—is similar to ice figure skating: Skaters perform difficult routines set to music. Judges evaluate skaters on their maneuvers, such as jumps and spins, as well as

their use of music, appearance, flow of the program as a whole, and artistic impression. Figures skating stresses fundamentals and is the oldest of the artistic roller skating disciplines. Figures skating requires skaters to trace painted circles on the floor. Judges evaluate skaters on their carriage, their ability to stay on the lines, and the degree to which they make their program look effortless.

Speed skating is a noncontact sport that requires skaters to maneuver cleanly through a pack of other skaters and into winning position. Skaters are disqualified for engaging in unsportsmanlike conduct, such as forcing another skater out of position, blocking, or using their arms, legs, or hands to impede the progress of other skaters. Speed skating is one of the fastest sports in the world in which speed is generated by human energy.

Speed skating is broken down into indoor and outdoor varieties, with indoor speed skating being an almost exclusively U.S. pastime. Indoor speed skaters compete on a flat, 100-meter track in individual and relay races. Indoor speed skating is broken down even further by equipment (dual-axle skates or in-line skates), gender, and age divisions. In individual competition skaters compete in three distances, receiving thirty, twenty, or ten points for first through third places, respectively, in each distance. The winner is the skater who has the highest point total at the end of the competition. Relays are staged in combinations of same-sex or mixed groups. As skaters finish their leg of a relay, they tag the next team members with a push from behind to help accelerate the next skaters into the flow of traffic.

Outdoor speed skating is the internationally accepted form of speed skating. Skaters compete on both banked tracks and road courses. The banked track is usually about 200 meters long and

has parabolic curves. The U.S. home track is at the 7-Eleven Velodrome in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Road competitions are held on a flat course, which may be a closed course or an open stretch of road. Distances of 300, 500, 1,500, 3,000, 5,000, 10,000, and 20,000 meters are skated and include a relay. On the road the same distances are skated, but the relay is replaced by a marathon. Skaters may wear either dual-axle skates or in-line skates in outdoor speed skating, but in-line skates are the choice of most competitors.

Separate Divisions

In-line skates are popular among recreational skaters, and their dominance over dual-axle skates in speed skating competitions prompted USACRS to create separate divisions in indoor competitions. Recognizing the impact of in-line skates, USACRS also successfully lobbied FIRS to permit in-line skates in international competition. In 1992 in-line skates debuted at the world speed skating championships.

The popularity of in-line roller hockey has increased in the United States and the rest of the world. However, dual-axle roller hockey has been popular throughout the world for many years, most notably in Spain, Italy, Portugal, and South America. In fact, in many of those countries dual-axle roller hockey is second in popularity only to soccer.

Skaters play dual-axle roller hockey with a hard, black rubber ball and a short, curved wooden stick. Four players and a goalkeeper on each team try to place the ball into the net of the opposing team while attempting to prevent the opposing team from doing the same. Although the game is played with an essentially non-contact principle, players have to



Prize-winning skating costume worn at a carnival in London in the 1890s.

*I do not participate in any sport with ambulances
at the bottom of a hill.* ■ ERMA BOMBECK

protect themselves from injury by wearing padding, helmets, and reinforced skates. A well-hit shot can propel the ball off a stick at more than 128 kilometers per hour.

In-line roller hockey more closely resembles its ice hockey cousin in the equipment used, including the rubber puck, the amount of physical contact, and the high speeds. However, this form also is played with four players and a goalkeeper on each team. In-line roller hockey players also need to protect themselves because a puck can reach speeds of 160 kilometers per hour off a slapshot. Roller hockey accommodates young and old alike and both male and female players in co-ed and separate divisions.

The dual-axle form of roller hockey was a demonstration sport at the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain. However, the international popularity of the in-line form can be seen in the fact that the first world championship was held in Chicago in 1995.

Andy Seeley

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Ski Jumping

To spectators, ski jumping represents the height of skiing prowess, and the sport holds a central role in the winter sports life of nations such as Finland, Austria, Germany, Norway, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic. In the sport of ski jumping, performers aim to float through the air on skis, as far as possible down a prepared, snow-covered hill, with both the flight and the landing in the performer's control.

Origins

Jumping on skis began as part of the Nordic (Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish) skiing culture, from which it has spread over most of the world, wherever climate or technology allows. However, ski jumping as a sport seems to be a specifically Norwegian invention. Early skiing had several local strongholds in Norway: from the southeastern inland all the way to the Lappish Finnmark. The early sagas of the Norse Viking era describe dramatic skiing challenges. Versatile Sami (Lappish) skiing was described in the seventeenth century. There is evidence of ski jumping among the Norwegian military ski companies around the turn of the eighteenth century. The first formal competitions were most often combined events, either downhill with a terminating jump, or cross-country with one or more jumps included. A local race in Trysil in 1862 is the first known pure jumping competition. During that decade, attempts to formalize the activity into a sport also emerged in the cities. From 1879, the annual Huseby races in Kristiania (Oslo) strengthened the urban hegemony. In 1892, the organizers (Foreningen til Skiidrættens Fremme) moved the race to the larger Holmenkollen hill, which has housed one of the major events in the sport ever since.

Ski jumping spread from Norway to neighboring countries and to the countries to which Norwegians emigrated. Ski jumping came to Sweden through Norwegian soldiers posted in Stockholm as part of the union military system. Here the alleged first international ski jumping contest took place in 1886. The spread continued to Finland, where skiers rather hesitantly took up the "Norwegian habit" around the turn of the twentieth century. The original Finnish form of skiing at that time was cross-country. The Alps region also seems to have been introduced to ski jumping through Norwegian students and ski instructors, either directly or indirectly:

- In Austria, a Norwegian baker's apprentice impressed the locals with a jump of six meters in 1893.
- In Germany, three Norwegians were among the founders of the Schneeschuhverein (skiing club) München, which organized a jumping contest in 1894.

A ski jumper at the world championship.

Source: istockphoto/clu.

In Switzerland, France, and Italy, the first real contests did not occur until the turn of the twentieth century. Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Japan also embraced the sport after 1900. As early as the middle of the nineteenth century, however, Norwegian immigrants had brought jumping to North America. By the beginning of the twentieth century, ski jumps had been performed in such remote areas as Australia and South Africa as well. As skiing and ski jumping were transplanted to new settings, the sport experienced important cultural and ideological changes. In North America, for example, the interest in “world records” was a new element in ski jumping.

Competitions, Sites, and Personalities

Modern competitive ski jumping has been included in Olympic Games since the Winter Games in 1924. Today, these competitions comprise two individual (large and small hill) and one team competition. World championships were inaugurated in 1926 as parts of the championships in Nordic skiing. The German-Austrian “Springer-Tournee,” initiated during the winter 1952–1953 is a yearly big event that attracts hundreds of thousands of spectators. The New Year’s Day race in Garmisch-Partenkirchen has also become an international tradition on European television.

The World Cup of ski jumping has sought to integrate as many as possible of the sport’s traditional sites, of which there are many:

- Around 1900, the Holmenkollen races were the main event.
- Finland began its Finnish “Ski-games” in Lahti in 1922.
- Sweden initiated “Ski-games” in Falun in 1947.



- Central European events took place in Innsbruck, Oberstdorf, Bischofshofen, Zakopane, Harrachow, Kulm, and Engelberg, among others.
- Sapporo, Japan, and various hills in North America have also been traditional ski jumping sites.

From 1924 until 1952, Norwegian jumpers won all Olympic races as well as a substantial number of world championships. Thereafter, the geographical distribution of medals has been more even. In recent decades, world-class jumpers have come from nations as varied as Finland, Austria, Germany (both East and West), Slovenia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Japan, Switzerland, and Italy as well as from ski-jumping strongholds in Canada and the United States.

Matti Nykanen of Finland has won the most championships after World War II. He collected nineteen medals from Olympic Games and world championships. Earlier jumpers had less chances of gaining gold medals. Three Ruud brothers, however, were highly successful at winning gold medals from world championships and Olympic Games:

- Every Olympic jumping contest between 1928 and 1948 had a Ruud on the winners’ podium.
- The brothers won seven of ten available international titles between 1928 and 1938.

Of the three brothers, Birger stood out—he won the last two Olympic gold medals before World War II



(1932 and 1936) and came back sixteen years after his first win to capture a silver medal in the 1948 Games at St. Moritz. His versatility is illustrated by his winning the downhill race—which counted as a part of the Alpine combination—in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1936. Another modern jumper who made a remarkable comeback was the German Jens Weissflog who won a gold and a silver medal in the 1984 Games (representing East Germany) and came back after a ten-year Olympic medal drought to garner a new gold medal at the 1994 Games at Lillehammer. The achievement was all the more impressive because ski jumping in the meantime had gone through a virtual revolution in the shift to V-style.

Jumping in very large hills, “ski-flying,” has in the last decades become a very popular sport. Planica in Slovenia recently holds the world record for the longest standing jump. In 2003, Matti Hautamaeki of Finland reached 231 meters.

Controversies

A competitive ski jump is evaluated through length and style points. The five referees assign style points from one to twenty. Norms and rules of evaluation have undergone dramatic changes. The historical tendency has been to diminish the importance of style. Modern equipment allows longer jumps and larger hills. As the hills grew, more aerodynamic styles forced their way in. The last big innovation was the V-style, introduced by the Swede Jan Boklov in 1986. His revolutionary idea was to jump with the skis spread in a V-shape (seen from behind), instead of jumping with parallel skis. This style today is the rule in competition. The telemark landing, with bent knees, one foot ahead of the other, has remained obligatory.

The tendency towards bigger hills, as well as more differentiated competitions, means that ski jumping has gone through the same processes of modernization as most other modern sports have, leading to a de-ideologization of what was originally considered a national Norwegian sport. The traditional ski ideologues

preferred to see ski jumping as a way of mastering natural challenges in the snow-covered mountain terrain, rather than as a competition in skiing acrobatics. Even though this ideology has been steadily eroded, some of its elements have survived. Ski jumping remains an aesthetic sport—the skier who has the longest jumps does not necessarily win the competition—even if the norms for evaluating what is considered a correct jump have changed tremendously over the years.

Ski jumping has been a male-dominated sport since its origins. Some girls and fewer women have tried to compete, but as a sport, ski jumping competition has been only for men until recently. Only in 2004 did the Federation Internationale de Ski (FIS) officially recognize ski jumping competitions for women.

Matti Goksøyr

See also Holmenkollen Ski Jump

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Skiing, Alpine

Alpine skiing consists of two types of skiing on snow: slalom (skiing in a zigzag or wavy course between upright obstacles) and downhill. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Alpine skiing developed and spread, especially during the 1930s, to every part of the world that had enough snow cover to support the sport. Slalom and downhill

came to dominate recreational and competitive skiing on all levels.

History

The word *Alpine* refers to the Alps mountain range of central Europe, but long before people skied the Alps, Siberian tribes, nomadic Sami, and Norwegians had skied fast down their local hillsides when necessary. When Norwegians first visited the Alps at the beginning of the twentieth century, they told their hosts that the Alps, with their steep, wooded hillsides, were no place to ski and that everyone should stick to the undulations of the forelands.

Early skiers of Europe's heartland read the book by the Norwegian explorer Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930) about his 1888 crossing of the Greenland ice cap. The book contained a long chapter on the history of skiing as well as on his use of skis. This utilitarian aspect of skis motivated outdoor enthusiasts to try skiing for sport. From the start skiing appealed to the middle and upper classes of the heartland, in contrast to Norway, where skis provided a way of getting about in winter country. The wealthy of Europe found a new preoccupation for their winter days that promised exercise, health, and amusement. Only in the military was skiing taken up by recruits from mountain villages; in France, for example, only with difficulty were the local lads persuaded to leave their animal-heated dens and odorous dwellings for a breath of high country air.

Until about 1900 skiers tended to slide around valley floors, occasionally making a trip to a pass or a col (a ridge connecting two higher elevations), and some of the more adventurous, often simulating their summer excursions, strove for a peak. On the return the exhilaration of the downhill rush was often commented upon. It was “the nearest approach to flying,” Arnold Lunn (1888–1974) confided to his diary in 1905.

Whereas a Norwegian country lad skied out of his back door, the wealthy of Europe had to travel from the cities to the ski fields. The development of transportation was vital for skiing to grow into a sport. Many out-of-the-way Alpine villages that happened to be on a rail

line experienced an economic upturn if they provided accommodation and guides. Mayors and innkeepers often promoted the development of skiing.

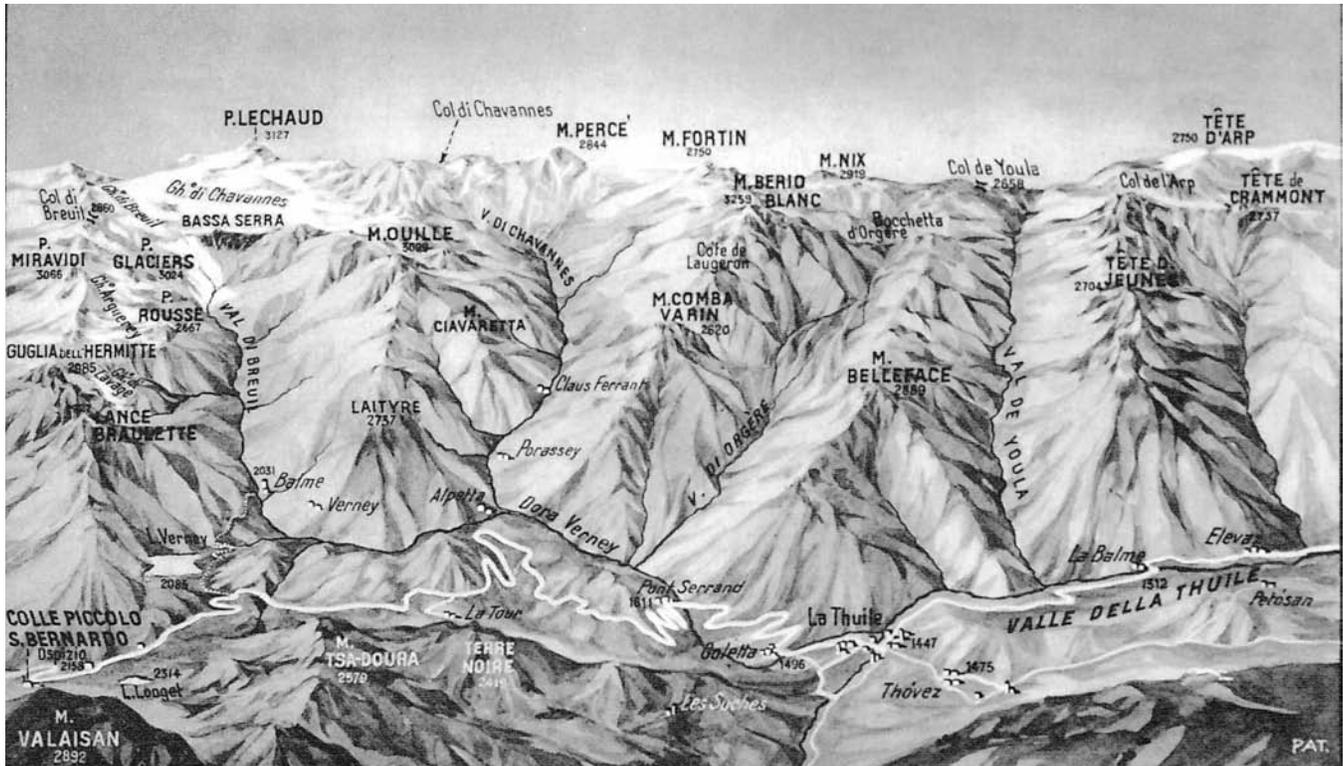
Switzerland's touristic infrastructure, already catering to an extended clientele with a large number of health stations, began to convert to winter use. In 1880 the bed count stood at 43,850. The number had doubled by 1894 and in 1912 reached 168,625, the year when 18,000 British visited for winter sporting. These Swiss stations were well served by the ease of railway connections in comparison with, say, Murzzuschlag, Austria, or Chamonix, France. The annual number of visitors to Davos in 1900 was thirteen thousand, almost exactly the number who visited the entire country of Norway.

Home Away from Home

British visitors—men and women—came from the top drawer of society to enjoy strenuous leisure in two select clubs, stayed in hotels reserved for themselves, and re-created an England of public school and officers mess among the stunning vistas of the Swiss Alps.

One of these clubs was the Ski Club of Great Britain, founded in 1903, which spent its time devising tests and running competitions. The key word is *tests*. These tests were supposed to produce an all-round skier. Arnold Lunn wrote about passing his third-class test in 1905: “Up and down 1,500 feet in two hours. Passed easily, though skis were coming off the whole way up. Came down with ski unfastened.” Style was important because skiing was perceived to be aesthetic: “He who habitually uses sticks [poles] to control ski is supposed to be disqualified.” Competent judges were hard to come by.

The British were by no means the only people to enjoy the new sport. In the years before 1914 the wealthy of Vienna, Berlin, Munich, Prague, Paris, Grenoble, and Turin also took to skiing and were tested by their own *Kunstlauf* (skill race), *Hindernislauf* (obstacle race), and *Stilgemssse Lauf* (style point race). Viennese high society had easy access to the slopes at Potzleinsdorf. Later they took the train to Semmering, Murzzuschlag, and particularly to Lilienfeld, where their instructor, Mathias Zdarsky



Section of Alps in northern Italy.

(1856–1940), demanded discipline and orthodoxy from his followers, drilling thousands during the years in a military manner while teaching them a technique that allowed for a descent on a steep slope even though he insisted on the use of only one pole.

On mountain ranges across Germany, in the Black Forest, Harz, and Riesengebirge, people who had read Nansen often inspired their friends to try skiing, and active clubs were formed. The same occurred in Austria. Such was the proliferation of skiing clubs that the Norwegians became concerned that the rest of Europe was corrupting what they considered to be their national sport. They organized the first international ski congress in 1910 to ensure that they controlled skiing. This congress was the forerunner of the Federation Internationale de Ski (FIS), which was founded in 1924 and was, in spite of its French name, dominated by Scandinavians until after World War II.

Test of Skill

Arnold Lunn, realizing that most Europeans were on skis only for short holiday periods and that the Alps required a different sort of skiing than the skiing that was

practiced in Norway, began proselytizing for a downhill race in 1913, claiming that it would be “the finest and most conclusive test of skiing.” The key word is—again—*test*. For Lunn the descent from the peak was as challenging as the climb up: The degree of slope, differing snow conditions, changing weather, and natural objects all tested the skier. Once in the trees, the skier had to negotiate the glades and run the curving paths and slippery logging roads while descending to the inn on the valley floor. In order to test a person’s ability to ski down from the high peaks, races down mountains were invented. Some races required elongated turns, others with sharper turns demanded more control of the skis. The downhill—often called the “down mountain race” or “straight race” (because the mark of an accomplished skier is a straight track)—was to simulate the speedy descent from peak or pass to tree line. The slalom tested the ability to take curves; it simulated tree running.

Early downhill races were uncontrolled descents. In 1910, while leading the unmarked course for the Roberts of Kandahar Cup (often seen as the first major downhill competition), the eventual winner met spectating Arnold Lunn halfway down the course. They

stopped for a chat and a drink. Then came 4.8 kilometers across a glacier, followed by 1.2 kilometers on windswept crust. The last 0.3 kilometer was “a test of tricky wood running.” This sort of amateur race has virtually no relationship to today’s downhill, where speeds can reach 112 kilometers an hour.

The word *slalom* is derived from the Norwegian *slalaam*, but the modern race owes little to Norwegian influence. Norwegians had a variety of Laam (tracks): Kneikelaam (run with bumps), Ufselaam (run off a cliff), Hoplaam (run with a jump or jumps), Svinglaam (run with turns), and a dare-devil run mixing all obstacles, the Uvyrdslaam or *ville lamir* (wild run). The *slalaam* was a descent around natural obstacles. Although included in a race meeting in Norway in 1879, it had not proved popular.

To define the course in early races, Lunn placed little branches, then flags, and, later, gates in the snow. He went on to publish debates, rules, and their changes during the years. Rules were first published for the 1922–1923 season, and further style regulations—such as ten-second penalties for sitting down at one flag before going on to the next—remained in force until the mid-1920s, by which time downhill and slalom were becoming events on the racing calendar. In 1930 they were finally accepted—with much Norwegian reservation—for inclusion in international competitions.

By then their popularity could be attributed to the thrill of speed. All of a sudden, it seemed, people had found a way to travel as fast as other animals and with as much grace. But people had to be taught how to do it. That was the great life work of the Austrian Hannes Schneider (1890–1955), whose Arlberg technique—a low crouch and a lift and swing into the turn—enabled skiers with much practice to swirl down the mountain sides in an exhilarating schuss (a descent directly down a slope at high speed) equaled only by the beauty of the motion. Lunn and Schneider combined to set up the Arlberg-Kandahar race in 1928, and it soon became the premier Alpine racing event in the world.

Norwegians Spread the Sport

Norwegian immigrants spread skiing in Canada and the United States; they joined the gold-fevered rush in Australia and New Zealand; they were in South America building railroads; and everywhere they went, when the snow came they made themselves skis and showed the natives how to enjoy themselves in winter. In these places a foundation of skiing was laid for the wave of Arlbergers who followed during the 1930s, some emigrating in search of work, others fleeing from fascist persecution. During this period non-Europeans, particularly people from the United States, journeyed to Europe to learn the Arlberg technique from the master himself. These wealthy people returned to their own countries and re-created the skiing style and technique back home. Some brought Arlberg experts back with them; thus, Schneider’s technique swept the Alpine skiing world during the 1930s. Otto Lang, one of Schneider’s leading instructors, found himself teaching in Spain and the United States; Ernst Skadarasy went to Australia and New Zealand. For the spring of 1930 Schneider traveled to Japan, where he taught hundreds via an interpreter.

The Norwegians, longtime masters of cross-country (Nordic) skiing, had difficulty accepting the new Alpine skiing. Not only was the graceful Telemark (relating to a region of Norway) turn eclipsed by the Arlberg crouch, but also the whole philosophy was undermined by Alpine “hotel sport.” One U.S. instruction book written in 1935 listed eight foreign words “necessary for understanding a ski lesson.” Seven were German. A Japanese tourist booklet in English extolling Hokaido skiing listed the available Hutte (huts) and took particular pride in the Okura Schantze (jump). Although people had complained about the canonization of Schneider during the 1920s, his popularity soared with the release of Dr. Arnold Fanck’s (1889–1974) ski films: *Wunder des Schneeschuhes* (The Wonders of Skiing) and *Der weisse Rausch* (White Ecstasy) made in 1931 with Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003) dazzled the ski world with the poetry of motion. Schneider himself attributed his success on a worldwide scale to these films.

The best and fastest way to learn a sport is to watch and imitate a champion. ■ JEAN-CLAUDE KILLY

After World War I Alpine skiing became even more popular. Wartime experiments with over-the-snow vehicles, cable lift construction, and the use of strong and light metals and alloys were all adapted by the ski industry. Wooden skis gave way to more durable and faster metal skis, now designed specifically for downhill or slalom. Skiing also became easier with stiffer boots, release bindings, and lighter poles. Today's Alpine parabolic ski, narrowing in the middle and widening at tip and tail, is the ski of choice. Speed has increased for both racer and recreational skier. As early as 1935 a giant slalom (a longer and steeper course) was tried in Italy: It became the third of the Alpine competitions sanctioned by the FIS in 1972. The faster super giant slalom, known as the "super G," is run over a still longer course. It became part of the world racing circuit in 1987. In giant slalom the control gates are spaced farther apart than in a slalom. Both giant slalom and super G combine elements of downhill and slalom.

Snowboarding to the Rescue

The current estimate of skiers worldwide is 25 million, but many people ski only three or four times a season. Since the early 1970s the growth in the number of skiers has been negligible, and only the advent of snowboarding has kept much of what used to be called the "ski industry" afloat. Skiing has given way to "snow sports," which might include tubing, even riding bicycles down the slopes. Particularly in Europe people witnessing larger ski events can still number into the thousands, whereas in the United States, for example, ski areas hosting World Cup events sometimes have had to advertise cheap tickets just to get people to attend. Around the winner's podium might be fewer than fifty admirers. Even though dual racing—in which one competitor races against another, rather than a decision being based on time—was invented for the professional circuit, the numbers of spectators did not rise appreciably.

The Olympic Games are different because they go on for such a long time, are exactly organized, and have a following just because they are "Olympic." The television audience for the winter Olympics runs into the millions.

During the years four major controversies have arisen. The first arose during the early twentieth century when arguments between people who supported Mathias Zdarsky and those who supported Norwegian styles almost produced a diplomatic incident. The second was the introduction of skis to aid in mountaineering in winter. Old-guard mountaineers tended to see skiing as some sort of acrobatic nonsense: all right, perhaps, on the sloping forelands but certainly not something that should sully the purity of high mountain peaks. Making the rift worse, as more skiers enjoyed the rush down from the mountain, they called for the Alpine clubs to build huts. Diehard mountaineers saw their subscriptions going for the wrong purpose. The third and fourth controversies were connected: They had to do with what constitutes professionalism, and much of that controversy took place over the position of the ski instructor. Of course, prize money and, after World War II, endorsement of products also entered into the controversy. Under-the-counter payments to top skiers became common. At the 1972 Olympics in Nagano, Japan, long-time International Olympic Committee President Avery Brundage could have disqualified forty participants; the great Austrian Alpine skier Karl Schranz was sent home, providing a scapegoat.

Nature of the Sport

On a recreational level Alpine skiing has no rules except those enforced by the ski area, such as what constitutes dangerous skiing and what the penalty might be. Competitions, on the other hand, are rule-bound by national bodies and by the FIS for international meets. Specifications are provided for equipment, clothing, length of courses, number of gates in the slalom, and so on. Women's races are slightly shorter and less steep than the men's courses.

Facilities have kept pace with advancing technology. Before World War II, in the United States the rope tow was ubiquitous. After the war J-bars, T-bars, other up-ski devices, chairlifts, trams, and mountain railroads climbed what were once pristine snow fields to the peaks above. For example, skiers can make their way up

A skier on a slope.

Source: istockphoto/dra_schwartz.

the Val Gardena, in Italy's south Tirol, by taking eighty-four lifts.

U.S. ski areas now vie with European Alpine resorts in popularity. The British often come to ski the slopes in the northeastern United States, and the trail signs at Snowbird, Utah, are written in Japanese. Western Canada is well known for its helicopter skiing, and Australia and New Zealand now promote their winter joys during the Northern Hemisphere's summer, as South America once did as well.

However, the ease of global travel also has had a negative effect on Alpine skiing. Although a skier of means can ski on three continents in one season, he or she may be disappointed to find that ski resorts everywhere are much the same—the lifts are all made by the same few manufacturers, the ski equipment made by the same companies, and the clothing, food, drink, and even ski techniques are the same around the world. A rented condominium in Albertville, France, or Zell am See, Austria, is indistinguishable from a condo in Stowe, Utah, or Sapporo, Japan. Only the accent of the skiers (who frequently speak English) varies. Alpine ski development has urbanized and standardized the ski environment around the globe, outdoors and in.

Competition at the Top

Alpine events became part of the winter Olympic Games only in 1936. The winter games have increased in size, spectator attendance, number of events, and geographical distribution. Eight of the first ten games were held in Europe. The United States and France have hosted the games three times, Japan twice.

Downhill and slalom were the only Alpine events in 1936, and gold, silver, and bronze medals were awarded for a combination of the two. The winner of the men's downhill was the Norwegian jumper Birger



Ruud, but he did poorly in the slalom, so the gold medal went to the German Franz Pfnur and the bronze to Guzzi Lantschner, who had switched allegiance from Austria to Germany. In the women's downhill race the surprise competitor was the young Norwegian Laila Schou Nilsen, whose slalom was good enough to bring her a bronze medal. The winner was the one woman who had proved her superiority before the Olympics: Christl Cranz of Germany. She had fallen in the downhill and actually placed sixth, but her slalom was so good, beating the competition by more than seven seconds, that she won the gold medal.

U.S. skier Gretchen Fraser's unexpected slalom win at St. Moritz, Switzerland, in the first post-World War II games put the Europeans on notice that U.S. women were up and coming. At Oslo, Norway, in 1952 Andrea Mead Lawrence showed gold form in both the slalom and in the giant slalom the first time this race was on the Olympic program.

The Olympics at Cortina, Italy, belonged to a triple gold medalist, Austrian Toni Sailer. He was superior to the runners-up by more than two seconds in the downhill, an extraordinary four seconds in the slalom, and more than six seconds in the giant slalom—something that Jean-Claude Killy of France repeated—albeit by small margins—on his home piste (downhill ski trail) of Grenoble in 1968. At Innsbruck, Austria, in 1976 Rosi Mittermaier of Germany won the downhill and slalom and missed first place in the giant slalom by .12 second.

Skiing combines outdoor fun with knocking down trees with your face. ■ DAVE BARRY

Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, in 1984 produced surprise winners in U.S. skiers Bill Johnson and Debbie Armstrong, who won the men's downhill and women's giant slalom. The Alpine ski powers of Europe—Austria, France, Germany, and Switzerland—in the years from 1936 to 1984 won 72 percent of all medals given for the Alpine disciplines. By comparison, the United States won 13 percent. Spain and Japan have one medal each. Overall the Austrians have proved the most successful medal winners with seventy-seven. The Swiss come next with fifty and the French with thirty-eight. Today's top athletes are comparable; .8 second separated the first eight racers in one downhill. At the Salt Lake City, Utah, men's downhill in 2002, .22 second separated first place from second place, and .06 second separated second place from third place. Such a difference is difficult to detect, and the audience has to wait for the official time to know for whom to cheer. The Olympic program now includes running moguls (bumps in a ski run), aerials, and snowboarding, providing instant gratification that can easily be exploited by television.

Downhill Hero

When Alpine skiing first took hold, the major figure on the slope was the instructor: Hannes Schneider was literally skimaster to the world. However, after World War II, partially because so many instructors were needed, and partially because so many people became adept at the sport, the racer became more of the hero. The first to turn his winning to major advantage was the Norwegian Stein Eriksen (b. 1927), whose spectacular downhill run at the Oslo Olympics added to his golden-boy image. He parlayed his victories into an economic gold mine and moved to the United States, where—in the manner of CEOs of large companies—he moved from Michigan's Boyne Mountain to Sugarbush in Vermont, then to Aspen Highlands, Colorado, and then to Park City, Utah.

Eriksen's 1952 Olympic victory run has not been the only spectacular run, of course. Austrians remember their Franz Klammer's (b. 1953) dare-devil downhill at Igls, Austria, in 1976. Skiers such as Sweden's Ingemar

Stenmark (b. 1956), France's Jean-Claude Killy (b. 1943), Austria's Toni Sailer (b. 1935), and Italy's Alberto Tomba (b. 1966) dominated Alpine competition and attracted large followings. No non-European has achieved this sort of hero status.

The World Cup was first suggested by Serge Lange and organized by *L'Equipe*, a major French sporting journal, but is now managed by the FIS with input from the national associations. This annual competition rates skiers in downhill, giant slalom, and slalom with a point system so that at the end of the season the best all-round skier is clear. In 1966–1967 seventeen races were held; now the number is up to thirty as resorts and national federations see economic advantage in hosting a World Cup event. During the years the point system has been changed, with the result that the winning records of, say, Ingemar Stenmark and Jean-Claude Killy can never be compared.

Governing Body

The Federation Internationale de Ski (www.fis-ski) via its many committees governs all facets of international ski competitions. The International Olympic Committee (www.olympic.org) has jurisdiction over the actual organization of the program for skiing, but the technicalities are left to the FIS. Every skiing nation has its national organizations, and local clubs belong to regional associations. Where club activities are strong, such as in Europe, the better skiers move from the club to regional championships and, if successful, to the national teams. In the United States university teams often produce the strongest skiers, and top skiers migrate to the national teams.

E. John B. Allen

See also St. Moritz

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Skiing, Cross-Country

People have been skiing to get from point A to point B for more than five thousand years. Written records from ancient Scandinavia and China tell of informal skiing competition and the use of skis in warfare. Icelandic *eddas* (thirteenth-century collections of mythological, heroic, and aphoristic poetry) and Norse sagas also tell of early informal competition. However, not until the late eighteenth century were the first organized competitions held under the auspices of the Norwegian military, probably in 1767. Monetary prizes were awarded for shooting while skiing, for making the fastest downhill run, and for skiing in full equipment.

When the Norwegian ski troops disbanded in 1826, local civilian clubs took up the sport and organized competitions. The competition near Kristiania (which became the Holmenkollen ski competition at Oslo) was first staged in 1879. By then emigrating Norwegians had taken their skiing style with them throughout the world. In Australia and the Americas they introduced locals to the use of skis for travel and enjoyment. Gold fever also infected immigrants who knew how to ski, and in the deep mountain snows of Kiandra (Australia) and California (United States), skis became common in mining camps. Skiing mail carriers there were often hailed as heroes.

Thus, the Norwegian way of skiing and the concept of *idraet*—the belief that outdoor sports improve not

only individuals but also clubs and even nations—formed the foundation of cross-country skiing worldwide. The more optimistic proponents of *idraet* believed that cross-country skiing could regenerate a nation, an especially important notion to Norwegians, who had won their independence from Sweden in 1905. Until Alpine (relating to competitive ski events consisting of slalom and downhill racing) skiing became popular during the 1930s, Norwegian styles and attitudes remained dominant.

“Rich Man’s Passion”

The Norwegian explorer Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930) crossed southern Greenland on skis in 1888. When his book about his expedition, *Paa Ski over Gronland* (Across Greenland on Skis) was translated into German, it sparked an interest in skiing among wealthy outdoorsmen of Europe. By 1900 cross-country skiing was “a rich man’s passion” throughout Europe, and skiing clubs were formed. Visiting Norwegians became club mentors and set up competitions with ski jumping as the centerpiece.

Organizations were founded on the local, regional, and national levels to organize competitions and establish rules as clubs were formed worldwide. Norwegians, to retain control of “their” sport, called for an international ski congress in 1910 and held the secretaryship until the Federation Internationale de Ski (FIS), the world governing body of ski competition, was founded in 1924. The FIS makes rules for competitions, approves courses for international competition, selects the sites for the biennial FIS world championships, determines eligibility, sanctions events eligible for FIS points, and approves the courses for Olympic competition.

Recreational Skiing

Until the 1920s and 1930s, when the Alpine skiing craze put a premium on speed when skiing down a hill, cross-country was the only form of skiing. The first major recreational use of skis was for winter trips into the mountains, and more adventurous people attempted even higher climbs on skis. That tradition continues today as experienced cross-country skiers traverse the

high mountains of the world from the Caucasus (Russia) to the Karakorams (Pakistan) and from the Wasatch range (United States) to the Atlas range (Algeria). The most committed cross-country skiers test their skill against the mountains of Patagonia, the rugged terrain of Greenland, the Haute Route of Switzerland, and even the North and South Poles.

However, the majority of cross-country skiers today are less interested in a survival adventure than a 1900-style ski outing: skiing through forests and across meadows. In 1900, though, such an outing would have been a club outing. Today a ski party is more likely to be made up of families or informal, small groups. Skiers today also enjoy amenities unavailable in 1900: machine-prepared *loipen* (trails) in the Alps, lighted pathways in Nordmarka near Oslo, and marked loops in North America. These amenities attest to the popularity of a winter sport that costs substantially less than a day's Alpine lift skiing.

Since World War II recreational cross-country skiing and skiing equipment have been aggressively marketed in the United States, possibly because the country's fitness craze began as Bill Koch (b. 1955) won an Olympic silver medal for the 30-kilometer race at Innsbruck, Austria, in 1976. Recreational skis were not developed specifically for cross-country skiing until a different sort of ski had been developed for Alpine skiing. Skis made of wood have yielded to skis made of synthetic materials that require no waxing. Click-in bindings that require special boots have replaced the three-pin binding designed to hold the front part of the boot firm while leaving the ankle and heel free. Poles made of steel and bamboo are now found only in museums, replaced by high-tech poles with small disks, alloy shafts, and pointed davits. Fashions, too, have changed with these developments.

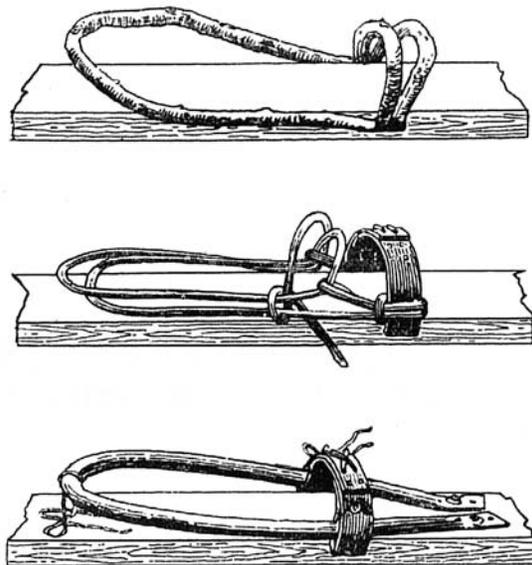
Jumping was the high point of any ski competition around the turn of the century. In Scandinavia and particularly in North America local communities prided themselves on their jumping. In Europe jumping declined in popularity as skiing became a social activity, and although jumping was still admired, most skiers no

longer attempted it. In Scandinavia many men continued jumping for recreation; in North America only the experts continued, and jumping became the great winter outdoor spectator sport.

Telemark is a style of ski turn that peasant skiers from Telemark, Norway, first used. During the late nineteenth century skiers used it to turn and stop in cross-country skiing and in jumping. Now the telemark turn is often used in Alpine skiing as well. Special boots, skis, and even competitions are designed for the "tele skier."

Competitive Skiing

Cross-country racing, first organized on national levels in the United States and Europe before World War I, observed Norwegian rules. The standard Norwegian races were 15 to 50 kilometers long, and the popular 50-kilometer race was called the "winter marathon." However, the true hero was not the winner of these races. The true hero was the man whose combined points for cross-country skiing and ski jumping showed him to be the best all-round skier. After World War II specialization became increasingly common as men and, from 1952 on, women trained for specific distances. Cross-country racing by the 1960s had become such a specialized sport



Three styles of old bindings.



Skiing, Cross-Country

Cross Country Racing, 1907

The extract below from the National Ski Association Report (7 February 1907) describes the first extensive cross-country ski run in the United States:

It was a pretty sight to behold the uniformed members of Nor Ski Club, Chicago, starting from the headquarters with red, white and blue streamers to be posted along the nine mile course. A good natured and healthy looking lot of men, who would do honor to any regiment of infantry in Uncle Sam's army. The men were distributed along the course to watch at difficult passes, and report on any participant, who should in any way disobey the laws governing the contest. It is a very strict rule in Norway not to allow any participant in a cross country run to remove his skis during the contest, and this rule was adhered to in every detail. The skis could not be removed in jumping a fence or in clearing any other obstacle that might seem rather hard to overcome. The practical use of the ski is learned in runs of this nature, and it takes but a short time to get accustomed to handling the skis to advantage over obstacles of every description.

On a level surface, the Finns are the masters of the ski, while in a hilly and brushy country, the Norwegians cannot be beaten. The course of this run (the National Championship) was laid over a territory consisting of about four miles of hills and brush, three miles on the level and two miles on snow covered ice, thus giving the participating Finlanders a chance to gain on the level what their long skis naturally would lose through the brush, and the world famous Asarja Autio certainly knew how to avail himself of these level stretches as he practically flew over the snow as soon as the open availed itself, and he sustained his reputation by covering the distances two minutes ahead of the sturdy Norwegian runners, Elling Diesen and Gustav Bye, in the good time of 47 minutes and 30 seconds. The participants were in good condition, when they finished their hard run, and were well taken care of at headquarters. Warm milk was served as refreshments. It is of great importance, that the men posted along the course have a supply of bits of oranges or lemons to give the skiers as refreshments as they pass.

that recreational and club skiers no longer even considered entering competitions. However, in China and other countries where skiing did not become so specialized, cross-country racing continued as a club activity.

So-called citizen races (races open to all) are a recent development that benefits the better amateur cross-country skier. These races are best known from the thirteen marathons held around the world. The Norwegian Birkebeiner and the Swedish Vasaloppet, commemorating military and national events of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, hold pride of place among the venues: Europe, North America, Japan, and Australia.

The biathlon—a cross-country race that includes target shooting—is an offshoot of cross-country skiing. It is derived from the military ski patrol race. Before World War I Western and Westernized military leaders (in Norway, Finland, Sweden, Germany, Italy, France, Austria-

Hungary, Switzerland, Russia, Japan, and the United States) equipped a few military units as ski units. International military ski competitions were held. The Alpini (Italy) and the Chasseurs Alpains (France) were particular rivals. Patrols of four to six men in battle gear competed for the best time traveling between two points. During the war troops on skis saw some duty on the major fronts in the Dolomites, Vosges, and Carpathians.

After the war the Federation Internationale de Ski and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) considered adopting the biathlon. In 1909 proponents had called for its inclusion in the Olympic Games, but it remained only a demonstration event until it became part of the Olympic program at Squaw Valley (United States) in 1960.

Women participated only peripherally in cross-country skiing competition before World War II. Doubts



Nordic skiing on the King Ludwig II course in Oberammergau, Bavaria, Germany.

Source: istockphoto/sack.

Gabriella Paruzzi of Italy; and women's 4 × 5-kilometer relay, Viola Bauer, Manuela Henkel, Evi Sachenbacher, and Claudia Kuenzel of Germany.

Style Controversies

Arguments between proponents of the classical technique and proponents of the skating step are about twenty years old. The skating step—

about the ability of women's bodies to withstand such competition prevented women from receiving serious consideration, and ski jumping by women was even more out of the question. However, the two world wars opened opportunities for women. In 1952 competitive cross-country skiing for women became part of the Olympic program at Oslo with a 10-kilometer event. At Lillehammer, Norway, in 1994 women's events of 5, 15, and 30 kilometers, a 4 × 5-kilometer relay, 7.5- and 15-kilometer biathlons, and a 4 × 7.5-kilometer relay were held. The 5-kilometer and 30-kilometer events were skied in classical technique; the 15-kilometer event was skied in the free technique, better described as the "skating step."

At the 2002 Winter Olympics at Salt Lake City, Utah, cross-country skiing gold medal winners were: men's sprint, Tor Arne Hetland of Norway; men's 10-kilometer free pursuit, Johann Muehlepp of Spain; men's 15-kilometer classical, Andrus Veerpalu of Spain; men's 30-kilometer free mass start, Johann Muehlepp of Spain; men's 50-kilometer classical, Mikhail Ivanov of the Russian Federation; men's 4 × 10-kilometer relay, Thomas Alsgaard, Kristen Skjeldal, Frode Estil, and Anders Aukland of Norway; women's sprint, Julija Tjepalova of the Russian Federation; women's 5-kilometer free pursuit, Olga Danilova of the Russian Federation; women's 10-kilometer classical, Bente Skari of Norway; women's 15-kilometer free mass start, Stefania Belmondo of Italy; women's 30-kilometer classical,

one ski in a track and the other used like a skate to push off—was introduced at the Holmenkollen 50-kilometer race in 1971, and the Engadine, Switzerland, marathon in 1975 was won by a skier using the skating step. The step proved faster over flatter terrain, but it also cut up the prepared track, was derived from another sport, and seemed to emphasize winning by use of a modern technique over honoring the classical technique. By the late 1970s Finnish skaters used the skating step so effectively that it was called the "Finnstep" or "Siitonschritt" after Finland's Pauli Siitonen. Today the classical technique and skating step are separate cross-country disciplines.

During the past century ski jumping styles, too, have changed. At one time a squat position competed with the more upright position that is popular today. Skiers have become increasingly interested in aerodynamic styles since the mid-1920s. Ski jumping competitions are won or lost on the basis of two criteria: the distance traveled and the style of the jump based on positions at takeoff, flight, and landing. Rules for awarding points have changed. At one time points were awarded for the crouch and the leap, which ideally aesthetically stretched and poised the body in the air with arms forward, back, or at the side to allow flight guidance and balance on landing. The lift during the flight was achieved by parallel skis pointing straight out almost like the wing of a plane. However, during the late 1980s Jan Boklov of Sweden spread his skis in an outward "V"

Do not let what you cannot do interfere with what you can do. ■ JOHN WOODEN

on taking off, and a hundred-year-old tradition was broken. Initially perceived as unaesthetic and accordingly discounted by judges, the “V” style was given official sanction before the 1992 Olympics and has replaced the classical ski jumping style. In 1962 jumps were regulated at heights of 90 and 70 meters, and ski flying, in which skiers attain distances of more than 183 meters, was sanctioned by the FIS in 1972.

E. John B. Allen

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Skiing, Freestyle

Freestyle skiing goes back to the 1930s and is a form of Alpine skiing that is divided into three disciplines:

- Mogul
- Aerial
- Acro (short for acrobatic)

Each requires different athletic skills, terrain, and equipment.

Three Disciplines

The roots of freestyle skiing cannot be exactly determined; however, most sources mention Norway as the cradle of freestyle skiing. There, in the 1930s, competi-

tive skiers used ski acrobatics for training and discovered their entertaining effect.

Competitive freestyle skiing started in the United States in 1966. Beginning in the 1970s, other countries staged national championships and the sport was divided into the three disciplines with competitions for men and women. In 1973, the International Free Skiers Association (IFSA) was formed to protect athlete interests, develop judging and scoring rules, and help standardize events. In 1980, the Fédération Internationale de Ski (FIS) established the Freestyle World Cup, and the first World Championships took place in 1986 in Tignes, France. Competitions were held in all three disciplines, including a combined competition in mogul and aerial skiing. Two years later, freestyle skiing was included as a demonstration sport at the 1988 Calgary Olympic Winter Games. However, only mogul and aerial skiing gained Olympic status: mogul competitions were accepted for the 1992 Olympic Winter Games in Albertville (France), and aerials for the Lillehammer (Norway) Winter Games in 1994.

With the development of new gliding and skiing equipment, and the building of special snow parks for snowboarders that included various jumps and half-pipes, aerial skiing has become more common among recreational skiers, especially younger ones. Recreational skiers commonly try the “hot dogging” technique of the bump experts when skiing moguls. The least common, and popular, among recreational skiers is acro skiing mainly because special equipment and athletic skills are needed, whereas bumps and jumps can be done with normal skis and poles.

Many ski schools around the world have also taken advantage of this raising interest by offering clinics and classes in the three freestyle disciplines. Because of this popularity, many ski federations include freestyle elements in their ski instructor training programs.

For the entertainment business, freestyle skiing attracts spectators at snow festivals and ski school events. The film industry discovered the attractiveness of the sport as early as the 1930s when the first ski films were produced:



Skier doing a jump in Colorado.

Source: [istockphoto.com/DCEngland](https://www.istockphoto.com/DCEngland).

- *Der wesse Rausch* [*The White Frenzy*] (1931), a German silent film by Arnold Fanck, starring Hannes Schneider and Leni Riefenstahl, included many acrobatic and aerial skiing sequences that drew viewers into the movie theatres.
- Willy Bogner's movie *Fire and Ice* (1986), with a superficial storyline, focused on all three freestyle disciplines and has become an icon for many skiers.
- The American producer Warren Miller also frequently shows glimpses of mogul and aerial moves in his extreme skiing adventure movies.

What Is Freestyle Skiing?

The following sections will give a brief insight into the three unrelated freestyle skiing techniques.

MOGUL SKIING

Mogul skiing is also known as “hot dogging.” The athlete skis through bumps, or moguls, keeping to the fall line.

Skiers compensate for the moguls with their knees while their upper bodies stay motionless. The skis should not leave the snow surface. Competitions take place on steep runs of 28 to 35 degrees for about 250 meters. The moguls are often artificially constructed, with two jump areas for aerial maneuvers in the course. Performed jumps must include two or three techniques but inverted maneuvers are prohibited. Usually two skiers compete in a parallel run against each other in a round-robin event. Style, time, and the performance of the two jumps are important for winning the competition. The winner is determined by the score, which is awarded by seven judges. The total score is split into 25 percent for speed, 25 percent for the two aerial jumps, and 50 percent for the overall technique and control during the performance. The skiers often wear special colored kneepads to draw the judges' attention to their performance. The average ski length is 185 centimeters for men and 175 centimeters for women.

AERIAL SKIING

Aerial skiing is a form of ski jumping in which tricks are performed in the air. Aerial skiers use jumping areas, or kickers, of various sizes. Top competitors perform triple back somersaults with as many as four twists. These jumps are very similar to trampolines, which is used for training, moves. To perform these spectacular jumps, the skis should not be too long, usually only 160 centimeters long.

The competitors jump over a tabletop where they hit the “Big Air,” meaning they are several meters high in the air, which helps them perform. Half- and quarter-pipes are incorporated in aerial skiing. Here, the jumping and flipping occurs with less air.

There are also combined mogul and aerial competitions.

ACRO SKIING

Acro skiing is more commonly known as “ski ballet” because of its similarity to dancing. Acro is performed on groomed runs that are about 250 meters long and not steep. According to the FIS, acro competitions include jumps, spins, flips, rotations, and inverted movements. Moreover, linking maneuvers blend all these elements into “a well-balanced program, performed in harmony with music of the skiers’ choice,” as stated by the FIS. The performance is judged equally on technique and artistic impression.

This sport shares many similarities with figure skating on ice, and many acro participants originally competed in figure skating or gymnastics.

For these disciplines, the skis are about the length of 80 percent of the performer’s body; thus, they are easier to manage. Longer poles support jumping and lifting elements. Acro skiing has not yet become an Olympic event.

Competition at the Top

On the international level, the FIS is responsible for organizing the Freestyle FIS World Cup every winter and the Freestyle World Ski Championships held every other winter since 1986 for all three disciplines, as well as combined mogul and aerial competitions. Other than

these FIS events, the Olympic Games are the highest elite level competition for freestyle skiers.

The first Olympic mogul competitions were held 1992 in Albertville, France. The gold medalists were Edgar Grosperon of France in the men’s competition, and Donna Weinbracht of the United States in the women’s competition. Two years later at the Lillehammer Games, aerial events were officially included. Andreas Schönbächler of Switzerland won the men’s competition and Lina Cheryazova of Uzbekistan won the women’s.

Governing Body

In most countries, the national ski federation governs freestyle skiing. International competitions are conducted by the FIS (www.fis-ski.com).

Annette R. Hofmann

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Skiing, Water

Popular around the world, water skiing combines elements of several sports, including boating and snow skiing. Some 50 million people participate in water skiing internationally, most of whom are recreational skiers. The remainder are serious water skiers who compete in organized events.

In the sport, a water skier is pulled along the surface of the water by a motorboat. In the basic style of the sport, the water skier wears a ski on each foot and



holds a tow rope with both arms. As the boat moves forward, it pulls the skier at a speed that enables him or her to stand up on the skis and glide along the surface of the water. Variations include the use of only one ski, barefoot skiing, and jumping off ramps, among others.

Water skiing appeals to people on many levels. It offers the opportunity to experience being on the water in a more direct sense than is possible in a boat, combined with the excitement of skiing along its surface at high speeds. The basic skills of water skiing can be learned quickly, and people with a moderate degree of physical proficiency can enjoy the sport on its simpler levels. Water skiing at more advanced levels is a very challenging sport that requires a great deal of physical skill and courage. Those who pursue the sport more seriously enjoy the opportunity to develop their skills, test their courage, and compete against other water skiers.

Water skiing is also a popular spectator sport in competition as well as in noncompetitive entertainment shows. The skiers can accomplish physical feats that are quite impressive to watch, including intricate maneuvers on skis, high-speed runs, impressive leaps and flips in the air, and other demonstrations of prowess and courage.

The name can be spelled as two separate words (water skiing), as one word (waterskiing), or with a hyphen (water-skiing). The primary water skiing organization in the United States, the American Water Ski Association, spells it as two separate words.

Origins and Development

Water skiing is a twentieth-century sport, with origins in the ancient principle of using the power of one moving object to tow another. Throughout history people have used animals to pull wagons on land or sleds on snow and ice. On the water, people used one vessel to tow a raft or attached boat containing cargo. In addition to harnessing this concept to accomplish tasks, people have used it for recreational activities such as sledding.

Although it is believed that people attempted earlier forms of water skiing using sailboats, the sport originated in its modern form only after 1900, with the development of the motorboat, which provided sufficient

power and speed to reliably pull people along the water's surface. As motorboats began to proliferate in the decades after 1900, people in various locations began to develop separately activities that evolved into the sport of water skiing, including towing sleds and other flat objects that people either sat on or stood up in. These activities were popular on the French Riviera and other bodies of water in Europe; Count Maximilian Pulaski is believed to have devised an early pair of water skis in Europe in the early 1920s. In the United States, Ralph Samuelson invented and demonstrated a pair of water skis in 1922 on Lake Pepin, Minnesota. At approximately the same time, near New York City, Fred Waller invented and marketed a style of water ski and also invented the bridle at the end of the tow rope that water skiers hold.

By the 1930s efforts were being initiated to organize and promote the sport more widely. In the United States an enthusiast named Dan Haines formed the American Water Ski Association (AWSA) in 1939, and the organization held its first national championship at Jones Beach near New York City that year. Many of the pioneers of the sport came together under the umbrella of AWSA, and standardized rules and a structure of local clubs and competitions were established. Similar initiatives took place in other nations. In the late 1940s the World Water Ski Union (WWSU) was formed to coordinate the sport, sanction events and records, and formulate rules internationally. Tournaments and championship events were established throughout the world on regional, national, and international levels.

EMERGENCE AS A SPECTATOR SPORT

Water skiing also captured the public's attention as a spectator sport. Entertainment-oriented water shows became popular attractions that helped to boost the sport's visibility. These shows featured spectacular stunts, beautiful women performing choreographed dance routines, and other crowd-pleasing activities on water skis. One of the first of these water-sports shows was held in 1928 at the Atlantic City Steel Pier in New Jersey sponsored by entrepreneur Frank Sterling.

A boy water skiing at sunset.

Source: *istockphoto.com/Ju-Lee.*

In Florida, Dick Pope featured a ski-jumping demonstration that same year. Pope and his family became leading promoters of water-skiing shows, especially after establishing a major ski show at Cypress Gardens, an aquatic theme park in Winter Haven, Florida. Similar attractions were established in many other locations.

World War II inhibited recreational activities like water skiing that used fuel needed for the war effort. After the war, however, water skiing experienced steady and continued growth. It remained primarily an amateur sport, with trophies awarded more often than prize money. Many expert water skiers made a living by teaching, participating in shows, or holding other jobs connected to the sport. Professional competitive water skiing tours and events were eventually established, but the amateur emphasis remained. The distinction between amateur and professional aspects of the sport has been an ongoing debate.

Water skiing continued to grow and become more diverse in the decades after 1970. In part this reflected the overall popularity of the sport of powerboating. Enthusiasts continued to accomplish new speed and distance records and to perform ever-more-spectacular stunts. New variations of water skiing were also devised. These included activities that combined water skiing with elements of other sports such as hang gliding and surfing. Both males and females participate in water skiing on a recreational and competitive level; tournaments and series often include categories for males, females, and mixed-gender events.

Practice

In the basic form of water skiing, the skier uses two skis and holds a horizontal bar connected to the end of the tow rope, which is attached to the motorboat. The tow rope is typically 23 meters (75 feet) long, although the ropes vary in length depending on the particular activity. There are several basic ways to start a run. In a basic beach start, the skier crouches in the water with arms forward and knees close to the chest, with the lower legs placed so the ski tips are raised out of the water. As the boat moves forward, the skis are pulled



and lifted straight onto the water's surface. The skier rises to a standing position and is pulled along. Variations include the dock start, in which the skier begins by sitting on a dock and is pulled into the water as the boat starts forward.

The minimum sustained speed for water skiing begins at around 24 kilometers per hour (15 miles per hour). As water skiers become more proficient and confident, they can be towed at increasing speeds. In 1983, Christopher Michael Massey, an Australian, established a water-ski speed record of more than 230 kilometers (144 miles) per hour.

Once beginning skiers are able to maintain balance while riding straight behind the boat, they can progress to turning independently of the boat and making other movements. Water skiers control their runs in various ways, including how they bend their legs; lean forward, backward, and from side to side; hold and tug the tow rope; and shift their weight and position in other ways. One basic move is crossing the wake, which is accomplished by attaining the momentum to swing beyond

the waves that fan out behind both sides of the boat. In a more exaggerated form, this is known as wake jumping. Water skiers may advance to using only one ski and to more difficult and specialized tricks, jumps, and other challenging activities.

Ski Design

The design of basic skis emphasizes stability and ease of handling. They are often between 1.5 and 1.8 meters (60 and 70 inches) long and come in pairs, with a binding that holds the foot securely but releases quickly to protect skiers if they fall or lose control. There are many other variations and types of water skis for specific purposes. Advanced slalom skiers use single skis with two sets of bindings, one for each foot. Skis designed for stunts and other purposes may be shorter or more rounded. Other types of skis include the kneeboard, which is ridden in a kneeling position, and boards that are ridden without bindings (similar to a surfboard).

Powerboat Concerns

Many types of powerboats are used to tow water skiers. On a purely recreational level, a variety of general-purpose motorboats are suitable. However, certain characteristics are important. Boats should have an appropriate size and body design and an engine that has enough power to tow a person but that does not create an excessive wake or overwhelm the skier in other ways. Certain powerboats are designed specifically for water skiing and are used by dedicated amateurs and in organized competitions and professional shows. The type of boat used is especially critical in competitions to ensure that the performances of individual skiers are based on their own abilities and are not the result of differences among towboats. The AWSA, for example, has very stringent criteria for boats that can be used in sanctioned events to ensure consistency, performance, and safety.

Safety is an important concern, especially in the more advanced aspects of the sport, in which skiers travel at high speeds and perform flips and other potentially

dangerous moves. Flotation vests are encouraged for all skiers, and helmets and other protective gear are often used in addition. Water-skiing clubs and events have strict guidelines for events to promote safety. Coordination between the driver and skier is crucial, and hand signals or verbal cues are often used to communicate. In many instances, a third person, or “spotter,” also rides in the boat to watch the skier and make sure the driver is aware of his or her status.

Most often, water skiing has one person being towed by an individual boat. However, a boat may tow two or more people simultaneously. In water shows, for example, a team of performers may form a line with a single boat towing them. In 1986, the cruising vessel Reef Cat towed 100 water skiers simultaneously for one nautical mile in Queensland, Australia.

Competitions

Individual competitions and overall rankings of competitive water skiers are based on age and gender, in addition to categories for specific events. Competitions are often organized by local clubs and are sanctioned and based on guidelines from national organizations and the International Water Ski Federation (the new name, as of 1993, for the WWSU). Traditionally, competitive water-skiing tournaments feature three main competitions: slalom, tricks, and jumping.

In the slalom event, skiers maneuver back and forth on a course marked with buoys (usually six), while the boat follows a straight line down the middle. During the event the boat speed is increased and the tow rope shortened, which makes runs successively difficult. The ability of the skier to get as close as possible to all of the buoys during the run without missing one or falling is scored.

In trick skiing, the competitors ski on a straight course and perform as many stunts as they can within their designated time (usually two 20-second passes). A panel of judges scores their performance based on the difficulty of their routines and their skill in executing them. Trick skiing can include a wide variety of moves,

such as twirling in the water, removing skis while in motion, and flipping out of the water.

In jumping, skiers go up an inclined ramp in the water, which launches them into the air. In addition to maintaining good form and control, skiers attempt to extend the length of the jump as far as possible before landing on the water. The standard ramp is approximately 1.8 meters (6 feet) high out of the water at its highest point for men's adult competition and 1.5 meters (5 feet) for others. During the history of jumping, the distance records have gotten progressively longer. In 1947, a distance-jumping record was set at 15 meters (49 feet). By the 1990s, skiers were achieving jumps of 60 meters (200 feet) and longer.

In 2004, competition reached a new level when the International Water Ski Federation began sponsoring a Water Ski World Cup event in 2004, with stops in Russia, England, China, and Qatar over a five-month period.

SPECIALIZED COMPETITIONS AND STUNTS

The sport also encompasses more specialized competitions. Freestyle jumping emerged in competition after the 1950s. In freestyle, jumpers add midair flips and other variations to the basic jump. Barefoot skiing was introduced publicly as a stunt at Cypress Gardens in 1947 and has since developed into a separate branch of the sport, with competitions and other events. In 1989, Scott M. Pellaton achieved a barefoot skiing speed record of almost 219 kilometers (136 miles) per hour. In 1978, Billy Nichols established a barefoot duration record by skiing for 2 hours, 42 minutes, and 39 seconds. In 1989, Steve Fontaine skied backward for just over 1 hour and 27 minutes. Barefoot skiing and jumping were combined into an event known as barefoot jumping, and competitors have made jumps of over 26 meters (86 feet).

In the 1950s water-skiing shows began to feature a stunt in which a water skier was connected to a large kite, which created air currents that carried him aloft as the boat gained speed. This facet of the sport gained popularity in the 1970s. A cousin of hang gliding and parachuting, it has been referred to by several names, in-

cluding parasailing, paragliding, and kite skiing. Although safety and insurance-liability concerns inhibited its acceptance in sanctioned water-skiing competitions in the 1980s, parasailing became popular among recreational water skiers. In the 1990s, a variation of this emerged in which water skiers attach tow lines to kites, which pull the skier along on the water.

Other Watercraft

In the 1980s and 1990s, a hybrid of powerboating and water skiing became popular that involved motorized craft known as personal watercraft, Jet Skis, and other names. These watercraft are very small and are driven in a manner somewhat similar to water skiing, but they are self-propelled. Jet Skis are fast and maneuverable. In some instances, when riders have acted irresponsibly, Jet Skis have prompted concern and criticism about noise and similar disruptions to other boats and the environments where they are used.

Governing Body

The International Water Ski Federation (www.iwsf.com) is the primary governing organization, with affiliate clubs in nations around the world.

John Townes

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Skydiving

See Parachuting

Individual commitment to a group effort—that is what makes a team work, a company work, a society work, a civilization work. ■ VINCE LOMBARDI

Sled Dog Racing

In sled dog racing a driver, known as a “musher,” controls a harnessed dog team that races to achieve speed or distance. Frequently the challenge is a combination of speed and distance that involves crossing hundreds of kilometers of ice and snow trails during a period of days.

Development

European sled dog racing originated in Scandinavia, where competitions can be traced back to the eighteenth century. In North America the development of sled dog racing was more recent, with the first races being held during the late nineteenth century. Early competition may have begun as rival groups of gold prospectors or fur trappers challenged one another to see who had the fastest sled and the best team of racing dogs.

Although the sport has appeal in polar and subpolar regions, it has always had limited international appeal. The first organized race was the 1908 All-Alaskan Sweepstake, a round-trip race between the townships of Nome and Candle. The distance crossed was 656 kilo-

meters. The Hudson Bay Derby was instituted in 1916, followed seven years later by the Banff Alberta Dog Derby. In 1936 the Laconia Sled Dog Club of New Hampshire organized the first World Championship Sled Dog Derby. In 1966 the International Sled Dog Racing Association was formed and led to the development of a racing circuit.

Sled dog teams also played a role in exploration, in particular in the exploration of the Antarctic. The progress of the Norwegian Roald Amundsen (1872–1928) and the Englishman Captain Robert Falcon Scott (1868–1912) toward the South Pole in late 1911 was seen by their respective nations and the world’s press as a race to be the first to reach the South Pole. Amundsen won, reaching the South Pole on 14 December 1911. Scott and his party died on the return journey, victims of starvation and the intense cold. Scott relied on ponies and primitive engines early during his trek, but at the end he and his exhausted team manhandled their own equipment. By contrast, Amundsen planned his trek around the use of dogs and sleds. In his party he had four companions and four light sleds, each pulled by thirteen dogs.

In North America, although Eskimos used dog sleds for hunting, travel, and recreation during the pre-colonial period, regulated sled dog races did not appear until the late nineteenth century. The U.S. writer Jack London (1876–1916) was a major figure in introducing these dogs, and indirectly their sleds, to the mainstream of U.S. life. By the age of twenty London had held a variety of jobs: sailor, tramp, Klondike adventurer.



Sled dogs waiting in the snow.

Source: istockphoto/isatis.

His appreciation of the dramatic Alaskan gold rush area popularized the perception of the “man in the wild” constantly battling the elements and surviving in a tough world. With his novels *The Call of the Wild* and *White Fang* London described a wild dog (probably a composite of Siberian huskies or malamutes) and explored notions of a dog being tamed but never escaping its savage origins.

However, the event that catapulted sled dog racing onto the front pages of newspapers around the world was a 1925 diphtheria outbreak in Nome, Alaska. Hundreds of people were at risk and could not be reached by road or air because of ground conditions and severe weather. The only way to get serum to them was by dogsled. This outbreak received worldwide media coverage and stimulated sled dog racing in Canada and northern New England.

In 1928 the *New York Times* reported on events at the Saint-Moritz Olympics in Switzerland. Sandwiched between columns on skating and ice hockey was a report of a different contest, describing a three-day, 198-kilometer sled dog race in which Emile St. Goddard's of Manitoba, Canada, defeated Leonard Seppala of Nome, Alaska. The race consisted of three sections, one held each day. At the start of the final day, the lead of St. Goddard's over Seppala was only forty seconds. As the race ended the lead of St. Goddard's had increased to 3 minutes, 10 seconds. In light of the repeated successes by women mushers in Alaska's Iditarod race during the 1980s and 1990s, the newspaper report of the race is interesting. Its tenor is in keeping with the social climate of the time: a gentlemanly concern for the competitive woman, liberally sprinkled with admonitions about the overwhelming nature of such physical challenges:

Mrs. Edward P. Ricker Jr. of Poland Spring, Maine, did not start the last day. She is the only woman who ever had courage or skill to enter this race against the best men drivers of the continent. Two of her dogs tired last night and she dropped out to save them. (*New York Times*, 23 February 1928)

“Mush!”

The Iditarod, inaugurated in 1973, is the most famous dog sled race. It begins in Anchorage, Alaska, and crosses the Alaska Range, turns west along the Yukon River, and continues up the Bering Sea coast to Nome. The race takes approximately eleven days. One of the most exciting Iditarod races was run in 1978. After more than two weeks of racing Dick Macky won by less than a dog's length over Rick Swenson—one of the smallest gaps ever between winner and loser.

In 1985 Libby Riddles was the first woman to win the Iditarod.

Winner of the 2004 Iditarod was Mitch Seavey of Sterling, Alaska, with a time of 9 days, 12 hours, 20 minutes, and 22 seconds.

Winners of the 2004 World Championship Sled Dog Derby in Laconia, New Hampshire, were: one-dog junior class, Breana Martin with a time of 31 minutes; Dick Moulton three-dog junior class, Eddie Gast, with a total time of 41 minutes, 9 seconds; Lyn Newell memorial six-dog classic, Hank Plaisted, with a total time of 1 hour, 26 minutes, 25 seconds; and open class, Real Turmel with a total time of 2 hours, 44 minutes, 21 seconds.

Sled dog teams are traditionally composed of Siberian or Alaskan huskies. The number of dogs used varies, but seven or nine in a team is common. In the Iditarod as many as sixteen may be used. Although racing sleds are lightweight, they must be strongly constructed and able to carry equipment, provisions, or a sick or fatigued dog.

Sled dog race courses are marked by red and green. Red flags indicate a turn. Green flags indicate a straightaway. Dog teams are inspected approximately ten minutes before the start of a race to make certain that the dogs are neither sick nor injured and are “up to scratch” for the demands of the race. Many sled dog races count only periods of racing time and not rest intervals, so the mushers—and, more importantly, the dog teams—are provisioned and rested. The International Sled Dog Racing Association (www.isdra.org), which governs the sport, has acknowledged the metabolism of a racing

husky: “A sled dog at rest in the summer needs about 800 calories per day. In the middle of a cold winter’s long distance race the same dog may need up to 10,000 calories per day.”

Scott A. G. M. Crawford

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Sledding—Skeleton

Skeleton is a winter sport in which an athlete lies face down and head first on a sled and races down a snow track.

Such forms of sledding (tobogganing) spread in North America, Russia, and middle Europe during the nineteenth century. In Switzerland natives and foreign residents—most of them citizens of England and the United States—raced toboggans on artificial and natural snow tracks. In 1884 some British residents of the Swiss city of Saint Moritz, led by Major W. H. Bulpetts, built an artificial track with curves and banks at Cresta at the outskirts of the city. There, on 18 February 1885, the first Grand National race took place with twenty contestants. Racers from the Swiss city of Davos won.

Head Start

In 1887 a Scot named McCornish raced head first in the Grand National. He did not win, but other racers began to imitate his head-first style because it allowed greater

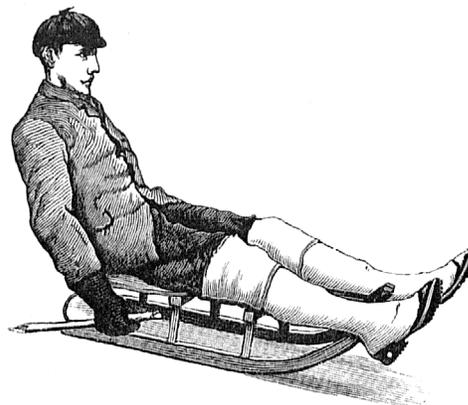
speed. By 1890 all racers of the Grand National raced head first, and skeleton distinguished itself from luge, in which athletes races downhill feet first. The head-first style also spread to the International Race of Davos. In Switzerland skeleton soon had more competitors than had luge, which remained quite diffused. In November 1887 the Saint Moritz Tobogganing Club was formed, and this body governed the competitions of both sports.

Eventually women were allowed to compete in the Grand National, and other races began to allow women and children as well. Ursula Weble, three-time winner of the Grand National in the traditional style, adopted the head-first style and added other six victories for a total of nine—a record.

The word *skeleton* refers to the fact that, in comparison with a luge sled, a skeleton sled was reduced to minimal elements. Four pillars connected the sled’s seat to the sled’s running blades. In 1901 John Bott of the United States introduced the sliding seat, which allowed better management of the sled.

In 1905 regional championships were begun in Austria and Germany, but luge and bobsleigh remained more popular in those countries. In 1910 at Cresta the Ashbourne Cup race, over a course of 887 meters, was begun. Women competed with men. Later the race was renamed the “Curzon Cup.”

In 1913 in Dresden, Germany, an international body was founded to control all tobogganing sports. In 1914



A gentleman on a sled at St. Mortiz.



Sledding—Skeleton

A Tribute to Hesta

This amusing poem pays tribute to “Hesta,” a folk heroine who is said to have tobogganed down the Cresta Valley in 1882, three years before official construction of the run:

Now Hesta rode the Cresta
Midst the snows of '82
Tho' her mother had impressed her
It was *not* the thing to do.
She said “It’s nice,
I like the ice,
It thrills me thru’ and thru’.”
In defiance of her mummy
She slid upon her tummy.

in Davos the first European championship was held. A man named “Bernhoff,” a German resident of the Russian town of Riga, was the winner. The Federation Internationale de Bobsleigh et Tobogganing (www.bobsleigh.com), with headquarters in Milan, Italy, is now the international governing body. It was founded in 1923.

Cresta Run Tobogganing

During the period between the two world wars, under the aegis of the Federation Internationale de Bobsleigh et Tobogganing, bobsleigh racing entered the Olympic program; skeleton racing appeared in the 1928 Olympics at Saint Moritz, where Jennison Heaton of the United States won. The Grand National and the Curzon Cup remained the two international races.

In 1926 a woman competed for the last time in Cresta Run. In 1929 women were excluded from the race because organizers feared that the face-down style might injure the breasts of women racers.

Skeleton came back to the Olympics in 1948 when the games returned to Saint Moritz. The winner was the Italian Nino Bibbia, a hero of the two big races at Engadin, Switzerland, where he won fifteen victories from 1948 to 1969. Jack Heaton was runner-up. In 1954 the International Olympic Committee decided to accept luge and to exclude skeleton.

In 2002 skeleton—open to men and women—was readmitted to the Olympics at Salt Lake City. The U.S. team won gold twice as John Shea won the men’s, and Tristan Gale won the women’s.

During the last half-century, unlike luge, the style of skeleton has not changed significantly. Fiberglass is the material used most often for the sled. Clothing has evolved from pullovers, trousers, and mountaineering shoes to more sporting styles.

Gherardo Bonini

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Snowboarding

The picture of alpine slopes has greatly changed over the last decades. One of the most obvious changes is the appearance of persons gliding down the snow on boards: the snowboarders.

Male and female snowboarders can be found either on regular slopes, off the slopes in ungroomed and powder areas, and in boarder parks with various jumps and half pipes in which the boarders focus on airborne tricks and maneuvers. According to their preferred territory, the snowboarders are categorized as alpine or carving riders, freeriders, or freestylers, each equipped with specially designed boards, bindings, and boots.

Presently there are more than five million snowboarders worldwide. Predominantly children and adolescents are learning this relatively new winter sport.

For many snowboarders, snowboarding is more than a sport; it stands for a special philosophy and lifestyle, going back to the initial influence of surfing and skateboarding, and reflecting an easygoing youth culture



A snowboarder pulling a sweet grab off a jump.

Source: istockphoto/Mfpar35.

snurfer by taking advantage of their experience in the making of surfboards. Sims started—just like Burton—to build boards consisting of laminated wooden layers. Although none of these constructions had steel edges, they made it possible to glide down mountains. However, neither Milovich’s “Wintersticks” nor Sims’s boards were very prosperous in the long run.

that strives to neglect all kinds of conformity and searches for individuality and freedom. These snowboarders can be considered a subculture, distinguishing themselves from alpine skiers not only by their sporting equipment, but also by fashion, hairstyle, body piercing and tattooing, as well as language, music, and off-slope appearance and behavior.

History

Snowboarding has its roots in the United States. One of the early pioneers who greatly influenced the introduction of this winter sport was the American Sherman Poppen from Michigan. In the mid-1960s he developed a toy board consisting of two attached skis on which one had to stand sideways. He named his construction “snurfer,” a word mixture of the words “surfing” and “snow.” This board of about 1.20 meters in length had neither real steel edges nor bindings and was steered by a rope tied to its nose. Accordingly, it was difficult to handle on hard slopes. However, it was successful. At the end of the 1977, Jake Burton Carpenter modified the snurfer. He attached rubber straps to the board to facilitate standing, and founded his own company, Burton, for the production of snowboards, which has been successful until today. At about the same time the experienced surfers Dimitrije Milovich and Tom Sims, the latter world champion in skateboarding at the time, also started to improve the

Besides problems involving materials, this new sport had to face another difficulty: many ski areas did not allow snowboarding on their mountains. In the United States this was mostly due to security reasons, whereas in Europe the skiers were very reluctant to approve of this new winter sport. Meanwhile, the material dilemma was solved: snowboards began to be produced with steel edges; additionally, special bindings and special boots made it easier to control the boards.

As a result, by the end of the 1980s many ski areas throughout the world had opened their slopes to snowboarding. This was also an economic chance for tourism and the ski-equipment-producing industry; especially the latter had reached a growth plateau at the time. The sale of boards in the winter of 1994–1995 was 471,000 and rose in the following year to over 1,200,000. In the 1990s, the strongest market was in North America, followed by Europe and, finally, Asia.

Competitions and Federations

The acceptance of snowboarding as a sport can also be seen in the rise of the first competitions in the 1980s. During that decade, too, a number of snowboard federations in various European countries and North America were founded. The first governing body for competitive and grassroots snowboarding was the United States Snowboard Association (USASA), which goes back to 1988. On an international level the



Snowboarding on sand dunes.

International Snowboard Federation (ISF), which developed out of the International Snowboard Association (ISA) initiated in 1989, was organized in 1991. The ISF started to organize a World Pro Tour in 1987.

The Federation Internationale du Ski (FIS) introduced snowboarding as an FIS discipline in 1994. They hold the FIS Snowboard World Cup series and the FIS Snowboard World Championships, making snowboarding eligible for the Olympic Winter Games. At the Winter Olympics in 1998 in Nagano, Japan, both men and women participated as snowboarding competitions in giant slalom and half pipe were held for the first time. Presently there are six snowboard events on the program of the Olympic Winter Games: half pipe, parallel giant slalom, and snowboard cross, each held separately for men and women. Tension between the FIS and the ISF arose pertaining to the responsibility for this “new” sport, especially with regard to the Olympic Games.

Although the World Cup under the FIS’s authority was financially less attractive than the IFS’s World Pro

Tour, in the long run the FIS survived as the sport’s official governing body. It had more expertise in organizing events and attracting sponsors and TV contracts. As a result, the IFS, which claimed to be more than a sport federation, but also stood for a special lifestyle and philosophy, had to fold in 2002.

Annette R. Hofmann

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Snowshoe Racing

Snowshoe racing is of recent origin, although snowshoes themselves are ancient. Informal racing is probably as old as the snowshoe itself, but serious racing only emerged in North America in the 1970s, after major improvements in snowshoes were introduced.

New World Beginnings

Snowshoes have been used for the past 6,000 years, primarily by Amerindian peoples. Informal races have probably taken place for centuries, but for most of its historical career, the snowshoe had a primarily utilitarian life, enabling people to work and travel in snowy conditions. The trappers, hunters, and explorers of North America all used snowshoes.

As a form of recreation, snowshoeing in Canada came into its own with “snowshoe clubs.” These clubs, some of them two hundred years old, were popular among both French- and English-speaking populations, but more so among French Canadians. The clubs were originally tied to communities, churches, guilds, and military units. A small number of the Quebec clubs are still active.

In 1907, the Canadian Snowshoer’s Union was founded as a loose confederation of clubs. The union, though, never made a serious effort to transform snowshoeing from a recreation into a more competitive sport. Some snowshoe clubs, primarily among people of French ancestry, were formed in the United States and were found throughout New England and in New York. These, like the Canadian clubs, were mainly recreational, organizing only informal races.

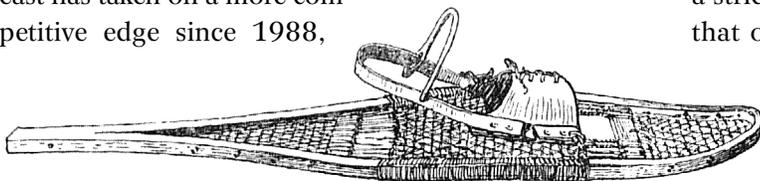
The long tradition of “social snowshoeing” continues in Quebec and New England. However, racing in the east has taken on a more competitive edge since 1988,

when the first “North American Snowshoe Classic” was run. The newest centers of snowshoe racing are in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Colorado, and the neighboring mountain states. The races are increasingly more organized and competitive, but they still have recreational qualities.

What Is Snowshoe Racing?

Snowshoe races are held either on groomed trails, as for most Nordic ski events, or on unbroken snow. When the “modern” phase of snowshoe racing first began, many races were run on groomed tracks. Some believed, however, that snowshoe racing might end up losing all its distinctiveness and become merely a sort of handicapped running activity. Races through unbroken snow were also problematic. When such races were staged, a typical strategy was simply to “hang back” while the leaders broke a more manageable path through the snow and then sprint at the end. In an attempt to do away with this “laggard’s advantage,” some recent races have featured a sequence of “primes,” rather like in cycling races, to improve the ambitions of the pack.

The chief innovation has involved changes in the design of the snowshoe itself. The traditional snowshoe was primarily a snow flotation device and, as such, not suited for high speed. Traditional snowshoes were large and heavy, crafted of wood, leather, and vegetable fibers. Beginning in the middle 1960s, when aluminum and other alloy frames were introduced, weight has been reduced greatly, and the size of the shoe has become smaller. The snowshoe went through a process of drastic redesign, which reduced size and weight and allowed for the use of a real racing stride. The newer snowshoes allow considerable flotation, yet they are small enough to accommodate a stride that is more like that of a modern runner than that of a heavily laden trapper. The new shoes have



An old style of snowshoe, better for traveling than for racing.



Snowshoe Racing

Snowshoe Racing in Montreal in 1858

On Tuesday Afternoon, the annual races of the Montreal Snoe-Shoe Club took place at Ouimet's race course, near Mile End. The day was rather cold, yet notwithstanding this, at least a thousand persons were present, to witness the feats of speed in this manly and exhilarating exercise. The grand stand was filled with ladies, and on the Steward's stand we noticed Sir William Eyre, Commander of the Forces, with his staff. The first race was a distance of four miles, and nine Indians from Caughnawaga, entered it. The start was good, and for a considerable distance the same position was maintained. The first mile was accomplished in six minutes twenty seconds; the second in eight minutes twenty-two seconds; and the third in nine minutes thirty seconds; the fourth was exciting, the contest being very close. The Indian who came in victor during the three previous miles and for a long distance on the fourth, was the third; but when within half a mile of the stand, he made a dash and took the lead, which he kept and came in some ten yards ahead of the second Indian, and fifteen ahead of the third. The last mile occupied by seven minutes and ten seconds, and the four miles were ac-

complished in thirty-one minutes twenty-two seconds. The winner of this race seemed to feel himself a very important personage, for he immediately donned a fantastic head-dress, and strutted about his discomfited compeers with a very bombastic air. The prize for this race was forty dollars.

The next was a hurdle race over four three feet hurdles; the prize being ten dollars. Preparations for this race were made by six whites and three Indians; it was a most exciting struggle—the first hurdle was leapt almost simultaneously by all the competitors, but between the first hurdle and the second, distances were changed, Mr. Brown keeping first, followed closely by Mr. Murray, who fell while clearing the third hurdle, an Indian who was following having trodden on his snow-shoe. He was up in an instant, however, But Mr. Brown, first—Mr. Murray, second, and an Indian third.

A race of a half a mile by boys under 14 years of age, for a prize of \$5, was easily won by Master Edward Whitehead.

Source: *New York Clipper*. (1858, March 13), p. 372.

completely replaced wooden snowshoes in the modern races.

The deck of the racing shoe has also changed. It is no longer webbed but solid, and generally made from rubberized or other treated nylon. The deck is no longer attached to the frame with rawhide lacing, but riveted or clipped to it. This preserves some of the flotation qualities of snowshoes but reduces overall size. Most modern shoes also feature a cleat at the toe or ball of the foot for traction, and some are cleated at the heel as well. The overall result is a much lighter and smaller shoe, with improved climbing ability, that still allows a certain amount of controlled sliding on down slopes. Binding, with the new shoes, seems to be still be evolving. Many of the best racers simply lace regular running shoes to the snowshoe.

Competition at the Top

Two prominent modern-style races are the John Beargrease in Duluth, Minnesota—a marathon of 25 kilometers run in conjunction with a dogsled race of the same name—and the Birkebeiner in Northern Wisconsin, associated with a prestigious cross-country ski event. There is also an annual event now being run on one of the original sections of the famous Alaskan Iditarod. The U.S. Snowshoe Association has been holding an annual National Snowshoe Championship (in a different location each year) since 2001. Snowshoe racing is not an Olympic sport, but proponents hope it will become one.

Governing Body

The International Amateur Snowshoe Racing Federation sets the rules for snowshoe racing: The United

Build up your weaknesses until they become your strong points. ■ KNUTE ROCKNE

States Snowshoeing Association (www.showshoeracing.com) is a key organization in the sport, and there are groups promoting the sport in a number of countries, including Canada, Finland, France, and Japan.

*Alan Trevithick and
Robin O'Sullivan*

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Soaring

Soaring is similar to gliding. Both sports are practiced by people who either fly for the sheer enjoyment of powerless flight (gliding) or compete as individuals or members of teams in glider competition (soaring). Many people do both.

To Air Is Human

The theory of soaring dates to the first time people saw birds flying without flapping their wings. Babylonian cave etchings and Greek mythology tell of people's dream to fly. The fifteenth-century Italian painter, sculptor, architect, and engineer Leonardo da Vinci reflected on various kinds of flying apparatus, including parachutes.

Balloons were the first devices that provided people with the means to fly. Then, in 1848, Sir George Cayley, a British scientist, built the first successful heavier-than-air device: a glider that was said to have carried a ten-year-old boy several yards after being launched from a hill. Although research continued during the interim, from the 1890s onward people in Germany, England, and the United States increasingly researched and developed gliders and flying techniques.

During the 1890s Otto Lilienthal of Germany is said to have made more than two thousand glider flights. In 1891 he was the first man to fly more than 100 meters. About that time Orville and Wilbur Wright in the United States and Percy Pilcher of England were working on similar glider developments. Near San Diego, California, John Montgomery also conducted experiments during that period and is said to have even flown before Lilienthal. Montgomery is credited with making a nine-minute unpowered flight that broke a record set by the Wright brothers. Montgomery, Lilienthal, and Pilcher all died in glider accidents.

Octave Chanute, at sixty years of age in 1896, took the first of a reported two thousand flights without an accident. During the autumn of 1902 alone, the Wright brothers made more than one thousand glider flights, many involving turns and distances of more than 183 meters, before their first powered flight in 1903.

World War I stalled glider development as the world went to war. After the war ended, however, the Treaty of Versailles prohibition on powered flight in Germany prompted great progress in the development of gliding. Three thousand German schoolboys enrolled in glider instruction during 1928 alone. Germans dominated world gliding throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. Wolfgang Klemperer was the first to fly more than 1,000 meters in 1920, and Robert Kronfeld set the world distance record of 100 kilometers in the late 1920s.

In 1934 Richard DuPont of the United States set the world distance record of 248 kilometers. By the late 1930s the record was 557 kilometers. Development continued but was slowed during World War II when military applications of gliding forced sport gliding into the background.

Since then gliding as a sport has flourished, and several countries have large soaring communities. More than 150 pilots have flown flights farther than 1,000 kilometers.

How Does a Glider Glide?

Understanding soaring requires understanding how a glider—an airplane without an engine—flies through



the atmosphere. Air flows over the wings of a glider in much the same way as it flows over the wings of a powered airplane, which is propelled through the air by the force of its engine. However, a glider has no engine. Gliding flight can be achieved only by descending the glider, speeding it up, and causing air to flow around its wings and tail surfaces. Therefore, a glider (or sailplane, as it is often called) is always descending, usually at a rate of between 45 and 90 meters per minute in still air.

The acceleration of air over the wings of the glider produces a lifting force that counterbalances the weight of the glider and slows its rate of descent. If not for the force of lift, gliders would fly straight down. They instead follow predictable glide ratios. A glide ratio is a measure of how far a glider will travel forward (horizontal distance) for each unit of altitude it loses (vertical distance). A 40 to 1 glide ratio, for example, means that a glider could travel (in still air, with no updrafts or downdrafts) 40 kilometers over the ground for each kilometer of altitude above the ground. Modern gliders have glide ratios of 20 to 1 to 60 to 1, or 20 to 60 meters forward for every 1 meter downward. Older gliders generally have steeper glide slopes.

Glider pilots fly at specific speeds to obtain the performance expected of their gliders. Flying at “best glide speed” allows a glider to go the greatest distance possible. Flying at “minimum sink speed,” usually *slower* than the best glide speed, allows a glider to stay in the air for the longest possible time—but not glide the farthest distance.

Although gliders are capable of rolls, loops, and other aerobatic maneuvers that enable them to climb for short periods, rather than to continually descend, a glider, in gliding flight, is always descending.

Airplanes and automobiles must stop periodically to refuel. What makes soaring a sport is the challenge of finding and using ascending air currents to keep the glider aloft—to cause it to climb faster than it descends (which it always is)—so that distance, height, or flight durations that are not possible in still air can be achieved. In a sense updrafts are the fuel of gliders. Pilots who excel at finding and using the invisible ascending air currents

better than other pilots are the champions and record holders.

Classes of Gliders

World competition generally recognizes three classes of gliders: 15-meter, open, and standard. A fourth class—the world class—has been approved, but it has yet to compete on any widespread basis.

15-METER CLASS

Fifteen-meter class gliders have a maximum wingspan of 15 meters and a maximum weight of 525 kilograms. These gliders have control devices called “flaps” that enable them to fly a more controlled approach for landing and that enhance performance in other ways. The maximum glide ratio of most 15-meter class gliders is 45 to 1.

OPEN CLASS

The only specification for open class gliders is that their maximum weight cannot exceed 750 kilograms. Open class gliders typically have wingspans of about 25 meters and a maximum glide ratio of 60 to 1.

STANDARD CLASS

Standard class gliders are similar to 15-meter class gliders except that their performance is more restricted. In particular, flaps are not permitted, and standard class gliders have a maximum glide ratio of 42 to 1.

WORLD CLASS

World gliding authorities recently approved the world class. Enthusiasts hope this class will result in a simple, cheap, easy-to-fly glider that can be economically produced in many countries.

Methods of Launching

Gliders cannot propel themselves through the air with sufficient force to attain flying speed, which is normally 48–64 kilometers per hour. Some outside initial force must be applied to get the glider moving fast enough that adequate airflow passes around the wings to overcome the force of gravity and cause the glider to fly.

Through the years people have used several methods to provide this speed, including dropping heavy weights on the ends of ropes to pull the glider into the air; pushing the glider down a hill until airflow over the wings is sufficient to produce flight; pulling the glider with elastic-like ropes and “slingshotting” it to flying speed; hooking it behind an airplane that takes off and pulls the glider to an altitude from which gliding flight can begin; pulling it into the air on long cables reeled in by engine-driven winches; and pulling it into the air on ropes behind automobiles.

The Wright brothers launched their early gliders by using the slopes of sand dunes near the Atlantic Ocean. Other people used “shoulder launches” in which assistants held the glider aloft and ran with it into the wind until it flew. Today a glider usually is towed aloft by a rope attached to a powered airplane. This technique is called “aerotow.” Glider pilots using this form of launch must be able to fly safely and smoothly behind the towplane as it ascends until the glider release altitude is reached.

Types of Gliding

After a glider reaches sufficient altitude and airspeed, the pilot pulls a release handle in the cockpit, the towing rope is released, and the glider is in free flight. If sufficient lift to sustain flight is not found rather quickly, the glider will usually be forced to land within a matter of minutes.

The goal is to soar rather than to glide. Several methods of remaining aloft are used. All rely on pilot skill and knowledge in finding air currents rising at a greater rate than the glider’s “built in” rate of descent—between 45 and 90 meters per minute. These methods are mountain wave flying, thermaling, land and sea breeze flying, and ridge flying. An additional source of lift can be obtained by flying under or near developing cumulus clouds that owe their formation and sustenance to the updrafts found directly underneath them. During the early days of soaring, when people did not understand much about hazardous weather, pilots also used areas near (or inside) thunderstorms to propel themselves

upward. That practice is recognized as very dangerous and little used in modern glider flying. The safe rule is to avoid thunderstorms.

MOUNTAIN WAVE FLYING

For mountain wave flying, gliders find strong lift produced downwind of mountains as the mountains are struck by strong winds at near-perpendicular angles. These winds can propel a glider thousands of meters above the altitudes where it first encountered the mountain wave lift. Many world records have been set, particularly in the United States, where mountain wave phenomena lend themselves to strong updrafts and great altitude gains. Soaring in a mountain wave usually requires special equipment such as heated clothing, supplementary oxygen, and other high-altitude precautions. Expert mountain wave soarers say nothing compares with the views of a High Sierra or Rocky Mountain wave flight or the views of the European Alps.

THERMALING

Thermals—rising columns of warmer-than-normal air—occur where the sun heats surface geographical features to temperatures hotter than the surrounding terrain. Such updrafts may rise hundreds of feet per minute faster than surrounding air. Gliders soaring in thermals are lifted, often thousands of feet. An instrument in a glider that shows the speed of rising air indicates entry into a thermal. The challenge of soaring in a thermal is to keep the glider in the narrow column of air by flying it in precise circles to maintain the greatest upward speed. The ability to find thermals, often extending thousands of feet up from the surface, allows pilots to move from one thermal to another, increasing altitude with each thermal, thus enabling great altitudes, distances, and durations.

LAND AND SEA BREEZE FLYING

Land and sea breezes are caused by wind changes near the shoreline that create differential temperatures of the land and sea at different times of the day. In land and sea breeze flying, glider pilots, like birds that gracefully

glide there, take advantage of these alternating breezes to soar into the headwinds they produce.

RIDGE FLYING

In ridge flying pilots find updrafts that are produced when wind strikes the side of a vertical terrain feature such as a hill, mountain, or ridge line at an angle of about 90 degrees, producing updrafts on the side of the feature from which the wind is blowing. Gliders in such updrafts have flown in ridge “lift” without descending for hundreds of miles at great speeds. Flights of more than 1,000 kilometers are not unusual in the strong ridge lift behind fast-moving weather fronts.

Birds of a Feather

The popularity of air sports generally, and soaring specifically, has increased significantly during the last several decades. Structure and uniformity in management were needed to develop the sport and devise accepted rules of competition among pilots and nations. As a result, most nations in which any organized air sport is conducted have formed National Aero Clubs to represent them to the world governing body for air sports, the Federation Aeronautique Internationale (FAI), headquartered in Paris. Each air sport is represented within the FAI by a group from member nations that participate in that sport. These groups make rules for their respective sports and administer their activities internationally. The representative group for soaring is the International Gliding Commission (IGC).

The IGC makes rules by which world soaring competitions are conducted, approves claims for glider world records, awards badges to recognize skill and accomplishment by pilots, and otherwise administers international conduct of soaring as a sport.

World Competition

Each country, through its National Aero Club, local glider clubs, and commercial soaring enterprises, conducts local, regional, and national competitions to reward skill and to select persons to represent it in various

levels of competition. Pilots who compete at the international level do so as representatives of their National Aero Club under the umbrella and sanction of the FAI.

The first world championship of soaring was held in 1937 at Wasserkuppe, Germany. No championships were held during World War II or shortly thereafter. Now, during every odd calendar year, the FAI sanctions a world gliding championship for each of the three classes (open, 15-meter, and standard). The world championship is usually held during a three-week period, with the first week devoted to practice and the last two weeks to competition.

At the twenty-sixth World Gliding Championship in Bayreuth, Germany, in 1999 Giorgio Galetto of Italy won the 15-meter class; Holger Karow of Germany won the open class; and Jean-Marc Caillard of France won the standard class. The Nation’s Cup Trophy went to the eight pilots of the German team.

Phases of soaring competition are called “tasks.” Each day at the world championship, for example, pilots fly around a specifically assigned course comprised of clearly defined turn points on the ground. These turn points are prominent road intersections, the ends of airfield runways, or other distinctly identifiable geographical landmarks over which pilots must fly.

During world championships before 1995 pilots were required to photograph turn points to prove they had flown the prescribed course. However, beginning in 1995, pilots carried a “data-logger” that electronically records time, position, and altitude using signals received from satellites of the Global Positioning System (GPS).

When pilots are ready to begin the day’s task, they fly over the landmark that defines the starting point. Then they fly each turn point, in order, until returning to the finish point. After the flight GPS data are downloaded into a computer for display, analysis, and scoring. The pilot with the fastest speed around the course is the daily winner. Other pilots are awarded points based on the ratio of their speeds to that of the winner’s. Points are accumulated during the competition to determine the champion in each class.

Some people think football is a matter of life and death. I don't like that attitude. I can assure them it is much more serious than that. ■ BILL SHANKLY

Levels of Accomplishment

The FAI awards badges to recognize milestones in soaring: The Silver, Gold, and Diamond badges signify accomplishment for height attained, distance flown, and duration achieved. The Silver badge is the first level of international soaring recognition, intended to foster self-reliance in a new pilot. The requirements for this badge are completion of a flight of at least 50 kilometers over a straight course, an altitude gain of at least 1,000 meters, and a flight duration of at least five hours. The Gold badge requires a distance flight of at least 300 kilometers, an altitude gain of at least 3,000 meters, and a flight duration of at least five hours. The Diamond badge is awarded for completion of three separate tasks: a flight, flown in designated turn point sequence, of at least 300 kilometers over an out-and-return course; a flight of at least 500 kilometers; and an altitude gain of more than 5,000 meters.

Walter D. Miller

See also Hang Gliding

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Soccer

Soccer—known as “football” in most of the world—is the world’s most popular sport. It involves two teams of eleven members trying to kick a ball into a goal, although it is often played in less organized ways. The modern sport was developed in England during the nineteenth century, evolving from older ball games that were played across the globe, with perhaps the oldest forms existing in China.

Origins

Modern soccer evolved from games played in England’s elite “public” education system. Here ball games, usually known as football, were used to discipline boys and to build their character both as individual leaders and as socially useful team players. Underpinning the values that football was thought to cultivate were ideas of masculinity and Christian conviction. The notion of “muscular Christianity” deemed that men should be chivalrous and champions of the weak but also physically strong and robust. The belief that such qualities would create the right sort of men to lead the British empire led to a cult of athleticism within English public schools. Football thus came to be a prominent feature of life for these schoolboys, as evoked in Thomas Hughes’s 1857 novel *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*.

Schools developed their own rules for football, which made interschool matches and games in the universities problematic. Thus, people attempted to draw up common rules; this attempt culminated in the formation of the Football Association (FA) at a meeting at a London inn in 1863. The FA drew up a set of rules that was to

**“The Association Game”
in rural England.**

become the basis of modern soccer. However, disagreements emerged at the meeting over the legitimacy of hacking (kicking an opponent in the shins) and the extent to which handling the ball should be allowed. These disagreements meant that the FA’s new rules did not find universal acceptance in all schools, and proponents of handling the ball and hacking, which were

deemed more manly, formed the Rugby Football Union in 1871. Football was thus divided into soccer (alternatively known as “association football”) and rugby football. The term *soccer* evolved as public-school boys corrupted the word *association* into slang.

As boys left school, they wanted to continue playing and thus formed clubs with their friends, either at college or in the wider world. Because these young men went into positions of influence in industry, teaching, the military, the church, and professions such as the law or colonial service, they had not only the resources to form such clubs but also the social influence to get other people, including workers, involved. Many former public and grammar school students continued to be driven by the values of the cult of athleticism that they had learned at school. They thus saw moral benefits to teaching the masses to play. In this way soccer quickly spread both geographically and socially. In the English provinces many of the early promoters of organized soccer were from the lower middle classes and even the skilled workforce. Soccer probably was taken up by the lower classes with such speed because of surviving traditions of ball games. Thus, the organized version of soccer that emerged from the public schools was not a completely alien cultural phenomenon to the lower classes.

Integral to the sport’s development during the late nineteenth century was the development of cup competitions. The first such competition was the FA Cup, founded in 1871 and still the oldest soccer competition



in the world. It involved teams being randomly paired in rounds, with each winner progressing to the next round. This progression continued until just two teams were left to meet in the “cup final.” The FA Cup added some purpose and excitement to the emerging sport of soccer. At a time of growing urbanization, it drew on and fed rivalries between towns and was instrumental in turning soccer into something that people watched rather than just played. Cup competitions were also an opportunity for gambling and attracted upbeat newspaper coverage. Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, as well as most of the English counties, soon followed the example of the FA Cup and established their own competitions, thus further cementing the sport’s popularity across Britain. Underpinned by the popularity of cup soccer, soccer emerged during the 1880s and 1890s as something resembling the modern sport, although the rules were subject to constant refinement. In the industrial north of England the growing crowds began to be charged for the privilege of watching and were hosted in purpose-built grounds. The first men to be paid to play were industrial workers who were offered jobs in return for playing for a club that sought to raise its reputation in the burgeoning sport. Other players were offered specific fees for matches. The response to such practices, particularly among the middle classes of the south of England, was not always favorable. Many people felt that playing for money undermined the sporting and manly characteristics of soccer. Such tensions were

fed as the FA Cup showed that the northern professionalized teams were more effective and successful. Arguments over professionalism were thus tinged with class and regional prejudices and were essentially about the meaning and future of the sport. After northern teams threatened to break away and form their own association, the southern-dominated FA reluctantly legalized professionalism in 1885 in order to retain control of the sport.

With clubs now committed to paying players and charging spectators, they sought new ways to raise their income. In 1888 the Football League was founded with twelve teams from the Midlands and northern England who played each other on a home and away basis. This arrangement ensured regular competitive soccer beyond the world of cup competitions and did much to raise the profile and popularity of soccer. Like the FA Cup, the Football League was also to become a model for national soccer competitions in every country of the world.

By the end of the 1890s the leading Football League clubs could attract crowds of more than twenty thousand. Like the professional teams they watched and cheered, working-class men dominated these crowds, although small numbers of middle-class men and women supporters attended, too. Soccer thus came to be regarded as a “people’s game,” but the reality was more complex. The cost of attending matches put soccer beyond the reach of much of the unskilled and semiskilled workforce. The clubs and competitions were governed and administered by the middle classes, who kept a tight control over the contractual freedom and pay of their players. Thus, although soccer gave many working men much pleasure, the sport remained within the confines of wider material and political conditions.

Beyond Britain

The foundations of modern soccer were firmly established in Britain by the end of the nineteenth century. While its popularity and gradual acceptance as part of national culture continued in Britain during the first half of the twentieth century, the sport also began to spread

beyond British shores. There the role of British trade and the British Empire was key. Britain was the globe’s most powerful economic and political force during the nineteenth century. British men thus traveled the world and took their favorite sports with them, setting up clubs and teaching others to play. Similarly, many people from elsewhere in Europe came to learn or work in Britain, discovered soccer, and took the sport home with them. This popularity was not rooted just in the simplicity and excitement of soccer; it also owed something to the fashionability and prestige that British culture enjoyed overseas. As soccer established itself in urbanized western and northern Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, its new continental proponents began to play a role in its diffusion. The famous team FC Barcelona, for example, was set up in 1899 by a mixture of Swiss, German, and British young men who had learned soccer at college.

The spread of soccer across the rest of Europe was, of course, uneven, even within individual nations. In France, a country that pioneered the international administration of the sport, not until after World War I did soccer establish itself fully in the south of the country. In Germany and France soccer was often viewed as foreign and inferior to gymnastics. Some people saw the spread of soccer as a threat to established national, regional, and local traditions of play. In Bavaria soccer was actually banned until 1913. However, during the interwar years soccer became firmly established as the leading spectator sport across most of industrial Europe. The use of soccer as a means of entertaining troops during World War I was one important cause of soccer’s success. The development of international matches was another. The first international match took place between England and Scotland in 1872, but between the two world wars such matches became quite common on the continent and were used as a source of national pride and prestige, most obviously in the fascist dictatorships of Italy and Germany. As soccer’s popularity was cemented during the 1920s in continental Europe, the sport also became professionalized there. Again, this professionalization was neither universal

Anyone can cook aloo gobi, but who can bend a ball like Beckham? ■ PARMINDER NAGRA AS JESS IN "BEND IT LIKE BECKHAM"

nor even. West German soccer did not become professional on a full-time basis until 1963.

South America was the first continent beyond Europe where soccer took a grip. Again, the influence of the British was key. British emigres, brought to Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay by trade opportunities and links, set up teams, sometimes inviting the local population to play with them, sometimes seeing their efforts imitated by local elites. Other clubs owed their origins to members of the South American social elite who were educated in Europe. Traces of the British influence are still visible today, with some leading clubs, such as River Plate and Boca Juniors, having English names. Not until 1903 were the sport's rules translated into Spanish and the Argentine Football Association began holding meetings in Spanish. As the sport shifted from its British origins, it became less socially exclusive, spreading to the urban masses and becoming an integral part of their popular culture. In 1916 a South American soccer association (CONMEBOL) was formed and the first South American championship, now known as the "Copa America," competed for.

Soccer also spread to other continents, but it did not attain the huge popularity that it achieved in Europe and South America. A short-lived professional league was formed in the United States in 1894, but its popularity was patchy and largely rooted in urban European immigrant communities. The sport's diffusion in colonial Asia and Africa was hindered by local political and ethnic tensions, whereas in Australasia and North America soccer was overshadowed by already developed local versions of football.

Television Era

In the post-1945 world the mass media drove soccer to new heights of popularity across the globe. Newspaper and magazine coverage continued to foster an interest in the sport, while radio coverage allowed those fans unable to attend matches to share in its excitement. Television took this immediacy even further, particularly from the mid-1960s when technical developments in close-ups and replays meant that watching a match on

television allowed a spectator to both see more of the action and not suffer the discomfort of being in a stadium that often was cold, dated, and uncomfortable. A realization of this fact made soccer's authorities often distrustful of television's interest in broadcasting matches. They feared that attendances would fall as people stayed home to watch rather than pay to attend a match. Such fears underestimated the appeal of the atmosphere and communal experience of a live match. The potential that television held for boosting rather than undermining the general popularity of soccer became apparent with the success of broadcasts of the World Cup and, to a lesser extent, European club competitions. Technical developments during the 1960s and 1970s allowed such matches to be watched live across the globe, turning the global sport into a shared global experience.

Television also extended the potential for the commercial exploitation of soccer. Since the advent of professionalism, soccer had been run on business lines in capitalist countries, but rarely was profit a key motive for club owners. Instead, most financial surpluses tended to be used to improve the team or its ground. With television the potential for sponsorship and advertising increased significantly. Most obviously, during the 1980s sponsors' names began to appear on team shirts, and competitions were renamed after sponsors. The large audiences that televised soccer attracted appealed to advertisers, pushing up the fees that broadcasters were willing to pay for the rights to matches. During the 1990s these broadcasting fees spiraled as the decline of hooliganism improved soccer's image and as its owners and administrators developed more commercial mind-sets. Instead of using this increased income to secure their financial futures, clubs splurged the income on players' wages, turning the sport's stars into multimillionaires. Across the globe, apart from the most popular clubs such as Real Madrid or Manchester United, soccer's financial base remains unstable. Accompanying such developments has been an increasingly fluid and globalized labor market for players. Leading clubs across the developed world hire the best

players they can attract, regardless of their origin, turning their teams into multilingual symbols of globalization. Such cosmopolitan teams have furthered the trend that television began, as fans often support teams from places with which they have no personal connection.

Although the fame and fortunes of players have risen, the social structure of supporters has remained more static. Soccer remains a sport of the masses across the globe, although it has also always drawn significant support from the middle class. In Europe during the 1990s clubs sought to pay for players' wages and the modernization of their stadiums by increasing ticket prices. This practice priced live soccer beyond the means of some of its supporters, but the reach of the mass media meant that the sport's emotional pull remains strong for such fans. Indeed, with increased television coverage, the age and gender boundaries of soccer fans perhaps expanded. An estimated 1.3 billion people watched the 1998 World Cup final on television. The level of commitment to soccer amongst members of this vast audience obviously varied significantly. However, for many people across the globe, soccer remains an integral part of life, a sport that, via the loyalty felt toward individual clubs, adds structure and meaning to life.

Such loyalty has not always been for the good. Racism, crowd disorder, and violence have been a problem throughout soccer's history. Before the 1960s soccer hooliganism was associated with continental Europe, but then people began to view it as the "English disease." Hooliganism's form varied across different cultures and periods, but it usually was characterized by fighting between opposing fans. Although occasionally resulting in deaths, hooliganism was more typically based on show and scuffles than serious violence. In 1980s Europe many hooligan groups developed fashionable dress codes and became clearly identifiable subcultures of their own. Sociologists have debated soccer hooliganism's causes, with explanations varying from economically and politically oppressed young men venting their frustrations to people simply enjoying fighting. In Europe the growth of all-seater stadiums and close-circuit television has led to a decline in the overt hooli-

ganism of previous decades, although it continues to take place on a reduced scale away from soccer grounds and at some international tournaments.

For many men soccer has been a key part of their masculinity, something they were socialized into at young age, a sport that allowed them to gain the respect of their peers and display their emotions and a sense of communal identity in an uninhibited fashion. Yet, for all its association with maleness, soccer is also played and watched by women. The earliest women's matches were played in England during the 1890s, but women players struggled against the characterization of soccer as something inherently manly. The disruption of social norms during World War I led to a temporary upsurge in women's soccer in parts of western Europe, but not until the wider movement for the social liberation of women during the 1960s and 1970s did women's soccer gradually, and often grudgingly, begin to win acceptance from soccer's male authorities and supporters. Although a women's World Cup began in 1991 and was included in the Olympics from 1996, across most of the world women's soccer continues to struggle to escape the shadow of the men's sport.

North America is the one part of the globe where soccer has not dominated spectator sports. In North America soccer has struggled against the popularity of baseball, U.S. football, and basketball, all of which claim to be more authentically American. However, the fortunes of soccer in the United States seemed to increase during the late 1970s. Some clubs in the North American Soccer League (NASL), most notably the New York Cosmos, brought in great foreign talents such as Pelé and Franz Beckenbauer and attracted crowds comparable with those of the largest European clubs. However, the NASL failed to become financially sustainable and closed in 1985. The desire of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), soccer's world governing body, to break into the North American market led it to hold the 1994 World Cup in the United States—a decision treated with some skepticism around the rest of the globe. The tournament was a success and led to the reintroduction of a national professional

league in the United States but it did not lead to a major breakthrough in soccer's overall popularity there. However, soccer's North American profile (together with women's soccer in general) was boosted in 1999 when the United States hosted and won the Women's World Cup, with 40 million people watching the final in the United States alone. Today soccer remains overshadowed in U.S. culture by other sports, but its popularity as a participatory sport continues to grow steadily, especially among girls and middle-class children.

Nature of the Sport

Soccer can be reduced to two teams trying to place the ball into a recognizable goal and outfield players being prohibited from touching the ball or wrestling or hacking each other. The field of play, numbers of players, and duration of a match can all be changed without destroying the sport's essence. Furthermore, the basic skills of kicking and controlling the ball are not difficult to master. This simplicity and adaptability have underpinned the sport's popularity and diffusion, allowing it to be played everywhere from the beach to the street.

Even in its organized form, soccer has only seventeen rules. These rules have been subject to ongoing refinement, and their simplicity belies the intricacy of the skills, tactics, and ebb and flow of the sport. The adult-organized form requires eleven players on a team, with one player nominated as goalkeeper and able to handle the ball in the defined penalty area. It is played on a marked grass pitch (playing field) that is a maximum of 110 meters long and 69–91 meters wide, with goals 7.3 meters wide and 2.5 meters high and constructed of metal posts with nets. Matches last for ninety minutes, with the winner being the team who scores the most goals, although ties are permissible in league competitions. The settling of tied matches in tournaments and cup competitions has been a controversial issue. Replays, extra time, and penalty shootouts all are used. Yet, ties remain a normal part of soccer and separate it from many other sports.

Of course, the tactics of soccer have evolved during its history. During its public school infancy soccer

was based around each player dribbling the ball toward the goal and then shooting or seeking to regain possession if tackled. As soccer took off with the British working class, it evolved into a more fluid passing game with the emphasis on team play. This led to a clear demarcation of different roles for players within teams and the gradual establishment of essentially attacking and defending roles. During the interwar years defensive positions began to take on more importance in tactics, despite a change in the offside rules in 1925 intended to create a more attacking game that would be more attractive to paying spectators. Stopping goals increasingly became easier than scoring them, putting creative players—those who were routinely able to pass the ball to a teammate in a goal-scoring position or dribble past defenders with a mixture of skill and speed—at a premium. Yet, not until the 1960s did teams begin to assign more players to primarily defensive duties than to attacking ones. Defensive play and the tight marking of opponents became particularly common in Italian soccer. A brief and entertaining departure from the emphasis on not conceding goals came from the Dutch national teams of the 1970s. Playing a system christened “total football,” all players were supposed to be able to both attack and defend, thus breaking down the rigidity of positional play. Today the 4-4-2 system (four defenders, four midfielders, and two attackers) dominates the professional sport across the globe.

The nature of soccer fandom, like the sport itself, is based around oppositions: To support a team is also to have a rival. This dyadic role explains why soccer is such a powerful source of both individual and collective identities. Across the globe some of the strongest team rivalries are infused by wider ethnic, economic, religious, or political tensions. Fandom can take on religion-like qualities for many supporters, most of whom have an unrivaled passion for a single team. A team's ground holds a deep emotional significance, players are worshipped (both as individuals and as team members), and rituals surround the match-day experience. The rituals of match day vary across cultures,



Milan's famous football stadium, Stadio Giuseppe Meazza, more commonly known as the San Siro.

Source: istockphoto/AlamarPhotography.

but demonstrative show is central, with fans wearing team colors and singing or chanting to declare their support.

Competition at the Top

Soccer's most important competition is the World Cup, staged every four years and comparable to—maybe superior to—the Olympics in prestige. The first World Cup tournament was held in Uruguay in 1930 and was won by the host country, competing against just twelve other countries. The World Cup's popularity grew quickly, and a qualifying competition was used for the next tournament in Italy in 1934. The extensive global television coverage that the tournament received from 1970 onward made it worthy of its title. By 1982 the final tournament was expanded to twenty-four teams, and, although still dominated by Europe, the allocation of places became somewhat more representative of the global spread of the sport's popularity. The final tournament was expanded to thirty-two teams in France in 1998, when its sixty-four matches were watched by 2.7 million in the stadiums and a total of 37 billion people on television. For participating nations the competition often creates a temporary but strong sense of unity that cuts across class and regional divisions as people join to support their nation's team.

Brazil has been the outstanding nation in the tournament's history, winning the cup five times. International competitions are also held by every continental soccer

confederation, although none matches the prestige or popularity of the World Cup. In Asia, and particularly Africa, these competitions are rooted in the spirit of the postcolonial era, as soccer began to flourish and to be used by newly independent countries as a symbol of national pride and of a

wider sense of unity among such countries. In 2002 the World Cup was jointly hosted by South Korea and Japan—the first time it had been held outside Europe and the Americas. The 2010 World Cup will be held in South Africa—the first time either it or the Olympics have been held on that continent.

Soccer was introduced to the Olympics in 1900. Olympic soccer enjoyed some prestige during the 1920s but was quickly superseded by the World Cup and suffered from the problem that the best players were increasingly professionals. Even after the Olympics were professionalized, FIFA has remained largely un-supportive of the Olympic game, fearing a rival for its World Cup. Since 1992 Olympics soccer has taken the form of an under-twenty-three competition.

In club soccer the European Cup, now known as the "Champions League," is the most prestigious event. It was begun in 1955 as a competition for winners of the various European leagues. European club games, played on midweek evenings and made possible by the growth of air travel and the development of floodlights, created a meaningful European soccer community. The lure of television money led to the competition expanding during the early 1990s, changing from a knockout competition to a mini-league format in its early rounds. The most successful European countries (where the television market was also the greatest) were awarded extra places, and England, Italy, and Spain now provide four teams each to the competition. The monetary rewards of qualifying for the Champions League have become

The commonest jockey-boy in this company of mannikins can usually earn more than the average scholar or professional man, and the whole set receive a good deal more of adulation than has been bestowed on any soldier, sailor, explorer, or scientific man of our generation. ■ J. RUNCIMAN

so great that for most clubs it now takes precedence over domestic trophies.

Like the history of all sports, soccer's history is filled with stars who have excited crowds. The most famous player in history is Pelé (b. 1940). Raised in Brazilian slums, he embodied that country's obsession with artistic soccer but he was also subjected to attempts by Brazil's dictatorship to exploit his status to promote its own standing. Other stars who have influenced how people thought and played the sport include Stanley Matthews (1915–2000, England), Franz Beckenbauer (b. 1945, Germany), and Johan Cruyff (b. 1947, Netherlands).

Governing Body

Soccer is governed by FIFA, formed in 1904 by a group of European nations. Its initial membership of 7 had reached 73 by 1950 and 204 by 2004. FIFA is responsible for organizing the World Cup, but responsibility for the rules of soccer lies with the International Football Association Board, consisting of four voting representatives from FIFA and one each from the soccer associations of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, a legacy of the early respect for Britain's pioneering role. FIFA's governance has not been uncontroversial. In particular, it has faced tensions over the relative power and influence of the different continental associations. The Union des Associations Européennes de Football has remained particularly influential, mostly because of the greater television money available in Europe. At the 2006 World Cup fourteen of the thirty-two places will be awarded to European teams. In contrast, Africa—which, like Europe, entered fifty-two teams into the qualifying competition—will receive only five places.

Soccer is organized into continental confederations: the Asian Football Confederation (formed 1954), Confédération Africaine de Football (formed 1957), Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football (formed 1961), Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol (formed 1916), Oceania Football Confederation (formed 1966), and Union des Associations Européennes de Football (formed 1954). FIFA

has more members than the United Nations—a clear indication of the popularity of soccer.

Martin Johnes

See also Maracana Stadium; Wembley Stadium; Women's World Cup; World Cup

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Social Class and Sport

Sports are activities often based on the physical capacity and strategy of participants involved and are intended to allow for competition among others that showcases talent and effort. Sport is an aspect of virtually all contemporary societies and is often viewed as an institution in modern countries. From a sociological viewpoint, sport as an institution in society serves as a system that often reflects broader issues by mirroring both the best and worst of human characteristics.

Sporting competitions balance social inequalities because social injustices are rarely, if ever, displayed on the fields of play. Sport is also thought by many to even transcend societal boundary issues. However, while the pristine nature of competition exists on the field, extraneous factors affecting sport are nonetheless omnipresent.



One sociological factor intersecting with sport is the stratification of social class.

A social class refers to a category of people based upon a common economic and social position. Social class intersects with various aspects of sport including sport participation and social mobility through sport, which will further be discussed.

Two important aspects should be noted concerning the intersection of social class and sport. First, there are sports that are popular and supposedly transcend class structure. Sports such as football and baseball are two examples of spectator sports that minimize class distinctions. These sports are enjoyed across social classes and participation restrictions are often minimal. However, spectators of these sports are separated by social class in terms of economics through quality of seats and number of attended games.

Second, social class is difficult to define in terms of categorizing groups of people. Most people in the United States, for example, would classify themselves as middle class or belonging to a subtier of the middle class (upper, middle, lower). Therefore, this article will discuss more extreme levels of social class as a means of articulating specific differences.

Sport Participation

Pierre Bourdieu, a social theorist who devoted his study to sport and leisure issues, observed that “sport, like any other practice, is an object of struggles between the fractions of the dominant class and also between social classes” (Bourdieu 1986, cited in Jarvie & Maquire 1994, 193). In essence, sport is an arena of society where struggles exist between social groups and it often perpetuates the status quo of class structure.

Research on sport participation has revealed a relationship between social class and participation in sport. For instance, members of upper and upper middle classes are more likely to participate in sports than members of working classes. However, participants of the upper middle classes are limited to specific activities. These activities are usually individually based as op-

posed to team sports and are consistent with general preferences and tastes of upper-class groups. These sports emphasize “highbrow” activities that are considered to distinguish the elite class from the rest of society. Examples of sports preferred by the upper middle class include golf, tennis, and skiing. These sports emphasize aesthetics and individualism and deemphasize team play and physical toughness.

Research has also revealed that members of the working class are less likely overall to participate in sports than higher classes. When they do participate in sports, members of the working class are more active in team sports, often sponsored by local businesses, employers, churches, and recreation departments. In addition, members of lower social groups are more likely to participate in sports that emphasize utilizing the body as an instrument, in terms of strength and physical toughness. Examples of sports favored by the working class include basketball, auto racing, and boxing. These types of sports have previously been labeled as “prole” sports, after the term “proletariat.”

There are various reasons for these differences in amount and choice of sport participation reflected in the different social classes. Two main concepts in social research literature that are important to examine are social exclusion and social capital. These concepts are not independent of one another but rather often intersect. This article examines factors that affect sport participation within the realm of social class.

Economics

Social exclusion refers to “encompassing not only low material means but the inability to participate effectively in social, political, and cultural life” (Walker & Walker 1997, 8). Social exclusion or restriction in sport is caused by intervening constraints that reduce a social class’s participation in some sporting activities. Intervening constraints refer to obvious barriers to participation such as facility dues, transportation, and equipment expenses. These intervening constraints are reflected through differences in economic means. Higher economic means afford some groups the luxury of bypassing these barriers



Social Class

Althea Gibson—A Lady and a Tiger

Those days, I probably would have been more at home training in Stillman's Gym than at the Cosmopolitan Club. I really wasn't the tennis type. But the polite manners of the game, that seemed so silly to me at first, gradually began to appeal to me. So did the pretty white clothes. I had trouble as a competitor because I kept wanting to fight the other player every time I started to lose a match After a while I began to understand that you could walk out on the court like a lady, all dressed up in immaculate white, be polite to everybody, and still play like a tiger and beat the liver and lights out of the ball. I remember thinking to myself that it was kind of like a matador going into the bull ring, beautifully dressed, bowing in all directions, following the fancy rules to the letter, and all the time having nothing in mind except sticking that sword into the bull's guts and killing him as dead as hell. I probably picked up that notion from some movie I saw

The Cosmopolitan members were the highest class of Harlem people and they had rigid ideas about what was socially acceptable behavior. They were undoubtedly more strict than white people of similar position, for the obvious reason that they felt they had to be doubly careful in order to overcome the prejudiced attitude that all Negroes lived eight to a room in dirty houses and drank gin all day and settled all their arguments with knives. I'm ashamed to say I was

still living pretty wild. I was supposed to be looking for a job but. . . the hardest work I did, aside from practicing tennis, was to report to the Welfare ladies once a week, tell them how I was getting along, and pick up my allowance. . . . I guess it would have been too much to expect me to change completely right away. Actually, I realize now that every day I played tennis and got more interested in the game, I was changing a little bit. I just wasn't aware of it One of the days I remember best at the Cosmopolitan Club was the day Alice Marble played an exhibition match there. I can still remember saying to myself, boy, would I like to be able to play tennis like that! She was the only woman tennis player I'd ever seen that I felt exactly that way about. Until I saw her, I'd always had eyes only for the good men players. But her effectiveness of strike, and the power that she had, impressed me terrifically. Basically, or course, it was the aggressiveness behind her game that I liked. Watching her smack that effortless serve, and then follow it into the net and put the ball away with an overhead as good as any man's, I saw possibilities in the game of tennis that I had never seen before. . . . I had no way of knowing then that when the time came for me to be up for an invitation to play at Forest Hills, my biggest supporter aside from a handful of my own people would be this same Alice Marble. . . .

Gibson, A. & Fitzgerald, E. E. (1958). *I always wanted to be somebody*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

and grant freedom to participate in any given sport. However, lower-income groups must confront and overcome these intervening constraints in order to participate.

An example of intervening constraints that affect sport participation can be witnessed in public school athletic programs. An increasingly widespread strategy adopted by public schools is the "pay for play" approach. This philosophy requires all participants to pay specific athletic fees for each sport, which have sharply increased in previous years. According to records of two public schools in Ohio, fees range from \$425 to

\$630 per sport. Imposing these fees reduces the involvement in sport of students from the working class. Thus, the possibility arises that teams could be mostly comprised of children from affluent families. These fees provide an example of an economic (intervening) constraint that reduces lower-income people's opportunities to participate in sport and in many cases excludes working classes altogether.

Social marginalization of the working classes in sport also occurs through economic constraints imposed upon them by higher-income groups. Higher-income

groups perpetuate the status quo of class distinction in certain sports. Upper-middle-class sports including golf, tennis, rowing, and swimming are essentially “adopted” and promoted as select sports by the upper middle class. This restriction of sports by upper classes occurs because economic (intervening) conditions essentially bar participation from lower-income groups. Affluent groups often participate in these aforementioned sports through expensive private clubs in fashionable neighborhoods and the cost of participating in these sports through this avenue is high. Consequently, youth involved in these sports encounter equipment fees, travel expenses, and coaching costs. Youth from lower-income classes are often relegated to insufficient public facilities, lack of quality instruction, and poor equipment. Hence, the quality experience of youth in different social classes within the same sport helps perpetuate the status quo of participation in these types of sports.

Social Capital

Social capital within the context of sport represents preferences, skills, and knowledge collectively possessed by a specific social class. Social capital is mostly derived from one’s education, upbringing, and lifestyle and these factors affect sport participation. The concept of social capital in many ways is a more powerful factor of participation in sport across social classes. While economic means allow members from the upper classes to indulge in various sporting activities, the concept of social capital confines sport participation within respective social classes. These limits of sport participation not only occur from a top-down perspective, but also occur across social classes.

Antecedent constraints are a social class’s access to “economic, social, cultural, and symbolic forms of capital” (Bourdieu 1986, cited in Collins & Buller 2003, 423). Antecedent constraints differ from intervening constraints because most are obscure social differences that lead to specific sporting opportunities. Plainly stated, numerous antecedent constraints, in the form of lifestyle and upbringing, restrict access to other class values, thus denying involvement in certain sports.

According to social learning theory, people acquire these preferences of sport through reference groups within their respective social classes. Reference groups (e.g., family, peers, coaches, teachers, etc.) serve as socializing agents, which establish a social class’s group norms and values. It is suggested that lifestyle differences among social classes affect the preferences and tastes of certain sports over others. Sports that are supported and encouraged by one’s immediate reference group are also reflective of the preferences and tastes of the overall social class.

An example of the influence of social capital on sport consumption involves “prole” sports. Working classes are more likely to be involved with “prole” sports and are reflective of social class on the basis of access to social capital. Working class values and lifestyle choices emphasize sports that contain physical toughness, speed, and physical pose. These characteristics suggest that the preferences and tastes of working classes highlight and reward sports with excitement, aggression, and violent performances. The use of the body in sport also exemplifies working classes’ access to social capital. Working classes support prole sports that often view the body as a means to experience excitement. In this sense, the body is viewed as a tool to accentuate working class values of aggression and physical prowess in sport. Prime examples of sports that emphasize these characteristics include basketball and boxing. These physical sports emphasize the social capital of the working class consistent with rewarding excitement and aggression.

Upper middle classes avoid prole sports because the preferences and tastes associated with these sports are not consistent with upper-middle-class values. High-income groups favor sports that stress aesthetic performances and devalue sports of toughness and hard labor. Upper-middle-class values also assert that sports are viewed as an end in themselves, enjoyed for the sake of enjoyment, and are consistent with activities that highlight high culture. The social capital of upper middle classes is consistent with displaying one’s status and wealth. These acts of showcasing wealth on sport

consumption involve the avoidance of certain sports associated with working classes. Thus, this avoidance of certain sports is an example of the upper-class snobbery exhibited toward “lower” sports classes.

Social class participation in certain sports enforces the existing structure of society. In terms of access to social capital, this perpetuation of preferences and values of sport occurs through interactions with people similar to themselves. This direct link of social support and networking is one signifier of maintaining the social class’s ideals. This reinforcement of social capital occurs within working-class and upper-middle-class sports.

The existing structure of sport in society is also reinforced through direct descendants. Within any social class, children are direct beneficiaries of the available reference groups of their parents. Children from lower-income classes may gain entrance into sports that do not require extensive parental involvement, whereas children from upper-middle-class families have access to certain sports as a direct result of their parents’ involvement. Thus, children’s involvement with certain sports may be predisposed by the available access and involvement of their parents.

It is interesting to examine how sports participation can in fact symbolically determine one’s social class. America’s large middle class has various tiers and sport as an institution may serve as a distinguisher of social class. In essence, participation in sports associated with specific economic and social capital access can be an indicator of a specific social class. The consumption of sports associated with a particular social class may redefine the boundaries of what is essentially defined as social class.

Basketball

While traditional basketball often transcends societal boundaries, a form that is represented by lower-income classes is “streetball.” Streetball restricts participation from other social classes mostly through access to social capital. Streetball is essentially basketball, but maintains working-class preferences and values through the style, physicality, and location of the sport. The nature

of streetball stems from the way one wins as opposed to whether one wins. Style and originality are of utmost importance and are considered a barrier to entry if one does not have the physical “moves” required to participate. Creativity and expressiveness on the court, in the form of language, is also an important aspect of the sport. The language of streetball is synonymous with having a verbal repartee that enables players to articulate putdowns and demonstrate toughness. These traits are reflective of lower-income classes because of the appreciation of aggressive and physical play.

The location of streetball is also a factor toward the exclusion of other social classes’ involvement. Inner-city parks and playgrounds—havens for streetball—are often located in unsafe neighborhoods. Nonetheless, these courts provide a sense of community derived through people’s involvement. The court is seen as a place where respect is important and is earned through continuous play. Outsiders or people from other areas must play “hard” in order to be accepted. A court such as Rucker Park in New York City is an example of a court where legends of the street game were made and professionals still visit to showcase their talent.

Golf

Upper-class involvement within golf is perpetuated by both economic means and access to social capital. Rich white males often construct the rules of exclusionary policies within the golfing community. These policies are designed to maintain the “grass ceiling” against people on the basis of race, gender, and socioeconomic status. These practices are commonplace in many golf clubs, which are able to do so under the moniker of “private.” This section will highlight the issue of social class, although there is an intersection of exclusion among these groups.

From an economic standpoint, typical costs of participating in golf include clubs, bags, balls, and shoes. Even practicing golf costs money with the inclusion of range balls. These participatory costs of golf are severely opposed to other sports that require minimal space and supply costs. The median cost for a round of



Social Class

The Well-Dressed Hunter

The following list of the clothing and equipment needed for a two-month-long expedition in a temperate climate illustrates the relative luxury that an upper-class hunter deemed “essential” in 1895.

Two tweed suits

One buckskin shirt

Two tweed caps

Four flannel shirts

Four pairs of flannel drawers

Six pairs of woolen socks or stockings

Moccasins: the number of these depends entirely upon the nature of the shooting. After ibex, I have worn out a pair in a morning, but for ordinary work a pair of good thick moccasins should last four or five days

Eight handkerchiefs: not white, but some dull colour which will not attract attention from afar, if inadvertently pulled out in sight of game.

One pair of short waterproof boots (gum boots)

One waterproof cape, such as is made by Cording; an armless contrivance, very light and portable, used I think by cyclists

Three pairs of blankets, one waterproof sheet, one air-cushion

One belt of webbing for cartridges

One pair of loose buckskin gloves, one pair of woolen mitts

One boating sweater

Source: Phillips-Wooley, C. (1895). *Big game shooting* (p. 389). London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

golf in the United States is around \$40, while a round of golf at a premier public course can cost upwards to \$110. By comparison, the first-year cost of membership at a private course (including initiation, ownership, and yearly dues) can exceed \$30,000. In addition, advancing to higher levels in golf requires sufficient economic means for facilities, private instruction, and quality equipment. The high economic requirements of golf enable only those without economic restrictions to participate.

Beyond economic means, upper middle classes also have access to the social capital surrounding golf, and these preferences, tastes, and practices are used to legitimize their position and restrict outside participation. These practices of the structure of golf include specific rules and etiquette, which are deemed essential to playing the game. In order to participate, one must therefore assimilate a role of supporting the existing structure. These specific practices of desirable behavior maintain influence over who participates. Lower-income groups often lack the network support needed to gain entry into golf's culture. Without this direct link to a social support system, participating in golf is still viewed

as a luxury often incongruent with the lifestyle of working classes.

Social Mobility

Social mobility can occur in conjunction with sport and is defined as changes in social class through improved economic situations, education, and vocational advances. In view of this, does sport as an institution in society serve as a vehicle for upward social mobility? In this context, sport is examined as an institution for social mobility, and not viewed as a developmental, social, or character-building agent often common with sport participation.

Professional Sports

Obvious financial rewards are present for athletes who “make it” to the professional level of the National Basketball Association, National Football League, National Hockey League, or Major League Baseball. However, the odds of becoming a professional in any of these sports is approximately 20,000 to 1. In addition, professional athletic careers are often short-lived, averaging between four and seven years. This is significant because

The English country gentleman galloping after a fox—the unspeakable in full pursuit of the uneatable. ■ OSCAR WILDE

after retirement from playing a professional sport, many years still remain in a person's work life. Thus, while the dream exists for a professional career, the odds of upward social mobility through this avenue are slim.

Interestingly, belief in the possibility of becoming a professional athlete mostly exists in the youth of the working class. Research supports that almost two-thirds of male urban youth assume this belief in the possibility of becoming a professional athlete. On the other hand, upper-income parents do not support such beliefs and are one-fourth as likely as lower-income parents to feel their child will become a professional athlete. These beliefs by parents and youth of working classes translate into focusing on achieving opportunities through sport, by developing the necessary skills needed for certain sports. On the other hand, upper-middle-class families concentrate on developing life and educational skills, which translates into better chances of upward social mobility.

Education

College can serve as a link to upward social mobility. College graduates are more likely to earn more financially than non-college graduates and have more networking opportunities. Sports can provide a means for attending college by lower-income groups through athletic scholarships. Unfortunately, the majority of student-athletes are left without financial assistance through participation in sport. Only 15–20 percent of student-athletes achieve a full scholarship, and another 20 percent achieve a partial remittance. These statistics are worse for females, who comprise only 35 percent of student-athletes. Thus while these scholarships are achieved through sport, they are limited in number.

The attainment of a college degree for student-athletes is an important factor for social mobility. Graduation rates for Division I student-athletes have increased in recent years to a national average of 60 percent. However, graduation rates remain low (42 percent for male basketball) for revenue-producing sports.

Barriers to graduation for student-athletes also exist that are often not present for non-student ath-

letes. The demand and time required by one's sport are not conducive to progressing toward one's degree. Also, lower-income student-athletes may have to work separate jobs in the off-season, which adds to current demands. Another barrier to college graduation is the academic preparation required to complete college. Student-athletes who are less prepared academically are more likely to take classes that suffice academic requirements, but do not matriculate toward graduation. These barriers to graduating do not support sport as an institution for upward social mobility.

The Future

There are relationships between sport as an institution and social class. However, most people do not constructively examine the role of social class and sport participation. Nonetheless, these differences of social class and sport are caused by access to both economic means and social capital. While we can easily view the way economic constraints can severely limit choices of sport participation, it is difficult to observe how access to social capital, in the form of preferences, values, and tastes, directs participation in certain sports. Social capital influences which sports are played by certain classes because these sports often reflect the values and preferences of a particular class in society. Streetball provides an example of how the lower-income class's preferences of aggression, excitement, and pose are reflected in the enjoyment of the sport, whereas golf is an example of upper-middle-class preferences of an aesthetic sport that also helps display one's status in society.

Participation in sport may also serve as a distinguisher of the type of social class that one associates with. Since the United States has a large middle class, sports may be a factor in deciphering social stratification.

Striving for upward social mobility is often a common goal in the United States. Sport is also seen by many as an avenue of improving economic and social conditions.

High salaries of professional athletes can serve as a way of reaching financial and social success, although odds are against such a venture and careers are often short-lived. Earning a college diploma is another means of achieving upward social mobility through sport. Yet educational skills are still required to achieve this goal and student-athletes often face tougher roads due to their various commitments.

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Social Constructivism

Social constructivism—a research paradigm (framework) and set of assumptions basic to much of the social sciences and the humanities for at least the last forty years—in general argues that humans and human culture are made, not born, that is, that human institutions such as language and the political and ideological assumptions that inform these institutions shape everything around people.

To a social constructivist, “nature” does not exist. Only culture exists in that human ideas about “nature” and what is “natural” are themselves the product of ideological cultural assumptions. Often seen as the diametric opposite of biological determinism, which argues that human behaviors and institutions are predetermined by genetics, social constructivism set the stage for poststructuralist theory of all kinds, allowing for an investigation into every conceivable subject, including sports. Because sports are so closely linked with the body, and the body is so often linked with “nature” and genetics, for many years sports research did not examine the political and ideological assumptions that necessarily inform research paradigms, seeing those paradigms as an “objective,” neutral, and transparent tool for knowledge production. Particularly with the rise of feminist theory since the 1970s and the attention devoted to race and postcolonial studies since the late 1980s, social constructivist paradigms provide a necessarily self-reflexive, critical inquiry into the institutions of sports and research methodologies used to study sports.

For the social constructivist reality is not predetermined, a fixed form that is universal and never changes. Rather, for the social constructivist human agents construct and reproduce reality through their daily practices, the way they think about things, the ways they live their lives. One can say, then, that reality is in this sense based on a social ontology (a branch of metaphysics concerned with the nature and relations of being)

Football brings out the sociologist that lurks in some otherwise respectable citizens. They say football is a metaphor for America's sinfulness. ■ GEORGE F. WILL

wherein human agents do not exist independently from their social environment or context. This idea is in contrast to the idea of rational choice individualism, in which the individual makes choices independently of the context in which he or she is embedded. In the structure/agency or nature/nurture debates, social constructivism insists that social structures and agents are mutually constitutive. While the social environment defines people, simultaneously human agency creates, reproduces, and changes that environment through people's daily practices. Social constructivism marks a midway point between individualism and structuralism by claiming that the two are mutually constitutive. An athlete may choose to participate in the dominant corporate model of sports, for instance, using her celebrity and achievements to gain endorsements, but she may also be critical of that model and work to change it.

Social constructivism became mainstreamed as a sociological paradigm with Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's 1966 book *The Social Construction of Reality*. The book argued that the purpose of this paradigm is to discover the ways social reality and social phenomena are constructed, naturalized, and institutionalized so that social phenomena *appear* to have some fundamental biological basis but don't. Therefore, constructivist researchers focused on a description and analysis of institutions rather than on the individual. In this view reality itself becomes a social construction, an ongoing multidimensional process that is always historical and subject to change. Particular human subjectivities inform those "facts" that people take to be objective.

Social constructivism describes subjective, rather than objective, reality and argues that the idea of objectivity is itself a construction often used to discredit other forms of research because for the social constructivist, objectivity is not possible because each researcher comes at his or her subjects from a particular, situated standpoint.

Standpoint Theory Evolves

Standpoint theory evolved from this paradigm. For standpoint theorists such as Sandra Harding, the human

race, class, gender, religion, and other variables inform the standpoint or position from which people view the world, a position that determines what people focus on as well as what people don't see. The social groups of which people are members and the identities to which people subscribe shape what and how people know, as well as how people communicate what they know. In this view societal inequalities such as those based on race, gender, and so forth produce a particular standpoint or perspective in the marginalized group that can provide a more rather than less objective view than the perspective from the lives of the more powerful because those people in power have a vested interest in the preservation of the status quo, and knowledge produced by those people will always be in service of that interest. Feminist standpoint theorists were influenced by the idea of German political philosopher Karl Marx and the German socialist Friedrich Engels that those people not in power can be society's "ideal knowers."

Social constructivism is a central tenet of poststructuralism and has therefore been influential in the field of cultural studies, which breaks down traditional disciplinary barriers to combine sociology, literary theory, film/video studies, and anthropology to examine cultural institutions. Scholars working in cultural studies often emphasize how the structures of a given institution are informed by ideologies related to race, class, gender, and other variables. As such, it concerns itself with the meaning and practices of everyday life in addition to forms of "high culture" such as literature or painting (cultural studies—through a social constructivist lens—break down the distinctions between "high" and "low" culture). Cultural studies attempt to explain why people do particular things (such as participate in sports) in a given culture and under what sets of assumptions they do so.

Social constructivism as it has been applied through poststructuralism has therefore opened the door to a cultural analysis of sports and the particular meanings people give sports. It has made sports a legitimate subject of analysis in departments where they previously weren't (such as English or history) and has vastly

expanded the range of approaches to sports studies. Key to these forms of inquiry is a focus on language/knowledge and power, which often in sports studies is influenced by the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault, who asked the following questions about knowledge production and how people come to “know” what they know: What counts as “knowledge”? Who decides? Who is authorized to speak? Many sports researchers working from a constructivist set of assumptions have found Foucault’s work useful for conceptualizing how knowledge about athletes and various aspects of the institutions related to sports is produced.

Gender, Race, and Postcolonial Studies of Sports

Feminist pioneers such as Helen Lenskji, Carole Oglesby, M. Ann Hall, Susan Birrell, Nancy Theberge, Mary Boutilier, Cindy SanGiovanni, and Lois Bryson began to look at gender as a socially constructed category that, rather than being a variable of the standard, can be conceptualized as a set of relationships that is constructed and maintained through human agency and cultural practices. Whereas perspectives based in biological determinism might argue that a fixed, given, biologically based reason exists for the social construction of women athletes, say, as weaker, a constructivist perspective would point to all the ideological assumptions that go into this perspective. In this view gender is formulated as a cultural construction, not just “nature” or biology. This is not to say that constructivists claim that biology does not exist or that genetics, hormones, endocrine systems, and basic physiological processes have no effect on human behavior. Rather, the idea is that biology is mediated, shaped, and given meaning by language and culture (a “constructionist” view). Whereas some earlier feminist views tended to fall into “essentialism”—the view that women are essentially different from men—gender studies are more common in the academy today.

For gender critics gender difference is a symbol of oppression, a set of culturally constructed stereotypes that works to maintain and justify power imbalances be-

tween genders. Gender criticism asserts that sexuality, which had previously been represented as a “natural,” private matter, is, in fact, constructed in, through, and by culture according to the political aims of the dominant culture. Gender criticism sees both gender and sexuality as existing on a continuum (some women are more “masculine” than some men, and some men are more “feminine” than some women).

Gender criticism sees gender as a performance that people put on, as roles that they play rather than as something fixed, set, given, or natural. Gender critics would question the stereotype that women, for instance, are any more “naturally” nurturing than men or less competitive than men. In the jargon of the field, this idea is called “gender performativity”—gender is performed, not given. If, for instance, a girl chooses to participate in gymnastics because gymnastics is seen as a more acceptable sport for girls than is rugby, she is performing gender.

Everyone Has a Gender

Like the emphasis on the fact that everyone, not just whites, has an ethnicity in postcolonial theory, gender studies would say that everyone has a gender. Therefore, discussions about gender should focus not only on women and “femininity” but also on men and “masculinity.” Particularly in sports studies in the pioneering work of, among others, Don Sabo and Michael Messner, masculinity has been formulated as a complex construct producing and reproducing a constellation of behaviors and goals, many of them destructive.

Recently researchers have conducted a great deal of work from a constructivist perspective that focuses on culturally constructed assumptions about gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and other identity variables as these interact with each other to affect how particular athletes are represented, who occupies leadership positions, and how sports function as a cultural institution. These researchers ask how dominant cultural assumptions about race, class, gender, and sexuality intersect to produce social relations and to what extent people accept and/or resist these. For these researchers people’s beliefs

A team is where a boy can prove his courage on his own. A gang is where a coward goes to hide. ■ MICKEY MANTLE

about race or sexuality are not given “facts” or “truths” but rather cultural constructions that support inequitable power relations between groups. In *Masculinities*, for instance, R. W. Connell argues that race relations are central to the formation of dominant and subordinate masculinities, and sports are for him a highly visible site where this formation happens. Although the U.S. basketball star Michael Jordan was continually represented as having “no color,” David Andrews reads U.S. racial politics as determining, for instance, the representation of Jordan as a “natural” athlete, which reinforces historical racist linkages between blackness, masculinity, and the body. Pat Griffin and others have shown how negative social constructions of the woman athlete as lesbian and masculine have served to discourage homosexual and heterosexual women from sports participation and how sexuality remains a site for repression in the sports world. Postcolonial critics focused on women’s world sports, and scholars of globalization investigate how all the different axes of identity determine sports paradigms worldwide. Analyses of the global sports process examine the gendered, racialized, and ethnicity- and class-based nature of these processes and try to arrive at multidimensional models to accommodate these complexities.

Increasingly focused on the global stage, social constructivism informs a wide range of theoretical approaches to sports that analyzes relationships of hegemony (influence) and representation and that looks at the intersecting variables of identity as these affect the construction of knowledge and social relations in sports as an increasingly powerful institution.

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Social Identity

Since their humble beginnings as folk games, most sports have developed into formats that are almost unrecognizable in comparison with their ancestral forms. However, a theme that we can identify throughout the evolution of sport is its role in the expression of social identity.

From the intense regional rivalries that characterized medieval ball games to the national, religious, ethnic, class, and political antagonisms that are present in modern sports, we can highlight the continued role of sport in processes of identity construction and maintenance. Although we should acknowledge that for some people—both participants and spectators—sport is sought purely for its intrinsic value, for many other people sport plays a far more significant role in their lives. For example, as the sociologist Joao Nuno Coelho states with regard to soccer, “it is fascinating, even though sometimes frightening, how a [soccer] team gains vast and complex social signification and symbolism which overtake the simple outcome of a sporting competition” (1998, 159). Furthermore, the social anthropologist Jeremy



MacClancy says “sports . . . are vehicles of identity, providing people with a sense of difference and a way of classifying themselves and others, whether latitudinally or hierarchically” (1996, 2). As this statement highlights, sport-based social identities operate in a variety of ways, differing in content, function, and complexity. Fundamentally, possessing a particular social identity not only facilitates a feeling of shared identity with fellow members, but also acts as a means of differentiating oneself from other groups. In other words, identification with a particular sport-based social identity indicates what or who one *is* and, equally importantly, what or who one is *not*.

Social Identity Theory: A Summary

The most substantial contributions to the study of identity have grown out of social identity theory, which was pioneered by the social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner during the 1970s. Tajfel defines social identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership” (1972, 31). The theory posits that a specific self-inclusive social category—for example, a sports team—furnishes a category-congruent self-definition that forms part of the self-concept. A person perceives this category as a social identity that not only describes but also prescribes his or her attributes as part of that group. The theory is based around two fundamental processes: categorization and self-enhancement. The former process elucidates group boundaries by manufacturing group normative and stereotypical actions and perceptions and allocates people to the contextually relevant group. The latter process ensures that in-group stereotypes and norms favor, in the main, that group. Thus, ultimately, as the social anthropologist Richard Jenkins states, “social identity is our understanding of who we are and of who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people’s understanding of themselves and others (which includes us)” (1996, 5). In this regard, as the social behaviorist George Herbert Mead suggests,

people cannot see themselves without seeing themselves as others see them. Simply asserting an identity is insufficient; significant others must recognize—or validate—it within any interaction.

By the end of the twentieth century sociologists increasingly recognized that social identities are multiple and that people possess many identities. As Stuart Hall, cultural theorist, argues, “if we feel we have a unified identity . . . it is only because we construct a comforting story or ‘narrative of the self’ about ourselves . . . the fully unified, completed, secure and coherent identity is a fantasy. Instead, as the systems of meaning and cultural representation multiply, we are confronted by a bewildering, fleeting multiplicity of possible identities, any one of which we could identify with—at least temporarily” (1992, 277). The anthropologist Cris Shore, for example, proposes that we can view the components of a person’s identity as concentric rings, with each ring defining a separate identity. As a person undertakes various roles in life, different aspects of his or her identity will become more prominent depending on the situation and his or her position in relation to others. For example, a person from Northern Ireland might define herself in different contexts as Protestant, Unionist, or Loyalist, and “each apparently minor shift from one label to another in fact conveys messages of considerable magnitude and political complexity” (Shore 1993, 37). Social identities thus fluctuate depending on the context and are relative to the position of the observer. Indeed, as Hall reminds us, identities are never complete but rather are necessarily always in process—they are often fragmented and, at times, can appear seemingly contradictory.

Sports Teams as “Imagined Communities”

Participation in sport can represent an important component of a person’s social identity. An oft-cited example is the high school football player whose sporting expertise is reflected in high social status within the school and local community. However, the concept of a sport-based social identity is arguably more applicable to

**More than a club:
FC Barcelona, a symbol
of Catalan nationalism.**

Source: Daniel Burdsey.

the collective identities shared by particular groups than to those of individuals.

This fact is reflected in the academic study of sport, where an increasingly sizeable body of sociological inquiry has sought to establish how support for various sports teams acts as a significant source of social identity through the creation of a shared fan consciousness. We should not be surprised that soccer, as the most popular and played team sport in the world, is probably the primary sport in which certain teams are perceived to represent specific social identities. In the vast majority of soccer-playing countries the national team makes a considerable contribution to the construction and maintenance of national identity. Nevertheless, in other countries the relationship between soccer and national identity is more contested. For example, in Spain strong regional identifications and interteam conflict among supporters mean that the national team is a relatively ineffective vehicle for the expression of nationalist sentiments. Instead, soccer acts as a vehicle for social identity in the historic nationalities, where Barcelona represents Catalans and Athletic Bilbao symbolizes Basque identity. In Germany the successes of teams such as Schalke 04 and Borussia Dortmund have played a crucial role in constructing a positive regional identity for inhabitants of the industrial Ruhr Valley area, whereas in the city of Hamburg supporters of FC St. Pauli celebrate their perceived collective intellectual, antiestablishment identity. In Scotland and Northern Ireland the supporters of many sports teams reflect inveterate religious divisions and are strongly associated with either Catholicism or Protestantism. In Africa, the Middle East, and Australia large numbers of sports teams are associated with ethnic groups, whether they be indigenous or migrant. The preceding examples demonstrate the manner in which sports teams operate



globally as vehicles through which individuals and groups can strengthen their attachment to, and identification with, a particular community.

A key contribution to the study of social identity has been professor of government Benedict Anderson's work on nationalism. He refers to nations as "imagined communities," a concept that can also be applied to supporter groups of sports teams. As John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, sport sociologists, highlight, "sport in many cases informs and refuels the popular memory of communities, and offers a collective source of identification and community expression for those who follow teams and individuals" (1994, 3). In this sense the term *community* implies that the members of a group possess common features that significantly distinguish them from members of other groups. Membership of a community may be determined by a variety of criteria: People may be required to possess particular ethnic, social, religious, political, or national characteristics. Fans of sports teams can be similarly conceived of as comprising distinct communities that revolve around identification with a particular team. Central to Anderson's argument is the notion that although a person may share elements of his or her identity with many other members of a particular social grouping, he or she likely will have had direct personal contact with only a small percentage of them. This fact is why the community is perceived as inherently imagined. In most cases one could not conceive of supporters of a particular professional team

being aware of the existence of all others who share this element of their social identity, yet for the majority this fact is irrelevant. For them the knowledge that they form part of the vast interdependency networks that constitute membership of a social group is sufficient to procure feelings of pride and involvement, despite the absence of close personal relationships with other people in this group.

Sport, Postcolonialism, and Social Identity

Sport also plays a significant role in the expression of social identity in relation to postcolonial populations. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the colonization of Africa and the Indian subcontinent was unequivocally connected to dominant European theories of racial and cultural difference. Colonialism enabled the European powers to contrast themselves with those populations that they perceived to be backward and inferior. One of the central tenets of this ideology was physicality, and whereas the British categorized themselves as a “healthy race”—that is, possessing strength, vigor, and bravery—the British categorized the Indian population, for example, as bereft of such qualities. The importance attached to the “games ethic”—that is, the role of sport and physical education—in colonialism led to the development of a mutually reinforcing cycle that maintained that the less civilized “races” lacked the characteristics needed to compete in sporting endeavors and that the sporting (non)performances of Indians were symptomatic of deficiencies in their all-round character. As the medical anthropologist Joseph Alter points out, sporting images are not just allegories of wider racial ideologies because the sporting body “may be seen, not simply as a signifier of meaning, but as a subject actor in a larger drama of culture and power” (1994, 24). Sport was thus a barometer by which the differing social statuses and identities of colonizer and colonized were measured.

After the middle of the twentieth century many colonies began to achieve independence, and large numbers of people began to migrate from former

colonies to western Europe and North America. Since this period sport has played a major role in the construction and articulation of postcolonial social identities for former colonial populations and members of their respective diasporas (scatterings).

This development is particularly the case with cricket and former British colonies. Because of the relatively small number of nations that participate in first-class world test cricket, former British territories regularly play against and, with increasing frequency, defeat England. Despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that cricket was a key instrument in British imperialism and colonialism, for the duration of a match or series former colonial peoples are afforded the opportunity to compete on equal terms with England and to literally “beat the masters at their own game.” Consequently, in international cricket the inherent ideological capabilities of sport are accentuated, and the game continues to operate as an arena where significant political and postcolonial symbolism can be achieved. This situation is apparent with both those people who remain in the former colonies and those who have migrated to England. By the end of the twentieth century people widely acknowledged that, in international cricket, a substantial number of British Caribbeans and south Asians support their country of ancestry, particularly when they are playing against England. Such patterns of fandom enable people to celebrate tradition and feelings of continuity with the nation from which they or their forebears migrated, together with an opportunity to distance themselves from those elements of British life with which they are uncomfortable. For example, as the anthropologist Pnina Werbner points out, “it is in the field of sport, through support of the [Pakistan] national team, that young British Pakistanis express their love of both cricket and the home country, along with their sense of alienation and disaffection from British society” (1996, 101).

We find similar trends in other sports, such as soccer, where postcolonial populations have used the game to make symbolic gestures toward their former colonizers. For example, in 2001, nearly forty years after Algeria

The medals don't mean anything and the glory doesn't last. It's all about your happiness. The rewards are going to come, but my happiness is just loving the sport and having fun performing. ■ JACKIE JOYNER KERSEE

had gained its independence from France, a soccer match between the two countries in Paris was abandoned after second- and third-generation north African migrants invaded the pitch (playing field) to protest their alienation from contemporary French society. Furthermore, during the 1998 and 2002 soccer World Cup events, large numbers of supporters in Cameroon developed an “anyone but France” mentality during matches involving their former colonizers.

The Future

We should not assume that particular sport-related social identities are, or will be, necessarily bound to the locations where they developed. Certainly during the majority of the twentieth century social identities based on an affiliation to specific sports teams tended to be the preserve of those people living in the immediate location where the teams were based. Then, as a result of mass global migrations, by the end of the century allegiances to Glasgow Celtic or AC Milan, for example, formed part of the social identities of second- and third-generation migrants in the Scottish and Italian diasporas.

However, the twenty-first century has brought new forms of sport-based social identities. The construction of these identities is a consequence not only of population migration, but also of the global interchange of ideologies, technologies, economies, and media. Rapid advances in global media have contributed to what many globalization theorists label a “time-space compression,” that is, literally a decrease in the time required for people to link distinct locations. Through cable and satellite television and the Internet people have access to “live” sporting events wherever and whenever they take place. Consequently—although this notion may be contested by those people who are more “traditional” in their fandom—one can be a fan of a particular team without ever seeing it play or even visiting the city or country where the team is based. For example, as a result of the team’s promotional tours, satellite TV, and marketing of merchandise in the Far East, the profile of the Manchester United team is as large in Malaysia as it is in England. Therefore, we must recog-

nize that being a Manchester United fan may be as important an aspect of social identity for a citizen of Kuala Lumpur as it is for a season ticket holder in Manchester itself. Furthermore, a cursory glance at the clothing of African migrants in European cities, such as Lisbon or Barcelona, reveals not only elements of traditional African dress but also important sporting markers, such as Chicago Bulls basketball vests or Auxerre soccer jerseys. These cultural attributes represent both an increasing access to modern consumer marketplaces and the significance of globally recognizable sport symbols in expressions of social identity. In such instances the referent still possesses its specific local roots, but the identities involved become based around a wider “imagined community.” The huge popularity of sport also means that, in the early twenty-first century, social identities are being created that are purely contiguous to the actual sporting experience. For example, the United States is witnessing the dawn of the “soccer mom” who derives status from, and structures parts of her identity around, the participation of her children in soccer.

We should recognize that for different people association with a particular sports team is likely to represent different levels of significance in terms of the composition of their overall social identity. Whereas one person may perceive that his or her most prominent characteristic is “New York Yankees fan,” another person may rank this characteristic lower, in terms of perceived importance, than his or her role as a “citizen of New York.” Nevertheless, regardless of the degree to which it does so, support of a sports team clearly acts as a vehicle through which the other elements of a person’s social identity can be affirmed and articulated.

Daniel Burdsey

See also Athletes as Celebrities; Athletes as Heroes; Masculinity

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Softball

Each year, Thanksgiving marks an anniversary of one of the most popular team sports in the United States—softball. On that day in 1887, alumni of Yale and Harvard waited inside the Farragut Boat Club in Chicago, Illinois, for the outcome of the Harvard–Yale football game. When the alumni heard that Yale had defeated Harvard, one of the Yale rooters, so excited by the good news, took an old boxing glove and tossed it toward one of the Harvard alumni, who tried to hit the boxing glove back with a stick—thus giving George Hancock, a reporter for the Chicago Board of Trade, the idea for an indoor game of baseball. Hancock’s friends

thought he was suggesting a game outdoors. But Hancock was serious about an indoor game and, using available materials, he tied together the laces of the boxing glove to make a ball. He marked off a diamond inside the boat club and divided the alumni into two teams.

The game ended 17–8, but the final score was insignificant. What was important was that Hancock and his friends had played the first game of softball, which has become one of the most popular team sports in the United States.

Hancock’s game eventually became popular in Chicago, with Farragut teams playing games against teams from other gyms. In the spring, Hancock took his game outdoors where it was played on fields smaller than baseball diamonds. His game was called indoor-outdoor, and Hancock was the recognized expert on the game.

Over time, Hancock changed 19 special rules from his original set of indoor-outdoor baseball rules for his indoor game, which the Mid Winter Indoor Baseball League of Chicago adopted in 1889. Hancock’s game became popular throughout the Midwest, especially in Minneapolis, Minnesota, where Lewis Rober, a Minneapolis Fire Department lieutenant needed a game to occupy the idle time of his firemen. Using the vacant lot near the firehouse, Rober placed bases 10.6 meters (35 feet) apart and used a scaled-down medicine ball for a ball. The players hit the ball with a bat 5 meters (2 inches) in diameter. Other fire companies began to play Rober’s game, and by 1895, he had transferred to another fire company where he organized a team called the Kittens.

In the summer of 1900, the captain of Truck Company No.1, George Kehoe, named Rober’s version of softball, “Kitten League Ball,” which was shortened to “Kitten Ball.” Rober’s game remained Kitten Ball until the Minneapolis Park Board changed it to Diamond Ball in 1925—one of at least a half a dozen names the sport had before 1926.

Amateur Softball Association

Leo Fischer and Michael J. Pauley established the Amateur Softball Association (ASA) in 1933, following a

tournament that the two held in conjunction with the 1933 world's fair in Chicago. Fischer was sports editor of the *Chicago American*, which supported the event with fifty-five teams invited to participate in three classes—fastballers, slow pitch, and women, with a 14-inch (circumference) ball used in the single elimination or single knockout event.

Fischer and Pauley played their tournament inside the fair grounds with the Century of Progress Exposition (1933 World's Fair in Chicago) sponsoring the event, which had free admission. Seventy-thousand people viewed the first round and watched Harry (Coon) Rosen (inducted into the ASA National Softball Hall of Fame in 1990) lead the J. L. Friedman Boosters to the men's championship, one-hitting the famed Briggs Beautyware of Detroit, Michigan—the only loss suffered that season by Beautyware in forty-two games.

Pauley and Fischer's efforts paid off, and by 1935, the *Playground Association Softball Guide* wrote, "The

years of persistent effort, constant promotion and unchanging faith of believers in softball proved to have not been in vain, for in 1934 softball came into its own. All over America, hundreds of leagues and thousands of players enthusiastically accepted this major team game. The promotional activities of the ASA played an important part in stimulating the interest that has been developing (in the sport) for many years. The battle for recognition for this splendid sport is over. Softball has won a place among America's foremost sports."

NAME CHANGES

In 1926, Walter Hakanson, the Denver YMCA director, suggested the name softball. The name was accepted by the JRCOS (Joint Rules Committee on Softball), which was expanded in 1934 to add the Amateur Softball Association (ASA) as a member. Hakanson would later serve as president of the Amateur Softball Association (1948). Today, the ASA has its national headquarters in Oklahoma City with a full-time staff of twenty-eight under the leadership of Ron Radigonda, the former commissioner of the Sacramento, California division of the ASA. The ASA National Softball Hall of Fame and the Don E. Porter Hall of Fame Stadium also are located on the twenty-six acres in northeast Oklahoma City.

ASA's formation couldn't have come at a better time because teams played under different rules that left more than one manager confused and wondering where this sport was going. Teams had played the game at different base distances, and pitchers had delivered the ball from a different distance just about every time a game was played.

The JRCOS started in 1934 and provided consistency to the sport's rules as softball continued to grow in popularity nationwide. Since 1980, the ASA has had the responsibility for the official rules of softball, which are submitted and voted on by the almost 300 members of the ASA National Council.

As many as 105 ASA local associations were established throughout the United States, but by 2004, that number had dropped to 91, with smaller associations (metros) being absorbed by the larger (state) associations.



A highly romanticized image of ancient women playing a ball game.

*Power is not revealed by striking hard or often,
but by striking true.* ■ HONORE DE BALZAC

Through its network of commissioners, many of whom were employed by parks and recreation departments, ASA expanded its program to include different classifications (Class A, Class B, Class C, and Class D) and divisions for national championship play.

CHAMPIONSHIPS

Originally, the ASA had four national championships. By 2004, ASA had thirty-four divisions of championship play and seventy-eight classifications, amounting to more than eighty national championships. In 1974, the ASA added a youth program as the popularity of girls' softball increased in U.S. high schools and colleges. Between 1963 and 1991, the number of ASA youth teams increased more than 750 percent and the number of adult teams increased 250 percent.

With more female sports opportunities, and the popularity of the U.S. Olympic team, the number of female fast-pitch players increased 62 percent from 1990–1991 to 2001–2002, according to the SGMA's U.S. Trends Team Sports Report. National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) fast-pitch softball grew 59 percent during the same period, making softball the fourth most popular team sport. More than 357,912 girls play fast pitch at 14,007 U.S. high schools (2002–2003), making it the fourth most popular female high school sport. Slow pitch is also offered in U.S. high schools, with 15,057 girls playing at 791 schools.

PAN AMERICAN AND OLYMPIC GAMES

The ASA, which is recognized by the United States Olympic Committee as the national governing body (NGB) of softball in the United States, selects and trains the athletes who will represent the United States in the Pan American Games and Olympics and other international softball events through the International Softball Federation (ISF), the governing body of softball internationally. Softball is played throughout the world in 124 countries with the ISF located in Plant City, Florida, since 2000. ISF President Don E. Porter, former ASA executive director (1963–1998), was the driving force behind softball officially being accepted

into the Pan American Games (San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1979) and the Olympics (Atlanta, 1996). The International Olympic Committee (IOC) approved the recommendations of the IOC Program Commission and its Executive Board during its general session in Birmingham, England, on 13 June 1991, to add softball to the Olympic program. Softball (women's fast pitch) was highly successful in the 1996 and 2000 (Sydney) Olympics, with attendance of 135,564 people in 1996 and 197,139 in 2000. In 2004, women's softball was again on the Olympic program with eight countries competing in Athens, Greece, with the heavily favored USA women's team winning a third gold medal. The softball competition drew attendance of 54,616 in 32 games or an average of 1,706 people per game. Since women's softball made its Olympic debut in 1996, 387,319 people have attended the competition. There is, however, no men's softball in the Olympic Games.

Pitcher Jennie Finch, former University of Arizona standout and a member of the U.S. Olympic team, brought the sport tremendous publicity in 2004, combining her glamorous looks with her unquestioned ability. She made *People* magazine's "50 Most Beautiful People" list in 2004, which marked softball's third—and most important—appearance in the Olympics.

Softball will remain on the Olympic program through 2008, with a decision expected in July 2005 at the IOC meeting in Singapore to determine if softball will be on the Olympic program for 2012. To keep the softball games in the Olympics moving, the ISF will use a 20-second clock that will provide a countdown visible to the pitcher, umpires, and the fans. If the pitcher doesn't release the ball within 20 seconds, the umpire will call a ball on the batter.

According to the SGMA's Team Sport Report, softball ranked thirtieth out of the top fifty sports activities in 2004 with 17.9 million participants, including 14.4 million in slow pitch and 3.5 million in fast pitch. Softball participation was as high as 22.1 million in 1989 and ranked seventeenth with 18.1 million participants in 1994.

What Is Softball?

Softball is a well-established bat-and-ball game played by two teams of nine or ten players each on a diamond-shaped field. Games generally are seven innings in length or until a winner is determined. All you need is the desire and the equipment to play softball. Like baseball, the objective of the sport is simple: The team that scores the most runs in the number of innings wins the game. An inning lasts until the team on defense records three outs against the team that is batting or is on offense. Each team alternates each inning between offense and defense, with the visiting team batting first and the home team batting last. A turn at bat or on defense completes the inning, with nine players in the starting lineup for fast pitch and ten in the starting lineup for slow pitch. A putout is recorded by the defensive team's pitcher striking out one or all of the players on offense, an infielder fielding the ball and throwing the ball to first base or another base to retire the offensive player before he or she reaches the base, an infielder or outfielder catching a pop fly or line drive before the ball touches the ground, and a player being tagged out by the defense before reaching first base, second base, third base, or home plate.

Softball's identity is diverse because of the two different disciplines: fast pitch and slow pitch. Fast pitch also has a variation called modified pitch, which was added to the ASA program in 1975. Very popular in Chicago and other Midwest cities is 16-inch softball, which is played with a softball 16 inches (40.6 centimeters) in circumference; the distance between bases was changed from 55 feet to 60 feet (18.3 meters) in 2002 after softball was added to the national championship program in 1964.

From the 1930s through the 1970s, fast pitch was the most popular discipline of softball played. In time, however, men's fast pitch became games of double-digit strikeout totals. To give fast pitch a balance between offense and defense, the JRCOS changed the men's pitching distance from the mound to home plate from 11.5 meters to 14 meters (46 feet) in 1950. The women's pitching distance was changed from 12.2 meters to

13.11 meters (43 feet) in 2002. This distance is also used throughout U.S. colleges and ISF events, including the Olympic Games.

SLOW PITCH

Slow pitch, which was part of the Chicago world's fair tournament conducted by Pauley and Fischer, started to become popular after it was added to the ASA's national championship program in 1953. In 1935, Lakewood, Ohio, formed a slow pitch league with four teams composed of city employees. Once slow pitch was added to the ASA program, ASA team registrations soared and different classifications and divisions of play were added.

Coed slow pitch was added in 1982 and represents about 10 percent of the ASA's membership of more than 230,000 teams. Classifications now exist for people from 45- and-over to 75-and-over. Each discipline is played on a diamond with different distances between the bases and from the pitcher's mound depending on whether adult fast or slow pitch or youth fast pitch or slow pitch is being played.

Slow pitch continued to gain in popularity and manufacturers were quick to take advantage of the large market share; more than 80 percent of all softball played was slow pitch at one time. But, because of advances in equipment, ASA, as well as other softball organizations, changed distances between bases, and from the pitching mound for men's slow pitch, to strike a balance between offense and defense. By 2002, the men's pitching distance was changed to 53 feet (16.15 meters) and the distance between bases was increased to 80 feet (24.34 meters) in 2004. The ASA Super Division, which was started in 1981, was eliminated in 2004 because of a lack of parity of the teams playing in that division. With the Super Division gone, the ASA focused its efforts on improving its Major Division of slow pitch in 2004 through a series of qualifiers nationwide and prize money of \$25,000.

EXPANDING ORGANIZATIONS

Although the United States Olympic Committee recognizes ASA as the national governing body for softball,



more than a dozen other organizations have been formed during the past thirty years to register adult and youth teams and umpires and to conduct tournaments. Some of these organizations are either regional or national in scope and concentrate on either slow pitch or fast pitch or both disciplines of the sport. Even traditional baseball organizations (Babe Ruth, Pony, Little League) have turned their attention to softball, especially girls' softball, during the past twenty-five years to register teams and umpires as well as to conduct tournaments for different age groups. Ironically, there are more softball organizations than ever, but the overall market share of softball is smaller than it was a decade ago.

Competition at the Top

Besides the national championships conducted by the ASA each year, the ISF conducts world championships for

Youth softball pitcher with a batter waiting for the pitch.

Source: istockphoto/groveb.

- Men's and women's fast pitch
- Junior boys' and junior women's fast pitch
- Men's, women's, and coed slow pitch
- Men's and women's modified pitch

In 1965, the ISF held its first Women's World Championship in Australia; the host country defeated the United States for the gold medal. The first Men's World Championship was held in 1966 in Mexico City. The U.S. men won outright or shared (in 1976) five of the first seven championships. New Zealand is currently the dominant country in men's fast pitch internationally, having won three consecutive world championships (1996, 2000, and 2004), the first time that this has been accomplished. New Zealand also shared the 1976 World title with the United States and Canada and won another world title in 1984.

In Women's World Championship competition, the United States is the undisputed leader with seven gold medals, including five in a row (1986, 1990, 1994, 1998, and 2002). The U.S. women's team also has dominated in the Pan American Games, winning the gold medal all but once (1983) in seven Games. The U.S. men, however, have never won a gold medal in Pan American softball, instead taking seven silver medals behind gold medalist Canada.

Besides these competitions, softball is on the program of more than a dozen multisport games, including the following:

- All-Africa Games (women)
- Arafura Games (men and women)
- Asian Games (women)
- Bolivarian Games (men and women)
- Central American Games (men and women)
- Central American and Caribbean Games (men and women)
- Maccabiah Games (men and women)
- Micronesian Games (men and women)
- Mindanao Games (women)
- South American Games (women)
- Southeast Asian Games (men and women)
- South Pacific Games (men and women)



- Special Olympics (men and women)
- World Firefighters Games (men and women)
- World Masters Games (men and women)

PROFESSIONAL LEVEL

Although softball is an amateur sport, attempts have been made to take the sport to the professional level, especially for female fast pitch. In 2004, the National Pro Fastpitch League was started with teams in six cities featuring top collegiate stars and past Olympians, including two-time U.S. gold medalist Michele Smith. The International Pro Softball Association operated between 1976 and 1979, then took a year off in 1980 and never returned. Another attempt at professional women's softball was made from 1997 to 1998 with the league suspending play until the National Pro Fastpitch League (NPF) launched the NPF All-Star Tour in 2003, which was hosted by twelve major league baseball clubs that summer and gave people the chance to see women's fast pitch in action through NPF exhibition games, clinics, and in-game promotions.

In 2004, the league's teams included the Akron Racers, NY/NJ Juggernaut, the New England Riptide, Texas Thunder, the Arizona Heat, and the California Sunbirds. The league is an official development partner of major league baseball for women's fast pitch softball and signed a contract with ESPN to televise eleven games nationally in the 2005 season.

In 2005, another pro league is scheduled to begin, headed by Dr. Dot Richardson, two-time U.S. Olympic gold medalist, and Lisa Fernandez, a member of the 2004 U.S. Olympic team.

The Future

Softball will likely remain as one of the most popular summer sports. Future participation is expected to increase in girls, masters', and seniors' competition as the U.S. society gets older and people have the time and money to play softball. According to Senior Softball-USA in Sacramento, California, an estimated two million people (men over 50 and women over 45) play senior softball in the United States. The average age of

the top 30,000 tournament players is sixty-four years old. These people have an average disposal income of \$35,000 and play an average of seven tournaments each summer.

Whether or not softball remains on the Olympic program beyond 2008 will certainly affect the continued growth of girls' fast pitch in U.S. high schools, colleges, and universities. One professional league might eventually succeed, but with two leagues expected to operate in 2005, one or both could fail.

Softball is a lifetime sport that people can play on a highly competitive level or for recreation and fun based on their abilities and, depending on where they live, almost year around. Because of this, softball "is the sport for everyone." People make lifelong friends. Softball players spend an estimated \$4.3 billion annually to compete, and people from all socioeconomic and ethnic groups play softball.

Softball is the "ultimate class equalizer," said ASA Commissioner Dan Saylor, "You can be a nobody and a star in softball or be a Ph.D. and go 0-for-4. No matter how good or bad you are, there's a league for you."

Governing Bodies

Governing organizations include the Amateur Softball Association (www.ASAsoftball.com) and the International Softball Federation (www.internationalsoftball.com).

Bill Plummer III

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South Africa Olympics Results*2004 Summer Olympics: 1 Gold, 3 Silver, 2 Bronze*

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South Africa

South Africa is a large nation of varied geological regions and climates at the southern tip of Africa. In mid-2004 the population was estimated at 46.6 million people, 79 percent of whom classified themselves as African, 9.6 percent as white, 8.9 percent as colored (mixed), and 2.5 percent as Indian or Asian. South Africa's history has been riddled with ethnic conflict, institutional and political racism, and unequal gender relations of power. However, after the demise of the political system of apartheid (established in 1948 and characterized by white supremacy and the oppression of black people) and the establishment of a democratically elected government in 1994, the new country was characterized as the "nonracial, nonsexist Rainbow Republic of South Africa."

Sports have held a significant place in South Africa's stormy history, shaped by its people's diversities and by social and political struggles. During colonial times sports were racialized and gendered: The powerful white male minority wielded the greatest power over the development of sports and had access to the best resources. The fact that South African sports have been the "national religion" enabled sports to be used to help

overthrow apartheid, and sports' continuing grip on the nation's psyche has provided impetus for their use in nation building in recent years. Writing in 2004 about developing nonracial sports in his country, President Thabo Mbeki pointed out the importance of "ensuring that the addiction to competitive sport serves to unite our people in a spirit of national reconciliation, rather than racial division and conflict."

Sports before Apartheid

Africans migrated south into present-day South Africa two thousand years ago, and the Dutch began to settle around Cape Town in 1652, but the British heralded the introduction of "modern sports" to the region. With their ethos (distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or guiding beliefs) of fair play, self-discipline, and collective identity, the organized sports that emerged in Britain during the nineteenth century were brought to South Africa by immigrants who had annexed and settled in the country since the beginning of the century. Sports and British cultural values, especially those of the boys' public schools, were thereafter inseparably linked and produced a colonial sporting system from which today's sports have evolved.

The British model of sports was exclusive and alienated the majority of Africans as well as the Boer settlers (white farmers of mostly Dutch descent). Nineteenth-century Boers were men of the veld (a grassland, especially of southern Africa, usually with scattered shrubs or trees), their sporting activities confined largely to riding and shooting, whereas English-descended South Africans tended to organize themselves in clubs, a habit given impetus by the soldiers who came to fight Queen Victoria's wars in South Africa. Some clubs were single-sport clubs for cricket, rugby, soccer, tennis, or cycling, and so forth. Other clubs, such as the Wanderers in Johannesburg and the Collegians in Pietermaritzburg, were multipurpose, with vastly superior facilities.

Until rugby and soccer arrived during the early 1860s, hunting, horse racing (introduced in 1797), and cricket (introduced in 1808) remained the three principal sports, played essentially by British immigrants and



South Africa

Evolution of Sports in South Africa

Date	Sports Clubs	National Federations
1802	Horse racing	
1843	Cricket (Port Elizabeth)	
1876	Rugby (Cape)	
1879	Football (Pietermaritzburg)	
1880	Athletics (Port Elizabeth)	
1881	Cycling (Port Elizabeth)	
1882	Tennis (Natal)	
1882	Bowls (lawn bowling) (Port Elizabeth)	Horse racing
1882	Professional boxing	Rugby
1882	Croquet	
1889	Gymnastics (Johannesburg)	
1890		Mountaineering
1892		Football
1892		Cycling
1894		Athletics
1903		Tennis
1904		Bowls
1909		Golf
1923		Hockey
1928		Rifle shooting
1931		Motor racing
1937		Roller skating
1939		Badminton
1940		<i>Jukskei</i>
1947		Squash
1948		Small-bore rifle shooting
1949		Archery
1949		Fencing
1949		Softball
1951		Gymkhana
1953		Clay pigeon shooting
1954		Equestrianism
1962		Judo
1962		Trampoline
1964		Body building
1965		Surfing
1968		Karate

the military. Other sports followed rapidly, their arrival coinciding with the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley (1867), the discovery of gold at Rand (1886), and imperial expansion.

Colonial sports lent themselves to the racial segregation that characterized South African society. Most sports were exclusively white, but the civilizing mission of sports to build the empire was influential in the schools, colleges, and clubs for educated nonwhites and in missionary schools for poor black children. Games such as cricket and especially soccer were adopted within South Africa's black communities; in comparison, the traditional skills of hunting, archery, spear throwing, wrestling, and dance were losing their appeal. From the start colonial sports were heavily gendered, emphasizing aggressive and chauvinist images of sporting manliness.

Although the Boers eventually adopted British forms of sports—and in the case of rugby attached their own identity and meaning to it—they had practiced various folk sports prior to the nineteenth century. Many of these were nostalgically revived during the latter years of apartheid. *Jukskei* (a throwing game using the wooden pin from an ox yoke) was still being played in more than seven hundred clubs during the late 1970s, with the South African *Jukskei* Board boasting more than twenty thousand members. *Vingertrek* (a form of hand wrestling), now played by children, once was played by burly adults at the religious festival of *Nachtmaal*. The horse also played a crucial role in Boer social and working life, featuring in many recreational activities. Increasingly, though, through rapid urbanization and exposure in schools—the two most powerful forces in the propagation of “British” sports in South Africa— young Boers also chose to take up team sports such as cricket and rugby.

Before World War II people played a smattering of racially mixed sports, but most sports were segregated. However, no sports infrastructure existed for the majority of the population, which was black, and because of grinding poverty few blacks had money for education, recreation, or sports. In rural areas no facilities and



Lehaha he Baroana rock painting of Bushmen with bows and quivers in Lesotho, 1977.

Source: Roland Renson, Sport Museum Flanders.

opportunities existed. During the 1930s and 1940s the neglect of sports provision for nonwhites coexisted with racial practices that denied mixed-race social interaction and set the scene for the systematic political institutionalization of apartheid sports.

Sports during Apartheid

Henrik Verwoerd, prime minister of South Africa in 1948 when the Afrikaner Nationalist Party took power, is known as the “architect of apartheid” with its mandatory division of the nation into four racial categories: African (pejoratively labeled “native”), colored, Asian or Indian, and white. The nonracial term *black* was used by antiapartheid activists to describe all those groups characterized by the government as “nonwhite.” Apartheid was a violent form of racist repression enforced by the white minority so that the rights and opportunities of African, colored, and Indian people were reduced in all areas of life and culture, including sports. Although no official prohibition of mixed-race sports existed, little need existed to impose apartheid on the already established model of segregated sports. Nevertheless, the government passed laws that, among other taboos, prevented nonwhites from traveling freely and using white facilities. Although class differences existed, and poor whites had limited opportunities, the resourcing of middle-class white-male sports was superlative, and middle-class white women had access to excellent facilities as well. In Indian and colored areas far fewer fa-

cilities existed, and African areas were devoid of anything but the most basic facilities.

Bureaucratic responsibility for sports was also assigned on a racial basis. During the early days of apartheid white sports federations were founded, increasingly patronized by the government, reflecting white

South Africa’s prosperity and obsession with sports. Until 1979 African sports were administered by the Bantu Affairs Department (thereafter the Department of Sport and Recreation assumed partial responsibility); colored sports were administered by the Colored Affairs Department; and Indian sports were administered by local authorities and the Department of Indian Affairs.

A surprisingly active sports movement in nonwhite communities existed throughout the apartheid period, and sports became a focus for cultural resistance and antiapartheid politics. During the 1950s nonracial national federations were founded for sports, including soccer, cricket, weight lifting, table tennis, and athletics. The South African Sports Association (SASA) was established in 1959. The establishment in 1963 of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) and in the early 1970s of the South African Non-Racial Sports Organization (SASPO) and the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) were significant developments in the eventual desegregation of sports. SAN-ROC, which relocated to England, was the leading organization in the international campaign against apartheid sports. Sam Ramsamy, in exile in London, became its president. Using the unifying slogan, “No normal sport in an abnormal society,” these organizations worked alongside the African National Congress (ANC) political party and with the support of international antiapartheid initiatives to oppose apartheid sports. The major method of opposition was



to encourage and support a total boycott of South African sports.

Also in the 1970s Prime Minister Vorster unveiled a “multinational” sports policy to persuade the international community to reverse the boycott decision. However, multinational sports clearly did nothing to dismantle the separate and unequal development intrinsic to political apartheid. In 1977 the commonwealth heads of government made public their condemnation of apartheid sports by signing the Gleneagles Agreement, and in the 1980s a militant organization, the National Sports Congress (NSC), was established. With the exception of rebel tours, South Africa was now totally isolated from international sports, including the Olympic Games.

Although the International Olympic Committee (IOC) claimed to have a nonracial policy, it did nothing to oppose all-white South African participation in the Olympic Games from 1908 until 1960. However, united pressure from the new independent African nations—with the backing of the Soviet Union and other Communist bloc countries, the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA), SAN-ROC, and other anti-apartheid organizations—resulted in South Africa being banned from the 1964 and 1968 Olympic Games and, in 1970, to the complete expulsion of South Africa from the Olympic movement. South Africa was banned from the Commonwealth Games at the same time. One of the aims of the African Games, the first of which took place in 1965, was to unite the countries of the continent against apartheid in South Africa. Another key event took place in 1976 when seventeen African countries boycotted the Olympic Games in Montreal, Canada (because the IOC had refused to ban New Zealand after its national all-black rugby team had played against South Africa).

Responding to such international pressure, by the mid-1980s some public sports facilities became desegregated. However, white racism, black poverty, and gross inequalities of sports resourcing remained. For these reasons, and in parallel with an economic crisis and uprisings in the black townships, the sports boycott



tightened. Thus, in 1985, when the white South African Cricket Union (SACU) arranged a rebel Australian tour, it was strongly opposed by the nonracial South African Cricket Board (SACB) and all the opponents of apartheid in countries throughout the cricketing world. Nevertheless, in January 1990 another cricket rebel tour captained by Mike Gatting (former England captain) took place. This last-ever rebel tour attracted aggressive demonstrations and was cut short, reflecting the growing confidence that the anti-apartheid fight was being won and coinciding with another watershed in South Africa’s history.

President F. W. de Klerk announced in Parliament a reform program of deracialization, and the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was freed from prison. The international sports boycott was lifted, and negotiations between the white sports bodies and the nonracial sports bodies took place to establish single national sports organizations—a prerequisite for the reentry of South Africa into international competition. In 1992 the IOC invited South Africa to take part in the Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain.

Sports after Apartheid

In 1994 apartheid officially ended, South Africa achieved majority rule, the ANC was voted into power, a multiracial democracy was established under the Government of National Unity, and Nelson Mandela was its president. In 2004 the ANC was returned to power for the third time with President Mbeki winning his second term. The new constitution has been described as one of the most radical in the world, providing scope for ending discrimination and inequalities between races, classes, and genders. The Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) of the new government set out immediately to work toward this end. The government recognized the potential of sports to break down barriers between races, to foster national reconciliation throughout the country, and to work for international recognition.

The anti-apartheid National Sports Council (NSC) was the main facilitator of new democratic sports



South Africa

Ball Dances of the Bushmen of South Africa

The 1905 ethnographic account below by George Stow describes two kinds of ball games as "ball dances."

Some of their dances required considerable skill, such as that which may be called the ball dance. In this a number of women from five to ten would form a line and face an equal number in another row, leaving a space of thirty or forty feet between them. A woman at the end of one of these lines would commence by throwing a round ball, about the size of an orange, and made of a root, under her right leg, and across to the woman opposite to her, who in turn would catch the ball and throw it back in a similar manner to the second woman in the first row; she would return it again in the same way to the second in the second, and thus it continued until all had taken their turn. Then the women would shift their positions, crossing over to opposite sides, and again continue in the same manner as before; and so on until the game was over, when they would rest for a short time and begin again.

Another ball dance was played merely by the men. A ball was made expressly for this game out of the thickest portion of a hippopotamus' hide, cut from the back of the neck; this was hammered when it was perfectly fresh until it was quite round; when finished it

was elastic, and would quickly rebound when thrown upon a hard surface. In this performance a flat stone was placed in the center upon the ground, the players or dancers standing around. One of them commenced by throwing the ball on the stone, when it rebounded; the next to him caught it, and immediately it was thrown again by him upon the stone in the same manner as by the leader, when it was caught by the next in succession, and so on, one after the other passing rapidly round the ring, until the leader or one of the others would throw it with such force as to send it flying high and straight up into the air, when during its ascent they commenced a series of antics, throwing themselves into all kinds of positions, imitating wild dogs, and like them making a noise "che! che! che!" but in the meantime watching the ball, which was caught by one of them, when he took the place of leader, and the game was again renewed.

The play was sometimes varied by two players being matched against each other, each throwing and catching the ball alternately, until one of them missed it, when it was immediately caught by one of those in the outer ring, who at once took the place of the one who had made the slip, and thus the play continued.

Source: Stow, G. (1905). *The native races of South Africa* (pp. 8–9). London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co.

structures, and the first minister of sports, Steve Tshwete, was appointed. The provision of sports facilities and opportunities in severely deprived areas was a priority of the RDP, and girls were regarded as an especially needy group. In 1997 Women and Sport South Africa (WASSA) initiatives were established in each of the nine provinces. The importance placed on sports as a symbol of national unity was exemplified during the 1995 rugby World Cup final when Nelson Mandela wore the springbok (a southern African gazelle) kit, instantly transforming it from a symbol of white (Afrikaner) superiority to one of national unity. The NSC was dissolved in 2001 and replaced by the South African Sports Commission (SASC), and

Ngconde Balfour was appointed the minister of sports and recreation.

Today the overall responsibility for sports and recreation policy, provision, and delivery resides with Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA) and the SASC. The key objectives are to increase participation, raise the profile of sports, increase the probability of South African success in major competitions, and place sports and recreation at the forefront of efforts to address national issues of unemployment, poverty, economic development, and health.

In addition, the SRSA coordinates and monitors the creation and upgrading of sports and recreation infrastructures through the Building for Sport and



South Africa

Zola Budd on “Running Barefoot”

South African distance runner Zola Budd achieved a certain notoriety in the 1980s for more than her record-breaking runs. Many in the international athletic community were outraged when she acquired British citizenship, a way to get into the Olympics when South African athletes were banned due to the apartheid policies of their government. Budd was also noted for running barefoot, which she describes in the extract below.

Coming from a farming background, I saw nothing out of the ordinary in running barefoot, although it seemed to startle the rest of the athletics world. I have always enjoyed going barefoot and when I was growing up I seldom wore shoes, even when I went into town. The exceptions were when I went to school, or church or on special occasions, and it was natural when I started running that I should do it barefoot.

I received my first pair of running spikes when I was thirteen and used them in a big inter-school athletics meeting. I found them uncomfortable and after that I decided to continue running barefoot because I found it more comfortable.

Budd, Z. & Eley, H. (1989). *Autobiography of Zola Budd* (pp. 49). London: Partridge Press.

Recreation Project (BSRP). The new theme of sports and recreation in South Africa, namely, “getting the nation to play,” places the major responsibility on stakeholders (including all spheres of government and all sports-specific and recreation-specific organizations, including sports federations such as Disability Sport South Africa) to raise the levels of participation in sports and recreation, currently estimated at 7–20 percent in historically disadvantaged groups, including black South Africans, women, youth, people in rural communities, and people with disabilities.

Sports and recreation are central features of the regeneration program funded by proceeds of the national

lottery and corporate sponsors. The contribution of sports and recreation to the gross domestic product (GDP) in 2000 was around 2 percent, providing employment for 34,325 full-time and 6,140 part-time workers and 8,000 volunteers. South Africa also benefits from the national Sports Tourism Project, which estimated that the economic impact of the 2003 cricket World Cup attracted twenty thousand foreign spectators and generated thirty-five hundred jobs. Experts predict that when the 2010 soccer World Cup comes to South Africa in 2010, 2.72 million tickets will be sold.

Competition at the Top

Another goal of the South Africa sports initiative is to promote the country to the rest of the world by hosting big events and to achieve success in elite competitions such as World Cups and the Olympic Games. Linked to the growing significance of commercialization, international sports receive support from both public and private sectors.

A ministerial task team was appointed in 2000 to study high-performance sports, followed by the establishment of talent identification programs and the securing of corporate sponsorship. Immediately after the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, Australia, the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA) inaugurated Operation Excellence, an initiative whereby elite athletes, in particular potential Olympic finalists and medalists, went to specialized training camps and were given financial assistance, medical care, and in some cases employment to improve their chances at the 2004 Olympics in Athens, Greece. In November 2002 Olympic House was officially opened in Johannesburg and described by Sam Ramsamy, president of NOCSA, as “the doorway to the hopes and dreams of all South Africans. . . . It is here where we will continue to hold a place for all races, age groups, income levels and genders” (Ramsamy and Griffiths 2004).

The emphasis on the internationalization of South African sports is reflected in the country’s participation in the Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, and Athens Olympics; the promotion of the 1995 rugby World Cup; hosting of

the 2003 cricket World Cup; Cape Town's bid to host the 2004 Olympics; and plans to host the 2010 football World Cup finals.

However, some people oppose public spending on elite athletes and showcase sports events and are angered that elite sports in South Africa show signs of manipulation and corruption typical of elite sports in countries in the West. In spite of the focus on unification and equity, stark inequalities remain, and race, class, and gender discrimination is still evident. Radical critics continue to argue that sports cannot be developed democratically until more money has been spent on the general social fabric of South African society.

The Future

With the approval of the cabinet, South African sports in the future will be governed by a two-tier system, comprising a fully fledged government department and a nongovernmental sports confederation. These two structures will take full responsibility for all levels of sports, including mass participation and high performance. The new system is expected to be implemented by April 2005. The goal will continue to be "unity out of diversity." Representing members of the nonracial sports movement during the apartheid regime who worked to sustain the sports boycott and the isolation of South Africa, Cheryl Roberts (who was a member of the South African team at the 1992 Barcelona Olympics) celebrated ten years of South Africa's return to world sports when she wrote, "The sacrifices made were not in vain for today we are a non-racial, democratic South Africa and participate in world sport as a legitimate country." Roberts went on to speak for many when she stated how eagerly South Africa waited hosting the 2010 Soccer World Cup Finals and someday the Olympic Games.

*Dean Allen and
Jennifer Hargreaves*

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South East Asian Games

The South East Asian Games idea began with informal meetings in May of 1958 during the Asian Games in Tokyo. Led by a proposal from Thailand, sports officials from Burma, Laos, Malaysia, and Thailand met to discuss creating a competition that would strengthen ties between nations of the South East Asian Peninsula and give athletes an opportunity to prepare for Asian Games and Olympic competitions. Originally known as the South East Asian Peninsular Games, the first games were held in Bangkok, Thailand, in 1959 with Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam participating. The games have been held on a biennial basis, with the exception of 1963, since that time.

The original intent was to rotate the games alphabetically by nation, thus removing any doubt over which nation was to be the next host. This would also eliminate complex bidding processes and allow nations to plan well in advance, as they knew when it would be their turn to host the games. This plan quickly fell apart at the third games when Cambodia was involved in a dispute over eligibility with the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) over Cambodia's participation in the GANEFO (Games of the New Emerging Forces) Games and Cambodia was not able to host the games.



South East Asian Games

Locations of the South East Asian Games

Bangkok, Thailand	1959
Rangoon, Burma	1961
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	1965
Bangkok, Thailand	1967
Rangoon, Burma	1969
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	1971
Singapore	1973
Bangkok, Thailand	1975
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	1977
Jakarta, Indonesia	1979
Manila, Philippines	1981
Singapore	1983
Bangkok, Thailand	1985
Jakarta, Indonesia	1987
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	1989
Manila, Philippines	1991
Singapore	1993
Chiang Mai, Thailand	1995
Jakarta, Indonesia	1997
Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei	1999
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	2001
Hanoi/Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam	2003

Laos was scheduled to host the next games in 1965 but was not prepared and had to decline. Malaysia moved up in the rotation and Kuala Lumpur hosted the games. Singapore was accepted into the federation in 1965 and all seven South East Asian Peninsular (SEAP) Federation members participated in the 1965 games.

Alphabetic rotation was to be abandoned in 1967 when Cambodia was once again asked to host the games. Cambodia pulled out in February of 1967, withdrawing completely from the SEAP Games Federation, telling the other nations that they had other games to prepare for and did not have time to get ready for the fourth SEAP Games. This was met with skepticism and frustration by the other members, who pointed out that

Cambodia had just hosted the Asian GANEFO Games 25 November to 6 December 1966, with fifteen nations present.

The SEAP Federation met in May of 1967 and reawarded the 1967 games to Bangkok, to be held in December of that same year. Fortunately Bangkok had held the Asian Games just twelve months before in December 1966 and had a short list of tasks to finish to be ready for the games.

Organizers Change the Name

The name South East Asian Peninsular Games was used up until 1975, when the SEAP Games Federation accepted Indonesia and the Philippines as members and the name was changed to South East Asian Games. Lord Killanin, then president of the International Olympic Committee, showed his support for the South East Asian Games movement when he was present at the 1977 games in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

The huge 100,000-seat Gelora Senayan stadium, originally built for the 1962 Asian Games, was host to the 1979 South East Asian Games held in Jakarta, Indonesia.

The 1989 games in Kuala Lumpur saw the return of teams from Vietnam and Laos, who had last been at the games in 1973.

Chiang Mai, Thailand, in 1995 was the first non-capital city to host the games. The games were part of the seven-hundredth-anniversary celebration of the city.

The 1997 games in Jakarta were contentious. Disagreements over judging in gymnastics, boxing, and taekwondo and hostility to visiting athletes by spectators disrupted the friendly spirit of the games. During soccer games fans smashed and burned the wooden seats inside the stadium and overturned cars outside. The Asian Football Confederation threatened to cancel the football final if organizers could not control the crowds. The final was held, but was interrupted by violence and fans starting fires in the stands and throwing stones onto the field. The game was stopped for forty-five minutes at halftime in an attempt to calm the crowds. After the games fans destroyed property and overturned cars in the streets.

Spain Olympics Results*2002 Winter Olympics: 2 Gold**2004 Summer Olympics: 3 Gold, 11 Silver, 5 Bronze*

The 1999 games were held in the tiny oil-rich kingdom of Brunei in Bandar Seri Begawan. Organizers expected little trouble with crowd control due to the strict Islamic laws enforced in Brunei and the Sultan of Brunei also declared that his subjects could watch the games for free.

The 2001 games were held in Kuala Lumpur, Penang, and Johor in Malaysia, making both Thailand and Malaysia five-time hosts of the South East Asian Games.

In 2003 at the games in Vietnam, East Timor participated for the first time, bringing to eleven the number of participating nations. Several Vietnamese citizens were arrested at the games for passing out religious materials, because they were not part of an organization that was sanctioned by the government. Several other countries complained when Vietnam added sports to the schedule that were considered minor and not well known outside Vietnam, such as *capteh* or shuttlecock kicking, the circle event in *sepak takraw*, and underwater fin swimming. The accusation was that Vietnam was simply trying to win the most medals with obscure sports, and Vietnam did in fact pick up an overwhelming majority of the medals in those events. The following year the South East Asian Games Federation passed new rules so that future hosts would not have as much freedom with the sports, and said that nations had to focus on sports practiced at the Asian and Olympic Games.

The Future

The 2005 games are scheduled to be held in the Philippines, the 2007 games in Thailand, and the 2009 games in Laos.

Daniel Bell

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Spain

Situated in southwestern Europe, Spain is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea, the Cantabrian Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean. It has a population of 40.3 million people. It is a nation of contrasts with a rainy north and a sunny south and cultural variations that are reflected in differences in economic systems and political organization. Spain is divided into nineteen autonomous regions, including the Balearic Islands, the Canaries and three small possessions off the Moroccan coast. Each unit has an autonomous government and its own sports structure. Madrid, the capital, is located in the country's geographical center. Soccer is the "king of sport" as it attracts an enormous percentage of the population to its teams.

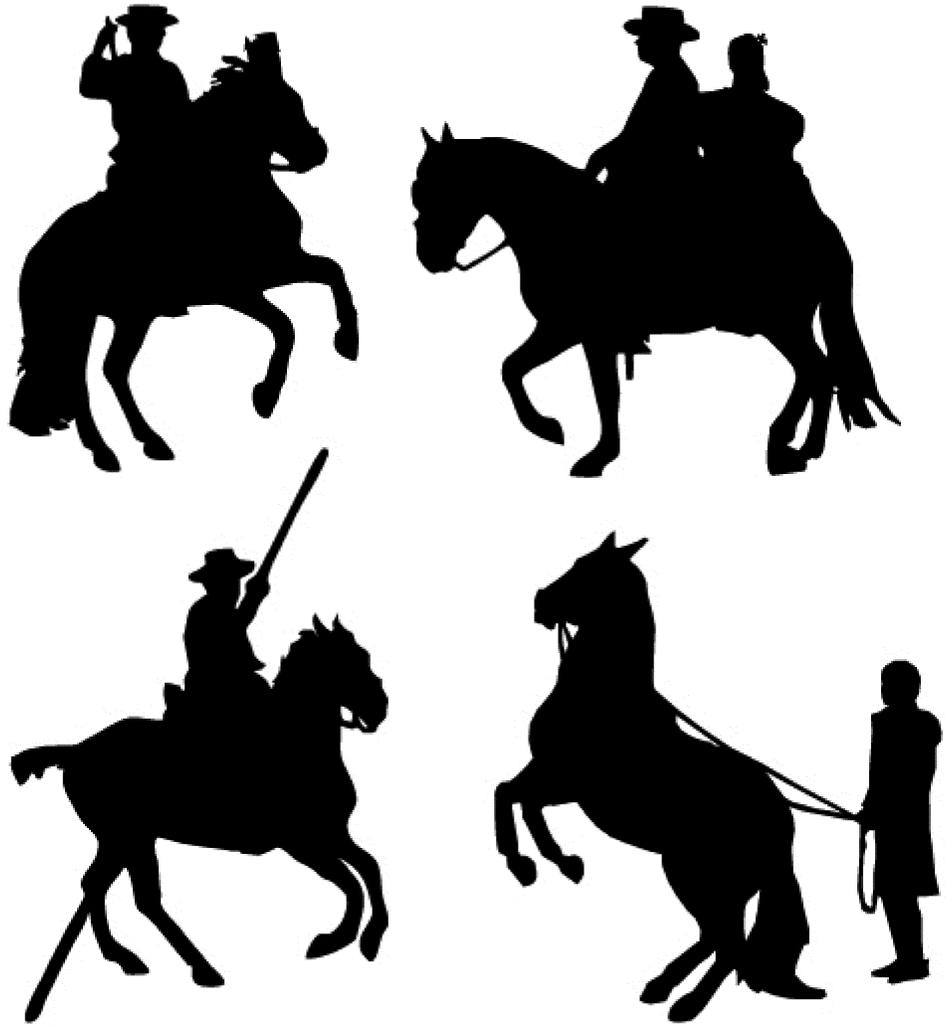
History

Spain has a long tradition of indigenous sports. A ball game whose origins go back to the Middle Ages was played by hitting a ball with the hand, a stick, or a bat. The game is noted in the Songs of Alfonso X the Wise One, in the thirteenth century and is considered to be a precursor of modern ball games. Bowling is a sport popular across the north. Water sports like the *traineras*, trainerillas of the Cantabrian cornice, the *falucho* of Valencia and *lagut* in Catalonia, are of popular origin, since it was fishermen who initiated these competitions by competing to return to port with their catch.

Horse sports, probably of Arab origin, developed in the south and featured two teams on horseback who hurled *bohordos* (spears of wood) at one another and protected themselves with shields. Bullfighting, either on horse or on foot, survive today, although the latter is far more important. Bullfighting is seen as an art form

A sampler containing four illustrations of Iberian Horsemanship (*doma vaquera*): a bull fighter on horseback (*rejoneador*), the costume show where a girl in a flamenco dress is carried on the horse, an Andalusian lance rider, and a horse standing on its hind legs (performing a *levada*).

Source: istockphoto/Gaicho.



and is called the “National Festival,” although it is not immune to impassioned debates between adherents and critics. The aristocracy practiced horseback riding, shooting, and fencing, sports associated with the military.

Modern sports were introduced by the 1870s by the many British residents in cities such as Huelva and Bilbao. They formed sports club to support such activities as tennis and soccer. It took until the first three decades of the twentieth century for these sports to spread from the British and a few Spanish aristocrats to the middle class. In 1902 the first National Championship of Soccer was contested. The event was covered by the press, which helped make it more popular across Spain.

In 1936 the Spanish Civil War began, and a dictatorship was established by Francisco Franco (1892–1875) that remained in power until his death in 1975. Under Franco’s rule sport was politicized and placed under centralized control. The role of sport was to bring national pride to Spain. Soccer was supported by the state and became the major sport, with one team, Real Madrid, associated with the state. After Franco’s death democracy was established, and the control of sport shifted to the regions. Each autonomous region has its

own sports council while a central agency, the Upper Counsel of Sports, is in charge of coordination.

Participants and Spectators

Soccer is the premier sport. A national league encourages regional rivalries with the strongest teams being Barcelona and Real Madrid. The contests between these two teams accentuate regional rivalries. The basketball league runs in the same way, but without the same high level of fan intensity as soccer. Out of these sports emerge sports celebrities. Many are wealthy, foreign soccer players who draw adoring fans because of the Spanish team they play for.

The other sport event that draws much attention is the Olympics, especially popular since the games were held in Barcelona in 1992.

To succeed . . . You need to find something to hold on to, something to motivate you, something to inspire you. ■ TONY DORSETT

Women and Sports

In the early twentieth century beliefs about the body and health changed, creating a climate more open to women's participation in sports. But, during the first years of the century, participation by women remained limited. Lili Alvarez was the first Spanish athlete to participate in European and world competitions. During the Franco period, female participation was limited, as a woman was allowed to be only a mother and wife. Democracy brought change, but today only 19 percent of women mention sport as preferred leisure, although many mention a desire to participate.

Youth Sports

Physical education is compulsory in the schools. Nevertheless, only 50 percent show an interest in participating. Youth championships at the national level exist, and youth compete in international championships through the International Confederacy of School Sport (ISF), of which Spain is member.

Organizations

The Upper Counsel of Sports (www.csd.mec.es) is an agency of the Department of Education and Culture, and the central organization for administering sport at all levels—associations, universities, and schools, Olympic Games, world championships, etc. The Association of Olympic Sports (ADO) was created to support Olympic athletes.

Sports in Society

Sport as a leisure activity has become more popular over the last three decades. Involvement in sports is most common among young men, single and students, who reside in cities of less than 500,000 inhabitants. Some 27 percent of men consider sport their preferred leisure activity. Housewives and retired women, especially in the rural center of the nation show the least interest in sports.

Swimming is the most popular participatory sport, followed by soccer (the most popular spectator sport)

then basketball, and much less popular are tennis, cycling, jogging and fitness exercise.

The Future

Soccer is likely to remain a sport and a spectacle. Sports participation is expected to increase in the cities among men and women, although it is declining in the schools as less time is being given to physical education. There remains an interest in staying in shape and in pursuing in a greater variety of sports. Nevertheless, the overall growth of organized sport may well be hampered by remaining prejudices—passed on from the not very distant past—that favor intellectual supremacy.

T. Gonzalez Aja

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Special Olympics

Special Olympics is an international nonprofit organization serving 1.4 million children (over eight years old) and adults with intellectual disabilities. It is the largest sports training and competition program in the world for this population. It provides year-round sports training and athletic competition in twenty-six



The Russia Special Olympics floor hockey delegation celebrates at the 2001 Special Olympics World Winter Games held in Anchorage, Alaska.

Source: Special Olympics.

different sports and other opportunities for athletes of all abilities in more than 200 programs in over 150 countries. These programs are divided into seven regions: Africa, Asia Pacific, East Asia, Europe/Eurasia, Latin America, Middle East/North Africa, and North America. Athletes compete at the local, state, regional, national, and international levels. Special Olympics athletes compete in Alpine skiing, aquatics, athletics, badminton, basketball, bocce, bowling, cross-country skiing, cycling, equestrian, figure skating, floor hockey, football (soccer), golf, gymnastics, powerlifting, roller skating, sailing, snowboarding, snowshoeing, softball, speed skating, table tennis, team handball, tennis and volleyball. Special Olympics is governed by a board of directors and led by Timothy Shriver, chairman and chief executive officer, and 500,000 volunteers. Athletes serve on boards of directors of all Special Olympics programs, including the International Board. Special Olympics headquarters is located in Washington, D.C.

History

Eunice Kennedy Shriver believed that persons with intellectual disabilities were far more capable than others believed. Mrs. Shriver invited thirty-five boys and girls to her home in Maryland to participate in sports and physical activities at Camp Shriver in 1962. Camp Shriver grew into an annual event sponsored by the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation, for which Mrs. Shriver served as executive vice president. It expanded into more than 300 camps throughout the United States and served thousands of children with intellectual disabilities.

From its humble beginnings as a day camp, the first Special Olympics Games, planned and underwritten by the Kennedy Foundation, together with the Chicago Park District, was held in Chicago, Illinois in the summer of 1968. Over 1,000 athletes from twenty-six states and Canada competed in athletics, floor hockey, and aquatics during this historic events. At those Games, Shriver announced a new program—Special Olympics



Special Olympics

Special Olympics Winter Games

Year	Location
1977	Steamboat Springs, CO
1981	Smuggler's Notch and Stowe, VT
1985	Park City, UT
1989	Reno, NV and Lake Tahoe, CA
1993	Salzburg and Schladming, Austria
1997	Toronto and Collingwood, Canada
2001	Anchorage, AK
2005	Nagano, Japan

—to offer people with intellectual disabilities everywhere “the chance to play, the chance to compete, and the chance to grow.” The first International Winter Special Olympics Games were held in 1977 at Steamboat Springs, Colorado with more than 500 athletes competing in skiing and skating events.

Special Olympics World Games are held every four years, with Summer and Winter World Games alternating every two years in countries around the world. Nineteen different Olympic-type sports are offered in the World Summer Games: aquatics, athletics, badminton, basketball, bocce, bowling, cycling, equestrian, football (soccer), golf, gymnastics, handball, powerlifting, roller skating, sailing, softball, table tennis, tennis, and volleyball. In the World Winter Games, Special Olympics athletes compete in Alpine skiing, cross-country skiing, snowboarding, figure skating, speed skating, snowshoeing, and floor hockey.

Special Olympics mission is “to provide year-round sports training and athletic competition in a variety of Olympic-type sports for children and adults with intellectual disabilities by giving them continuing opportunities to develop physical fitness, demonstrate courage, experience joy and participate in the sharing of gifts, skills and friendship with their families, other Special Olympic athletes and the community” (Special Olympics website: www.specialolympics.org).

Special Olympics celebrated its thirty-fifth anniversary in 2003, holding its World Summer Games in Dublin, Ireland. It was the largest sporting event of the year, with 7,000 athletes from 150 countries competing in eighteen competitive and three demonstration sports. Athletes with severe disabilities or limitations who were not yet able to compete in official Special Olympics sports participated in the Motor Activities Training Program (MATP) at the World Games in Dublin. These individuals participated in the bean bag lift, ball kick, wide beam and bench, ball lift (small), ball lift (large), ball push, and log roll. Training and participation are the focus of MATP. These participants can transition into the introductory level of competitive sports as they reach the appropriate skill levels.

The 2001 Special Olympics World Winter Games in Anchorage, Alaska, proved to be the largest sporting event ever held in the history of the state. Over 1,800 athletes representing seventy countries competed in seven Olympic-type sports: Alpine skiing, cross-country skiing, snowboarding, figure skating, speed skating, snowshoeing, and floor hockey.

Special Olympics Sports Rules were created based on the rules of the International Sports Federations (ISF) and National Governing Bodies (NGB). Special Olympics uses ISF and NGB rules except when in conflict with Special Olympics rules, then the Special Olympics Rules are applied. A level playing field is ensured among competitors by placing athletes in divisions based on their age, gender, and ability. Every Special Olympics athlete, regardless of ability, is recognized for his or her performance.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) formally recognized Special Olympics in February 1988 and authorized the use of the prestigious word *Olympics* in its name. Special Olympics is the only organization approved by the IOC to use the word *Olympics* worldwide.

Eligibility requirements to participate in Special Olympics are as follows: Athletes must be eight years old or older and have one of the following conditions: intellectual disability, cognitive delay as determined by



Special Olympics

Special Olympics Summer Games

Year	Location
1968	Chicago, IL
1970	Chicago, IL
1972	Los Angeles, CA
1975	Mt. Pleasant, MI
1979	Brockport, NY
1983	Baton Rouge, LA
1987	South Bend, IN
1991	Minneapolis, MN
1995	New Haven, CT
1999	Raleigh, NC
2003	Dublin, Ireland
2007	Shanghai, People's Republic of China

standardized measures (i.e. intelligence quotient), or a development disability as identified by an agency or professional. All athletes must register to participate in Special Olympics. There is no cost for participation. All persons with intellectual disabilities, regardless of the degree of disability, are eligible to participate.

Significance

Historically, society believed that individuals with intellectual disabilities were incapable of developing and functioning in any area of life. People avoided them out of ignorance and fear. Mrs. Shriver, who believed this population was capable of far more, including participation in sports and physical education, rejected this stigma and exclusion by society. Mrs. Shriver and her husband, Sargent Shriver, developed the Special Olympics into the largest amateur athletic organization in the world for people with intellectual disabilities. Under the Shriver's leadership, the organization grew from serving 1,000 to 1.4 million athletes since its inception in 1968. In 1996 their son, Timothy Shriver, was named president and CEO of Special Olympics; in

2003 he assumed the additional responsibility of chairman. Sargent Shriver, who was elected president of Special Olympics in 1984 and appointed chairman in 1990, stepped down as chairman in 2003 and was appointed chairman emeritus in recognition of his long service and dedication to the movement, which he continues to serve as an ambassador of optimism and goodwill. Mrs. Shriver remains a member of the Special Olympics Board of Directors and continues to lend her well-earned reputation as a visionary leader in improving the lives of people with intellectual disabilities to furthering the mission and expansion of the movement.

Special Olympics Initiatives, such as the Athletic Leadership Programs, Family Leadership and Support, Healthy Athletes® and Special Olympics Get Into It™, enhance the mission of Special Olympics. The Special Olympics "Flame of Hope" is never extinguished, as Special Olympics athletes compete in 20,000 competitions around the world annually. The 2005 World Winter Games in Nagano, Japan, will be the first Special Olympics World Games held in Asia. The first-ever Special Olympics U.S. National Games are slated for July 2006 at Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa. The 2007 Special Olympics World Summer Games will mark the first time the World Summer Games will be held in Asia and only the second time the event will be held outside of the United States.

The Future

In June 2004 a bipartisan group of senators and congressmen announced the introduction of the Special Olympics Sport Empowerment Act of 2004, a first-ever bill of its kind that will authorize \$15 million for 2005 and "such sums" over the next four years to fund the Special Olympics movement. From its beginning with thirty-five athletes at Camp Shriver in Rockville, Maryland, to 1.4 million athletes in 150 countries around the world, Special Olympics continues to break down barriers by increasing public awareness, conducting research, increasing and expanding competitive and recreational opportunities, building family support, and promoting the phenomenal gifts of people

The ultimate victory in competition is derived from the inner satisfaction of knowing that you have done your best and that you have gotten the most out of what you had to give. ■ HOWARD COSELL

with intellectual disabilities. The Special Olympics athlete oath is one we all should pledge: "Let me win. But if I cannot win, let me be brave in the attempt."

Becky Clark

See also Adapted Physical Education

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Spectator Consumption Behavior

Sport consumption behavior includes such actions as purchasing, attending, spectating, or wearing products or using services associated with spectator sport. Consumption also includes reading about sports or teams in newspapers or magazines, watching sports events on television, buying clothing representing a specific team or sport, going to a game, or searching websites for sport statistics for a fantasy league. In 2001, the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that individuals in the United States spent \$10.1 billion attending spectator sports events and spent another \$24.8 billion on athletic and sport apparel. Although there is a plethora of

actual sport consumption behaviors, managers and marketers of sport organizations, media professionals, and business managers of sport merchandise organizations are very interested in *why* people consume sport and the associated products.

The aspects that influence people to consume sport products and services can be divided into four categories: demographic aspects, psychographic aspects, environmental aspects, and past behavior. If we think of sport products and services as the total pie, demographic variables would take up about 5–10 percent of the total pie, psychographic aspects about 40–45 percent, environmental aspects about 15–20 percent, and past behavior about 15–20 percent. There remains a small part of the pie that is unknown.

Demographic Aspects

Numerous demographic variables have been studied. These include age, race, family size, gender, household income, level of education, and participation in sport. Although differences have been found on some of these variables associated with sport consumption, typically the differences are not meaningful. For example, although females have been shown to purchase more team merchandise than males, the difference in the amount spent on the clothing by women over men is small when compared with the overall amount spent on team clothing in general. Furthermore, in this case even though women purchase more merchandise, it is more often for their children, husbands, or boyfriends rather than for themselves. Similarly, although there are racial differences in sport consumption by sport, overall there is not a large difference in the total consumption of sport products by race. There have been conflicting results as to differences in household income and sport consumption. Although those with higher income levels have the ability to purchase high-priced tickets for some sports, such as professional basketball or professional football, when evaluating those who come to the games across all sports, there are few differences relative to number of games attended or watched on television between those with high incomes and those with



low incomes. These are just a few examples of the lack of meaningful differences in demographic variables. This lack of differences is evident in the small percentage of the total that demographic aspects contribute to explaining sport spectator consumption.

Psychographic Aspects

Psychographic aspects are made up of cognitive aspects (motives, points of attachment, and expectancies), affective aspects (mood and satisfaction), and conative aspects (intentions to consume sport products or services).

COGNITIVE ASPECTS

Individuals are motivated to consume sport because of the reinforcing pleasures therein. Most of these pleasurable behaviors fulfill social or psychological needs.

Motives

A number of motives that theoretically explain consumption behavior have been identified by previous researchers: acquisition of knowledge, aesthetics, catharsis/aggression, drama/excitement, entertainment, escape (relaxing), family, physical attractiveness of participants, quality of physical skill of the participant, social interaction, supporting opportunities in sports, and vicarious achievement. Many of these motives are interrelated, but we will explain each separately.

Many people read about, watch, or attend sport events because by doing so they learn about the sport or gain information about the team. This information may be used to interact socially, bet on a team in the future, or play in fantasy leagues. Some people may watch sport for the aesthetic qualities inherent in the game or event; for example, a beautiful pass in basketball, a triple jump in ice skating, or a spectacular dismount in gymnastics. On the other hand, some research has suggested that individuals may also watch sports because of the violence (e.g., boxing, hockey, or football). Another motive is the drama or excitement that may be present when a game comes down to the final seconds and either team could win or when the upset of a favored team is taking place (e.g., when the U.S. hockey

team beat the USSR in the 1980 Winter Olympic Games). The motive of entertainment may be an umbrella motive that includes many of the other motives. Some people are motivated by the potential to escape from the daily grind of work or home and just get a chance to relax by watching or listening to a game. Some research has shown that the motive of taking the family to a game is important to some people. In some instances the physical attractiveness of the participants may be a motive for spectating (e.g., beach volleyball or swimming and diving). As a motive the quality of the physical skills of the athletes is somewhat similar to aesthetics. Many people can appreciate the skill it takes to chip a golf ball out of a sand trap or hit a curve ball in baseball. The opportunity to interact socially is also a prime motive for people attending sporting events. Tailgating in football and socializing in in-arena restaurants (especially in professional basketball) are good examples of this, although many people just like interacting with others while sitting next to them in the stands. Another motive is the opportunity to support a certain segment of the population in their participation in sport (e.g., the Special Olympics or the professional women's soccer league). Finally, probably one of the most important motives for sport consumption is vicarious achievement. Many people feel that the connection with a successful team allows them to achieve vicariously. Although some of these motives do impact sport consumption behavior directly, research has shown that motives in combination with various points of attachment are better predictors than motives alone.

Points of Attachment

Sports teams can provide people with a sense of belonging to a specific community and thus people may identify with or become attached to the team. However, the team may be only one of several possible points of attachment. Individuals may be oriented to other parts of the whole sport consumption experience, not necessarily just a team. Some people may be fans of a specific coach regardless of what team he or she coaches. Others may be fans of a specific player even if that player is

traded or switches teams. For example, when Michael Jordan went from the Chicago Bulls to the Washington Wizards, many people bought tickets to the Wizards games because of Michael Jordan. On the other hand, sometimes people will watch games or events even though they don't necessarily like either team or any of the athletes, but instead because they just like the sport. However, sometimes the level of sport makes a difference as to whether an individual will watch it. Some people are only fans of college basketball and will not watch professional basketball, while others are just the opposite. Finally, sometimes people may not even necessarily like the sport that much, but because the team represents the community, home, country, or the alma mater, they will watch the event because of one or more of those points of attachment. Specifically, team identification/attachment has been found to be a very strong indicator of sport spectator consumption behavior.

Expectancies

When going into events, fans and spectators often have expectations about the outcome of the event, individual performances, the competitiveness of the teams, their own level of enjoyment of the event, and so on. These expectations are either confirmed or disconfirmed by the event experience, and they can be either positive or negative. Thus, there is a continuum with negative disconfirmation on one end, followed by negative confirmation, then positive confirmation, and anchored on the other end by positive disconfirmation. For example, if an individual expects the team to win and it does not, then the expectation is disconfirmed in a negative way. If the individual expects the team to lose and it does, then the expectation is confirmed, but the outcome is still negative. On the other hand, if the individual expects the team to win and it does, the confirmation is positive. Finally, if the individual expects the team to lose, but instead the team wins, the expectation is disconfirmed, but in a positive way. Typically, the reaction of the individual is more acute when the expectation is *disconfirmed*, whether negatively or positively. For example, if a fan expected the team to lose and the team

won, the fan would experience more enjoyment than if expecting the team to win. Thus, the motives, points of attachment, and the confirmation/disconfirmation of expectations are cognitive aspects that influence sport consumption either directly or indirectly. However, there are also affective aspects that are part of the psychographic content.

AFFECTIVE ASPECTS

Much of the research on sport consumption behavior has shown that fans have an affective reaction to the advertising or promotion of a product and also to the consumption of a product or service. Positive mood items such as pleased, happy, energetic, satisfied, and confident, or negative mood items such as discouraged, frustrated, upset, angry, irritated, sad, and hostile have typically represented the affective reaction. Research has shown that people who are in a positive mood will more likely purchase a product than those who are in a negative mood, especially if they have never purchased the specific product before. Furthermore, and perhaps more obviously, consumers who are happy with their previous consumption experiences typically will repurchase the same product or service.

Sometimes researchers have not made a distinction between satisfaction and the affective response to consumption. Although they are significantly correlated, satisfaction is distinct from the affective response because satisfaction typically has a cognitive component. For example, satisfaction typically has a point of reference, whereas mood is usually a more general indicator of affect. That is, I was satisfied with my venue experience because the beer was cold and the popcorn was hot, my site lines were good, and the rest room lines were short. An affective response, on the other hand, would be as follows: someone is asked directly after the game how he or she felt and replies, "I feel good." Although there could be a point of reference (i.e., I feel good about the game), mood states are defined as not having cognitive evaluations, whereas satisfaction is usually a combination of both. In both cases, though, when individuals feel good and when they are satisfied,

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
<p>HAPPY NEW YEAR!</p>		<p>IT MUSTA BEEN THE CLIMATE!</p> <p>1</p> <p>1920 - CALIFORNIA DEFEATS OHIO, 21 TO 0, AT PASADENA.</p>	<p>PRETTY SOFT, I DIDN'T HAVE TO WORK THREE MINUTES!</p> <p>2</p> <p>1905 - STANLEY KETCHELL KNOCKS OUT KID THOMAS IN FIRST RD. AT BUTTE, MONT.</p>	<p>EZ LONG AS THEY BOTH ARE IRISH - THE RESULT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE!</p> <p>3</p> <p>1893 - FRANK BRIERLY, CHAMPION OF IRELAND, DEFEATS TOM KELLY IN FIFTH RD. AT N.Y.</p>	<p>SO THIS IS AUSTRALIA!</p> <p>4</p> <p>1914 - GIANTS AND WHITE SOX PLAY AT SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, ON WORLD TOUR.</p>	<p>5</p> <p>1887 - ART FLETCHER, MANAGER OF PHILADELPHIA NATIONALS BORN</p>
<p>ROLL OF HONOR</p> <p>ROOSEVELT</p> <p>1899 - T. R. ROOSEVELT, THE SPORTSMAN - PRESIDENT, DIES AT OYSTER BAY</p>	<p>!!!?!!!</p> <p>EIGHTY-FOUR ROUNDS</p> <p>PRESENT DAY PUGILISTS</p> <p>1824 - TOM SPRING DEFEATS TOM LANGAN IN 84 RDS. AT WORCESTER, ENGLAND</p>	<p>AND I WAS SUPPOSED TO BE FAST IN RUNNING FROM MARATHON TO ATHENS!</p> <p>6</p> <p>1909 - M. MALONEY SETS WORLD RECORD OF 2:53 1/2, 6E FOR MARATHON AT NEW YORK</p>	<p>IT'S A GOOD THING FOR HER SHE WASN'T RUNNING AGAINST ZEV!</p> <p>7</p> <p>1910 - SERRVILLE RUNS MILE IN 1:38 AT JUAREZ, MEXICO</p>	<p>TEXAS</p> <p>THAT'S AN INSULT TO ME!</p> <p>8</p> <p>1918 - FRED FULTON K.O. TEXAS TATE IN SECOND ROUND AT JOPLIN, MISSOURI</p>	<p>HE TAKES MORE FALLS THAN A MOVIE COMEDIAN!</p> <p>9</p> <p>1911 - BOMBARDIER WELLS RECEIVED FIRST, BUT NOT LAST, KNOCK-OUT OF HIS CAREER.</p>	<p>10</p> <p>1914 - MIKE GIBBONS KNOCKS OUT BOB MALLISTER IN 7 RDS. AT NEW YORK</p>
<p>WHEE SPEED!</p> <p>11</p> <p>1899 - J. W. TENKSBERRY SECOND MAN TO RUN 60 YDS. INDOORS IN 6 3/4 AT NEW YORK</p>	<p>THE CHAMPION OF THEM ALL!</p> <p>12</p> <p>1891 - BOB FITZSIMMONS KNOCKS OUT JACK DEMPSEY IN 13 RD. AT NEW ORLEANS</p>	<p>CLASS TO ME KID!</p> <p>13</p> <p>1920 - EUGENE'S GHOST WINS FIRST PLACE IN NATIONAL DOG DERBY AT CALHOUN, MICHIGAN</p>	<p>HALL OF FAME</p> <p>WOLGAST</p> <p>LIGHTWEIGHT KING</p> <p>14</p> <p>1908 - AD WOLGAST KNOCKS OUT WILLY SULLIVAN IN 513 RD AT NEW YORK</p>	<p>OH-SLEEP, IT IS A GENTLE THING BELOVED FROM POLE TO POLE - COLERIDGE</p> <p>15</p> <p>1911 - JACK GOODMAN KNOCKED OUT BY PACEY McFARLAND IN 10 RDS. AT N.Y.</p>	<p>SOME MORE CALIFORNIA PROPAGANDA!</p> <p>16</p> <p>1922 - JIM BARNES WINS CALIFORNIA NATIONAL OPEN</p>	<p>STICK UP YER DUKES</p> <p>17</p> <p>1895 - GEORGE DIXON AND YOUNG GRIFFO FIGHT 25 RD. DRAW AT CONEY ISLAND</p>
<p>UNUSUAL DISTURBANCE IN THE VICINITY OF FINLAND!</p> <p>18</p> <p>1923 - NILLY RITOLA RUNS 4 MILES INDOOR IN 9 min, 27 3/4 sec. AT NEW YORK</p>	<p>LIST OF PRIZE RING RULES 1863</p> <p>BLANK</p> <p>19</p> <p>1863 - JEM SMITH, LAST HEAVYWEIGHT CHAMPION OF ENGLAND UNDER PRIZE RING RULES, BORN</p>	<p>I'M THROUGH!</p> <p>20</p> <p>1919 - BARNEY OLDFIELD ANNOUNCES HIS RETIREMENT FROM RACING GAME</p>	<p>JUST WHAT I'VE WANTED FOR YEARS!</p> <p>21</p> <p>1920 - CHICAGO AMHERD ANNOUNCES NATIONAL PRO. TOURNAMENT FOR 1921</p>	<p>WILLARD'S DIARY</p> <p>WILLARD'S DIARY 24 - On this date I made the greatest mistake of my life 1914</p> <p>22</p> <p>1919 - TEX RICKARD ANNOUNCES WILLARD SIGNS TO MEET JACK DEMPSEY AT TOLEDO</p>	<p>FIRST PRIZE PALE OF ICE</p> <p>23</p> <p>1894 - JIM CORBETT KNOCKS OUT CHARLIE MITCHELL IN 3 RDS. AT JACKSONVILLE, FLA.</p>	<p>24</p> <p>1922 - ROY McWHIRTER WINS NAT'L SKATING CHAMPSHIP AT PLATTSBURG</p>
<p>THEY DIDN'T HAVE NOTHING ON US!</p> <p>25</p> <p>1904 - FRANK GOTCHA WINS WRESTLING CHAMPIONSHIP OF AMERICA FROM TOM JENKINS</p>	<p>26</p> <p>1922 - D. ANDRE SWIMS 100 METERS BREAST STROKE IN 1 min 37 3/4 AT DETROIT IN INDOOR TANK</p>	<p>WORLD'S MOST VERSATILE TENNIS PLAYER</p> <p>27</p> <p>1891 - R. NORRIS WILLIAMS BORN AT GENÈVA, SWITZERLAND</p>	<p>A CUP LIKE THIS HAS SOME USE IN AUSTRALIA!</p> <p>28</p> <p>1924 - KINGSCOTE OF ENG. WINS AUSTRALIAN TENNIS CHAMPIONSHIP DEFEATING POKLEY</p>	<p>PARDON?</p> <p>29</p> <p>1923 - LOREN MURCHISON RUNS 60 YDS. INDOORS IN 6 3/4 sec. AT NEW YORK</p>	<p>CEE I ONLY HAFTA WASH MY FACE 28 TIMES THIS MONTH!</p> <p>30</p> <p>FEB.</p>	

The Illustrated Sport Calendar for January 1924 by J. C. Clarke.

they typically intend to repurchase the product or service that made them happy and satisfied.

CONATIVE ASPECTS

Conation is the intent to do something. In terms of sport consumption behavior, it is the intent to purchase a sport product or service in the future. The combination of the cognitive aspects of motives, points of attachment, expectancy confirmation, and the affective aspects of mood and satisfaction influence the individual's intentions to repurchase. However, even though an individual may indicate that he or she will repurchase, it does not necessarily always happen. Sometimes a better indicator of sport consumption behavior is the actual past behavior of the individual.

Past Behavior

Previous consumption behavior has been shown to be a good predictor of future consumption behavior; that is, those who bought season tickets last year will typically buy season tickets this year at a much higher rate than those who didn't buy season's tickets for the previous season. However, there are other past behaviors that are also good predictors of whether people will repurchase merchandise or tickets or will consume media again.

People react to event outcomes in different ways. Oftentimes individuals are motivated to create and maintain a positive self-concept through the strategic attachment or detachment to certain teams with which they identify. As we noted earlier, individuals may watch sports to fulfill achievement needs and hope to bask in the reflected glory (BIRG) of successful others. Being "a part of the team" when the team is successful allows them to glean status and self-esteem through their identification and association. The tendency to BIRG is an attempt to secure esteem from those who can perceive the connection.

People will also distance themselves away from unsuccessful others in order to maintain self-esteem. That is, if a team loses or does not play as well as expected, many spectators will cut off reflected failure (CORF). Not all spectators BIRG only after victory or automat-

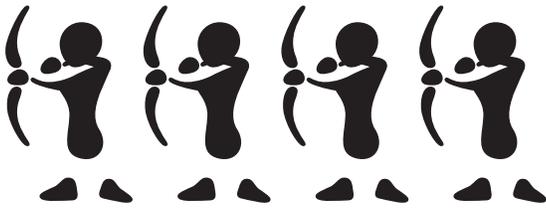
ically CORF in defeat, though. Highly team-identified people often resist the temptation to CORF. The level of fan identification typically influences an individual's reactions to event outcomes; that is, individuals high in team identification are much more likely to engage in BIRGing behavior after a victory and less likely to CORF after a defeat when compared with fans low in team identification. It may be that highly identified fans cannot bring themselves to CORF.

For those individuals who cannot CORF and cannot BIRG because there is no successful other, they may have to engage in other coping mechanisms such as out-group derogation and/or aggression (i.e., blasting). Thus, individuals, in trying to maintain their own levels of self-esteem in the eyes of others when faced with a potentially negative association, would often derogate or blast the negatively associated group.

Environmental Aspects

Environmental aspects have been segmented into three areas: game attractiveness (e.g., athlete skills, team records, league standing, record-breaking performance, closeness of competition, team history in a community, schedule, convenience, and stadium quality), marketing promotions (e.g., publicity, special events, entertainment programs, and giveaways), and economic considerations (e.g., ticket price, substitute forms of entertainment, income, and competition of other sport events (Zhang, Lam, and Connaughton 2003, 33)). The team's record typically has an impact on both ticket sales and on merchandise sales, although there are enough exceptions that this is not a given. For example, the Chicago Cubs have had many seasons in which they have not won a lot of games, and they have not been to the World Series since 1945, yet they typically have one of the best attendance records in Major League Baseball. On the other hand, the Atlanta Braves won thirteen straight division titles through 2004 and have had difficulty selling out home playoff games.

There has been conflicting research about the effects of promotions and advertising on increasing attendance. Although marketers and managers of professional franchises



tend to believe that advertising is useful when the team is not winning, most spectators and fans have indicated that advertising has little if any impact on their ticket purchasing or attendance behavior. Research has also been contradictory about the impact of price on sports products and services. Typically, if prices are too high, then various market segments are priced out of the market. However, as the Cincinnati Reds found out in the 1990s, if ticket prices are too low, people won't buy them either. The Reds priced the outfield bleacher seats at \$1.00 and very few people bought them because they felt that anything that cheap must not be any good.

Aspects of the venue also can influence attendance slightly. When a new stadium is built, there is often a novelty factor. People will go to a game just to see the new stadium, even if they have little interest in the game or sport itself. This factor tends to last a year or two at most, and then attendance returns to previous levels. Probably the largest venue effect is a negative one. When spectators are dissatisfied with the venue or levels of service at the venue, they tend to decrease their attendance. The opposite is typically not true. If the spectators are satisfied with venue aspects, it doesn't mean that they will attend more games, just the same number they originally intended on going to. However, all of these environmental aspects have, as a whole, had little impact on sport spectator consumer behavior compared with psychographic aspects.

Implications for the Future

Many working in the sport entertainment area in the late 1990s believed that the rapid expansion in sport spectator consumption would continue well into the new century. Unfortunately, economic factors in the early twenty-first century do not clearly point in this direction. Attendance figures for several professional sports leagues have plateaued or even shown a decrease between 2000 and 2004. The purchase of licensed sports merchandise has followed a similar trend. Consequently, as competition for the consumer increases, the need for a clearer understanding of sport spectator consumer behavior is great. Because team identifica-

tion is a strong predictor of sport spectator consumer behavior, understanding the social psychological mechanisms that foster sentiments of collective identification and feelings of attachment appear to be more crucial to marketing success than either demographic or environmental aspects.

*Galen T. Trail and
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*Tennis and golf are best played,
not watched.* ■ ROGER KAHN

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Spectators

“And the crowd goes wild!” This oft-repeated phrase represents the reality of twenty-first-century spectator sports, which are routinely watched by millions of people across a nation or across the world. It also represents a wide range of spectator behavior, ranging from rooting for the home team to rioting in the streets. The words *rooter*, *booster*, *adoring multitude*, *football hooligan*, *soccer mom*, *hockey dad*, and *the viewers at home* conjure images of fans watching sports with various levels of intensity. Some of these words have positive connotations and some negative, but they all describe a similar experience that touches the lives of a large segment of the world’s population.

During the past millennium the number of people who watch sporting events has grown from a few in-person spectators to enormous television and live audiences, and as the audiences have grown, the pressure of fan (short for *fanatic*) expectations has modified sports and society, often eclipsing the action on the

field and distorting the purpose of sports. With the advent of mass communication mediums such as radio and television during the twentieth century, the base population that could experience sporting events in real time expanded exponentially.

Ancient Fans

Fans have existed as long as sports. Sports require specialized skill, so not all people can participate. The unskilled have had to be content to watch. The ancient Olympic Games of Greece provided spectacle as well as a way of determining the best athletes and honoring the gods. The ultimate venue for sports fans in the ancient world was undoubtedly the Roman Colosseum, where sixty thousand spectators could watch gladiators battle to the death. Medieval jousting tournaments provided mass entertainment as well as military training and display. Large crowds also watched blood sports such as bear baiting or bullfighting, and these sports continued to be popular into the modern age. The crowds always went wild for those sports, but relatively few people actually witnessed them.

Stadiums

During the late nineteenth century entrepreneurs built larger venues for spectator sports as leisure time and incomes grew for the middle classes, and by the 1920s seating capacity at some exceeded that of the Colosseum. These secular cathedrals to sports allowed thousands to watch their favorite teams at one time. Civic pride became invested in a city’s ability to provide venues for their citizens, and construction of these facilities outstripped that of other entertainment venues such as opera houses or theaters as the middle class absorbed working-class sports into their dominant culture.

As the popularity of sports spread, fans in cities distant from the action could follow the fortunes of their favorites in newspapers and in periodicals such as the *Police Gazette* in the United States and the *Sporting Life* in Great Britain. Young boys were regaled with stories such as *Tom Brown’s School Days* in Britain or the popular *Frank Merriwell* series in the United States,

which blended sports with morality tales to nurture manly virtue in readers. The wealthy abandoned popular sports, withdrawing behind the walls of golf, yacht, and tennis clubs, and held events with fewer, but presumably, more refined fans.

Radio

When radio began to broadcast major sporting events such as the World Series and championship prize fights, the number of sports fans exploded. Prior to radio, fans clustered about businesses with telephone or telegraph connections where scores or updates were posted as an inducement to shoppers or as a public service. By the 1920s major sporting events such as boxing title matches, college bowl games, and the World Series could be enjoyed by fans a continent away from the action. The expansion of team loyalties meant that a fan of the Chicago Cubs might find a kindred soul in Florida or California, and the new medium also helped widen the appeal of sports within U.S. culture.

Radio, people have argued, was the media that best suited baseball. The slow pace of the game allowed a sportscaster such as Graham MacNamee, who was at the microphone for the first broadcast of a World Series game in 1923, or Ronald Reagan, whose first job in the entertainment industry was as a baseball announcer, to fill the time between pitches with biographical and statistical information on the players or to discuss the finer points of baseball strategy. The lack of a visual image allowed creative radio personalities to embellish routine plays, which made the games more exciting for fans, who were compelled to imagine visual images to supplement the narrative coming over the radio waves.

Television

After World War II television eroded radio's dominance in sports broadcasting. In the United States sporting preferences shifted toward football, which was better suited to television as a spectacle. College football, formerly the province of the educated classes, reached out to new fans as first radio and then television began to broadcast the games to an often-nationwide audience.

The pool of fans grew to include those fans who never actually attended a school but who formed an emotional attachment to a school through the media. This attachment was especially powerful when the school embodied a particular cultural trait or existed in a region with little competition from other sporting activities. The Fighting Irish of Notre Dame University reached across geographic borders to win fans among U.S. Catholics. The team's popularity among even non-Catholics also helped ease its full assimilation into the mainstream of U.S. culture. The University of Nebraska Cornhuskers provided a unifying symbol for an entire state whose residents had little in else in common.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) approached television gingerly, fearing that it would decrease gate receipts, but professional football embraced the new medium of television and in the process won a central place in the hearts of U.S. fans. The popularity of the National Football League and other broadcast sports in the United States began to draw enormous sums of money to the sporting world through television revenue, and television and sports formed a symbiotic relationship that created an upward spiral of popularity among fans.

PROLIFERATION OF CHOICES

Television expanded the popularity of sports within U.S. culture, and programs such as the American Broadcasting Company's *Wide World of Sports* introduced new sports that appealed to people who traditionally ignored sports. Members of the two-television family could now separate by viewing choices, with the males watching football while females watched figure skating. During the late 1980s the proliferation of cable television channels further diversified fan opportunities, with channels or pay-per-view packages devoted to major sports, as fans of poker, billiards, bass fishing, and a dizzying array of other sports enjoyed their own niche programs. The cable sports channel ESPN offered fans the chance to catch up on news from their favorite sports twenty-four hours a day, and ESPN Classic allowed young and old enthusiasts to watch the best



A crowd cheering athletes gathered on the field at the Pan American Games.

were young. The former athletes can remember, often with advantage, the exploits of their youth and recapture some small part of the joy they felt while competing. Such fan groups are often quite exclusive, being open only to the initiated, and members share the common language of the sport, which is typically incomprehensible to those who did not play.

games and matches from past years. For those fans who would rather argue than watch, or argue after watching, radio regained popularity by offering sports talk shows on which fans could comment on their favorite teams or sports, and television followed suit with celebrity argument and/or interview programs.

Outside the United States football (soccer) reigns supreme, and the quadrennial World Cup matches are watched by a large percentage of the world's population. Each nation has other folk sports, such as cricket in the United Kingdom, that have gained a wider following within and without its borders through television. Rugby, horseracing, and other sports are also popular among fans worldwide and have likewise benefited from television's constant courtship of people eighteen to forty-nine years old, who spend the most money and therefore are coveted by advertisers.

FAN MOTIVATION

Today even fans in remote areas can follow their favorite sports. However, why would they want to? Fans watch sports, whether on television or in person, because it fulfills a need.

Some fans watch a sport because they played the sport in their youth, and watching it allows them to relive past thrills and agonies. Young fans can sit at the feet of their elders and absorb the lore of the sport from men and women who played the sport when they

For some, spectator sports are social events and an excuse to hold gatherings of friends. The sports party has become a hallowed ritual for millions who gather with their friends to discuss the team's chances before, during, and after the game while consuming elaborate feasts, which are no less impressive because of the simplicity of the fare. These parties may occur in a residence, at a tailgate party in the parking lot outside the stadium or field, or in a business constructed for such celebrations: the sports bar. Sports enthusiasts across the world charter buses, planes, or trains to carry them to contests. These groupings usually are less exclusive and attract a wide cross-section of fans, from the ex-athlete to the casual fan.

Young fans can dream of one day taking their place on the field, and many visualize themselves making the moves of their heroes while playing in the backyard or on the street. A time-honored tradition is the crowd of young fans who surrounds athletes for autographs, although the value of memorabilia in the latter decades of the twentieth century gave rise to a more mercenary class of athlete and fan. When a fan party includes the initiated, it often serves as a rite of passage for young enthusiasts as they learn the folkways involved in spending a lifetime enamored with a sport.

Following a team or sport also provides a venue for consumption, and the sports-memorabilia and licensed-product markets bring in millions annually. During the 1990s economic boom, baseball cards and other

memorabilia prices set record highs and spawned their own subculture. Every professional team, college team, and many high school teams offer a wide array of product choices from current uniforms to classic replicas and the hats, clocks, and other bric-a-brac to complement them.

Finally, many fans use sports to escape from the drudgeries of everyday life. Following a team or a sport provides the opportunity to connect to something larger than the individual and to transcend everyday cares. When a player such as the U.S. basketball star Michael Jordan or the British soccer star David Beckham does the impossible, the escapist fan can forget for the moment his or her own powerlessness and the futility of a humdrum existence.

International Consequences

Sports offer a thrilling way for teams or individuals to compete for dominance, but the result rarely carries permanent consequences for real life. Many people would dispute the latter point, and often civic, regional, or even national pride becomes intertwined in the action, which adds to the vicarious thrill gained from rooting for the home team. During the Cold War the quadrennial Olympic Games became a venue for competition that often served as an alternative to more serious conflict. Tremendous controversies surrounded how Olympic team points should be awarded or whether men's and women's results should be kept separate. The lofty goals of the Olympic movement descended to the level of a playground argument in the competition for allegiance among nonaligned nations in the global struggle, and fans from the opposing sides gleefully joined in the fray, questioning the amateur standing, the drug use, or even the biological sex of the athletes from the other side.

Fan Behavior

By participating in sports as spectators, fans gain a feeling of belonging to something larger than themselves, and often times this feeling leads to extreme or bizarre behavior. During the 1996 World Cup finals, in a game

SPORTS FAN IS NOW A KING

Sit down, Sports Fan! Your day is here. A ticket to the ASTRODOME makes you a king.

Since the dawn of history, sports fans have watched events on stone blocks in the Roman Colosseum, hard wooden planks in most football stadiums, and slatted wooden chairs in most baseball parks. In some giant stadia in England and Europe the fans attending soccer games sit on the bare grounds in the curved end zones.



But all that is now ended for the patron who attends an event in the ASTRODOME. For the first time in sports history, you can watch a baseball game from deep-cushioned, foam-padded nylon upholstered chairs. You will be able to sit in a chair as comfortable as any found in the world's finest theatres and opera houses.

Equipping the ASTRODOME with cushioned, upholstered chairs was so revolutionary that the DuPont Company, which supplied the fabric, called attention to this drastic upgrading of customer's seats thusly:

"Is the new Houston Stadium run by nuts? Upholstered seats for sports fans . . . rodeo followers . . . boxing buffs! Are they crazy?"

"No, they're canny! This superdome they're building is blazing new trails in comfort and pleasure. So naturally, for those 45,054 comfortable, theatre-type chairs the architects specified DuPont ANTRON nylon coverings. They look so luxurious, will take the toughest treatment any audience can give them! Nine lively colors help spectators locate their seats quickly."

The American Seating Company, which manufactured the upholstered chairs, is proud of being a part of this revolutionary development in the sports world.

"In all the world, wherever people sit in large groups," states the American Seating Company, "even in theatres, music halls, churches, government buildings, auditoriums, or sports arenas, no more comfortable chairs have been provided. Every person who goes to an event in the Domed Stadium can be assured that he is sitting in one of the finest chairs ever built for use in a public place."

The luxurious chairs for the Domed Stadium was the largest single public seating in history—45,054 upholstered chairs.

The foam-covered spring type seats and the foam-padded backs required over 45,000 square yards of upholstery material. This is a strip of material 35" wide and over 25 miles long. To transport the chairs required enough freight cars to make a train slightly less than one mile long. To install the chairs on the face of the concrete risers over 100,000 holes had to be drilled into the concrete.

The cost of the seats was \$929,815.00 and the stadium planners and builders had you in mind when they set out to make the patrons of the ASTRODOME the world's most pampered customers.

This poster points out the benefits to the fan of the enclosed Astrodome.

Source: Brian S. Butler.

pitting the United States against Colombia, a Colombian defenseman inadvertently kicked the ball into his own goal, which counted as a score for the United States and led to his team's defeat. A week later, the player was dead, gunned down in the street by an irate fan. Some British soccer fans are notorious for their violence, and these soccer hooligans, along with similar fans from other nations, often eclipse the headlines earned by the teams they root for. When a team wins or loses a championship or sometimes a regular season game, police often face a night of rioting. Parents watching their children's games have often become irate and even violent when the breaks go against their children. In Chicago a man watching his son's hockey game became so enraged by the decisions made by the team's coach that he beat the coach to death.

Even when fan behavior is not violent, it is often still bizarre, especially when television is present. Even



Spectators

A Women-Only Crowd, 1896

In the 1896 extract below, from a newspaper article about a game played between female athletes from Stanford and Berkeley, it's clear that women hold their own as spectators—and players:

In this connection it should be set on record that there appeared to be no predominant type of woman among the spectators. There were old women, and young women, and short-haired women, and long-haired women, and pretty women, and plain women, and new women and—well, there may have been middle-aged women. But the really remarkable thing about them was the immense volume of noise they managed to create. It did one good to hear their cheers, and “bravos,” and excited comments on the play. And as for the players themselves, they were simply vociferous. Their animal spirits would have been an object lesson to half the young men in San Francisco. Why, when the Stanford girls retired to their dressing-room after winning the game, nothing would content them but to turn handsprings on the floor—and fine, workmanlike handsprings they were.

Source: *Players Won by a Goal*. (1896, April 5). *San Francisco Examiner*.

casual National Football League viewers have seen fans in northern cities standing bare-chested in subzero weather, and during the 1970s one fan with a multi-colored Afro wig seemed to attend every televised game. The early years of *Monday Night Football* were marked by a carnival atmosphere in the stands as women, often exotic dancers in search of publicity, performed suggestively for the cameras. One fan has made a career of impersonating players or referees to gain access to the field at important sporting matches. Games in various sports have been interrupted by streakers running naked across the field while officials give chase, and Morgana the Kissing Bandit, a well-endowed woman, made a career of turning up at sporting events to interrupt the action by kissing players.

Brazilian soccer games often resemble giant parties, with drums being pounded throughout, the fans singing, and flags waving. Beach balls are bounced around stadiums by fans who, when not so engaged, often take time out to do the wave, a synchronized movement of fans standing up in sequence so that it resembles an ocean wave. At basketball games fans behind the backboard often have balloons or towels that are waved in an attempt to distract opposing players when they shoot foul shots. In the television age the fan has often become an integral part of the action, rather than a passive spectator, and the notion that their actions matter has spurred fans to ever-greater exertions.

Sometimes fans suffer for their few seconds of fame. During a football game between the Baltimore Colts and the Miami Dolphins in 1971, an exuberant fan ran onto the field and passed close to the Colts defensive huddle. Mike Curtis, the middle linebacker for the Colts, proved his reputation for hitting by viciously knocking the fan to the ground. The man later lost his job and had to spend considerable time in the hospital because of the injuries he received. In a soccer game in Belgium in 1985, fans attacking the opposition crowd were held up at a barrier fence. When those behind continued to push, the fence collapsed, and thirty-nine were killed and hundreds injured. During the 2003 National League Championship Series between the Florida Marlins and the Chicago Cubs in Chicago's Wrigley Field, a young fan named “Bartman,” hoping to take a souvenir home from the game, tipped a foul ball out of the Cub leftfielder's glove, giving the Marlins another chance, which they exploited to win the game and the series. Bartman received tremendous attention from the media, and when his name became public, he received hate mail and death threats from other fans who were livid that the young man had helped extend the Cubs' absence from the World Series.

Such actions, and the emotions caused by them, have become part of the spectacle of modern sports, inseparable from the behavior of the true enthusiast.

Sports provide a way for fans who are so inclined to act out their personal dramas. This behavior is not a modern phenomenon, however, and from the beginning of sports as a spectacle, fan behavior has often bordered on the psychotic. At the ancient Roman gladiatorial matches, when given the chance, fans screamed for the life or death of the unlucky loser of a match. Bullfight fans have attempted or succeeded in crippling the animal adversary of their favorites, and horseracing fans have likewise interfered with the performance of horses or jockeys. These actions most often occur in the context of gambling on sports, another area of participation enjoyed by fans. Early baseball games were often marred by the sound of gunfire as fans (known then as “cranks”) in the stadium attempted to distract players on the field, and in one case a war broke out between El Salvador and Honduras after a soccer game.

The Future

Whether merely enjoying the action or reveling in the spectacle, fans transformed the act of watching games and in some cases threatened the meaning of sports. In the early twenty-first century the Internet has opened whole new vistas for fan participation. Fantasy sports are a multimillion-dollar business in the United States, and some people argue that fantasy sports hold the potential to alter the bond between fan and team that has been a mark of the sports fan in the past because lineups are assembled from players of various teams, weakening the traditional ties. Television’s need for new programming has also made sports of pastimes and will continue to influence the evolution of what it means to be a fan.

Whatever the result, the fan occupies a central place within the world of competitive sports at all levels and in nearly all areas of the planet. With television few people cannot be a fan of some sport, and the growth of the fan base, along with the idea that the spectator is part of the action, has altered both sports and culture.

Russ Crawford

See also Fan Loyalty; Franchise Relocation; Mascots; Violence

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Speedball

Speedball was a popular recreational and intramural game for girls and women in the United States until the 1960s. This recreational team sport combines kicking elements of soccer and football with passing elements of basketball.

History

Speedball originated in 1921 when E. D. Mitchell, the director of intramural sports at the University of Michigan, decided to fill the need for a fall sport that was not as dangerous as football and that would interest students of average athletic ability. Basketball in



the winter and baseball in the spring were games suitable for average players, but the fall lacked a game in which everyone could safely participate.

Speedball was an ideal intramural game because it was safe and inexpensive, did not take a great deal of training or skill, was excellent exercise for the entire body, and was interesting because of the different ways to score points. The facilities were also simple because a soccer (association football), hockey, or football field could be used if goalposts were added.

Speedball was successful from its inception. It had widespread use in the intramural departments of colleges and universities throughout the country but primarily in the Midwest. It was a popular physical education activity in secondary schools and even found its way into industrial recreation programs sponsored by city recreation departments in the 1930s. However, speedball lost favor with men's recreational programs by the end of the 1930s and was no longer included in the intramural college men's programs by the 1950s. Speedball also died in men's high school programs by the end of World War II. More schools started to play flag football or soccer, and speedball became a forgotten sport.

Meanwhile, by the 1930s, the game had proved itself to be particularly suitable for girls and had a larger following among women players than among men. By the 1950s, it had become a very popular sport for girls and women in colleges and high schools throughout the Midwest. California used speedball in many of its high school programs. In the East, however, private high schools and colleges played field hockey in the fall and moved directly to soccer later. Speedball remained an important game for girls and women only until the 1960s, when soccer took over.

Nature of the Sport

The game combines soccer, basketball, and football skills, using the catching and passing skills of basketball along with the kicking and punting tactics of soccer and football. The new skill needed is kicking a grounded ball up into the air. The player can kick the ball either to him- or herself or to another player.

During the game, played with seven to eleven players, touchdowns are scored by catching forward passes in the end zone. Players can't run with the ball. A player is not permitted to touch a ground ball with his or her hands. A fly ball, defined as one that has risen into the air directly from the foot of a player, may be caught with the hands, provided the catch is made before the ball strikes the ground again. In advancing the ball, the player may use one overhead dribble—that is, he or she may throw the ball in the air ahead and run forward and catch it before it strikes the ground.

The rules vary for high school versus college and intramural versus varsity competitions. Since the beginning, there have also been different rules for men's and women's games. Regardless of specific rules, however, the game is played in four periods of eight or ten minutes each, with the object being to score points by kicking the ball into the goal or through the goalposts, catching it in the end zone, or kicking out of the end zone. The standard field for men is 110 meters (360 feet) long by 49 meters (160 feet) wide; for women the field length is cut to 91 meters (300 feet). Players on each team are aligned across the field as forwards, backs, guards, and a goalkeeper. Free substitution of as many as five players is allowed. A soccer ball is usually used, although a basketball is sometimes used on smaller fields. Play involves moving the ball toward the other team's end zone and scoring points by kicking and hand passing. Running with the ball is not permitted. Contact between the players is not allowed, although players may guard each other and try to kick the ball away from the offensive player.

There is a key distinction between ground balls and aerial or fly balls:

- A ground ball is one that has touched the ground and is stationary, rolling, or bouncing. It may be played by kicking, heading, or playing off the body. A ground ball may be made an aerial ball by passing to oneself. This play is unique to speedball, and swift, smooth conversion of a ground ball to an aerial ball is a skill that distinguishes the best speedball players.

- An aerial ball is one that is in the air, and it may be played by catching it and by then drop kicking, punting, or dribbling it in the air.

The three types of kicks allowed are punting (kicking the ball while it is in the air), drop kicking (kicking the ball after one bounce), and place kicking (kicking the ball while it is stationary). Scoring differs slightly for men and women.

Today, speedball as a sport for women has largely disappeared, replaced by soccer, basketball, softball, and hockey.

*Joan Hult and
Robin O'Sullivan*

Sponsorship

Sponsorship has become commonplace in sports. Most definitions incorporate the concept of an exchange of value between the sponsor and the sport property. Commonly, sponsors are referred to as “partners.” In each case, the nature of the relationship is one in which a company with assets valuable to the sport property contracts to provide monetary support, equipment, technology, or a host of services in exchange for a commercial advantage. By marketing through sport, many nonsport-related companies have realized a significant return on investment (ROI). This contrasts with the early days of sponsorship, in which the gesture of financial support by a company for a sports event was most often philanthropic. In 1984, however, the Olympic games hosted by Los Angeles created the template for corporate sponsorship as it is known today.

Rationale for Sponsorship

Sport today could not exist without sponsorship. For professional sports, being competitive requires high salaries, premium facilities, media coverage, and corporate sponsorship to offset the expenses. In return, sponsors expect to accomplish any number of market-

ing objectives. Examples include hospitality, image enhancement, exposure to potential consumers, product sampling, increased sales, and market share. The most successful sport-sponsorship relationships are the result of a blending between the corporate partners’ marketing objectives and the attributes offered by affiliation or association with the sport property. The least successful relationships result when a gap exists between the objectives the corporate sponsor had when agreeing to engage in a sport sponsorship and the benefits resulting from the partnership. Similarly, a lack of affinity or image fit between the message of the corporate sponsor and the sport property sponsored often leads to sponsor defection. A strong image link can relaunch or establish a brand via the sport association. For example, Mountain Dew created an image as a beverage that appeals to young, hip, extreme, or action-sport enthusiasts through its strong affiliation with ESPN’s X Games. As a result, Mountain Dew also experienced a commensurate increase in global market share.

Trends in Sports Sponsorship

In 1976, the Montreal Olympic games created enormous debt for Canadian taxpayers. The 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC) understood the potential that reaching a global audience would have to companies who operated beyond the borders of a single country. The LAOOC plan called for only thirty-two sponsors that would each pay between \$4 million and \$13 million in cash, goods, and services to be affiliated with this one-of-a-kind global sporting event. The LAOOC produced a net profit of \$222 million, which had never happened in the history of the Olympic games. Before the success of the 1984 games spurred corporate interest, the Olympics were feared to be heading to extinction. Instead, companies that became involved with the LAOOC—such as Coca Cola, IBM, Visa, and Xerox—expanded into new markets, improved revenue, and maximized their transnational reach via the Olympic sponsorship platform. The Olympic Partners (TOP), worldwide sponsors that contracted with the International Olympic Committee

(IOC), numbered only eleven for the 2000 Sydney Olympic games, but this highest level of Olympic sponsorship required a minimum \$50 million commitment for the rights to be an official Olympic partner. The TOP sponsorship fee will increase to \$70 million for rights to the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008. Yet, with an emerging market of 1.3 billion people, companies are expected to sign up without hesitation. In fact, most TOP companies have been involved with the Olympic games for years, even decades.

One women's sport property was initially launched because of the financial support provided by a company that saw the potential value in sponsorship. The Women's Tennis Association (WTA) began as a result of disgruntled women athletes who believed their performances on the tennis court were worthy of tournament prize money similar to that offered the men's tournaments. Virginia Slims, a cigarette brand created for women, became the WTA title sponsor in the 1970s, and a new sport property was formed. Early on, tobacco and alcohol sponsorship of sports was common because of advertising restrictions limiting their direct use of television or radio broadcasts. By sponsoring sports events, these companies gained tremendous exposure without violating the advertising bans.

In the United States, intercollegiate athletics have become big business. National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I colleges generate an average of \$1.4 million in total revenue from corporate sponsorships. The average value of a typical corporate sponsorship deal for a Division I athletic program is currently \$26,613, with the average value for highest-level sponsors at \$198,437 compared with the average of \$4,755 for the lowest-level sponsorships. Division I schools also collaborate with an average of sixty companies. In 2004, the top ten schools secured \$3 million in corporate sponsorships, the average value of the sponsorships among these schools was \$90,500, and value of the largest sponsorship was more than \$350,000 annually for each school. Nevertheless, typical sponsorship contracts in collegiate sports often in-

clude women's sports and Olympic sports only as afterthoughts. Traditional thinking has placed football and men's basketball as the revenue-generating sports. Increasingly, however, women's college sports have generated strong followings and audiences. The College Sport Network has helped create value for these traditionally nonrevenue-generating sports. With television coverage for sports such as soccer, volleyball, and softball, a completely new area for potential corporate sponsorship has been created.

Marketing Through Sport Sponsorship

Meeting a company's marketing objectives remains the primary reason sponsors are attracted to sport sponsorship. Organizations selling a sports product are in the business of trying to attract a large audience of fans who typically represent a diverse consumer base. Attracting more fans through major events has been an important goal of professional and collegiate sport teams. As a result, companies have become involved in sport and event marketing because they expect their message to reach their desired audience through the sport fan base.

Traditionally, children were introduced to sports by their parents. Marketers have acknowledged that children who watch and take part in sports often grow up to become sport spectators. For this reason, Major League Baseball (MLB) has focused significant attention on building ballparks with family-friendly areas and engaging opportunities for kids. MLB recognizes that its future fan base comprises many of the children parents bring to games. Parents play a key role in children's interest in sports. As a result, companies have become more interested in addressing mothers through marketing efforts. Women have been acknowledged as key decision makers in numerous household purchases. Women are also known to be more loyal consumers than men are. These phenomena explain the use of sport-specific advertisements in women's magazines. By communicating with women, companies hope to influence a family outing to a major sporting event. Once

families are at events, the sponsorship mechanisms can be employed on kids as well as adults.

Target Marketing Through Sport Sponsorship

Since the early 1980s, the number of knowledgeable female sport fans has increased significantly, partly because of improved opportunities for women in competitive sports. Today, roughly 45 percent of the National Basketball Association's (NBA) and National Football League's (NFL) audiences are women. MLB has had a similar gender representation for decades. The National Hockey League (NHL) and National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) have fewer female fans (41 percent), yet this represents a significant increase for NASCAR from 36 percent in 1995. The WNBA (women's version of the NBA) maintains an audience of roughly 60 percent female. These numbers suggest that corporate sponsors of various sport properties can reach women, if they find the right communication strategy. Increasingly, reaching women has become important to marketers. Women today are responsible for 80 percent of all consumer goods purchases in the United States.

Still, one of the difficulties corporations face in trying to communicate with a target audience is that no audience is homogeneous. Age, education, and income are just three characteristics by which fans vary. Typically, advertising and promotions have treated women as part of the family demographic. Thus, compa-

nies that sell grocery products and children's clothing, as well as car companies looking to promote their minivans, have used sponsorship of women's basketball to reach the women who make such major decisions as what car to buy. In contrast, companies that want to sell products exclusively for men have been more interested in sports such as football, car racing, and hockey, whose audiences are almost 60 percent male. The NBA was reported to be the favorite sport among children ages seven to eleven, but teens preferred the NFL. Increasingly, marketers have targeted kids, often trying to bypass parental decision making. This can be challenging, given that sponsorship by beer companies has become pervasive in sport. The demographic most often sought through sport sponsorship is that of the eighteen- to thirty-five-year-old male. Affluent, white males control sport and are most often the target demographic. Nonetheless, recent attention has been placed on the Hispanic market with many professional sport teams in the United States employing staffs designated for this purpose. In MLB, Hispanic fans by percentage have equaled African-American fans at roughly 10 percent, whereas in both major league soccer and the NHL,



**Advertisements above
"The Green Monster"
in Fenway Park, 2004.**

Hispanic fans actually outnumber African-American fans. As sport marketing grows in sophistication, corporate sponsors are looking for avenues to relate to diverse market segments often found in sport.

Corporate Sponsorship and Media

The Olympic games are the platform of choice when it comes to reaching a global audience. Media rights for the Olympic games have escalated at an astronomical rate:

- In 1960, CBS televised the winter Olympics from Squaw Valley, California. The fee was \$50,000, approximately equal to \$310,000 today. CBS also purchased the 1960 Rome summer games rights for \$390,000, approximately \$2.4 million in today's economy.
- In 1984, ABC paid \$225 million (\$398 million in today's money) for television rights to the summer Olympic games in Los Angeles.

Media companies that purchase the rights to broadcast the Olympic games believe that the inventory of advertising time will offset the expense and that the network will ultimately achieve a profit. In corporate sponsorship, companies commonly spend twice the amount paid for rights fees and often more than five times the amount paid for rights fees in promoting their sponsorship of the sporting event or property. Given this understanding, the details of the latest Olympic television-rights deal are noteworthy.

General Electric (GE) maintains ownership of several television networks, including NBC, MSNBC, and CNBC. In 2003, GE captured the U.S. rights to the Olympic games with an unprecedented \$2.2 billion bid that included broadcast rights and a new global sponsorship category. Companies such as Disney (ABC/ESPN), News Corp. (Fox), and Viacom (CBS) had all bid for the contract. However, the winning bid made by GE/NBC agreed to pay the IOC \$820 million for the rights to the 2010 Olympic winter games and \$1.18 billion for the rights to the 2012 summer games,

plus an additional \$160 million to \$200 million during an eight-year period to secure GE a place as one of the eleven existing members of TOP. With this deal, NBC has secured the Olympic broadcast rights continuously for more than a decade, 2000 to 2012.

The NFL's Super Bowl also commands a high price, second only to the Olympic games. There, however, the advertising rate has gained the corporate attention. With an American audience that reportedly tunes in as much to see the advertising as to watch the football game, the Super Bowl has become an event for thirty-second message competition:

- In the Super Bowl's inaugural year, a thirty-second advertisement cost \$42,500; this 1967 rate equates to \$230,700 in today's terms.
- In 2003, the average paid for a thirty-second advertisement was \$2.2 million.

In 1967, the television rating was 17.8 or a 34 percent share. By 2003, the rating was 40.7 or a 61 percent share. Figures such as these dictate the value and equivalent price. Many companies believe they simply cannot afford to miss the opportunity to communicate with this dense an audience. The story of Master Lock illustrates the value of the Super Bowl for advertisements. In the mid 1990s when a thirty-second commercial cost roughly \$1 million, Master Lock reportedly spent its entire advertising budget on this one opportunity. Nonetheless, that one thirty-second commercial remains memorable to consumers as long as ten years later.

The World Series baseball broadcasts have gone from being shown in 20 countries in the late 1980s to more than 200 countries since the mid 1990s. In 2002, 224 countries received the World Series television broadcast. For corporate sponsors of MLB, this adds tremendous value. In Great Britain, the top televised sport broadcasts in 2001 were all soccer World Cup qualifiers. Only the broadcast of Britain's top tennis athlete, Tim Henman, in the semi-final of Wimbledon rated competitively.

Unique Attributes of Sport Sponsorship

Sport marketing has two primary aspects:

1. The marketing of sports
2. Marketing through sports

Sponsorship most often involves nonsport products or services that use images of sports to market to consumers. The primary industries involved in sport sponsorship include the automobile, credit card, beer, airline, soda, telecommunications, and fast food industries, but new industry categories are continuously emerging. The most lucrative sponsorship deals for teams today involve naming-rights deals for stadiums and arenas. Facilities that once were named after influential figures or historic community affiliations now bear the names of companies who were willing to pay a multimillion-dollar fee. Deals such as this often create controversy and can lead to resentment among fans. Nonetheless, the sponsorship pendulum has continued to swing in the same direction for many years. As endorsement commitments by companies such as Nike increase with the latest athletic achievements, and as the appetite for sports continues to grow, there appear to be no limits to using sport as a desirable marketing vehicle. Sponsorship allows companies to create a template of benefits that integrate communication strategies like no other medium. Still, the most attractive aspect of sponsorship to companies is often the price. When the cost of advertising time during major sporting events is compared with the array of benefits built into a sponsorship package, the decision is rarely a difficult one. Add in the opportunity to enhance a brand image, link with a beloved entity such as an athlete or sport, and potentially reach a global audience, and you can see why sponsorship of sport will be around for many years to come.

Nancy L. Lough

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Sport and National Identity

Understanding sport's cultural significance in society requires considering how sports are tied to ideas about national identity.

In the media, the link is most apparent during large sporting events such as the Olympic Games, where a country's sporting successes (or failures) are visibly tied with nationalistic sentiment. Likewise, rugby in Wales, New Zealand, and South Africa, cricket in the West Indies, soccer in Brazil and Italy, and baseball in the United States are just a few examples of sports that are frequently constructed as constituting the character of a nation. Moreover, it is difficult, if not impossible, to imagine major professional or international sporting events without the presence of national anthems, national flags, and medal standings. Indeed, sport, and in particular televised sport, is often described as a "uniquely effective medium for inculcating national feelings" (Jarvie 1993, 74) because it provides a symbolic site for historical or current struggles and conflicts (Gruneau & Whitson 1993).

Sport's role in nation building is important to consider, but the reverse relationship is equally significant. Indeed, our collective understandings of national identity contribute to shaping sporting practices and, by extension, broader institutions. Thus, the imperative of fostering a national identity is often used as the justifi-



A baseball cap with flag during the national anthem at the 2001 World Series held in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

Source: istockphoto/ buckaroo.

Generally speaking, national identity is expressed out of both similarity and difference with respect to such dimensions. For example, although Canadians define themselves according to their wintry climate and bilingual histories, they also distinguish themselves more simply as “non-Americans.” National identity is in effect a social construction constituted by historical processes and symbolic practices including the creation (and transmission) of myths, stories, images, and rituals to produce shared meanings and understandings of nationhood. Such narratives of the nation are told and retold to represent and differentiate a collective and unified “us” from a generic and often stereotypical “them” (De Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak 1999). Anderson believes the nation is a distinctly cultural artifact and socially constructed representation that needs to be “imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (1991, 6).

Undoubtedly, sport plays a significant role in the social construction of distinct national identities and invented national traditions around the world (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). International sporting competitions have been particularly useful for promoting national unity and international standing because they are competitive and have the potential to effectively and popularly mobilize “us” versus “them.” Moreover, collective national sporting identities or national sporting mythologies typically have deep popular roots that have been molded in relation to historically significant moments of national sporting prowess. For example, the United States’ 1980 Olympic win over the Soviets in ice hockey has been mythologized as a “miracle on ice” and a defining moment in U.S. sporting imagination and, by extension, a triumph of American values and capitalist democracy. Meanwhile, in New Zealand, the nation’s iconic rugby team, the All Blacks, has historically idealized the relatively small and isolated nation as a classless, egalitarian, and racially harmonious society. In other words, because of the visibility and popularity

cation for redesigning sporting relations, physical education in schools, and public policy. For example, had it not been for Australia’s poor performance at the 1976 Olympic Games (and the public perception of a tarnished national image), the Australian Institute of Sport might never have been established. Similarly, sport gained ascendancy in Canada’s federal policies because of its promise to promote national unity and a pan-Canadian identity amid an increasing divide between English-speaking and French-speaking territories.

What Is National Identity?

The concept of national identity is notably difficult to define and its precise character has been widely interpreted in relation to a number of issues including geography, ethnicity, religion, language, and shared experience.

of sport it is frequently promoted as embodying the naturalized and taken-for-granted values of the nation.

Why Study Sport and National Identity?

The connections between sport and national identity deserve careful examination because of the sociocultural and ideological tensions they reveal. Indeed, a nation's identity is never universally apparent, shared, or accepted but, rather, continuously is given meaning through cultural practices like sport. Sport can tell us who we are, where we came from, and what we collectively stand for. But the link between sport and national identity is ultimately contentious because it also suggests who we *ought* to be and what we *should* stand for. As Coakley writes, "It is important to ask critical questions about the long-term consequences of this emotional unity and about whose interests are being served by the images, traditions, and memories around which identities are expressed" (2001, 390). As a result, any consideration of national identity and sport involves addressing *how* these identities are constructed (e.g., through the media) and *who* has the power to influence their conceptualizations and understandings (e.g., corporate elites, the state).

Likewise, to examine sport's role in constructing or maintaining a nation's identity reveals the contested nature of sport itself. For example, some have argued that the primacy given to creating national identity tends to favor elite sports over recreational forms because of elite sports' affinity with notions of a competitive society. Thus, if nation building is an important goal, it follows that this is more apt to occur through sporting forms that support "we/they" identifications along national lines. Such arguments are ultimately important to us because they are often presented as common-sense interpretations of how sport, and by extension society, is (or should be) structured. In other words, examining sport and national identity helps reveal the inevitable tensions and divisions of our collective identities as well as the political nature of sport itself.

Issues Related to Sports and National Identity

An extensive body of research compares and contrasts cases in sovereign countries and in other nations that, although not recognized by the United Nations, gain a sense of nationhood through sport events such as the soccer and rugby World Cups (e.g., Scotland). A second level of enquiry focuses on the cultural significance of sport in shaping national identities and how the media contribute to naturalizing particular interpretations of the "nation." Given the breadth of these perspectives (and their considerable theoretical and empirical depth), we synthesize two broad, recurring themes underpinning the analysis of national identity and sport.

ONE NATIONAL IDENTITY?

One of them most common themes from these scholarly works concerns the political implications surrounding the expression of a singular national identity. Within any country, there are multiple identities, drawn along lines of race, language, or religion, so the idea that sport can legitimately represent (or promote) a universal set of attributes is invariably problematic. Two closely related critiques emanate from this point.

The first is that sport contributes to an overly narrow version of national identity that tends to privilege particular values over others. Specifically, these criticisms are aimed at the connections often made between a country's "national sport" and the character of its citizens. Some have argued, for instance, that promoting the idea of a national sport often implies virtuous attributes such as manliness or respect for authority, thereby rendering alternate expressions (such as individuality) untenable. The idea that ice hockey is inherently "Canadian" or that rugby mirrors New Zealand culture represents a romanticized frame of reference that tends to ignore competing representations of what it is to be a citizen of these countries. Indeed, Bairner points out, "the concept of 'the national sport' is a slippery one," as it may either "confirm the exclusive character of the nation or, more commonly, reflect a contest between ethnic and civic representations of the nation"



Sport and National Identity

Extract from *Little Women* (1868)

The excerpt below from Chapter 12 of the classic novel by Louisa May Alcott describes a heated croquet match with teams composed of both Americans and English visitors.

It was not far to Longmeadow, but the tent was pitched and the wickets down by the time they arrived. A pleasant green field, with three wide-spreading oaks in the middle and a smooth strip of turf for croquet.

“Welcome to Camp Laurence!” said the young host, as they landed with exclamations of delight.

“Brooke is commander in chief, I am commissary general, the other fellows are staff officers, and you, ladies, are company. The tent is for your especial benefit and that oak is your drawing room, this is the messroom and third is the camp kitchen. Now, let’s have a game before it gets hot, and then we’ll see about dinner.”

Frank, Beth, Amy, and Grace sat down to watch the game played by the other eight. Mr. Brooke chose Meg, Kate, and Fred; Laurie took Sallie, Jo, and Ned. The English played well, but the Americans played better, and contested every inch of the ground as strongly as if the spirit of ‘76 inspired them. Jo and Fred had several skirmishes and once narrowly escaped high words. Jo was through the last wicket and had missed the stroke, which failure ruffled her a good deal. Fred was close behind her and his turn came before hers, he gave a stroke, his ball hit the wicket, and stopped an inch on the wrong side. No one was very near, and running up to examine, he gave it a sly nudge with his toe, which put it just an inch on the right side.

“I’m through! Now, Miss Jo, I’ll settle you, and get in first,” cried the young gentleman, swinging his mallet for another blow.

“You pushed it; I saw you; it’s my turn now,” said Jo sharply.

“Upon my word, I didn’t move it; it rolled a bit, perhaps, but that is allowed; so stand off, please, and let me have a go at the stake.”

“We don’t cheat in America, but you can, if you choose,” said Jo angrily.

“Yankees are a deal the most tricky, everybody knows. There you go!” returned Fred, croqueting her ball far away.

Jo opened her lips to say something rude, but checked herself in time, colored up to her forehead and stood a minute, hammering down a wicket with all her might, while Fred hit the stake and declared himself out with much exultation. She went off to get her ball, and was a long time finding it among the bushes, but she came back, looking cool and quiet, and waited her turn patiently. It took several strokes to regain the place she had lost, and when she got there, the other side had nearly won, for Kate’s ball was the last but one and lay near the stake.

“By George, it’s all up with us! Good-by Kate, Miss Jo owes me one, so you are finished,” cried Fred excitedly, as they all drew near the finish.

“Yankees have a trick of being generous to their enemies,” said Joe, with a look that made the lad redder, “especially when they beat them,” she added, as, leaving Kate’s ball untouched, she won the game by a clever stroke.

(2001, 167). Furthermore, given that such national sports have traditionally been the preserve of men, scholars argue that these reproduce powerful messages about “appropriate” conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Although women are clearly involved in national sports and compete internationally, discourses of national sporting identities are often unfavorable to

them and exclusionary. As Rowe, McKay, and Miller note, “The individual achievements of women athletes (such as Chris Evert and Billie Jean King) may be of great significance, but at the level of team sports, where the source of pride is collectivized, women are denied the status of bearers of national qualities that the media and the apparatus of the state conventionally accord to

Presentation of the flag and the national anthem before a baseball game.

men” (1998, 126). In this view, therefore, the definition of national identity through sport is never a neutral or benign statement of fact; rather, it has very real implications because it *identifies* particular characteristics or values and *typifies* them.

The second broad critique relative to national identity and sport regards the claim that sport helps *unite* citizens and that it can effectively transcend other identities. Although most agree that on some level, sport has the potential to build a sense of national unity, the main point of contention is how this claim is ultimately taken for granted. In response, critics point to an inherent contradiction: that national identity represents similarity (through expressions such as “we” or “us”), but it paradoxically tends to be defined through “difference” by using stereotypes and myths to distinguish it from the “other.” In sporting lore, heroes are infused into a nation’s identity as much by their personal achievements as by *whom* they conquered and how. In referring to the particularities of a United Kingdom identity, where Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland contribute to blurred distinctions, Whannel points out, “the production [of natural belongingness] is not a neat unifying performance, but rather a process in which moments of apparent national unity have to be set against the divisions and tensions that may operate between national and local identities” (1998, 26). Beyond these divisions, conceptions of “otherness” also include those who might question the ideological foundations on which expressions of national identity are constructed. Indeed, the capacity for sporting stories, memories, and myths to unite is tempered by the very way in which they sometimes gloss over inequities and le-



gitimate dominant notions of a meritocratic or egalitarian society. Ultimately, the idea of national unity (through a common identity) is contradictory because national sporting identities can obscure internal (and very real) cultural and social divisions and the economic inequalities present in democratic societies.

SPORTS, NATIONAL IDENTITY, AND GLOBALIZATION

A second level of analysis revolves around the visible challenges to national identity and the nation-state triggered by particular political, economic, and cultural social processes of globalization and an intensified sense of interconnectivity. Although scholars widely use the concept of globalization as a lens through which to analyze sport and national identity, they reach considerably different conclusions. The effects of globalization and the apparent declining importance of the nation-state feature prominently in recent analyses of national identity and sport.

Some have argued, for example, that globalization has increasingly rendered the nation-state obsolete, particularly because of the heightened power of transnational corporations. Indeed, though nationalism clearly exists in conjunction with international sports, the boundaries and differences between national identities and corporate interests are becoming increasingly

Aggressive fighting for the right is the greatest sport in the world. ■ THEODORE ROOSEVELT

blurred. For example, transnational corporations are increasingly sponsoring national sporting teams and appropriating national sporting identities in their global promotional campaigns: Nike sponsors the Brazilian soccer team, whereas Adidas sponsors the New Zealand All Blacks rugby team. In this sense, national identity is being increasingly aligned with the interests of global corporations and consumption, such that sponsors often herald victories by “national” teams as conquests over rival transnational corporations. Such issues raise important questions about who “owns” and “controls” national identity.

The notion of athletes as global migrant workers is another contemporary global political issue that indicates the permeation of national boundaries. In conjunction with the new international division of labor, the diversity and frequency of sporting labor migration patterns of athletes has increased substantially. Although high-profile athletes such as Michael Jordan, Tiger Woods, and Martina Hingis are marketed to audiences around the world and have transnational celebrity appeal, borderless athletes routinely move between states, regions, and continents, raising important questions about the relevancy of national identity and national borders in the global sports arena. The degree to which their “host” countries embrace athletes varies substantially and can be closely tied to their sporting successes. In Canada, for example, European and Russian hockey players are still frequent targets of xenophobic and disparaging stereotypes by some cultural commentators who argue that skilled foreign players are incompatible with “Canadian values” of rugged toughness.

In their totality, the impacts of globalization have often triggered identity crises within particular nations. This is particularly evident, for example, when a country loses in its “national game” in major international competitions, which effectively sets the stage for periods of national self-examination. In such instances, fans and citizens alike commonly retreat to the mists of nostalgic recollections of past sporting and national “victories.” Indeed, as Jackson and Ponik note, sporting crises serve “as a key site for the confirmation of a particular set of im-

ages, narratives, and social bodies upon which a selective social memory can be constructed” (2001, 59). Britain’s national identity, for example, is often argued to be “languishing” amid “dreams of an imperial past” because of processes of migration and competing nationalist claims from its “Celtic Fringe” (Tuck 2003). Meanwhile, in New Zealand, any loss by the All Blacks is regarded as a national crisis and greeted with intense anger, mourning, and nostalgic recollections of the rugged sporting legacy of the nation’s rugby team. In Canada, key sporting figures such as “The Great One” (Wayne Gretzky) have become standard bearers of “Canadianness” (Jackson 2001).

Sport and Popular Culture

As an important part of popular culture, sport powerfully links “national symbols and myths of national character with the ordinary lives of people and with widely shared popular experiences” (Gruneau and Whitson 1993, 251). In this light, sport can advance feelings of national unity while paradoxically dismissing societal divisions along lines of class, race, language, religion, and gender. Consequently, the meanings of, and claims to expressions of sporting national identities are very much implicated in sustaining power and privilege within specific nations. Indeed, examining sport and national identity helps reveal the inevitable tensions and divisions of our collective identities as well as the contested nature of sport itself.

*Michael Sam and
Jay Scherer*

See also Sport Politics

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I gave it my body and mind, but I have kept my soul. ■ PHIL JACKSON

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Sport as Religion

Is it possible to regard sport as a religion? Based on similar yet different definitions of religion, the answer is yes. The institution of sport is more than humans interacting in a playful manner; rather it is a civic religion, a social institution. According to French sociologist Emile Durkheim “religion is the tie that binds a collectivity together—it transforms the objects and activities of everyday life into the sacred. Planned gatherings paradoxically generate spontaneous expressions of group enthusiasm, even hysteria that bind the individual with the assembly” (cited in Mazur & McCarthy 2001, 124). Applying this theory to football, fan participation becomes a religious experience as denominations or team

supporters unite in chants and cheers, expressing their group enthusiasm. Using Durkheim’s definition, sport is, indeed, a religion. Sporting events unite athletes and spectators in a unique community in which sacred rituals and morals are reinforced. During sporting events congregational members are encouraged to express emotions through chants and songs. Clifford Geertz states that religion’s role is to shape the social order, to guide and shape behaviors (1973, 119). Again using football, athletes and fans learn favorable social behavior through rules and regulations. The structure of football demands dedication, with players executing their individual roles within the collective. A football team’s success depends on individuals working together to achieve a common goal. If each member acted independently chaos would arise. Sport congregations apply the social behavior of teamwork to everyday situations.

The concept of sport as a religion is not new. In fact, the Olympics were originally portrayed as a religious event, a sacred festival of games and sport. Flags, drums, dances, songs/chants, and feasts all accompanied ancient religious/sport rituals. During these religious events, “the drummers beat their drums like those possessed and this it was believed signified the presence of the spirits who were the determinants in the results of the contest” (Obare 2003, 1). These same ancient rituals are present in modern sporting events, especially football tailgating. At weekend football services, college bands are entrusted to ignite the congregation and raise spirits through the beating of drums and blowing of horns. Charles Prebish (1993) likens the ritual of tailgating to that of eighteenth-century evangelical tent revivals, in which followers temporarily congregated and formed “pop-up” communities. Every college football weekend fans congregate in mobile homes and recreational vehicles and form these quasi minicommunities. The congregation reminisces over past glories and looks forward to future triumphs. Each new generation learns traditions of breaking bread as well as kinship/fellowship from the previous generation.

Researcher Ruphine Obare (2003, 1) defines religion as “human beings relation to that which they re-



gard as holy, sacred, spiritual, divine . . . worship is probably the most basic element of religion.” Obare regards sport as a natural religion because it reflects rituals, symbols, and a desire for perfection. Concurring with Obare, Coakley believes “sports are natural religions. All things human are proper to them—in sports, we meet our humanity. Assuming one begins with limited hopes, there is more to admire in sports—and in our humanity, and in our nation than to despise” (2001, 314).

Sport as Alternative Civil Religion

There are two main reasons the religion of sport is significant to American culture. The first is simply offering an alternative civil religion, while the second consists of palpable implications within American society. Bellah classifies civil religion as a set of beliefs, symbols, and rituals: “certain common elements of religious orientation that the great majority of Americans share. These . . . provide a religious dimension for the whole fabric of American life, including the political sphere” (Bellah et al. 1987, 3). Despite making distinction between civil religion and denominational religions, Bellah’s civil religion is closely linked to Protestantism throughout the nineteenth century. Some researchers argue that certain aspects of sport actually reflect the Protestant ethic of building strong moral worth through sacrifice and pain, one of the basic foundations of sport religion.

To Geertz, religion (even a civil religion) provides meaning to an objective reality, which produces generational worldview or culture. Religious beliefs and practices, Geertz said, “represent a way of life ideally adapted to the actual state of affairs” (1966, 3). This theory is applicable to sport. For example, business ideology as portrayed through rhetoric involving individuals working together as a “team” to achieve a “common goal” exemplifies this theory.

Although Bellah’s civil religion refers to America’s devotion to itself, his ideology can be applied to America’s love of sports. The functions of this civil religion include instilling proper respect for authority, stressing moral values, and the hard-work ethic.

Milton Yinger (1963) suggests that these quasi religions are formed to compensate for traditional churches’ inability to achieve unity among groups with different values.

Peter Berger suggests that a socially constructed world (a religion) “directs, sanctions, controls, and punishes individual conduct” (1967, 11). Rules and regulations within sports resemble this very same theology/ideology. Sport teaches a “respect for limits and laws and rules—and the lust to develop the art of doing things perfectly” (Prebish 1993, 163). In other words, sport builds a fundamentally strong character base that is applicable to everyday life. The search for perfection becomes a self-transcendental journey. Berger refers to this journey as a religious phenomenon, one that is socially self-transcendent. In addition, Berger believes that religion “is a humanly constructed universe of meaning, and this construction is undertaken by linguistic means” (1967, 175). The nature of sport generates and constructs communities in which a unique language (or sports lingo) is used to both define and explain its society as well as the outside world. Expressions originating within sports such as “hitting below the belt,” “taking one for the team,” “spoilsport,” and “team player” translate to everyday life and help define certain actions and behaviors. Common use of football terminologies such as “offside,” “fumble,” or “time out” demonstrates the practical application of this religious theory. Members interweave these expressions and apply them to everyday life. Football creates a unique terminology that combines sign language with oral communication. Sport impacts our understanding of fair play and integrity, thus helping to shape the social order. Through rules and regulations, sport reinforces a reliance on a higher authority and a type of submission to a controlled social order. Again, using football as an example, the referee has ultimate say in determining fair play or settling disputes, thus reiterating this civil religion’s goal of instilling proper respect for authority.

Sport resembles religion in the sense that both are organized institutions with disciplines and liturgies, stressing moral values of heart and soul. Sport as a social



Sport as Religion

Worshipping at the “Church of Sports”

If there is a universal popular religion in America, it is to be found within the institution of sports. . . . Many Americans worship at the church of sports. Services are held for each personal belief, whether it be football, racing, golf, or driving.

Prebish, C. S. (1993). *Religion and sport: The meeting of sacred and profane* (p. 57). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

institution, like religion, uses codes to guide moral conduct, which ultimately results in a deeper respect for authority. The religion of sport transcends the individual, thus molding and impacting personalities. Individuals or members identify themselves with certain characteristics or traits belonging to their beloved sport/team. This identification is especially true when devotion begins as a child. “By being born into the clan or raised a fan of a particular team, the individual is constituted by identification with the totemic symbol of the group” (Mazur & McCarthy 2001, 127). For example, Chicago Cub fans have endured years of disappointment resulting in a sense of hopefulness, a belief that this could be the year, which sets them apart from other team supporters (with the exception of Boston Red Sox fans before October 2004). In other words, one could argue that Cub fans are bred to endure pain and disappointment, making them more forgiving and more optimistic. Teaching endurance from generation to generation complies with Geertz’s traditional aspect of what constitutes a religion.

Religion and Sport Reflect Society

Religion functions as a reflection of society, defining rules and explaining norms. Geertz argued that anywhere norms or models of society and/or models for behaving in society exist there is religion. If Geertz is right and religious motives are “liabilities to perform particular classes of act or have particular classes of feelings” (1973, 97), then emotional sporting rituals

such as chanting and festive tailgating classify sport as religion. According to Geertz, religious motives stimulate moods, which trigger certain behaviors. Sacred symbols then ignite moods ranging from “exultation to melancholy, from self-confidence to self-pity” (1973, 97). Depending on loyalty or devotion to a particular team or sport, symbols like the Stanley Cup, the Lombardi Trophy, or a World Series ring can either exhilarate or depress individuals. In addition, the playing of sporting anthems rekindles deep emotional ties, further uniting the individual with the sport community. This rekindling of emotions is especially true in regard to collegiate football anthems. Whether it’s the sound of “The Victory March” or the “Texas Fight” song, either the Notre Dame Stadium or Darrell K. Royal Stadium ignites in unified exuberance with fans rejoicing while partaking in the festivities.

One consciously chooses a set of beliefs and attitudes that affect one’s behavior, or one’s spirituality. Eric Mazur and Kate McCarthy (2001) believe that a spiritual person seeks these beliefs, values, and practices to enhance their life and provide a sense of responsibility and orientation. According to researchers James Frey and D. Stanley Eitzen (1991) religion has several roles including emphasizing asceticism, repetition, and developing character. Institutional sports, especially American football, American baseball, and hockey possess these very qualities. Through self-denial and self-discipline, athletes learn to endure pain and to place the team above all. Common male expressions like “buck up” or “no pain, no gain” demonstrate the infiltration of this sport ideology into everyday life. Athletes seeking perfection through repetition set an example of good character for the rest of the congregation (or fans). According to Putney, and Frey and Eitzen, these same positive values of self-discipline, sportsmanship, a hard work ethic, and goal attainment through competition help qualify sport as religion.

As found in traditional religions, sport relies on symbols, language, and rituals to both maintain order and help explain events of everyday life. According to Coakley, “the rituals of sport engage more people in a shared



The ruins of ancient Olympia in 2003, a site associated with both sport and religion.

experience than any other institution or cultural activity today” (2001, 1). As early as the late 1800s Americans relied on sporting rituals to help promote moral values. In 1887, based on sports rituals, Luther Gulick transformed the YMCA’s goal of saving souls to building character. As a YMCA philosopher and director of physical training, Gulick believed that sport taught moral values of body, mind, and spirit, and through sport, people could tone and perfect their human character. Today’s Fellowship of Christian Athletes’ mission of using athletics to “impact the world for Jesus Christ” through values of integrity, service, teamwork, and excellence is based on this same principle. Routines and disciplines found in sport strengthen personal character. A stronger moral foundation/character better prepares an individual to combat everyday trials. When combating an aggressive opponent, football conditions defensive players to dig in, to remain tough and hold the line. In everyday situations, this conditioning translates to determination and perseverance both in the work force and within personal relationships.

Through sport, children learn basic skills such as cooperation, self-esteem, altruism, loyalty, self-control, and obedience. Researchers Margaret Gatz, Michael Messner, and Sandra Rokeach argue that values and skills learned through sport help children develop so-

cially and emotionally, and further serve to prepare an individual for the rest of life. Sport teaches acceptance of authority and initiates youth in routines. In this manner, sport becomes a transmitter, translating societal goals or meanings from one generation to the next. Sport becomes a “symbolic liaison” that Berger refers to as an “ancient lineage [that is] grounded in the very antiquity of kinship institutions”

(1967, 132). Sport, like religion, binds communities together. Sport educates society in responsibility and self-control through its “demands for fairness and chivalry which must be respected even in the face of the strongest aggression” (Guttmann 1978, 130).

According to Edwards and Coakley, sport shares numerous essential features of religion including formal statement of beliefs, testimonies that bring fullness and satisfaction to life, saints (or idolized people), ruling patriarchs (coaches), hierarchal/high council (NCAA or referees), reliance on scribes (records and journalists), seekers of the kingdom (fans), shrines and/or cathedrals, and symbols of the faith (trophies/souvenirs). Like traditional religions, sport provides structure and an opportunity for religious expression. This religious expression provides a chance to step outside of one’s daily routine and become part of the collective, especially through chants. Durkheim refers to this impetuous passionate release as “corrobbori” (as cited in Mazur & McCarthy 2001, 125). Sport is catharsis in that it “allows the release of emotions in a range of behavior including pre-game levity, frenzied cheering during the game, and post-game carousing” (Guttmann 1978, 134).

In this community, “post modern religious expression is once removed, vicariously experienced by those who observe the ‘religious’ ritual. Spectating, therefore,

*Baseball is like church. Many attend,
few understand.* ■ LEO DUROCHER

replaces participating” (Mazur & McCarthy 2001, 129). Fans, however, individually symbolize their faith through pennants, emblems, flags, hats, and whatever best characterizes the glory of their team (Prebish 1993, 67). During the sporting event (or service) members restate their belief by submitting to the hierarchal codes and rules. The sport congregation participates with both rookies (novices) and veterans (ordained clergy) as “pilgrims travel hundred of miles to witness a game [and invoke] traditional hallowed chants. Instead of salvation and redemption, the goal is now collective victory” (Rudin 1972, 384). Sports pages become sacred scrolls, read in daily devotions along with viewing ESPN.

Applying researcher Catherine Abanese’s four components of religion adds validity to the claim that sport is, indeed, a religion (as cited in Prebish 1993). Abanese’s first component, creed, is defined as the shared viewpoints of a group. To some extent athletes, coaches, and supporters/fans define sport through their belief or viewpoint of its existence and/or meaning. Abanese bases her second component, code, on rules and regulations, which guide or govern this belief. Strictly enforced guidelines and rules define sport. Whether you are an athlete or a spectator, either ignoring or blatantly disrespecting rules will result in your expulsion or denial from participating in the game (or service). For example, hockey penalizes breaking the rule of high sticking with time in the penalty box, denying the “sinner” the glory of joining in the service. Third, Abanese gauges religion by cultus—or its ceremonies/rituals and tradition. Whether it is the singing of the national anthem, the traditional seventh-inning rendition of “Take Me Out to the Ballgame” at Wrigley Field, or the official tossing of a coin at the beginning of a football game, ceremonies and traditions are mainstays in modern sport. Last, Abanese defines religion through community. Again, sport fits this criterion through its creation of unique communities that exist solely through sports and sporting events. Through hope and anticipation in their quest for victory/perfection, fans and athletes become emotionally united. According to Prebish (1993, 65), sport is a festive communion creating solidarity between players and fans.

Sport creates a second type of family or community, a support system, in which meaning and morals are shared and learned. Researcher Michael Novak believes football is such a community. “The liturgy of a football game is, indeed, a communal and statewide worship service, with a unitary cosmic scheme” (1988, 235). Mazur and McCarthy liken the passions of football to religious ritual. “Football doesn’t have just a incidental kinship of faith. On the contrary, football is fundamentally connected to religion” (Mazur & McCarthy 2001, 124). As in football, the community of baseball poses religious qualities, which include the American principles of merit and fair play. “The national game promotes respect for proper authority, self-confidence, fairmindedness, quick judgment and self-control” (Guttman 1978, 96). In addition, sport possesses a messianic-millenarian ideology. Berger defines messianic-millenarian theodicy by “relativizing the suffering or injustice of the present in terms of their being overcome in a glorious future” (1967, 69). In this sense, players and fans look for redemption in the upcoming season. Again, Chicago Cub fans’ infamous expression “Wait till next year” exemplifies this type of “hopeful” redemption ideology. Sport religion maintains a type of optimistic ideology in which hope springs eternal. The ending of each sport season wipes the slate clean and provides a chance to start anew, rekindling hope for a better season, a better tomorrow.

What Does It Mean?

So, what does this all mean? This form of civil religion has far-reaching implications. According to Barna Research, 66 percent of Americans polled contend that traditional religion is losing its influence in society. Supporting this theory, research also indicates a decrease in traditional church attendance. In fact, researchers Kirk Hadaway, Penny Long Marler, and Mark Chaves believe the “church attendance rate is one-half what everyone thinks it is” (1993, 750). And according to a study by the University of Michigan, the percentage rate of Americans who attend a weekly church service is forty-four. In some instances, devotion to sport has replaced or overpowered devotion to traditional religion. For example, the Dallas



Sport as Religion

Racing and the Supernatural

This description of a racing ritual of the Dogon people of Mali points to the often close association between sports and religion.

In the Ogols, a race was arranged between the Anakyê sanctuary and a point on the border of Lower Ogol. The route thus ran through the field between the two villages in the hollow where the baobabs were.

The man with the torch started from the sanctuary, and ran down the slope through the stubble-fields, shaking his brand and scattering a shower of sparks and embers. For the smith in heaven dropped some of his fire as he ran, picked it up with his crook, and continued to run, losing it and picking it up again.

On reaching the border of Lower Ogol the runner turned and ran back to the sanctuary, from which he at once started out again. This performance was repeated three times, and all the time the two masks pursued the fugitive brandishing a knife. They sym-

bolized the two thunderbolts launched by the Nummo against the guilty smith, and they never caught up with the torch-bearer till, at the end of the third course, he regained the sanctuary. He had by then made the complete circuit three times brandishing his torch all the while.

‘These three courses,’ said Ogotemméli, ‘recall the flight of the smith and his search for a way into the celestial granary, where he could hide the embers.’ For in this ritual the circular Anakyê sanctuary represented the celestial granary.

The pursuit ended when a smith scanned the rock and beat upon it with the iron of his anvil. And the live fire, pursued by the two dead fires, gave life again to the hearths of this world as well as to the blackened logs which protect the crops and the fruit of the trees.

Source: Griaule, M. (1965). *Conversations with Ogotemméli* (pp. 196). London: Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press.

Cowboy legendary coach Tom Landry confessed late in his career, “football had been my religion for decades” (Mattingly 1996). Whether this devotion is made consciously or unconsciously depends on the individual. Bellah argues that people “are coming to depend less on established social sources of denominationalism and more on binding ties between the moral outlook and way of life to which persons actually hold” (Bellah et al. 1987, 326). As early as 1961, researcher Bernard Lazerwitz investigated the impact of societal forces on variations in church attendance. Recent community trends of holding children’s sporting events such as soccer on Sunday leads one to believe that sport is having an impact on church attendance. Unlike strict past guidelines, which discouraged the scheduling of youth sporting events on Sundays, modern trends appear to place sporting events above traditional religious events. Just a short time ago, professional players like Sandy Koufax honored blue laws by refusing to pitch on the Sabbath, an ideology that today’s societal standard would consider ridiculous. Blue laws are state or local ordinances that prohibit certain activi-

ties, like sports or drinking, on Sunday. Economics played a key role in overturning blue laws regarding professional sports. For instance, in 1933, after much heated debate, Philadelphia overturned its blue law regarding professional baseball to help promote the local economy. Social rather than economic desires guide today’s Sunday scheduling of youth sporting events.

As mentioned earlier, sport’s influence among society includes several aspects of traditional religion. To offset growing social desires to partake in sporting events, churches have altered the timing of religious events. Numerous traditional denominations have altered Sunday services to accommodate sport congregations’ need to witness the kickoff. In addition to impacting religious schedules, sport has infiltrated religious architecture. For instance, a stained-glass window at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York is devoted to sports. According to the then-reigning bishop, “A well played game is as pleasing to God as a beautiful service of worship” (Farrelly 1997). Another main area of sport permeation is religious sermons. Perhaps the

best example of this is Father Edward Rupp's prayer before an all-star hockey game:

Heavenly Father, Divine Goalie, we come before You this evening to seek Your blessing. We are, thanks to You, All-Stars. We pray tonight for Your guidance. Keep us free from actions that would put us in the Sin Bin of Hell. Inspire us to avoid the pitfalls of our profession. Help us to stay within the blue line of Your commandments and the red line of Your grace. Protect us from being injured by the puck of pride. May we be ever delivered from the high stick of dishonesty. May the wings of your angels play at the right and left of our teammates. May You always be the Divine Center of our team, and when our summons comes for eternal retirement to the heavenly grandstand, may we find you ready to give us the everlasting bonus of a permanent seat in your coliseum. Finally, grant us the courage to skate without tripping, to run without icing, and to score the goal that really counts—the one that makes us a winner, a champion, an All-Star in the hectic Hockey Game of Life. *Amen!!* (Sammons 2002, 2)

The Future

Sport is not a religion in the traditional theological sense, but rather civilly. As stated earlier, sport is a social institution that not only educates, but also provides structure and moral support for its members. This research indicates, therefore, that sport does, indeed, possess qualities and characteristics that coincide with religious ideology. Whether one is participating as an athlete or as a fan/spectator, sport has the ability to transcend an individual to a supernatural level of existence. As Charles Prebish notes (1993, 210): "What it all boils down to is this: if sports can bring its advocates to an experience of the ultimate, and this experience is expressed through a formal series of public and private rituals requiring a symbolic language and space deemed sacred by its worshipers then it is both proper and necessary to call sport itself a religion."

Mary Lou Sheffer

See also Prayer; Religion; Rituals

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Sport in the sense of a mass-spectacle, with death to add to the underlying excitement, comes into existence when a population has been drilled and regimented and depressed to such an extent that it needs at least a vicarious participation in difficult feats of strength or skill or heroism in order to sustain its waning life-sense. ■ LEWIS MUMFORD

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Sport as Spectacle

The world of sport in the age of mass media has been transformed from amateur recreational participation to spectator-centered business. The commercial incentives for sport to cooperate with television, film, radio, newspaper, and magazine to consistently expand the “spectacle” aspects of the event are ever increasing. Much more is at stake than material gain, however; the players and fans depend on sport as spectacle for esteem, honor, dignity, identity, and status.

Today’s sporting spectacle presents an encompassing drama: actors, ritual, plot, production, masculinity, rage, pride, chance, and social message are all brilliantly choreographed in the sport spectacular. For the committed fan (derived, indeed, from the word “fanatic”) winning produces overwhelming exhilaration, defeat, deep depression. Yet even in defeat there is always hope for the next game or season. Fans and players become inseparable actors in the same drama.

Early Spectator Entertainment

Evidence for organized sporting events can be traced to Egyptian culture as far back as 5200 BCE; however, evidence for sport spectatorship is extant only from the first century BCE. The Grecian Olympic Games were the first to offer dimensions of spectator entertainment as well as opportunities for civic and religious ceremonies. Grecian appreciation of athletic grace was soon to be usurped by the spread of the Roman Empire and the accompanying appetite for sport spectacles laden with violence, such as gladiator matches

and chariot races. The attendance records for Roman sporting events remained unchallenged until the period of the industrial revolution. As families moved into the cities, leisure time increased, and this, combined with concomitant developments in transportation and communication technology, allowed spectators to bond as a community and develop regional rivalries while regularly visiting distant stadiums and keeping track of “their” teams.

Impact of Technology on Spectator Sport

In the mid-1800s, the steamboat and railway networks, soon followed by the electric streetcar, opened up the city to suburban areas, carrying sport crowds (and players) to horse races, baseball games, football matches, and intercollegiate rowing events. When Thomas A. Edison developed the incandescent bulb in 1879, he inaugurated a new era in the social nightlife of the metropolis. Within a few years sport arenas with electric lighting were hosting night games. The advent and expansion of use of the telegraph, newspapers, and radio during this same period fostered, for the first time, sport reporting and spectator following of distant, even international sport. As technology advanced, pictures of sporting events were added to newspaper articles; the still camera, a precursor to the video camera and televised sport, was first to provide visual information to millions of remote fans.

With the broad democratization of television and televised sports in the 1960s, thousands of enthusiasts never had to leave their homes to take in a sporting event. The Internet, of course, has further complicated and fragmented the sport spectator experience. Beginning with the 2001 Major League Baseball (MLB) World Series, audiences could express their approval or disapproval of team managers’ decisions during the game via the Internet. Today every MLB game can be downloaded upon its completion, so fans are able to relive new and classic ballgames at any time. Sport spectatorship is inextricably linked to technology development.

In contemporary Western society, sport is a spectacle in three noteworthy ways. Sport is (1) a public performance of a large scale or impressive nature, such as the grand exhibitions of the Olympic Games; (2) a regrettable public display, as in the deplorable behavior of destructive international soccer fans; and (3) a commodity, a tool of pacification, depoliticization, and “massification,” exemplified by professional football’s commercially exploitative Super Bowl.

SPORT AS AN IMPRESSIVE TELEVISED PERFORMANCE

The transition to large-scale, extraordinary sport spectacles is directly connected to the widespread popularity of televised sport, which got underway in the United States the afternoon of 17 May 1939, when the first televised baseball game was put on the air by NBC. The picture impulses of a game between Princeton and Columbia University from Columbia’s Baker Field marked the beginning of a romance between the new medium and sport.

Until the perfection of color television, slow motion, and replay shots in the 1960s, team sports could not easily be conveyed on the small screen and therefore constituted a small portion of network budgets and program time. When ABC decided to

make sport a centerpiece of its programming, other corporations had no choice but to follow, and an all-out war between networks for supremacy in sport television ensued. In the 1980s “superstations” employing transmission satellites also joined in the fray. The moguls of sport quickly began to package their games as even greater spectacles so they would be more appealing to television audiences. The National Basketball Association (NBA) and the National Hockey League (NHL) expanded their playoff formats so that sixteen teams (more than two-thirds) reach the championship tournaments. Halftime periods have been shortened so that television audiences will be more likely to stay tuned, and pre-arranged schedules of time-outs have been added to football, basketball, and hockey games to make time for commercials.

The Good and the Bad

Even in the televised sport age, the anticipation of actually attending a sport stadium adds immeasurably to the excitement, evidenced by continued sellout crowds at Pakistan’s Rawalpindi Cricket Stadium, the Dallas Mavericks American Airlines Center, or Manchester United’s

The remains of the entrance way to the stadium in Olympia, Greece, the site of the ancient Olympics.

During the Greek period, the Olympics were organized in honor of the Greek god Zeus, with a major temple on the site built in his honor.





Old Trafford. Once at the stadium, the sharing of emotions with other fans heightens the intensity of the experience.

On one hand television cheapened and trivialized the spectator experience. Too many seasons, games, teams, and “big plays” have diluted the poignancy and potency of the sporting experience and have diminished the capacity of sport to furnish heroes, release people from the ennui of daily life, and bind communities. Television contributed to the rise of a new set of sporting ideals: nationalism, sportsmanship, and civility were replaced by self-indulgence, win-at-all-costs attitudes, and supremacy of commercial interests.

On the other hand, television broadened and deepened the drama of the spectacle by stimulating an even broader audience, offering an exciting narrative text that begins long before the game, framing meaning, and setting a tone that hypes the contests and specifies the conflicts worthy of conjecture. Close-up, slow-motion, and replay shots add to the appreciation of beautifully executed plays, and many fans now prefer to watch sport on television instead of being in the stands because, ironically, they feel closer to their heroes. For instance, in the sport of soccer, the Premier League’s David Beckham not only scores goals and brings fame to his team, but televised sport has also helped him branch out into films (*Bend It like Beckham*) and product endorsements (Adidas, Marks and Spencer, and Gillette), bringing him into contact with his devoted fans more and more often. Made-for-media grand-scale spectacles, such as the opening ceremonies of the Olympic Games or the National Football League’s (NFL) Super Bowl halftime show, have large television audiences and are only indirectly related to sport.

OLYMPIC GAMES

Pageantry, political rhetoric, and showbiz extravaganzas now characterize today’s grand-scale sporting events. In September 2000 Australian Olympian Cathy Freeman, an Aborigine, carried the Olympic torch for its last leg up toward a vast waterfall before she ignited the cauldron. In an extraordinarily intricate and dangerous

spectacle, flames surrounded her as a choir sang and deafening orange fireworks illuminated Sydney’s sky. The spectacle was the grandest of opening ceremonies to that date and had significant political implications given the Australian government’s political relationship with the Aboriginal people.

SUPERBOWL

No one at first expected the Super Bowl to far exceed all other sport spectacles in the size of its domestic audience (140 million people). In the twenty-first century nearly one billion people worldwide are routinely expected to view the exhibitions that the NFL and its advertisers have in mind. Advertisers use the broadcast as a way to roll out new products and pay over \$2 million for a thirty-second commercial spot. The highlight is always the halftime show, and the 2004 version was the most spectacular and controversial yet. The finale was a duet with American celebrity recording artists Janet Jackson and Justin Timberlake, during which Jackson’s breast was (un)intentionally exposed. The sensationalism and shock value achieved was directly in line with the goals of the sport/media complex.

Sport as a Violent, Sexist Spectacle

Sport is also a spectacle in the sense of being a regrettable display. As the task of attracting a sufficiently large audience to satisfy advertisers becomes more and more challenging, “mediatized” sport has wrought two negative features: (1) increased violence associated with (male) professional sport on the field, court, and rink; in the stands; and at home, and (2) the entrenchment of the trivialization of women’s sporting accomplishments, sexualization of women’s bodies, and overall subordination of women’s roles.

INCREASING VIOLENCE

In the game, brutal tactics have led to an epidemic injury rate in football, and similar license in other sports (hockey and basketball) has been well documented. More often, activities that lead to the temporary incapacitation, knockout, or injury of competitors are the norm.



Sport as Spectacle

An Ethiopian Horse Sport

“The game of gugs is based on warfare, but where a cavalryman carried two spears, a light one for throwing, and a heavier job for infighting, the gouks [gugs] player uses only light wood wands. The object is for members of one team to gallop off followed by the others who are supposed to hit them with their wands, either by hurling at them or by catching up and hitting them. Those being pursued are protected with traditional circular shields in hippo or rhinoceros hide, some covered with coloured velvet and decorated with gold and silver. As they tear away across the plain, they may dodge, hang off the horse or ward off with the shield. The riders are often in traditional costume, or at any rate the cloak and gold-fringed lion or baboon headdress!!”

Source: Baker, W. J., & Mangan, J. A. (1987) *Sport in Africa—Essays in social history* (p. 226). New York: Africana Publishing Company.

Mindless acts of violence intricately tied to win-at-any-cost ethics and retribution have led to player indictments. For instance, in 2004 National Hockey League play, the Vancouver Canucks’ Todd Bertuzzi attacked the Colorado Avalanche’s Steve Moore from behind. Moore suffered a concussion and a fractured neck. Bertuzzi was indicted for assault causing bodily harm and plead guilty.

In the stands, fan violence can be deadly. For at least two decades there has been a widespread tendency for English fans to be castigated for aggressive behavior, drunkenness, and open displays of xenophobia and racism. Spectators have cursed, yelled racial slurs, given death threats, and thrown objects onto the field. During Euro 2000, disappointment turned to violence in Charleroi, France, as supporters of the English team brought terror to the streets following a loss, resulting in 850 arrests. And in one of the most grotesque displays of human belligerence, over three hundred people were killed and one thousand injured in a Lima, Peru, soccer riot in 1964. Fans may feel so invested in the drama of sport and nationalism that losses become too painful to bear.

Empirical evidence supports the appeal of sport violence. One recent study found that more (perceived) violence in football matches led to greater enjoyment, so in addition to actual hostility between players, emphasis by commentators on athletes’ antagonisms augments audience enjoyment. Another study discovered that watching televised sport at home was connected to seemingly senseless and brutal attacks on the female partners of fans.

SEXISM

Feminist sport critics who study the portrayal of female athletes in the mass media reveal the degree to which the sport media contribute to the oppression of marginalized groups, particularly women, by reinforcing “natural” sex differences through representations of sports that privilege and empower men over women. Female athletes are more often celebrated if they play “feminine” sports, those that depict females in aesthetically pleasing motions and poses, often emphasizing the erotic physicality of the female body with tight bodices and short skirts (e.g., gymnastics, tennis, and figure skating).

Skating emphasizes artistry over athleticism, and its use of grace, music, and costume have a culturally influenced gender appeal designed to attract and sustain female viewers and titillate male viewers. International tennis sensation Anna Kournikova is one of many female athletes better known for her modeling career than on-court achievement. The spectacle of sport allows her to earn more in endorsements than any other female player, despite her indifferent performances, while women who have won recognized tennis tournaments on the international circuit gain much less income and attention. In mainstream sports women also play passive, supporting roles and conform to patriarchal standards of sport and femininity. Scantly clad female models (car racing), cheerleaders (gridiron football), or half-time dancers (basketball) secure a large audience of men by creating an atmosphere of hegemonic masculinity.

Many more women are absent from televised sport because they are prevented from participating or because

their sports are not considered sufficient audience draws and are therefore not promoted through mainstream media. Despite the fact that women's athletic participation in modern-day Olympic Games exceeds their participation in any other major sporting event, a sexist ideology persists in the media which highlights and reinforces the supposedly *natural* differences between males and females and overwhelmingly favors men's participation as they compete separately in the same sport (e.g., downhill skiing) or in sex-exclusive sports, such as synchronized swimming and softball (women) or boxing (men). Professional female athletes receive disproportionately less television, radio, and magazine coverage than their male counterparts. The sport spectacle in the twentieth century has given men an arena in which to create and reinforce an ideology of male superiority.

The quintessential example of a violent, sexist, "mediatized" sporting spectacle is the pseudosport of professional wrestling. While discounted as a genuine sport by most, professional wrestling has evolved into a culturally powerful multimedia complex. Specifically, professional wrestling's mandate is to excite audiences via contrived and hyperviolent athletic competition and to portray "hot babes of wrestling" as sexy props on the margins of the men's matches or against each other in titillating showcases of "raw feminine energy." It teaches lessons about masculinity and femininity to massive audiences who tune in for both sport and theater. The World Wrestling Federation, New Japan Pro Wrestling and Australian Wrestling Federation have prospered because they offer entertainment consistent with the entrenched interests of the sport/media/commercial complex.

Sport as a Commercially Exploitative Spectacle

Finally, as a tool of "massification" and pacification, spectator sports appear to provide escape from the pressures or banality of the work world; however, patrons are subsequently trapped by corporations, which use sports as commodities to fuel desires, stimulate de-

mands, and create new needs, essentially creating more work. Despite the fact that athletes' performances can be breathtaking, a race won or a ninth-inning base hit hair-raising, these aspects of the spectacle are considered a "free lunch" or bonus of the commodity spectacle, which is one created purely for its market value; sport serves the purpose of providing audiences for advertisers. The strategic vision of using sport programming (produced cheaply and transferred easily across cultural and linguistic borders) to reach new international audiences is being aggressively shared by a growing number of media organizations: Eurosport, Sky, ESPN, Fox, and Japan Sports Channel, to name a few. The competition to secure the rights for seasons and finales has intensified to unprecedented levels of financial investment on the part of media outlets. For instance, BBC pays £105 million for the rights to Saturday and Sunday night Premier league highlights; Fox acquired the rights to MLB baseball's playoffs, World Series, and All-Star Game for \$417 million per year; and NBC pays \$2.2 billion for rights to broadcast the Olympics.

RACISM

Creating a "big-time sport" spectacle has led to big drug abuse, big recruiting bribes, and big academic cheating among major American colleges. Along this loathsome byway, the black athlete has been especially misused. The belief that people with dark skin are driven by brawn rather than brains was used to justify colonization and exploitation during slavery and continues today to justify manipulation and exploitation in "mediatized" sport. In the NFL and NBA the majority of the workers are black; yet the majority of the owners, administrators, league presidents, and network executives are white and make millions of dollars more than the average player. Many black athletes, although recognizing that pro sports are akin to slavery, refuse to let go of their share of the pie. Inflated contracts are confused with achievement and the end of racism, and audiences and athletes alike have been pacified and depoliticized. Some argue that greed has changed the spectacle into a circus. On the other hand, without

Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting. ■ GEORGE ORWELL

media coverage and the considerable amounts of money paid by advertisers and corporations, the popularity and revenue-generating potential of commercial spectator sports would be seriously limited. Even without ever visiting a stadium, dedicated fanatics can experience the unpredictable drama, human transcendence, and joys of performance through newspapers' daily sports pages, television and radio broadcasts, and Internet updates.

The Future

Communication technologies have raised sport spectatorship more than a thousand-fold. Multichannel direct-satellite services, and Internet sports give fanatics the ability to choose from numerous live sporting events any time games are being played, anywhere in the world. With increased awareness of sport-related violence and discrimination against women and black athletes, sporting spectacles will become increasingly more humane and fair, but the almighty dollar still reigns, and the media will continue to provide the type of spectacle that will maintain the biggest audience. The Western sport spectacle has been completely revolutionized in under a century and is now transmitted to and imitated by nations worldwide.

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See also Olympics, Summer; Olympics, Winter

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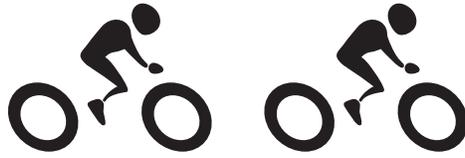
Sport Politics

The late Avery Brundage of the United States, International Olympic Committee (IOC) president, argued that sports and politics are and should always be separate. Yet, clearly even a cursory look below the surface indicates how sports are a heady mix of inspiration and representation, with the latter related to obvious forms of identification within the social context.

When we consider politics in sports we must examine the internal, external, and peripheral influences on sports. Internally, the authorities and organizations that determine the development of their particular sport can be viewed as inherently political. The fact that key policy decisions are made by governing bodies and sports authorities makes this a political process. The issue of politics affecting the sporting environment from outside is more obviously dependent on the use of examples. The issue is particularly related to how during the twentieth century sports became increasingly affected by the political undercurrents within society. The interaction between sports and politics has also been partly a result of increasing international exchange at a diplomatic and sporting level. However, another key agent in this developing dynamic since the mid-nineteenth century has been peripheral influences such as the growth of the media. The provision of television as a mode of information transfer, since the mid-1960s, has further solidified the link between political processes and the sporting context.

History

Sports and broader expressions of physical culture have played a role throughout history as a means of achieving political capital and increased popularity for



political figures. The centrality of the ancient Roman coliseum to successive emperors is a good example of this fact. Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century the organization and development of sports were firmly in the hands of elite social groups. This fact suggests that the structure of the sociopolitical environment played a key role in popularizing the pastimes and activities that have since spread throughout society and across the world. More recently, the German chancellor Adolf Hitler's use of the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin cast a shadow over those particular Olympics as much for the political management of the event as for the subsequent horrors of that regime.

Sports and physical culture were also significant in the former Communist countries. Indeed, significant political figures in Communist nations began to develop a highly utilitarian physical culture to support the needs of their society. Communist societies in particular needed fit and strong people to work to support the development of their society and also to defend the state if necessary. In China a long history of traditional pastimes and court games informs China's more recent utilitarian system of physical culture. In command economies psychic income is received by the state and society from having an international champion. Cuba's history of boxing success at the Olympics is a good example of the political importance of sporting success to Communist states. It provides vigor to their self-image and raises their standing in the eyes of the world. Although these examples illustrate the extent of state manipulation of sports for political ends, this issue is not limited to Communism.

Internal Politics of Sports

We should examine the full extent of political processes involved in sports. They can operate at the international level, as detailed in the examples related to the Olympics. In the former USSR sports were little more than a tool of the state. They provided a focus for their achievements on an international stage, and the governing bodies operated under direct governmental control to further this goal. Certainly the full glare of the

global media provides its own form of accountability for those people making political decisions at the level of international sports.

At the national level more complex models exist for providing sports. The models can be affected by the national culture, climate, religion, economics, and, of course, society in general. Perhaps most difficult to distinguish is the often informal and occasional type of provision at a local level. What is not always clear is how different national political processes are supposed to act in the best interests of sports. In many respects the governmental policy toward sports (even the lack of a distinct policy) can inform our analysis of the provision of sports. Clearly the introduction of greater degrees of planning and organization related to school sports and physical education can affect notions of health and illness within society as well as have potentially positive effects on rates of crime and recidivism. The importance of such sports development initiatives will only increase in the future. At both the national and local levels accountability is provided by the democratic process; yet, perhaps the most powerful policy makers are not actually politicians. The role of the national governing bodies provides further information about how the national government interacts with its national sporting authorities. The role of the governing bodies can also be viewed as central to the character and nature of sports. An excellent example of this fact has been the stewardship of the Olympic Games by the International Olympic Committee.

The application of political theories to sports can also provide a useful analytical lens. Pluralism and the traditional Western model of sports remain the consensus position for most developed countries. This position recognizes the fact that numerous agencies have a bearing on the practical aspects of sports. The provision of a consensus can also be relevant to the notion of hegemony (influence) within sports. A more controversial political ideology that has had a crucial influence on the way that sports are viewed within their socio-economic context relates to traditional Marxism. Although the German political philosopher Karl Marx did not actually

focus on sports, an analysis of the sociopolitical context can be directly applied to the sporting context. Marx's focus on the inequalities inherent within the structure of many societies is a perspective that continues to influence the growing study of how best to provide practical forms of sports development.

Sports remain part of a policy-making process, and by definition politics and political structures are a central part of any policy-making process. Sports, by definition, have to be organized by decisions made within a particular nation's politicoeconomic structure. Consequently, sports would not enjoy the popularity that they have if not for the influence and control provided by the varied efforts of political associations and organizations as well as politicians and policies throughout history. Indeed, Bruce Kidd, an expert on international sport, put it rather eloquently in the British series about the history of the Olympics, *The Games in Question* (1988):

Politics have always been part of international sport and to suggest otherwise is ludicrous. Training and competition . . . everything connected with an international sports event are provided by a decision-making process that I would call political. They involve the allocation of resources towards sport and away from something else and that is a political process.

External Politics Affecting Sports

After World War II the Cold War provided a backdrop to world sports between 1950 and 1990 and added a significant political aspect to the practice of international relations, including sports. However, not all instances of political intrusion at the Olympic Games were related to Cold War tensions. The black power salute of Tommy Smith and John Carlos at Mexico City in 1968 remains an enduring example of the use of the sporting arena for the expression of diverse political agendas, in this case regarding the issue of civil rights within the United States. An unintended consequence of the protest at Mexico City was to highlight to others with diverse and often radical political agendas how sports can be used as a vehicle to communicate a mes-

sage. This incident was to have terrible and far-reaching consequences after the massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. The Palestinian terrorist group Black September used that global sports festival as a means to disseminate its message related to the prevailing political situation in the Middle East. Four years later the boycott of the Montreal Olympic Games by the Organization of African Unity (OAU)—after protests against sporting links with apartheid (racial segregation) South Africa—provided a global focus for examining and hardening attitudes toward that pariah state. Again the role of the media in providing a vehicle for disseminating such messages is significant.

Clearly sports have the ability to act as a metaphorical background or a pressure-relief valve for both nations and individuals. On a number of occasions the sporting arena in general and the Olympic Games in particular have provided a stage where the two superpowers could compete in a sporting environment in front of the eyes of the world. In a number of instances politics has adversely affected the proceedings. Indeed, one can argue that without politics a broad interest in international sports would not exist today. The use of the Olympic Games as a tool in boycott politics during the 1970s and 1980s was possible only because of the influence of the mass media on global society during the latter half of the twentieth century.

The Olympic Games during the Cold War provide examples of this inherent tension within the developing sporting exchange. The Moscow Olympic Games of 1980 and the Los Angeles Olympic Games of 1984 were tarnished by boycotts related to ongoing fractious superpower relations. Yet, in 1976 in Montreal the Olympic Games were boycotted by the Organization of African Unity in protest of South Africa's apartheid regime. Although the 1976 boycott was clearly political, perhaps the best examples of Cold War tensions in sports were the boycotts of the early 1980s. At both Moscow and Los Angeles the Olympic Games acted as a showcase for the political ideologies of Communism and capitalism, respectively. Too often in the history of

Until you've been in politics you've never really been alive; it's rough and sometimes it's dirty and it's always hard work and tedious details. But, it's the only sport for grown-ups; all other games are for kids. ■ UNKNOWN

the Olympic Games opportunities to learn about people in other countries and to develop a sense of social responsibility have been undermined by the subordination of sports and recreation to political and commercial goals.

Some academics subsequently have argued that the huge success of the Los Angeles Olympic Games after the spectacular overspending at Moscow showed which political system worked better. Although this argument may be a bit simplistic to take at face value, we should realize the power of the media in providing a sufficient vehicle for the dissemination of political messages, whether positive or negative. Undoubtedly the media can operate more effectively in a market rather than a centralized command economy. In that sense it can directly affect not only the type of message disseminated, but also how that message is received. Indeed, we should remember that the media provide a means of data and information transfer for sports. In this respect we can view sports as a victim of their own success. The relationship between sports and the media is vital to this process. Sports are a uniquely cheap and effective programming resource, in relative terms, for different forms of media. In fact, this axis with the media must continue to provide a major revenue stream in support of both the organization and development of sports.

Sports as Representation

Indeed, the influence of politics on sports, coupled with the development of media coverage, was one of the defining features of the development of international sports during the latter part of the twentieth century. The late U.S. President Richard Nixon used the pretext of a sporting exchange to nurture closer relations with hard-line Communist China. A table tennis match was scheduled between the two nations. This match led to a short period of high-level exchange, which became known as "Ping-Pong diplomacy." The role that sports have played in the hardening of attitudes in tense situations should not be underestimated. In the former Yugoslavia prior to the war in the Balkans, soccer teams provided a focus for demonstration and even violent

conflict that served to challenge interethnic relations. Illustrative examples during the early 1990s were matches between the Red Star Belgrade (Serbia) and Dynamo Zagreb (Croatia), which took on a significant political element. These often violent, highly charged matches mirrored the tensions related to the slow, inexorable collapse of the Yugoslav state.

As sports provide a focus for social interaction they inevitably come under pressure from those people seeking to use sports events (or success in an event) to highlight a particular political agenda. In many cases the attempt to control the political environment through sports results in a spectacular and contentious sporting outcome. Sports are undoubtedly a political endeavor when they involve national rivalries, and politics likely will continue to be central for sports on many fronts, both in a theoretical sense and in a practical sense. The strong representational element within sports (which in turn are supported by the political system) elevates sports within our social psyche and so makes them more important to our societies. Sports provide everyone from a head of state to a fringe ideologue with the ability to present his or her message to millions across the globe.

Separation of Power

In most nations a separation exists between those people in charge of developing sports and those people in charge of funding sports. Even this separation of power on sound organizational principles is an example of politics affecting sports. Such separation fundamentally affects the interaction between groups related to the funding and organization of sports. Often as a result of the organizing and planning process, sports tend to exhibit characteristics related to a particular national identity and its perceived uniqueness. During this nonlinear process sports become increasingly relevant to societies in a representational sense. We should not underestimate the importance of the representational element of sports to policy and political groups. Politicians and political structures usually act to channel national resources toward certain sporting goals, particularly when

Racing and hunting excite man's heart to madness. ■ LAO-TSE

a sport has enjoyed success on the world stage. The potential of a feel-good factor provided by sporting success to sustain the popularity of politicians has been recognized since ancient Roman times. Despite the protestations of many administrators and sportspeople, the link between sports and politics was firmly established before sports became the all-pervasive element of popular culture that they are today.

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See also Economics and Public Policy; Sport and National Identity

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Sport Science

Sport science can be traced back to the ancient Greek physicians and philosophers, such as Herodicus and Hippocrates, who advocated following a proper diet and physical training to prevent disease. One of the first known definitions of *exercise* was written by the Greek physician Galen (131–201 CE): “To me it does not seem that all movement is exercise, but only when it is vigorous . . . The criterion of vigorousness is change of respiration.”

Through the Renaissance and into the twentieth century European and later U.S. doctors of physiology continued to expound on exercise physiology, focusing on exercise metabolism and physiology, environmental physiology, clinical pathophysiology, exercise and aging, nutrition, and assessment of physical fitness. In 1891 Harvard University founded the first exercise laboratory. Led by George Wells Fitz (1860–1934) and named the “Department of Anatomy, Physiology, and Physical Training,” it soon matured into the Harvard Fatigue Laboratory (1927–1946). Under the direction of David Bruce Dill (1891–1986), the Harvard Fatigue Laboratory was the source of groundbreaking research in exercise physiology and fitness assessment testing.

Classical Issues in Sport Science Research

Sport science began as an observational science as researchers made careful notes of heart-rate changes, body-composition changes, work capacity adaptations, and oxygen consumption during exercise. It soon branched into the experimental realm as sport scientists began to ask questions on how to optimize performance and increase the quality of life for the general population. The early investigators were also noted inventors as they designed tools to better observe exercise physiology. Tools such as the calorimeter, a device to measure the body’s heat production, and closed-circuit spirometry, which accurately quantifies energy expenditure, are still used in exercise science laboratories.

Sport-science technology is also used in medicine. The graded-exercise treadmill test is used to assess the ability to transport and use oxygen during exercise, called “maximal oxygen uptake.” Most physicians and exercise physiologists consider this test to be the most valid measurement of cardiovascular fitness.

Physical Fitness Assessment

During the mid-1950s the U.S. government began to take a proactive (acting in anticipation of future problems, needs, or changes) stance in the prevention of sedentary and obesity-related diseases. In 1955 U.S.



President Dwight D. Eisenhower established the President's Council on Youth Fitness, later renamed the "President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports," to highlight the need for increased physical activity in schools, business, and industry. Along with the new council, the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation (AAHPER) developed fitness assessment tests with national standards and norms that could easily be used in physical education classes throughout the country.

Fitness testing for adults became commonplace during the 1970s. Along with the graded-exercise treadmill test, other specialized tests began to be used to assess cardiovascular health and to develop exercise programs. Cardiorespiratory fitness can be estimated using cycle ergometers or step tests in addition to treadmills.

Heart-Healthy Lifestyle

Aside from the finding of a decline in physical fitness of youth in the United States, another finding stimulated the government's interest in promoting physical activity during the middle of the twentieth century. Autopsy reports of young soldiers killed during the Korean War showed significant coronary artery disease. This finding coupled with the increasing death rate from coronary artery disease among middle-aged men spurred exercise scientists to determine the cause. Large epidemiological studies showed that the triad of a high-fat diet, cigarette smoking, and inactivity was the major risk factor in preventable coronary artery disease, prompting government-sponsored programs to promote early initiation of healthy behavior, including diet and exercise, as the best defense against coronary artery disease.

Braving the Elements: Environmental Physiology

Environmental physiology studies not only the obvious adaptations to hot-humid and cold weather, but also the effects of dehydration on performance, training at altitude, and the effects of gravity during space travel.

The topics of hydration and exercise during extreme weather conditions have been in the news recently be-

cause of deaths of professional and collegiate athletes attributed to heat stress, although research in these topics has been a staple of exercise physiology for some time. Much research in these topics comes from the military. The U.S. Army Research Institute of Environmental Medicine and the Institute of Military Physiology at the Heller Institute in Israel are major contributors to research in these topics as they strive to keep their military personnel healthy and safe when traveling to different parts of the world. The Harvard Fatigue Laboratory was home to much of the early research in environmental and altitude exercise physiology.

Landmark studies of acclimatization to hot and cold climates have given us a greater understanding of the adaptability of humans to survive. For instance, within fourteen days of exposure to a hot environment, physiological adaptations occur, via an improved control of cardiovascular function, to reduce cardiac strain. More recent research involves central nervous system adaptations, cell pathology of heatstroke, and even the role of clothing on the body's ability to thermoregulate (regulate temperature). Likewise, in the study of hydration status and exercise, sport science research has clarified the profound physiological effects that dehydration has on physiological functions.

The physiological effects of high altitudes are not often considered until people travel from sea level to a mountainous area and find themselves host to numerous physiological adaptations. Sport-science literature reports numerous short-term and long-term adaptations to altitude, including hematological (relating to blood), cardiovascular, and hormonal changes. This literature has helped to identify and alleviate several altitude-related illnesses, such as acute mountain sickness, through changes in physical activity and diet.

In nearly all realms of science space is considered the last frontier. Sport science is no different. Early observation of space flight showed remarkable physiological changes in humans, including changes in posture, body composition, the musculoskeleton, and fluid shifts. To simulate a microgravity environment, researchers have used strategies such as head-down bed rest, cast

The male muscular system.

Source: istockphoto/LindaMarieB.

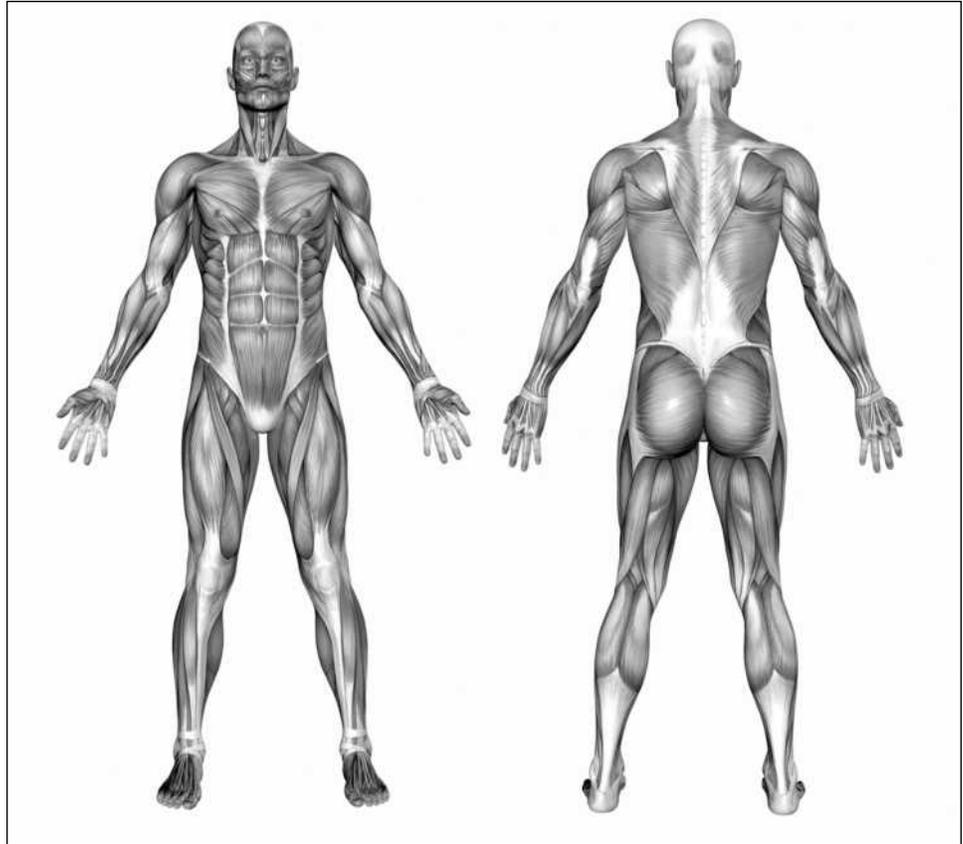
immobilization confinement, limb suspension, and water immersion to study physiological effects. To combat the numerous effects of space flight, exercise, particularly resistance training, is now a standard activity during all flights.

Strength and Resistance Training

Although sport science has a history as old as that of sport itself, the main focus of research was usually on disease prevention, physical activity of the general and clinical populations, and scientific observation of physiological mechanisms. Recently the progression of training programs and nutritional design came from anecdotal evidence, passed from coaches to athletes in their quest to make and become champions. However, as the sports industry becomes more lucrative and as more emphasis is placed on people in the general population starting an active lifestyle, more research is focused on optimizing performance.

During the early twentieth century strength and resistance training began to emerge from basement gyms and circus side-show exhibitions into the realm of science. In 1945 Thomas DeLorme introduced the concept of progressive resistance exercise. Three years later he teamed with A. L. Watkins and published a paper on long-term resistance training for rehabilitative purposes.

Although research scientists were just beginning to recognize the importance of strength and resistance training, the popularity of lay publications dedicated to this new form of exercise was rising. In 1932 Bob Hoffman, founder of the York Barbell Company, published *Strength and Health*, a landmark magazine dedicated to weightlifting. In 1964 Hoffman published *Muscular*



Development, the first magazine dedicated to the sport of bodybuilding. Other magazines soon hit the newsstands, including *Ironman* and the modern Joe Weider publications such as *Muscle and Fitness*. These publications were instrumental in the popularization of resistance training.

Despite the popularity of such magazines, resistance-training research was uncommon until the 1970s. During the 1980s more research on strength and resistance training was published, and the focus shifted from athletes to women and men in the general population. Leading this new trend in science was the National Strength and Conditioning Association, which in 1987 began publishing the first journal dedicated to strength and conditioning research, *The Journal of Strength and Conditioning Research*. During the past twenty years tremendous advancements have been made in physiological adaptations and mechanisms, gender differences in training, and specificity of training. Most importantly, resistance training research has highlighted the importance of regular strength and resistance training to two important sections of our population: youth and the elderly.

Future Athletes and Weekend Warriors

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control report that 24 percent of high school boys do not engage in the recommended amount of daily physical activity. For high school girls the number is 38 percent. An average of 15 percent of children between the ages of six and nine are overweight. This number increases to 64 percent among adults, with those adults engaging in the recommended amount of physical activity at only 26 percent. The decline in physical-activity rates and the increase in obesity rates have prompted government-sponsored programs to promote youth fitness and sport scientists to publish research devoted to improving the fitness levels of children to prevent obesity and inactivity-related diseases later in life.

Organized sport and physical activity aren't the only recommendations for youth anymore; for many, strength and resistance training for children is an area of growing interest. Studies show that a moderate-intensity strength-training program can help increase strength, decrease the risks of injury while playing other sports, increase motor performance skills and increase bone density, and enhance growth and development in children. As a result of research that dispels old myths that children should not lift weights, the American Academy of Pediatrics has issued a statement advocating strength training for children.

Golden Years

The average life expectancy is 77.2 years, and life expectancy increases even more if a person reaches age fifty-five. Thus, much of the research in sport science is focused on improving the quality of life in the elderly.

A major health concern for the elderly is osteoporosis, a disease characterized by low bone mass and structural deterioration of bone tissue, leading to bone fragility and an increased susceptibility to fractures, especially of the hip, spine, and wrist. The U.S. National Institutes of Health estimate that one in two women and one in four men will develop the disease.

Researchers in several areas of the sport sciences, including nutrition, epidemiology, and strength resistance training, have published articles about this costly disease. Early research focused on increased calcium intake, hormone therapy, and daily exercise to prevent osteoporosis. However, strength and resistance training has come to the forefront as not only a preventive measure, but also as a possible treatment. Studies show that high-intensity resistance training not only can prevent osteoporosis when started at a young age, but also can increase bone density later in life.

Resistance training can have several other health benefits in the elderly. Sarcopenia, the progressive reduction of muscle mass, is another health concern for the elderly. Resistance training can ameliorate and even reverse physical frailty in the elderly. When resistance training is combined with daily physical activity and aerobic exercise, the risk of developing sarcopenia and osteoporosis can be drastically reduced.

Putting It All Together

The pioneers of exercise physiology built a solid foundation for modern theories based on a few principles. Arguably the most important principle is specificity, developed by DeLorme. Specificity of exercise is targeted adaptations of muscles, hormones, energy metabolism, and the cardiovascular system. For example, aerobic training increases aerobic capacity, whereas heavy resistance training increases muscular strength. Although seemingly simple, this principle serves as a basis for almost every sport-specific training program.

Overload is another important principle. *Overload* refers to the fact that a system or tissue must be exercised at a level beyond which it is accustomed for a training effect to occur. The principle of progressive overload is equally important, especially in resistance training. Introduced by DeLorme, it is the principle of gradually increasing the amount of weight lifted over time to increase muscular strength.

In addition to these two principles, one should consider several other variables when designing an exercise routine. These variables include frequency, intensity,

duration, and volume. Frequency (how often one performs a specific type of training) and duration (the length of time the exercise is performed) have a direct impact on intensity.

Intensity is defined in many ways and is different for different types of exercise. In aerobic exercise *intensity* often is defined as “a percentage of maximal heart rate.” Commonly the age-predicted maximal heart rate equation is used:

$$220 - \text{person's age} = \text{maximal heart rate}$$

The resulting maximal heart rate can then be multiplied by a desired percentage to get a target heart rate or the optimal heart rate a person should achieve for a given intensity. For instance, if a forty-year-old person wishes to exercise at 80 percent (a relatively high-intensity workout), the calculation would be as follows:

$$220 - 40 = 180 \times 0.80 = 144$$

Thus, the heart rate that this person would want to achieve and maintain for a given workout would be 144 beats per minute. The duration of this exercise bout would also affect the overall intensity.

In resistance training intensity is a function of duration, frequency, volume, order of exercise, and rest time between exercise sets. Volume is a product of the number of repetitions performed and the amount of resistance used. The order of exercise in a bout of resistance training is equally important. As a general rule, exercises that utilize larger and more numerous muscle groups should be done in the beginning of the workout. Also, these exercises require more work and increase the intensity of the workout. The amount of rest taken between sets can also affect the intensity of a workout. In addition, individual differences and training states may affect intensity. For instance, an elite marathon runner may find a bout of heavy resistance training to be high intensity, whereas an Olympic weight lifter may consider the same bout to be low intensity.

In all types of training staleness and overtraining can occur. Overtraining is a potentially serious and debilitating physical and emotional condition that can lead to

performance decrements and injury. To lower this risk, variations in training are essential.

Periodization

During the past three decades a method of training called “periodization” has evolved to ensure progressive gains and to minimize overtraining. Periodization is the changing of program variables to continually elicit performance gains. Strength athletes initially relied on the classical periodization model, also called “linear periodization.” The concept of linear periodization is attributed to the work of Eastern Bloc sports programs during the early 1950s. It came about by trial and error as coaches tried to optimize sports performance. They noticed that decreasing the volume and increasing the intensity (in this case defined as “a percentage of near-maximal effort”) during the weeks leading to a competition elevated performance.

Early periodization models were built around four phases: (1) preparation, (2) first transition (end of the preseason), (3) competition, and (4) second transition (off season). The preparation phase involved increasing strength and muscle mass. Volume was high, and intensity was low in this phase. In the first transition phase volume decreased as intensity increased, with optimizing muscular power and skill-proficiency training being the goals. The competition phase is also referred to as “peaking,” leading to the second transition or off season. The off season was spent performing activities that would aid in recovery and rehabilitation but not lead to complete detraining.

The terms *mesocycle*, *microcycle*, and *macrocycle* fit into these phases. A mesocycle is a small number of training sessions in which the goal (i.e., power) is the same. One or two weeks in any one phase would be a mesocycle. A microcycle is a run of mesocycles and is analogous with an individual phase. A macrocycle is a whole competitive season; all four phases are included in this cycle.

Linear periodization also often utilizes progressive overload within its phases. This utilization calls for gradual and linear increases in weights lifted from week



Sport Science

The New Value of Play

Dr. Russell H. Conwell tells a beautiful story which illustrates this close connection between play and work. A pious old Arab, who lived to the age of a hundred years, made it his duty to go to the temple every day to pray. He got there safely each morning, for, as he came out into the city, a beautiful angel took him and led him by the hand. He went forth happy each day, but always returned home sad, for every night as he left the temple there came behind him a terrible form that followed him to his house, and filled him with fear and trembling. On one certain day,—the day before his death,—as he was making his last journey from the temple, the shadow-form came up behind him, put her hand upon his shoulder, and spoke to him. The old Arab said, “I seem to recognize that voice. Yes, it is the voice of the lovely angel who guides me in the morning to prayer.” The form answered, “I am that angel who guides you every morning to prayer, and I would have guided you home every night, but you were afraid. You saw me in the morning in the light, but when you returned from the temple I was in the shadow.”

The impulses that lead men to labor are the same that must lead them to play,—a vital interest in the personal well-being, and a desire for the best rounded life, of the social organism of which they are a part.

Source: The new value of play. (1915). *The Badminton library of sports and pastimes: Character through recreation* (pp. 37–38). London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

to week. Although the basic idea that a person wants to lift more weights from week to week seems inherently correct, progressive overload, in its simple form, is not the most effective method of enhancing performance over a long period of time. Its most notable downfall is the tendency to plateau in various phases of the cycles after a few macrocycles. Periodization has evolved beyond this downfall, and more modern forms can be manipulated to meet the special needs of athletes.

During the past decade undulating periodization has replaced classical periodization. Rather than sequentially increasing or decreasing volume and intensity, undulating periodization calls for more frequent changes—on a weekly and sometimes daily basis. Recent research comparing undulating periodization to linear periodization has shown that making more frequent variations to a program elicits greater gains. Another important aspect of undulating periodization is the volume and intensity of the assistance work that a person does. Individual differences are also of consideration when designing this type of program.

Exercise Prescription

Guidelines of the American College of Sports Medicine call for twenty to sixty minutes of intermittent or continuous aerobic activity three to five times a week. Activities can include biking, running, aerobic dancing, and swimming. Intensity should reach at least 55 percent of maximal heart rate.

According to the American College of Sports Medicine, healthy adults should incorporate resistance training in their physical fitness routine at least two to three times per week. More advanced lifters should train with weights three to four times per week. A full body routine with progressive overload should be used by novices, leading to a periodized, split body (working different body parts on different days) routine as they become more advanced.

The Human Genome Project (an international research project to determine the complete sequence of the 3 billion deoxyribonucleic acid subunits, identify all human genes, and make them accessible for biological study) has led to medical and scientific advancements that were unheard of even a decade ago. Some experts speculate that the knowledge gained from this project will lead to the ability to control human physiology. This speculation has led to the possibility of genetic-engineered athletes in the future. In an effort to remain proactive, the World Anti-Doping Agency has already hosted a conference to stay abreast of potential problems that genetic engineering poses to drug-tested sports.

Careers

Sport scientists have a broad range of professional possibilities—from physical education teacher to professor and from research scientist to personal trainer. Many graduates further their education and become cardiac rehabilitation specialists, physical therapists, and physician assistants. In addition, well-trained sport nutritionists and strength and conditioning coaches are in demand.

The founders of sport science could not have comprehended the impact that their research would have on society. Although sport science as we know it today emerged within only the past sixty years, the discoveries and technological advances have been integrated into the medical community and have affected children and adults alike.

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See also Biomechanics; Human Movement Studies; Kinesiology; Physical Education

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Sport Tourism

Increasingly people travel—as individuals, as families, as organizations—to watch or participate in sports. Such sport tourists may travel for holiday or business (nonholiday) reasons.

Sport tourists also may be active or passive. Active sport tourists may engage in “sports activity holidays,” during which sports are a main purpose of their trip, or



Sport Tourism

Sport-Event Tourism

In the listing below, sports marketing expert Donald Getz notes the potential benefits and goals of sport-event tourism:

- Attract high-yield visitors, especially repeaters
- Generate a favorable image for the destination
- Develop new infrastructure
- Use the media to extend the normal communications reach
- Generate increased rate of tourism growth or a higher demand plateau
- Improve the organizational, marketing, and bidding capability of the community
- Secure a financial legacy for management of new sport facilities
- Maximize the use of, and revenue for, existing facilities
- Increase community support for sport and sport-events

Source: Getz, D. Trends strategies and issues in sport-event tourism (1998). *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 7(2), 9.

in “holiday sports activities,” during which sports are incidental and not the main purpose. People take two types of sports activity holidays: (1) the single-sport holiday during which people enjoy a specific sport and (2) the multiple-sport holiday during which people enjoy several sports. The two types of holiday sports activities are (1) incidental participation in organized sports (usually in groups, as in competitive beach games) and (2) private or independent sports activities (e.g., walking or playing golf).

We may further classify passive sport tourists according to how important sports are to the purpose of their trip. Connoisseur observers are extensively passively involved and discriminating in the sports they watch as spectators or officiators. Casual observers enjoy watching a sporting event and usually happen across it rather than plan their holiday around it.

Impact of Tourism on Sports

Probably as many people have learned to swim on holiday as have learned to swim in their local swimming pool. Likewise, skiing prowess (except in Alpine countries) is virtually wholly attributable to holiday experiences. Skiing, the most popular of all winter sports, is the classic example of a sport-tourism sport. Every year skiing introduces 40–50 million visitors to the European Alps, with forty thousand ski runs and twelve thousand cable ways and lifts capable of handling 1.5 million

skiers an hour. The ski market accounts for 20 percent of the total European holiday market. Tourism influences sports participation, and sports infrastructures have followed the example set by the tourism industry. For example, to complement the beach and to provide an attraction during inclement weather to extend the length of the holiday season, resorts have constructed indoor swimming pool complexes.

Impact of Sports on Tourism

The Tour de France, France’s three-week bicycle race, claims to be the world’s largest annual sports spectator event, attracting several million spectators along its 4,000-kilometer route. In Britain 2.5 million people watch outdoor sports, and another 1 million watch indoor sports while on holiday in the United Kingdom.

Research indicates that 88 percent of the 110,000 international visitors who traveled to Australia for the Sydney Olympics in 2000 returned to Sydney as tourists. Furthermore, the games were responsible for attracting an additional 1.7 million visitors, generating a \$6.1 billion economic boost, between 1997 and 2004. The Olympics advanced Australia ten years in the awareness of people in other parts of the world, meaning that the world wouldn’t have “known about” Australia until 2010 had Sydney not hosted the games.

The British Tourist Authority (BTA) reported in 1992 that 26 percent of its respondents cited sports as the

A man ascending a Himalayan peak.

Source: istockphoto.com/Caval.

main purpose of their trip. Gibson and Yiannakis found that 22 percent of respondents considered opportunities to participate in sports important when planning a holiday.

In Belgium 27 percent of residents participate in sports during domestic holiday trips; this percentage increases to 30.4 percent for holidays abroad. Similar statistics are found elsewhere, namely in New Zealand and France. If we consider holidays in which sports are an incidental aspect instead of holidays in which sports are the main aspect, the participation rate rises to between 25 and 80 percent.

The Future

Changes in the international travel market are leading to an increasing variety of tourist types, needs, and patterns. Adventure and activity holidays are a growing segment of the tourist industry, and sports training is an important process for which tourism can be the catalyst.

Health care and body training also have created an important industry. Since the beginning tourism was promoted for its health-improving aspects. People went to seaside resorts because of the “presumed health-giving properties of sea bathing” (Urry 1990, 37). Sea bathing led to sunbathing, but the risk of skin cancer has shifted the emphasis toward a fit body that is trained through exercise and sports. Sports as therapy are another growing segment of the tourism industry, with an estimated 15 million annual visits to spas in



Europe alone, a figure that compares well with that of similar markets in the United States and Asia.

Sports as part of business hospitality are also profitable and growing, with most clients watching sports events miles from their place of work. Active sports associated with business tours are also becoming more popular.

Professional sportspeople increasingly must travel to pursue their careers. Team tours are also popular with amateur clubs who engage agents to find events and arrange accommodations and transport.



Sledding down a track at Davos, Switzerland, in the late 1800s.

Travel agents are looking at new markets to broaden their base. At the American Society of Travel Agents World Travel Congress in Portugal in 1994, the sports sector of niche travel was recognized as a major growth market. Whatever the special interest, a company will organize a vacation around it.

P. De Knop

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Sporting Goods Industry

Cultural, political, and, especially, economic forces operating increasingly on a global scale have shaped the sporting goods industry. As sport sociologist George H. Sage (1998, 131) notes, however, contemporary sport “needs to be understood as a historical moment: today’s highly commercialised sport industry is not a cultural universal.”

The sporting goods industry encompasses sports equipment, sports apparel, and sports footwear. The United Nations Statistics Division Classifications Registry using the Standard International Trade Classification (SITC) Revision 3 (code number 894.7) defines “sports goods” mainly as equipment. This includes such articles as fishing rods and tackle, ice and roller skates, snow and water skis, surfboards and sail boards, golf equipment, tennis and badminton rackets, gloves and mitts, as well as other equipment used for physical exercise. Arguably, however, sporting goods should also include clothes and footwear designed for or that could be used in sports.

Global Sporting Goods Market

The sportswear goods industry has been especially profitable during the past twenty years because of the rise of sportswear as fashion wear. Much of the athletic wear purchased—some estimates put it at more than 50 percent—is not actually used during active sports performance.

These are my new shoes. They're good shoes. They won't make you rich like me, they won't make you rebound like me, they definitely won't make you handsome like me. They'll only make you have shoes like me. That's it. ■ CHARLES BARKLEY

Sports clothing and equipment each account for about 40 percent of the total sales of sporting goods and services. Footwear sales account for the other 20 percent. In 1999, the U.S. market for sports clothing alone was worth an estimated \$32 billion, ten times the U.K. market and nearly half of the entire worldwide market of \$70 billion (Buckley, 2000). Within the European Union in 2001, the leading countries by economic turnover of sporting goods and equipment were Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Spain. Together, these countries represented 35 percent of global sales of sports clothing and shoes, whereas the United States had 42 percent, Asia 16 percent, and the rest of the world 7 percent (Ohl and Tribou 2004, 142). The Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association of the United States (www.sgma.com) reported that the U.S. market for sports clothing and footwear in 2003 reached \$50 billion and that in Canada, it was worth \$6.86 billion. In Canada, the largest category of sports equipment sold in 2003 was bicycles (\$780 million).

Sporting Goods Industry Organizations and Associations

Alongside national organizations such as the SGMA, the sporting goods industry has organized international trade fairs and had international organizations representing it since the late 1970s. The World Federation of the Sporting Goods Industry (WFSGI), for example, was founded in 1976 following the first World Congress of the sporting goods industry. The WFSGI is an independent association of industry suppliers, national organizations, and sporting goods industry-related businesses. The membership has reflected many of the leading brands in the sporting goods world and has included industry leaders such as Armin Dassler, Kihachiro Onitsuka, and Masato Mizuno. The International Trade Fair for Sports Equipment and Fashion, which takes place in Frankfurt, Germany, is one of the largest annual trade fairs.

Sport and the Circulation of Goods

According to historical and contemporary studies of consumption trends, the four major social influences

that have segmented the market for sporting goods are the following:

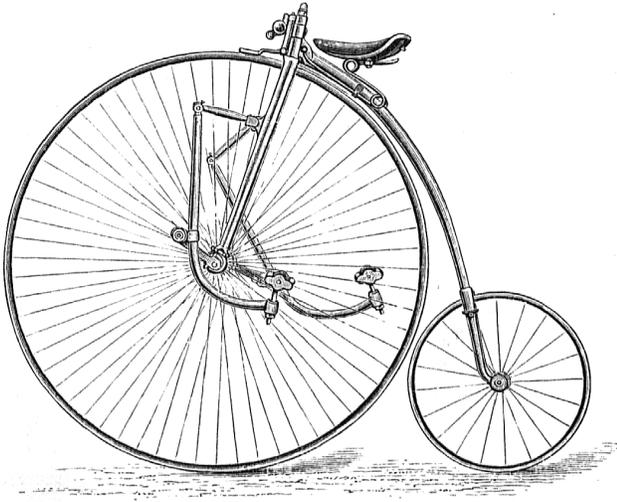
- Age
- Gender
- Place
- Social class

In the United States in 2003, for example, men spent twice as much as women did on sports footwear, and 40 percent of purchases of sports clothing were for children aged seventeen and younger.

Modern sports developed at the same time as modern consumption practices and the mass market emerged (Fraser 1981). Developments in retailing, department stores, and chains of shops were accompanied by the growth of mass circulation newspapers and magazines. Sport offered one means of stimulating consumption and offered a means of stimulating and promoting the general consumption of other goods and services. Sport became part of the “magic system” that helped promote, market, and circulate goods in capitalist economies (Williams 1980). Participants in sports have increasingly lent themselves to becoming agents of the promotion of goods and services (“endorsees”) and “media sport stars” (Whannel 2002). Sport as a mass-mediated spectacle helps sell newspapers and other channels of communication while encouraging sports enthusiasm. This in turn creates a market for the products endorsed and sometimes worn by the athletes—for example, the Michael Jordan phenomenon (LaFeber 1999).

Emergence of the Sporting Goods Industry

Where did this market come from? How did it emerge? Who buys sporting goods? The sporting goods industry arguably was “born in the USA.” The U.S. sporting economy overall was worth US\$194 billion in 2001—ahead of chemicals, electronics, and food—amounting to more than 1 percent of the value of all goods and services produced in the United States, where there are 150 major sports franchises, a dozen professional



sports tours (such as the PGA), and hundreds of other commercial sports events.

Sport can be seen as an industry with all the problems of conventional industrial relations—involving employers, workers, and consumers. Modern sport has been associated with business for a long time although the relationship has not always been a straightforward commercial one. In Britain, one hundred years ago, for example, the “entrepreneur was not attracted to sport for the profit that could be made out of it” (Mason 1988, 115). Hence, in England, (association) football clubs were limited liability companies with boards of directors and shareholders, but dividends were limited to 5 percent and directors were not paid.

- By 1895, one estimate suggests that British expenditure on sport reached £47 million per year and that investment in sports represented 3 percent of gross national product (GNP) (Mitchell & Deane 1988, 828).
- By 1912, expenditure on golf alone was £7 million, with £600,000 being spent on 7.2 million golf balls annually.
- Growth of manufacturing in golf and cycling was also partly responsible for economic recovery in areas affected by economic depression.
- In 1892, 915,856 cycles were exported, but at “the height of the cycling boom, in 1896, the figure had increased to 1,855,604” (Lowerson 1995, 226).

Other sports required imported equipment, but many middle-class people seized the new investment opportunities offered by sport: “They generated not only in-

The “Xtradordinary” bicycle.

come and capital formation but also social prestige and opportunities for local influence, so that expected gains were not always expressed in economic terms” (Lowerson 1995, 226).

Agreeing that many sport promoters in Britain were not directly in pursuit of profit, Vamplew (1988, 281–283) notes, nonetheless, that the “industrialisation of British sport can be charted as the working out of supply and demand in the market place.” In the United States, by comparison, the profit maximizers won the battle between those “who saw sport as something separate from business and those who saw no reason not to make profit from sport” (Mason 1988, 115).

Contemporary Economic Significance of Sport

One measure of the contemporary economic significance of sport is retail sporting goods sales figures. Table 1 illustrates that the consumption of sport is a preserve of the advanced capitalist countries.

Sport Market Forecasts, an annually revised publication based on research conducted at the Universities of Sheffield and Sheffield Hallam in England, draws on relevant official and independent research sources to compile a snapshot picture of sport-related consumer expenditure in Britain. Table 2 details the latest of these reviews.

The following features are most noteworthy. Spending on sporting goods in Britain amounted to £5.706 billion in 2002—more than one-third (34.6 percent) of the total spent on sport in the United Kingdom. Of this:

- Clothing and footwear amounted to almost 20 percent.
- Equipment and boats accounted for 11.5 percent.
- Walking and hiking clothing and trainers and running shoes accounted for the biggest share of sales of sports apparel and footwear.
- Golf and fitness equipment accounted for the largest share of sales of sports equipment.

Books, magazines, and newspapers are included in the category “publications,” and the SIRC report attributes a specific share of total expenditure on newspapers

Table 1.
Retail sports sales and outlets in selected countries in 1999

	Sales (US\$m)	Sports shops
<i>Australia</i>	1,163	3,144
<i>Canada</i>	815	916
<i>Denmark</i>	645	1,311
<i>France</i>	2,323	N/A
<i>Germany</i>	4,563	8,012
<i>Japan</i>	16,007	6,140
<i>Switzerland</i>	401	1,717
<i>United Kingdom</i>	5,010	3,997
<i>United States</i>	25,000	19,500

Sources: Euromonitor 2001a, 308, 317; 2001b, 456, 464.

to the sport market “based on the average share of sport in the total content of newspapers” (SIRC 2003, 4).

The largest sector of the sport services market was gambling, which accounted for 15.8 percent. Of this, horseracing accounts for 70 percent of all sports-related gambling. Participation sports included admission fees and subscriptions to voluntary sports clubs and public-sector sports centers and swimming pools. Health and fitness includes fees for private health and fitness clubs and has been the second most rapid growth area since the late 1990s. Together, membership fees and subscriptions accounted for 24.3 percent of service expenditure. Sports-related TV and video expenditure—including subscriptions to satellite, digital and cable TV channels—included an estimate for the sports component of the TV license fee. This has been the most rapid growth area since the late 1990s. The other category included food, drink, and accommodation associated with participation, spectating, and other forms of involvement at sport events.

The total figure of £16.488 billion was equivalent to approximately 2 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) and 2.5 percent of total consumer expenditure in the U.K.

The SIRC report noted, “Although the media has emphasised the strong growth over the recent past in professional sport, and in particular football, consumer expenditure in the sport market consists in the main of expenditures related to the consumer’s own participation in sport rather than to sport spectating” (SIRC,

Table 2.
Sport-related consumer expenditure in the U.K. in 2002

A. SPORT GOODS		
<i>Clothing & footwear</i>	£3.227 billion	19.6 percent
<i>Equipment</i>	£1.92 billion	6.6 percent
<i>Boats</i>	£0.816 billion	4.9 percent
<i>Publications</i>	£0.571 billion	3.5 percent
<i>Subtotal</i>	£5.706 billion	34.6 percent
B. SPORT SERVICES		
<i>Gambling</i>	£2.601 billion	15.8 percent
<i>Participant sports</i>	£2.276 billion	13.8 percent
<i>Health and fitness</i>	£1.727 billion	10.5 percent
<i>TV and video</i>	£1.810 billion	11 percent
<i>Travel</i>	£1.042 billion	6.3 percent
<i>Spectator sports</i>	£0.861 billion	5.2 percent
<i>Other</i>	£0.465 billion	2.8 percent
<i>Subtotal</i>	£10.782 billion	65.4 percent
<i>Totals (A+ B)</i>	£16.488 billion	100 percent

Source: Sport Industry Research Centre (SIRC) 2003, 4–6.

2003, 4). One indicator of this is the increase in gym membership.

- During the past ten years, private companies such as Cannons, David Lloyd, Fitness First, Holmes Place, LA Fitness, and Next Generation have developed their market.
- There are now about 2,600 private clubs in addition to the public-sector leisure centers.
- Despite warnings that some health and fitness clubs were locking their members into long contracts with large cancellation penalties, 18.6 percent of the U.K. population (8.6 million people) has joined.
- Turnover for private health clubs reached £1.85 billion in 2003, an increase from £1.23 billion in 1999.

Issues and Controversies

Most sales of sporting goods occur in the developed world, yet the bulk of their manufacture is carried out in the poorer, less-developed countries for companies such as Nike, Reebok International, Adidas-Salomon, K-Swiss, and the Pentland Group. Perhaps the best way to understand the growth of the sports industry is by focusing on its global political economy (Miller et al. 2001). Sporting goods manufacturers and businesses



are increasingly transnational corporations (TNCs) based in advanced capitalist countries. They have undergone consolidation through mergers and acquisitions. Global horizontal and vertical integration has occurred. The network approach to production and subcontracting has led to several “flexible business networks” (Dicken 2003, 262–265) in the sporting goods industry. There has been a transfer of labor-intensive production to the less developed “South” or Third World. In some of these, “export-oriented industrialization” has created a New International Division of Labour (NIDL). Miller et al. (2001) suggest that in sport there is a New International Division of Cultural Labour (NICL), which occurs because developing countries provide the following:

- Lower wages and fewer worker benefits
- Fewer organized (unionized) workforces, resulting in greater management control over the labor process
- Less stringent or poorly enforced health and safety regulations
- Less stringent environmental and community health and safety regulations

Other researchers have drawn attention to the existence of “global commodity chains” in sporting goods manufacturing (Gereffi 1994). Hence, businesses such as Nike do not own production facilities, so strictly speaking, they are not manufacturers because they have no factories. Instead, they design and market the branded products they sell. The firm relies on a complex tiered network of contractors that perform all its specialized tasks. The commodity circuitry of the Nike shoe has been illustrated by Goldman and Papson (1998, 8). Many companies with well-known global brands have their headquarters in the United States, but a brief profile of the brands produced by the Pentland Group, which has its headquarters in the United Kingdom, is illustrative. The information is based on the company’s and its subsidiaries’ websites and material available from Mintel Research and *Who Owns Whom* in 2002.

Pentland is an international brand management group involved in the sports, outdoors, and fashion

markets. Founded in Liverpool in the early 1930s as the Liverpool Shoe Company, the company was floated on the London Stock exchange in 1964. It remained a public company for thirty-five years until November 1999 when it was taken back into private hands. As this is now a private company there is a paucity of information in the public domain. Although Pentland’s global headquarters are in the U.K., the group has offices in Australia, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Italy, Korea, the Netherlands, Taiwan, Thailand, the United States, and Vietnam. The total number of employees was 2000.

Robert Stephen Holdings Ltd., the Rubin family’s investment firm, owns Pentland. The chair of the company is R. Stephen Rubin, the CEO is his son Andrew K. Rubin, and the other director is R. S. Rubin’s wife, Angela. R. S. Rubin has been president of the WFSGI. In 1998, the last year before it went private, the company reported group turnover in excess of £500 million. The Pentland group owns several international sports, outdoor, and fashion brands, including Speedo, Mitre, Ellesse, Kickers (a 50 percent joint venture), Berghaus, Brasher, Kangaroos, Ted Baker, Grazia, and Red or Dead. Pentland also holds licenses from other brand owners, including a worldwide license for Lacoste footwear. In the late 1980s, Pentland also owned a 37 percent stake in Reebok. Pentland supplies private label footwear and clothing to well-known national and international retailers. Speedo is the clear market leader in branded swimwear with a 10 percent share of the market and a 75 percent share of performance swimwear. The group’s brands are sold directly by companies or licensees and distributors in more than 120 countries.

Corporate Social Responsibility

Sports participants in the richer countries rely on the manufacturing, distribution, and circulation of goods from a global sports industry whose key characteristics, researchers suggest, are sweatshops, high profit margins, and the exploitation of vulnerable groups of workers. Researchers argue that the great excesses of

capitalist commodification are just as likely to be found in sporting goods manufacture as anywhere else.

The following illustrations show the circumstances and practices that lead to calls for greater corporate social responsibility among sporting goods industry firms:

- Rawlings Sporting Goods Co. of St. Louis, Missouri, produces baseballs for the Major League Baseball. In 1953, Rawlings has moved manufacturing from St. Louis to Licking, Missouri (a non-union plant). In 1964, it moved to Puerto Rico (exploiting a tax “holiday” for inward investment). In 1969, it moved to Haiti (the poorest country in the Western hemisphere, where strikes were illegal). In 1990, it moved to Costa Rica where the factory sewers stitched 30–35 balls a day for US\$5–6 and pieceworkers at home earned 15 cents a ball (Sage 1998, 272).
- In 1995, research conducted for Christian Aid found the following in Nike and Reebok factories in Asia:
 - Two-thirds were women under the age of 25.
 - Typical workers in Indonesian plants were paid 19 cents an hour for 10-and-a-half-hour days, six days a week, and forced overtime.
 - The monthly wage was 30 percent less than that required to meet “minimum physical needs.” Hence, a pair of trainers that sold for £50 in the U.K. was made in a production process involving 40 workers who were paid a total of £1 between them. The Nike Air Pegasus, which sold for \$70 in the United States, incurred labor costs of \$1.66.
- In 2000, the India Committee of the Netherlands (ICN) published *The Dark Side of Football—Child and Adult Labour in India’s Football Industry and the Role of FIFA*. The report showed that agreements about labor rights reached between Fédération Internationale de Football (FIFA), the world governing body for association football, and the football manufacturing companies who placed FIFA logos on their balls, were often violated.
- In 2004, an Oxfam report, *Play Fair at the Olympics*, also revealed details of poor working conditions in

factories run by the U.K.-based company Umbro producing sportswear, including excessive working hours and poor wages.

Hence, concerns including child and labor rights, gender divisions, freedom of association, health and safety, the monitoring of conditions, and rehabilitation of those affected by the practices of some of the manufacturers has led to a backlash against some of the best-known sports brands.

John Horne

See also Spectator Consumption Behavior

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Winning is overrated. The only time it is really important is in surgery and war. ■ AL MCGUIRE

Sports Medicine

Today most elite athletes are provided with the assistance of physicians, physiologists, nutritionists, biomechanists, psychologists, and other medical and scientific experts in order to improve their performance. Athletes, physicians, and scientists have worked with one another both formally and informally for more than a century, and the history of sports medicine goes back even farther.

The medical aspects of sport are founded on scientific research. One of the critical concerns in sports medicine, however, is how quickly new scientific results reach the practitioner. In fact, an even greater worry is whether or not the practitioner is utilizing newer results at all. Early trainers in sport often based their methods and practices on traditions passed down from trainers before them. However, over the past several decades, sports medicine has become increasingly tied to its scientific foundations. This should ensure that the latest research findings quickly reach the coach and athlete.

History

The history of sports medicine goes back at least as far as the ancient Greeks; many would argue that it goes back even farther to ideas passed down from the Ayurveda in India on exercise and massage between 1000 and 800 BCE. In China ideas about the “Five Elements [Wuxing],” from approximately the second and third century CE, were connected with many phases of life, including the organs of the human body. Acupuncture was practiced as early as the Han Dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE) to treat symptoms of disease.

A traditional starting point in the Western world is Hippocrates of Cos (c. 460–370 BCE), who is often called the “father of scientific medicine.” Hippocrates’s work focused on the four humors—blood, yellow bile, black bile, phlegm—and the necessity of creating balance among the four in order to achieve health. There were few drugs during this era, and treatments typically consisted of massage, bloodletting, or hydrotherapy.

INFLUENCE OF GALEN

The next great figure in the history of sports medicine is Galen of Pergamon (c. 129–210 CE), who became a physician to emperors and gladiators. His important work, *De Sanitate Tuenda* [*On Hygiene*], analyzed the notion of the naturals versus the nonnaturals (he also discussed the contranaturals). The naturals were “of nature” while the nonnaturals were those things that were not innate and thus could be manipulated in order to create health. These nonnaturals included air, food/drink, motion/rest, sleep/wake, excretion/retention, and the passions of the mind. Galenic theories borrowed heavily from Hippocrates, especially the notion that there was a need for balance in the bodily system. Exercise was a way of creating this balance.

Galenic theory continued to influence thought on health and hygiene well into the medieval and Renaissance period. The early Renaissance (twelfth century) focused on the recovery of the writings and knowledge of the ancients. This included both literary and scientific work. The later Renaissance (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) was not only the rebirth of ancient knowledge but also an examination of ancient knowledge in a new context.

A variety of scholars began to investigate the concept of hygiene in the mid-sixteenth century. Thomas Elyot’s (1490–1546) *The Castel of Healthe* (c. 1539), Cristobal Mendez’s (1500–1561) *Libro del Exercicio Corporal* [*Book of Bodily Exercise*] (1553), Girolamo Cardano’s (1501–1576) *De Sanitate Tuenda* [*Care of Health*] (1560), and Hieronymus Mercurialis’s (1530–1606) *De Arte Gymnastica Aput Ancients* [*The Art of Gymnastics Among the Ancients*] (1569) all set forth Galenic theories as the foundation for their ideas about exercise and health.

MOVEMENT AWAY FROM GALENIC THEORY

Vesalius’s (1514–1564) *De Humani Corpori Fabrica* [*On the Fabric of the Human Body*] (1543) created a fundamentally new way of teaching anatomy. For Vesalius, the cadaver was a source of information about the body. Despite the fact that he found several hundred

A leg in a brace shortly after knee surgery, a very common sports medicine procedure.

Source: istockphoto/kcopperhead.



inconsistencies with Galenic theory, he was not interested in setting aside Galenic notions; in particular he continued to support Galenic physiology.

William Harvey (1575–1657), however, brought about a revolution. Although he did not make many discoveries, he did serve as a catalyst

for change in the overall view of Galenic theory. The significance of Harvey's *De Moto Cordis* [*The Motion of the Heart*] (1628) is that it substituted one way of thinking for another. These were not Harvey's ideas; many were from his precursors. However, the entire nature of physiological research after Harvey was transformed. Harvey moved the focus in physiology from the liver, which had been the central organ for Galen, to a new focus on the circulatory system.

HYGIENIC AND MEDICAL ASPECTS

The 1700s and 1800s saw an increase in awareness in the hygienic and medical aspects of sport through two basic avenues. First there was rising interest in somewhat more formalized sport and thus some concern about the training of athletes. In addition there was growing interest in the use of gymnastic exercise for therapeutic reasons. John Sinclair's *Code of Health and Longevity* (1807), which was based substantially on the work of the ancients, provided information about training regimens during this time, particularly for boxing and pedestrianism. A diet heavy in red meat, which most resembled the muscle that it was supposed to build, and other training ideas based substantially on creating a balance in Galenic humoral theory through sweating, purging, and vomiting were the centerpiece of this work.

The gymnastics systems emerging in Europe, in particular the Swedish system of Per Henrik Ling, had a

great deal of influence on medical and therapeutic attitudes toward exercise. Swedish medical gymnastics would serve as the foundation for a great deal of sports medicine, including physical and occupational therapy and athletic training.

It appears that George Taylor was among the first to bring Per Henrik Ling's system to America in the 1850s. Hartvig Nissen published his work in *Practical Massage and Corrective Exercises with Applied Anatomy* (1889). Other important texts on Swedish gymnastics included Baron Nils Posse's *Handbook of School Gymnastics and the Swedish System* (1891), Anders Wide's *Handbook of Medical Gymnastics* (1899), and William Skarstrom's *Gymnastic Kinesiology* (1909), which first appeared as a series in the *American Physical Education Review* in 1908–1909. Widely practiced in physical education in Europe and America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Swedish gymnastics clearly is the basis for many of the allied health fields.

BRINGING TOGETHER SCIENCE, MEDICINE, AND ATHLETICS

By the middle decades of the 1800s a number of works emerged that attempted to look at the connections among science, medicine, and athletics. Scotsman Archibald McClaren published *Training in Theory and Practice* in 1866. In this work he applied his medical training and his knowledge of gymnastics and exercise to the emerging field of athletic training. By the early

1900s training manuals appeared, including those from Michael C. Murphy and S. E. Bilik, whose *Trainer's Bible*, first published in 1917, went through numerous editions. R. Tait McKenzie brought together medical and athletic knowledge in his 1909 work *Exercise in Education and Medicine*.

Sports medicine in Germany was more organized than in many places including the first official sport Physician Congress in 1912. The interest of German physicians in sports medicine set the groundwork for the first meeting of FIMS (Federation Internationale de Médecine Sportive) at the II Olympic Winter Games held in St. Moritz [it was at first called Association Internationale Medico-Sportive (AIMS); the name was changed to FIMS in 1934]. A number of similar organizations were formed throughout the world in the twentieth century that focused on the topic of sports medicine, including the American College of Sports Medicine, founded in 1954.

The connection between the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and FIMS continued to grow, and FIMS was “officially recognized” by the IOC at its meeting in Oslo in 1952. The 1960 Olympic Games in Rome had a Medical and Scientific Committee that established a complete scientific study of the athletes taking part in the Games, and the Tokyo Games of 1964 included an International Congress of Sport Sciences. Doping was one of the major scientific/medical problems that confronted the IOC in the early 1960s. The suspicious death of a Danish cyclist during the 1960 Rome Olympics led the IOC to take action, and they created a Medical Commission that by 1968 would begin drug testing of Olympic competitors.

Sex testing (or gender verification) was another scientific/medical problem that emerged in the 1960s. Although it took nearly 30 years, scientists and physicians who had protested the testing since its inception finally made inroads with the major sport organizations. By 1992, the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) had dropped genetic testing for female athletes. The IOC, however, moved at a much more deliberate pace. In 1992 they dropped the “buc-

cal smear” chromosome test in favor of polymerase chain reaction (PCR) testing. In 1999 the IOC provisionally withdrew all sex testing beginning with the 2000 Games in Sydney. However, the IOC has not ended sex testing, because if anyone questions a competitor, tests will be conducted by what the IOC calls “appropriate medical personnel.” It is important to note that not one male posing as a female competitor has been detected since sex testing began in 1968.

Contemporary Issues in Sports Medicine

Athletes in Galen's time could never have predicted the issues on which sports medicine needs to focus in the twenty-first century. Injury prevention, environmental factors such as heat stroke and so-called “oxygen debt,” and new and increasingly difficult-to-detect performance-enhancing drugs are just a few of the thorny problems that sports medicine will be grappling with in the future.

SPORTS INJURIES

Injury prevention, as a topic of inquiry, is slowly beginning to come to the forefront. Athletes, coaches, and researchers understand the potential benefit of preventing injury rather than rehabilitating it; however, little research has been conducted up to now in this area. Recent studies have looked at the beneficial impact of equipment such as facial protection in hockey and helmet use in pole vaulting and cycling.

Although all injury in sport is potentially serious, injuries to the head, neck, and spine are considered to be the most significant. Thus, a great deal of research is concerned with preventing such injuries and treating and rehabilitating athletes with head, neck, and spine injuries. Recently, such research has focused on the issue of concussions in sport. This includes work on prevention of concussion via specialized equipment, the need for better diagnosis following injury, the impact of multiple concussions on an athlete, and the legal implications of allowing an athlete to return to competition following the concussion. Low back pain is another issue that is common to a variety of sports. Managing



low back pain has become another topic of research interest. Topics studied in this subfield include warmup exercises, joint manipulation, and dynamic stability exercises.

Treatment for sports injury no longer is isolated to full open surgery. Increasingly, athletes opt for arthroscopic surgery when possible and thus are able to begin rehabilitation much more quickly and return to competition much faster than ever before. Thus injuries to shoulders, elbows, knees, and other joints do not necessarily end an athlete's season.

After joint injuries, muscle and tendon injuries are the next critical issue in sports medicine. Sudden tears and, increasingly, overuse injuries are commonplace. Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) has become a useful tool in evaluating musculoskeletal injuries. A better understanding of biomechanical and mechanical principles is giving us an enhanced understanding of how to better evaluate and improve performance. In addition, mechanics are contributing to the understanding of injury rehabilitation. Rehabilitation from injury increasingly includes active exercise.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Altitude, heat, and pollution are all potential threats to athletes. The problems of altitude were exposed to the public as a result of the selection of Mexico City as the site of the XIX Olympiad. The greatest concern expressed by distance runners was that their bodies would not be able to overcome what they called the "oxygen debt" imposed by running at such a high altitude. The term *oxygen debt* was introduced in 1925 by the distinguished British Nobel Prize-winning physiologist A. V. Hill. As with many scientific and medical terms, use of the term oxygen debt has had a long duration, even as research has provided more appropriate terms.

Altitude continues to be a topic of interest in sports medicine. Today, scientists believe that high altitude has a definite impact on performance, particularly on events after the return to sea level by altitude-trained athletes. When an athlete lives and trains at high altitude for an extended period of time, the body adapts in a number

of ways; most importantly for the elite athlete is the increased production of red blood cells. This allows the blood to carry oxygen more effectively, and it should lead to an improvement in performance. Technological sophistication entered the equation many years ago with the practice of blood doping and the production of drugs such as erythropoietin that increase the red-blood-cell count. In addition, as the latest theories now argue that the athlete should perhaps "live high and train low," there have been a number of products developed that allow competitors to simulate different altitudes via breathing apparatus or in specially constructed tents and chambers.

Heat-related illness, particularly sudden onset, is a serious problem in sport. Concerns have also developed that an individual who has had one occurrence of a heat-related illness is more likely to have successive episodes. There have, unfortunately, been numerous examples of athletes dying suddenly during a variety of sports, particularly in American football, but also in wrestling and soccer. Keeping athletes adequately hydrated and having them avoid dietary supplements that may exacerbate dehydration is of key importance. An additional environmental factor that impacts performance is pollution, although limited research is conducted in this area compared to the other two factors.

DRUGS AND SPORT

There is no foreseeable end in sight to the use of performance-enhancing drugs in sport. Doping continues despite the increasingly sophisticated detection techniques created by physicians and scientists. The Worldwide Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) attempts to control the doping problem within sport, but despite the support of most of the elite sport world is successful in only a limited way. New drugs are developed and are virtually impossible to detect. These new drugs are added to the list of banned substances as quickly as possible, but the rapidity with which they are created and distributed makes drug testing a seemingly Sisyphean task. The favorite doping methods of only a few years ago, such as nandrolone and EPO, are



Sports Medicine

Naming Sports Injuries

As sports increased in popularity during the late nineteenth century, critics began to question the effects of sports on participants. The following account reveals the concerns of doctors regarding this new class of injuries.

Mr. Charles Richards Dodge, in the February *Outing*, refers to the subject of the “pathology of Recreative Sports,” . . . based evidently upon articles which I contributed to the *Medical Record* and to *Science* of November last, . . .

The “lawn-tennis arm” and “lawn-tennis leg” are accidents peculiar to tennis, and having a special train of symptoms. Therefore, we give them special names for purposes of convenience. We physicians do not create the disease, but simply name it, in which there certainly can be no harm. I must add, that, since my articles have been written, another tennis injury has been noted. It is called “lawn-tennis back.” In boys who begin to play tennis early, and keep up the

game continuously, there is sometimes observed a peculiar overgrowth of the muscles of the back on the right side. This causes loss of straightness and symmetry to the spinal column, amounting almost to deformity. It is, I believe, a rare condition. Mr. Dodge suggests a medical nomenclature with which to portray the injuries and idiosyncrasies of bicycle riders. There has already been one cycle-disease noted. In boys who ride much upon bicycles the continual pressure of the saddle upon the perinaeum sometimes causes irritation of the urinary passage and neighboring organs. Even a stricture may be developed, in this way, it is alleged. I believe this injury to be extremely rare, and am so far from being an alarmist, that I would freely permit young patients to ride bicycles as much, perhaps, as they wished. But it is always wise to know about possible dangers. . . .

Source: Dana, C. L. (1885). Pathology of sports. *Outing*, June, 362.

quickly replaced by designer steroids like THG. Concern is also raised because not only does doping create an uneven playing field in the world of sport, but it can potentially create and exacerbate health problems in training and competition.

Women, Children, Older Adults

The basic research in sports medicine continues to focus on the elite male athlete, while women are categorized as different—as are children, older adults, people with disabilities, and people of color. As all of these groups are treated as special, there appears to be less research conducted on these groups and their medical issues within the world of sport. However, women do receive considerably more attention than all of the others and far more than they did only two to three decades ago. A variety of recent studies have looked at the decline in the level of physical activity among girls as they enter adolescence. In addition, researchers are also looking at the issue of bone loss in young girls in an effort to bet-

ter understand the effect of exercise on bone mass in females throughout their lifespan.

A series of studies have focused on the fact that females in some sport activities are three to four times more likely to have an ACL (anterior cruciate ligament) injury than male athletes. Much of the research on this topic has examined the differences in the “Q-angle” (the direction of the quadriceps muscle force during a concentric contraction) between males and females. A number of researchers argue that ensuring the development of safer movement patterns among female athletes will potentially lead to a reduction in these types of injuries.

Of particular concern among young children is the effect of activities such as weight training, competition-modified diets, and certain types of physical activities such as pitching mechanics or high-impact training. Although some forms of impact training are crucial in the development of optimal bone density, caution must be exercised to not cause injury. There is still a great deal of research that supports the contention that children between the ages of nine and fourteen should not be

taught certain sport activities such as how to throw a curveball or a slider in baseball.

Over the past four decades, exercise has been utilized increasingly as a mode of recovery from coronary heart disease (CHD). Research is ongoing into the type and amount of aerobic exercise needed to be effective in cardiac rehabilitation. Additionally, there have been an increasing number of studies on the effect of training on the cardiovascular health of older women. Recent studies in older adults have focused particularly on the issue of gait function, a key issue in helping to keep the elderly active, mobile, and injury free. A number of researchers have concluded that strength and endurance training do have beneficial effects on older adults.

Encouraging Physically Inactive People to Exercise

The vast majority of work in sports medicine has been devoted to elite athletes. However, today there is greater interest in the experiences of everyday people; in particular, there are grave concerns about the high levels of sedentary behavior among the general public. Thus, a number of researchers are trying to better understand the type, amount, duration, and intensity of aerobic exercise that the public needs in order to not only reduce weight but also to improve cardiovascular functioning. A variety of researchers are struggling with the issue of how to get the public to adhere to some sort of exercise program. This is not only a sport-medicine issue but a public-health issue as well. In addition, increased physical activity will lead to a potential reduction in the incidence of cardiovascular disease and adult-onset diabetes.

Alison W. Wrynn

See also Anemia; Diet and Weight Loss; Disordered Eating; Exercise and Health; Injuries, Youth; Injury; Injury Risk in Women's Sport; Nutrition; Osteoporosis; Pain

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Sportsmanship

Fair play in sport, more commonly referred to as sportsmanship, is demonstrated through ethical conduct by athletes during competition and a positive attitude toward the game by players, officials, and

Pro football is like nuclear warfare. There are no winners, only survivors. ■ FRANK GIFFORD

spectators. Advocates of sportsmanship consider the game worth playing only if all athletes have equal opportunity to win, if they use only their physical or strategic prowess to overcome their opponents, if they treat others as they would like to be treated, and if they refuse to accept a tainted victory. Many sportsmanlike behaviors have been abandoned of late, including congratulating opponents after defeat, personally checking on injured players, thanking referees for a job well done, refraining from use of profanity, and shaking hands, smiling, and moving on when the game is over, regardless of the score.

Sportsmanship ideals can be extended from individual in-game behaviors to the behaviors of sports organizations. Are uniforms made in compliance with labor and human rights standards? Is the game available for all people to play regardless of classes, gender, age, sexual orientation, or race? Does the organization respond to the personal needs of the athletes and fans and reward or promote respect for self, others, and the game? All of these aspects of sportsmanship should be taken into consideration.

Sports Construct Ethical Character

A broadly held assumption is that participation in competitive games prepares athletes for success in a cutthroat society. Athletes may learn to strive for excellence, persevere, sacrifice, follow orders, be selfless, work with others, and to be fair. With this assumption sports have gained a prominent place in school and community programs, and both amateur and professional sports are usually well supported by the media. D. Stanley Eitzen (1999) recounts many examples of outstanding ethical behavior on the part of coaches and athletes. For instance, a month or so after Rockdale County (Georgia) won the state basketball championship in 1987, the coach, Cleveland Stroud, found that he had unknowingly used an ineligible player in a game. Although the player in question was in the game only a minute or two and had not scored, Stroud notified the authorities of the infraction. As a result, the school forfeited the only state championship it had ever won. In a similar vein Andy Herr of Bloomington, In-

diana, chose to hold up and finish second in a 10-kilometer race in Toledo (Ohio), because the leader had accidentally taken a wrong turn. In these examples sports competitors showed respect for each other and for the game when they strictly adhered to rules set out by governing bodies, no matter how minor, in an attempt to maintain a "level playing field." They acted as role models for many, teaching that a tainted victory is no victory at all.

The essence of sports is competition governed by specific rules that structure and define the practice. Rules are designed to place constraints and conditions upon the competition in order to make success more difficult to achieve. Therefore, in order to "win" in a sport, a competitor must adhere to an illogical framework. In European handball players are restricted to carrying the ball a maximum of three steps before they must bounce or pass it. Slalom skiers are required to cross with both skis the imaginary line between the two poles of every gate of the slalom course. These strict rules demarcate sports from other activities and present a challenge to competitors.

Historically, in sports that have maintained much of their amateur credo (i.e., golf, baseball, tennis, and cricket) an emphasis on fairness, recreation, and personal challenge has prevailed. Although these sports can be played at a highly competitive level and for considerably large purses at the professional level, scandals involving unethical behavior by athletes in these sports are rare in comparison with scandals in sports that are driven by the tenets of professionalism, and in particular those sports that highlight physical strength and physical domination over opponents. In sports such as association football and gridiron football, ice hockey, rugby, and basketball, the goal of gaining an advantage over rivals has prevailed, and in many cases a spirit of fair play and a respect for rules and personal well-being have been forsaken.

Sports Deconstruct Ethical Character

According to Beller and Stoll (1993), although sports do build character if *character* is defined as "loyalty, dedication, sacrifice, and teamwork," they do not build

Hunting is not a sport. In a sport, both sides should know they're in the game. ■ PAUL RODRIGUEZ

character if *character* is defined as “honesty, responsibility, and justice.” All levels of all sports, from youth leagues to professional ranks, are becoming more and more “professional,” with children as young as six years old adopting a “no place for second place” attitude. As the salaries and status associated with winning have increased, some athletes, coaches, and even spectators have accepted a “winning-at-all-costs” philosophy, which has led to the dehumanization of athletes and their alienation from their bodies and competitors. Under these conditions we should not be surprised that research reveals consistently that sports stifle moral reasoning and moral development.

When coaches, athletes, and fans corrupt the ideals of sportsmanship in their zeal to succeed, they are likely to employ or condone similar tactics outside sports. They might accept the necessity of dirty tricks in politics or misleading advertising in business because the overall goal is to win even if winning requires moving outside the established rules. Rule violations that serve efficiency and team interests are widely accepted in many sports; however, problems arise when both teams have not consented to certain “interpretations” of the rules. The negative values learned in sports may include selfishness, envy, conceit, greed, hostility, and brutality. Athletes cheat, use profanity, performance-enhancing drugs, and violence to gain a competitive edge and see these unfair tactics as “strategy” rather than cheating.

Cheating in Sports

Some illegal acts have become so commonplace that they are now accepted as part of the game. In basketball, hockey, and association football, for example, a player commonly pretends to be fouled or injured in order to receive an unmerited free throw, power play, or penalty kick with a relatively high certainty of scoring. In fact, these “penalties” are built into the structure of the game, and the concept of no contact, which is in fact, written into the rules, is completely ignored. Pitchers in baseball sometimes achieve an illegal advantage by scuffing the ball or by putting a foreign substance (i.e., saliva or Vaseline) on it so that it drops suddenly when pitched.

Batters, such as Billy Hatcher of the Houston Astros in 1987, Wilton Guerrero of the Los Angeles Dodgers in 1997, and Sammy Sosa of the Chicago Cubs in 2003, countered by illegally corking their bats in order to hit the ball farther. On 3 June 2003, Sosa, known for hitting explosive home runs, grounded out but knocked in a run, breaking his bat on impact. The home plate umpire discovered the cork in Sosa’s bat, and Sosa was subsequently ejected from the game. Although Sosa denied the intentional use of an illegal bat, he and all players caught cheating instantly cast doubt on their entire prior sporting success.

Profanity in Sports

Profanity is creeping into youth sports as a result of the antics of professional athletes in televised sports. The media continue to show adults out of control because to do so increases ratings. Television close-ups display college athletes and coaches mouthing obscenities in reaction to an official’s call. Cameras zoom in on athletes who lose their cool and provide intense interviews liberally interspersed with “bleeps.” Coaches who release streams of four-letter words to anyone within earshot are guaranteed to be featured in prime time. Bobby Knight, formerly of Indiana University, is the most infamous coach known for verbally abusing officials and his own players, throwing chairs, and even kicking his own son. Equally loved and hated by many, Knight was known for his vulgarities and his winning record. He acted as a role model to athletes and other coaches alike. Unbridled profanity can also be found in car racing. In 2004, National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) president Mike Helton threatened to fine drivers and crewmen for “inappropriate” language and issued stern warnings for drivers to watch their mouths.

Performance-Enhancing Drugs in Sports

The history of athletes using drugs to enhance their endurance, power, or strength is a long one, dating back to the Greek athletes who raised their testosterone levels



by eating sheep testicles during the ancient Olympic Games. British cyclist Tommy Simpson died on a hill climb of Mont Ventoux during the 1967 Tour de France. A vial containing an amphetamine was found on his body. In 1988 Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson tested positive for anabolic steroid use after winning the Seoul, South Korea Olympics men's 100-meter race. His medal was revoked, and subsequently the International Amateur Athletics Federation banned him from competition for life. Despite the fact that drugs are illegal and cause harmful side effects, elite athletes in many sports, in particular sprinting, weightlifting, bodybuilding, and weight throwing (shot put, discus, hammer, javelin), are almost required to take steroids if they want to be successful and meet international standards.

Violence in Sports

Violence has become a prevalent feature of contemporary sports, both in its instrumental and hostile forms. Instrumental violence helps an athlete to achieve the goal of winning a competition. Sports are one of the few settings in which acts of aggression are not only tolerated, but also enthusiastically applauded and even required from athletes. Hostile violence is intentionally harming another person, whether that person is a player, referee, or spectator, and its incidence is on the rise. In the past National Football League coaches (contrary to league rules) gave monetary awards each week to players who hit their opponents the hardest, and at least one, Kansas City Chiefs coach Marty Schottenheimer, offered to pay off any fines his team incurred for breaking the jaws of opponents or knocking down adversaries. This emphasis on intimidating violence is almost universal among gridiron football, rugby, and hockey coaches, players, and fans. The objective is not just to hit but to punish and even to injure. Sociologist Michael Smith has argued that violence in hockey, as in war, is a socially rewarded behavior. The players (and fans) are convinced that aggression (body checking, intimidation, and the like) is vital to winning.

Spectators have been known to assault opposing spectators and players. In 2000 Los Angeles Dodger

backup catcher Chad Kreuter was sitting in the bullpen when a fan hit him in the head and stole his cap. Kreuter and several other Dodgers went into the stands, and a mob scene ensued. Sixteen players and three coaches were given suspensions. The most notorious cases of fan violence have occurred in European football. In 1909 a riot that even today would warrant headlines internationally broke out in Scotland after officials declined the fans' demand for extra-play time to settle a draw between Glasgow and Celtic. The riot involved six thousand spectators and resulted in injury to fifty-four policemen, serious damage to the grounds and emergency equipment, and the destruction of virtually every street lamp in the area. At Euro 2000 Brussels police arrested 850 fans during a street riot that erupted before a match between England and Germany. Fans of both nations began with chanting and taunting before throwing chairs and beer bottles at each other in the city's main square. Riot police armed with a water canon eventually quelled the violence; however, European fans continue to bring the sport of association football into disrepute.

Lacking Ethics at the Organizational Level

Immorality is not a matter of just breaking or bending the rules—the rules themselves may be unfair or even immoral. Powerful organizations such as the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) have denied equality to women and have exploited athletes. During the 1960s the National Organization for Women (NOW) gathered data at the national and local levels on discrimination against girls and women in neighborhood and school sports. Armed with this data, the organization lobbied Congress, which ultimately passed Title IX, the 1972 education amendment that prohibits discrimination against women in U.S. federally funded education programs. Until that time, compared with men's sports, women's sports received less funding, fewer scholarships were awarded to women athletes, women had fewer opportunities to play, and coaches of

Some critics of hunting do not consider it very sportsmanlike because the animals do not know they are part of the competition.

women's teams received lower salaries. Although much progress has been made, more than thirty years later gender equity has not been reached. The NCAA has not effectively implemented the law and continues to uphold rules that exploit athletes.

NCAA regulations require that athletes commit to a four-year agreement with a school, yet schools make only a year-by-year commitment to athletes. This fact means that athletes can lose scholarships at the whim of their coaches, yet they cannot move to another school without sitting out a year. Meanwhile, coaches who break their contracts can coach immediately at another school. Coaches have physically assaulted and publicly belittled their players, but if their teams win, they are rewarded handsomely. "Big-time" college sports in the United States have corrupted academe by engaging in recruiting violations, waiving academic requirements, and actually preventing student-athletes from studying and attending classes. As more schools are seduced by the potential profits (several million dollars in revenue) from successful intercollegiate competition, they are treating athletes more and more as investment capital; many have forgotten that college athletes have been promised an education in exchange for their sports participation. Intercollegiate sports have become big business; athletic programs seek to remain competitive to maximize profits



and not only deny athletes access to an education, but also increasingly pervert the educational value of sports.

The emphasis on sportsmanship by the leaders of the IOC tends to be nullified by questionable practices condoned by administrators. During the 1990s eleven International Olympic Committee members resigned or were expelled as a result of scandals over vote buying. IOC members demanded bribes of up to one million dollars from cities bidding to host the games. Marc Hodler, a member of the International Olympic Committee executive board at the time, claimed abuses in voting occurred for the 1996 Atlanta games and the 2000 Sydney games before unscrupulous IOC mem-

bers were caught taking cash bribes, medical expenses, travel expenses, gifts, entertainment, and college tuition payments for their children during Salt Lake City's successful 2002 Winter Olympics bid. During this same era, while other international sports organizations such as the International Amateur Athletics Federation were eliminating gender testing, the IOC continued to require all women competitors to "prove" their femininity, much to the chagrin of many women Olympians.

Returning to Ethical Sports Behavior

The Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the world governing body for soccer, has recognized that the world's top teams and players have a responsibility as role models for young people taking up the game and fans in the stands. FIFA now obliges all players in the World Cup finals and other FIFA events to sign a "fair play declaration." The number of occurrences bringing football into disrepute in European countries has been reduced as a result of close cooperation with the respective authorities and strict guidelines for match organization and "no standing room" stadium design. As well as rewarding its various world champion teams with cups and diplomas, FIFA also recognizes special acts of fair play by presenting individual and team FIFA Fair Play Trophies.

The Citizenship Through Sports Alliance (CTSA) is the largest coalition of professional and amateur athletics organizations in the United States concerned with character in sports. CTSA promotes sportsmanship at all levels of sports to reinforce the positive values that sports can teach. Since 1997 CTSA has been building a sports culture that encourages respect for self, others, and the game. Fair Play for Children (FPC), an international organization based in the United Kingdom, promotes every child's right to play with fair attitudes and activities worldwide. The United Nations has declared that every child has a right to engage in age-appropriate play and recreational activities, and FPC works to ensure that each child has equal opportunity for full participation, free

from discrimination, brutal training tactics, and cut-throat competition.

The Future of Fair Play

It has been said that unless we remind ourselves of the essentials of sportsmanship it will gradually fade, as have other traditional societal values. To return to a more ethical sporting ethos (distinguishing character, moral nature, or principled guiding beliefs), what is most important is the change that fans can bring about. Sports fans pay the costs of big-time college and professional sports, spending \$100 billion a year on sports equipment, memorabilia, tickets, and the like. If enough fans withdrew their financial support of professional sports in protest, refusing to forgive and forget the irresponsible behavior of players, coaches, and owners, meaningful improvements might occur. Sports enthusiasts may also work within the system, volunteering to coach youth sports teams or serve on the board of directors of a sports league. Teachers and professors can become coaches, move into athletic administration, or serve on athletic committees. As people become insiders and move into positions of increasing power, they must fight against the status quo.

Thousands of games are played worldwide every day without incident. Players and fans act appropriately, coaches and referees behave beyond reproach. Unfortunately, incidents of immoral behavior are more likely to make headlines, and professional athletes are always on display. The problems in sports are not solely the result of "a few bad apples." Society demands that athletes remain drug free and, at the same time, honors only those athletes who win and break records. For those who triumph, the rewards for them (and perhaps their families and their coaches) are substantial, so instead of privileging sportsmanship, winning at any price has become the prevailing code of conduct. Sports psychologist Charles Banham put it simply: "Good sportsmanship may be a product of sport, but so is bad sportsmanship." Examining issues such as trash talking, cheating, flagrant fouls, doping and athletes as role

models will provide coaches and educators with effective tools for promoting sportsmanship.

Janelle Joseph

See also Values and Ethics

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Sportswriting and Reporting

In the worldwide development and acceptance of sports, few institutions have played a more important role than the sporting press. In fact, the growth of newspapers in the nineteenth century coincided with the growth of modern sports, and although until the last decade of that century the sporting press existed and flourished somewhere beyond the pale of standard journalism, the traditional functions of the press applied to sportswriting and continue to do so. Journalism supplies information to the reading public and builds community; journalism sets an agenda for public discourse; and journalism serves as a social watchdog. These basic functions, some more powerful than others at different historical periods, shaped the development of sportswriting. As Stanley Walker of the *New York Herald Tribune* noted about sportswriters in *City Editor*: “[T]he best ones know that the test of good sports reporting is not substantially different from that of all other good reporting” (1934, 133). Walker and others agree that the history of

Years ago, the sports pages were the best-written, most lively, and most informative about the many cultures of this nation than any other pages in the paper. ■ MICHAEL NOVA

sportswriting is a record of sports reporters sometimes failing and sometimes passing the test of good journalism.

The Father of All Sportswriters

Beginning in 1787 and continuing until 1824, England became enamored of sports, especially bare-knuckle prize fighting. In 1810 and again in 1811, the British champion Tom Cribb fought and defeated a freed American slave named Tom Molineaux, and although the fights were illegal and had to be held in the country to evade the authorities, crowds of approximately five thousand attended the fights and countless others awaited news of the outcomes in London and other cities. The followers of sports, all sports, were known as “The Fancy,” a subculture of males from all walks of society who gathered in taverns and who were enthusiastic about athletic contests. The man who supplied this subculture with information and thereby established a sense of a sporting community was Pierce Egan. Egan was born in Ireland in 1772, and he died in England in 1849. During the course of his journalism career, Egan became “the greatest writer about the ring who ever lived,” according to A. J. Liebling, who considered his collection of boxing stories, *The Sweet Science*, to be an extension of Egan’s work (Liebling 1956, 8, 12). In 1813 Egan published *Boxiana*, a book that can be regarded as a guide for both the novice and more experienced member of the Fancy who sought to learn more about the history and current state of the prize ring. Egan educated the public on the slang of the ring and other sports, but his particular genius and his claim to an influential role in the popularization of sports are based on the fact he was the first to recognize that an audience that craved information existed.

Egan worked as a compositor for the *London Weekly Dispatch*, and in 1816 he joined the staff as a sportswriter. In 1820 he went on his own and began to publish and edit *Bell’s Life in London*, an all-sports weekly that virtually served as a template for other sports weeklies published in England and the United States until 1860. Egan covered sports and the social scene



surrounding sports, and in doing so he provided a public record in print of a spirit of freedom and adventure that young men were beginning to experience.

American Sportswriting Pioneers

Egan sold *Bell's Life in London* in 1824, but its influence extended beyond that time and across the Atlantic. The first successful attempt to sustain a sporting publication in the United States was the work of John Stuart Skinner, who published the *American Farmer* in 1819 and the more sports-oriented *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* in 1829. Skinner included some articles on sports, recreation, and exercise in *American Farmer*, but for the most part he covered events that fell under the headings "Rural Sports" and "Sports of the Plough" (Berryman 1979, 46). As its title suggests, *American Turf Register* focused on horses and field sports.

The initial issue of the first true sports weekly in America, William Trotter Porter's *Spirit of the Times*, appeared on 10 December 1831. While covering a multitude of sports, Porter aimed his publication at an audience of America's sporting gentry. He favored horse racing and field sports, and his most famous contributor was William Henry Herbert, who wrote outdoors sketches under the pen name Frank Forester. Forester's work gained great popularity, but Herbert, who harbored loftier literary ambitions, was ashamed of what he considered his hack writing. Despite becoming, in the estimation of John Rickards Betts, "the first nationally famous sportswriter," Herbert committed suicide in 1858 (1953, 42).

George Wilkes launched the *National Police Gazette* in New York City in 1845, and in 1856 he bought the *Spirit of the Times*, which for a while was published simultaneously under slightly different names and with different owners. The more famous version of the *National Police Gazette*, the notorious "barbershop Bible" printed on pink paper, began in 1876 when Irish immigrant Richard Kyle Fox bought the weekly and turned it into the sporting paper with the greatest influence and largest circulation in the United States in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

In 1853 Frank Queen began publishing and editing the weekly *New York Clipper*, the paper that inaugurated the baseball box score, an invention of the game's first great chronicler, Henry Chadwick. More so than other publications of the period, Queen's *Clipper* functioned as a booster, an educator, and a builder of an emerging American sports culture. The paper flourished until Queen's death in 1882, and it continued to publish, although dealing primarily with theater news, until 1923 when it was bought by *Variety*.

With the reading audience for sports news increasing annually, Francis C. Richter responded in 1882 by issuing *Sporting Life*, a weekly published in Philadelphia that included regular reports on baseball, track and field, cycling, yachting, tennis, and prize fighting. Devoted to the increasingly popular sport of baseball, Al and Charlie Spink's *Sporting News* first appeared in 1886 in St. Louis, and by 1900 it usurped the *Clipper's* title as the "Bible of baseball." Richard Harding Davis became editor of *Harper's Weekly* in 1890, and he retooled the magazine in an effort to attract an audience of young, primarily well-to-do men. Davis hired Casper Whitney to write a weekly column on "Amateur Sports," and between them they introduced and helped popularize the "school sports hero" (Messenger 1981, 151–153).

James Gordon Bennett Jr. Promotes Sports

Editors of daily newspapers were slow to acknowledge the surging importance of sports as news, but James Gordon Bennett Jr., whose father started the *New York Herald* in 1835, proved an exception. In the 1860s, after taking the reins of the paper from his father, Bennett consistently devoted space, if not specifically devoted pages, to sports news, covering baseball, prize fighting, and horse racing in particular. Bennett was also a self-promoter. In 1866 he used the newly laid underwater cable to wire back reports of the victory of his yacht in a transatlantic race in which each participant put up \$30,000 in a winner-take-all challenge.

Bennett's win led to the reinstatement of the America's Cup challenge in 1870, and his coverage led other

*Where is sport without the words
that surround it?* ■ BUD COLLINS

newspaper editors to increase their attention to sports. In 1878 Charles Wright was named sports editor of the *Syracuse Courier*, and he is believed to be the first American journalist to hold such a position. In the same year Francis Richter, who four years later launched *Sporting Life*, directed other reporters in a full-fledged sports department at the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*.

The Birth of Daily Sports Pages

It was not until the 1880s, when professional baseball earned a spot in the national consciousness and heavyweight champion John L. Sullivan was becoming enormously popular, that daily newspapers began to experiment with the radical idea of including regular sports pages. In New York, Charles A. Dana of the *Sun* and Joseph Pulitzer of the *World* featured regular sports pages. In Chicago, a fiercely competitive newspaper town whose papers reflected the boisterous, bustling nature of the city, a crime reporter for the *Inter-Ocean*, Leonard Washburn, accepted an assignment to cover a Chicago White Stockings game. Washburn's story, according to Hugh Fullerton, revolutionized the genre because he produced a story "interesting and entertaining enough to be read by all the patrons of the paper" (1928, 18). Washburn's efforts in sports coverage were soon to be followed by another Chicago stylist, Finley Peter Dunne, and the sportswriter as storyteller, as opposed to a compiler of facts and statistics, was born. Sometimes the results of this style proved less than informative. Noting that the objective of the first American sports pages was to tell a reader who won and who lost, Randall Poe observed in his essay "The Writing of Sports" that "the scores often got in the way of roco description and were lost" (1974, 173–174).

Grantland Rice and the Golden Age of Sportswriting

Grantland Rice joined the sports staff of the *New York Evening Mail* in December 1910, and it could be argued that modern sportswriting reached an age of robust adolescence at the same time. Up to the day of his death on

13 July 1954, Rice continued to cover sports in daily newspapers, in his syndicated column, in film shorts, and in magazines. Rice was, in the estimation of Robert Lipsyte, "the prototype superstar sportswriter of the Golden Age" (1975, 170). For better or for worse, Rice spawned generations of journalistic imitators, prompting Lipsyte to claim that Rice's influence was "the most liberating and the most destructive" in sportswriting history (1975, 170). Early in his career, Rice formulated his philosophy of sportswriting: "[G]ood sportsmanship should apply not only to playing sport but to writing about it as well. No cheap shots" (Harper 1999, 122). Rice never took a journalistic cheap shot at anybody. If an athlete or coach did something worthy of criticism, Rice's approach was to ignore that person and event and devote his column inches to the more smiling aspects of the game.

Stanley Walker determined that "two fairly definite schools" of sportswriting existed in Rice's time, the "Gee Whiz!" and "Aw Nuts!" schools (1934, 123). Rice was the premier practitioner of the Gee Whiz style, writing that used classical metaphors and often used verse to mythologize an athlete or team. Ironically, W. O. McGeehan, who for a time in the 1920s was Rice's sports editor at the *New York Herald Tribune*, was, along with Westbrook Pegler and Heywood Broun, the foremost practitioner of the Aw Nuts School, which sought to treat athletes as real people with human failings and games as business enterprises. McGeehan, for example, refused to refer to the people attending a sporting event as "fans," preferring instead to label them the "customers."

Rice's most famous story was his Four Horsemen report on the 1924 Army–Notre Dame football game. "Outlined against a blue-gray October sky," he wrote, "the Four Horsemen rode again." His story ran not only in the Sunday editions of the *Herald Tribune*, but because of syndication, in numerous papers around the country. With one deftly chosen sports-page trope, Rice romanticized and made immortal a Notre Dame backfield that was only a bit above average. More significantly, though, he romanticized and helped popularize



Sportswriting and Reporting

The Rise of Sportswriting

Fred Lieb, a man who spent more than seventy years writing sports, recounts the tale of covering a mid-winter baseball meeting in 1915 when the Federal League was challenging the established National and American leagues for economic supremacy. Lieb left the Manhattan meeting site with Heywood Broun, then the sports editor of the *New York Tribune*. Broun had been raised in a wealthy New York family and went to Harvard. Lieb grew up in decidedly more modest circumstances in Philadelphia and graduated from Central Manual High School. What drew these two men together was a mutual love for sports and sportswriting.

Upon leaving the meeting, Lieb accepted Broun's invitation to dine with him at the Harvard Club. "One of his old Harvard professors stopped at our table and chatted familiarly for several minutes," Lieb writes in his 1977 book *Baseball as I Have Known It*. "As the professor started to move away, he stopped and said, 'I forgot to ask, what are you doing now, Broun?' Heywood replied, 'I'm writing baseball for the *Tribune*.' The professor's face dropped. 'Bah! Have you fallen to that?'"

The professor's reaction to Broun's chosen profession in 1915 was not surprising. Sports reporting had a deserved reputation as a "backdoor trade" pop-

ulated by naive kids or "free loaders who long ago gave up their dreams and a healthy part of their morals," as Seymour Krim observes in his essay "Sportswriting: Square and Avantgarde." Too often, sportswriters were propagandists, mere shills for a promoter who could buy their coverage with a few dollars or a bottle of whisky. And sometimes both.

While that may have been the case at the beginning of the twentieth century, the situation in the sportswriting business at the beginning of the twenty-first century has changed completely. In his "Foreword" to the collection titled *The Best American Sports Writing of the Century*, Glenn Stout notes that in the past three decades "sports writing has become something of a respected genre of American literature." Indeed, sprinkled throughout virtually all of the anthologies of literary journalism are stories written by sportswriters. What used to be a "backdoor trade" has emerged as an admired genre of nonfiction literature.

Significantly, it is worth noting that Heywood Broun's son, Heywood Hale Broun, followed his father into sportswriting and became one of the most respected writers and sports commentators of the latter half of the century.

Dennis Gildea

intercollegiate football, as well as other sports to which he turned his attention, most notably golf.

Ring, Runyon, and Other Luminaries

American press boxes in the first three decades of the twentieth century were filled with some of the greats of the profession. Ring Lardner, Damon Runyon, Hugh Fullerton, Paul Gallico, Fred Lieb, John Kieran, Charles E. Van Loan, and John R. Tunis all were covering sports on a regular basis. Of that group, Lardner, Runyon, and Gallico are noted for their work as sports reporters and for the fiction, sports-related and otherwise, they

produced. Lardner was born on 6 March 1885 in Niles, Michigan, and he initially built his reputation as an astute writer covering major league baseball, especially his beloved Chicago White Sox. Lardner earned a lofty place in American literature when his biting humorous *You Know Me Al* stories were published in book form in 1916. Written in dialect and from the point of view of White Sox rookie pitcher Jack Keefe, the stories were originally published in *The Saturday Evening Post*.

Runyon, who grew up in Pueblo, Colorado, covered sports and wrote a column for the *New York American* from 1911 to 1946, but it was in 1931 when *Guys and Dolls* was published that he achieved literary



Sportswriting and Reporting

The Big Game

Sportswriter Grantland Rice penned sonnets about a variety of sports. Here he captures the mood of a football game in 1924.

You take the color and flash of the game,
 And the human gardens of rose-lip girls,
 And all the pageant that waits the call
 As the toe drives into the waiting ball
 But leave me the halfback's driving might,
 The surging lines in a bitter fight,
 The sweat and smear of the warring soul
 As the tackle opens a two-foot hole;
 The roar of the crowds, with their beasts aflame,
 The ringing cheers, with their eddying swirls,
 The interference, the deadly pass,
 The grip and crash of the swirling mass.
 For the crowd fades out and the cheers dip low
 When the fourth down comes, with a yard to go,
 And in the struggle along the field
 The battle changes to sword and shield
 And the knightly tourneys that used to be
 In the golden era of chivalry.
 The world soft as the years advance
 Further and further from sword and lance,
 When the caveman, after his morning's fun,
 Slew the mammoth and mastodon;
 But his ghost at the gridiron calls through space:
 "These, too, are worthy to build a race."

Source: Rice, G. (1924). *Badminton* (p. 136–137).

immortality. Runyon's stories introduced readers to the characters, language, and the values of New York City's underworld and sports culture, earning him the title "The Chronicler of Broadway."

Gallico was born in New York City on 26 July 1897, and he served as sports reporter and sports editor of the *New York Daily News* from 1923 to 1936. Gallico was a Gee Whiz writer who came to regret his journalistic style, as he notes in his 1938 book *Farewell to Sport*.

Gallico, McGeehan, and Tunis, who wrote eighteen sports-based novels for juvenile readers from 1938 to 1973, filled the role of journalistic watchdogs of sport.

The Fresh Eye of Red Smith

Red Smith, a writer once observed, "has given sports what Monet gave sunrises—a pure and constantly fresh eye" (Poe 1974, 176). Smith began covering sports for the *Milwaukee Sentinel* in 1927 and was still writing a column for the *New York Times* when he died on 15 January 1982. He won the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished commentary in 1976, becoming just the third sportswriter to achieve journalism's highest honor. *New York Times* columnist Arthur Daley won in 1956, beating out Smith and Jimmy Cannon of the *New York Post*, and in 1951 Max Kase of the *New York Journal-American* won for his story exposing the college basketball point-shaving scandal.

Like Grantland Rice, Smith spent his career in sports journalism, but unlike Rice and Rice's many imitators, Smith never shied away from critiquing sports. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1980, Smith was the first sports columnist to advocate a United States boycott of the Summer Olympic Games in Moscow. Ironically, the *New York Times* chose not to run the column because the editors felt it was politically inappropriate. However, the column ran in 350 papers that subscribed to the *Times* news service, and it helped draw national attention to the boycott issue. In 1968 he supported Tommy Smith's and John Carlos's right to make the black-glove protest on the medals podium at the Mexico City Olympics, and as early as 1957 he called baseball's reserve clause a version of the "slave trade."

Sports Illustrated and the Texas Sportswriters

Sports Illustrated debuted with the issue of 16 August 1954. The brainchild of Time Inc. founder and publisher Henry Luce, the magazine at first fell considerably short of being a blockbuster success, an outcome that many in the Time Inc. business office ominously predicted. "Only males read sports magazines," a prepublication business

You can become a winner only if you are willing to walk over the edge. ■ DAMON RUNYON

office assessment read, and “most of the males are either juveniles or ne'er-do-wells . . . and that even having the word Sport in a magazine title may be financial folly” (MacCambridge 1997, 22). To offset that perception, one that could be traced to the beginnings of sport and sports journalism in the nineteenth century, the magazine's editors made their product high-toned, aiming at a well-heeled, socially elite audience. Still, the magazine languished and seemed doomed for extinction.

The turnaround of the floundering magazine began in April 1955 when Roy Terrell, an ex-Marine from Texas, was hired as a writer, and salvation was realized when on 19 March 1956 Time Inc.'s senior European correspondent Andre Laguerre was hired as the assistant managing editor and, shortly thereafter, the managing editor. Laguerre revamped *Sports Illustrated*, transforming it from a curious mix of high-society sports and cookbook recipes to a publication that showed a genuine affection for sports. Moreover, Laguerre hired more writers like Terrell—Texans, for the most part, “whose prose was lucid, irreverent, and unapologetic about the central role of sports in modern society” (MacCambridge 1997, 4). At the forefront of the infusion of Texas-trained sportswriters were Dan Jenkins and Bud Shrake, both of whom began their sportswriting careers at the *Fort Worth Press* under legendary sports editor Blackie Sherrod. Jenkins and Shrake led the way in making the magazine more mainstream in terms of sports coverage and cutting edge in terms of writing style. The *Sports Illustrated* style forged “the blueprint for modern American sports journalism” (MacCambridge 1997, 4).

Women Sportswriters

As opportunities for women athletes increased in the final three decades of the twentieth century, so, too, did opportunities for women sportswriters, who, increasingly, have not been limited to covering just women's sports. A survey of fifty American sports departments conducted by the Women's Sports Foundation revealed that from 1991 to 2001 the number of women covering sports rose from 6 percent of staff to 13 percent. Mary Garber of the *Winston-Salem* (North Carolina)

Journal was a pioneering woman sportswriter. Garber began writing all sports in 1944 and retired in 1986.

A short list of top women sportswriters would include Sally Jenkins, whose work has appeared in *Sports Illustrated*, *Women's Sport & Fitness*, and the *Washington Post*; Diane K. Shah, a former sports columnist for the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* and a contributing writer for *ESPN: The Magazine*; Jackie MacMullan of the *Boston Globe*; and Joan Ryan, who covered sports for the *Orlando Sentinel* and the *San Francisco Examiner*, as well as writing the highly acclaimed book about young gymnasts, *Little Girls in Pretty Boxes*.

Murray and Liebling: The Past as Prologue

While women continue to take their rightful place in the press boxes in the twenty-first century, sportswriters in general will continue to do what sportswriters have done since the days of Pierce Egan—work hard to get a complete story and write it as compellingly as possible. The instantaneous and virtually universal coverage of television and online reporting has liberated print journalists from being just reporters of fact and freed them to be writers who produce more personalized, atmospheric, and analytical pieces. A canon of contemporary writers of sport would include names such as Frank Deford, David Halberstam, Mike Lupica, Jon Krakauer, Roger Angell, Dave Anderson, William Nack, Sally Jenkins, and the late Dick Schaap, all of whom use or used the techniques of literary journalism—genuine storytelling. In that respect, they are like the best of their immediate predecessors, stylists such as Jim Murray and A. J. Liebling.

Murray, who, as the West Coast correspondent, was one of the few bright lights on the beginning *Sports Illustrated* staff, wrote a nationally syndicated column for the *Los Angeles Times* from 1961 until his death in 1998. Murray won the Pulitzer Prize in 1990. Liebling, a reporter for *The New Yorker* for almost thirty years until his death in 1963, graced the pages of the magazine with his essays on boxing. Noting that editor Harold Ross tried to discourage him from covering



such “low-life” events, Liebling persevered, insisting that, “Low-life was Ross’s word for the kind of subject that I did best” (1956, 6). Liebling’s pieces combined literary metaphors with blow-by-blow detail to lift a bout from the low-life to a genuinely courageous and heroic display. Liebling’s words did what good sportswriting should always strive to do—inform, entertain, and even inspire.

Dennis Gildea

See also Literature; Magazines; Newspapers

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Squash

Squash is an indoor racket sport, probably the fastest sport inside four walls. Fifteen million people play squash on fifty thousand courts in 130 countries.

Origins

Squash was invented at the Harrow school in England in about 1830 and spread to British colonies such as Pakistan, Egypt, India, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Canada and during the 1880s to the United States. The U.S. version differed from the international version in that the squash court was narrower and the ball harder. During the 1980s squash was standardized in accord with the international version. The British Open Championship, which served as the world championship until 1967, was first played in 1920. The Women’s British Open was first played in 1922

and was dominated by British women until 1960, with Janet Morgan (1921–1990) winning the title ten times. Even more successful was Heather McKay of Australia, who won seventeen championships in a row, the last three from 1975 to 1977 after squash entered the open era, with amateurs and professionals competing in the same tournament. In the United States the first national championships were played in 1907, and the event was dominated by men and women from Philadelphia, Boston, and Wilmington, Delaware.

Rules and Play

People play squash on a court measuring 9.7 meters long by 6.4 meters wide. Two players, each using a racket approximately half the size of a tennis racket, strike a small black ball alternately against the front wall of the court. The ball is soft and “squashes” on impact, causing it to bounce slowly and causing the players to work hard, both mentally and physically, to keep it in play. Squash has been judged to be the toughest cardiovascular sport played with a ball, ahead of water polo and soccer (association football).

Women Take the Court

From the beginning squash was a men’s sport, and men players outnumbered women by more than ten to one, with some nations such as Egypt having no women players at all. Squash was run internationally by separate men’s and women’s associations. In 1985 the men’s and women’s associations merged under the banner of the International Squash Rackets Federation (ISRF), with the name changed in 1992 to the “World Squash Federation” (WSF). Despite predictions that involvement by women would disappear under male leadership, the opposite has

occurred, and women and men now share leadership of the sport. A “women’s committee” was given responsibility for organizing the world championships for women and junior women, as well as advancing opportunities for women and girls in squash generally. This responsibility included encouraging women to join ISRF committees such as coaching, competitions, rules and referees, medical, and technical.

In 1989 a ISRF survey identified the factors limiting women’s participation in squash. Member nations (almost exclusively administered by men at the time) funded men’s and boys’ championships but had no funds for women and girl players, who were less of a priority. Few women served in administrative roles or on governing committees. Professional women’s events made up only 18 percent of the international tournaments and paid out just 8 percent of the prize money. In a number of nations separate men’s and women’s associations managed the sport, with the inevitable duplication of resources. The women’s associations had significantly smaller player bases and limited capacity to generate financial support and development.

When the International Squash Rackets Federation became known as the “World Squash Federation” the new constitution provided for three vice presidents, one of whom was required to be of the “other sex,” rather than specifying a woman as before—a subtle but important change. Member nations also were required to have a single governing body, which meant that men’s associations and women’s associations had to merge.

The World Squash Federation took other steps to end male control. Athletes were now referred to as “he” or “she” as appropriate, not as simply “he,” as had been the practice. The rules of squash were revised to make them



A man and woman playing an early version of squash racquets.

Golf is a day spent in a round of strenuous idleness. ■ WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

gender neutral, and the content of federation publications was made gender neutral and gender balanced.

During the late 1990s squash became more open to women around the world. For example, in 1997 Egypt hosted a women's grand prix final in a court situated outdoors on a resort island—a spectacular event that would have been unthinkable just a few years earlier in that Muslim nation. Another example is Malaysia, which initially supported women's squash because people there recognized that a woman might be able to achieve international recognition more easily than a man. In 1998 Malaysia had two girls in the top eight world junior rankings, one of them just fourteen years old.

In late 2004 Lee Beachill of England was first in the Professional Squash Association men's world rankings. Australia's Rachael Grinham was first in the women's world rankings by the Women's International Squash Players' Association (WISPA).

Governing Body

The World Squash Federation (www.squash.org) is the primary regulating organization for the sport.

*Edward J. (Ted) Wallbutton and
Susie Simcock*

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St. Andrews

St. Andrews golf club—officially called the “Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews”—is located in the city of St. Andrews, Scotland. It is the governing body of golf throughout the world except for the United States, Canada, and Mexico. The Old Course at St. Andrews is the most famous golf course in the world and has been the venue for twenty-six Open Championships.

Early History

Golf has almost certainly been played at St. Andrews on the links fringing the North Sea since the first half of the fifteenth century, but the first definite mention of golf at St. Andrews dates to 1552. After the Reformation (a sixteenth-century religious movement marked ultimately by rejection or modification of some Roman Catholic doctrine and practice and establishment of the Protestant churches), the ancient cathedral city of St. Andrews lost much of its importance, and after a period of decline, in 1754 twenty-two “Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Kingdom of Fife” founded the Society of St. Andrews Golfers and contributed to a silver club that would be played for annually over the St. Andrews links. These men were both founding a private golf society to enjoy the sport and good company and intending, by holding an annual competition for a valuable trophy, to restore the reputation of St. Andrews as the home of golf.

This golf society was not the world's oldest golf club; that distinction belongs to the Gentlemen Golfers of Leith, who later became the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, but the latter had difficulty establishing itself at a satisfactory course and moved three times during the period when the prestige of St. Andrews was becoming firmly reestablished. By 1834 the leading position of St. Andrews was confirmed by the granting of royal patronage.

The Royal & Ancient Golf Club

The title “Royal & Ancient Golf Club” was given to the club by King William IV in 1834, and agreement was later reached with the nearby Union Club to make use of its premises, which overlooked the course. In 1854 the original part of the present clubhouse was built, and by the end of the nineteenth century golf clubs throughout Great Britain looked to St. Andrews as the game's leading authority. This role was officially recognized in 1897 when the growth of the game led to a demand for a standard set of rules as opposed to a variety of local regulations; the members of the Royal & Ancient Golf Club agreed, with perhaps some reluctance, to take



The final hole at St. Andrews more than one-hundred years ago.

control of the rules of the game, and the first Rules of Golf Committee was appointed.

The role of the Royal & Ancient Golf Club steadily became more wide ranging and international, until today it has four main areas of responsibility. It administers the rules of golf, in conjunction with the United States Golf Association; it runs the Open Championship (generally known as the “British Open” outside the United Kingdom) and other key events; it fosters the development of golf throughout the world, using the profits from the Open Championship to do so; and it continues to operate as a private golf club with more than two thousand members.

The Old Course

The well-drained soils, short grass, natural humps and hollows, and banks of whin (a European shrub) made St. Andrews’s links land next to the sea a natural ground for golf. Although many changes, both natural and human-made, have been made through the centuries, the basic qualities of the Old Course are the same as they were when golf was first played there.

In the early days golfers played twenty-two holes, although only eleven existed, and they were played twice: first out toward the River Eden and then back into the city. Homeward players had priority, but after holing out they had to tee off within one club’s length of the hole. This practice created both a terrible surface for putting and considerable delays and confusion. In 1764 the first four holes were made into two, thus reducing

the course to eighteen holes as they were played twice, and it was this change that led to the worldwide adoption of the eighteen-hole standard. In 1856–1857 separate holes were cut for those golfers playing the outward and inward holes, and soon afterward tees were introduced to replace the practice of starting each hole from the preceding green. The original clockwise route that players took around the course was eventually changed to counterclockwise, new bunkers were added periodically, and more recently six new championship tees were created to cope with the power of modern professionals. Although the Old Course is not the most difficult championship course in the world, it remains a unique and timeless challenge.

The Open Championship

The Open Championship was begun by Prestwick Golf Club, and although the Royal & Ancient Golf Club and the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers soon became involved and contributed to the purchase of the famous Claret Jug first awarded in 1872, not until 1920 did the Royal & Ancient Golf Club take over sole management of the event and the first championship committee was appointed.

The first Open Championship was held at St. Andrews in 1873, and hence the Old Course has been on the list of venues currently used for the championship longer than any other. In all, twenty-six Opens have been played there to date, and winners have included some of the greatest names in golf. J. H. Taylor (1871–1963) and James Braid (1870–1950) each won twice at St. Andrews before World War I; the U.S. amateur Bobby Jones (1902–1971) won in 1927; Sam Snead (1912–2002) won the first post-World War II Open in 1946; the Australian Peter Thomson (b. 1929) won the second of his four Opens in 1955; Jack Nicklaus (b. 1940) won consecutive St. Andrews Opens in 1970 and 1978; and in the Millennium Open of 2000 Tiger Woods (b. 1975) was the winner with the lowest winning score yet recorded at St. Andrews (269) and with one of the largest margins (eight strokes).

The Future

The unique roles of the Royal & Ancient Golf Club and of the Old Course in the history and development of golf, combined with some willingness to adapt to changing times and requirements, are likely to ensure that St. Andrews will maintain its position of importance in the game and will continue to be regarded as “the home of golf,” where both playing and winning will have special significance for golfers from all over the world.

Tony Sloggett

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St. Moritz

St. Moritz—named for a martyred saint—has built its reputation on attracting wealth and international high society, so much so that other like-minded resorts are now measured against St. Moritz. When Godfrey Dewey made successful efforts to obtain the Winter Olympic Games of 1932 for Lake Placid, New York, he did so to make his Lake Placid Club and surrounds into America’s St. Moritz. Averell Harriman used the same formula when building America’s own St. Moritz, which he called Sun Valley, in the wilds of the cowboy town Ketchum, Idaho.

Health Haven

St. Moritz, initially one of many places known for its waters’ curative qualities, became an aristocrat’s haven. St. Moritz’s winter season started with the tale of Johannes Badrutt’s bet to a group of well-to-do Englishmen that the winter was as sunny as the summer. The village became a particularly English place with a resident parson and Anglican church to minister to the English colony. Summer guests could play tennis (the Palace hotel had one of the first indoor courts), golf, and croquet and could putt, bowl, sail, try their expertise on the archery range and badminton court, and keep in form in the cricket net. In winter, they could skate, toboggan, and ski. The village’s cachet was sufficient for it to host the II Winter Olympic Games in 1928 and the first post–World War II Games in 1948.

As a health resort, St. Moritz was not the easiest place to reach. The journey from London to Chur, Switzerland, took two days, then came the exhausting stagecoach ride over the Julier Pass to arrive in time for a late dinner. The Abula tunnel provided the railroad connection from 1904 on, cutting the journey time to less than two days.

The locals built hotel after hotel to cater to the increasing numbers of royalty, aristocracy, and wealth. The Kurhaus opened in 1865, and in quick succession, the Beau Rivage, Bellevue, Victoria, Du Lac and, finally, in 1896, the Palace opened. With its vast and lavish appointments, and irreproachable service, the Palace set the standard and gave St. Moritz its mystique. The clientele came for the air, for skating, tobogganing and, in the years before World War I, for skiing.

St. Moritz Athletic Clubs and Events

The St. Moritz Skating Club, founded in 1880, practiced a disciplined style—as stiff, precise, and proper as the English colony itself—that became known as the *English style*. However, many Europeans had been much impressed by Jackson Haines, an American who toured Europe giving exciting exhibitions in which

his arms and legs appeared to be utterly free. He settled in Vienna, and the Viennese and other Europeans emulated his style, which became known as the *Continental style*. As early as 1872, Viennese skaters came to St. Moritz for a contest. The two styles skated side by side on the hotel rinks in uneasy fashion until well after World War I. On the rink, too, curlers from Scotland could be found and a St. Moritz Curling Club came into being.

Meanwhile, in the neighboring valley, a tobogganing club had been formed in Davos with members from many countries; the first international match took place in St. Moritz in 1883. Johannes Badrutt had laid out a toboggan run from St. Moritz to the village of Cresta, just above Celerina. The Cresta Run gave St. Moritz the first of its sporting cachets. At first, men and woman rode the Cresta on their small toboggans, then a Mr. Cornish lay on his sled, chin inches from the ice, and this Cresta style became de



The Cresta run at St. Moritz.

rigueur. Longer and lower sleds were built to accommodate the lying position.

Skiing of a rough country sort by Engadine farmers in 1860 gave way to sporting activities in the late nineteenth century. These became formalized in 1904 in the Ski Club Alpina. Generally, high society found skiing uncongenial, but little by little as the Ski Club of Great Britain and the Public Schools Alpine Sports Club organized their wealthy members into winter sporting, St. Moritz became one of the venues where even women could find pleasure and where, as the *Times* of London explained, “Practise can be had with a *minimum* of fatigue.” The Engadine’s two main ski villages were Davos, home to the first English ski club in 1903, and St. Moritz. They vied with Mürren and Montana in the Bernese Oberland.

Olympic Games in St. Moritz

Until 1936, it was never certain that Winter Olympic Games would be a viable counterpart of the modern festival created by Pierre de Coubertin and first held in 1896. The Winter Games—retrospectively officially called Olympic—were held at Chamonix, France, in 1924. The Scandinavians—who felt they were supreme in Nordic sports—came only after assurances were given that the games were not called “Olympic.” Norwegians garnered half of the skating medals and all but one of those given for skiing. After such overwhelming success, there were calls in Norway to join in Winter Olympics. In the Norwegian Ski Association a vote was taken to see if a team should be sent to the 1928 Winter Olympics to be held at St. Moritz: 29 voted for, 27 against.

The weather for these games was awful; one whole day’s events had to be cancelled. Still, the Norwegians won eight of twelve medals awarded for skiing and six of nine for skating. The star of the St. Moritz Olympics was the young Norwegian skater, Sonja Henie, who dazzled both the judges and crowds.

Unbombed St. Moritz played host to the Winter Olympics again in 1948. Europe was still recovering

from World War II, and the Cold War continued to make life uncertain. Germans and Japanese were banned from the games and the Russians were not present. The poor weather and outworn facilities did not give the Winter Olympic postwar era a particularly good start. Scandinavians dominated the Nordic events, and French and Swiss skiers gained medals in the Alpine skiing competitions. One American woman, Gretchen Fraser, put the Europeans on notice that the United States was an up and coming “Alpine” nation with a win in the slalom. American Dick Button revolutionized men’s skating with his acrobatic jumps, which gained him a gold medal.

Constantly Re-Inventing

St. Moritz became known for its skijoring—being pulled by a horse. Its ski school started in 1929, and the following year the Kilomètre lance, from which modern speed skiing is derived, was developed. In 1969, St. Moritz hosted the now-annual Engadine marathon and in 1987 held the first Snowboard World Championship.

The village—now town—has found a way to keep up culturally with modernization yet it retains its old-money style and remains one of the great playgrounds of the rich.

E. John B. Allen

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Stanley Cup

The Stanley Cup is awarded each year to the champions of the National Hockey League (NHL) of the United States and Canada. It is the oldest trophy in professional sports in North America and is widely considered to be the most coveted prize in ice hockey. Each year NHL teams play an arduous regular season schedule to qualify for the Stanley Cup playoffs. Only sixteen of thirty teams qualify. After they make the playoffs they must win four best-of-seven series to win the Stanley Cup.

The Stanley Cup is unique in that the names of each winning team and all of its members are inscribed on it. A series of bands was added to the cup to allow space for the names of new champions to be inscribed each year. Each band has the capacity for thirteen winning teams, and so every thirteen years the oldest completed band is removed, and a blank band is added. The original Stanley Cup was officially retired in 1969 and is now located in the Hockey Hall of Fame in Toronto, Canada.

History

Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley of Preston, Canada, was appointed the sixth governor general of Canada in 1888 and quickly became an avid supporter of ice hockey. Three of his sons played on the Government House Rideau Hall Rebels hockey team, and his oldest son, Arthur, is credited with organizing one of the first ice hockey associations in Canada, the Hockey Association of Ontario. Stanley recognized the need for a challenge cup that would be won and held each year by the leading hockey team in Canada. He resigned his post as governor general early because of the death of his brother and returned to England in July of 1893, but he remained an ardent supporter of ice hockey. Shortly after returning to England he sent a letter to his successor, Lord Kilcourseie, suggesting the development of a challenge cup. He wrote in this letter that “there does not appear to be an outward or visible sign of the cham-



There is a syndrome in sports called “paralysis by analysis.” ■ ARTHUR ASHE

pionship at present. Considering the interest that hockey matches now elicit and the importance of having the games fairly played under generally recognized rules, I am willing to give a cup that shall be annually held by the winning club” (McFarlane 1978, 17–18).

Lord Stanley’s offer was accepted, and the Stanley Cup was born. Stanley arranged for the purchase of a gold-lined silver cup that was worth approximately \$50 and would be awarded each year to the leading hockey team in Canada. The administration and awarding of the cup would be controlled by two trustees. These trustees, P. D. Ross and John Sweetland, played a pivotal role in deciding who would compete for the Stanley Cup during the challenge era.

The Stanley Cup was originally an amateur trophy, and the winner was determined through a challenge system. Any team that was willing to travel could challenge the holders of the cup. The first winner of the Stanley Cup was the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association hockey team in 1893. Between 1893 and 1910 the Stanley Cup was awarded to both amateur and professional teams, but in 1910 it became an exclusively professional trophy. An agreement that one team from the East and one team from the West would compete to determine the winner of the cup went into effect in 1915. This agreement signaled the beginning of the end of the challenge era. In the spring of 1917 the Seattle Millionaires became the first non-Canadian team to win the Stanley Cup.

In 1917 the National Hockey League was formed. Between 1917 and 1926 the Stanley Cup was awarded to the winner of a playoff series between a team from the NHL and a team from the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA). With the demise of the PCHA in 1926 the Stanley Cup became the sole property of the NHL. This event marked the beginning of the Stanley Cup playoffs as we know them today. Then ten teams played in the NHL, and six of them would compete in the Stanley Cup playoffs. However, the Great Depression of the 1930s eventually claimed four of these teams and left only six teams—the Toronto Maple Leafs, the Montreal Canadiens, the Boston Bruins, the

Detroit Red Wings, the Chicago Blackhawks, and the New York Rangers—to compete for Stanley Cup supremacy. The next major expansion of the NHL occurred in 1967 with the addition of six teams. In 1979 the NHL added four teams from the rival World Hockey Association, including the Edmonton Oilers and a player who would go on to become one of the greatest players in the history of Stanley Cup competition—Wayne Gretzky.

The Montreal Canadiens won twenty-four Stanley Cup championships between 1916 and 2004. They won five straight Stanley Cups between 1956 and 1960 and six between 1965 and 1973. The Toronto Maple Leafs won five Stanley Cup championships in the 1940s and four in the 1960s. The New York Islanders became the first expansion dynasty when they won four straight Stanley Cups between 1980 and 1983. The Edmonton Oilers were the last dynasty in Stanley Cup history when they won five championships between 1984 and 1990.

Significance

The Stanley Cup is one of the most enduring trophies in sports. It has been awarded every year since an influenza epidemic caused the 1919 series to be cancelled—until 2005 when the Stanley Cup was not awarded because of labor problems in the National Hockey league. The hockey players competing for the cup have become increasingly international. Players from all over the world now compete to have their names engraved on the most cherished trophy in ice hockey, the Stanley Cup.

Laura Frances Chase

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Steeplechase Racing

See Horse Racing

Steroids

See Performance Enhancement

Strength

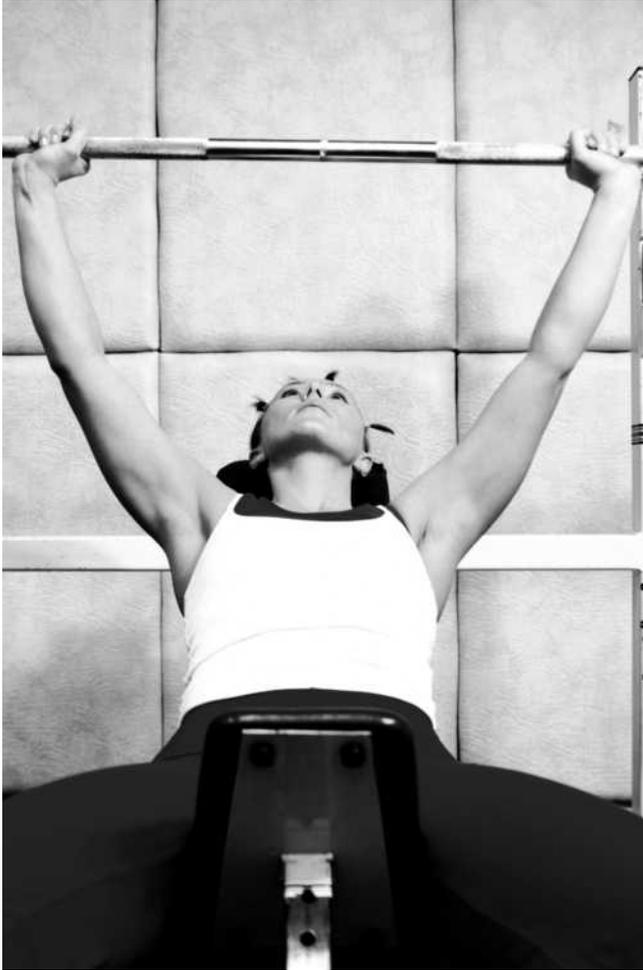
Strength is the capacity to move a load. Many sports require a high level of strength for peak performance. Strength is a function of the musculoskeletal system. The larger a muscle, the heavier the load it can move. A muscle's size depends on the number of its fibers and their thickness. Heredity determines the number of fibers. Age, diet, and exercise determine thickness.

A muscle does not directly move a load but rather moves a bone to which it attaches. Every muscle has two attachments: origin and insertion. In the parlance of physiology, the point where a muscle does not move a bone is the point of origin, and the point where a muscle does move a bone is the point of insertion. The point of insertion is the second factor, along with mus-

cle size, that determines capacity to move a load. The biceps, for example, anchors to the scapula and insert at the radius. At one end of the radius and ulna, the two bones of the forearm, is the elbow, the joint about which they move, and at the other end is the load. The higher up the radius the biceps attaches, the greater its capacity to move a load, a fact that becomes obvious if one imagines the forearm as a lever. To take an example of a lever, one might imagine the ulna and radius as a door, the elbow the hinge and the knob the point of insertion. The door will be difficult to open with the knob at the hinge, the point of insertion on the human forearm, but easy to open with the knob at the end, its customary place on a door. A chimpanzee derives strength in part from the biceps' comparatively high attachment on the radius. As with the number of muscle fibers, heredity determines a muscle's point of origin and insertion.

A muscle moves a load by contracting or shortening its fibers. The body does not recruit every fiber to move a light load, but only by contracting them all can it move the maximum load. During the eighteenth century the Italian physician Luigi Galvani demonstrated that electricity stimulates a muscle to contract. A nerve carries electricity in the form of ions—molecules with a chemical charge. The charge is an electrochemical signal that has a cascade, rippling down the length of a muscle fiber and causing its filaments to slide past each other as the fingers of two hands slide past each other in interlocking. This sliding of filaments bunches a fiber together and is by definition the contraction of a muscle.

The Russian fitness instructor Pavel Tsatsouline describes three types of strength. Maximum strength is the capacity to move the maximum load in a single effort. An athlete who lifts the bumper of a car displays maximum strength. Explosive strength is the capacity to unleash force in a burst. A basketball player who leaps for a rebound displays this type of strength. Strength endurance is the capacity to move a load over time. A cyclist who climbs a mountain or an athlete who performs



one hundred push-ups displays this coupling of strength and endurance.

Differences in Strength

Long before humans understood how muscles work they mythologized men of strength. Whether literary creations or historical figures Hercules and Samson rose above the common man through their strength. The ancients equated strength with virility, which itself implied virtue. Strength was thus an ethical quality as well as a physical fact. However, strength can be an ambiguous quality. The author of the biblical book of Ecclesiastes said that chance more than strength determines the outcome of events. The English writer Mary Shelley's Frankenstein monster had prodigious strength but used it for evil. The same is true of the English writer Bram Stoker's Count Dracula. The character Abraham Van Helsing estimated the count's strength as that of twenty

A woman building strength through weight training.

Source: istockphoto.com/uploaded by: bankok.

men. In the end brain trumped brawn: Van Helsing's vampire hunters killed the undead. Yet, people continue to have a quasi-Darwinian admiration of strength, a conviction that the stronger vanquish the weaker in the struggle for survival.

Despite the belief that evolution has blessed humans with innumerable advantages, we cannot boast exceptional strength. A 54-kilogram chimpanzee is on average three to five times stronger than a man. An ant can drag 5,000 percent of its weight, whereas a human can drag only 60 percent of his or her weight. Even among hominids (erect bipedal primate mammals comprising recent humans and extinct ancestral and related forms) humans rate poorly. The skeletons of *Homo erectus* and *Homo neanderthals* are robust and their slots for the origin and insertion of tendons wide compared with these traits in humans. Even Cro-Magnon, the earliest anatomically modern people of Europe, were more robust than we are. In the parlance of paleoanthropology we are the gracile (slender) hominid. Simply put, we have less muscle and are surely weaker than were our closest hominid kin.

Women have on average two-thirds the strength of men because they have less muscle. The disparity is greater in the upper body, where women have 40–60 percent the strength of men, and less in the lower body, where the percentage rises to 75. The notion that women are the weaker sex is a holdover from the Victorian era. Where muscle mass is equal, women are as strong as men. To put the matter another way, a muscle fiber has the same strength in women as in men. At the level of the muscle fiber the distinction between female and male vanishes.

Strength Exercises

By one estimate women and men can increase strength 30–60 percent through exercise. Coaches and athletes distinguish between two types of strength exercises. Isometric exercise causes muscles to tense but not contract. An athlete who pushes against a wall performs isometric exercise because his or her muscles do not



Strength

Testing Strength in Siberia

The boys know many games for testing strength. A boy lies down flat on the ground with his arms out-stretched. Three others grab him, one by each arm and one by the legs, and carry him along, and it is up to him to hold himself stiff as a rod as long as possible. Or one boy holds a wooden stick in his elbow joints while two others take hold of the ends of the stick and lift their legs from the ground. The boy then tries to carry these two a few steps ahead. Or two men sit down on the ground facing one another, legs straight and feet against feet. They both hold on to a leather strap or belt and each tries to pull the other boy over to him. Or a boy lies on the ground and another, kneeling in front of him, grabs him under the knees and tries to pull him into an upright position, or sitting down they pull each other by the middle finger. They make stilts in a jiffy from suitable trees, but they are very clumsy in using them. They also have lots of fun racing on their knees.

Source: Sverdrup, H. U. (1938). *With the people of the tundra* (pp. 78–79). Oslo, Norway: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag.

shorten despite the greatest exertion so long as the wall holds firm. Isotonic exercise requires muscles to contract. An athlete who curls a dumbbell from waist to chin performs isotonic exercise because he or she contracts the biceps in moving a load.

Weight training is a form of isotonic exercise. An athlete may use free weights: dumbbells and barbells that are not attached to a supporting structure. The absence of support requires an athlete to balance as well as lift a free weight. Alternatively an athlete may use a machine that supports weight through its range of motion, obviating the need to balance the weight while lifting it. Controversy rages over the number of repetitions of an exercise that an athlete should perform. Proponents of low-repetition exercise assert that only exertion for a single repetition pits an athlete's strength against the maximum load. Critics counter that such exercise does

not mirror the reality of competition. A basketball player, for example, must leap for several rebounds rather than merely one during a game. Better, they assert, to build strength through multiple repetitions of an exercise. Rather than free weights or machines an athlete may use the body, as in a push-up or pull-up, as the load.

An undercurrent of sexism still circulates in some circles of strength training. Women, critics contend, sacrifice femininity in attempting to build strength; if women must train, critics argue, women's delicate physique confines them to light weights. The issue of gender and strength pivots as much on the definition of femininity as on innate ability to increase strength. Men would do well to define femininity broadly enough to acknowledge muscle mass and strength as female attributes as much as male attributes.

A second type of error confuses weight lifting with strength training. Whereas many athletes lift weights to increase strength, bodybuilders lift weights solely to sculpt their physique. The prospect that a bodybuilder will grow stronger is incidental to the purpose of enlarging muscle and reducing fat to the point that he becomes "ripped," the lexicon for extreme muscle definition. Bodybuilding underscores the fact that most athletes do not toil to increase strength as an end in itself. The discus thrower wishes to increase the length of his toss and the tennis player the speed of her serve. In short, athletes want to grow stronger in order to improve performance in a sport.

Strength Competitions

A small group of sports demands strength more than other attributes. The Scottish Highland Games bill themselves as the oldest strength competition at one thousand years. The seven events include the familiar hammer throw and shot put, but others are unique. The caber throw requires participants to hoist a 68-kilogram tree trunk, balance it during an 18-meter run, and toss it for distance and accuracy: The trunk must align parallel to the participant's line of approach for full points. The event that makes explicit the competition's ethos (distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or

Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. ■ MAHATMA GANDHI

guiding beliefs) is the lifting of massive stones. Participants call them the “manhood stones,” affirming the old prejudice that strength is solely a masculine attribute.

The Basque people have their own stone-lifting contest in Ustaritz, France. Contestants hoist a stone around which the tribal elders once met. Basques believe that the stone lift, more than a strength contest, commemorates their Druid origins. The Basque stone is a religious symbol, and the men who hoist it demonstrate through their strength that the gods favor them. The stone lift affirms strength as a divine attribute.

Since 1977 Universal Studios in the United States has hosted the World’s Strongest Man competition. It draws inspiration from the contests in Scotland and France but belongs to the machine era of Henry Ford and the Wright brothers. Stones and tree trunks give way to the Boeing 747, which contestants must pull along a runway. Another event requires contestants to lift a tire from a semitrailer. The competition pits man against machine in the tradition of John Henry. In this respect it is less a world event than a U.S. one in its ethos.

Diet and Drugs

Weight lifters and their ilk center their diet on protein in hopes of growing strong. The body synthesizes protein into muscle. Most protein replaces muscle that the body has metabolized, although when diet and exercise are ideal a fraction may build new tissue that increases the muscle mass of an athlete. The body adds muscle by thickening muscle fibers, not by creating new fibers. The novice may believe the fallacy that if the consumption of 100 grams of protein a day will add 1 gram of muscle, then 200 grams of protein will add 2 grams. Testimonials in muscle magazines promote this fallacy in an effort to sell protein powder for mixing with milk. Some athletes consume 400 grams of protein a day, oblivious to the fact that they will excrete three-quarters of it. An athlete needs roughly 1 gram of protein per kilogram of body mass per day. A 100-kilogram athlete therefore needs not 400 grams of protein a day but rather 100 grams, the amount of protein in 481 grams of salmon or 396 grams of cheese.

The quest for strength leads some athletes to supplement their diet with anabolic steroids, a class of chemicals that mimics the male hormone testosterone in building muscle mass and strength. One researcher estimates that 1 million athletes in the United States use steroids, generating \$10 million in annual sales on the black market. Studies document that athletes on steroids may increase strength 5–10 percent in six weeks. Once off steroids, however, athletes return to their original strength within six weeks. The fact that strength gains are temporary may goad athletes to take steroids for months or even years. Long use increases the risk of liver



This illustration from *A Treatise on Gymnastic Exercises* (1828) is titled “To Raise the Body by Strength of the Arms on the Horizontal Bar.”



A young woman lifts herself completely off the ground. *Source: istockphoto/hidesy.*

damage, heart disease, and cancer. The U.S. football player Lyle Alzado's admission that he used steroids throughout his career and his death from cancer at age forty-three caused a furor over the abuse of steroids. Even if athletes remain healthy they risk detection. Numerous associations, including the International Olympic Committee and the National Collegiate Athletic Association, ban the use of steroids. Public exposure of steroid use tarnishes athletes, prompting the charge that they do not play fairly. The U.S. baseball player Barry Bonds is the latest of many athletes to lose respect for having used steroids.

Toward Maximum Strength

Humans cannot increase strength ad infinitum. Even now we may be near the maximum. Since 1976 the International Olympic Committee has awarded medals

for the total weight lifted in two events: the snatch and the clean and jerk. In 1976 385 kilograms, the sum of both events, won the gold medal. In 1980 the winning sum leaped to 422.5 kilograms but has since held nearly steady, registering 425 kilograms at both the 2000 and 2004 games.

Counterintuitive as it may seem, the nearer athletes approach maximum strength the less decisive strength will be in separating winners from losers. Near the maximum athletes will have little room to improve and thereby distinguish themselves from rivals, who will be only infinitesimally less strong. At the maximum all elite athletes will be identical in strength, nullifying it as an advantage. To put the matter another way, when all athletes are at the maximum they will all bump up against the same strength ceiling.

Near the maximum athletes may work less to build that last iota of strength and more to maintain strength throughout their career. A baseball player who can hit the ball 137 meters at age forty may extend his career and the earnings from it a decade beyond those of players whose strength deteriorates with age. Whether athletes will covet such longevity remains open to question. Multimillion-dollar contracts make athletes financially secure after only a few years, obviating the need to play longer than they desire. Yet, athletes need a long career if they are to set records and secure their place in the history of sports. If for no other reason people remember the U.S. baseball players Lou Gehrig and Cal Ripken for longevity. For the same reason Italians revere cyclist Gino Bartali, who in 1948 won the Tour de France ten years after his first victory, a feat no other cyclist has matched. His success was possible only because Bartali remained strong throughout his career: He was the best mountain climber among cyclists of his generation. Others were faster on level ground, but none had his strength and the discipline to maintain it during two decades as a climber. The future may belong to athletes such as Bartali who make strength the foundation of their durability.

Christopher Cumo

Strength is the product of struggle. ■ UNKNOWN

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Stress

Stress has been identified as a critical facet in sport, influencing individual and team performance as well as social functioning. The inability to manage stress in sport is strongly associated with increased anxiety and burnout, increased aggression and violence, decreased self-esteem and enjoyment, decreased performance expectancies, and performance difficulties. Nevertheless, one of the primary challenges in understanding and controlling stress revolves around conceptualizing it. This dilemma is revealed in the following definition of stress:

1. Generally, any force that, when applied to a system causes some significant modification of its form usually with the connotation that the modification is a deformation or a distortion. The term is used with respect to physical, psychological and social forces and pressures. Note that stress in this sense is a cause; it is the antecedent of some effect.
2. A state of psychological tension produced by the kinds of forces or pressures alluded to in 1. Note that stress in this sense is an effect; it is the result of other pressures. When meaning 2 is intended, the term stressor is typically used to refer to the causal agent." (Reber and Reber 2001, 716)

The first part of the definition identifies stress as a stimulus. Research based on this approach emphasized how social-cultural factors (social class, age, gender,

racism, life changes, etc.) produce stress reactions. A popular investigation of psychological stress focused on identifying common life changes or events ranging from holidays, to sexual difficulties, to death of a spouse. Sport research tended to concentrate on factors such as the pressure of important sporting events, expectations of significant others, coaching and playing demands, financial difficulties, and the like. This point of reference also leads to the use of such terms as good stress (*eustress*) and bad stress (*distress*).

The second part of the definition focuses more on the stress response. This orientation emphasizes the physiological and emotional responses (such as arousal and anxiety) or the consequences of being placed in demanding sporting situations. Stress as a response was popular because scientists could study the relationship between particular biological-physiological reactions and further consequences such as illness or performance breakdowns. Physiological effects included activation of the adrenal glands, producing stress hormones (cortisol, aldosterone, and epinephrine). The stress response included increased neural excitability, cardiovascular changes, increased metabolic activity, neurological sweating, and changes in gastrointestinal functioning. Thus, a stress response to sport stressors could include increased heart rate and heart stroke volume, sweating palms (and other body parts), muscular tension or control problems, butterflies in the stomach, feelings of nausea, diarrhea, and need to urinate. Psychological responses such as emotional reactions (fear and anxiety) and changes in cognitive information processing are also important.

Both the stimulus and response conceptualizations are limiting. Researchers have found large individual differences in how athletes (and nonathletes) react to the same objective stimulus. Because of these difficulties, the general consensus in the research field is that stress is best conceptualized *as a process* involving a dynamic interaction between the person and the environment (Lazarus 1999). This viewpoint recognizes that an athlete's physiological, emotional, and cognitive responses to sporting stressors will be heavily determined



by the athlete's motives, beliefs, goals, cognitive and coping abilities, physical conditioning, and other internal factors.

The Stress Process

To better understand the stress process in sport performers, it is best to identify the critical components of the process. These components are environmental demands, cognitive appraisal, physiological arousal, action tendencies or impulses, coping strategies, and emotions. A comprehensive discussion of these components and their role in the stress process is beyond the scope of this article (see, instead, Further Reading). Nevertheless, a succinct discussion will help the reader understand the role of these components in sport stress.

Environmental demands create the initial stressor conditions. Common sport stressors include opponent and teammate abilities and actions, match importance, referee decisions, playing conditions, sport crowd or audience behavior, coach's actions, equipment, financial pressures, and the support and expectations of significant others. None of these stressors, however, are sufficient in themselves to produce stress responses. Research has indicated that in the majority of cases it is how the athlete evaluates the meaning of the stressors that produces stress responses.

The late Richard Lazarus suggested that psychological stress requires a judgment that the person-environment interactions involve one of the three stress relationships: harm-loss, threat, challenge. Harm-loss and threat are negative interpretations, whereas challenge involves the person perceiving possible benefits but requiring high cognitive and physical effort. The type of stress relationship is dependent on the individual's internal characteristics, the cognitive appraisal of the environmental demands and one's ability to manage these demands (their coping ability). There are two interrelated types of appraisal. Primary appraisal involves determining "what is at stake?" The athlete must quickly evaluate, much of which is done automatically, if the sporting situation is important to one's goals (motivation aspect) and whether the situation threatens, harms, or benefits these goals. An

important aspect of this process is determining the potential consequences of succeeding or failing to meet the stressor demands. Secondary appraisal involves determining "what can be done." This evaluation involves determining who is or was responsible, future expectancies, perceived control, and coping options.

The appraisal of environmental demands and perceived consequences will produce discrete emotions (i.e. anxiety, anger, fear, happiness) and associated physiological states such as arousal and action impulses. For example, anxiety occurs if in the athlete's judgment, he or she is likely to fail to achieve success in a very important event. This emotion is usually associated with high arousal and an action impulse to escape or withdraw. Coping is a critical process that can moderate this emotional experience. Sport researchers have recognized that coping strategies play an important role in the ways in which athletes of various ages manage and change stress and emotion. Coping refers to cognitive and behavioral actions used to manage the external and internal demands of a stressful situation. Most conceptual models of coping feature at least two broad coping dimensions. Problem-focused coping refers to efforts that attempt to change the situational demands. Common problem-focused strategies in sport include increasing effort, planning, and information seeking. Emotion-focused coping are efforts to manage emotions. This type of coping includes strategies like seeking emotional support, acceptance, relaxation, and positive reappraisal. Many researchers propose a third category, avoidance coping, which includes individuals' efforts to remove themselves either physically or mentally from the stressful situation. The strategies selected by an athlete are contingent on (a) the appraisal that the strategy will help manage the situation, and (b) the confidence the athlete has in using the strategy in that situation.

Coping strategies can impact the stress process both in the competition preparation stage and when the athlete actually confronts a stressor. For example, an athlete can plan a course of strategic action to neutralize an opponent's strengths. Other preparation strategies

might include positive imagery, suppressing competing activities (e.g., partying with friends), and fine tuning physical and technical training. Successful confrontation coping strategies might include utilizing coaching assistance and the competition plan, positive self-talk, arousal control, and increasing effort.

How Stress Impacts Performance

We can understand how stress can affect sporting performance by examining how emotional experience can potentially disrupt underlying performance mechanisms. Stress can exert an influence on the physiological components of performance via an increase in arousal. Increased heart rate, sweaty hands, and mus-

cular tension can influence fine motor control and dexterity. For example, research with elite rifle and pistol shooters show that the ability to control heart rate and muscular tension is critical for top performance. Top golf professionals have reported being unable to feel their arms and hands when faced with putts that are worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Stress can also influence cognitive information processing such as perception, decision making, memory, and response selection. Anxiety states can impair the ability to identify important information. The combination of anxiety and arousal can produce two performance-impairing states: (a) narrowing of attention such that critical information needed for optimal

performance is missed or (b) hyperdistractibility such that the athlete is again unable to focus on the important information. Examples from sport include mistakenly passing a ball to the wrong team, forgetting part of a sequence in a play, being unable to think, and not recognizing the position of athletes in either defensive or offensive formations.

Emotional control problems associated with stress can also cause problems such as violence or withdraw from the sporting situation. Action impulses associated with strong emotions such as anger may result in one athlete striking another. There have been numerous cases in the media in which athletes have loss control in highly stressful situations and have attacked other



A therapist massages the neck of a client to relieve stress.

Source: istockphoto.com/

athletes, coaches, referees, or spectators. These are clearly cases where athletes have lacked or chosen not to use coping strategies to manage their action impulses.

Prolonged experience of stress-related anxiety and sadness may contribute to athletes withdrawing from sport, disrupting everyday social functioning, experiencing illness, and in extreme cases, committing suicide. Burnout in sport is becoming an increasing concern in organized sport at both the youth and adult level. Burnout is associated with emotional exhaustion, feelings of isolation, low motivation, negative feelings, and concentration problems. Burnout results from overtraining, combined with prolonged exposure to high pressure to perform. Some sport research indicates that athletes who have a tendency to have very high, self-imposed standards and have an inability to accept flaws or failures within themselves are at greater risk for burnout.

Managing Stress

Given that sporting demands can produce undesirable consequences, it is important to identify ways to either reduce the stressor demands or help athletes manage stress more effectively. There are several key areas of stress management interventions including environmental management; the athlete's physical, technical, and strategic preparation; and the athlete's psychological skills and coping strategies. Since stress involves an interaction between the environment and the person, interventions should target both aspects of this relationship. Environmental management can include providing supportive coaching and parental feedback, placing athletes in training and competitive conditions that promote challenge rather than threat, developing training programs that allow for proper physical and psychological adaptation and allow sufficient rest for recovery, and modifying sporting equipment and rules to promote the development of skills, greater success, and enjoyment.

Since stress occurs when athletes perceive an imbalance between situational demands and their resources, one means to reduce stress is to improve physical, technical, and tactical expertise. As athletes become stronger,

The difference between a successful person and others is not a lack of strength, not a lack of knowledge, but rather a lack of will. ■ VINCE LOMBARDI

faster, more skillful, and more strategically adept, they will be better able to handle more demanding sport situations. However, increased ability often results in the athlete entering a higher level of competition with increased demands. Psychological-skills and coping-skills training can help athletes manage stress. There are a number of effective skills such as relaxation, energizing, biofeedback, goal setting, imagery, self-talk, cognitive restructuring, problem solving, time management, refocusing, and attention control that could help manage stress. Some intervention strategies may affect only one component of stress (i.e., progressive relaxation targets muscular and arousal activation), whereas other strategies may directly or indirectly affect several components (i.e., goal setting can impact the adoption of specific motivational goals and motivate changes in physical and psychological training).

Sport research has found that coping-skills training can help athletes learn a number of coping skills to effectively manage stress and emotion. Stress Inoculation Training, developed by Dr. Donald Meichenbaum, is a coping-skills training intervention in which athletes learn a variety of coping responses. Athletes practice individually relevant coping skills, starting with small manageable doses of stress and progressing to more stress-inducing settings. A second program, developed by Dr. Ronald Smith, called Stress Management Training, involves having athletes develop an "integrated coping response" that enables them to better manage stressful situations. The integrated coping response combines both a breathing-relaxation component and self-talk. Athletes practice this integrated response to control high levels of arousal generated through a technique called "induced affect."

This article has emphasized that stress is a complex process that results from a dynamic transaction between the environment and the person. The sporting environment places numerous demands on the athlete, the athlete evaluates the meaning of these demands and responds, and the environment counters with new demands. It is difficult to determine what types of situations and sports are inherently more stressful than



others since so much depends on what the athlete brings to the situation in terms of goals, motives, and physical and psychological skills. The ability to cope with the competitive pressure is critical in all levels of sport to ensure positive psychological growth.

Peter R. E Crocker and
Valerie Hadd

See also Burnout; Psychology

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Strongman Competition

See Bodybuilding; Powerlifting; Weightlifting

Sumo

Sumo wrestling is a Japanese sport in which a contestant loses if he is forced out of the ring or if any part of his body except the soles of his feet touches the ground. A sumo match usually lasts a few seconds and only in rare cases a minute or more.

History

Some historians have used archaeological evidence, such as the terra-cotta figures known as “haniwa,” to claim that sumo had prehistoric origins. Others have claimed the origins of sumo in the mythic hand-to-hand combats recorded in the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters) of the eighth century. However, we can reliably trace sumo no further back than 821, when sumo tournaments, along with archery and equestrian archery tournaments, were among the three great annual tournaments of the imperial court.

Sumo tournaments were staged on the grounds of the imperial palace. An area behind the Shishinden (Hall for State Ceremonies) was strewn with white sand for the event. Thirty-four wrestlers, drawn from the “right” and “left” imperial bodyguards, entered a garden to the accompaniment of two drums and two gongs. After the wrestlers came musicians, dancers, and officials, then the emperor and his courtiers. Members of the “left” team wore paper hollyhocks in their hair, the “right” team wore calabash blossoms. Matches were decided when a wrestler fell or was dragged by his opponent to his team’s tent. After each match the musicians beat their drums, banged their gongs, and performed a ritual dance.

These tournaments were suspended from 1120 to 1156, revived intermittently until 1185, and then discontinued. However, sumo survived in other forms—as *no sumo* (field wrestling) and *kusa sumo* (grass wrestling) or as *shinji-zumo* (wrestling in the service of the gods). The most famous version of the latter form was *karasu-zumo* (crow wrestling). It was staged at the Kamo Shrine in Kyoto, where boys who represented the

Sumo wrestling in Tokyo, Japan.

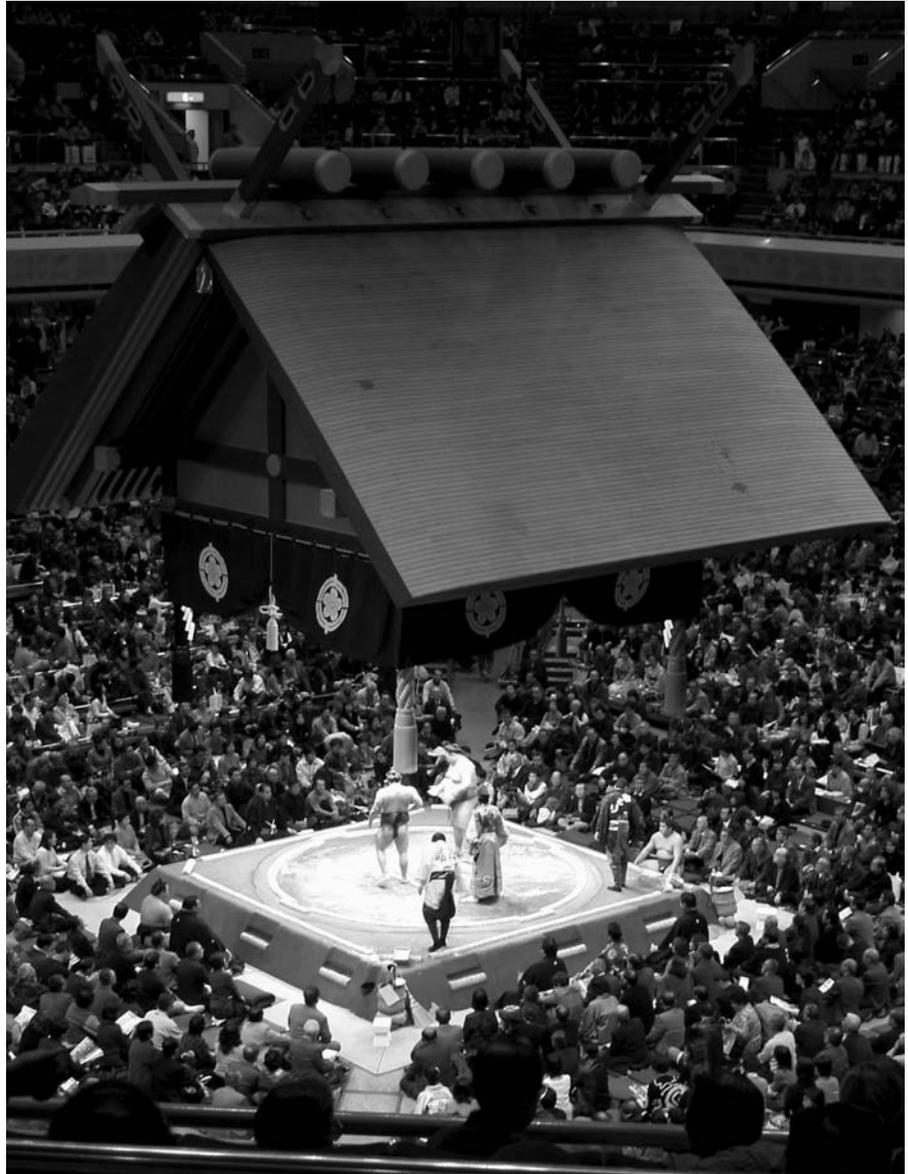
Source: istockphoto/bparren.

god Takemikazuchi wrestled boys who represented the secular world. *Onna-zumo* (women's wrestling) seems to have been staged for the titillation of men.

During the early eighteenth century Yoshida Oikaze and other *toshiyori* (elders) codified sumo wrestling and introduced some of the rituals that make sumo distinctively Japanese. Matches were staged to entertain the shoguns (military governors) who, until the Meiji Restoration of 1868, exerted greater political power than did the emperors. According to writer P. L. Cuyler (1979), "Shogunal sumo lifted the sport out of the vulgar world of entertainment and imparted to it a sense of ritual that later became its major characteristic."

Practice

Even today the administration of sumo wrestling is a complex mixture of traditional and modern elements. All sumo wrestlers are members of a *heya* (room), the equivalent of a stable in horse racing. The most famous of these *heya* were established in Edo (modern Tokyo) between 1751 and 1781. The elders who ran the *heya* received official recognition by the shogun in 1773 and by the emperor in 1885. At that time 105 elders existed. In 1926 the organization was restructured when *heya* from Tokyo joined those from Osaka to form a more nearly national organization. In 1958 this organization became the Nihon Sumo Kaikyo (Japanese Sumo Association). In 1989 forty-one *heya* were informally organized into five great families. The Yoshida family, which claims to have been involved with sumo wrestling since the thirteenth century, was so dominant that not until 1951, after a teenager became the official



head of the family, did the Yoshida family agree to let the sumo organization decide which wrestlers should be elevated to the top rank.

The hierarchy of ranks is complicated. Beginners enter as *maezumo* (before sumo). They receive room, board, and a small allowance. They also receive new names, which are written in kanji (Chinese characters). By contrast, not only do Japanese baseball players keep their own names, but also, on their uniforms, these names are spelled in the Latin alphabet. If the *maezumo* are successful in the six annual fifteen-day tournaments, they rise to become *jonokuchi*, who are given individual rankings. Further successes mean promotion to the ranks of *jonidan*, *sandamme*, *makushita*, and *juryo*. Only about

one in sixty wrestlers rises to *juryo* rank. If he reaches this rank, he is classified as *sekitori* and allowed to change from a black or dark blue loincloth to a white one and to participate in the ring-entering ceremony. Members of the *juryo* rank wrestle daily during tournaments, receive a salary in addition to their winnings, and have apprentice wrestlers to assist them. When they are not engaged in wrestling, they are also allowed to wear a kimono and *haori* (a man's light coat).

The five ranks higher than *juryo*—*maegashira*, *komusubi*, *sekiwake*, *ozeki*, and *yokozuna*—comprise the *makuuchi* division. Members of this division are allowed four minutes for *shikiri*, the crouching, stamping, and glaring that precede wrestling. *Juryo* are allowed only three minutes of *shikiri*; *makushita* are allowed only two. Members of the lesser ranks must enter the ring and move directly into competition.

Election to the highest rank—*yokozuna*—is an honor that is bestowed on few wrestlers. In all other ranks a wrestler can be demoted after a number of losses. A *yokozuna* cannot be demoted. If his powers begin to diminish, he is expected to retire. A series of successful tournaments will elevate a wrestler to the *ozeki* rank, but only wrestlers whom the elders deem to have *seishin* (spirit) are elevated to *yokozuna*. Although a few foreigners have become *ozeki*, they rarely become *yokozuna*. When Hawaii-born Jesse Kuhaulua retired in 1976, the elders decreed that foreign-born wrestlers should not be allowed to achieve elder status.

Westerners who watch sumo wrestling are struck not only by the size of the participants—some of whom weigh more than 182 kilograms—but also by sumo's many rituals. Among the ritual elements is the design of the *doyo* (ring), which consists of a circle inscribed in a square. The *doyo*, which dates from the seventeenth century, is flanked by four pillars at the four corners of the rectangular "ring." These pillars are painted blue for the god of spring, white for the god of autumn, red for the god of summer, and black for the god of winter. During the eighteenth century four elders would lean against these four pillars to assist the referee in his decisions. They were known as the "*naka aratame*" (mid-

dle determiners). The circle is formed by twenty bags of rice straw stuffed with earth. The ring is about 50 centimeters high with a diameter of 4.5 meters. Before each match the *doyo* is purified by handfuls of salt. The *shimenawa*—the ropes that the *yokozuna* wear around their waists—represent the ropes that adorn Shinto shrines and date from the sixteenth century.

Some of sumo's traditions are ancient, but others can be traced back only to the eighteenth century. Yoshida Oikaze, for example, introduced the ring-entering ceremony in 1791 when sumo was staged for the shogun Ienari, and something suitably ceremonial was called for. Today all *sekitori* participate in the ceremony, which includes an entrance by means of the *hanamichi* (path of flowers). The wrestlers circle the ring, face inward, clap their hands, raise their arms, lift their aprons slightly, and file out. The ceremony is slightly different for a *yokozuna*. He appears with a *tsuyu harai* (dew sweeper) and a *tachi mochi* (sword bearer). He wears a thick white rope over his apron. After his hand movements, he goes to the center of the ring, stamps his feet, lies down, rises, stamps again, and repeats his hand movements. The stamping is intended to drive away demons. The salt that the wrestlers strew upon the *doyo* serves the same function. The *yumitorishiki* (bow dance) was first performed when the shogun expressed his pleasure by handing one of the wrestlers, the great Tanikaze Kajinosuke, a bow. Tanikaze's dance was an expression of his gratitude.

"Traditionalization"

Sumo wrestling, unlike most other sports, has not undergone modernization to rid it of its religious elements. On the contrary, sumo has been characterized more by "traditionalization"—an effort to introduce religious elements into a previously secular sport and to link it more closely to the culture of medieval Japan. The hat worn by the referee, which looks like the headgear of a Shinto priest from the Heian period (794–1185), was adopted in 1909. His colorful kimono, which imitates Heian courtly attire, also dates from that nationalistic period. The roof above the *doyo* was originally



shaped like the roof of a traditional Japanese farmhouse. In 1931, during another nationalistic period, the roof was redesigned to resemble the roof of the Ise Shrine, the most sacred Japanese religious site. In other words, much of the religious symbolism that an observer might assume to date to the Heian period is actually what the British historian Eric Hobsbawm has called “invented tradition.”

The elders who “traditionalized” sumo were successful: Sumo is baseball’s only serious rival among spectator sports in Japan. Together the two sports symbolize Japan’s desire to be both a traditional and a modern society.

Allen Guttman

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Sumo Grand Tournament Series

Although sumo enthusiasts claim that their sport is thousands of years old, this uniquely Japanese form of wrestling can be reliably traced no farther back than 734 CE, when sumo matches were performed at the imperial court in Nara. When the court was moved to Heian-Kyo (modern Kyoto), at the end of the century, tournaments were held on the grounds of the imperial palace. From 837, the site was an area behind the Shishinden (“Hall for State Ceremonies”). It was strewn with white sand for the occasion. Thirty-four wrestlers, drawn from the “right” and “left” imperial bodyguards, entered to the sound of drums and gongs. They were followed by officials, musicians, and dancers, then by the emperor and his court. The teams were distinguished by decorations in their hair, paper hollyhocks for the left,

and calabash blossoms for the right. Matches were decided by falls or when a wrestler was dragged to his own team’s tent by his opponent. After each match, the musicians beat their drums, struck their gongs, and performed a ritual dance. There was no independent referee, so the emperor decided close matches. Arrows thrust into the sand recorded the results.

The annual tournaments at court lasted only until 1185, but sumo survived in several other forms, the most important of which was probably *shinjizumo* (“wrestling in service of the gods”). A less exalted form was *onnazumo* (women’s wrestling).

Modern sumo can be traced to the early eighteenth century, when *zujizumo* (street-corner sumo) entertained the urban population of Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo (modern Tokyo). Yoshida Oikaze and a number of other *toshiyori* (elders) codified and regulated the sport and introduced a number of distinctive rituals. Between 1751 and 1781, the elders, who gratefully received the shogun’s official recognition in 1773, gathered the wrestlers into a number of *heya* (“rooms”) where they lived and trained. By 1885, when the emperor gave his approval to the system, there were 105 *heya*, each presided over by an elder. The entire organization was restructured in 1926 when Tokyo’s *heya* joined those from Osaka to form a national organization. In 1958, this organization, frequently reformed and renamed, became Nihon Sumo Kaikyo (Japanese Sumo Association). In 1989, forty-one *heya* were informally organized into five great “families.” In 1965, the rule that prohibited matches between wrestlers of the same “family” was dropped, but matches between members of the same *heya* are still banned.

Complicated Rankings

The wrestlers themselves are divided into an extremely complicated pyramid of ranks. Beginners enter as *maezumo* (“before sumo”). They receive room, board, and small allowance. They are also given new names, which are invariably written in Chinese characters. If the novices are successful in the six annual fifteen-day tournaments held in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Osaka, they

become *jonokuchi*. Continued success means promotion to the *jonidan*, *sandamme*, *makushita*, and *juryo*. Only about one in sixty wrestlers rises to *juryo* status. If they reach this rank, they are classified as *sekitori* and allowed to change from black or dark blue loin-cloths to white ones. They wrestle daily during the tournaments, and they receive a regular salary in addition to their winnings. When they are out in public, they are allowed to wear a kimono and *haori* (a man's light coat).

The *makuuchi* division comprises the five top ranks—*maegashira*, *komusubi*, *sekiwake*, *ozeki*, and *yokozuna*. Among the privileges enjoyed by the *makuuchi* is *shikiri*, time set aside for crouching, stamping, and glaring. Election to the eleventh and highest rank—the *yokozuna*—is a great honor bestowed on very few wrestlers. The *yokozuna* must satisfy the elders that he has *seishin* (spirit), that he is an exemplary representative of the Japanese people. Once promoted, he cannot be reduced in rank. (If a *yokozuna* loses two or three matches in a row, he goes into retirement.) Not until 1993, after Hawaii-born Akebono had won two consecutive championships, did the Sumo Association reluctantly elevate a non-Japanese to *yokozuna* rank.

The rules that prohibit matches between *heya*-mates and allow matches between wrestlers of different ranks makes the selection of a tournament champion extremely complicated. Calculations made on the basis of wins and losses must take into account that a *sekiwake* who unexpectedly humbles a *yokozuna* has achieved a spectacular upset (as if a middleweight boxer defeated the reigning heavyweight champion).

Size, Ritual, and Traditions

Westerners who attend a sumo tournament are surprised by the huge size of the wrestlers, some of whom weigh 400 pounds or more, and by the many rituals that characterize the sport. The *doyo* (ring), which dates from the middle of the seventeenth century, is a circle inscribed in a square flanked by four pillars painted blue, red, white, and black (for the gods of spring, summer, autumn, and winter). The circle within which the

wrestlers compete is formed by twenty bags of rice straw stuffed with earth. The *doyo*'s rim is approximately 20 inches high and its diameter is slightly less than 15 feet. Before each bout, the ring is purified by handfuls of salt. The *shimenawa* that the *yokozuna* wear wound about their waists represent the ropes that adorn Shinto shrines.

Some of sumo's traditions are very old, some date from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, and some are surprisingly recent. The strewing of salt dates from the end of the seventeenth century. Yoshida Zenzaemon introduced the ring-entering ceremony in 1791. Today, all *sekitori* participate in the ceremony, which includes an entrance down the *hanamichi* (path of flowers). The wrestlers circle the ring, face inward, clap their hands, raise their arms, lift their aprons slightly and file out again. The *yokozuna* is privileged to enter with a *tsuyuharai* (dew-sweeper) and a *tachimochi* (sword-bearer). He wears a thick white rope over his apron. After his hand movements, he goes to the center of the ring and stamps to drive away demons. The *yumitorishiki* (bow-dance) also dates from the eighteenth century, when the shogun expressed his appreciation by presenting a bow to the great Tanikaze Kajinosuke, who promptly danced his gratitude. Some of sumo's most distinctive symbolism dates from the early twentieth century, when the sport underwent a period of intense "retraditionalization." The referee's tall black hat, which resembles the headgear of a medieval sumo priest, was adopted in 1909. His colorful kimono dates from the same period of nationalistic fervor. The roof that is suspended over the *doyo*, even when sumo tournaments are held indoors, was originally shaped like an ordinary Japanese farmhouse, but it was redesigned in 1931, in another highly nationalistic period, to resemble the roof of the Ise Shrine, Japan's most sacred Shinto site.

The elders who retraditionalized sumo were quite successful. In the very center of high-tech global modernity, sumo reassures the Japanese that they still have a distinctive culture.

Allen Guttman

*You learn you can do your best even when its hard,
even when you're tired and maybe hurting a little bit.
It feels good to show some courage. ■ JOE NAMATH*

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Super Bowl

The Super Bowl, the championship game of American football, is the most watched, written about, and talked about single sports event in the United States today. It has become a national ritual, and Super Bowl Sunday is akin to a national holiday—marked by gatherings of family and friends, food, drink, and betting on the outcome. The competitors are the winners of the National Football and American Football conferences of the National Football League playoffs.

An American Institution

First played in 1967, the Super Bowl is traditionally staged on a Sunday evening, and is seen by more than 130 million television viewers alone in the United States. Advertisers, who paid as little as \$75,000 for a thirty-second commercial for the telecast of Super Bowl I, now pay \$2.5 million for the same thirty second commercial. Apple Computers introduced its first ever line of Macintosh computers with a Super Bowl television advertisement in 1984.

The NFL estimates that in 2004 almost one billion people viewed part of Super Bowl XXXVIII in 229 different countries, and the game was broadcast in twenty-one different languages. Some 3,000 media credentials are typically assigned for a Super Bowl, including 400 to international journalists. The game's number is traditionally referred to in roman numerals, although that practice did not start until the fifth Super Bowl.

A Super Bowl sandwich.

Source: istockphoto.com/kcline.

The game is played at a stadium site that is picked years in advance of the actual game date. No team has ever played a Super Bowl in its home stadium. Super Bowl games are usually awarded to stadiums in the southern part of the United States, to help ensure good weather since the game is played in either late January or early February, although on a few occasions the game has been played in northern locations that have a domed stadium. In all, eleven different cities in the United States have hosted a Super Bowl, with New Orleans hosting the most with nine. Cities are competitive in bidding to host the game, since the economic impact from just one Super Bowl can be as high as \$250 million.

The day has become so popular—more pizzas are sold on Super Bowl Sunday than any other day of the year in the United States—that some consider it a



*When you want to win a game, you have to teach.
When you lose a game, you have to learn.* ■ TOM LANDRY

de facto holiday. In 2004, more than \$81 million in bets were placed on the Super Bowl in the state of Nevada, where gambling on professional sports is legal. Privately, it is estimated that several billion dollars is actually wagered on the game illegally. Part of the Super Bowl tradition is the elaborate halftime show featuring top entertainers. The 2004 show was controversial when singer Janet Jackson's breast was bared; the 2005 show featured former Beatle Paul McCartney and was much tamer. Commercials have become an integral part of the television broadcast as well, with major corporations vying to produce the most creative, innovative, or amusing commercials—which are then widely critiqued in the media on the day after the game.

History

The game was originally known as AFL-NFL World Championship Game, and came about because of competition between the two competing professional football leagues—the American Football League founded in 1960 and the National Football League founded in 1920 as the American Professional Football Association. It took the NFL name in 1922. The game didn't actually become the "Super Bowl" until 1968, before the third championship game. Legend has it that the owner of the Kansas City Chiefs, Lamar Hunt, whose team played in the first ever Super Bowl, came up with the event's name after coming across one of his daughter's favorite toys, a super ball. The game's number is traditionally referred to in roman numerals, although that practice did not start until the fifth Super Bowl.

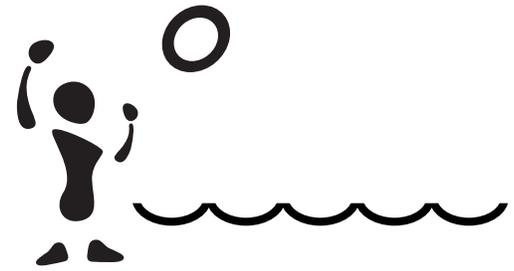
The Chiefs played the Green Bay Packers, coached by Vince Lombardi (considered one of the league's most legendary coaches), in Super Bowl I, played 15 January 1967. Today, the trophy given out to winning team is called the Vince Lombardi trophy. The Pete Rozelle Trophy—named after the man who served as league commissioner for almost thirty years and is largely credited with spurring the growth and popularity of the National Football League—is given out to the most valuable player in the Super Bowl.

Far from the popular event it is today the first Super Bowl only attracted 61,946 fans, almost 40,000 short of capacity at the Los Angeles' Memorial Coliseum, although every game since has been a sell out. Green Bay won the first game, 35–10, led by quarterback Bart Starr and receiver Max McGee—who only saw action in the game because of an injury to starting wide receiver Boyd Dowler. For the entire season, McGee had caught only four passes for 91 yards, but in the newly created title game, he hauled in seven passes for 138 yards and two touchdowns. Each Packer received a "winner's share"—a monetary reward for being on the victorious team—of \$15,000 each, while each Chief earned \$7,500. By comparison, the 2004 winning share for each member of the New England Patriots was \$68,000, while the members of the losing Carolina Panthers each earned \$36,500. The most inexpensive ticket to the first-ever Super Bowl was \$6; the most inexpensive ticket price for the 2004 game was \$350.

Seventeen teams have won the Super Bowl:

Dallas Cowboys	5
San Francisco 49ers	5
Pittsburgh Steelers	4
Green Bay Packers	3
New England Patriots	3
Oakland/LA Raiders	3
Washington Redskins	3
Denver Broncos	2
Miami Dolphins	2
New York Giants	2
Baltimore Colts	1
Baltimore Ravens	1
Chicago Bears	1
Kansas City Chiefs	1
New York Jets	1
St. Louis/LA Rams	1
Tampa Bay Buccaneers	1

The New England Patriots have won three of the last four Super Bowls. This is considered a near-amazing achievement given efforts by the league to develop parity among teams. The most significant Super Bowl was



the third when the New York Jets of the AFL beat the heavily favored Baltimore Colts of the NFL by the score of 16–7. The victory had been publicly guaranteed by Jet’s quarterback Joe Namath three days before the game. The victory made the AFL the equal of the NFL, and the next year the leagues merged.

*Brian Ackley and
David Levinson*

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Surf Lifesaving

A combination of water safety educational programs and practices and ocean and beach sports, surf lifesaving first developed on Australian, New Zealand, and South African foreshores in the early twentieth century. Many of the early clubs began as affiliates of the Royal Life Saving Society (founded by William Henry in 1891), a volunteer rescue society based in England. But the dynamic ocean environment encouraged the clubs to progressively affiliate with specialist surf-based lifesaving organizations. Indeed, in 1924 the Surf Life Saving Association of Australia (SLSAA) and the Royal Life Saving Society (RLSS) in Australia signed an agreement that allocated responsibility for the safety of harbors, bays, and rivers to the latter. The RLSS also assumed responsibility for teaching lifesaving procedures to schoolchildren and public agencies. However, the social environment played a more decisive role than the physical environment in shaping the Australian movement that has achieved hegemony on the international stage via the International Council of Surf Life Saving (formed

in 1956), World Life Saving (1971), and the International Life Saving Federation (1993).

To qualify as a patrolling surf lifesaver, an individual must gain the bronze medallion, which tests fitness (beach running, swimming in the surf, and resuscitation methods). Clubs conduct the test on an annual basis, but only a minority of members has current medallions.

History

Alerted by medical practitioners to the health-giving and therapeutic properties of cold-water bathing, the English middle classes adopted bathing as a pastime and sport (i.e., swimming) in the eighteenth century. But in the nineteenth century, bathers who pursued their pleasures in public faced opposition from evangelically inspired factions, who campaigned against what they deemed morally offensive and socially subversive behaviors, including exposed displays of the body. In this social climate bathing and swimming largely developed in enclosed baths (both seawater and freshwater) where moral guardians could monitor and control public displays of the human body.

In the antipodes official ordinances regulated bathing in public (for example, prohibiting the activity during daylight hours), fueling conflict between moralists and those who deemed bathing in open waters a natural pleasure and of high social and economic benefit. The factions in favor of public bathing challenged repressive beach-bathing laws. In the early 1900s, devotees won the right to bathe in daylight hours, but the struggle to control the beach was far from resolved.

Determined to protect “the common standards of propriety that prevail among civilized nations,” moralists directed attention to bathers’ costumes, sunbathing (which they described as a practice suitable only for dogs), and mixed bathing. Surf bathers responded by forming lifesaving patrols to demonstrate their respectable intentions, and in October 1907 a dozen clubs in Sydney united under the umbrella of the Surf Bathing Association of New South Wales (SBANSW). Its objectives were to provide better

facilities for surf bathers, institute improved lifesaving methods and aids, and provide rules for the proper conduct of surf bathers.

The class structure and aims of SBANSW quickly ensured official sanction for the activity. In 1911 John Lord, the association's first president, chaired a four-man committee appointed by the NSW government to inquire into surf bathing. The government adopted virtually all the committee's recommendations, including structuring volunteer lifesaving clubs around rational military organization, discipline, and drills.

Surf Life Saving Association of Australia

SBANSW survived by assuming "duty-of-care" for surf bathers. The association defined itself as a humanitarian and volunteer safety service and, consistent with this image, changed its name in 1920 to the Surf Life Saving Association of Australia. The SLSAA reinforced its self-imposed responsibility by adopting the motto "Vigilance and Service" and by highlighting its annual and cumulative tallies of rescues. (The SLSAA claims that its members have performed over 484,000 rescues since 1907.) But if its assumption of "duty-of-care" increased SLSAA's standing in the eyes of governments and helped secure more financial assistance from local councils who understand only too well that volunteer organizations can provide highly effective cost-effective services, it also exposed the association to risks of public liability. Indeed, the expense of insuring against public liability has steadily grown to the point where it currently threatens the financial viability of many clubs.

The SLSAA has also failed to reconcile the place of sport in the movement. The association nurtures the sporting image of the lifesaver that it uses to raise public monies and entice commercial sponsorship. Competition at regional, state, national, and international levels officially provides members with the means to practice and develop lifesaving skills; in reality many members and clubs regard lifesaving sport as the end rather than the means.

"IRONMAN"

The development of the Ironman Grand Prix circuit in the 1980s exacerbated the lifesaver-athlete contradiction. Introduced to Australia by touring lifeguards from the United States in 1965, corporate sponsors and the media soon recognized the economic and sporting potential for an endurance event involving lifesavers running, swimming, and paddling boards and surf skis. After outside commercial interests threatened to organize an independent event, the SLSAA introduced its own circuit in 1986. But lifesavers quickly grew dissatisfied with the management and administration of the official circuit. In 1989 a small group formed the Ironman Super Series as a "rebel" competition and secured their own sponsors. Assisted by corporate rivalry between the sponsors and those televising the two circuits, prize money for the two competitions ballooned to \$1.5 million; many leading lifesavers also secured lucrative personal sponsorships.

In 2001, after twelve years, breakfast food manufacturer Uncle Tobys withdrew its financial support and the "rebel" Ironman Super Series collapsed. Kellogg immediately slashed its contribution to the official circuit by more than 50 percent. Ill at ease with the hype and attention afforded to its lifesavers and seeking to balance the sporting and lifesaving aspects of the movement, the SLSAA restructured and downsized the elite ironman competition.

During the course of the twentieth century, the Australian surf lifesaver became a national and international icon propelled by both lifesaving and sporting heroics on the beach. Unfortunately, successive generations of officials responsible for organizing and administering surf lifesaving have failed to reconcile the long-standing tension between the ideals and realities of what it means to be a lifesaver.

Douglas Booth

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Opera in English, is about as sensible as baseball in Italian. ■ H. L. MENCKEN

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Surfing

Surfing is the water sport of riding waves; the ancient Hawaiians referred to surfing as Heʻenalu. The peoples of greater Oceania are credited with developing surfing as we know it, especially those in the islands of Hawaii where the sport became an integral part of the culture sometime around 1000 CE, centuries before Columbus sought the New World.

Origins of Surfing

Although most scholars agree that the sport of surfing traces its origins more specifically to Polynesia, where and when the activity was first practiced remains a mystery. Hawaii holds a clue. History there was not preserved via the written word; rather, it was passed on from one generation to the next via stories and chants. Countless narratives, generations deep, recalled how deeply imbued surfing played into the culture. One such accounting was transcribed by A. S. Twombly in his book *Kelea: The Surf-Rider, A Romance of Pagan Hawaii* in the late 1800s and published in 1900.

The western world first learned of surfing through the recorded observations of the Hawaiian explorer Captain James Cook and his ship’s illustrator, John Webber. Cook’s explorations more than once brought him and his crew to Kealahou Bay, Hawaii (Hawaii was then named the Sandwich Islands), where he and the crew first witnessed men and women surfing on boards and canoes.

By the 1860s, author Mark Twain penned his account of surfing while traveling on the Big Island of

Hawaii. There, he noted how the “naked natives of both sexes and all ages, were amusing themselves with the national pastime of surf-bathing.” Twain later described his first personal and futile attempts at “surf-riding” in his book *Roughing It*.

After more than five centuries, the sport of surfing has developed and evolved into a well-established activity, although not before the decline of the Hawaiian culture, which began during the 1800s. An inevitable clash of cultures occurred when the missionaries and Europeans traveled to the islands with differing ways and customs. Surfing nearly ceased to exist by the end of the nineteenth century for many reasons, including the missionaries’ disdain for such a nonproductive activity and disease brought to Hawaii by outsiders. A mere 10 percent of the Hawaiian population is estimated to have survived between the first outside contacts with Hawaii and the end of the 1800s.

The revival of surfing in Hawaii and the consequent global spread of the sport thereafter was largely because of Duke Paoa Kahanamoku, a full-blood Hawaiian who is the revered and acknowledged father of modern surfing. Kahanamoku is credited with spearheading the return of surf-riding and its mainstream acceptance in Hawaii by 1910 and, shortly thereafter, with introducing the longer ten- to eleven-foot Waikiki-style surfboard.

In 1912, he went on to win gold and silver medals for swimming at the Stockholm Olympics. The same year, he introduced surfing to the U.S. East Coast, and by 1915, he brought surfing to New Zealand and Australia. During a visit to California that year, Duke advanced the sports of both surfing and swimming with displays of his water skills and because of his celebrity status.

George Freeth, Hawaiian born of mixed Irish and Hawaiian ancestry, was likewise instrumental in the spread of surfing to California, far from the sport’s firmly established epicenter in Hawaii. Employed as a Los Angeles county lifeguard, Freeth was often seen riding his surfboard or using the board assisting swimmers in danger during beach rescues. Alexander Hume Ford, yet another pivotal player during surfing’s revival of the early



Surfing

Surfing in Hawaii

In this report by a group of missionaries in 1823, they describe surfing as practiced by indigenous Hawaiians.

On these occasions they use a board, which they call *papa he naru*, (wave sliding-board,) generally five or six feet long, and rather more than a foot wide, sometimes flat, but more frequently slightly convex on both sides. It is usually made of the wood of the *erythrina*, stained quite black, and preserved with great care. After using, it is placed in the sun till perfectly dry, when it is rubbed over with cocoa-nut oil, frequently wrapped in cloth, and suspended in some part of their dwelling house.

Sometimes they choose a place where the deep water reaches to the beach, but generally prefer a part where the rocks are ten or twenty feet under water, and extend to a distance from the shore, as the surf breaks more violently over these. When playing in these places, each individual takes his board, and, pushing it before him, swims perhaps a quarter of a mile or more out to sea. They do not attempt to go over the billows which roll towards the shore, but watch their approach, and dive under water, allowing the billow to pass over their heads.

Source: Ellis, W. (1917). *Narrative of a tour through Hawaii, or Owhyhee: with observations on the natural history of the Sandwich Islands, and remarks on the manners, customs, traditions, history, and language of their inhabitants* (pp. 278-79). Honolulu, Hawaii: Hawaiian Gazette Co. Ltd.

1900s, did much to reinstate surfing in Hawaii. By 1908, Ford founded the Outrigger Canoe Club predicated upon a group of enthusiasts devoted to preserving and developing surf-riding on both surfboards and canoes.

Surfing Innovations

Key surfboard designers and revolutionary design developments emerged during and after World War II, especially in the then-developing surfing mecca of Southern California. There, differing wave fields often broke close to the shoreline so rides were shorter in both distance and duration compared with those of the deep water, offshore reef venues of the islands. Until this point, the equipment used was heavy and crude by contemporary standards, with surfboards often weighing more than 100 lbs. Constructed from a variety of woods, the heavy boards precluded all but the strongest from participating in the sport. Surfboard designers in California devised lightweight surfboards that would react more spontaneously to the rider's whims in waves, which afforded a surf-rider less time to set up for the ride. Maneuverability was the outcome, and these same surfboards soon thereafter became mainstays in Hawaiian surfing equipment.

Period design and material innovators were Matt Kivlin, Joe Quigg, Bob Simmons, Dave Sweet, Dale

Velzy, and Hobie Alter, among others. Technologies and materials developed during the war years were put to use by the private sector; chief among the materials was an assortment of plastics that revolutionized the equipment and the act of wave-riding itself.

The advent of fiberglass allowed surfboard builders to seal the surfboard's soft South American balsa wood core. The sealed lightweight balsa soon made all the heavy materials preceding its use obsolete and allowed surfing to reach more people.

Social Acceptance

In a social context, the surfers of the late 1940s and 1950s were initially too few to be recognized by general society. California pioneers of the sport can recall when almost everyone who surfed the coast knew one another. By the early 1960s, further refinements in equipment delivered the sport to the mainstream status that surf riding currently holds. Today, surfers constitute a subculture whose lifestyle intrigues society at large. A multimillion-dollar fashion industry has developed around the sport that finds origins dating back to the early 1960s. Multiple media venues, including advertising, documentaries, television, print, and news, all find markets and an increasing audience share

Surfers enjoying the big waves and offshore winds.

Source: istockphoto/mattscherf.

among the public at large, not just sports fans. Surf riding clearly holds a worldwide mystique.

Acclaimed *Surf* journalist Matt Warshaw reports an estimated 2.5 million active surfers in the United States. At last count, however, Warshaw documented less than 9,000 active competitors participating in contest circuits within the United States today. This stark accounting provides insights that the real competition in surfing is perhaps surfer vs. nature rather than surfer vs. surfer. What so many surfing participants find most alluring is the sport's lack of basic rules, strategies, and tactics outside the formal competition venues. Conversely, formal surfing competition holds a key position in the sport and provides the pathway for professional surfing. Strong and consistent contest ratings on the pro circuit are vital elements toward endorsements and sponsorship for aspiring professionals within the peripheral billion-dollar surfing industry.

Competitive Surfing

Surfing competitions traces its origins back to Ancient Hawaiian folklore, the way in which the indigenous people of Hawaii preserved their history. It is said that chiefs competed against each other, often for a bounty of materials, livestock, or goods. Criteria for victory consisted of the longest ride or perhaps the first surfer to reach a designated point in the water or on the beach. A contest might very well comprise a series of rides and wins to declare a final victor.

The earliest known surfboards used in the competition were the *olo* and *kiko'o*, used in the precontact days of Hawaii. The ancient boards were long and heavy



(measuring 12–16 feet [3.7–4.8 meters], some examples reportedly reached up to 18 feet [5.7 meters]) and were reserved for use exclusively by Hawaiian chiefs and royalty. The commoners used shorter *alaia* boards (6–10 feet or more [1.9–3.2 meters]), also referred to as *omo*. The longer *olo* boards more effectively caught the fast-moving ocean waves, aided by additional buoyancy and paddling speed afforded by length.

Formal competition resumed during the sport's revival in the 1900s. A 1918 competition held in Hawaii was among the first to judge a winning performance on style and mastery in the surf. A backlash of discontent quickly diminished any plans to continue measuring performance by what was then perceived as vague and obscure standards. For the short term thereafter, the objectives dating as far back as the Ancient Hawaiians remained the predominant measure of competitive aptitude (that is, distance covered, first to the beach or marker, and so on).

In Australia, beginning in 1919, a string of surfing competitions soon came to be known as surf carnivals. The competitions became mainstream by the 1930s, often incorporating matches between lifeguards assessing



their prowess implementing lifesaving devices that included an assortment of equipment used within coastal surf zones.

In California, the Pacific Coast Surf Riding Championships began in 1928 and continued into the 1940s.

Competitive surfing found genuine validity and acceptance in 1953–1954. The Makaha International Surfing Championships changed how surfers' wave-riding skills were evaluated. Although somewhat flawed in hindsight, the judging parameters set a new standard and became a blueprint from which to fabricate today's refined appraisals. The brainchild of California transplant and former lifeguard John Lind, the contest is now acknowledged as the beginning of modern surfing competition and the prototype that fostered the sport of surfing's passage into the competitive arena.

Lind's competitive background as a lifeguard and surfer, replete with established competition experiences and organizational skills combined the ingredients necessary to create such a forum within a near-perfect contest venue. In all but the first year of the event, the

fabled surf break at Makaha produced dependable and quality surfing conditions.

Enlisting the aid of the Waikiki Surf Club (founded by Lind) and the local Lions Club, Lind found a strong workforce of volunteers and sponsorship to help finance the event. The inaugural event in 1953 was well planned and well attended but relegated only to paddle board races. The surfing competition was cancelled that first year due to a lack of surf—the only time in the two-decade run of the event that this happened. Undeterred, Lind brought the event to fruition the following year and set the stage for the future of surfing competition.

The event was open to anyone who wanted to enter, including women's and tandem surfing divisions. The final heats of top contenders were carried annually on the ABC-TV *Wide World of Sports* program during the early 1960s. Disputes over royalties are said to be the only reason why the TV coverage was dropped in subsequent years.

Competitive surfing gained further recognition through the United States Surfing Association (USSA), founded in California in 1961. The organization spear-

headed a drive to improve the public image of surfing and surfers. Soon thereafter, the USSA became a governing faction for surfing competition. Seven districts including Hawaii, California, and the East Coast had prescribed universal rules and the requisite membership. Points could be accumulated from different contests with annual standings developed. The USSA eventually gave way to four separate zones with common interests and competition standards



A kite surfer in mid-air.

Source: istockphoto/jgough.

Surfers heading out for a wave at the Pass, Byron Bay, Australia.

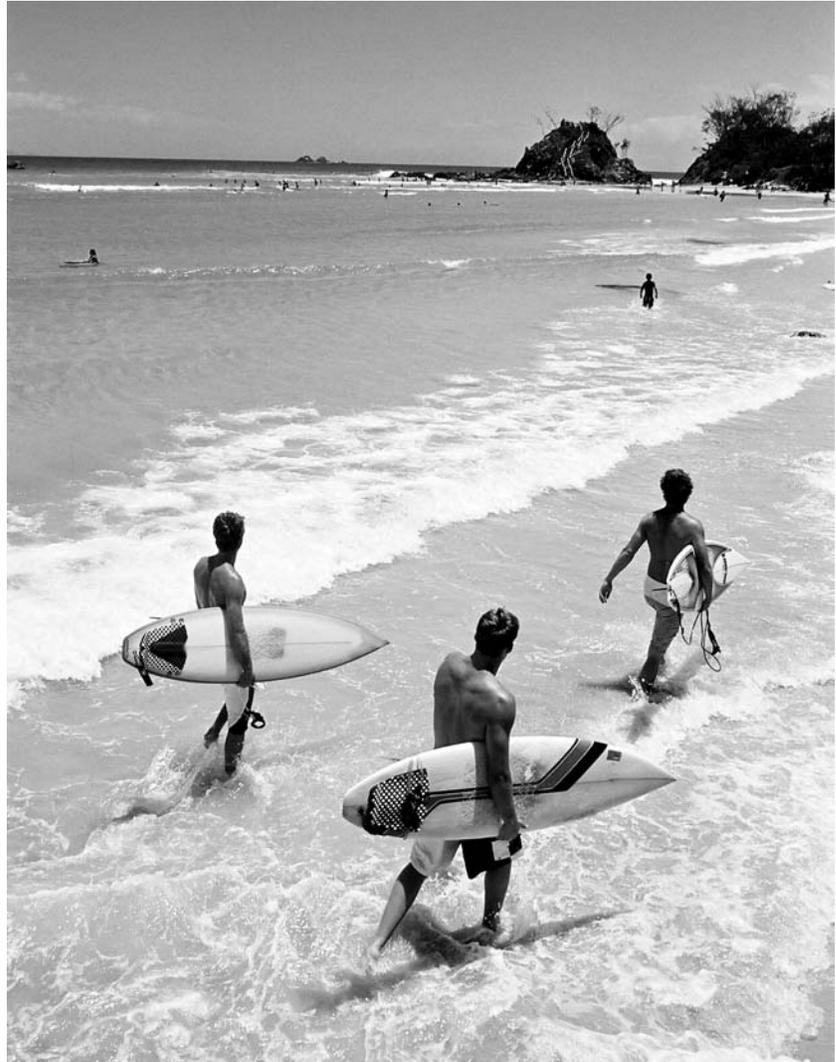
Source: istockphoto/davidf.

because groups in California, Hawaii, and the East and Gulf Coasts were better equipped to govern surfing in their own locales.

The United States Surfing Championships (USSC) sprang from the West Coast Surfing Championships that began in 1959 in Huntington Beach, California. Contrived by the Chamber of Commerce and Huntington Beach Recreation Department, the championships continue drawing contestants from amateur circuits nationwide. In 1973, the event moved from its exclusive Huntington Beach, California, location to different venues annually throughout the country. For more than four decades, the USSC has been the springboard that allows U.S. surfers to move into the highest competitive ranks.

Numerous other competitive organizations exist worldwide. Of note is the United States Surfing Federation (USSF). The union of six existing surfing organizations was founded by the late Colin Couture to establish and choose an amateur surfing team to attend the World Surfing Championships. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) acknowledged the USSF despite the sport's continuously failed bids to gain Olympic recognition. Many believe the inability of the sport of surfing to gain Olympic status lies within the playing field. A consistent, measurable, and dependable venue is not to be afforded by the ocean.

In the 1970s, Fred Hemmings and Randy Rarick started the world pro surf tour. The International Professional Surfers (IPS) held professional events initially in Hawaii, South Africa, and Australia. Shortly after the tour's inception, a women's division was added. A modest purse was offered during the inaugural years, although the first-season winner Peter Townend nearly broke even in prize monies against his traveling expenses. Approximately five years later amidst turbulent



differences with the Australian contingent, the IPS was superseded by the Association of Surfing Professionals (ASP). Founded in 1982, the organization built on what the IPS had begun, unifying isolated and discordant events into one assembly maintaining a pro circuit.

By 1983, the contest circuit and attending special events offered a purse totaling just under \$500,000. Prize money has grown steadily over the years but remains paltry when compared with mainstream sports such as baseball, football, basketball, and tennis. As a result, career surfers with strong competitive backgrounds often gain lucrative sponsorships and endorsements to augment their incomes, allowing a career to be had riding waves.

Although competition does indeed play a pivotal role in surfing, defining the leaders, trends, and hierarchy, it is the mainstream participants that are at the core of the

Sweden Olympics Results

2002 Winter Olympics: 2 Silver, 4 Bronze

2004 Summer Olympics: 4 Gold, 1 Silver, 2 Bronze

sport. The very essence of surf riding remains as true today, as it did centuries ago: the elemental, almost primal, pleasures found within the simple yet thrilling act of successfully riding upon a wave.

Mark Fragale

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Sweden

Sweden covers 411,000 square kilometers in Scandinavia, a peninsula of northern Europe. The country spreads north through the Arctic Circle and south to the Baltic Sea and is bounded on the west by Norway

and on the east by the Baltic. More than 9 million people inhabit Sweden, the majority of them in the cities of the central and southern regions. Stockholm, the capital and largest city, is home to 1.2 million people. Sports have helped forge Sweden's identity as a land of vigorous people. Cross-country skiing is the national passion, although many other sports claim the allegiance of Swedes, including football (soccer), cross-country and road running, orienteering, cycling, ice hockey, bandy (a game similar to hockey), golf, rugby, handball, tennis, and wrestling.

History

Sports in Sweden grew out of the turmoil of history. The political and economic instability of the Middle Ages persisted in Sweden into the sixteenth century, devolving into near anarchy in 1520 when Danish King Christian II ordered his army to massacre Swedish aristocrats in a bid to conquer Sweden. Nobleman Gustav Ericsson Vasa escaped the massacre in Mora, Sweden, on skis, fleeing 90 kilometers to Salen, where a band of townsmen from Dahrna, themselves on skis, overtook Vasa and pledged their loyalty to him. Their support helped make Vasa king and created cross-country skiing as Sweden's oldest sport, although only in 1922 did King Gustav V establish the Vasaloppet, a cross-country ski race between Mora and Salen, to commemorate Vasa's flight from Christian II's army.

By 1922 sports were prevalent in Sweden. During the 1880s Swedes had begun importing a variety of sports from other European nations. More than did U.S. sports fans, Swedish sports fans adopted a less formal attitude toward sports in which clubs of amateurs rather than government shaped the development of sports. Sweden entered the international arena in 1912, hosting the Olympic Games in Stockholm.

Participant and Spectator Sports

Despite its northern latitude Sweden has a temperate climate that encourages participation in both winter and summer sports. Among winter sports cross-country skiing, ice hockey, and bandy have more than 4 million



Sweden

Key Events in Sweden Sports History

- 1520** Nobleman Gustav Ericsson Vasa escapes a Danish massacre on skis, becomes king and cross-country skiing becomes the national sport.
- 1880s** Sports are imported from elsewhere in Europe.
- 1903** The Swedish National Sports Federation is founded.
- 1906** The Swedish Athletic Federation for the Deaf is founded.
- 1908** Sweden competes in the Olympics for the first time.
- 1912** The Olympics are held in Stockholm.
- 1922** The Vasaloppet cross-country ski race is established.
- 1934** Sweden competes in the soccer World Cup for the first time.
- 1965** The 1965 the Lidingo-loppet cross-country running race is inaugurated.
- 1965** The O-Ringen orienteering event inaugurated.
- 1979** The Stockholm Marathon is run for the first time.
- 2002** Concern is raised about the used of performance-enhancing drugs.

enthusiasts, with cross-country skiers accounting for nearly half that total. The jewel of winter sports is the Vasaloppet, which the Swedish Skiing Association caps at twelve thousand entrants, turning away as many as twenty thousand applicants.

Among summer sports football rivals cross-country skiing's winter popularity, attracting more than 1 million participants. Sweden has fielded teams for the Olympic Games since 1908 and the World Cup since 1934. Matches draw as many as fifty thousand spectators.

Running is likewise popular. Swedes pride themselves on competition amid the rustic splendor of nature, a sentiment that suits cross-country running. Since

1965 the Lidingo-loppet has been the preeminent competition, hosting as many as thirty thousand runners per year. Men run 30 kilometers, and women run 10 kilometers. A derivative of cross-country running is orienteering, in which more than 100,000 Swedes participate annually. The five-day O-Ringen since 1965 has been the jewel of orienteering. A third event is the Stockholm Marathon, which journalist and Hasselby Athletic Club member Anders Olsson in 1979 patterned after the New York City Marathon. In 2004 the Stockholm Marathon fielded 16,221 runners from fifty-five countries.

Swedes embrace sports as validation of their identity as hardy people. This validation encourages Swedes of all abilities and backgrounds to participate in sports, a democratic vision that diminishes the importance of elite competition.

Women and Sports

Women benefit from this democratic vision, participating in the same sports that men participate in. The Swedish Football Association has thirteen hundred women's clubs and eighty-five thousand girls under age fifteen as members. The Lidingo-loppet hosts a 10-kilometer race for women. Cross-country skiing, orienteering, ice hockey, bandy, and many other sports have women's clubs. Every June the Swedish Cycling Federation hosts the Tjej-Vattern, a 150-kilometer bicycle race open only to women, and one week later hosts the Vattern-Rudan, a 300-kilometer race for women and men. Both races circuit Lake Vattern, Sweden's second-largest lake.

Youth Sports

Swedish youth flock to sports. The Swedish Football Association has 250,000 members under age fifteen. The Federation Internationale de Football Association hosts the Gothia Cup, the world's largest junior tournament. Some 600,000 boys and girls between ages twelve and seventeen from 120 countries participate. The federation recruits youth from disparate economic, ethnic, and religious backgrounds in hopes of promoting tolerance. The Gothia Cup is as much a youth peace move-

Like a Volvo, Bjorn Borg is rugged, has good after-sales service, and is very dull. ■ CLIVE JAMES

ment as a sports competition. The Swedish Orienteering Federation sponsors the Silva Junior Cup for boys and girls under age eighteen. The Lidingo-loppet has divisions for boys and girls ages seven to fifteen.

Organizations

Sweden has sixty-five national sports organizations. Since 1903 the Swedish National Sports Federation (www.svenskdoviddrott.nu/t2.asp?p=80185) has organized Swedish sports in twenty-two federations. The largest is the Swedish Football Association (www.svenskfotboll.se), with more than 1 million members and three thousand clubs. Unique among Swedish organizations is the Swedish Athletic Federation for the Deaf (www.svenskdoviddrott.nu). At its inception in 1906 the federation fostered athletic competitions among the deaf, notably the International Deaf Games in Gothenburg, and has since grown to sponsor events for Swedes with disabilities of all types.

Sports in Society

Sports are a progressive influence on Swedish society. They promote health and the virtues of the well-rounded athlete. Swedes encourage participation in a range of sports rather than specialization in a single sport and prize equal access to sports above elitism. Swedish competitions welcome women, men, youth, the disabled, and people of all classes, ethnicities, and religions in an effort to promote national unity rather than a win-at-all-costs mentality. Swedes do not venerate star athletes as much as U.S. popular culture does.

However, in 2002 Swedish biologist Anna Kindlundh challenged this pristine image of sports, documenting the use of anabolic steroids and other performance-enhancing drugs among Swedes as young as seven. Approximately 3 percent of boys and 0.5 percent of girls in the high schools of Uppsala, Sweden, had used steroids, she found, in their desire to enhance performance, increase muscle mass and tone, and improve their appearance. Fifteen percent of boys and 9 percent of girls had used some type of illicit drug to enhance performance. The pressure to succeed,

Kindlundh concluded, was undermining the purity of Swedish sports.

The Future

Kindlundh's research suggests that sports in Sweden may come to resemble sports in the United States and the former USSR in the drive to win at any price. This attitude may weaken the traditions of universal access to sports, the ordinary Swede as athlete, and the well-rounded amateur. However, counter to this attitude is the example of Dahrna's townsmen—ordinary citizens rather than extraordinary athletes—who skied across the country to aid a future king.

Christopher Cumo

See also Innebandy

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Swimming

References to swimming practices have been found in hieroglyphics, drawings and paintings, legends, and books dating back to ancient times. It was not until the sixteenth century, however, that specialized books on the subject of swimming appeared—first with a book by Nicolas Wynman in 1538, and half a century later with a book by Everard Digby that described and illustrated about forty different utilitarian or recreational techniques. An athletic form of swimming appeared in England during the first third of the



Swimming

The First Test for the “Women’s Life Saving Corps,” 1920

1. Swim twenty yards, dressed in skirt, blouse and shoes which shall be fastened in the customary way. Without resting, other than floating, she must remove the skirt, blouse and shoes, and continue to swim for eighty yards before touching the shore.
2. Swim several strokes on surface; than surface dive in from six to eight feet of water, and retrieve a ten-pound object, landing same on bank. The object should be carried on the upper side of the body.
3. Carry living subject ten yards by each of the following methods: Breast stroke, cross shoulder, head carry, two-point carry.
4. Break wrist-hold, front-strangle hold, back-strangle hold in deep water and land patient by swimming fifteen feet.
5. Float one minute in any posture and tread water thirty seconds.
6. Land a patient properly from pool, or surf or open water, as if unconscious.
7. Demonstrate the Schafer prone pressure method of resuscitation and be a subject for demonstration by another.

Source: Women’s life saving corps of the American Red Cross. (1920). In *The history of the water safety program of the American National Red Cross* (p. 279). Washington, DC: American National Red Cross.

nineteenth century, and since then, swimming has become a major international sport and one of the most widely practiced sports in the world.

History

In England during the 1830s and 1840s, swimming grew away from its utilitarian origins to become a competitive practice. There were enough professional swimmers at the time to justify the creation of the National Swimming Society and a national championship in 1837. A concern for the health of society led to the building of an increasing number of indoor pools, which smoothed the way for professional competitions, popular events to which admission was charged. At about the same time, a number of public schools and universities began to encourage swimming by organizing meets between teams, whose members later started the first amateur clubs during the 1860s. In January 1869, London’s main swimming clubs united to form the Associated Metropolitan Swimming Club (AMSC), a precursor of the Amateur Swimming Association (ASA). The AMSC drafted a regulatory code for all issues relating to amateur races.

In spite of the friction that existed between amateurs and professionals at the time, a definition of athletic swimming was finally established during the 1880s in the form of fifty-nine articles. These were ultimately

used as a basis for international regulations when the Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur (FINA) was created in London in 1908. In these early stages, the choice of the different events was a compromise that took into account demands emanating from clubs, trade journals, and ASA directors. The demands concerned issues such as swimmers’ rights and obligations, the powers granted to officials, the distances to be covered in events, and environmental characteristics (seas, rivers, and pools were all accepted).

FINE-TUNING

A differentiation among techniques was not initially taken into consideration, but was specified in 1903 when breaststroke and backstroke championships were added to the freestyle events. The butterfly stroke officially appeared as an event in 1953, although it had already been used in 1926 by the German Erich Rademacher in a breaststroke event, and during the 1933 New York winter championships by the American Henry Meyers in the 150-yard individual medley event. For a time it even appeared as though the butterfly might supplant the breaststroke. In 1946, FINA prohibited changing techniques during any one race, and seven years later it made the distinction between breaststroke and butterfly events official. FINA continued to fine-tune the details of competitive swimming, including material

The most extreme conditions require the most extreme response, and for some individuals, the call to that response is vitality itself. . . . The integrity and self-esteem gained from winning the battle against extremity are the richest treasures in my life. ■ DIANA NYAD

factors such as the size and height of the starting block, approved pool length, and the modesty of bathing suits; human factors, such as how to keep contestants from getting in each other's way, the proper starter order, and the rights and powers granted to officials; and technical factors.

Over time there has been a gradual shift to a much larger number of events with shorter distances. In 1949, records for distances over 200 meters disappeared from the books in the backstroke and breaststroke categories. In 1968, a 100-meter event was added for the breaststroke, which previously had been held only for 200-meter distances (except for the period from 1912 to 1920, with 400 meters). Fifty-meter events were gradually added to international programs, first in freestyle during the 1980s (the 1988 Olympic Games) and then in medley events. More recently, however, sport authorities have reinstated long-distance swimming in open water to satisfy the dictates of entertainment: The 1991 World Championships included a 25-kilometer marathon river race for the first time.

THE CRAWL

In freestyle events—by definition the least rule-bound—the front crawl has become established as the most efficient technique. The crawl was perfected around 1893 in Sydney by professional Australian swimmers Percy and Arthur Cavill and was exported to the rest of the world in the early twentieth century. At first their “Australian crawl,” as it was called, involved a “pedaling” of the water with bent knees, but by 1903 a straight-leg flutter kick was being initiated at the hip, and this provided more powerful propulsion. Before World War I, the stroke was optimized with a more vertical position of the body; some swimmers also sought to develop the upward kick (the Europeans and Americans around 1928) and others, the downward kick (the Japanese around 1932).

THE BREASTSTROKE AND BACKSTROKE

Rooted in tradition, the breaststroke and the backstroke changed very little until the 1920s. However, after the

butterfly was separated from the breaststroke to become another style in the 1950s, the rules for the breaststroke became stricter, in particular in 1957 with the obligation to break the surface of the water with the head; this was instated to reduce the longer periods contestants managed to stay underwater by pulling their arms all the way down to their thighs and pulling their heads out of the water to breathe only on turns (the Japanese were notable for using this method). The backstroke changed considerably when the Americans introduced leg kicks before World War I; the Japanese then transformed the leg kicks in the early 1930s by eliminating the “pedaling” characteristic. American swimmer A. Kiefer introduced a straighter position of the body in the water and after 1967, East German swimmer Roland Mattes revolutionized the back crawl.

STRENGTH OR GLIDE?

During the 1920s and 1930s, swimmers generally took inspiration from boats, seeking very vertical positions with the head lifted, in postures illustrated perfectly by Johnny Weissmuller. During the 1960s, the focus was more on reducing resistance to forward movement, resulting in longer periods underwater during races; during the 1970s, it was more on striking a balance between powerful movements and glide. Swim training was subjected to a lot of scientific research—for example, with famous American trainer James Counsilman—but was also negatively affected by doping practices in countries that were experimenting with techniques on a large scale, like the GDR. Since the 1980s, the search for a balance between the two principles is still manifest in the systematic use of physical work to gain power and the shaving of body hair or wearing of wetsuits to lower water resistance. In some countries, however, the emphasis is more on one (Germany for strength) or the other (China for glide).

After 1950, professional swimming increased in popularity, in particular long-distance swimming. A number of international federations were created. One example is the World Professional Marathon Swimming Federation (WPMSF) in the United States. In 1963, the WPMSF set

It only hurt once, from beginning to end. ■ JAMES COUNSILMAN

up a world championship circuit that included a number of events. The races took place all over the world in the form of marathons and raids up to 60 kilometers long on rivers and in lakes, performed in difficult temperature and water conditions. In 1991 FINA took over the initiative, organizing world open-water championships and later starting a professional circuit in 1998 as a way to compete with the International Marathon Swimming Association.

WOMEN AT THE OLYMPICS

Ever since swimming in Great Britain was organized professionally, it has been open to women. By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, women had their own amateur clubs in several countries (the United States, Australia, and France, among others) where sport in general was not particularly favorable to women. This precedent opened the door to the Olympics for women: Even before they were officially admitted to the program in 1928, women were allowed to participate in the 1912 Stockholm Games (as well as the following Games) in the 100-meter freestyle and the 4×100 relay swim events. The women's Olympic program (as well as events giving rise to World Record claims) slowly became established alongside the men's program. By the end of the twentieth century, it was the same as the men's.

The recreational form of swimming is present everywhere in the world, but competitive swimming has developed more in the regions where economic and sanitary conditions have been favorable to the existence of a network of swimming pools (North America, Asia, Europe, and Australia). Competitive swimming is organized in the form of championships for all age categories. In some countries, junior categories have existed since the 1920s, and for swimmers over 25, FINA's Masters Events have provided a system of categories by a five-year age band since the 1980s.

Competitive Swimming

Competitive swimming basically consists of traveling a certain distance at the water's surface without material

aids and in a more or less stabilized environment, in accordance with specified technical conditions and in the shortest time possible. FINA further specifies that its Masters Program pursues other objectives, such as "fitness, friendship and understanding."

The principle of sprint swimming is to compare performance among swimmers in material conditions that are as neutral as possible. Some examples of such standardization are an absence of currents, a predetermined water temperature, and since 1924, delineated lanes to separate swimmers.

In 1908, there were six different official swimming events; these were the 100-, 400-, and 1500-meter freestyle, the 100- and 200-meter breaststroke, and the 4×200 freestyle relay. As of 2004, FINA now recognizes seventeen different individual events for men and as many for women (the 50-, 100-, 200-, 400-, 800-, and 1500-meter freestyle; the 50-, 100- and 200-meter backstroke; the 50-, 100- and 200-meter breaststroke; the 50-, 100- and 200-meter butterfly; and the 200- and 400-meter medley), plus three relay events both for men and for women: the 4×100 and 4×200-meter freestyle, and the 4×100 medley.

Since 1969, world records are accepted only if they are achieved in approved 50-meter swimming pools; 33-meter and 25-meter pools are prohibited. Open-water events are defined as "any competition in rivers, lakes or ocean." For these events, there are long-distance swimming races for distances under 10 kilometers and marathon swimming for distances over that. World championships and FINA competitions propose 5-, 10-, and 15-kilometer events.

CODIFYING STROKES

The breaststroke is the most codified swim technique, with seven rule points (compared to five for the butterfly or the backstroke). All arm and leg movements must be done in the water simultaneously and symmetrically (that is, "without alternating movement"). The hands must be pulled down laterally with the arms extended to form a T. The feet must be brought toward the body with bent knees apart, and the movement continued by



Swimming

The Importance of Learning to Swim

Robert J. H. Kiphuth, is remembered as Yale's most successful swimming coach (from 1918 to 1959) and coach of six U.S. Olympic teams. In the extract below, Kiphuth discusses why it is important to learn how to swim.

When you go to a big bathing beach on a hot summer day, or to the "old swimmin' hole," or to a swimming pool in a college of Y.M.C.A. gymnasium, and see the thousands of men and women, boys and girls—particularly boys—splashing and shouting and paddling and cutting through the water, you're likely to think that just about everybody there knows how to swim.

And yet there are hundreds who are frightened into shivers at the thought of plunging into a river or lake, simply because they haven't given it the right kind of try; there are as many more who are able to paddle around and keep themselves afloat and do half a dozen strokes, after a fashion, but who will never become real swimmers because they don't take the trouble to learn properly.

All of these people are missing a lot. Swimming is a thing that everybody can do, and do right. More than that—it's a thing that supplies an amazing lot of fun, that frequently means the difference between life and death and that is an excellent body builder. It's for all these reasons that a number of colleges and universities have made it compulsory for a student to pass a swimming test before he can get his diploma.

Source: Kiphuth, R. J. H. (1914). Are you a swimmer? In P. Withington (Ed.), *The Book of Athletics* (p. 405). Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co.

extending the legs laterally and pulling them back along an elliptical path in a frog kick. All vertical movement of the legs is prohibited, and all motion along the course is at the water's surface. The only exceptions to the above are when executing turns and at the start, when the arms and legs can complete the strokes. It was

only in 1987 that the head was allowed to break the surface at each full arm cycle, allowing a longer period underwater as the body straightens. By 1991, given that the butterfly was a separate event from the breaststroke, it became possible in the breaststroke to bring the arms forward at the surface instead of underwater. On the backward pull, however, the hands were not allowed to extend past the hip line.

The butterfly was also relatively strictly codified, the main difference with the breaststroke being that the arms were to be "brought forward together over the water." As for the backstroke, the main rule remained keeping the body on the back throughout the swimming phases of a race. The only real change was in the turns, where the underwater course after push-off from the wall gradually became longer with the aid of "dolphin fishtail" movements (sometimes more than 35 meters), for example at the Seoul Games in 1988. FINA later limited this underwater distance to 10 meters in 1989 and then 15 meters in 1991. The "back only" principle was also modified; during turns, swimmers could touch the wall with any part of the body and were authorized to rotate onto their stomachs just before the somersault, as long as no propulsive movements of arms or legs were added.

CHAMPIONS

Swimming was considered by Pierre de Coubertin as a fundamentally utilitarian sport. It is the oldest Olympic sport, appearing on the Games program without interruption since 1896. The other major swim competition is the World Championship, which has been organized every four years (in between Olympic Games) since 1978 by FINA.

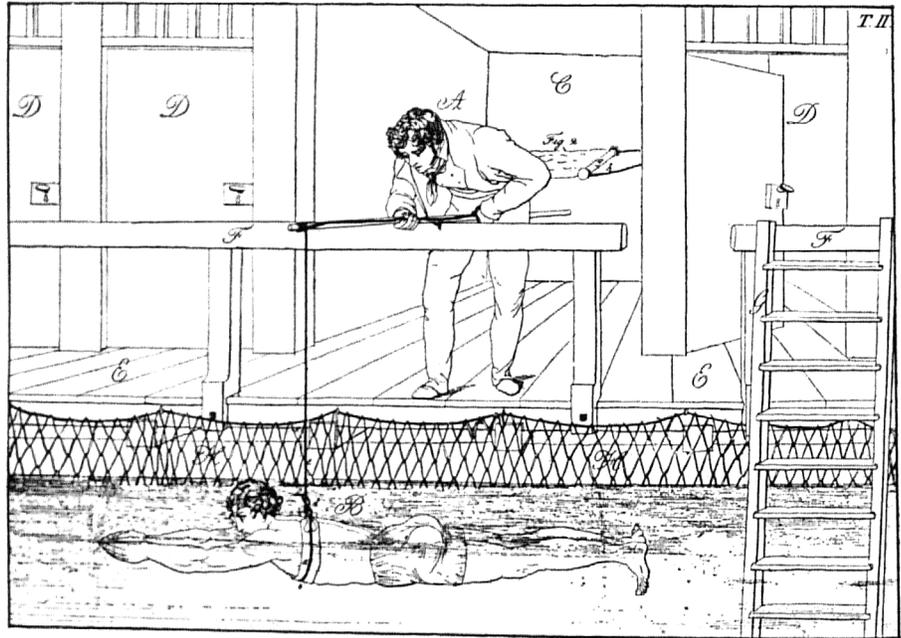
During the three swimming events at the first Olympic Games in 1896, which were held in Athens, there were thirteen participants in the 100-meter event, including eight Greeks, two Hungarians, one American, one Swede, and one Dane; three participants in the 500-meter event (two Greeks and one Austrian); and nine in the 1200-meter event, which replaced the 1000-meter race at the last minute. The same swimmers participated

Teaching swimming in Hungary in 1816.

in several events, of course. No special installation was built for the swimming events, which took place in the open waters of the Bay of Zea. Contestants swam approximate distances, surrounded by waves. Closed swimming pools became the norm only in 1908.

When Athens hosted the Games again in 2004, 158 national delegations participated in a program of 38 different swimming events. Eight new world records, 43 continental records, and 26 Olympic records came out of these Games, evidence of how far training patterns and techniques had progressed. Many swimmers wore wetsuits, which have been authorized since 1999. Swimmer performance was registered using electronic timing devices in each lane. Each of these electronic touch pads (2.4-meters long, 90-centimeters wide, and 1-centimeter thick) is sensitive to any pressure from 1.5 to 3 kilograms exerted on it by the swimmer at the finish. The American Michael Phelps flew through these Olympic Games, winning a total of eight medals—six of them gold—to add his name to the list of great Olympic swimmers.

Many of these champions are American: Charles Daniel (four gold medals in 1904, 1906, and 1908); Duke Kahanamoku (two gold medals in 1912 and 1920); Norman Ross (two gold medals in 1920); Johnny Weissmuller (three gold medals in 1924 and 1928), who is just a famous for swimming the first 100-meter race in under a minute as he is for becoming Tarzan in the movies; Michael Burton (three gold medals in 1968 and 1972); Mark Spitz (seven gold medals in 1972); and Jim Montgomery (three gold medals in 1972 and 1976). The Australian Murray Rose (three gold medals in 1956 and 1960), German backstroke swimmer Roland Matthes (six gold medals from 1968 to 1975), and Russian Alexander Popov, a gold medal for the 100-meter event in 1992 and in 1996, have also earned their place in history's Hall of Fame for great



swimmers. Other exceptional champions have followed in their footsteps—for example, the three prodigies of the 2004 Athens Games: Australian Ian Thorp, Dutchman Pieter van den Hoogenband (record holder for the 100 meter), and American Michael Phelps.

In women's swimming, much of the twentieth century was dominated by the Americans, the Germans, and the Australians, with increasing participation from the Dutch. The most famous swimmers in the early 1900s were the Australians Annette Kellerman and Fanny Durack, but the Americans made a name for themselves in the 1920s, led by Estheda Bleibtrey, who broke record after record, and Gertrude Ederle, who successfully swam across the English Channel. Dutch sprint swimmer Willie den Ouden and the Dane Ragnhild Hveger reigned during the 1930s. Some of the swimming celebrities after World War II were Australian Dawn Fraser, who swam the 100-meter freestyle in under a minute in 1962; the American Debbie Meyer and Germans Kornelia Ender and Ulrika Richter during the 1970s; and American Janet Evans and German Kristin Otto during the 1980s. The Australian Jodie Henry holds the world's record in the 100-meter freestyle.

Governing Body

By the end of the nineteenth century, swimming was already subject to national regulations through specific or

multisports associations in a number of countries where it was practiced. The first really international organization dates back to 1908, when J. de Courcy-Laffan, secretary general of the organizing committee of the London Games, proposed that a set of international rules modeled on the English federations be adopted for each sport discipline. For swimming regulations, he appointed ASA President George Hearn, who worked with fellow Englishman William Henry (the founder of the Life Saving Society), German-born Olympic swimmer Max Ritter, and Swedish swimmer Hjalmar Johansson to accomplish the task. Hearn took advantage of the occasion to call delegates from ten countries to a meeting on 19 July 1908, for the purpose of founding the Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur (FINA). FINA's objectives were to establish rules for international swimming events, keep a list of official world records, and organize swimming events at the Olympic Games.

FINA, headquartered in Lausanne, Switzerland, has been the highest authority for international swimming ever since. In 2004 it included 223 national federations, which represented 42 African, 48 American, 44 Asian, 68 European, and 21 Oceanic countries. FINA also recognizes five continental organizations. These are the Confédération Africaine de Natation Amateur, the Amateur Swimming Union of the Americas, the Asian Amateur Swimming Federation, the Oceania Swimming Association, and the Ligue Européenne de Natation (the oldest one, founded in 1926).

Each continental organization coordinates its own championships. The European championships, which have been held since 1926, are the oldest. Since 1976, these have taken place each year as a function of the organization of the Summer Olympic Games. The Pan-American Games have been taking place every four years (during the year that precedes the Olympic Games) since 1951. A Latin Cup was added in 1977, and in Europe, a European Cup has been pitting national teams against one another since 1969.

Thierry Terret

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Swimming, Synchronized

From the interwar period on, the main vehicles for synchronized swimming were shows and musicals. The activity only began to acquire status as a genuine sport during the 1950s, when it was included as an official event by the Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur (FINA). It began to spread internationally during the second half of the twentieth century, finally gaining Olympic recognition in 1984, although even then it was not considered a major sport. Synchronized swimming is essentially a feminine sport, and one in which North Americans have traditionally excelled.

History

Aquatic practices called "fancy swimming" or "ornamental swimming" developed in England during the mid-nineteenth century. Swimmers assumed unusual positions and performed unusual figures in the water, either during utilitarian swimming or as a feature of professional swimming exhibitions. Around the turn of the century, swimmers competed in "tricks and stunts"



in England and Canada, and both men and women participated in displays of aquatic gymnastics in Germany, Belgium, France, and the Netherlands.

In 1907, Australian swimming champion Annette Kellerman (1887–1975), who was celebrated as “the most beautiful woman in the world,” took aquatic practices down an even more aesthetically pleasing and spectacular route. She went on tour after tour in Europe and North America, where her aquatic exhibitions drew in tens of thousands of spectators. Her success inspired the development of water pageants in a number of North American colleges, universities, and associations during and following World War I.

University of Wisconsin student Katharine Curtis was the first to combine aquatic figures and music. Curtis created the first synchronized swimming club (the Tarpon Club) in 1923 in Chicago, where she developed what was called rhythmic swimming. This used combinations that were synchronized with the beat of the music. Her students, the “Modern Mermaids,” were invited to Chicago’s 1933–1934 Century of Progress Fair to give demonstrations. It was to describe their exhibition that the term “synchronized swimming” was first used.

Katharine Curtis’ initiatives led to two different orientations. The first one showcased the spectacular aspect. In 1939, commercial performances called “aquacades” started to develop in the United States. Aquacades featured former swimming champions starring in extravagant productions; among these, Esther Williams played a considerable role in making synchronized swimming popular. She became a star in aqua movie musicals such as *Bathing Beauty* and *Neptune’s Daughter*. The second orientation developed when some of Curtis’ students decided to organize a competition between two of Chicago’s colleges. This took place on 27 May 1939; the following year, the swimming committee of the Amateur Athletic Union officially accepted the new activity. The first national championship took place in 1946, just after World War II, and Canada followed suit five years later. During the 1950s, championships included events in the

solo, duet, and team categories. These were performed in costume and to music.

Thanks to the spread of competition in North America and the popularity of the musicals featuring Esther Williams, synchronized swimming began to spread to the rest of the world. It was displayed at the Helsinki Olympic Games in 1952 and recognized officially by FINA that same year. Two years later, inspired by the Canadian and American experiences, FINA codified the discipline and included it in major international competitions.

Due to its hybrid entertainment-sport origins, however, the International Olympic Committee was much more reticent about admitting it into Olympic circles. The rebuff led synchronized swimming to shift during the 1970s from its choreographic and theatrical orientation to a practice that promoted a combination of endurance (long periods under water), strength (lifts), and even acrobatics, but also great virtuosity, charm, and poise. Finally recognized as a full-fledged sport, it was included in the Olympic program for the Los Angeles Games in 1984.

Although it is spectacular and garners a lot of media attention, synchronized swimming has a relatively limited audience and is practiced mostly in North America, Europe, and Japan. It is open to men in the United States; however, there are no mixed teams. In spite of a few attempts in Europe during the 1990s to include men, the international FINA and IOC regulations—along with most national federations—restrict the events to women only. Champions in synchronized swimming often use their sport skills to launch a career in aquatic shows—for example, Linda Shelley (American) and Murielle Hermine (French).

Nature of Synchronized Swimming

FINA regulations provide for solo, duet, team (from four to eight swimmers), and free routine combination events in synchronized swimming competitions. Each of the first three events contains figure competition, technical

Switzerland Olympics Results

2002 Winter Olympics: 3 Gold, 2 Silver, 6 Bronze

2004 Summer Olympics: 1 Gold, 1 Silver, 3 Bronze

routine, and free routine elements. In figure competition, the swimmer must perform four figures chosen from a list of required elements. The choice must be made known eighteen to forty-eight hours before the meet. For the technical routine, required elements are also chosen from a list, but may be performed to any music chosen by the swimmer. Time limits are specified for all parts of the routine, including the deck work that precedes immersion. In the free-routine event, swimmers are allowed to choose their own choreography.

Five to seven judges score each performance on a scale of 0 to 10 (in tenths of a point). A routine is judged on both technical merit components (execution, synchronization, and difficulty of strokes) and artistic components (musical interpretation and manner of presentation). FINA regulations provide for senior (ages 18 and over) and junior (ages 15 to 18) categories, as well as for three different age groups (ages 12 and under, ages 13 to 15, and ages 16 to 18). In practice, elite swimmers are usually under 23, but there are master competitions for swimmers over 25.

Competition at the Top

The major synchronized swimming competitions are the Olympic Games (since 1984), the World Championships (since 1973), the Goodwill Games (since 1990), and the Continental Championships. There are also a number of open international meetings with more flexible rules. These often take place at the same time as the national championships in the organizing country (for example, the Swiss Open, the Roma Sincro, and the French Open). The United States and Canada have historically been the leaders in competitive synchronized swimming. However, since the 1980s the North American dominance has been challenged by Japan, which places third in major championships on a regular basis; by Russia; and to a lesser extent, by France. The undisputed stars of Olympic synchronized swimming are the American Tracie Ruiz, with two gold medals at the 1984 Los Angeles Games, and the Russian Anna Kozlova,

with three gold medals at the 1992 Barcelona Games. The Russian swimmers were the big winners at the 2004 Athens Games.

Thierry Terret

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Switzerland

Switzerland occupies 41,290 square kilometers in central Europe; the Alps is its defining feature. Bern is the capital and Zurich is the largest city, with 971,800 of Switzerland's 7.5 million inhabitants. Sports mirror class divisions and the tension between tradition and modernism. Football (soccer), downhill skiing, curling, gymnastics, ice hockey, cycling, *schwingen* (a kind of wrestling), and *hornussen* (a team game) remain popular even as beach volleyball attracts a new generation of Swiss athletes.

History

Switzerland's indigenous sports developed from pagan religious rituals. A seventeenth-century letter describes how peasants in Schwarzenburg would gather on Christmas night to seek justice and the favor of the gods. Rivals wrestled one another and the man who threw his opponent to the ground was considered chosen by the gods. From this event evolved *schwingen*, a variant of wrestling in which a match ends when a wrestler loses hold of his opponent or is pinned to the ground. Every August men and women still gather at the Swiss Alpine Herdsmen's Festival in Interlaken to wrestle and also to see who can throw an 83-kilogram



Switzerland

Key Events in Switzerland Sports History

- 1840s** Gymnastics are incorporated into the school curriculum.
- 1896** Switzerland participates in the first modern Olympics.
- 1911** The Tour de France adds a stage through the Swiss Alps.
- 1936** The Tour de Suisse cycle race is inaugurated.
- 1948** Hedy Schlanegger is the first Swiss woman to win an Olympic gold medal in downhill skiing.
- 1985** Swiss women compete in the first Schweizer Cup.
- 1999** Beach volleyball has become a popular sport.

granite block the farthest. According to folklore, *hornussen*, another indigenous sport, developed from the practice of using a long stick to rid malevolent spirits from one's property. *Hornussen* pits teams of sixteen to eighteen players against one another. A member of the offense strikes a disk toward the defense with his stick. The offense scores a point when the disk soars past the defenders, whereas the defense tallies a point when a defender knocks the disk to the ground with his shield.

In the 1840s Swiss teacher Adolph Spiess integrated gymnastics into the curriculum, a movement that led schools, and by extension the government, to sponsor sports. Swiss schools resemble American precollegiate schools in mandating sports as part of the curriculum and they resemble American high schools and colleges in fielding teams for competition.

Participant and Spectator Sports

In 1883 German Wilhelm Paulche stoked interest in skiing by crossing the Bernese Oberland in the Swiss Alps on skis. After World War II the Swiss government and



Switzerland

Alpine Mountaineering, 1541

Konrad von Gesner (1516–1565), a Swiss naturalist, wrote of the wonders of mountain climbing in the extract below, from a letter to his friend, Vogel of Glarus.

I have resolved for the future, so long as God grants me life, to ascend divers mountains every year, or at least one, in the season when vegetation is at its height, partly for botanical observation, partly for the worthy exercise of the body and recreation of the mind. What must be the pleasure, think you, what the delight of a mind rightly touched, to gaze upon the huge mountain masses for one's show, and, as it were, lift one's head into the clouds? The soul is strangely rapt with these astonishing heights, and carried off to the contemplation of the one supreme Architect Philosophers will always feast the eyes of body and mind on the goodly things of this earthly paradise; and by no means least among these are the abruptly soaring summits, the trackless steeps, the vast slopes rising to the sky, the rugged rocks, the shady woods.

private entrepreneurs established ski resorts and training facilities to nurture enthusiasm for downhill skiing.

Since 1911 the Tour de France has included the Swiss Alps among its stages, and seldom has any cyclist captured the Tour without triumphing in the Alps, making them the arbiter of victory. In 1936 the Swiss Cycling Federation modeled the Tour de Suisse after the Tour de France. The nine-stage race every June is the final European stage race before the Tour de France. Between 23 and 25 July 1999 Switzerland hosted 737 couriers from the United States and Europe in the Cycle Messenger World Championships.

Since the resumption of the Olympic Games in 1896, Switzerland has won 183 medals in the Summer



A snow covered golf course in the Swiss Alps. The sign says: “warning—golfballs” in German.

Source: istockphoto/StyleP

Switzerland, Germany, France, and Italy. That year the first Six Country Tournament drew women’s teams from Switzerland, Finland, Germany, France, Denmark, and the United States. Swiss women won the World Curling Championship in 1983 and since 1988 have competed in the Tour de Suisse Feminin, a five-stage race held every September, the last event of the Women’s Cycling World Cup. In 2004 Switzerland ranked seventeenth in the world in Women’s Beach Volleyball, and since 1999 the country has hosted women pairs in the Beach Volleyball World Tour.

Youth Sports

Every village in Switzerland has a football club, many with members as young as age four. Swiss schools divide boys and girls into six levels and teams practice two to five times per week. Some children play unihockey as an inex-

Games and 103 in the Winter Games, ranking nineteenth of 146 countries and eighth of 43, respectively.

Women and Sport

Hedy Schlanegger signaled the ascent of Swiss women to elite status in 1948 when she became the first Swiss woman to win an Olympic gold medal in downhill skiing. In 1980 a school in Fribourg started the first women’s ice hockey team in Switzerland. In 1983 Swiss women trained at the first Oschner Camp, and the next year the Swiss Ice Hockey Federation admitted women. In 1985 Swiss women competed in the first Schweizer Cup, which by 1990 fielded women’s teams from

expensive alternative to ice hockey. Rather than an ice rink and skates and pads, children use the school gymnasium floor, gym shoes, and street clothes. Leysin Camp, 1.2 kilometers above Lake Geneva, is one of several retreats for foreigners and Swiss ages ten to seventeen; the camp offers two- to four-week sessions in downhill skiing, ice skating, tennis, swimming, and football.

Organizations

Lausanne is home to the International Olympic Committee, the governing body of the Olympic Games, and to the Federation Internationale de Volleyball, sponsor of the Beach Volleyball World Tour. Zurich is head-



Switzerland

Swiss Folk Wrestling, 1611

The letter below, from a Swiss court to the government in 1611, condemns a traditional folk ritual wrestling match.

We have heard that the common people (*das gemeine Volk*), as peasants and farm-servants, here in Schwarzenburg for a long time have been meeting on Christmas night at the place where the religious and secular justice is administered, and hold there a wrestling match (*Schwinget*) until midnight. They challenge and try their strength against each other, and who throws the other on the ground becomes famous hereby. They also believe that who trains that night will be vigorous and healthy the coming year. They do not only put faith into this superstition, but they also, as it has often happened, damage their limbs, shed their blood, and this leads to loud crying, cursing, swearing and other frivolous manners. Some come even from Freiburg to participate. Some have already been punished and this event has been forbidden and condemned by our decree.

Schaufelberger, W. (1972). *Der wetkampf in der alien eidgenossenschaft* (Vol. 1, pp. 22<N>23). Bern, Switzerland: Paul Haupt.

quarters of the Federation Internationale de Football Association, sponsor of the World Cup. The national affiliate is the Association Suisse de Football.

Sports in Society

The most notable social phenomenon may be the rise of beach volleyball, a sport that combines athleticism and sex appeal with women in two-piece outfits and men in shorts, attire that reveals muscle tone and suntan. Beach volleyball advertises itself as a free-spirited alternative to traditional sports, whereas Swiss conservatives lament it as hedonistic and sensual. Sports mirror class divisions in Switzerland, with the affluent apt to participate in ice

The manners of mountaineers are commonly savage, but they are rather produced by their situation than derived from their ancestors. ■ SAMUEL JOHNSON

hockey, tennis, downhill skiing, and swimming, and the less affluent in unihockey, football, and *hornussen*. Sports also underscore cultural attitudes, with traditionalists extolling *hornussen* and *schwingen* as symbols of national pride and modernists anticipating beach volleyball as a movement that will open Switzerland to American popular culture and fashion.

Traditionalists and modernists alike suffered a setback when the International Olympic Committee (IOC) awarded the 2006 Winter Games to Turin, Italy, rather than to Sion, Switzerland. Swiss athletes and officials condemned the decision as retaliation against Swiss attorney and IOC official Marc Hedler for alleging that since 1996 countries have bought the right to host the Games.

The Future

The IOC decision to award the 2006 Winter Games to Turin may exacerbate the rivalry between Switzerland and Italy. However, the future of sports in Switzerland may lie less with Europe than with the United States as American popular culture permeates Switzerland. Such a future may not imperil football and *hornussen*, but downhill skiing may lose ground if beach volleyball lures athletes and spectators to sun and sand. Much depends on the balance young Swiss athletes strike between tradition and modernism.

Christopher Cumo

See also St. Moritz

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Switzerland

Football Fans Tackle Heidi

Once upon a time, a Swiss heroine named Heidi changed how football was broadcast by U.S. television networks. On 17 November 1968, NBC aired a matchup between the New York Jets and Oakland Raiders that football historians call the “Heidi Game.” A made-for-TV movie of the classic children’s novel *Heidi* was set to premiere at 7 p.m. The game had just a little more than a minute to go when the network went to a commercial and then right to the airing of *Heidi*. NBC lived to regret that decision because in the last minute of play, the balance shifted dramatically. The score had been 32–29, with the Jets leading. Here’s how sportswriter Phil Barber describes the scene as football fans saw their game replaced by Heidi frolicking in the Swiss Alps:

What happened was a torrent of angry calls from East Coast couch potatoes, who asked, in colorful terms, why a spunky little girl had replaced their football game. They flooded the switchboard at

Manhattan’s Rockefeller Plaza and crashed the phone exchange.

As it happened, they missed a fairly exciting 65 seconds. Lamonica threw a 43-yard touchdown pass to halfback Charlie Smith with 42 seconds to play, giving Oakland a 36–32 lead. The ensuing kickoff sputtered free and Riddlehuber, the Raiders’ reserve fullback, picked it up and ran into the end zone. The Raiders had scored 14 points in a shorter time than it took Heidi to yodel.

To make sure that there would never be another “Heidi Game,” TV networks adopted a policy of staying with a sporting event until it was over—letting the programming schedule “slide”—which is why American viewers now sometimes find themselves waiting an extra 60 minutes for *60 Minutes* to begin.

Marcy Ross

Source: Barber, P. (1999, November 24). No. 10: The Heidi Game. <http://www.nfl.com/news/mostmemorable10.html>



Table Tennis

Taekwondo

Tai Chi

Technology

Tennis

Title IX

Tour de France

**Track and Field—
Jumping and Throwing**

**Track and Field—
Running and Hurdling**

Tug of War

Turkey

Turner Festivals



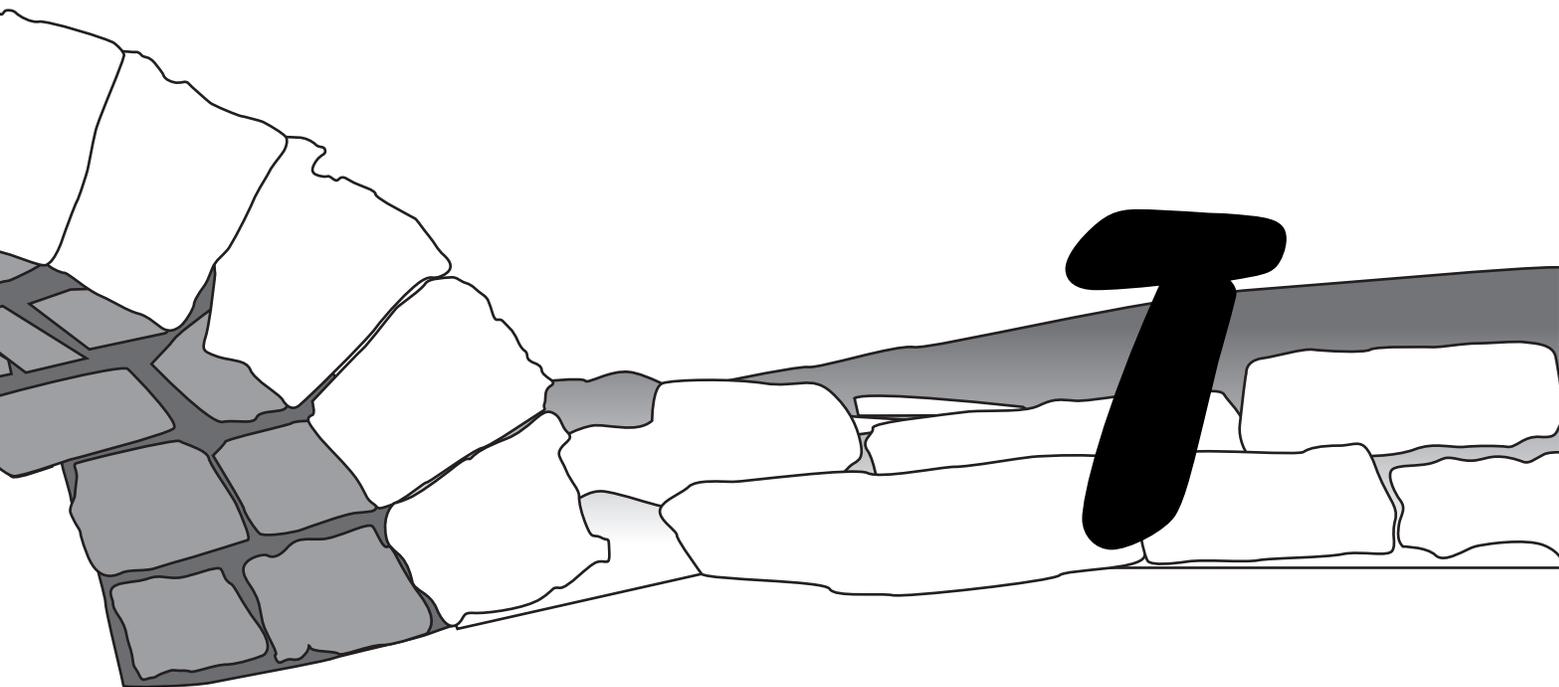
Table Tennis

Table tennis—also known by the trademark name “Ping-Pong”—began to find mass acceptance at the beginning of the twentieth century after people had looked upon it during the late nineteenth century as an extension of an entertaining board game, an after-dinner social diversion among the English upper classes.

In 1926 table tennis became a competitive sport under the auspices of the newly established International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF). By then the sport had spread deep into the masses, even in Asia. In the May–June 1992 issue of the United States Table Tennis Association’s publication *Table Tennis Topics*, Edward Bilinski wrote of his interview with a seventy-one-year-old man who won a small tournament in 1932 in Xizhou, China. The conditions had been primitive: just one table with a net but without a white center line for doubles play; a single forty-watt bulb; a poorly glued celluloid ball, wobbly because of the grit lodged in its seams; and nailed boards shaped into rackets. This account hinted that players in China might eventually take the sport seriously.

However, the dominance of Japan and then China did not become manifest to the West until the 1950s, when Asian players, using the supposedly outdated pen-hold grip (European players used the shake-hand grip), began winning ITTF world championships.

World championships began in 1926, and the ITTF, composed of associations from more than 170 countries, continues to supervise these and other world title



events, including a biennial world veterans event (for those forty to eighty years of age). Beginning in 1988 table tennis became part of the Olympic Games.

Since tournament play began, controversies have arisen, such as over the use of illegal serves (still an issue today) and over nonattacking, interminably slow play. Consequently, rules have been changed. For example, in 1936–1937 U.S. tournaments the net was lowered from 17.1 to 15.3 centimeters. However, nothing has been more controversial than the advent of rackets with sponge rubber-based surfaces during the 1950s. With these rackets the Japanese began to win world championships, and the rackets have proliferated since.

Players may use various grips, but with regard to the sport's essential characteristics of spin and speed and the athleticism that championship play requires, the technological changes in the racket surfaces during the last fifty years have brought about great changes. Indeed, one can speak of table tennis before sponge and table tennis after sponge as virtually two different games.

Meanwhile, the best players—the Chinese and Swedish men and the Chinese and South Korean women—continue to excel, as do their lesser counterparts, in leagues and tournaments in East and West.

The ITTF continues to serve as a miniature United Nations, and in 1991 it enabled a combined North and South Korean team to participate in the world championships. The year 2001 marked the thirtieth anniversary of the “Ping-Pong diplomacy” visit of the U.S. table tennis team to a China that would forever be changed.

Origins

Table tennis is generally considered to be of English origin. People—mostly formally dressed gentlefolk—played miniature “tennis” indoors in England during the 1880s and 1890s. The table usually was set up in a dining room or parlor. Players sometimes improvised nets of woven fabric, taut towels, stringed bottles, or books. Long-handled, hollow, vellum rackets eventually were replaced by short-handled wooden rackets covered with cork, sandpaper, and, as the sport grew during the first years of the 1900s, pimped rubber. The pips-out rubber offered better spin and control. In progressing from swatting at crude balls carved from champagne corks, players came to prefer celluloid balls.

Development

By the beginning of the twentieth century table tennis had outgrown the drawing rooms of the British upper classes. People from every walk of life were playing the sport. Indeed, from 1900 to 1902 a table tennis craze swept Britain and the United States. The sport was athletic and inexpensive and provided families with wholesome entertainment. Table tennis postcards, party invitations, and even musical pieces were popular. A great demand existed for equipment, and boxed sets sold well. In England many table tennis clubs were formed, and tournaments, some offering prizes, were held.

Arnold “Ping-Pong” Parker of England (no relation to Parker Brothers, the game manufacturers who in 1928 patented the trade name “Ping-Pong” in the United States) was a turn-of-the-century star player and



authority. He devised some much needed rules, one of which championed the double-bounce serve. The double-bounce serve is now the standard, but, despite Parker's influence, it wasn't always so. Although table tennis was in some ways similar to lawn tennis, players realized that some modification had to be made to the single-bounce tennis serve (in which the server's ball cannot bounce until it is on the opponent's side). Because serving overhand would be viciously absurd, an early rule required an underhand, one-bounce serve. As the server hit the ball from behind and within the end lengths of the table, perhaps even from a line drawn behind the table, only the handle of the racket could be above the waist. Thus, by the late 1920s in the United States many players used the forehand-favoring, blade-down penholder grip instead of the double-winged, shake-hands tennis grip.

In 1922 a Cambridge University student, Ivor Montagu of England, began to codify the rules of the sport, including the retention of the double-bounce serve. In January 1926 Montagu, with representatives from Austria, Germany, Hungary, and Sweden, met in Berlin. With Dr. Georg Lehmann, president of the Deutscher Tischtennis-Bund, taking the initiative, the ITTF was organized. Montagu was its first and longest-serving president (1926–1967).

The ITTF held its first world championship in 1926 in London. Lady Swaythling, Montagu's mother, donated a trophy cup for the men's team matches, and six European countries and India competed for it. A men's singles (with fifty-one players) championship and a men's doubles championship were decided. Women's doubles were not introduced until 1928, and women's team matches for the Marcel Corbillon Cup were not introduced until 1933 in Paris. However, in 1926 the women had their own singles championship (fourteen players) and also mixed doubles.

During the early 1920s Montagu and his Cambridge friends, with the help of a leading English manufacturer, Jaques, had reestablished the English Ping-Pong Association, but when Jaques insisted that players use Jaques equipment, Montagu's group changed its name to the

"Table Tennis Association." A similar event occurred almost a decade later in the United States when players balked at using only Parker Brothers equipment in American Ping-Pong Association (APPA) tournaments sponsored by Parker Brothers. Although the 1930 Metro and the 1931 First National APPA Championships, both held in New York City, were successful, New York area players, wanting to preserve their independence, broke away from the APPA to form the New York Table Tennis Association (NYTTA) and to hold their own national championships. By 1935 APPA players had joined, as the NYTTA players had earlier, the United States Table Tennis Association (USTTA). Upon its formation in 1933, this association (in 1993 renamed "USA Table Tennis" or "USATT" at its Colorado Springs Olympic Headquarters) affiliated with the ITTF.

At the first APPA tournaments (men only; women were soon to follow), one could see that table tennis is a great social leveler and that the immigrant influx was strong. Evelyn Seeley, writing in 1930 in the *New York World-Telegram*, spoke of "an amazing miscellaneous group" of participants. "Bankers and brokers . . . office boys and clerks, yachtsmen and Y.M.C.A. boys." A number of players, she said, "spoke in Continental accents."

Hungary at the Top

In the beginning Hungarian players dominated the world championships—particularly five-time world champion Maria Mednyanszky, two-time world champion Anna Sipos, and the "Three Musketeers," Victor Barna, Miklos "Mike" Szabados, and Laszlo "Laci" Bellak. Among other European world champions before the Asian ascendancy during the 1950s were Czechoslovakia's Bohumil Vana and Marie Kettnerova, Hungary's Gizella "Gizi" Farkas and Ferenc Sido, Romania's Angelica Rozeanu, and England's Johnny Leach.

The most famous person in table tennis perhaps is Victor Barna (born Berna). Known for his signature stroke, the backhand flick, he won twenty of his twenty-two world titles before he broke his playing arm in a car accident at age twenty-three. That arm was said to be insured for \$10,000, but, as Barna said, "with that crash



Chinese children learning table tennis.

During the 1940s, after such U.S. stars as Lou Pagliaro, Marty Reisman, Leah Neuberger, Thelma Thall, and Dick Miles had been more or less just putting the ball into play, Asian players, about to become the world's best, would aim to win the point as quickly as possible. Ichiro Ogimura of Japan, the 1954 and 1956 world champion, although using open-palm serves, nonetheless was able to get an immediate advantage by squatting and, with a swipe of the racket, spinning (or deceptively not spinning) the ball; he would then look to sock away the return (in what is called a "third-ball attack") or maneuver to sock away the next return (in what is called a "fifth-ball attack").

went a part of my game never to return." After his first exhibition tour of the United States in 1934–1935, Barna was the first player to warn the ITTF of the havoc that fingerspin serves could cause. As practiced by the 1930s U.S. singles and world doubles champions Sol Schiff and Jimmy McClure and to a lesser degree by Europeans, these serves eventually forced a service rule stating that the ball must initially rest on the flat open palm and be thrown up without any fingerspin. Otherwise, players frustrated their opponents in various ways: They would rub the ball against the racket and let it fly, with index and middle finger throw the ball in a wheel-like motion at different positions on the racket to make it bounce crazily, shoot the ball off like a wobbly marble, snapped from a thumb, or even nick the celluloid ball with a fingernail to cause it to hop like a Mexican jumping bean. Often, if the opponent was lucky enough to return the ball, it would present a set-up, an easy point-winning follow for the server.

By the mid-1970s, after three-time world champion Zhuang Zedong, his perennial runner-up Li Furong, and long-pips initiator Zhang Xielin had established the supremacy of China, other players establishing themselves after China's Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) showed further inventiveness: By tossing the ball up 6 meters, then pivoting into the drop, Hsu Shao-fa found new spins and new deceptions, and Huang Liang, taking advantage of technology, used still-unfamiliar long pips-out rubber to defeat opponents with unreadable spins.

Into the 1980s and 1990s players and officials had to cope with behind-the-back illegal serves and players who legally "hid the ball" on service. Deception remains an integral part of table tennis. Players must learn how to "read" not only the spin on the ball but also the movements of the opponent and to anticipate how best to react to them.

Another problem of the 1930s was the interminably long play that would occur when two inveterate

*One man practicing
sportsmanship is far better than
fifty preaching it.* ■ KNUTE ROCKNE

defenders played a match in which both simply “chiseled,” that is, pushed the ball passively back and forth, waiting for the other to miss. One point scored at the world championships in 1936 lasted more than two hours! Naturally, a rule to expedite play had to be devised, and variations were not always to a player’s liking.

The U.S. team was displeased when defending world women’s singles champion Ruth Aarons was disqualified from defending her title in the 1937 final, along with her Austrian opponent Gertrude “Trude” Pritzi, for not finishing their match in the allotted time. Not long after, the four-time world champion, Richard Bergmann of England, reportedly put three alarm clocks under the playing table because a new rule mandated that if a game wasn’t finished in twenty minutes, whoever was ahead would be awarded the game. Thus, iconoclastic Bergmann set his clocks to go off at intervals to warn him of his lapsed playing time. Predictably the clocks were soon banned.

Today the “expedite rule” stresses a fifteen-minute time period for any one game. Then, if the game isn’t finished, players must alternate services for the rest of the match, with the stipulation that if the server’s opponent returns a thirteenth ball he automatically wins the point.

Spin Doctors

However, by the 1970s the likelihood of slow, boring play was slight with the super topspin game of the Hungarians Tibor Klampar, Istvan Jonyer, and Gabor Gergely, who, if forced to their far forehand side, could loop the ball around the table net posts with the precision of a bowler spinning strikes into a pocket. The same applies to the attack of not only the Chinese stars but also the Swedish world champions of the 1970s, led by Kjell Johansson, Hans Alser, and Stellan Bengtsson.

Japanese women won six out of seven world women’s singles titles from 1956 through 1969, with two-time winner Kimiyo Matsuzaki leading the way. Japanese men were also successful after Hiroji Satoh’s world championship win in Mumbai (Bombay), India, in 1952. Since then, however, the Japanese have been un-

able to match their Chinese and Korean neighbors. In his book *Songs of International Friendship*, Hikosuke Tamasu, the “Butterfly” table tennis manufacturer, says that at a Japanese training camp during the 1960s players were not permitted to go to bed until they had hit one thousand forehands in a row without a miss. Thirty years later he said players lack not only what technology has made ever more indispensable—paid professional coaching—but also dedication and love of the game.

After emerging from their Cultural Revolution, the Chinese coined the diplomacy slogan, “Friendship first, competition second,” and reacquainted the world, especially the so-called Third World of Asian, African, and Latin American countries, with their table tennis expertise—and their friendly propaganda. Only once during the 1970s did China have a world men’s singles champion: Hsi En-ting. The table tennis historian Zdenko Uzorinac said Hsi “tattooed” his nonplaying hand “with thoughts of great thinkers.” Hsi said, “I played with both hands, the one in which I held the racket and the other which inspired me with wise sayings that led me to victory.”

China’s diplomacy went so far as to occasionally allow Chinese players to take it easy on their opponents, even, some thought, in major championships. Could this fact account for a number of European teams winning world doubles titles? Perhaps. However, given the opportunity, stars such as Russia’s Stanislav Gomozkov, Romania’s Maria Alexandru, Yugoslavia’s Dragutin Surbek, France’s Jacques Secretin, and Germany’s Jorg Roszkopf were capable of rising to the occasion.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, a new wave of Swedish athletes—Jorgen Persson, Erik Lindh, Jan-Ove Waldner, Mikael Appelgren, and Peter Karlsson—won championships. These victories showed what a country—with a total population less than any one of China’s three largest cities—could do with an excellent table tennis development program, a unifying team spirit, and a will to win.

However, the Chinese have come back. At the 2004 Summer Olympics in Athens, Greece, 172 athletes



competed in table tennis. China won three gold medals, one silver, and two bronze: In men's singles Hao Wang won silver, and Liqin Wang won bronze; in women's singles Yining Zhang won gold; in men's doubles Qi Chen and Lin Ma won gold; in women's doubles Nan Wang and Yining Zhang won gold, and Yue Guo and Niu Jianfeng won bronze. China's closest competition, South Korea, won one gold, one silver, and one bronze.

In late 2004 the ITTF ranked four Chinese players among the top six players in the world: Hao Wang, Liqin Wang, Lin Ma, and Qi Chen.

At the 2004 ITTF Men's and Women's World Cup in Xiaoshang, China, defending champion Lin Ma of China retained his title when he beat Kalinikos Kreanga of Greece in six games to win the event for the third time in his career.

The Future

Perhaps their old problem faces the Chinese anew: With their strong sense of national pride, their large pool of top players and coaches, and their professional approach to table tennis, who can beat them? Are China's table tennis players perhaps too good for the sport's advancement?

Tim Boggan

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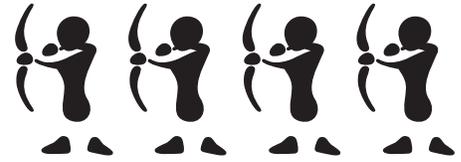
Taekwondo

Taekwondo is a Korean martial art that utilizes kicks, hand strikes, and blocks for self-defense, sport, and artistic expression. Taekwondo tournaments may include competition in sparring, prearranged patterns, or “forms,” and board breaking. In English translation *tae* means foot, *kwon* means hand or fist, and *do* means way—the way of hand and foot. Alternative spellings for taekwondo include tae kwon do, taekwon-do, and t'aegwondo. Taekwondo was developed in Korea, but in the past few decades it has become the most widely practiced martial art in the world. The basic techniques of taekwondo have been practiced for the past two thousand years, but the sport as practiced today was developed during the 1940s.

History

The history of taekwondo is interwoven with martial arts that have been developing since first practiced in primitive cultures throughout the Far East. Many martial arts historians trace the origins of Eastern martial arts to India, and particularly to the Buddhist monk Bodhidharma, who taught martial arts exercises to monks in the Shaolin temple in China. From there kung fu was developed and then spread throughout China. Monks, warlords, and merchants traveling to other countries brought their martial arts practices with them and transmitted them to other cultures. Korea was an intermediary for the passage of new techniques and ideas from China to Japan and Okinawa.

According to the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF), the roots and development of the art lie solely within the



Korean peninsula, and techniques were originally developed from fighting against beasts and other humans. Taekwondo was part of the physical training for young warriors dating back to the Silla Kingdom in 57 BC. Subak and taekkyon were early names for taekwondo.

During the Japanese occupation of Korea, the practice of Korean martial arts was forbidden for nationalistic reasons. Taekkyon training went underground during that time, and was only practiced again openly after 1945. It was during the Japanese occupation that the father of modern taekwondo, General Hong Hi Choi, began his martial arts training. As a boy he learned taekkyon, a Korean kicking art, and in 1937 he was sent to Japan where he attained a first degree black belt in karate, an art that relies more on hand techniques. Choi was forced to enlist in the Japanese army when World War II broke out, but eventually he was implicated as a planner of the Korean Independence Movement and was imprisoned in Japan. It was during this time in prison that Choi developed modern taekwondo from his training in taekkyon and karate.

Choi continued to develop taekwondo, and in 1953 he spearheaded the introduction of taekwondo training for the Korean military. During the same period other martial arts schools, or *kwans*, were spreading throughout Korea, many using similar techniques derived from taekkyon, karate, and other martial arts. In 1955 the kwans combined together to form one art that was recognized as a Korean martial art, and it was formally named “taekwondo.” General Choi and other taekwondo masters then began touring the world and spread the practice of taekwondo to many countries. In 1960 General Choi visited the United States and persuaded Jhoon Rhee, a karate instructor, to rename his school Taekwon-Do. Jhoon Rhee is recognized as the father of taekwondo in the United States, and he was instrumental in spreading the art throughout the country. Taekwondo was accepted into the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) in 1974, and the United States Taekwondo Union (USTU) was formed.

In 1966 General Choi made a goodwill visit to North Korea, which caused him to fall into disgrace with the

South Koreans. To this day General Choi is not mentioned in the history of taekwondo on the official WTF website. That year General Choi left the Korea Taekwondo Association (KTA) and created the International Taekwon-Do Federation (ITF), with nine charter member countries. Until his death in 2002, General Choi continued to visit other countries and work to spread taekwondo throughout the world.

In 1973 the KTA became the WTF. The ITF remained under the control of General Choi, and its practitioners were thought to be more traditional. The WTF began to place more emphasis on sparring and became more sport-oriented. There have been attempts to bring the two federations together, so far without success. The political fallout from General Choi’s visit to North Korea, and his belief that taekwondo should be taught there, created a rift that has yet to be bridged. Currently the ITF style of taekwondo is thought to be more traditional than the WTF style, tournaments are not full-contact, students practice forms developed by General Choi, and the ITF style of taekwondo is still considered to be a “martial art.” The WTF created its own forms, uses full-contact sparring, and their style of taekwondo is now considered to be more of a “martial sport.”

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) recognized taekwondo as an amateur sport in 1980. Under the sparring rules for Olympic taekwondo, kicks and punches were allowed to the body, but only kicks were allowed to the head. The reason for disallowing punches to the head was that taekwondo is an art that is famous for kicking, and allowing punches to the head would lead to more of a boxing style competition. For children, however, kicks to the head were against the rules for safety reasons. Recently the United States Olympic Committee changed the rule to allow children to score points with kicks to the head, a ruling that caused controversy because of the perceived danger.

The social context of taekwondo is an important part of the art and sport. For many practitioners of taekwondo, the art is a way of life. Taekwondo students learn the Five Tenets of Taekwondo, which are courtesy, integrity, self-control, perseverance, and indom-

itable spirit. There are strict rules for etiquette, and breaching these rules may lead to expulsion from one's school. Etiquette rules include addressing superiors properly, bowing when entering and leaving the practice hall (*dojang*), bowing to instructors, black belts, flags, practice partners, and, at the beginning and end of class, wearing the uniform properly, facing away from others when straightening the uniform, and other rules. In some systems there are rules of etiquette that apply to social situations, such as order of seating at the table, how to make proper introductions, and showing respect for one's elders. Rules of etiquette also apply to tournaments, and even at the Olympic level a competitor may be penalized for showing disrespect.

According to the Kukkiwon, which is the World Taekwondo Headquarters in Korea, taekwondo now has 50 million participants in 175 countries. One of the people taught by General Choi who went on to start a major taekwondo association was Haeng Ung Lee. Eternal Grandmaster Haeng Ung Lee founded the American Taekwondo Association in 1969, and there are now 300,000 members. The WTF is currently the largest taekwondo governing body in the world, followed by the ITF.

A major scandal occurred in the world of taekwondo when Kim Un-yong, president of the WTF and IOC member, was arrested in 2003. He was accused of embezzling over three million dollars from the WTF, and taking bribes. Kim was a longtime member of the IOC and had run for president of the organization. His IOC membership was suspended when he was indicted on charges of embezzlement and bribery, and he stepped down from his positions as a national legislator and as president of the WTF. Kim was sentenced to jail and fined \$680,000 in September 2004.

What Is Taekwondo?

Currently all Olympic competitors must be black belts, but in other tournaments there are divisions for competitors based on rank. Ranking in taekwondo is indicated by belt color. Taekwondo students start at the white belt level and then progress through color belt

levels until they reach first degree black belt. At each level students learn new forms and one-step sparring techniques, and are expected to demonstrate increasingly difficult board-breaking techniques. Testing may also include a written knowledge test of history, philosophy, and Korean terminology. It takes approximately three months to progress between ranks at the lower levels, and a longer amount of time the higher one progresses. In general it takes two to three years to progress from white belt to black belt. At the black belt level students are often expected to help teach, referee at tournaments, and take on other responsibilities. Progressing from one degree of black belt to the next can take several years. The highest rank in taekwondo is tenth degree, but generally ninth degree is the highest one may advance, and tenth degree may be granted as an honorary rank.

The WTF is the ruling body for Olympic-level taekwondo, and participants must have Kukkiwon certification of *dan* (degree of black belt). In sparring there are eight weight divisions for men and women, ten for boys and girls 14–17 years old in the World Junior Championships, and four for men and women in the Olympics. Men fight three rounds lasting three minutes each with one minute rest between rounds, and women and juniors fight three rounds lasting two minutes each with one minute of rest between rounds. The size of the sparring ring and the placement of judges and the contestants are specified in the rules. In the early years of taekwondo tournaments there was no safety equipment, but now equipment has been developed and refined for maximum safety. All contestants must wear the WTF-approved V-neck uniform, shin and forearm guards, mouthpiece, headgear, chest protector, and men must wear a groin guard. Headgear and chest protectors with electronic devices to score points are available in some tournaments. Commands to bow, begin, stop, and end are given in the Korean language. Fist strikes and kicks are allowed to the body on the chest protector, and kicks are allowed to the face. Kicking or punching to the spine, back of the head, or below the belt are against the rules, and attacking these areas results in

point deductions. One point is given for forceful attacks to the body, two points for attacks to the head, and one extra point if the opponent is knocked down and the referee counts. Matches are full-contact, continuous, and the winner is the contestant with the most points at the end of the three rounds. Below the Olympic level, WTF-sanctioned tournaments may also hold competition in forms.

Rules for “point tournaments” vary, and are often quite different from official WTF tournaments. In a point tournament there may be fewer or no weight classes. Divisions are based on belt rank, age, and gender. Full contact may be prohibited, and in some tournaments a competitor may be disqualified for “excessive contact.” Bouts are not continuous—judges stop the action to declare points. The winner is the contestant with the most points at the end of the match, or the one who reaches the designated number of points first. Hand techniques may be allowed to the head, and varying numbers of points may be awarded for specific techniques delivered to specific areas. Rules for youth may be different from adult rules, such as requiring less contact for a point to be scored, and in some tournaments boys and girls may spar against each other. The protective equipment required varies according to individual tournament rules, and may include hand and footgear in addition to the type of equipment required by the WTF. Point tournaments also generally include competition in forms and board breaking. Forms competitors are divided into divisions based on age and rank, and they may or may not be divided by gender.

The characteristics of taekwondo practitioners are varied. There are programs for children as young as three, and people are able to practice throughout their lives. Men and women, boys and girls, of all ages, throughout the world practice taekwondo. Studies concerning the personality traits of taekwondo practitioners have shown that it improves self-esteem and reduces aggression in children, and students holding higher belt ranks tend to be more demanding, enthusiastic and optimistic, self-reliant, and socially perceptive.

Competition at the Top

There are numerous national, regional, and international taekwondo tournaments. The World Taekwondo League holds competitions in four regional areas: Pan America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. Competitors must have Kukkiwon certification of *dan*, and competition rules are similar to WTF (Olympic) rules. Taekwondo competitions are also held in the Asian Games, South Pacific Games, Pan American Games, World Games, All-Africa Games, Southeast Asian Games, South American Games, Bolivarian Games, and Olympics.

The history of taekwondo in the Olympics starts prior to 1980. The WTF created standardized competition rules and forms as they began to bid for recognition by the IOC as the governing body for taekwondo in the world, and they gained that recognition in 1980. In 1985 taekwondo was accepted as a demonstration sport for the 1988 Olympics. Taekwondo was a demonstration sport in the 1988, 1992, and 1996 Olympics, and was accepted as a full Olympic sport for the 2000 games in Sydney.

Arlene Limas stands out as one of the major athletes in taekwondo. She competed in the Olympic games in Seoul, Korea, and was the first taekwondo athlete to ever win an Olympic gold medal. Ms. Limas retired in 2000 but has remained prominent in the Olympic movement in the United States, and she is an activist for athletes’ rights. Another athlete from the 1988 games, Jimmy Kim, was the first gold medalist in the men’s heavyweight division, and he was *Blackbelt Magazine*’s 1988 Male Competitor of the Year. Herb Perez was another gold medalist in the 1988 games who went on to achieve fame. He played Olympus on the television show *WMAC Masters*, and he has appeared in several books and videos. A more recent Olympic champion of note is American Steven Lopez, who won gold medals in both the 2000 Olympics in Sydney and the 2004 Olympics in Athens.

Ernie Reyes has not only won many taekwondo championships himself, but he set a record for training the most black-belt champions in one year with seven of his students from his West Coast team winning



national championships. He has been inducted into the Black Belt Hall of Fame, has appeared on the cover of every major martial arts magazine, and in 2003 was awarded a lifetime achievement award for twenty-five years of excellence.

Governing Bodies

Governing organizations include the World Taekwondo Federation (www.wtf.org/main.htm); Pan American Taekwondo Union (www.patuo.org); European Taekwondo Union (www.etuTaekwondo.org); United States Taekwondo Union (www.ustu.org); American Taekwondo Association; (www.ataonline.com); International Tae Kwon Do Association (www.itatkd.com); and World Taekwondo League (www.thewtl.com).

Erin Reilly

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Tai Chi

Tai chi is a Chinese martial art that is linked to the Daoist meditative, philosophical, and medical tradition. In China invalids and the elderly often perform the soft, slow movements of the popular Yang style of tai chi to strengthen the constitution and to promote

longevity. Advocates say that disciplined daily practice enhances the quality and circulation of *chi* (vital energy) within the body, improves bodily functions, tones muscles, and engenders a relaxed mental attitude. The majority of the millions of people who practice tai chi in China and elsewhere do so for these benefits, but tai chi also is a premier martial art that can be practiced even late in life.

Origins

Chinese legendary history attributes tai chi's origin to Zhang Sanfeng, a Daoist expert who was canonized in 1459, but tai chi entered recorded history centuries later as a martial art practiced esoterically by the people of Chenjiagou in Henan Province. A form of the art was first demonstrated and taught in public in Beijing by Yang Luchan (1799–1872), who had learned it in Chenjiagou. Scholars say Yang accepted all challenges from the many Beijing martial arts masters, never to be defeated and never to seriously injure an opponent. He became known as “Yang the Invincible” and was appointed martial arts instructor to the imperial court. Yang Luchan publicly taught the slow and soft performance of a lengthy sequence of patterns, but he transmitted a much larger and more varied body of lore to his private students, a practice in keeping with martial arts tradition. Popular conceptions of tai chi as an only vaguely martial exercise, although beneficial to health and longevity, are drawn from Yang's and his successors' publicly taught form. This process of simplifying and softening has made tai chi accessible to many more people than would otherwise be the case. However, the more obviously martial and physically strenuous Chen style continues to be practiced, as do the derivative Sun, Wu, and Hao styles.

Practice

As a martial art tai chi employs a subtlety of touch to sense an opponent's strength in order to redirect his or her motion so that one's defensive movement neutralizes it and becomes a counterattack as well. In describing this capacity practitioners use such phrases as “when the

opponent is still, be still; when the opponent moves, move first,” and “use four ounces to deflect a thousand pounds.” The technique depends upon the ability to maintain gentle physical contact with the opponent without resisting, that is, to never meet force with force. The tai chi player’s counter to the aggressive move, after the instant has been seized and the movement’s force captured, can be any of several techniques. Most benignly and simply, the tai chi player can accelerate or redirect the opponent’s motion, sending him or her many feet away. Alternatively, a player can use any of several in-fighting techniques, ranging from low kicks to punches to open-hand strikes and grappling techniques, singly or in combination, practically simultaneously with blending with the opponent’s force. The initial contact is said to be as soft as cotton; the counter that it becomes is said to be as springy as steel.

The strength, sensitivity, skill, and mental attitude required to perform such feats spontaneously and without effort are cultivated partly by the practice of solo forms (sequences of patterns) and partly by other means. Forms vary in length and in their composition and sequence of techniques; players can practice them at different speeds with larger or smaller patterns and in higher or lower stances. In some forms the tempo is even; in others it varies. Instructors say a player should practice forms with the continuity of one “reeling silk from a cocoon.” In appearance form practice should resemble an eagle in flight; the attitude should be that of a cat when about to pounce on a mouse. Form practice is a kind of meditation in motion and requires concentration without tension. Paired practice routines, in which one works with a partner to simu-

late martial encounters, have degrees of formality ranging from duo form sequences to freestyle sparring. The full range of tai chi skills includes the use of weapons as well; the sword, broadsword, staff, and spear are used. In some schools students practice auxiliary exercises to facilitate the development of the physical conditioning, skills, and mind-set appropriate to tai chi; in others schools tai chi itself is considered the only necessary exercise. In either case the expectation is that players will learn to direct and augment the flow of vital energy within the body with their mind in harmony with the breath and that bodily functions will be enhanced as the body is renewed by improved circulation of chi. Through this internal aspect of tai chi the body is expected to become supple and limber; both traits are essential to good health and to proper performance of tai chi.

Tai chi’s mechanical principles involve erect stances that combine stability with nimbleness of foot. Movement begins at the *dantian*, an anatomical point at the body’s center of gravity just below the navel. With no tensing of muscles and with mechanical efficiency and relaxed precision, the weight is shifted and energy is transmitted via the waist to the hands. In effect the legs, spine, and arms become like five bows, resulting in



A tai chi movement.

Source: istockphoto/lovleah.

Life is about timing. ■ CARL LEWIS

springy whole-body strength to be applied at the optimum instant. Footwork should be like the tread of a cat. Tai chi sport competition involves solo form performance and sometimes *tuishou* or push-hands, a demonstration of mastery of the principles of tai chi.

From a Chinese cultural perspective the psychological and medical value of the art and its martial potential are reasonable expectations. Both are in harmony with Daoist philosophical principles that are believed to be universally valid. The Daoist classics *Daodejing* and *Yijing* promulgate these principles, the interplay and balance of opposites that tai chi embodies. Thus, one can see tai chi as an art of harmonization with nature that includes the ability to harmonize with an opponent's attack and the nurturance of *chi* that animates every living thing in the universe: Tai chi is considered to be a spiritual discipline as well.

The Future

During China's Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) tai chi was under political attack in China, but the situation has changed. Tai chi has been reinstated as a national treasure and a uniquely Chinese form of art and sport. Basic tai chi is taught publicly in parks and other suitable places, as it is in other parts of the Chinese world. Advanced instruction is available, and form competitions are held. Lacking knowledge of Chinese philosophy and its implications for self-defense and medicine, Westerners have generally been drawn to flashier martial arts. However, that situation is changing, too; gradually tai chi is becoming better known in the West. It is of growing interest to the international medical research community and to martial arts scholarship, but tai chi is still best known in the West as a health and longevity exercise of particular benefit to seniors.

Michael G. Davis

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Technology

Technology has become pervasive in society as innovations promise to make our lives better. We accept most innovations that make our lives easier as long as they are safe and efficient. Sport, however, is different. Challenge and tradition are central to the essence of sport, so technology presents a more complex dynamic in the sports arena.

New Materials, New Opportunities, and New Challenges

Changes in materials and designs have provided opportunities for countless athletes to develop their athletic potential. Innovations can make sports less expensive, can provide flexibility in design so athletes can select the equipment best suited to their individual skills, and can reduce risk by making sports safer:

- Composite bats have allowed younger baseball players to develop their athletic skills without having to wield heavy wooden bats.
- In boating, composite materials have enabled kayakers to select the hull shape best suited to their individual skills.
- Mass manufacturing of equipment has reduced the cost of golf balls, which were once hand stuffed and sewn.

- Design, materials, and testing have produced safety pads and helmets that minimize severe injuries in many sports.

Innovation also improves performance, opportunity, and interest:

- The fastskin swimsuits, which ignited controversy at the 2000 Olympic games in Sydney, Australia, significantly reduce drag in the water and, thus, the swimmer's time.
- Composite skis transformed skiing into a popular recreational activity and encouraged innovative designs, which led, decades later, to shape skis that allow previously intermediate skiers to quest the advanced black diamond trails.
- In the 1980s, after the javelin's center of gravity was moved forward, athletes with precise technique were able to achieve victories that previously went to physically stronger athletes.

Not all technological innovations improve sport, however. Some new technologies can usurp the challenge or tradition of the sport. If a golf ball had a guidance system that guaranteed a hole-in-one every shot, it would certainly compromise the test of driving distance, accuracy, and putting precision that golf provides. These artificial challenges are the core of sports. Sport provides physical challenges that exist purely for the sake of the activity it makes possible:

- In track, the athletes get from the starting line to the finish line by running around the track rather than across the infield. Rowers move from the starting line to the finish line without the aid of a motor. Football players have challenges including a defensive line, to transfer the walk into the endzone into a sport. By contrast, dance, while a physical activity, is not a sport. Dance does not have artificial challenges set up purely for the sake of the activity. These physical challenges are essential to sport.
- Chess has challenges and artificial inefficiencies in the design of how the pieces are allowed to move but these challenges are mental and not physical, thus

chess does not meet the requirements necessary for sport.

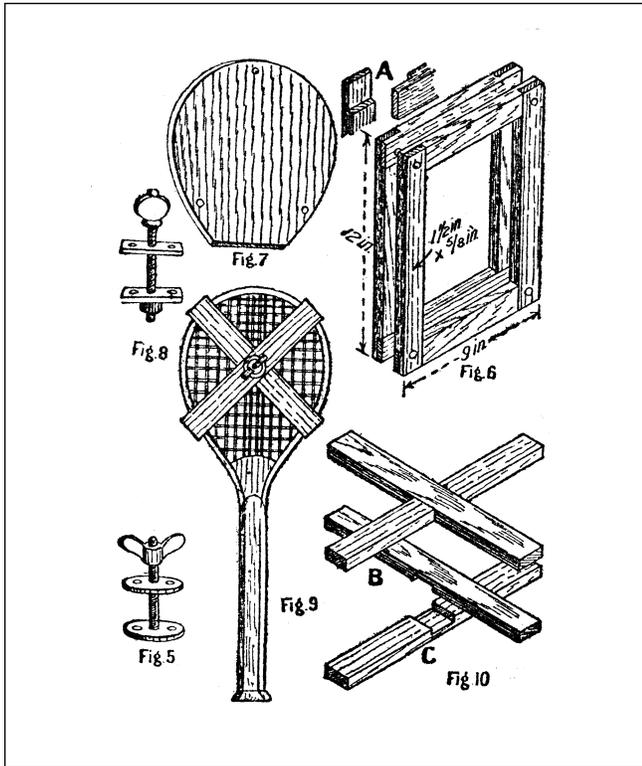
Before World War II, the available materials limited the design of sports equipment. For years, the tennis racket design remained stable. Tennis rackets with wood heads could not withstand the stringing tension necessary for a successful large-head racket. Thus, the nature of the materials provided design constraints and few innovations had a revolutionary affect on sports. Once new materials that emerged out of military research entered the industrial sphere, ingenious inventors increased flexibility to design new technologies that would revolutionize sport. Howard Head, for example, used such military materials and knowledge to design composite skis based on airplane wings. With the increased money entering the sports arena because of television fame, inventors had the incentive to be creative and develop new technology that would yield victories.

Victories were profitable because of the increased revenue generated through television, and because the newly suburban families flocked to sports activities and purchased the latest equipment—equipment that enabled mass participation. New designs continued as these athletes, new to the sport, brought their own creativity into the design process unencumbered by years of sports tradition indoctrination. For example, rules governing golf balls were based on the size and weight as well as overall distance the ball could be hit. No rules governed dimple patterns until two non-golfers redesigned the dimples to reduce hooks and slices and improve the accuracy of golf ball flight.

With new materials enabling creative technological design, money from television, money from the newly created recreational market, and people unencumbered by years of enculturation, the timing was right for technological innovations to revolutionize sport and to force governing bodies to address technological issues.

Controlling Innovations in Sport

If innovations can increase opportunities of participation, providing athletes the chance to express their own



Press for an old-style wooden tennis racket.

With a few exceptions, sport governing bodies that had been adept at developing playing and eligibility rules failed to address these technological revolutions until a crisis occurred. In tennis, for example, a new stringing system enabled players with an average topspin stroke to produce a shot with championship caliber spin. Balls hit effectively with this stringing system were unreturnable, so low-ranked players produced upsets throughout Europe. The International Tennis Federation (ITF) had no rule prohibiting the different stringing systems, so the new and revolutionary system was legal. In desperation, the ITF banned the new design after a number of players had already relied on the technology and the manufacturers and distributors invested in the product. The rule the ITF developed to ban the “spaghetti strung” racket focused specifically on that stringing design without providing standards to govern future technological innovations.

In contrast, when the United States Golf Association (USGA) wanted to protect the sport from golf ball designs that were yielding longer drives, it developed a performance standard. No golf ball, regardless of material, manufacture, or production could fly longer than a specified distance when hit with a specified force. This performance standard proactively protected the skills the USGA defined as essential to the sport while giving manufacturers maximum flexibility in design. In addition, with this performance standard, those with a stake in golf technology knew the rules in advance.

individual excellence, but can compromise the challenge or tradition of sports, how can sports organizations make comprehensive technology policy decisions? How do sports organizations determine what technologies to allow and which ones would be detrimental to the core challenge or tradition of the sport?

Sports organizations have banned gels on the bottom of rowing shells that minimize drag, dimple patterns on golf balls that reduce hooks and slices, stringing systems on tennis racquets that increase topspin, recumbent bicycles, and more. These regulations protect the core challenge of the sport.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is dedicated to protecting the integrity of its games by ensuring that victories go to athletes and not engineers. The IOC allows each sport to write its own rules for technology policy but requires that innovations be available to all the athletes to make sure no one athlete has an unfair advantage. The individual sports are thus charged with determining which innovations will be permitted on the field of play during sanctioned competition. After the 1960s, the policy of ignoring technological innovation, as many organizations did (cycling and golf are notable exceptions), created crises for many sports governing bodies.

TEAM VERSUS INDIVIDUAL SPORTS TECHNOLOGY

Although coherent sport-technology policy is ideal, there are significant differences in team versus individual sports, in recreational versus elite athletes, in male versus female athletes, in adult versus youth athletes, and in on-field versus off-field sports. Technological innovations tend to have much less impact on team sports than on individual sports because the team dynamic influences results more than an individual’s technologically improved performance. In team sports, much of the technology is shared—a ball for example—and



Technology

Equipment Innovations

While not always greeted with enthusiasm, change is often for the better. The following extract describes the practical innovations that have guided the evolution of baseball equipment over time.

With the steady improvement in the playing of baseball we have had an improvement in the appliances of the game. It doesn't take a very old enthusiast to remember when the catcher had no protection at all from the cannon-shot delivery of the pitcher. First came the glove for the left hand, without fingers, but slightly padded; this was first used by Douglas Allison in the old Cincinnati Reds of 1869. It came into general use slowly, many catchers disdaining to use it. The glove protection gradually found favor and improvement until now we have almost every player in the team using a glove on his non-throwing hand, and as for the catchers, they have a heavily padded mitten with a steel guard around the outer edge which effectually prevents broken and stoved up fingers, and on his throwing hand a lightly padded glove with short fingers. The first protection for the face was a large piece of rubber held in the mouth, which, if the ball hit, it bounded off and saved the

teeth and nose; this came in vogue about 1875. In 1876 a catcher by the name of Thayer, of Harvard College, invented the mask, which is now so universally used; the professionals didn't take to it at all kindly at first and refused to use it. A few years ago the rubber body protector was brought into use. There has been as much improvement in baseball shoes as in any one appliance; they have now almost reached the perfection of lightness and durability and constructed with special view to the requirements of the player. The ball is greatly improved over those of ten or twenty years ago, in fact it seems to have reached the acme of perfection. There is apparently no hope for an improvement in the bat, except that better material is generally used now in the manufacture of first-class bats than formerly. A great deal more attention is paid to the grounds than formerly, and many of them are as nearly perfect as it is possible to make them. These items enter not a little into the almost perfect playing with which we are entertained nowadays.

Source: Base ball appliances. (1890). *Reach's American Association base ball guide* (pp. 35–36). Philadelphia: A.S. Reach Co.

thus, the advantage of technological innovations geared for the athletes' individual skill has no impact. With shared technology, any advantage an innovation provides is also shared.

Often an innovation will dramatically affect the recreation market before the elite athlete reaps any rewards. The large-head tennis racket provides a prime example of an innovation the governing body ignored because it had no initial impact on the professional tour. This new racket dominated the tennis club scene and all weekend players wielded the new weapon, but its stringing tension was insufficient for professional athletes. Because the new technology did not dramatically affect the elite athletes, the ITF allowed the innovation, but once the large-head rackets began to affect the professional tour, its prominence made it difficult to ban.

Having different rules for different athletes creates both philosophical and practical challenges. Recreational and elite athletes have different skills and frequently use different technology. Manufacturers, however, leverage the visibility of the professionals to market their products and highlight their technologies. Recreational athletes frequently strive to emulate the professionals and purchase the "same" equipment that they witnessed leading to such success on the professional circuit. Different regulations make manufacturing and testing different technologies more complex and leave opportunities for nonapproved equipment to abound. In addition, although sport governing bodies do regulate championships, no one really regulates those weekend warriors, leaving the definition of the sport and success in the sport dubious—do victories belong to the athlete or to the engineer?



Technological innovation has also increased opportunities for female athletes to excel but has raised the question of whether rules should be identical for male and female athletes. Some vocal tennis commentators criticize composite rackets as destroying the men's game. This same technology has enabled female tennis players, however, to thrive and produce television ratings that exceed those of their male counterparts.

OFF THE FIELD TECHNOLOGY

Often the greatest impact on sport comes from those technologies used in training. Rehabilitation technology, weightlifting technology, simulation machines, high-altitude training chambers, and even performance-enhancing substances all have significantly shaped our games. These technologies are all used off the field of play and outside the view of the fans, challengers, and regulatory bodies. Governing bodies define the rules of engagement on the field of play, but they have little or no authority outside the competition arena. The IOC

A stop watch, a vital piece of equipment in modern sports.

Source: istockphoto/crabmet.

governs the activities for the two weeks of Olympic competition but not during the years of training that lead to that competition. The ITF governs the rules on the court of play, and the Professional Golfers' Association (PGA) Tour governs activity on the green during their competitions. These organizations, however, have not historically had any control or authority over the training of athletes and, thus, all the technologies used to prepare an athlete for competition have remained outside the rules established by governing bodies.

CHEMICAL ENHANCEMENTS

One notable exception to the governing bodies writing technology rules outside the competitive arena is in the rules of performance-enhancing substances such as steroids. Governing bodies have recognized that chemical enhancements compromise the integrity of their sports and transform the challenge from one between athletes into one between pharmacologists. Governing bodies have, however, struggled to govern these new technologies for a number of reasons:

1. The governing bodies had to define specifically what was not allowed. This is not as simple as it might sound because different athletes have different levels of chemicals, and athletes take different medications for medical reasons.
2. Accurate tests need to withstand the legal scrutiny that would result from a monopoly inhibiting an athlete from earning a living.
3. Even when sports governing bodies created a list of "banned substances" and developed tests to be used on the day of competition, the regulations were vacuous because many athletes used the banned substances to train and build muscle, strength, and endurance but allowed the substances to leave their bodies in time



Technology

Waxing Poetic about Sports Equipment

An excerpt from the poem "The Outfit and the Spirit" by Ray Hoffman (1923):

"Phillup" Peters had a wonder bat of willow,
Must have cost him eighteen bucks or so at
that;
But as was to be expected.
"Phillup" never once connected,
While Fred Ferkins knocked the homers with a
slat.
Did you ever know this truthful fact to fail
you?
It's the gospel truth, I'll say so, every time—
Get this sentence, sport fans, hear it,
'Taint the outfit, it's the spirit,
Thought the tools you have to use cost but a
dime.

Source: Hoffman, R. (1923, January). The outfit and the spirit. *Sporting Life*, p. 35.

for the competition and the testing. Other athletes took other substances that masked their use of the performance-enhancing substances.

Thus, actually protecting the integrity of the sport means developing sport-technology policy that can be enforced off the field of play—a significant shift for sports organizations whose sovereignty has historically extended only as long as the competition.

The Future

While sports organizations have focused much of their attention on athlete eligibility and game rules, technology has dramatically affected many sports. Often, the policies governing bodies write to protect their sports from new technologies are reactive ad hoc policies implemented following a crisis. With this reactive policy approach, manufacturers invest research and development dollars in creating and marketing a new technology. In some cases, this technology becomes accepted and used—as were square groove golf clubs

and the large-head tennis racket—so that governing bodies find it impossible to ban the innovation regardless of how it affects the sport. In other cases, governing bodies succeed in banning the new technology, such as the "spaghetti strung" tennis racket or the "Polara" golf ball, and the manufacture seeks to recoup the costs through legal battles that challenge the right of the governing bodies to implement these ad hoc policies

Anticipating innovations is impossible, so sports governing bodies have historically waited and ruled on innovations as they arrived or created policies so vague they had no practical meaning. The debate about the fastskin swimsuit continues, for example. The suit was allowed in the 2000 Olympic games and has since appeared on swimmers at all levels. Arm-bands that increase buoyancy and reduce drag were banned, however. This type of ambiguity in sport technology policy could be avoided with proactive performance standards.

Shifting from design standards to performance standards, such as the overall distance standard in golf, would effectively enable sports organizations to protect the core challenge of their games without having to anticipate future innovations. These proactive standards would provide foreknowledge to the manufacturers and provide protection in the legal battles that ensue from retroactively regulating technology. In addition, proactive performance standards would more effectively protect the core challenge and tradition of sport while providing manufacturers maximum flexibility to innovate.

J. Nadine Gelberg

See also Biotechnology

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Tennis is a perfect combination of violent action taking place in an atmosphere of total tranquility. ■ BILLIE JEAN KING

Television

See Media-Sports Complex

Tennis

The word *tennis* is thought to have evolved from the Greek word *phennis* or the German word *tanz*. Others have speculated that the word evolved from the French word *tenez* meaning “to play.” However the name came to be, the sport has evolved from a game enjoyed only by the upper classes to one that is played and watched by people of every social strata.

History

The origins of tennis are much debated. The earliest reports date back to ancient Greece. Information from the fourth century CE specifies that the Persians enjoyed a game called *tchigan* that was played in an enclosed space with rackets that were approximately four feet long. Despite these records of early games that were similar to tennis, most historians feel that tennis originated in thirteenth-century France. The game, known as *jeu de paume* (or game of the palm) evolved from handball. Balls made of cloth sewn into a hard round shape were hit with a bare hand or a hand in a glove. Nets were made of wooden obstacles or mounds of dirt, and participants volleyed against a wall or with each other. The scoring system probably originated from the Old French word *une journee* meaning a “sport match” or “a day.” The word *love*, meaning “no points,” is thought to come from the French word for egg, *l’oeuf*, which sounds like “love.”

Growth of the Sport Worldwide

In 1873 Major Walter Clapton Wingfield, a British Army officer, in an effort to liven up a lawn party invented lawn tennis, a combination of badminton and court tennis that was played on an hourglass-shaped court. Major

Wingfield patented the game in 1874 and sold equipment for the sport. Tennis balls were made of uncovered hollow rubber, and the net was 4 feet high in the center and 5 feet at the posts. Rackets were spoon shaped with long handles. In 1877 when Wingfield’s patent ran out, the game was further modified: the hourglass shape of the court was changed to a rectangle.

Most historians speculate that the game of tennis was brought to America by Mary Ewing Outerbridge of New York. Outerbridge, nicknamed the “mother of tennis,” learned the game from British officers while visiting her brother stationed at a British garrison in Bermuda. Consequently, she brought the equipment back to America. By late 1874 she had helped establish the first lawn court on American soil, in Staten Island, New York. Initially, the sport grew mostly in the eastern United States—especially at the women’s colleges in the region. The game was introduced at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1881. In 1892 Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania held the first intercollegiate tennis contest, an event that may have been the first intercollegiate contest for women in any sport.

After the 1920s the game was no longer assumed to be restricted to those from the upper class. Tennis is now played among all social classes, having moved “from the classes to the masses—from an informal lawn party to a lavish spectator show” (Bartlett and Gillen 1981, 11). Much of the increased participation in tennis was due to the availability of public tennis courts.

Worldwide Participation

Tennis was one of the first sports to be enjoyed by women. The leisurely and social nature of the game appealed to the “less athletically inclined” female. Despite the growth of women’s participation in tennis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, men still had more competition opportunities than women. For example, in 1884 England started the “All England Lawn Tennis Club” women’s singles championships—now known as Wimbledon—seven years after the start of the

same event for men. Perhaps more profoundly for the women, the early success of female tennis players and the growth of the sport among virtually all social classes paved the way for women to play other sports, such as basketball and field hockey.

International tennis competition for men started with the Davis Cup in 1900 and for the women with the Wightman Cup in 1923 (only the United States and England participated). The Wightman Cup was discontinued near the end of the 1980s in favor of the more popular Federation Cup—initiated in 1963 as an equivalent to the men’s Davis Cup. Tennis was first added as an Olympic event in 1900. Then, in 1924 the sport was eliminated because of disputes over the distinction between amateur and professional athletes. Finally, at the Seoul Olympics in 1988, tennis returned as an Olympic sport. With the beginning of the “open era” of tennis in the late 1960s (a limited number of tournaments were opened to amateur and professional players), the Olympics became a showcase for many of the top professional players. Presently, television ratings for tennis are high, and tournament attendance records are broken regularly. Tennis is recognized as a multimillion dollar sport. This revenue has been generated from corporate support, player endorsements, and tournament proceedings. Mercedes-Benz’s current multiyear deal with the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) is worth close to \$50 million. Sanex’s sponsorship, although terminated in 2002, generated over \$40 million in sports revenue for the Women’s Tennis Association (WTA). IBM and Rolex corporations alone have multimillion sponsorship deals with the Grand Slam tournament Wimbledon (amounting to nearly \$14 million each year). With \$52 million at stake at the sixty tournaments worldwide on the women’s professional circuit, it is not surprising that Venus Williams was the highest paid female athlete in 2001–2002 along with her tournament winnings, having signed \$20 million in endorsement contracts with companies including Reebok and Wrigley.

The popularity of the International Tennis Federation (ITF) Veterans Circuit is also growing. It currently offers

I can't believe how hard Agassi hits the ball. It's like he's got a gun. No one hit the ball like that in my day. Ion Tiriac didn't drive that fast. ■ ILIE NASTASE

186 tournaments worldwide, with players over thirty-five eligible to compete in a variety of age-category events. Tennis remains, however, the most visible sport in which men and women of different nationalities, ethnicities, and backgrounds can compete, succeed, and dominate the center stage.

Rules, Equipment, and Training: Recent Changes

Since the open era of tennis began in the late 1960s, notable changes have occurred in areas such as scoring, pre- and postmatch mandatory interviews, establishment of the Code of Conduct (1975), and match protocol. The most recent additions include player hindrance guidelines, particularly regarding excessive player “grunting” during play; removal of the rest break after the first game of every set; and the use of the tiebreaker. (A full description of the current rules and regulations for professional conduct and play can be found at www.itftennis.com.) With regards to training and coaching, the most recognized professional coaching certifications are generally obtained through the national governing body for tennis in each respective country. (Many resources exist concerning tennis-related and tennis-specific training practices and programs, such as www.tennislovers.com and www.tennisonline.com.)

The changes in scoring and protocol concurrent with the onset of the open era of tennis have been accompanied by changes in racket technology and the quality and type of clothing (especially for females). Rackets are now made of titanium, graphite, or hypercarbon (or a combination of these materials), as opposed to wood (the predominant racket type until the 1970s) or aluminum. The price of a racket can vary significantly depending on the quality and manufacturer. Player clothing has also been transformed to provide greater comfort for the players (e.g., quicker sweating capacity, ease of movement) and provide more commercial appeal. Consequently, player clothing today consists of many bright and unconventional colors and styles. Few individuals now wear traditional “all white” outfits—except at Wimbledon where it is mandatory.



Tennis

The Tennis-Court

When as the hand at Tennis plays,
And Men to gaming fall;
Love is the court, Hope is the house,
And favour serves the Ball.

This Ball itself is due desert,
The Line that measure shows
Is Reason, whereon judgement looks
Where Players win and lose.

The Tutties are deceitful shifts;
The Stoppers, jealousy,
Which hath, Sire Argus' hundred eyes,
Wherewith to watch and pry.

The Fault, whereon fifteen is lost,
Is want of Wit and Sense;

And he that brings the Racket in
Is Double Dilligence.

But now the Racket is Free-will,
Which makes the Ball rebound;
And noble beauty is the choice,
And of each Game the ground.

The Racket strikes the Ball away,
And there is oversight;
A bandy, ho! The people cry,
And so the Ball takes flight.

Now at the length good liking proves
Content to be their gain;
Thus, in the Tennis-Court, Love is
A Pleasure mixed with Pain.

Source: Peek, H. (Ed.). (1901). *Poetry of sport* (p. 317). London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

Recently, there have been calls for more drastic rule changes to make the game more viewer friendly and to reduce the dominance of the serve (especially in the men's game). Suggested changes include the "no let" rule (if the serve hits the net and falls in, it counts), no second serves, no ad-scoring, reducing the size of the service box, use of wooden rackets, and on-court coaching. These alterations have gained support from prominent individuals in the tennis world, such as John McEnroe and Stan Smith (associate director of the USTA Player Development Program, 1988–1995).

Important People

The history of tennis contains many memorable personalities, notable players, and ambassadors for the sport. A brief summary of these men and women follows.

The first gentlemen characters in tennis were two sets of British brothers, Ernie and William Renshaw, followed by the Doherty boys, Reggie and Laurence, who won numerous Wimbledon Singles and Doubles titles during the 1880s through the early 1900s. In 1938 American Don Budge became the first male to achieve

the "Grand Slam," which consists of winning all four major Grand Slam events in the same calendar year. In 1962 and 1969, Australian Rod Laver became the second man to achieve this feat (twice nonetheless). In 1968 Arthur Ashe became the first African-American to play on the U.S. Davis Cup team and the first to win a major singles title, the U.S. Open, the first of his three (Australian Open, 1970; Wimbledon, 1975, being the others). In doing so he established a legacy that remains today. Swedish player Björn Borg won an unprecedented fifth consecutive Wimbledon Singles title in 1980 (he would win a total of twelve Grand Slam majors by 1981). In the 1970s and 1980s, the fiery tempers of players such as John McEnroe, Ilie Nastase, and Jimmy Connors, often directed at their opponents, umpires, and even the crowd, were more than matched by their genius as players. McEnroe won seventeen major titles (singles and doubles), and Connors, as well as winning eight major singles titles, is the only male to win the U.S. Open on three different surfaces. The playing careers of Fred Perry (Great Britain), Guillermo Vilas (Argentina), Stefan Edberg (Sweden), Boris Becker (Germany), Mats Wilander (Sweden), and Ivan Lendl



Tennis

The Spread of Tennis

Our popular athletic games are not really modern, but inheritances from people and times of old. Tennis is probably the oldest of all the ball-games. Its origin is uncertain, but it first appeared in Europe during the Middle Ages. It was popular among the French nobility, who are said to have borrowed it from the Italians. The English in turn adopted it from the French. The name of the game is said to be French in origin being derived from the expression “Tenez!” which was used by early French players in serving the ball. The antiquity of the game is testified to by Horace, the Roman bard, who tells of Maecenas playing tennis while on the journey to Brundisium.

Source: *Badminton*. (1915), p. 18.

(Czechoslovakian, American after 1992) also have honorable places in tennis history, having captured between four and eight Grand Slam titles each. Pete Sampras, an American, holds the record for men’s Grand Slam singles titles at fourteen, having been ranked number one for most of the 1990s. Today’s game is blessed with a wide variety of personalities and playing styles, from the composed persona of Roger Federer to the charismatic play and experience of Andre Agassi and the fiery passion of Lleyton Hewitt.

In the 1920s, Mary Kendell Browne, an American, became one of the first female professional tennis players, along with the glamorous Frenchwomen, Suzanne Lenglen. In 1950 Althea Gibson became the first African-American woman to participate in the U.S. Championships, which she later became the first African-American to win in 1957 (having won Wimbledon in 1956). In the 1970s Evonne Goolagong Cawley became the first and only Aborigine (Native Australian) to win a Grand Slam event (two Wimbledon titles, one French, and four Australian Open Championships). In 1953 Maureen Catherine Connolly became the first female to achieve the Grand Slam. This feat has been equaled by only two other women: Margaret Court Smith in 1970 and Steffi Graf in 1988. Graf won

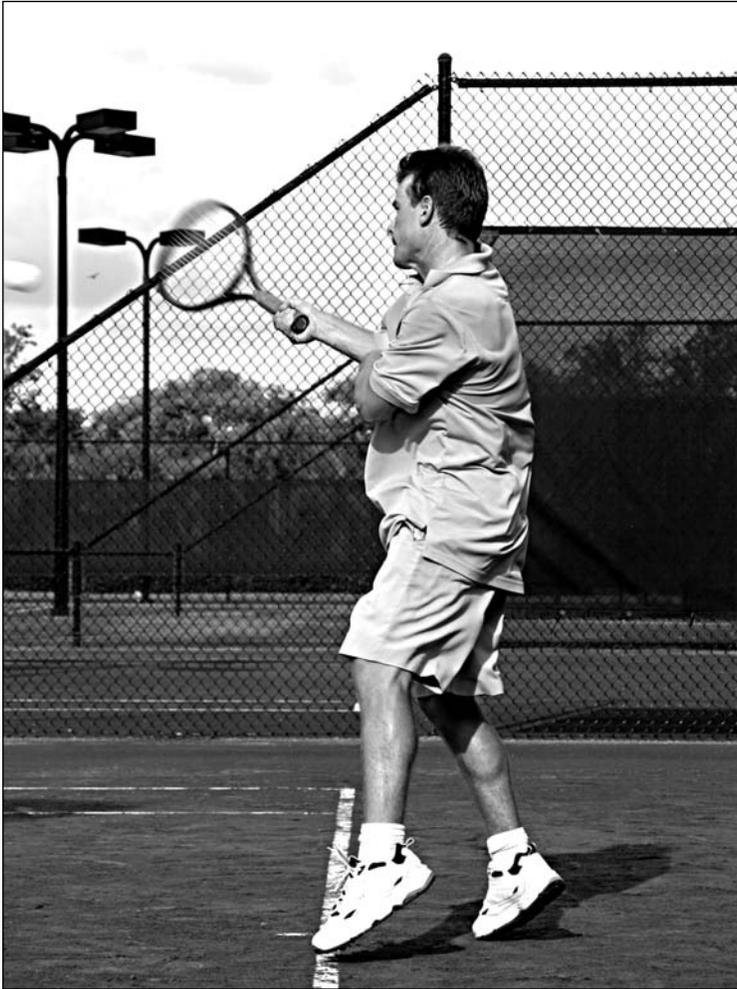
twenty-two Grand Slam titles in a highly successful career that finished with a sentimental French Open Singles victory in 1998. Martina Navratilova, who won a record high of 170 singles and 129 doubles titles, recently equaled Billie Jean King’s record of twenty Wimbledon tournament wins, with a victory in the 2003 Mixed Doubles event at Wimbledon alongside partner Leander Paes. Despite retiring in 1995, Navratilova has recently been active on the tour once again at the age of forty-seven, competing in the singles and doubles events at the 2004 French Open, Wimbledon, U.S. Open, and the 2004 Olympics, but is now contemplating retirement for the second time.

It is largely agreed that Helen Wills and Suzanne Lenglen were considered the greatest female players of all time for over fifty years, Pauline May Betz Addie was possibly the best post–World War II player, and Martina Navratilova and Steffi Graf were possibly the greatest female players of the open era. Women’s tennis has also seen a variety of successful playing styles. Strength and power were demonstrated in the game of Alice Mable, Suzanne Lenglen, and Helen Wills in the 1920s and 1930s; Eleonara Sears and May Sutton Bundy in the early 1900s; Margaret Court Smith in the 1960s and 1970s; and Martina Navratilova from the 1970s to present. Finesse accompanied by dominating ground-stroke games were demonstrated by Maureen Connolly in the 1950s and Evonne Cawley and Chris Evert in the 1970s and 1980s. Presently, a diversity of playing styles and strokes is evident in the women’s game. This has undoubtedly contributed to the immense popularity of the women’s tour.

Significant Events

The emergence of open tennis, the “Battle of the Sexes,” and the development of a women’s professional league, the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP), and Women’s Tennis Association (WTA) are arguably the most important events in tennis history.

In response to growing concern that the most popular tennis players of the era would continue to join players already turned professional (e.g., Roy Emerson, John



A young man playing tennis.

Source: istockphoto/Skashkin.

Newcombe, Cliff Drysdale, Rod Laver, Ken Rosewell), the International Tennis Federation (ITF) approved twelve tournaments (including Wimbledon) for both amateur and professional players in 1968, signaling the beginning of the open era of tennis.

The women's liberation movement and other social justice movements of the early 1970s prompted female tennis players to rectify the significant gender differences in prize money, travel allowances, and sponsorship. As a result of the 1970 Pacific Southwest Tournament organizers refusal to equalize the disparity in prize money (the men's singles champion was set to receive \$12,500 compared to the women's champion receiving only \$1,500), a women-only tournament was established in Houston, Texas. The prize money was set at \$5,000, plus \$2,500 in additional monies (pledged by Joe Cullman of Philip Morris tobacco) for the winner of the tournament in exchange for naming it the "Virginia Slims Tournament." Led by tennis entrepreneur Gladys Held-

man, nine women (two Australians—Kerr Melville and Judy Dalton—and seven Americans—Peaches Bartkowicz, Val Ziegenfuss, Kristy Pigeon, Nancy Richey, Billie Jean King, Rosie Casals, and Julie Heldman) agreed to play despite threats of suspension from the USLTA. By 1971 Billie Jean King became the first female athlete to earn \$100,000 in a year. Overall, the Virginia Slims tour was developed, worth \$250,000, and twenty-four tournaments were planned for the near future (as opposed to only two tournaments that were guaranteed following Houston). Billie Jean King continued to act as a prominent advocate of women's tennis and promote equality for women in sport by defeating Bobby Riggs in the 1973 "Battle of the Sexes." The match, which was worth \$100,000 (plus bonuses and endorsements) to the winner, was watched by 30,472 people in the Houston Astrodome and over 50 million on television. Billie Jean King has since occupied major roles as the first president of the Women's Tennis Association (WTA) and coach of the U.S. Federation Cup Team. Although im-

mense progress has been made, inequality still exists within professional tennis. Only seventeen female players have earned more than \$300,000, compared with fifty professional male players. Furthermore, only the Australian and U.S. Open tournaments (both Grand Slam competitions) award equal prize money to males and females.

In 1972 the ATP, a male players' union, was formed. The ATP has been instrumental in governing prize money, tournament conditions, conduct, and organization of tournaments (except the Grand Slams) on the men's professional circuit (ATP Tour). The WTA is a comparable organization established in 1974 for professional female players and works in a similar manner to the ATP.

The New Millennium: Issues and Challenges

The arrival of the new millennium brought both developments and opportunities to tennis. It also highlighted



Tennis

International Tennis Federation

In 1911 the International Lawn Tennis Federation (ILTF) was formed. This organization integrated national tennis associations worldwide and helped bring a uniform structure to international tennis. The ILTF was officially recognized as the governing body for international tennis in 1924, and in 1977 it became the International Tennis Federation (ITF). Since the ITF was founded, it has been involved in and helped resolve disputes within the tennis arena. The ITF took over organization of the Davis Cup in 1979 and established the Women's International Professional Tennis Council (WIPTC) in 1975 to monitor and promote women's professional tennis worldwide. It also founded the Wheelchair Tennis Players Association (WTPA) in 1981. Overall, the ITF (www.itftennis.org) has helped secure the continued success and growth of professional tennis.

Katie Sell, Maria Newton, and Lynda Ransdell

challenges that the sport had been facing for some time. It remains difficult to “grow the game” (as the United States Tennis Association would say) partly because sport in today's society is driven by its entertainment value. The future of every sport is tied to its ability to secure TV time and advertising dollars. The international flavor of professional tennis tends to decrease the lure of tennis to the American consumer because the presence of an American in the final of a tournament cannot be guaranteed. For example, the 2004 U.S. Open was the first American Grand Slam event, since 1988, to lack an American male finalist. Justine Henin-Hardenne and fellow Belgian Kim Clijsters met in the final of the 2003 U.S. Open. They had a national TV rating of 2.5 million. That was a 52 percent drop from 2002, when Serena Williams beat older sister Venus Williams. Fewer viewers mean less exposure, revenue, and, ultimately, interest in the game.

To generate more “team” interest and promote a regional association for these teams, Billie Jean King formed World Team Tennis. Developed nearly thirty years ago, ten teams competed in 2004 season. The franchises include Delaware, Hartford, Kansas City, New York (Buzz and Sportimes), Newport Beach, Philadelphia, Sacramento, St. Louis, and Springfield. Unlike traditional tennis tournaments, coaching is allowed, music is played, and men and women compose teams.

Tennis has provided an avenue for college scholarships, although opportunities to receive financial aid (i.e., scholarships) to play collegiate-level tennis are primarily restricted to American institutions. The number of NCAA Division I, II, and III female college players has increased from 6,599 in 1981–1982 to 8,420 in 2002–2003, whereas the number of male collegiate players has declined slightly from 7,340 to 7,312 during the same period. With the exception of Stan Smith (University of Southern California), Arthur Ashe (ULCA), Bob and Mike Bryan (two years at Stanford University), and Laura Granville (Stanford University), few collegiate players succeed in making the jump from college to the professional circuit. Controversy regarding the large number of foreign players recruited to play at American colleges is growing, with an estimated forty-eight out of the top one hundred females ranked by the Intercollegiate Tennis Association in 2000 hailing from countries other than the United States.

The considerable success of both current and former tennis players off court symbolizes many of the changes and issues that tennis is currently facing. Players have given back to the sport by supporting charity events (notably Andre Agassi's Charitable Foundation), coaching, commentating, and even hosting chat shows. The phenomenal off-court success of current players, such as Venus and Serena Williams, reflects the increasingly changing attitudes and interests of female players away from the courts. The manner in which they have successfully parlayed their tennis success and notoriety into other ventures (e.g., modeling, acting, and interior designing) deserves honorable mention. The continual interaction between professional sports

The serve was invented so that the net could play. ■ BILL COSBY

and entertainment, and whether it will interfere with players “giving back to the game,” will be interesting to observe in the future.

With an increase in the popularity of the sport, we have also seen an increase in injuries in the men’s and the women’s games. Undoubtedly, the pace and power of the game are contributing to the rise in injuries. Overuse injuries are also prevalent due to the early age at which players begin training and the number of hours spent doing so. Additionally, the increasing length of the season and pressure to play tournaments undeniably has an impact on injury rates. In order to preserve the players and the game, steps must be taken to prevent injuries.

In the 1990s much was made of how teenagers were dominating the women’s game. In 1998 six of the top sixteen players in the world were under twenty years of age, and three of those were ranked in the top ten. In May of 2004, there were no players under twenty in the top ten and only two players under twenty in the top twenty in the world. Tennis insiders would suggest that it is no coincidence that the two teenagers (Svetlana Kuznetsova, nineteen, and Maria Sharapova, seventeen) in the top-twenty rankings are from Russia. Tennis was introduced to an entirely new generation of young girls from Russia following the unprecedented success (albeit not entirely tennis related) of Anna Kournikova. Olympic success is still also a very powerful political tool. As evidence of the success of the Russian program, seven of the top twenty females in the world (December 2004) are Russian, and the winners of the 2004 Ladies French Open, Wimbledon, and U.S. Open (Singles) were Russian (Anastasia Myskina, Maria Sharapova, and Elena Kuznetsova, respectively). Interestingly, the men’s game currently boasts players from seven different nationalities in the top ten alone.

Sexual orientation remains a taboo subject in men’s and women’s professional sport, but with the growth and development of the game, tennis has come to play a powerful role. Three world-ranked players have come out as lesbians, including two former world number one players, Billie Jean King and Martina Navratilova. Homo-

phobia still exists in tennis and on the tour, but tennis has become the “heroine” because no other sport nor as many fans have openly embraced lesbian athletes.

Drug abuse in the form of an anabolic steroid, nandrolone, has become an issue over recent years, particularly in the men’s game. In 1998 the Czechoslovakian Petr Korda tested positive for the steroid, as did seven professional players between 2002 and 2003. Interestingly, all of these players went unpunished because intentional use of the supplement could not be proven. Greg Rudeski is one of twenty-two players who have since tested positive for the steroid (and been excused) despite the ATP’s, one of the governing bodies for men’s professional tennis, instructing trainers not to distribute electrolyte tablets containing the drug. Players are tested throughout the competitive year, as well as three times out of competition (Andre Agassi, Roger Federer, and Andy Roddick were all tested at least twenty times in 2003). However, the ATP is being criticized considerably for allowing unexplainable drug use to run rife in today’s game.

PROMOTING GROWTH OF THE GAME

While spectatorship is growing, both the men’s and women’s games continue to struggle to increase participation numbers. From 1988 to 1995, the number of people playing tennis dropped from 20.4 million to 17.8 million. During that same time frame, the number of women participating dropped from 9.1 million to 7.3 million. Since 1995, however, participation has started to escalate. In 2003, 24 million people played tennis in the United States.

To foster growth in the game, the U.S. Tennis Association (USTA, www.usta.com), along with national governing bodies in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, have developed programs such as Tennis Welcome Centers, Growing Tennis 50/50, and the Cartoon Network Tennis Club. The USTA has made efforts to diversify participation through grassroots tennis programs that attempt to introduce the game to kids in the inner cities. Worldwide (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Israel, the Netherlands, Norway, Germany, United Kingdom,

*There is a syndrome in sports called
“paralysis by analysis.”* ■ ARTHUR ASHE

France, Spain, Czech Republic, United States, New Zealand, Columbia, China, and Japan), tennis is a popular and prominent recreational and competitive sport for both men and women and has been an integral component of physical education curricula for children and youth for many years. Events such as “Tennis for Africa Day,” hosted annually in Rome, Italy, and Dublin, Ireland, have attracted top professional players, all participating to raise money and offer assistance to less-affluent countries on the African continent. The goal of such events is to disseminate the game of tennis to all and provide opportunities for nationwide involvement, especially among young people.

*Katie Sell,
Maria Newton, and
Lynda Ransdell*

See also All England Tennis and Croquet Club; Davis Cup; Wimbledon

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Thoroughbred Racing

See Horse Racing

Title IX

On June 23, 1972, President Richard M. Nixon signed into law Title IX of the Educational Amendments. Title IX states: “No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance” (20 U.S.C. § 1681(a) [2000]). On that day the landscape of college athletics was forever changed as collegiate institutions were required under federal law to provide equitable opportunities, funding, and benefits to female student-athletes.

History of Title IX

Although Title IX was passed into law in 1972, the enforcement of and compliance with this legislation within college athletics has followed many paths. With passage in 1972, there was much debate as to whether Title IX applied to college athletic departments. Language within the legislation was not specific, only referring to education programs or activities receiving federal financial assistance. As a result numerous athletic directors and college presidents did not feel athletics was included within the scope of Title IX.

In July 1975 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) issued Title IX regulations to clarify how Title IX should be implemented. These regulations were criticized as being too vague and not providing adequate instruction on Title IX implementation. HEW followed up with policy interpretations in December 1978, but confusion still existed as to the application of Title IX to athletics, considering that athletic language or application was not included in these policy interpretations. Finally, in December 1979 the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) in the Department of Education, the successor to HEW charged with the administration and enforcement of Title IX, released policy interpretations that specifically included interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics.



The next hurdle regarding enforcement of Title IX involved the federal financial-assistance component of the statute. The major point of contention was whether the legislation applied only to specific departments that received direct federal funding or to any department within a school or institution that received federal funding. This issue would be decided in 1984 with the *Grove City College v. Bell* case. Grove City College is a private college in Pennsylvania that was asked by the Department of Education in 1977 to execute an Assurance of Compliance, meaning that the school would comply with Title IX standards. The department felt that Grove City was a recipient of federal funding through the admittance of students who received Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOGs). The school refused, taking the position that it was a private institution and therefore did not need to comply with the government's request. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1984 that only programs receiving direct federal funding needed to comply with Title IX (often referred to as a "programmatic approach"). Therefore, at Grove City College only the financial aid program needed to comply with Title IX. This ruling caused the OCR to drop numerous Title IX cases against athletic departments if it could not be established that the athletic department received direct federal funding.

In 1987 the Civil Rights Restoration Act (CRRA) was proposed to restore the broad scope of coverage and to clarify the application of Title IX, as well as the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Congress felt that the application of these acts had been unduly narrowed and that legislative action was required to restore the broad institution-wide application of these laws. In 1988 the Civil Rights Restoration Act was passed when Congress voted to override President Ronald Reagan's veto. The passage of the CRRA restored the enforcement muscle of Title IX as now an "institutional approach" would be followed. This meant that if any department or program within an institution received federal funds, then all programs (including athletics) at the institution needed to comply with Title IX.

Application and Enforcement of Title IX

In 1990 the OCR published the *Title IX Athletics Investigator's Manual* that sets forth the requirements and standards of Title IX for interscholastic and intercollegiate athletic departments. There are thirteen major factors, or program components, listed in the Title IX Regulation and Policy Interpretations that may be investigated by the OCR. These thirteen component areas may be grouped under three primary headings: financial assistance (athletic scholarships), accommodation of athletic interests and abilities, and benefits and opportunities.

The financial assistance component investigates whether the athletic scholarships for male and female student-athletes are awarded on a substantially proportional basis. In determining compliance the OCR will look at the proportion of athletic scholarship dollars provided to male and female student-athletes and compare this with the proportion of athletes who are male and female. In July 1998 the OCR issued a policy interpretation stating this proportional analysis should be within one percentage point. In other words, if the percentage of female student-athletes within the athletic department is 45 percent, the percentage of athletic scholarship aid provided to these female student-athletes should be within 1 percent, or not less than 44 percent.

A difference beyond the one-percentage-point allowable discrepancy should not automatically be viewed as a Title IX violation. Within an investigation of Title IX component areas, including financial assistance, the OCR has identified certain "nondiscriminatory factors." These are factors that have caused the discrepancy to occur, but in themselves are not discriminatory. For example, when analyzing the financial assistance or distribution of athletic-scholarships component area, allowable nondiscriminatory factors include higher costs of tuition for students from out of state that may in some years be unevenly distributed between men's and women's sport programs, and a disproportional allocation of scholarship aid in a particular year due to a sport program's development.



Title IX

Pierre de Coubertin on Female Athletes (1910)

Can one permit women . . . to appear as female jockeys? Could one look calmly on from the stands while they broke their skulls? Should female teams be allowed to compete in polo and soccer matches? By no means!

Respect for individual liberty requires that one should not interfere in private acts. If a woman wishes to pilot an airplane, no policeman has a right to stop her. . . . But, when it comes to public sports competitions, women's participation should be absolutely prohibited. It is indecent that the spectators

should be exposed to the risk of seeing the body of a woman smashed before their eyes. Besides, no matter how toughened a sportswoman may be, her organism is not formed to sustain certain shocks. Her nerves dominate her muscles, this is nature's will. Finally, the . . . discipline that is brought to bear on male competitors in order to establish the good order and decorum of a contest is jeopardized by female participation.

Source: de Coubertin, P. (1910). *Chronique du mois: Défense aux femmes. Revue Olympique*, 109–110.

The second primary area of Title IX compliance is the accommodation of student interests and abilities. This component area addresses the extent to which the institution has met the interests and abilities of male and female students. A three-prong test is used to determine compliance with the accommodation component area. The three-prong test involves the following: (1) whether intercollegiate participation opportunities for male and female students are provided in numbers substantially proportionate to their respective enrollment; (2) where members of one sex are underrepresented (failure to meet prong 1), whether the institution can show a history and continuing practice of program expansion that is responsive to the developing interests and abilities of the underrepresented sex; and (3) where the members of one sex are underrepresented and the institution cannot show a continuing practice of program expansion (failure to meet prong 1 or prong 2), whether the institution can demonstrate that the interests and abilities of the members of the underrepresented sex have been fully and effectively accommodated by the present program.

When investigating the accommodation component area at an institution, the OCR will first compare the ratio of male and female athletes with the ratio of male and female undergraduate full-time students (prong 1). The OCR has no set statistical requirement for allowable discrepancy between these percentages, but certain courts in their decisions as well as institutions have used

a 5 percent benchmark. If a school fails to meet prong 1, they can still be found in compliance with the accommodation Title IX component area if they meet one of the remaining two tests. The second prong looks at the history of the athletic department. An institution must show that although their participation ratio is not substantially proportional to the student body ratio by sex as required under prong 1, the institution has made progress and shows continued progress toward compliance with steps being taken at the institution. In January 1996 the OCR provided a clarification letter that identified three factors that determine whether an institution has established a history of program expansion: (1) an institution's record of adding intercollegiate teams or upgrading teams to intercollegiate status, (2) an institution's record of increasing the number of participants in intercollegiate athletics who are members of the underrepresented sex, and (3) an institution's affirmative response to requests by students or others for addition or elevation. In evaluating whether a continuing practice of program expansion is taking place, the court looks for any formal policies in place that might indicate that the institution is monitoring the pulse of the interest of its students in anticipation of expansion. Syracuse University was one of the first institutions that met Title IX compliance in the accommodation component area by satisfying prong 2 (see *Boucher v. Syracuse University*, 164 F.3d 113 [1999]).

Whatever women do they must do twice as well as men to be thought half as good. Luckily, this is not difficult. ■ CHARLOTTE WHITTON

The third component area involves benefits and opportunities provided to male and female student-athletes. Within this component area is a laundry list of areas investigated by the OCR including provision of equipment and supplies; scheduling of games and practice time; travel and per diem allowances; opportunity to receive academic tutoring; opportunity to receive coaching; provision of locker room, practice, and competitive facilities; provision of medical and training facilities and services; provision of housing and dining facilities and services; publicity; provision of support services; and recruiting. The 1990 *Title IX Athletics Investigator's Manual* contains instructions on each, including tables for the collection of information and for comparison purposes. Basically, it is the goal of Title IX to see that the benefits and opportunities provided to the male student-athletes are comparable with the benefits and opportunities received by the female student-athletes. Once again, nondiscriminatory factors may be involved justifying any discrepancy that may exist. For example, the equipment budget of the male student-athletes overall may be substantially more than that provided to the female student-athletes. This discrepancy is allowable if it can be attributable to certain sport programs primarily on the men's side that require equipment that costs more or if more equipment is needed due to roster sizes. No violation of Title IX occurs as long as the male and female student-athletes receive comparable treatment.

Key Title IX Lawsuits

Since the passage of Title IX in 1972, there have been numerous Title IX lawsuits involving athletic departments at the high school and college levels. Some of these lawsuits have had a major impact on the interpretation and enforcement of Title IX. For example, *Grove City College v. Bell*, although not involving an athletic department and sport programs specifically, diminished the enforcement application of Title IX to athletic departments due to the "programmatic" approach employed by the U.S. Supreme Court. Another such

court case of importance to Title IX is *Cohen v. Brown University* (101 F.3d 155 [1996]).

In 1991, due to financial constraints within the athletic department, Brown University demoted the women's gymnastics and volleyball as well as men's water polo and golf teams from varsity to club status. Female student-athletes brought a class action lawsuit against Brown, claiming that the university discriminated against women in the operation of the athletic program. At issue was the effective accommodation of student interests and abilities component area of Title IX. In 1993–1994, the Brown University athletic department was made up of 38 percent female student-athletes, while the undergraduate enrollment at Brown was 51 percent female. Brown's defense relied on arguments questioning the application of the "proportionality test," comparison of the student-athlete by sex ratio to the student body by sex ratio. In 1995 the district court ruled that Brown was in violation of Title IX and ordered Brown to submit to the court within 120 days a comprehensive plan for complying with Title IX. Brown University appealed to the First Circuit Court of Appeals. The key argument in the appeals case, and one used often by opponents of Title IX, was the "relative interest" argument. Basically, this argument states that there is a difference in the level of interest in sports among the sexes in general, and, therefore, significant disparities in athletic opportunities should be allowed. In 1996 the First Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the district court's decision, ruling that Brown had discriminated against female student-athletes. In the decision the First Circuit Court responded to the "relative interest" argument by stating that interest and ability rarely develop in a vacuum, but rather they evolve as a function of opportunity and experience. Women's lower rate of participation in athletics within colleges and high schools is merely a reflection of the historical discrimination the women have been experiencing, the exact reason for which Title IX was enacted. Brown University appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused to hear it.

One additional Title IX case of note is *Mercer v. Duke University* (190 F.3d 643 [1999]). This case is noteworthy in that it involves a woman participating in a men's contact sport, football. Title IX exempts contact sports from its protection, meaning that Title IX does not mandate equal opportunity in contact sports. Title IX defines a "contact sport" as one in which the purpose or major activity involves bodily contact, such as football, wrestling, boxing, basketball, rugby, and ice hockey. Heather Sue Mercer, an all-state kicker during high school, served as manager for the Duke football team during the 1994 season. During the spring 1995 semester, Mercer participated in conditioning drills with the team and played in an intrasquad scrimmage that April. In that game Mercer kicked the winning 28-yard field goal, with the head coach afterward telling the news media that Mercer was on the team. By the fall 1995 season, Mercer was officially listed by the university on the team roster and regularly attended practices although not playing in any games. During the spring 1996 semester, Mercer participated in conditioning drills with the team. During the 1995–1996 school year, Mercer alleges she was the subject of discriminatory treatment by the university and the football coach, with the coach informing her that she was off the team at the start of the 1996 football season. In September 1997 Mercer filed suit against Duke and the head football coach alleging sex discrimination in violation of Title IX.

Duke University argued that Title IX did not apply in this case because football is a contact sport, and, therefore, they were under no obligation to allow Mercer, or any female, to be a member of the men's football team. The district court agreed and granted Duke University's motion to dismiss the case. Mercer appealed, with the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruling in 1999 that Mercer had stated a valid claim under Title IX regulations. By initially allowing Mercer to try out for the football team (contact sport), the university voluntarily opened the team to members of both sexes. Therefore, Title IX and its regulations regarding discrimination based on gender were applicable. Duke University was found to have violated Title IX by discriminating against

Mercer in cutting her from the football team because she was a woman.

Commission on Opportunity in Athletics Debate

In June 2002, Secretary of Education Rod Paige formed the Commission on Opportunity in Athletics, a federal advisory panel created to study Title IX. This commission was made up of members from Division I athletic programs, women's groups, and former or current athletes. It was charged with studying Title IX, including the collecting information, analyzing issues, and obtaining public input, with the goal of improving the application of current federal standards for measuring equal opportunity under Title IX.

Over the next eight months, the commission held six public meetings across the United States, hearing testimony and gathering information and data from various constituency groups representing a variety of viewpoints on Title IX and the enforcement standards. On February 28, 2003, the commission released its report, *Open to All: Title IX at Thirty*. In this report the commission developed twenty-three key recommendations, fifteen of which were approved unanimously. Overall, the commission found strong and broad support for the original intent of Title IX, while also hearing a great deal of confusion and debate over how the law should be enforced. Many of the recommendations put forth by the commission were met with opposition, with two members of the commission, Donna de Varona and Julie Foudy, submitting a minority views report. Their report summarized the concern that a majority of the recommendations put forth by the commission would weaken Title IX's protections leading to reduced opportunities for women and girls in sport. In July 2003 the Bush Administration endorsed Title IX as is, with no significant changes made to the enforcement methods used for compliance.

The political debate surrounding Title IX continues, as organizations such as the National Women's Law Center, Women's Sports Foundation, and National Organization for Women, among others, argue the merits of



Title IX

Key Events in the History of Title IX

- 1972** Title IX is signed into law.
- 1975** The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) issues regulations to clarify how Title IX should be implemented.
- 1979** The Office of Civil Rights (OCR) in the Department of Education releases policy interpretations that specifically included interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics.
- 1984** *Grove City College v. Bell* the U.S. Supreme Court rules that only programs receiving direct federal funding needed to comply with Title IX.
- 1988** The Civil Rights Restoration Act restores the enforcement muscle of Title IX, as now an “institutional approach” will be followed.
- 1990** The OCR publishes the *Title IX Athletics Investigator’s Manual* that sets forth the requirements and standards of Title IX for interscholastic and intercollegiate athletic departments.
- 1996** In *Cohen v. Brown University* the First Circuit Court of Appeals upholds the district court’s decision, ruling that Brown University had discriminated against female student-athletes.
- 1999** In *Mercer v. Duke University* the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals rules Duke University violated Title IX by discriminating against Mercer in cutting her from the football team because she was a woman.
- 2002** The Department of Education forms the Commission on Opportunity in Athletics, a federal advisory panel created to study Title IX.
- 2003** The Commission on Opportunity in Athletics releases its report, *Open to All: Title IX at Thirty*.
- 2004** A suit by the National Wrestling Coaches Association arguing that the male student-athletes were being discriminated against due to the enforcement standards directly causing a reduction in men’s sports is dismissed.

Title IX and the appropriate enforcement methods being used. In contrast the National Wrestling Coaches Association has questioned the appropriateness of certain compliance standards, in particular the proportionality test measuring athletic participation opportunity by sex in comparison with undergraduate student body enrollment by sex. The primary concern of this association, as well as the men’s gymnastics group, is that men’s teams, and thus male opportunities to participate in sport, are being dropped as schools attempt to comply with Title IX. About 400 men’s college teams were eliminated during the 1990s, with wrestling being hit particularly hard. The National Wrestling Coaches Association filed a lawsuit against the Department of Education, arguing that the male student-athletes were being discriminated against due to the enforcement standards directly causing a reduction in men’s sports. This lawsuit was dismissed in May 2004 as an appeals court panel ruled that the parties lacked standing to file the lawsuit, which instead should be litigated against the individual colleges that eliminated men’s sports.

Current Status of Title IX

The formation of the secretary’s commission to study Title IX in 2003 caused athletic administrators to be attentive to these discussions, with speculation occurring as to whether the compliance standards would be altered. The Bush Administration’s endorsement of Title IX, with no changes being made to the enforcement standards used for compliance, has tempered, for the time being, this concern and debate surrounding Title IX.

As federal legislation Title IX is enforced by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Education. The NCAA, as governing body of collegiate athletics, has not actively involved itself with this enforcement, but instead through the Principle of Gender Equity directs their member institutions to comply with federal and state laws regarding gender equity. The federal requirements for Title IX have been endorsed recently by the president of the NCAA, Myles Brand, who, while speaking at a meeting of the National Wrestling

*As long as I breathe,
I attack.* ■ BERNARD HINAULT

Coaches Association in May 2004, told the group that Title IX has been used as an excuse to eliminate sport programs. Title IX should not be seen, though, as the cause. Instead, these decisions are made at the institutional level, and while the number of wrestling programs at NCAA schools over the past two decades has dropped from 363 to 222, the number of football teams has increased from 497 to 619.

As part of the Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX was enacted to eliminate discrimination in educational programs or activities. The positive impact of this law is evident as many new doors of opportunity have been opened for women and girls in educational areas, bachelor and advanced degree programs, medical degrees, and athletics. In 1971, 294,015 girls participated in high school athletics. Today, over 2.7 million girls are participating. From 1981 to 1999, the total number of college women's teams increased by 66 percent. Although these improvements are impressive, there is still more work to be done, as girls and women continue to experience the benefits that participation in sport can bring.

Carol A. Barr

See also Gender Equity; Intercollegiate Athletics

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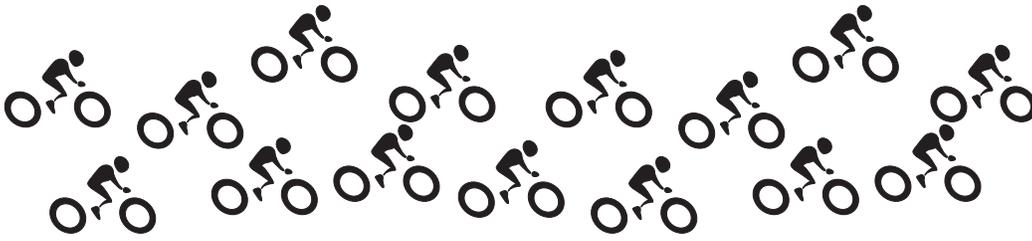
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Tour de France

The Tour de France is an annual international bicycling event in which riders who represent different brands compete. It has taken place every year since 1903, except during the two world wars. The race, which is usually during July, lasts a month, and each year the circuit is different. There are twenty race stages on average, each one ranging from 50 to 350 kilometers in length, and together they constitute a more or less regular race route around the country. Since 1977, the race has traditionally finished in Paris on the Champs-Élysées. The yellow jersey designates an individual time classification, which is calculated by adding up the overall time of each individual rider for all stages. There is also a team classification, a best climber classification (polka-dot jersey), and a best sprinter classification (green jersey). The greatest champion of the twenty-first century so far is the American Lance Armstrong, who won the race six times in a row from 1999 to 2004. The Tour has a number of other legendary riders as well. The best-known are the Spaniard Miguel Indurain, the Italian Fausto Coppi, the Belgian Eddy Merckx, the American Greg Lemond, and Frenchmen Louison Bobet, Bernard Hinault, Jacques Anquetil, and Raymond Poulidor.

History

The Tour de France was created in 1903 by Henri Desgrange, editor of the sports newspaper *L'Auto*, as a way to compete with his main rival, *Le Vélo* editor Pierre Griffard, as working-class sports entertainment began to emerge and as bicycling became more widespread. In



Belle Époque France, the stage race concept was immediately a success, helping *L'Auto* to make a name for itself as France's leading sports newspaper. The newspaper continued to lead even after it became *L'Équipe* in 1945, and it still does.

Desgrange remained the main organizer of the Tour through the interwar period and initiated major innovations designed to spark the interest of spectators and *L'Auto* readers. He set up the Tour "caravan," a collection of team sponsors who follow the pack throughout the race and take care of coordinating each stage. In 1919 he introduced the yellow jersey (yellow for the colors of the newspaper), which was awarded to the temporary leader in the overall individual time category. He chose the mountain stages that were most likely to add zest to the journalistic accounts of sweat and tears. During the 1930s, when Europe went through a period of rising nationalism, he replaced individual riders with national teams.

After World War II, the Tour no longer simply outlined the borders of France. As its audience became more international, it crossed over into Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, or Germany for certain stages. After 1948, when press coverage and radio broadcasts were joined by television, the event became even more popular. During the 1960s the Tour enjoyed one of the largest audiences in the world. As it became more of a media event, the economic stakes started to rise and, as a result, national teams were replaced by brand-sponsored teams. Municipalities hoping to enhance their prestige were more and more eager to host a stage start or finish. Since 2000, the Tour has become the world's most widely followed annual sports event. Fifteen million people take to the roads in France to see the riders pass by. Each year a total of more than 2000 television programming hours are devoted to the race, reaching 2 billion people in 175 countries.

Significance

At least four aspects of the Tour de France contribute to its special character and significance. These are

identity, gender, economics, and ethics. From its very start, under the revanchist influence of the early 1900s, the race put on a show that featured the national territory and gave the working-class French the image of France they yearned for. The "Great Loop" went on to become one of the testimonials of the French collective conscience. Historian Georges Vigarello describes the symbolic power of the race as a repository of French culture.

The popular success of the Tour has also been due to its ability to create a setting for, and elevate a masculine ideal that conformed to, the standards of the working and middle classes during several different periods. Both the total exclusion of women in the event (or their relegation to roles as foils) and the intense media promotion of the physical effort, technical skills, and ever-widening territory make the Tour de France a model of hegemonic masculinity.

The economic stakes were present from the very beginning, given that the participants were already professional riders. Since then, the stakes have continued to rise, making the Tour one of the annual sporting events that generates the most income. The press has always maintained a close relationship with the event: Only five race directors have reigned from 1903 to 1998, for example, and they have all been journalists. A hundred years after it was created, the Tour (which is under the responsibility of the Amaury Sport Organisation group) has an annual budget of 60 million euros and generates more than 15 million euros per year in profits.

The ethical issues are becoming increasingly important. Since Tom Simson died in 1967 during one of the mountain stages, a cloud of suspicion has hung over the Tour. A scandal finally broke in 1998 with what was called the "Festina Affair," where it was revealed that EPO (erythropoietin) doping was a common practice within the pack. This temporarily shook up the Tour and its image has been tarnished by cases of doping ever since.

Thierry Terret

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Track and Field— Jumping and Throwing

Track and field events are ancient sports. The men's javelin, discus, and long jump date back to the first Olympics of the Greeks in 708 BCE, whereas the triple jump, pole vault, and high jump originated with the Celts. The hammer also is an ancient tradition, and the shot put dates back to the seventeenth century when the English army held cannon-ball-throwing competitions.

Track and field has progressed from those humble beginnings. The first college meet occurred in 1864 between Oxford and Cambridge Universities. The International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), the world governing body, began with only seventeen federations but today has more than two hundred. Since the revival of the Olympics in 1896 track and field remains one of the premier Olympic attractions. In the United States and Canada track and field events are the most popular high school sports, with more than 950,000 students participating each year. The achievements of track-and-field athletes have ensured that track-and-field events also remain popular internationally.

Jumping

Jumping events in track and field are the long jump, triple jump, high jump, and pole vault. The long jump

and triple jump are measures of how far a competitor can jump horizontally after a running start. The high jump and pole vault test a competitor's ability to clear a bar at various heights.

LONG JUMP

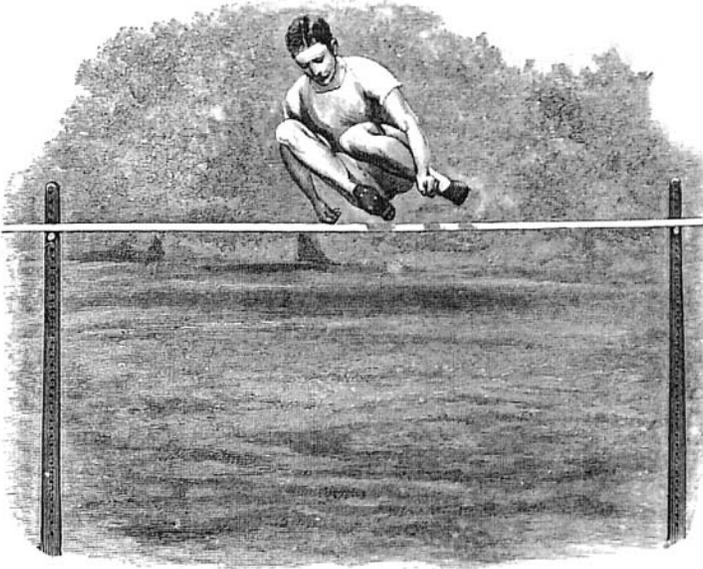
In 1922 William Dehart Hubbard and Robert Legendre introduced the hitch kick technique to the long jump. Between 1935 and 1968 the long jump world record increased a total of 8 feet, 6 inches (259 centimeters). The world record was 27 feet, 4.75 inches (8.37 meters) until one of the most amazing feats in Olympic history took place. Bob Beamon of the United States became the first person to jump more than 28 (8.5 meters) and 29 feet (8.8 meters) with a leap of 29 feet, 2.5 inches (8.90 meters) at the 1968 Olympics at Mexico City. His jump was not exceeded until Mike Powell and Carl Lewis of the United States jumped 29 feet, 3.25 inches (8.92 meters) in 1991.

The long jump is one of the simplest events in track and field. An athlete sprints down a runway (coated with the same surface as the running track), jumps from a takeoff board, glides through the air, and lands in a sand pit. The takeoff board is usually 10 feet (3.05 meters) from the sand but can be closer for less experienced or younger athletes. The athlete throws both feet forward and lands feet first, pivoting the body forward. The measurement is taken from the footprints in the sand. If the athlete steps beyond the takeoff board during the run-up to the pit a foul is called, and the jump is not measured.

The format of competition varies, but generally athletes are allowed three attempts to jump, and then all but eight competitors are eliminated. The eight who are not eliminated are allowed three more jumps. Only an athlete's longest legal jump counts toward the results, and the athlete with the longest jump then wins the competition. Athletes who are successful in the long jump tend to have strong leg and abdominal muscles and superior sprinting speed.

TRIPLE JUMP

The triple jump entails sprinting down a runway and jumping to reach a maximum horizontal distance. The



The Irish champion high jumper Kelly clearing the bar in the 1880s. Notice the difference in technique from modern high jumping.

triple jump is similar to the long jump. Often athletes use the facilities of the long jump, although the takeoff board is usually 40–45 feet (12.19–13.71 meters) for men and 32–36 feet (9.76–10.97 meters) for women. Successful long jumpers are often successful triple jumpers; however, having sprinting speed is not as important as mastering the timing and technique of the three jumps.

The form of the triple jump has evolved from the form of three consecutive long jumps by the ancient Greeks to the form of hop, hop, and jump to the modern form of hop, step, and jump. Russian and Polish athletes have had the greatest influence on triple jump technique in modern times. The Polish technique emphasizes the hop phase, whereas the Russian technique emphasizes the step phase.

In the hop phase the athlete sprints along a running path, then hops into the air on the takeoff foot and comes down on the opposite foot. The athlete then immediately moves into the step phase, during which the athlete springs or bounds forward and lands on the takeoff foot again. To complete the sequence the athlete goes into the jump phase, during which the athlete jumps into the air once more and lands in the sand. As with the long jump, if the athlete steps beyond the takeoff board during the run-up to the pit, a foul is called, and the jump is not marked.

HIGH JUMP

In 1874 Europeans invented the Eastern cut-off technique of the high jump. The Celts then invented the scis-

or kick in 1876. M. F. Horine of the United States developed a more efficient technique, the Western roll, during which the athlete approaches the bar on a diagonal with the inner leg being used for the takeoff and the outer leg being thrust up to lead the body sideways over the bar. Horine set the world record at 6 feet, 7 inches (2 meters) in 1912. His technique dominated through the Berlin Olympics of 1936. The Western roll led to the straddle technique, which was widely used until Dick Fosbury of the United States unveiled his new technique, the Fosbury flop, during the 1968 Olympics (he won a gold medal). The flop technique required the athlete to jump over the bar head first and land on the shoulders. This advancement in technique was made possible in part by the addition of soft landing material.

The high jump differs from the other jumping events in that athletes jump vertical distances. Athletes are allowed three attempts to clear a crossbar that is set between two upright poles 13 feet (4 meters) apart. The crossbar is usually made of fiberglass, and the athlete lands on a cushioned mat called a “pit.” The cross-section of the crossbar can be round, triangular, or square, with the ends being square to rest on the uprights.

Athletes run up to the crossbar and must jump off on one foot and clear the crossbar; they may touch the crossbar, but if it falls because they touched it the jump becomes a miss. Athletes can use a variety of techniques to clear the crossbar; however, the Fosbury flop is the most popular. Using this technique an athlete sprints at a perpendicular angle toward the crossbar, then curves and leaps backward over the crossbar, forming a J. The athlete pivots the head, facing upward so that the head clears the crossbar first, and then arches the back over the crossbar as the rest of the body follows, finishing with a leg extension to clear the crossbar. The athlete should land on the shoulders first. An athlete could also use the straddle or dive techniques; however, they are not as successful, and elite competitors almost always choose the Fosbury flop.

Usually the crossbar is set at a low height and is raised in set increments. The increments can be anywhere the

My thoughts before a big race are usually pretty simple. I tell myself: Get out of the blocks, run your race, stay relaxed. If you run your race, you'll win. . . . Channel your energy. Focus. ■ CARL LEWIS

meet host wants them to be, but they are usually set at 3–5 centimeters. Athletes choose their starting height and are allowed three attempts at each height. If they fail in all three attempts at any given height, they are out of the competition. If they clear a height, they move on to the next increment. If athletes do not want to jump at a certain height they can elect to pass that height and move on to the next height. The athlete who clears the highest height with the fewest misses wins the competition. In the event of a tie a jump-off is performed between the tied athletes.

POLE VAULT

The pole vault originated in Europe, where men used the pole to jump across canals. The goal was to cover horizontal distance rather than vertical distance. The goal became covering vertical distance in Germany in 1875. In 1900 the bamboo pole and vault box were introduced. The aluminum pole was introduced in 1957, followed by the steel pole in 1960. In 1956 the fiberglass pole was invented; modern poles are made of composite materials such as carbon fiber.

In the pole vault, like the high jump, the athlete attempts to clear a crossbar at varied heights, but the heights are much higher. The athlete uses a flexible pole to propel his or her body over the crossbar into the air and onto a pit. The pole is typically 12 to 16 feet long (4–5 meters). The vaulter usually grasps the pole 6 inches (15 centimeters) from the top, one hand placed with an under grip and the other hand with an over grip. The vaulter then sprints down a runway and plants the tip of the pole in the vault box. The vaulter then swings the feet upward toward the crossbar and, as the feet near the crossbar, executes a handstand on the pole, pushing the body feet first and facedown over the crossbar. The athlete pushes the pole away from the body, releases it, and drops onto the pit. Athletes are allowed three attempts at each height; if they miss all three attempts they are out of the competition. A miss is charged if the athlete displaces the crossbar or passes underneath it. The crossbar's height is typically increased by 3–6 inches (8–15 centimeters) at a time.

During the 1990s women began competing in the pole vault, and many states added the women's pole vault to their high school programs. The women's pole vault became an Olympic event in the 2000 games.

Throwing

Throwing events include the shot put, javelin, discus, and hammer. An athlete wins a throwing event by throwing an object the farthest.

The ancient Greek poet Homer recorded one of the first instances of competitive throwing, an account of a rock-throwing competition during the siege of Troy. England's King Henry the VIII was a noted throwing competitor, and the English army held cannon ball-throwing competitions that evolved into the shot put.

SHOT PUT

The word *put* is derived from an old Scottish word meaning "to thrust," and the word *shot* comes from the occasional substitution of a cannon ball for a stone from the Middle Ages onward. The shot put event involves an athlete propelling a heavy metal ball as far as possible. The athlete competes inside a circle. The event began in a 7-foot (2.1 meters) square; in 1860 the starting point was changed to circle 7 feet (2.1 meters) in diameter. The athlete cannot leave the circle until the shot lands on the ground. If the athlete does not leave the circle from the back half a foul is called. The distance of the put is measured from the center of the circle to where the shot put landed. An athlete can use only one arm, and thus strength is essential, but an athlete also needs speed and coordination to create the momentum and maximum force during the propelling motion. In most competitions athletes are allowed three attempts, and the eight best performers are allowed three more attempts. The competitor with the farthest distance wins the competition.

Athletes use two techniques to propel the shot put. In both techniques an athlete faces the back of the circle, holds the shot against the shoulder and under the chin, and launches the shot by pushing the arm forward, putting the shot, not throwing it. The first technique in-

Table 1.*Men's World Records*

Event	Distance	Athlete	Nation	Location	Date
High Jump	2.45 meters (8 feet .5 inches)	Javier Sotomayor	CUB	Salamanca (ESP)	7/27/93
Pole Vault	6.14 meters (20 feet, 1.75 inches)	Sergey Bubka	UKR	Sestriere (ITA)	7/31/94
Long Jump	8.95 meters (29 feet, 4.5 inches)	Mike Powell	USA	Tokyo (JPN)	8/30/91
Triple Jump	18.29 meters (60 feet, .25 inches)	Jonathan Edwards	GBR	Gothenburg (SWE)	8/7/95
Shot Put	23.12 meters (75 feet, 10.25 inches)	Randy Barnes	USA	Westwood, CA	5/20/90
Discus Throw	74.08 meters (243 feet)	Jurgen Schult	GDR	Neubrandenburg (DEU)	6/6/86
Hammer Throw	86.74 meters (284 feet, 7 inches)	Yuriy Syedikh	URS	Stuttgart (DEU)	8/30/86
Javelin Throw	98.48 meters (323 feet, 1 inch)	Jan Zelezny	CZE	Jena (DEU)	5/25/96

Table 2.*Women's World Records*

Event	Distance	Athlete	Nation	Location	Date
High Jump	2.09 meters (6 feet, 10.25 inches)	Stefka Kostadinova	BUL	Rome (ITA)	8/30/87
Pole Vault	4.82 meters (15 feet, 9.75 inches)	Yelena Isinbayeva	RUS	Gateshead (RUS)	7/13/03
Long Jump	7.52 meters (24 feet, 8.25 inches)	Galina Chistyakova	URS	St. Petersburg (RUS)	6/11/88
Triple Jump	15.50 meters (50 feet, 10.25 inches)	Inessa Kravets	UKR	Gothenburg (SWE)	8/10/95
Shot Put	22.63 meters (74 feet, 3 inches)	Natalya Lisovskaya	URS	Moscow (RUS)	6/7/87
Discus Throw	76.80 meters (252 feet)	Gabriele Reinsch	GDR	Neubrandenburg (DEU)	7/9/88
Hammer Throw	76.07 meters (249 feet, 6 inches)	Mihaela Melinte	ROM	Rudingen (CHE)	8/29/99
Javelin Throw	71.54 meters (234 feet, 8 inches)	Osleidys Menendez	CUB	Rethymnon (GRC)	7/1/01

volves sidestepping to the front of the circle and releasing the shot put; this technique is called the “glide.” The second—and newer—technique involves rotating like a discus thrower and is called the “spin.” In both techniques the key is to gain maximum forward velocity to help speed the shot on its way. Most elite shot putters use the spin technique; however, the glide is still popular, especially at the amateur level, because it is easier to master. In modern times Parry O’Brien of the United States pioneered the spin technique, and Alexander Baryshnikov of the USSR further advanced it.

In 1906 16 pounds (7.26 kilograms) become the standard weight of the shot put, although the weight varies depending on the level of competition and the gender of the competitor. Men put a 16-pound (7.26-kilogram) shot for international and collegiate competition and a 12-pound (5.44-kilogram) shot for high school competition. Women’s shot puts weigh 8 pounds, 13 ounces (4 kilograms) for high school, collegiate, and international competitions.

JAVELIN

The javelin is a steel-tipped metal spear that athletes throw as far as possible. A javelin measures 8 feet, 6.25 inches (2.6 meters) long and weighs 1.75 pounds (800 grams) for men and measures 7 feet, 2.5 inches (2.2 meters) long and 1.5 pounds (600 grams) for women. The rules for javelin throwing are similar to the rules for other throwing events. The athlete is allowed three attempts, and then the top eight competitors are given three more throws, with the athlete throwing the farthest winning the competition. The most noticeable difference between the javelin throw and other events is that instead of throwing from a circle, the javelin thrower throws from a run-up area that is coated with a rubberized surface. The athlete sprints down a runway toward a scratch line and near the end twists to one side and draws back the javelin; to maintain running speed while leaning back for the throw, the athlete performs a hop or a fast cross step before throwing the javelin. The throw is ruled a foul if the athlete crosses the

scratch line, if the tip of the javelin doesn't land first, or if the javelin lands outside of the fan-shaped in-bounds area. Javelin throwers gain considerable forward speed in the run-up to the throw, making their athleticism more similar to that of athletes in running and jumping events than that of strength throwers.

Franklin Herd invented the hollow javelin, allowing a javelin to be thrown farther. Felix Erausquarin devised the rotational javelin-throwing technique in 1966 and threw the javelin more than 100 meters. The International Amateur Athletic Federation soon banned that technique, and no competitor threw farther than 100 meters again until 1984.

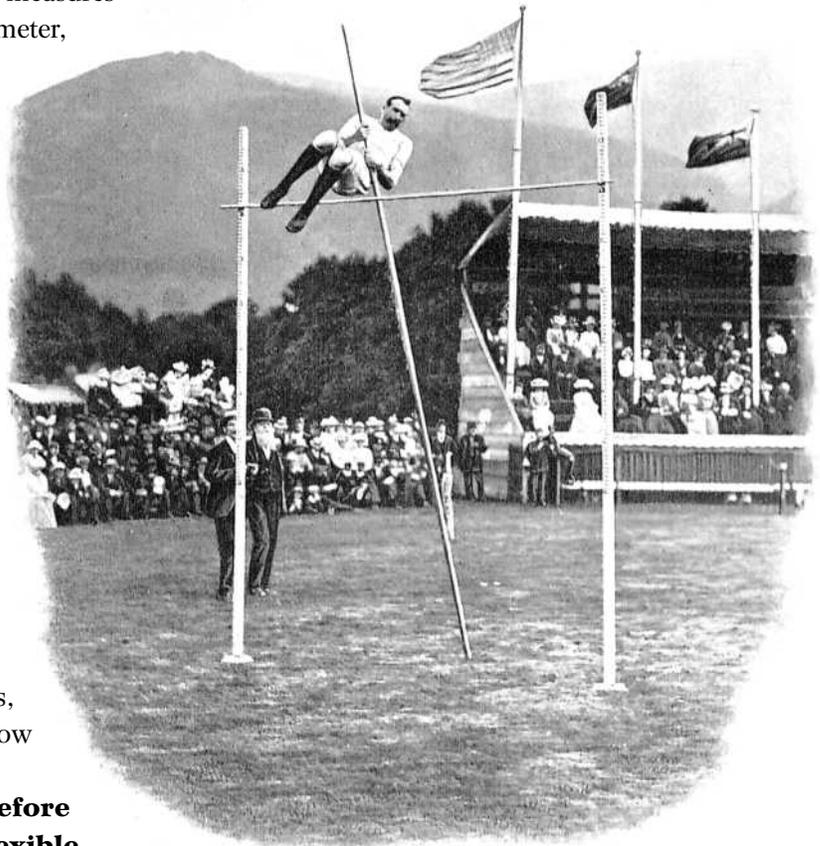
HAMMER

The hammer used in the hammer throw is a metal ball attached to a handle. The handle is 4.3 inches (11 centimeters) wide and is attached to a wire that is attached to a metal ball called the "head." The head measures 4.3–5.1 inches (11–13 centimeters) in diameter, and the hammer must have a total length between 4.6 and 4.7 inches (11.75 and 12 centimeters) and weigh 16 pounds (7.26 kilograms). The athlete throws the hammer with a spinning motion similar to that used to throw the discus. The athlete stands in a throwing circle, grips the handle with both hands and, while keeping the feet stationary, rotates the head of the hammer above his or her head. The hammer gains momentum as the athlete spins the body around three times and releases the hammer at the front of the circle. If the hammer lands outside the fan-shaped in-bounds area, the throw is ruled a foul. As in the other throwing events athletes are given three attempts, and then the top eight competitors are given three more attempts, and the competitor with the farthest throw

wins the competition. If an athlete steps out of the circle before the hammer lands, a foul is called, and the throw is not measured. The women's hammer throw was first included in the Olympics in 2000 in Sydney, Australia.

DISCUS

The discus throw uses a steel-rimmed hardwood or metal circular platter with a diameter of 8.75 inches (22 centimeters) and a weight of 4 pounds, 6.5 ounces (2 kilograms) for men and a diameter of 7.25 inches (18 centimeters) and a weight of 2 pounds, 3.25 ounces (1 kilogram) for women. An athlete stands in a throwing circle and holds the discus in one hand, with the palm facing down and the arm outstretched. He or she then spins one and a half times toward the front of the circle and releases the discus. After the athlete enters the circle and begins a throw he or she must not touch



A pole vaulter before poles were flexible.



the ground outside the circle until the discus has landed. A throw must land in the fan-shaped in-bounds area, which is a 60-degree arc. The athlete is allowed three throws, and then the eight competitors with the farthest throws are allowed three more attempts. The athlete with the farthest throw wins the competition.

In 1954 the concrete circle was introduced, allowing competitors to move much faster. The circle is 8 feet, 2.5 inches (2.5 meters) in diameter. The standard weight of the discus became 2 kilograms in 1907.

Amateurism and Controversy

As track-and-field events have developed into modern sports, issues have arisen. One major issue was the status of amateur athletes. For many years track-and-field events were considered purely amateur sports, and athletes could not accept training money or cash prizes. If charged with professionalism, athletes could be banned from competition for life. In 1913 Jim Thorpe of the United States was stripped of his 1912 Olympic victories in the decathlon and pentathlon and banned from further completion after authorities learned he had played semi-professional baseball. By the end of the decade track-and-field events at their highest levels had become full-fledged professional sports. During the 1980s many countries allowed athletes to receive appearance payments through trust fund accounts.

Performance-enhancing drugs have long been a source of controversy in sports. Sports governing bodies as well as countries have implemented testing to control the use of such drugs. Athletes caught using such drugs are banned from competition. Repeat offenders are banned for life, whereas first offenders are often offered a lesser sentence and banned for only one to two years. They are also required to forfeit all records, prize money, and medals.

Competition at the Top

Track and field has several major competitions, most notably the World Championships, the Grand Prix, the Golden League, and the Olympics. The World Champi-

onships, the largest competition outside of the Olympics, were first held in 1983 in Helsinki, Finland. The World Championships are held every two years in varying locations across the world. In 1985 the IAAF created the Grand Prix, which was the first meet to award official prize money. In 1998 the IAAF awarded more than \$2.5 million in prize money. In 1998 the IAAF created the Golden League to unify the elite individual meetings held in Europe. The Golden League is comprised of seven meetings rich in track-and-field tradition. It is held during the height of the track-and-field season, which is approximately July and August. For competing athletes the strategy is simple: Win the IAAF Golden League discipline at each Golden League meeting for a share of the Golden League jackpot of 100 kilograms of gold ingots, worth approximately \$1 million.

The Olympics are the last big track-and-field competition. In 1894 French educator Baron Pierre de Coubertin, speaking in Paris to a gathering of international sports leaders, proposed that the ancient games be revived on an international scale. The idea was enthusiastically received, and the modern Olympics were born. The first Olympics were held two years later in Athens and are currently held every four years.

All of track and field's jumping and throwing events have been included in the modern Olympic Games since 1896, although women were not allowed to participate until 1928. In jumping and throwing women competed in only two events: high jump and the discus throw. In 1932 the javelin was added to the list of women's events, followed by the long jump and shot put in 1948. In 1996 women were given the triple jump, and in 2000 women were given the pole vault and the hammer throw.

The jumping and throwing events have had many notable athletes. In the long jump Bob Beamon was the first person to jump more than 29 feet (8.8 meters). Carl Lewis is the only person to win four Olympic gold medals in the long jump. In the triple jump Victor Sayenev won three Olympic gold medals in 1968, 1972, and 1976 and is a former world-record holder. Jonathon Edwards of Great Britain, the current world-record holder, was the first person to jump more than

The more I train, the more I realize I have more speed in me. ■ LEROY BURRELL

60 feet (18.2 meters) in the triple jump. Al Oerter of the United States in the discus was the first person to win four Olympic gold medals in the same event. Sergey Bubka of Ukraine was the first person to surpass 20 feet (6 meters) in the pole vault.

The International Amateur Athletic Federation must certify all world records. An athlete may set a world record at any IAAF-sanctioned meet.

Governing Bodies

Overseeing organizations for track and field include Amateur Athletic Union (www.aau.com); International Amateur Athletic Federation (www.iaaf.org); International Olympic Committee (www.olympic.org); National Collegiate Athletic Association (www.ncaasports.com); U.S. Track and Field (www.usatf.com); and U.S. Olympic Committee (www.olympic-usa.org).

Angela Albers and Martin Short

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Track and Field— Running and Hurdling

Track and field is not a single sport but rather a collection of sports. Track and field dates back more than four thousand years and originated through a natural course of events. People of that time did not have sports in mind when they perfected their abilities to run, jump, and throw. These are natural activities of the body and are essential to the development of muscles groups.

These activities also were imperative for survival. In pre-historic times humans had to intuitively find means to survive. Many times their only defense was to run away, jump over, and/or throw objects. These abilities were defense mechanisms as well as aids in the acquisition of food. People had to throw objects to knock fruit from trees and throw weapons to kill animals for meat.

Historians argue about the beginnings of organized track and field. Recorded history shows that various civilizations competed in some aspects of track and field. The competitions of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Germanic tribes are well known; however, records show that similar events occurred in early civilizations of India, Egypt, the Americas, and Ireland. The ancient Greeks held gatherings for social amusement and in the process displayed some tests of bodily strength. The Greeks sometimes held such gatherings at funerals of distinguished men. Bodily strength was tested through wrestling or a half-mile foot race.

The ancient Olympic Games of the Greeks were the start of track and field events as we know them today. The ancient Olympic Games were based with three central events: the *stade*, *diaulos*, and *dolichos*. The *stade* was a race of 192 meters, and the *diaulos* was an out-and-back race of double that distance. In the fifteenth Olympiad the *dolichos*, a long-distance race of about 5,000 meters, was added. In the beginning the Olympic Games featured a limited amount of events and participants. Competition was restricted to men and boys.

People began recording accounts of track and field competition during the nineteenth century. During the early 1820s men held running matches, running more than a mile on turnpike roads or race courses. People set aside open grass fields to allow athletes to practice running, jumping, and throwing. Such fields were also used for informal competitions. By the mid-nineteenth century separate athletic cultures emerged. People staged rural sports meetings, two-man races between professional athletes, open professional athletics meetings consisting entirely of running events, open athletic meetings for the middle class (excluding the working class), and intersquad competitions between universities

and public schools. In 1896 Baron Pierre de Coubertin of France revived the modern Olympics Games. The games were held in Athens, Greece, on a cramped, crumbling track of Averoff Stadium.

By the twentieth century the Olympic movement was firmly established; however, many countries were not involved in track and field. In the major nations, such as the United States and Great Britain, opportunities to compete were directly related to social class. Therefore, a significant percentage of the national teams were college athletes, who tend to be middle to upper class.

Today athletes hold track and field events in every country in the world. Events are easy to stage, which is a major reason for their popularity. The International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF), which governs international track and field meets, has more than two hundred member nations. In the United States and Canada track and field events are the most popular sports among high school athletes.

Athletes compete in track and field events throughout the year. During the winter athletes participate in indoor events. During the spring and summer they participate in outdoor events. Some outdoor events are converted to indoor events during the winter. These events are the 100 meters, which is run indoors as the 55–60 meters; the 100–110-meter high hurdles, which is run indoors as the 55–60-meter hurdles; and the 1,500 meters, which is run indoors as the 1,600 meters

(metric mile). The summer Olympics usually follows the outdoor events program.

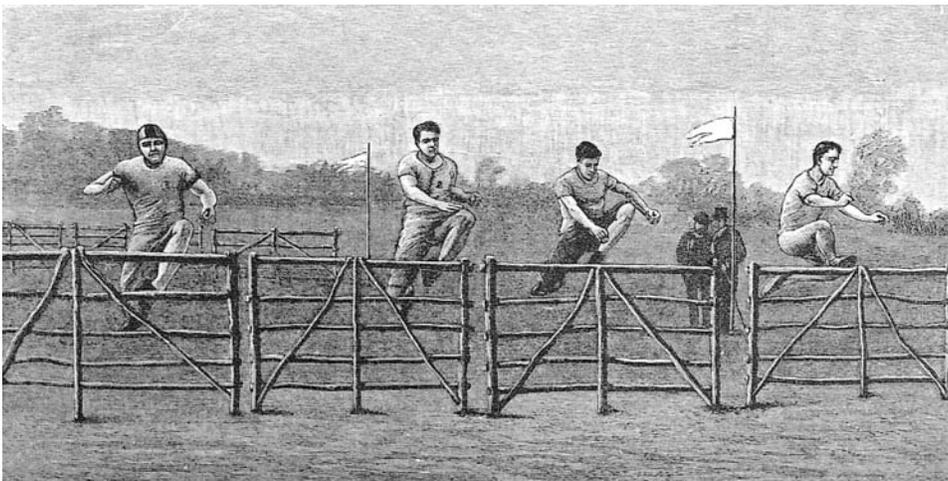
Women in Track and Field

Although the ancient Olympic Games were limited to male participants, women took part in their own festivals in honor of Hera, the patron saint of women runners. At such festivals women competed in running. However, after the fall of the Roman Empire until the beginning of the nineteenth century women were discouraged from participating in physical activity. During the Victorian era women competed in races at fairs and festivals. The first modern meeting in which women competed was held in 1904 in Germany.

Women were excluded from the modern Olympic Games because many members of the male-dominated governing bodies felt that women were at physical risk if they competed in track and field events. Baron de Coubertin felt that women had only one task in the Olympic Games: to crown the winners. However, in 1928 women were admitted to the Olympic Games at Amsterdam, Netherlands. They were allowed to compete in only five events: 100 meters, 800 meters, 4×100-meter relay, high jump, and discus throw. At the end of the 800-meter race the women runners collapsed from exhaustion because they were relatively untrained. Their collapse reinforced antifeminist beliefs that women should not participate in competitive sports. People protested women's participa-

tion in track and field events. However, despite protests, the hurdles and javelin events for women were added to the next Olympics.

Because of the women's collapse in 1928, not until 1960 were Olympic women athletes



Men clearing field hurdles that are much less forgiving than those used today.



Track and Field

The Running Jumps

Careful attention to the proper ratio of rest to exercise was the concern of athletes in the past as it is today. This 1914 account describes the necessary method of training young men for common track and field events.

For high school boys, training is a different matter than for college fellows, especially in the common lack of a really reliable coach. At this age exercise and not training is to be sought. Three days a week is the maximum limit for practice, of which only one may be used for competition of any kind. For college men, four days is the most to be desired. No broad-jumper should jump more than twice a week, although at this event as at the others there should be a liberal

mixture of various exercise for its own sake. Sprinting, hurdling, and long jogs after practice should be a regular part of the early season work, but as the meets come along, absolutely all exercise beyond the limited practice of one's special event should gradually be abandoned for absolute rest. Before and after a meet as well there ought to be a rest of two days at least. This is because the field events exhaust little muscular energy but a great deal of nervous force, which can be replaced and accumulated only by inaction.

For the same reason strict training beyond enough sleep and decent care of the diet is inadvisable.

Source: Camp, J. B. (1914). The running jumps. In P. Withington (Ed.), *The Book of Athletics* (pp. 228–229). Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co.

allowed to compete in any distance of more than 800 meters. Women had to prove that they have strength and endurance. Many members of the male-dominated society held women to an image of gentility and helplessness and preferred not to see them engage in strenuous activity. As the times changed and women received more rights in society, their opportunities in track and field increased as well. The 1960 Olympics added the 800 meters, and the 1972 Olympics added the 1,500 meters.

Drug Use

The use of performance-enhancing drugs has been an eminent problem in track and field as athletes have tried to gain an edge. The best-known drugs used to enhance performance are steroids. Steroids reduce nitrogen loss and increase protein synthesis, enlarging the muscular contracting force. Steroids give greater strength because of increased muscle bulk and improve work rate, which lead to better training. Steroids are now banned, as are certain cold medicines and the dietary supplement creatine. Recently many elite professional track and field athletes have been banned because of positive drug tests.

Sprints

Sprints—short-distance races—have been a part of the competitive play of every civilization. Sprints were run

in the ancient Greek Olympics. However, the Greeks made no time comparisons because they had no accurate way to keep time. The prime means of comparison was the order in which the runners completed a race.

In ancient times runners used starting blocks. Races were started by a herald's call of "go" or the blare of a trumpet. If a runner started too early he was beaten to death with rods.

Athletes developed sprint techniques by trial and error. Ancient sprint techniques were similar to those of modern sprinters. Images on Greek vases show sprinters running on their toes with knees lifted high, bodies erect, arms moving rapidly.

When sprint races were held during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most runners were members of nobility, servants of nobility, or the representatives of nobility. In 1850 the stopwatch was invented, allowing accurate timing of sprint races. In the mid-1850s spiked running shoes were invented, giving sprinters traction on cinder tracks.

The way in which races start and the techniques used at the start of races have evolved through the centuries and continue to be refined. Until the last half of the nineteenth century, many sprint competitions used "start by consent": Runners had to agree among themselves on the fairness of the start. A problem of the start by



consent is that each runner had the right to appeal before the race, which often took a long time and caused delays in the race. To reduce this problem a clause was added to athletes' contracts stipulating that the race would begin by "start by consent" and that if the runners could not reach an agreement in one hour the race would start by gun. Soon all races started by a gun.

The dab start was one of the first start techniques that athletes used. It was used until the end of the nineteenth century. In this standing start the front foot hit the ground first. Another technique was a conventional standing start from starting holes. Toward the end of the nineteenth century Michael Murphy, a Yale University track coach, developed a crouch start from starting holes. This start technique provided the runner better stability in the "set" position and greater velocity from the gun. Through the years athletes have used many variations of this start technique.

Sprint races include the 55–60 meters (indoors), 100 meters (outdoors), 200 meters (indoors and outdoors), and the 400 meters (indoors-outdoors). Two early sprint stars were Jesse Owens and Wilma Rudolph. Recent sprint stars include Carl Lewis, Florence Griffith Joyner, Michael Johnson, Gail Devers, Maurice Greene, and Marion Jones.

Hurdles

Hurdles as a competitive event began during the early nineteenth century in England. The standard distance and height for hurdles were set in the beginning: The hurdle race was 110 meters with ten 3-foot, 6-inch (106 centimeters) hurdles spaced about 9 meters apart. At that time athletes hurdled over sheep hurdles that were fixed to the ground. Sometimes hurdlers had to jump over a rope or cross bar that stretched across the track.

Hurdles tended to be run in public schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge until the end of the nineteenth century. Alvin Kraenzlein has been called the "father of modern hurdling." Kraenzlein, a hurdler for the University of Pennsylvania, was known for his sprint action and a straight first (lead) leg over the hur-

dle. He executed running "through" the hurdles as opposed to jumping over the hurdles and spending more time in the air.

In addition to moving hurdles from grass to cinder tracks, U.S. athletes modified the structure of the hurdles. During the late 1890s U.S. athletes introduced a loose hurdle top. Soon after 1900 a hurdle in the shape of an inverted T was designed to swing down in the middle when struck by a hurdler. In 1935 Dartmouth coach Harry Hillman invented the modern weighted L-shaped hurdle because of concern that the inverted-T hurdle would rise up when knocked down and clip the hurdler. The new L shape allowed for more fluid sprinting by hurdlers. The L-shaped hurdle increased the confidence and speed of hurdlers by removing the fear instilled by the inverted-T hurdle. The L-shaped hurdle is used today in competition.

Some differences exist between men's and women's hurdles. Men have been running 110-meter hurdles at their standard height of 3 feet, 6 inches (106 centimeters) for many years. When women became involved in hurdling they ran 80-meter hurdle races over 2-foot, 6-inch hurdles (76 centimeters) until 1969, when the hurdles were changed to 100-meter races over 2-foot, 9-inch (83 centimeters) hurdles.

At the 1900 Paris Olympic Games the 400-meter hurdles were added. In this race thirteen hurdles are placed around the track in 35-meter intervals. The men's hurdle height is set at 3 feet (1 meter). The 400-meter hurdles for women was introduced in 1974.

Well-known 100-meter and 110-meter hurdlers include Roger Kingdom, Renaldo Nehemiah, Gail Devers, Allen Johnson, and Terrence Trammell. Noted 400-meter hurdlers include Edwin Moses, Tonja Buford-Bailey, Kim Batten, Felix Sanchez, Sheena Johnson, and Marie Jose-Perec.

Middle-Distance and Long-Distance Races

The only long-distance race in the ancient Greek Olympics was the *dolichos*, which was about 5,000 meters long. Depictions of *dolichos* runners show low, economical action of energy, even though the athletes

A challenge for many sprinters is developing the most efficient way to leave the starting blocks.

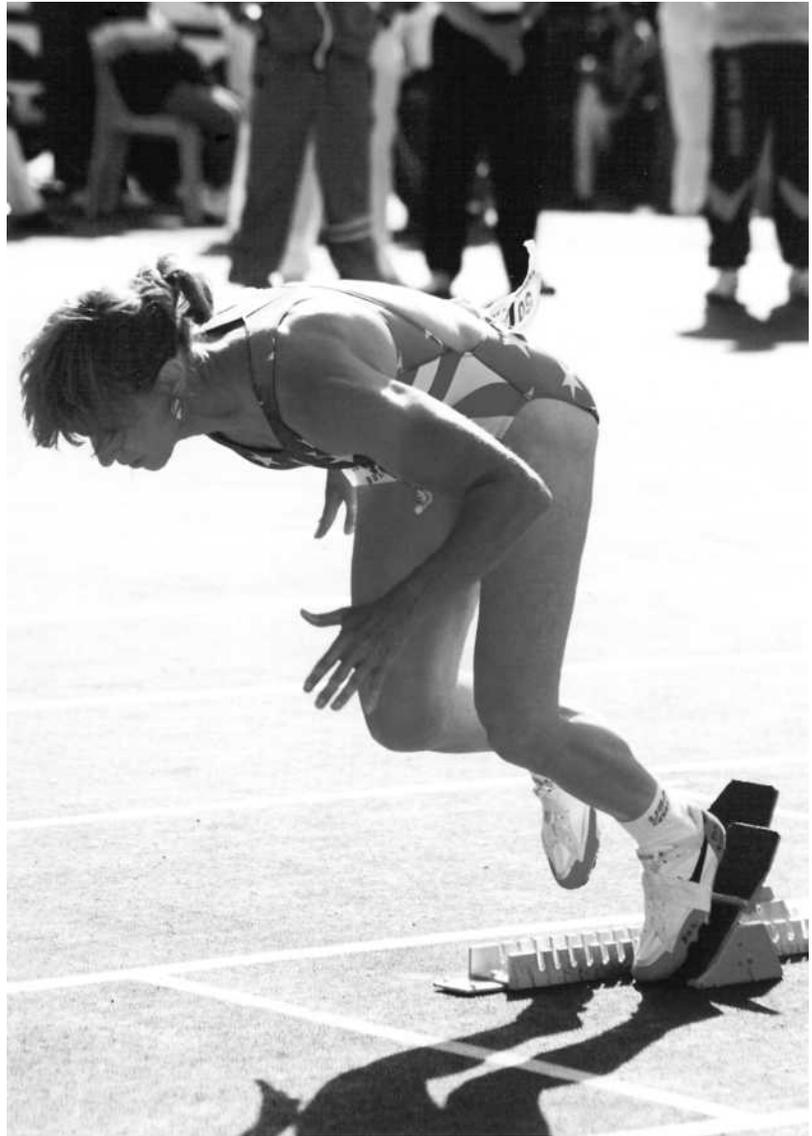
seemed to be more muscular than distance runners of today. After the ancient Olympics the next record of competitive distance running occurs during the eighteenth century in England. Most races at that time took place on heaths or race courses at fairs or at running competitions between villages. No standard distances existed for runners by the middle of the nineteenth century; however, the mile was as popular then as it is now. Today middle-distance and long-distance running events range from 800 meters to 10,000 meters. The 800-meter race is a balance between endurance and speed. It has evolved into a sprinter race because of faster times by modern athletes.

Because of the collapse of the women runners in the 800 meters at the 1928 Olympics, women were not allowed to compete in middle-distance or long-distance races. The 800 meters for women did not reappear on the Olympic program until 1964. Now women participate in all distances and have attained some outstanding performances.

Well-known distance runners have included Jim Ryun and Mary Decker. More recently Maria Mutola, Suzy Favor Hamilton, Marla Runyan, and Alan Webb are known for their distance running.

Steeplechase

Historians have many theories about the origins of the steeplechase race. One theory is that the steeplechase is a version of the nineteenth-century cross-country race between church steeples. Another theory is that the steeplechase was taken from the horse-racing world in Oxford, England, where people discussed a horse race over obstacles, which led to the race being run on foot. In the steeplechase race athletes jump over oversized hurdles and over water. The first 2-mile (3.21 kilometer) steeplechase race took place in 1864 in a



meet between Oxford University and Cambridge University. The 3,000-meter steeplechase became a formal part of the Olympic program in 1920. Steeplechase races of varying distances had been held at the 1900, 1904, and 1908 Olympics. When the steeplechase first appeared in the 1900 Olympics, runners had to clear stone fences, water, hurdles, and other obstacles. The steeplechase is similar to the 400-meter hurdles. The main difference is that steeplechase racers have freedom on the track and are not restricted to a single lane. Another difference is that the distances between the hurdles and the water jump are not equal. The steeplechase race is run in many meets by men but is gradually becoming popular among women. However, it is not yet an Olympic event for women runners.

Table 1.*Men's World Records*

Event	Performance	Name	Country	Location	Date
100m	9.78	Tim Montgomery	USA	Paris (FRA)	9/14/02
200m	19.32	Michael Johnson	USA	Atlanta, GA	8/1/96
400m	43.18	Michael Johnson	USA	Seville (ESP)	8/26/99
110m Hurdles	12.91	Colin Jackson	GBR	Stuttgart (DEU)	8/20/93
	12.91	Liu Xiaing	CHN	Athens (GRC)	8/27/04
400m Hurdles	46.78	Kevin Young	USA	Barcelona (ESP)	8/6/92

Table 2.*Women's World Records*

Event	Performance	Name	Country	Location	Date
100m	10.49	Florence Griffith Joyner	USA	Indianapolis, IN	7/16/88
200m	21.34	Florence Griffith Joyner	USA	Seoul (KOR)	9/29/88
400m	47.60	Marita Koch	GDR	Canberra (AUS)	10/6/85
100m Hurdles	12.21	Yordanka Donkova	BUL	Stara Zagora (BGR)	8/20/88
400m Hurdles	52.34	Yuliya Pechonkina	RUS	Tula (RUS)	8/8/03

Relays

The modern relays were created in 1893 by F. B. Ellis and H. L. Geyelin of the United States. The standard relays are the 4×100 meters and the 4×400 meters. Early relay events did not require the use of batons. Instead, the outgoing runner had to wait until he or she was touched by the incoming runner. Now all relays (except the shuttle hurdle relay) require runners to exchange a 28–30-centimeter-long baton within an exchange zone. Until the Munich Olympics of 1972 the outgoing runner had to work within a 20-meter exchange zone. A 10-meter acceleration zone was added to allow the runner time to develop speed. The acceleration zone gave the runner more running space, but the exchange of the baton still had to take place in the 20-meter exchange zone.

Nature of the Sport

In all track and field distance events the main objective is the same: to be the first competitor to cross the finish line. A bonus is to finish in record time, with a personal record (PR), championship record, national record, Olympic record, or world record.

To officially win a competitor must follow the basic rules of track and field. Some rules apply to all events, and some rules apply to a specific event. A general rule

for all events is that all runners must start a race at the same time. A good start occurs when all runners take off after the starter fires the gun. Many runners try to anticipate the starter and get an early edge on the field. When a runner takes off before the starter fires the gun a false start is declared. Each runner is allowed two false starts. When a runner false starts twice, he or she is disqualified. In the United States this rule applies to all meets that are governed by United States Track and Field (USATF). The false-start rule in meets governed by the IAAF has changed. Now the entire field of competitors is given one opportunity to false start. If a runner false starts the entire field is charged with the false start, as if all runners had made the false start themselves. The next false start will be charged to the runner who jumped the gun, and that runner will be disqualified from the race whether or not he or she committed the first false start. The rule was changed because losing time to false starts made maintaining a meet schedule difficult. This rule encourages runners not to anticipate the starter and to wait for the gun.

Other general rules involve good sportsmanship: Do not cheat (i.e., use drugs), use deceptive tactics, or inflict intentional harm. Cheating is acting outside of the rules. Using deceptive tactics—such as using illegal



Track and Field

The Art of Hurdling

Now a hurdler must have a long, easy stride and plenty of snap and spring in his legs and body. Obviously he must be a good sprinter to begin with, especially to run the low obstacles. The high hurdles are placed ten yards apart and there are ten of them to be safely cleared, and there lies one of the most exciting elements in the race, for there are ten chances for a man to strike a hurdle and lose his stride or tumble, either one of which will put him hopelessly out of the race. For one's stride is an all-important thing. It

must be so regulated as to bring the same foot forward each time a hurdle is to be cleared, and mind you, the high hurdles are three feet, six inches high and the low just a foot shorter. In order to do this, the ten yards must be covered comfortably in three strides. In the low hurdles, which are twenty yards apart, the distance ought to be covered in seven strides. Some short-legged men use nine strides, but they are obviously at a disadvantage.

Source: Jackson, A. L. (1914). The art of hurdling. In P. Withington (Ed.), *The book of athletics* (p. 191). Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co.

equipment—is a form of cheating. Forms of inflicting intentional harm include pushing, tripping, or cutting off competitors. Any infraction on these rules results in disqualification.

Specific running events have specific rules. In the 100 meters, 200 meters, 400 meters, 400 intermediate hurdles, 100-meter and 110-meter high hurdles, and 4×100 meters runners must stay in their designated lane. Running out of the designated lane results in disqualification. When a runner takes three consecutive steps on the line separating the lanes, the runner is disqualified. In the 800-meter, 1,500-meter, 3,000-meter, and steeplechase events runners are allowed to break from their designated lane after a certain distance.

The 4×400-meter relay has variations to the lane rules. The 4×400-meter relay can be run with a waterfall start, two-turn stagger, or three-turn stagger. In the waterfall start the first leg (runner) of each team starts at the starting line without a stagger (offset). When the gun is fired the runners must fight for position to get ahead of the field. This start is rarely used because the congestion causes some runners to fall or batons to be dropped. The 4×400-meter event can also be run with a two-turn stagger in which the first leg is required to stay in lanes for two curves, and then the second leg is allowed to break as soon as runners get the baton. The most common start for the 4×400 meters is the three-turn stagger, in which the first-leg runners are required

to stay in lanes for the entire lap. When the second-leg runners get the baton they must stay in that same lane for 100 meters or the first curve. After the first 100 meters the second-leg runners are allowed to break their lane and run on any lane on the track (although most runners select lane 1). The runners of the third and fourth legs are also allowed to run in any lane they choose.

Although the objective in track and field distance events is to be the first competitor to cross the finish line, no single strategy exists for any event. Sprinters and hurdlers run their races differently than do distance runners. Each athlete adopts a strategy that works best for her or him. However, in most races athletes want to efficiently use their energy. To efficiently use their energy, most athletes rely on technique and form. Runners focus on staying relaxed, keeping their shoulders square, pumping their arms, and maintaining good knee lift.

Ideally sprinters want to be explosive and to cover the track rapidly with the minimum loss of speed after peak velocity is reached. A sprint race can be divided into three stages: start, pickup, and finish. At the start, in the sprinting blocks sprinters focus on their reaction time, which is the first muscular response to the gun. After sprinters have reacted to the gun they must apply force backward against the ground. This applied force is important to velocity during acceleration. During the pickup stage acceleration is governed by the power and range of the muscles of the legs during sustained

A lifetime of training for just ten seconds. ■ JESSE OWENS

ground contact. At the beginning of the pickup stage a runner's body is low to the ground; by the end of the stage a runner's body is erect. During the finish stage sprinters decelerate toward the tape at the finish line. At the finish line sprinters tend to lean toward the tape because the winner is determined by which torso crosses the tape first.

Technique also is important in hurdles. Hurdlers should fluidly sprint over the hurdles, making only slight modifications to sprint technique in order to clear the hurdles. When approaching a hurdle, hurdlers sprint tall toward the hurdle, raise a bent lead leg to clear the hurdle, and snap the lead leg down to the ground. When they snap the lead leg down to the ground, the trail leg circles around the hurdle in a parallel manner. In the short hurdles (100–110 meters) a runner ideally takes three steps between each hurdle. In the long hurdles (400 meters), the runner, depending on stride pattern, tends to run thirteen to seventeen strides between hurdles. Men tend to take thirteen to fourteen strides per hurdle, and women tend to take fifteen to seventeen. Some 400-meter hurdlers alternate from their normal hurdle form and use their normal trail leg as their lead leg when going over a hurdle. Hurdlers tend to alternate legs when fatigue sets in. Some 400-meter hurdlers also use the alternate leg technique to remain consistent over the hurdles. Thus, instead of alternating when fatigue sets in, they train themselves to alternate legs throughout the race.

A distance runner should concentrate on increasing her or his capacity to supply the muscles with oxygen. For the 800 meters runners ideally get out hard and run the first lap fast. The second lap is usually strategic, and most runners try to keep the same pace or to not break down too much from the first lap. In the final stretch runners want to come in strong. The times in the 800 meters have decreased so much that some people now look at it as a sprint. In the longer races runners try to run a consistent race pattern or pace throughout the entire race. Some even try to run each lap faster than the previous one.

Facilities and Equipment

Although some track and field equipment is specific to some events, the track is used in all running events. The standard shape of the track is oval, containing two curves and two straightaways surfaced with an all-weather material (i.e., a rubberized compound). All races are run counterclockwise. The lengths of the sections of a track are usually distributed evenly between the curves and the straightaways. The standard length of an indoor track is 200 meters. Undersized tracks are less than 200 meters. Some indoor tracks are more than 200 meters but less than 400 meters. Indoor tracks can be flat or banked. A banked track has sloped curves, allowing runners to reach top speed without running off the track. Indoor tracks tend to have six lanes. Most outdoor tracks have eight or nine lanes. Most outdoor track competitions are held on an Olympic standard track. The length of an Olympic standard track is 400 meters. Straightaways and curves are 100 meters long.

In sprint races runners usually use starting blocks. Starting blocks are designed to give runners traction and power. At the start of a race runners crouch and place their feet on the blocks and their hands on the starting line. At the starter's command runners come to the set position by raising their hips. When the gun fires runners drive out of the blocks by pushing against the blocks with both feet.

Competition at the Top

Track and field meets are held at the league, high school, collegiate, and professional levels. At the league level youths ages five to eighteen participate in club summer track programs. Summer track meets in the United States are hosted by United States Track and Field and American Athletic Union (AAU). High school track meets usually consist of dual meets, relay meets, and open meets. At the end of each season county, district, regional, state, and national track meets are held. In track meets held at the high school level, athletes are allowed to compete against only other high school athletes. Most collegiate track and field athletes are recruited from the high school

level. At the collegiate level runners compete in many meets. At the end of each season they compete in meets against runners from other schools in their conference. After the conference meets, athletes participate in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) national track meet. This meet includes the best collegiate track and field athletes in the United States and lets athletes compete for a national title. Some athletes at the collegiate level are considered to have elite status and thus are able to compete with professional athletes. Many Olympic teams are comprised of college athletes. Athletes who have completed or withdrawn from their collegiate career compete at the professional level, where they receive product endorsements and monetary compensation. When professional athletes win races at certain meets they also receive prize money.

Governing Bodies

Overseeing organizations for track and field include Amateur Athletic Union (www.aau.com); International Amateur Athletic Federation (www.iaaf.org); International Olympic Committee (www.olympic.org); National Collegiate Athletic Association (www.ncaasports.com); U.S. Track and Field (www.usatf.com); and U.S. Olympic Committee (www.olympic-usa.org).

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Trotting

See Horse Racing



Drawing of school boys in Japan playing tug of war.

Tug of War

Tug of war is a contest of strength and skill that pits two teams against each other as they pull on opposite ends of a thick rope. Contests like tug of war were long practiced informally in the English countryside. The event is now played as an amateur sport, mainly in Europe and the United States.

History

Tug of war is said to have originated in the harvest-gathering of ancient China; to have been used to train slaves to haul stones up the Sphinx; or to have developed from the routines used by sailors in hoisting sails and by soldiers in hauling guns up the mountains of India's north-west frontier.

The *Dictionary of British Folk-Lore* (Gomme 1898) described the evolution of this ludic activity out of a basic catching- and-rhyming game. Two people stood facing one another and held their linked arms in the air. The game continued until there were two teams of linked people. The climax of the activity was a competitive tugging event, which went on until one of the teams broke down or was pulled over the halfway mark.

As early as the 1840s, tug of war appeared on the programs of various Scottish Highland Games. By 1880, the Amateur Athletic Association recognized tug of war, and it became part of track and field meetings. In 1958, a Tug-of-War Association was formed in Great Britain; by then, there were nearly 1,000 clubs. The sport is coeducational and draws competitors of all ages from around the world.

In the United States, tug of war retains a niche in agricultural and county fairs, circuses, carnivals, cel-



Tug of War

Tug of War in Korea

My favorite of all the activities of this busy month (but one not done in Yean), the tug-of-war (*chuldarigi*), originated in China but seems to have flourished in Korea. It occurred, and in some places still occurs, on the day of the full moon. The exact procedure for this widespread activity varies. In some villages the two sides are all the adult males against all the women and children. Regardless of age, unmarried people are on the women and children's side. The women and children are on the west (*yin*) side, of course, and the adult males on the east (*yang*). If the women and children win, there is supposed to be a good harvest. As in the ritual I observed, this is a time for recognition of the (*char*)um side (women, the young, low status, the west, the earth). The rope is ac-

tually two ropes bent double and connected by a linchpin in a way that resembles the symbol of the cosmic interplay of *yin* and *yang*.

Sometimes the hamlets (often named *yin* and *yang*) or the east (*yang*) and the west (*yin*) compete with each other. In these cases the two ropes are called male and female ropes, and the two sides place themselves in east and west directions and think of themselves as male-*yang* and female-*yin* sides. In Ch(char)olla Province, Koch'ang Township, Tongbu village, "the male rope is made to go through the loop of the female rope, then a large wooden linchpin is stuck through from the male rope side."

Source: Dix, G. (1987). The New Year's ritual and village social structure. In Kendall, L. & Dix, G., *Religion and ritual in Korean society* (pp. 108). Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

ebations, and picnics. It has also found a regular place in what has come to be known as corporate challenge "character building" workshops that strive to develop teamwork. Tug of war also continues to be a popular recreational pastime of fraternities and sororities on U.S. college campuses.

What Is Tug of War?

Tug of war as a competitive sport is practiced by teams that are members of national tug of war associations, which are affiliated with the Tug of War International Federation. The participants, who must be amateurs, are divided by gender, age, and weight class. Competitions are either indoors or outdoors, and each venue requires specific shoes. Teams must wear normal sports clothing but may also wear protective clothing underneath. Every pulling member holds the rope with both bare hands. Each team attempts to pull the opposing team over a center line on a surface that is approximately 36 meters long. Rules designate the rope dimensions, team substitutions, pulling area, rope grip, pulling position, and position of the anchor (the person who stands at the end of a line of pullers).

Olympic Competition

From 1900 to 1920, the event was featured at the Olympics. The rules were simple, with two teams and no weight restriction. The winning team was the one to pull the opposition six feet. The time allowed was five minutes and, in the event that no winner emerged after five minutes, victory went to the team that had pulled its opponents the farthest distance. Regulations changed at each Olympics. In 1900, team size was six; in 1904, there were five to a team; and in 1908, teams comprised eight athletes.

At the 1900 Paris Olympics, victory went to the Sweden-Denmark combined team. Four years later at the St. Louis Olympics, when very few Europeans had either the time or money to travel to the United States, the gold medal went to the United States. The four top-placing teams at the St. Louis Olympics were composed of members of track and field teams or gymnastic clubs. At the 1906 Athens Olympics, Germany was the champion.

In 1908 at the London Olympics, there were accusations of chicanery. Although the Liverpool police (representing Great Britain) quickly yanked the Americans over the line, the cry went up that the British were cheats. The debate went back and forth. The British

Chinese children playing tug of war.

policemen claimed that their heavy boots with steel cleats were standard everyday wear. The Americans saw it differently. They felt the Liverpool team was unfairly shod in "special illegal boots." The Americans were unsuccessful, and British law and order prevailed with gold, silver, and bronze medals going to three teams of constabulary.

At the 1912 Stockholm Olympics, Sweden won the gold medal, and at the 1920 Antwerp Olympics, Great Britain triumphed. The record for the longest pull according to Amateur Athletic Association rules (where lying on the ground or "burying" feet are prohibited) is one of 8 minutes, 18.2 seconds, between the Royal Army Service Corps (Feltham) and the Royal Marines (Portsmouth Division) at the Royal Tournament, England, in June 1938. Since 1958, there have been national outdoor championships, and European championships were inaugurated in 1965.

Governing Body

The primary governing organization of the Tug of War International Federation: (www.tugofwar-twif.org).

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Turkey

Turkey, founded in 1923, is located between southeastern Europe and southwestern Asia and has a population of 69 million people. Turkey's history of sports and other physical activities has been influenced by culture, social structure, living environment, and time period.

History During the Early Period

Throughout history, from central Asia to Europe and Africa, Turks established a number of states and encountered different cultures. Turks are descended from nomads who roamed central Asia between the Altai Mountains,

*Turkey Olympics Results**2004 Summer Olympics: 3 Gold, 3 Silver, 4 Bronze*

the Eurasian steppes (vast, usually level and treeless tracts in southeastern Europe or Asia), the Yenisei River, and Lake Baikal. These nomads had a mobile civilization based on tribal organization and shamanistic beliefs that involved worship of nature. Life on the harsh steppes required people to be physically fit. The equestrian tradition was strong: Turkish tribesmen lived on horseback.

Physical activities were part of everyday life and primarily were associated with survival, warfare, religious festivals, and celebrations. Turks celebrated the beginning of spring and conducted rituals to mark births, deaths, and marriages that included equestrian games, archery, wrestling, dance, and singing and hunting competitions. Women joined men in these activities.

Turks began accepting Islam during the tenth century as a result of close trade relations, migration to Islamic countries, and missionary activities. Conversion brought the abandonment of shamanism and replaced the nomadic warrior life with a settled existence. In the long term Islamic and Turkish traditions dominated the new civilization that emerged in Turkish Anatolia. However, increasing religious constraints and laws restricted Turkish women from public life and consequently from sports and other physical activities.

Festivals—organized under the patronage of Ottoman sultans to commemorate the circumcision of sons, births, weddings, war victories, and religion—became popular. They featured activities such as equestrian games, archery, wrestling, horse races, races, weight lifting and stone lifting, and sword competitions. Sports and other physical activities also were used in military schools to improve physical skills.

Fields for sports events, training, celebrations, and ceremonies were built as early as the fourteenth century. The most famous archery field (Ok Meydan in Istanbul) had special rules, including rules for training, participation criteria, referees, awards, and behavior. *Tekkes*, supported by the sultans and the ruling class, were popular sports clubs, especially for Turkish wrestlers and archers. Growing religious influence and the decline of the Ottoman Empire caused traditional sports to lose their popularity and support.

Physical Education and Modern Sports

During the nineteenth century reforms were initiated to modernize and Westernize the Ottoman Empire, beginning with Tanzimat (reform and reorganization). Educational reforms created secular schools. Gymnastics (later called “physical education”) courses and fencing were introduced in secular military schools in 1862 as a result of European influences. In 1868 Galatasaray High School became the first school to offer regular physical education classes, introduce modern sports, and organize sports festivals.

Even though the Regulation for Public Education program, enacted in 1869, required physical education to be included in Rusdiye (adolescence) schools for boys, only a limited number of schools practiced it. Books on physical education and modern sports, influenced by Europe, were translated to use as educational tools at schools, and articles were published in newspapers and magazines.

The first sports clubs were formed by foreign and non-Muslim minorities at the end of the nineteenth century. The Ottoman ruling class prohibited Turkish youngsters from forming or joining sports clubs. The first Turkish sports clubs (for football) were the Black Stockings (1899), Besiktas (1903), Galatasaray (1905), and Fenerbahce (1907). After creation of a constitutional monarchy in 1908 Turks were given more freedom and formed sports clubs and played modern sports.

The Ottoman National Olympic Committee was founded in 1908 through the efforts of Selim Sırrı Tarcan, an important role model in the development of Turkish sports and physical education. The Ottoman state was represented by one gymnast at the 1908 Olympic Games in London.

Despite the lack of schools, teachers, and gymnasiums, the Ministry of Education issued a physical education course curriculum for teacher-training schools for men in 1911 and for women in 1912. The first sports festival for Turkish schools was organized in 1916 through the efforts of European-educated Turkish teachers and sportsmen.

The Turkish Sport Associations Union (Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı [TİCI]), considered to be the first national sports institution, was formed in 1922 to develop Turkish sports, establish national sports federations, and represent Turkey at international sports competitions. The first national sports federations of athletics, football, and wrestling were founded in 1922, followed by federations of cycling, fencing, and weight lifting in 1923 and federations of boxing, rowing, swimming, and sailing in 1924.

Development during the Turkish Republic

The Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923 after the War of Independence, rose from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The Turkish Republic has undergone an intense period of secularization and modernization with a new constitution and a reform movement.

Reforms have led to an increase in sports participation and an increase in the number of clubs and school sports activities. Women were given equal rights, and secular laws enhanced women's role in society. This enhancement was reflected in sports: Turkish women began participating in modern sports such as athletics, tennis, rowing, volleyball, swimming, and equestrianism.

Even though decades of war, revolution, and occupation created a disastrous economy, the government, aware of the importance of sports, provided financial assistance, and Turkey participated with forty athletes in the 1924 Paris Olympic Games in athletics, cycling, fencing, football, wrestling, and weightlifting.

Under increasing pressure from the government for involvement in sports as part of a federal ideology, the TICI was abolished, and the semifederal Turkish Sport Association (Türk Spor Kurumu [TSK]) was established in 1936 and followed by a general directorate of sports in 1938 as an umbrella organization.

Not until the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Germany, did the first Turkish women athletes—Suat Fetgeri Aseni and Halet Cambel—take part (in fencing) and

Turkey won its first Olympic medals in men's wrestling with Yasar Erkan's gold medal and Mersinli Ahmet's silver medal. At later Olympic Games and world championships, Turkish wrestlers were successful, and in the 1948 London Games Turkey won twelve medals, all in wrestling.

Within the Turkish school system participation in sports and other physical activities increased slowly, hampered by limited hours of physical education classes, limited content, and limited sports facilities and financing.

However, during the last decade the success of Turkish national teams and individual athletes at international competitions has increased rapidly. Football continues to be the most popular sport and dominates Turkish sports life. In recent years women's volleyball teams, men's basketball teams, athletics teams, and weight lifting teams developed and gained popularity by winning medals at world and European championships and Olympic Games. This success has created new sports role models in Turkey. However, the growing success of Turkish sports is yet to be reflected in the number of participants in recreational and elite-level sports.

Nese Gundogan

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Turner Festivals

Turner festivals (*Turnfeste*) are gatherings at which turners (members of a gymnasts movement) compete in gymnastics and related sports. These festivals also have social and cultural components. Turner festivals are held in all countries where the system and culture of German *turnen* (gymnastics) were introduced, especially Austria, Switzerland, and eastern European nations such as Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

Historical Overview

Turner festivals of the nineteenth century helped turners unify and build identity. They contributed to the establishment of a national culture and the formation of a body-and-movement culture. They also demonstrated the manners and practices of the turner movement and the ideological, mental, and political values that turners supported. Festivals were associated with national rituals and symbols, reflected most of all in the turners' language, songs, poetry, flags, clothing, and physical culture.

Turner festivals developed out of the Turntage (Turner Days). The most important turner festival before the German Revolution of 1848–1849 took place in 1846 in Heilbronn. It stood for the prerevolutionary culture of

turnen. There the foundation of a German turner union was supposed to be laid, but the effort failed. National turner festivals have been held since 1860 in Coburg. From 1880 on, with the exception of the period from World War I until 1933, they were held every five years.

The Arbeiter-Turn-und-Sportbund (ATSB), which dissociated from the national turner festivals, organized its own national festivals in 1922 in Leipzig and in 1929 in Nuremberg.

In 1948, two years before the foundation of today's Deutsche Turner-Bund (DTB), the first West German turner festival took place in Frankfurt. In East Germany during the Cold War eight turner and sports festivals were held by the Deutsche Turn- und Sportbund (DTSB) in the former sports capital of Leipzig. Besides being athletic festivals they were misused by the totalitarian socialist government for political purposes.

U.S. Turner Festivals

For turners in the United States, who founded their first societies in 1848, the festivals were of great significance from the beginning. The American Turner Union organized its first national festival in Philadelphia in 1851. The U.S. turner festivals fostered a feeling of solidarity among turners and German immigrants and provided an important element in the expansion of the ideas and

culture of *turnen*, not only among the immigrant Germans and German-Americans of later generations, but also among U.S. residents who visited the festivals. A climax was reached at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the 1905 turner festival in Indianapolis, Indiana, attracted three thousand participants and more than ten thousand spectators. Since 1881 turner festivals ("Turn-fests") have been held every four years.

The men's competition at the National Turnerfest of the Nordamerikanische Turnerbund in 1905 in Indianapolis.

Source: Kevin Grace Collection.





Turner Festivals

The 1909 Cincinnati Turnfest

One of the most memorable of the American “Turnfests” occurred in June of 1909 in Cincinnati, Ohio, drawing “turners” from all over the United States. Judging by photos of the scene, it seemed as if the entire city either marched in or watched the parade in honor of the festival—especially since all the factories and stores were closed that day. A proclamation declared: “Cincinnati, famed the world over for the successes of her expositions and dramatic and musical

festivals, has had no opportunity to see so magnificent a festival as that which has been prepared under the popular title of the North American Turnfest.” Considering that 13,000 people participated in the events and another 50,000 attended, the proclamation wasn’t much of an overstatement.

Source: Gut Heil!: The 1909 Cincinnati German Turnfest and Urban Sport. Retrieved May 3, 2005, from <http://www.libraries.uc.edu/libraries/arb/archives/exhibits2/Turners/index.html>

Women

Until World War I the question of whether and how women should participate at the German turner festivals provoked fierce discussions within the movement, generated by a concern for morality and the fear of an emancipation that would destroy German family life and German peoplehood (*volkstum*). National turner festival officials and many women turners as well were concerned about the women’s reputation. In 1894 fifty women turners from Breslau dared to perform at the eighth German turner festival in that city. Four years later one thousand women turners from Hamburg supposedly performed improper exercises at the ninth turner festival in their home city. Before World War I nonlocal women turners were not allowed to participate at festivals. After the war, when women were able to participate in the national turner festivals, the number of women participants rose. Today about 70 percent of turner festival visitors are girls and women.

In the United States women have participated in line formations or mass exercises since the 1870s. Not until 1921 were they allowed to show their skills in competitive events.

In the past practical *turnen* with free and apparatus exercises, turner games, and competition in running, throwing, and wrestling, as well as hikes, trips, and the recitation of poetry, constituted the program of festivals. Today the program of German turner festivals is gymnastics and sports in individual, team, and combined

categories, as well as many gymnastic, dancing, and artistic displays.

The Future

German turner festivals are held every four to five years in a different city. They still can be characterized as a festivity for the people, as can be seen by their popularity. The thirty-first German turner festival in 2002 in Leipzig was organized by the DTB, with more than 5 million members in more than twenty thousand clubs. About 100,000 people—mostly women—participated before 1 million spectators. Traditions and symbols—among them parading through the hosting city at the beginning of the festival and carrying turner flags—have survived and show a strong connection to the turners’ past.

In the United States the importance of turner festivals has declined. In 2003 the number of participants at the fifty-first national festival had declined to a few hundred. These festivals no longer present German-American culture, nor do they attract the public as much. They are mainly attended by turners and their families.

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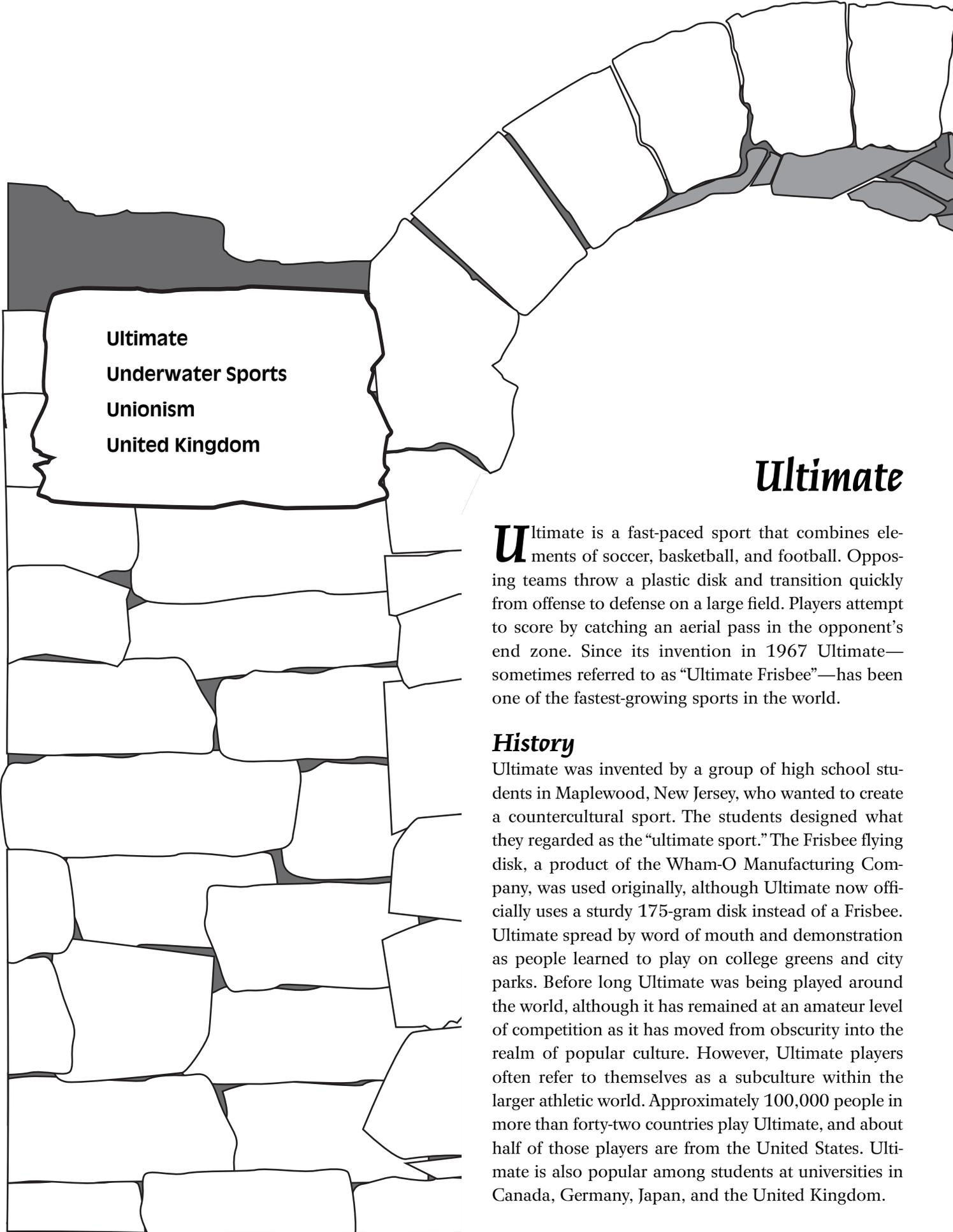
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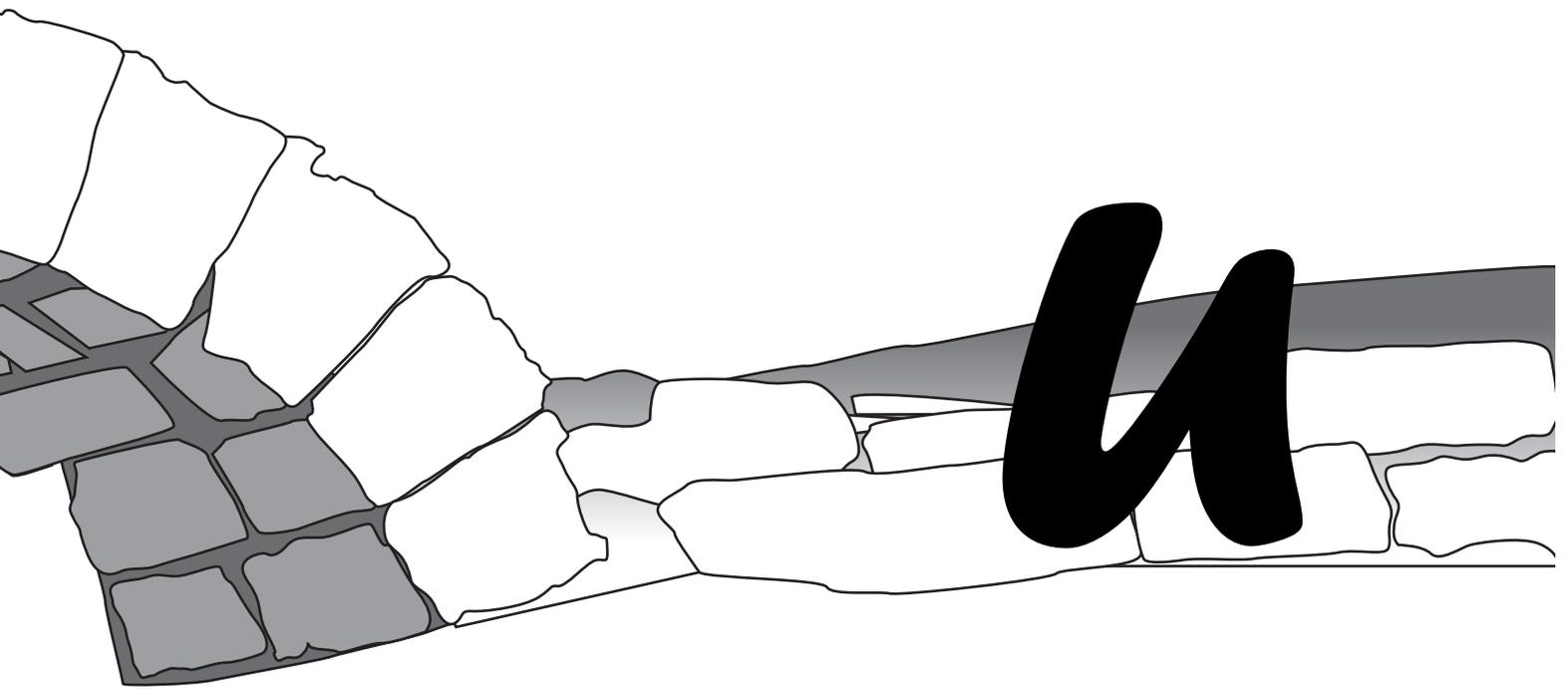
Ultimate
Underwater Sports
Unionism
United Kingdom

Ultimate

Ultimate is a fast-paced sport that combines elements of soccer, basketball, and football. Opposing teams throw a plastic disk and transition quickly from offense to defense on a large field. Players attempt to score by catching an aerial pass in the opponent's end zone. Since its invention in 1967 Ultimate—sometimes referred to as “Ultimate Frisbee”—has been one of the fastest-growing sports in the world.

History

Ultimate was invented by a group of high school students in Maplewood, New Jersey, who wanted to create a countercultural sport. The students designed what they regarded as the “ultimate sport.” The Frisbee flying disk, a product of the Wham-O Manufacturing Company, was used originally, although Ultimate now officially uses a sturdy 175-gram disk instead of a Frisbee. Ultimate spread by word of mouth and demonstration as people learned to play on college greens and city parks. Before long Ultimate was being played around the world, although it has remained at an amateur level of competition as it has moved from obscurity into the realm of popular culture. However, Ultimate players often refer to themselves as a subculture within the larger athletic world. Approximately 100,000 people in more than forty-two countries play Ultimate, and about half of those players are from the United States. Ultimate is also popular among students at universities in Canada, Germany, Japan, and the United Kingdom.



Ultimate purports to celebrate sportsmanship and fair play by a principle called the “spirit of the game.” Competitive play is acceptable but never at the expense of respect between players, adherence to the rules, and the basic joy of play. Through this spirit of the game, the sport teaches social values and reproaches unacceptable behavior. Ultimate players are responsible for making their own foul and line calls and must resolve any disputes that arise among themselves. Poor sportsmanship is discouraged and creates negative social repercussions. Players say that Ultimate was, from the beginning, a grassroots sport without referees or playbooks. It was created as an alternative to ultracompetitive, professionalized sports. Ultimate also was a response to the rise of violence in sports, the corrupting influence of million-dollar contracts, and the unsportsmanlike behavior of many athletes. The self-image of early Ultimate players emphasized this countercultural identity. Part of the allure for many players was the notion that they were engaging in a unique activity, a sport removed from the mainstream.

Ultimate players share a sense of camaraderie that is augmented by the sport’s jargon, which sets social boundaries. People who do not play Ultimate are often confounded by the terms that players yell to one another, such as “force home,” “hammer,” and “lay out for that.” Spectators, who are usually players themselves, also heckle and encourage the teams with Ultimate jargon. To feel that they belong, newcomers must learn Ultimate jargon and culture.

Informal pickup games are the most common manifestation of Ultimate. The skills, rules, and culture of the

sport are transmitted through face-to-face contact with other Ultimate players. Players insist that anyone is welcome to participate in pickup Ultimate. However, although nobody is ever turned away from a game, players who feel awkward or clumsy tend not to return after their first attempt. The Ultimate community includes players with various levels of involvement, but those who play most frequently tend to identify most strongly with the community. Games in recreational leagues are more organized than pickup games, but the leagues welcome newcomers and recruit players. Leagues have been established in Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Japan, Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Portugal, Switzerland, Taiwan, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

People who want to play more strenuous Ultimate can join regional club teams, which hold tryouts. Club teams travel to tournaments and compete against other club teams in games in which the intensity level is higher than in pickup games. When taken seriously, Ultimate is a grueling sport that requires endurance, speed, and agility. The spirit of the game usually prevails on the field, but plenty of arguments develop. Still, a few players on each team often wear colorful costumes, encouraging lightheartedness in the midst of competition. When the games are over, members of opposing teams are expected to socialize with one another, sharing the esprit de corps of Ultimate.

As Ultimate becomes more mainstream each year, veteran players strive to preserve the purity of the sport by highlighting the unique social benefits of Ultimate. However, a growing number of players who come from

A young woman playing Ultimate.

traditional athletic backgrounds have brought with them the cutthroat mentality that Ultimate was meant to avoid. A boom in popularity and a spike in aggressiveness among players have increased the level of competitiveness. Some Ultimate players lament increasing disputes over calls and less evidence of the spirit of the game. High-level tournaments have begun using controversial “observers”: nonplayers who can assist in resolving player disputes. Many Ultimate purists insist that observers are antithetical to the spirit of self-governing cooperation that is meant to guide Ultimate.

Nature of the Sport

The Ultimate Players Association (UPA), the governing body of the sport in the United States, was founded in 1979. The UPA continues to modify the rules as Ultimate has evolved, but it has essentially kept the sport intact. Teams of seven players face off on a rectangular field. A regulation field is 64 meters long and 36 meters wide, with 22-meter end zones. Ultimate is a noncontact sport that requires no special equipment aside from a disk and field. Most players wear cleats and use cones to mark the field boundaries. Players run and cut to receive a pass but must stop and pivot when holding the disk. The team who possesses the disk is on offense and scores when one of its players catches a pass in the defense’s end zone. If a pass is not completed, the defensive team takes possession of the disk and transitions into the offense. Teams may play either person-to-person or zone defense. A typical game is played to fifteen points and lasts approximately one and one-half hours. Player substitutions are allowed after a score. Players from both teams commonly exchange songs and cheers after the game and convene at a local bar or restaurant for social time.

Aside from their love of the sport, many Ultimate players feel that they share values and have more in common with other Ultimate players than with nonplayers. The self-image of Ultimate players models itself on the ideal of being laidback, sociable, fun, athletic, passionate about the sport, and always ready for a party. Of course, Ultimate players are not all alike. How-



ever, Ultimate aficionados claim that the sport is open to anyone, regardless of ability, race, or class. In fact, Ultimate is primarily a sport for young, white, middle-class men and women who are both athletic and fond of socializing. According to demographic information compiled by the UPA, which has 15,600 members, the Ultimate membership base in 2004 was 65 percent male. Members tend to be young (71 percent are between the ages of nineteen and thirty-four), educated (93 percent have completed a bachelor’s degree), technologically savvy (87 percent own a computer), and middle class (54 percent report household income of more than \$50,000). The UPA does not publicize racial statistics, but the sport has made few inroads among nonwhites, especially compared with other sports such as football, baseball, and basketball.

Competition at the Top

Elite competition in Ultimate takes the form of local, regional, national, and international tournaments. Among men’s club teams, New York dominated men’s Ultimate during the early 1990s. Boston’s Death or Glory won numerous national and world championships during the late 1990s. In California, Santa Barbara’s Lady Condors reigned among women’s club teams during the 1980s, and Boston’s Lady Godiva captured a series of national and world titles between 1995 and 2002. Separate tournaments are held for mixed (co-ed) and master’s teams. The first World Championships for Ultimate took place in 1983 with teams from Europe and the United States. Japan joined the tournament the following year. U.S. and Canadian teams have prevailed in recent World Championships, whereas Sweden and

A player who conjugates a verb in the first person singular cannot be part of the squad, he has to conjugate the verb in the first person plural. We. We want to conquer. We are going to conquer. Using the word I when you're in a group makes things complicated. ■ WANDERLEY LUXEMBURGO

Finland have repeatedly won the European National Championships.

Rutgers and Princeton played the first college game in 1972. College national championships have been held annually for men since 1984, and a division for women began three years later. The most successful women's college teams have been from California, with multiple titles going to Stanford University, University of California at Santa Barbara, and University of California at San Diego. Several men's collegiate championship teams have also hailed from Stanford and University of California at Santa Barbara. The Junior National tournament for both boys and girls has been dominated by Amherst (Massachusetts) Regional High School, and Canada won the 2002 World Junior Ultimate Championship in Latvia.

The Future

Ultimate is not an Olympic sport. Given its self-officiated nature and the relative lack of sponsorship compared to conventional sports, its potential for professionalization is limited. However, in 2001 Ultimate was included in the World Games (held in Akita, Japan) for the first time as a full medal sport.

Governing Bodies

Governing bodies of Ultimate include Asociacion Mexicana de Disco Volador, Australian Flying Disc Association, Canadian Ultimate Players Association, European Flying Disc Federation, Frisbee Brasil (Federacao Paulista de Disco), Hong Kong Ultimate, Korea Ultimate, New Zealand Flying Disc Association, Singapore Ultimate, South African Flying Disc Association, UK Ultimate Association, Ultimate Players Association, and the World Flying Disc Federation (WFDF).

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Underwater Sports

The wide variety of sporting or athletic activities that may be pursued underwater are always dominated by an environment that cannot sustain human life. Underwater sports therefore can be classified by the means that participants use to overcome that environmental challenge and fall into three broad categories. *Snorkeling*, the use of a hollow tube to breathe surface air while the face remains submerged, allows the shallowest penetration of the underwater world and is distinguished from swimming only by the use of that piece of equipment to facilitate breathing. When a swimmer or snorkeler abandons ready access to air by descending beneath the water, that person is engaged in *breath-hold*, or *free diving*. When the diver uses life-support equipment to continue breathing without direct access to surface air, he or she is participating in what is generally termed *scuba diving*.

Numerous activities may be pursued underwater, beginning with the simple exploration of an alien environment. Such activities may be enjoyed anywhere from a backyard swimming pool to depths beyond the sun's reach. The only constraints on sporting activities beneath the water's surface are those imposed by the challenges of the environment, the means chosen to overcome them, and the ingenuity of participants.

Origins of Underwater Sports

Although the widespread pursuit of recreational activities beneath the water's surface is relatively new, humanity has explored and exploited the sea since the dawn of recorded history. Ancient free divers held their breath to collect foodstuffs, hunt, or obtain materials from shallow depths. The snorkel undoubtedly appeared



soon after, with the introduction of a hollow reed or similar device that allowed the swimmer or diver to breathe with the face submerged. A person using a snorkel can remain focused on the underwater world indefinitely, but the mechanical effort required to breathe air through a tube while submerged restricts snorkeling depths to only a few centimeters. Unaided free divers can reach significant depths, but they can do so for only short periods. Expanding the limits of depth and time required more sophisticated technology.

The Greek philosopher Aristotle reported the use of a diving bell in the fourth century BCE, and Leonardo da Vinci envisioned a submersible life-support system in the sixteenth century. But truly effective systems for preserving human life underwater for extended periods were not developed until the nineteenth century. Even then, the cost, discomfort, and cumbersome nature of the required equipment restricted it to commercial and military applications. Underwater sports did not begin to emerge until the middle of the twentieth century, when the technology required to expand the human reach underwater became widely available.

In the 1869 novel *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea*, French science fiction author Jules Verne hypothesized that a recently introduced French commercial diving system that pumped air from the surface into a tank carried by a diver and then used a demand valve to supply the diver from the tank could be further modified. By eliminating the first link to the surface and personally carrying all of the required air in a self-contained system, a diver could freely interact with the marine environment. A series of experiments over the ensuing decades produced successful rebreathers, devices that filtered carbon dioxide from a diver's exhalations and replenished their oxygen levels in a continuous breathing loop. Although useful in military and commercial applications, this technology remained too complex and hazardous for recreational use.

Two French inventors, engineer Emile Gagnan and free diver Jacques-Yves Cousteau (1910–1997), resolved that difficulty in 1943 with a mechanism similar to the one described by Jules Verne. A demand valve at-

tached to a tank of compressed air provided the diver with a breath of air at the same pressure as the surrounding water. In combination with the snorkel and the recent development of fins worn on the feet to aid propulsion and goggles to allow the eye to focus underwater, would-be adventurers now had access to simple technologies that made submerged recreational pursuits possible.

Dangers Underwater

The dangers involved in underwater activities had already been identified when Cousteau and Gagnan began to develop their apparatus. While the risks represented by sea creatures themselves are often ridiculously exaggerated, the laws of physics and human physiology represent significant barriers to underwater sports of all types. The most obvious of those barriers is the simple fact that humans require oxygen to stay alive. Snorkelers have found a solution to that problem, but it presents more substantial difficulties for free divers.

At sea level, water pressure increases by one atmosphere for every 10 meters (33 feet) of descent; that is, a person 10 meters below the surface of the ocean is exposed to the normal pressure of the surface atmosphere and an additional atmosphere of pressure from the surrounding water. Descending to 20 meters subjects the diver to three atmospheres of total pressure. Being subject to such pressure has several immediate results. Anyone who has attempted to free dive in even a shallow pool will be aware that the air spaces within the human ear must be equalized with the surrounding water pressure to avoid pain or injury. If the diver is wearing goggles, which provide an air space to allow the eyes to focus underwater, the air within them must also be equalized. Most divers wear masks that enclose the nose as well as the eyes rather than simple goggles so that a gentle exhalation can increase the pressure in the mask to match external pressure and so avoid painful injury. But another consequence of increasing pressure on descent is less obvious.

All air spaces in the human body are subjected to changes in external pressure, including the lungs.

You have to perform at a consistently higher level than others. That's the mark of a true professional. ■ JOE PATERNO

Increasing the pressure of the air within the lungs also increases the pressure exerted by the oxygen contained within that air, the oxygen partial pressure. As a result of that increased partial pressure, a submerged free diver may unknowingly metabolize a higher percentage of the total oxygen available in his or her lungs than would be possible at the surface. When the diver ascends, the decreasing external pressure may reduce the remaining partial pressure of oxygen below the level required to sustain consciousness. The resulting phenomena is called shallow-water blackout, and it can prove fatal. Because of this potential, free divers are well advised to pursue the sport in pairs and exercise caution in increasing both the depth and duration of their dives.

Perhaps the greatest danger of shallow-water blackout is its counterintuitive nature. Like most dangers in underwater sports, it is associated with shallow water rather than great depth. A moment's consideration will reveal the cause: If the pressure on a diver goes from 1 atmosphere at the surface to 2 atmospheres at 10 meters, then to 3 atmospheres at 20 meters and so on, it follows that the increase in pressure is 100 percent in the first 10 meters of descent, 50 percent in the second 10 meters, and continues to decrease as the total depth increases. Pressure changes most rapidly near the water's surface, and it is that rapid pressure change that subjects the human body to the greatest physiological hazards in underwater sports.

Breathing compressed gasses underwater further complicates those hazards. The breathing apparatus that Cousteau and Gagnan developed, the Aqua-Lung, provides the diver with air at the pressure of the surrounding water. While the air in a free diver's lungs is similarly pressurized, it achieves that pressure through physical compression and a reduction in total lung volume. The lungs and the air within them return to surface pressure and capacity as the diver ascends, and the ratio between the amount of air the lungs can hold and the amount that they actually do hold remains relatively constant throughout. A diver on compressed air fills the lungs to their normal surface volume regardless

of depth. Thus ascending without exhaling would force the lungs to expand beyond their normal volume as the depressurizing air expands, leading to rupture of the lungs and a condition known as arterial gas embolism. The mantra of divers using such equipment therefore became "never hold your breath," marking a complete break with the habit of free diving.

Other complications delve even deeper into physics and physiology. Air is composed of approximately 21 percent oxygen and 79 percent nitrogen, plus various trace gasses. That is, at the surface humans breathe oxygen at a partial pressure of .21 atmospheres and nitrogen at .79 atmospheres. As those pressures increase with depth, the increasing partial pressure of nitrogen soon begins to exert a narcotic effect. This nitrogen narcosis, or rapture of the deep, impairs higher brain functions and may produce a sense of well-being that increases to euphoria or a sense of unease that increases to terror. As with alcohol and other intoxicants, individual susceptibility varies on a daily basis, but all divers are affected. Memory and reasoning power are often affected first and without the diver's awareness. This condition may lead the diver to forget that he or she ever experienced any impairment and is often revealed in vague memories of a dive immediately after its completion. The gradual erosion of reasoning power is a more serious danger, for the diver may unknowingly become unable to analyze and respond to an unexpected event.

In addition to its narcotic effect, nitrogen is an inert gas that the body does not metabolize. Increasing partial pressures force nitrogen from the lungs into the bloodstream and tissues, where it accumulates. The problem this produces is still referred to as "the bends" because a rapid return to normal atmospheric pressure allows the stored nitrogen to form bubbles that tend to accumulate in joints and the central nervous system. Victims may contort their bodies to relieve joint pain and can experience permanent nerve damage, paralysis, or death. This malady first struck men working in pressurized caissons during bridge construction and was therefore properly known as caisson disease. In 1880 French physiologist Paul Bert suggested that the disease,

also a problem for commercial divers, was associated with exposure to pressurized nitrogen. In 1910 British physiologist John Haldane confirmed this suspicion and generated a set of tables for staged decompression, gradual ascent from beneath the water or any other pressurized environment, to allow for the release of accumulated nitrogen. The use of such tables allows divers to significantly reduce the incidence of decompression sickness, as caisson disease is now more widely known.

Scuba

The fundamental dangers of using an Aqua-Lung could therefore be addressed by the knowledge of physics and physiology available to Cousteau, Gagnan, and their contemporaries. In the wake of World War II, diving with the Aqua-Lung and free diving both became increasingly popular. Continued use of the brand name AquaLung, under which Cousteau and Gagnan first marketed their device, to designate all such devices posed obvious difficulties, and the generic designation of self-contained underwater breathing apparatus, or simply “scuba,” began to emerge as the sport developed in the 1950s.

Underwater sports enthusiasts around the world banded together in a steadily growing number of clubs during that decade, aided by a number of best-selling books, popular motion pictures, and television shows that popularized diving. Manuals and standards began to emerge as the number of equipment manufacturers and retail shops increased, but training for scuba diving still reflected its origins in military and commercial instruction. The heavy emphasis on physical fitness, emergency techniques, and performance under stress in an adversarial environment that characterized most training programs limited participation in scuba diving, particularly among women.

Resorts dedicated to scuba diving and other underwater activities began to appear in the late 1950s and 1960s as participation increased. Divers benefited from the increased thermal insulation provided by the appearance of commercially available wet suits and the introduction of the buoyancy compensator, a device that allows the scuba diver to float on the surface and adjust

buoyancy throughout the dive. Such equipment was normally designed for male anatomy, making it ill-suited or uncomfortable for female divers.

Steady growth in tropical tourism and cruise ship vacations in the 1970s introduced thousands of people to snorkeling, free diving, and scuba as the popularity of all three modes of underwater exploration continued to increase. But female participation in underwater sports, particularly in scuba diving, remained relatively limited through the mid-1980s. The steady increase in the number of female divers since that time can be attributed to a number of social and economic factors: the development of less adversarial and physically demanding training standards, the appearance of equipment designed for female use, and wider acceptance of underwater sports as safe activities.

Underwater Activities

A number of recreational activities are commonly pursued beneath the water’s surface. Vacationers may be introduced to underwater sports, snorkeling, or free diving to explore the beauty of tropical reefs, but that level of participation is just the beginning of the informal possibilities and the activities formally organized under the Confédération Mondiale des Activités Subaquatiques (CMAS), the international organization that governs training and competition in underwater sports. At the informal level, snorkeling and free diving allow the participant to reach beyond exploration into activities such as photography and videography, hunting, and improvised games. CMAS takes the possibilities a little further.

Under the auspices of CMAS, free divers can participate in Apnea, competitive breath-hold diving, in a number of categories. The goal of such competitions is to attain the maximum possible depth and safely return to the surface. But that is only one of the internationally organized competitive events CMAS offers. Octopush, an underwater variant of hockey, remains little known despite steady growth since the late 1990s. The sport features biannual world championships and national, regional, and local competitions. In those competitions single- or mixed-gender teams of ten contend to move a small metal disk

across the bottom of a 2-meter- (6-foot-) deep swimming pool and into a goal, using 30-centimeter (12-inch) bats resembling small hockey sticks. Team members employ snorkeling equipment and free dive to the pool bottom to advance the disk or defend their goal.

CMAS also establishes international standards for scuba instruction. As in snorkeling or free diving, simply enjoying the underwater environment is only the first level of participation in scuba diving. But competitions in the actual use of scuba equipment are rare and are actively discouraged by much of the international diving community due to safety concerns. Scuba diving is not a competitive sport. Instead, scuba divers participate in a wide range of specialized activities.

Underwater hunting and artifact collecting enjoyed widespread popularity as the sport of scuba diving matured, but growing environmental concerns have placed a number of restrictions on those activities. Scuba divers were among the pioneers of the global environmental movement, and the diving community has proven very effective in establishing legal protections and enforcing self-imposed restrictions. As a result of the efforts of divers, in conjunction with other interested parties, underwater parks and marine sanctuaries began to appear in the 1960s and continue to proliferate.

Many scuba divers enjoy underwater photography and videography. Some indulge in exploration of underwater shipwrecks and caves, activities that carry added risk and require very specialized training and equipment. With proper gear, scuba divers can pursue such activities from tropical seas to mountain lakes, and even in winter or beneath arctic ice. In one variant of scuba, divers breath air supplied through a hose from a compressor on the surface rather than a true self-contained system. Often marketed as little more than a powered snorkel, this form of diving subjects participants to many of the hazards found in scuba and should be approached with proper caution.

Technical Diving

A number of innovations in scuba equipment and techniques began to emerge in the 1990s, at the same time

that the growing popularity and safety record of scuba began driving some divers to extend the range of the sport. Many were content to seek new locations, fueling the expansion of diving resorts and underwater sports in some of the world's most remote aquatic locations. Others sought to expand diving's horizons by going deeper and further than was previously possible.

The later group are identified as technical divers, because their activities depend on an expanded array of equipment, specialized techniques, and complete technical mastery of both for safety as they surpass the expected limits of recreational scuba diving. One of the defining elements of technical diving is abandoning the use of simple compressed air in favor of more exotic gas mixtures. Expert alteration of the ratio of oxygen to nitrogen or addition of inert gases such as helium into the breathing mix and the use of multiple optimized breathing mixes on a single dive can allow a diver to go deeper and stay longer than is advisable when using normal air. Safely using the full range of such mixtures remains too complicated for the average recreational diver, but during the 1990s oxygen-enriched air, or nitrox, gained wide acceptance in the general diving community, and additional breathing gasses and advanced techniques have continued to migrate from the technical diving community into more general use since that time.

The Future

Underwater sports remain in their infancy despite their ancient origins. The recreational use of life-support equipment to explore and enjoy the underwater world—scuba diving—is less than a century old. The technologies involved continue to change rapidly, including the widespread adoption of computers to manage the complexities of dive tables, the growing use of breathing mixtures other than air, and even the introduction of rebreather technologies long restricted to military and commercial applications. Such technologies and advances in understanding of the physics and physiological impact of diving continue to make diving safer and more accessible as they expand the possibilities for human recreation in the underwater world.

I'm rich. What am I supposed to do, hide it? ■ LOU WHITAKER

Demographics indicate that female participation in most aspects of the sport is growing toward parity, and training agencies are developing standards and protocols to introduce scuba to preteens. The medical aspects of diving are complex, but specialized training and equipment allows many physically challenged individuals to participate in underwater sports, and some studies suggest that such participation may have therapeutic value. Participation in underwater sports is likely to become more widespread and diversified as the sports continue to mature.

Jeffery A. Charlston

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Unionism

Not surprisingly, the Major League Baseball Players Association (MLBPA) is often referred to as the most successful and most powerful union in the United States. This is the union that brought unrestricted free agency into the world of team sports, and in 2003 the average major league player earned \$2.4 million in salary. Yet if we judge by average salary, then the basketball players union (the NBPA) would win the prize: The average player salary in 2003–2004 was \$4.4 million.

Team sports unions are like no others. First, there is the obvious difference that the membership would hardly qualify as proletarian. Rather, virtually all members reside in the top 1 percent of income earners in the country.

Second, unlike traditional unions, team sports unions do not bargain over specific wages; instead, they bargain over the framework within which wages are determined. Sports collective bargaining agreements (CBAs)

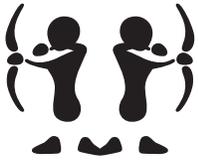
also stipulate minimum salaries, benefits, and grievance procedures as well as other general employment provisions. Once the framework is set, individual players and their agents bargain with their teams for salaries above the minimum and other benefits through the addition of special covenants to the uniform players contract.

Third, sports unions bargain within a multiemployer bargaining unit. That is, each of the four major team sports leagues, Major League Baseball (MLB), the National Basketball Association (NBA), the National Football League (NFL), and the National Hockey League (NHL), has thirty or more teams, each of which is separately owned. There is also a wide disparity in revenue across the teams in any given league. The widest disparities are in baseball, where the top team earns over \$300 million in revenue and the bottom team earns around \$40 million (before revenue sharing). The smallest disparities are in football, a league within which over 70 percent of the revenues are equally shared, where the top team earns approximately \$240 million and the bottom team around \$140 million.

These disparities are important for a variety of reasons. For collective bargaining purposes their largest significance is that team owners have very different economic experiences from each other. These differences, in turn, lead to rather distinct views about what the collective bargaining agreement should accomplish.

MLBPA and Collective Bargaining

As the earlier revenue figures suggest, the disagreements among owners tend to be sharpest in baseball, where the problems that ensue from this disunity are at least three-fold. First, the owners cannot agree on a common vision for the game, let alone a cohesive plan for its future. Their inability to agree on basic demands inevitably leads to long delays before collective bargaining is initiated. For instance, shortly after the baseball owners reopened the 1990 collective bargaining agreement in December 1992, the owners' chief negotiator Richard Ravitch told Don Fehr, who represents the players union, that he wanted to start negotiating right away.



Actual bargaining did not begin until March 1994, sixteen months later.

Well in advance of the 2002 CBA, Commissioner Bud Selig formed a unilateral Blue Ribbon Panel in 1998 to study the economics of baseball and make recommendations for reform. The panel produced its report in July 2000. Then, nearly a year passed before Selig authorized Paul Beeston, then MLB's chief operating officer, to commence discussions with the MLBPA. According to Steve Fehr, a union negotiator, the two sides had twenty-three meetings between 28 February 2001 and 20 June 2001. When the June 20 meeting adjourned, the MLBPA thought they had an agreement. Beeston had responded favorably to the players' last proposal and said he would get back to them in short order. But the players never heard back. Selig had abruptly terminated the discussions without explanation. The owners did not put their substantive demands on the bargaining table until December 2001—a month after the expiration of the old agreement and eighteen months after the Blue Ribbon Panel's report was issued.

A likely explanation for these delays is the disunity among owners. Since they cannot agree what demands to put on the table, bargaining is pushed back. Then, when they start preliminary bargaining, a previously dormant ownership clique gets wind of the talks, objects, and the talks are terminated. The end result is that bargaining goes down to the wire and either does not get resolved in time (as in 1994) or is resolved in haste (as in 2002) with a flawed structure resting on compromise.

Second, when the owners finally are ready to come to the bargaining table, it is usually based on the lowest common denominator among them—they would like salaries to be lower. Accordingly, rather than producing a coherent, balanced plan for the game's future, the tendency of the owners has been to come to the bargaining table with a demand for unilateral sacrifice by the players that restricts free agency rights in one way or another. This sets an adversarial tone to the bargaining process and reinforces the deep-seated distrust that the players have felt toward the owners.

Third, the MLBPA confronts formal ownership demands, but in practice it is bargaining with different groups of owners that must be reconciled. It is put in the strange position of triangulating an agreement. This too is conducive to inefficient outcomes. For instance, a few owners may find themselves aligning more closely with the players on the issues of revenue sharing and luxury taxes. We know this to be the case at least with the New York Yankees owner George Steinbrenner. This phenomenon leads the majority of owners to seek to penalize the owners who break ranks, even if it means deviating from a rational design of its collective bargaining institutions.

Similar, though generally less acute, dynamics are at play in the NHL, NBA, and NFL. Strong leadership from the commissioner's office can help to alleviate some of the centrifugal forces.

Defining Labor Issues

While the foregoing may help to explain the difficulty in reaching a collective bargaining agreement, most sports fans cannot understand or accept the inability of millionaire (or billionaire) owners and millionaire players to find common ground. If the issue is cast as a greedy \$10 million player who wants to earn \$10.5 million, then there is little question that the players do not merit a great deal of sympathy from the fans.

Players associations, however, do not see their struggles in those terms. Rather, they want to be sure that the players are getting their fair share of the billions of dollars of revenue generated by the monopoly sports leagues. Owners repeatedly claim to be losing money, yet the value of their franchises keeps rising, and owners have been found to hide revenue from each other as well as from the players associations.

Players, thus, tend to resist compensation systems that place restrictions on a free market determination of their value. The players' struggle for free markets originated in their battle against the reserve clause that prevailed in all the team sports prior to the 1970s. The reserve clause basically allowed teams to retain their players as long as they wanted. Reserved players could

receive no competitive bids for their services from other teams and, hence, they received artificially depressed salaries.

Free Agency

Between 1964 and 1970, the players in each of the four major team sports formed collective bargaining units. Unrestricted free agency, however, was not gained until 1976, when the MLBPA won the Messersmith-McNally arbitration case. Thereafter, players with six years of major league experience (whose existing contracts had expired) qualified to enter the open market and receive competitive bids from other teams.

Unrestricted free agency followed begrudgingly in other sports. In the NBA a settlement was reached in 1976 allowing the ABA (American Basketball Association) and NBA to merge, but also creating a form of restricted free agency. The restriction was that a team losing a free agent would be compensated significantly by the team signing the player. This restriction first was replaced by a clause giving each team the right of first refusal before a new team signed one of its players and then, in 1984–1985, by unrestricted free agency along with a salary cap. The cap at the time was set at 53 percent of “defined gross revenues” or DGR.

The NBA cap was introduced with one very significant loophole, known as the “Larry Bird Exception.” A team could re-sign one of its own players and pay him as much as they wanted (without regard to the cap). This exception reduced player mobility and made it more likely that a small market team could retain its best players, rather than seeing them flee to a large market club as is the pattern in baseball and hockey. The Bird Exception is still in place.

Another interesting development in the NBA points at one of the difficulties of a salary cap system. The amount a team can pay its players (payroll) is set as a percent of some definition of league revenues. But league revenues are based on team revenues, and teams have various ways to legally underreport their revenues. This opens the door for disputes between the league and the union

and this is precisely what happened in 1991. The players brought a proceeding that charged the owners with hiding revenues. In July 1992 a settlement was signed that awarded \$62 million to the players.

With the 1999 collective bargaining agreement, the NBA introduced an escrow system along with a very stiff luxury tax (over 100 percent) for payrolls that rose above 61 percent of defined revenue. NBA player payrolls have stabilized around 60 percent of defined league-wide revenues.

The NFL took a more tortuous route to free agency. The National Football League Players Association (NFLPA) became the collective bargaining unit for the players in 1970. The owners refused to yield on any of the players’ key demands, which included unrestricted free agency and impartial arbitration of all disputes. In 1974 the players brought suit against the NFL, and in 1976 the courts declared the NFL in violation of the nation’s antitrust laws. Fewer than half the players, however, were paying dues to the union, leaving the union in a weak bargaining position.

In this context the union and the NFL reached agreement on a new CBA in March 1977. Player benefits were increased significantly and impartial arbitration was introduced for most issues, but the new free agency system was still highly restrictive. It stipulated that a team losing a player would have a right of first refusal and then be compensated for the lost player with a first-round draft pick. Moreover, with the NFL’s extensive revenue sharing, owners had little financial incentive to invest in free agents. The result was that very few “free agents” moved to new teams.

Ironically, in retrospect, in 1982 the players asked for a salary cap, set at 55 percent of league-wide revenues. When the owners refused, the players began a two-month strike. The strike was settled when the owners agreed to a considerably larger benefit-compensation package, but the issue of free agency remained unresolved.

When negotiations for the next CBA opened in 1987, the owners were feeling their oats because their would-be competitive league, the United States Football



Unionism

Resistance to a Baseball Union in the 1920s

The ball players seem determined to have another union. As in the case of the old Players' Fraternity, which collapsed soon after America's entry into the World War, the present union is being organized from the outside. The strike of the Detroit players in 1911 in protest against Cobb's indefinite suspension for punching an abusive fan in New York gave Dave Fultz, a retired ball player, the idea for a union of ball players. Unquestionably Ray Cannon, a young Milwaukee attorney, got considerable encouragement when he broached the subject of a union to prominent ball players.

It seems largely up to organizer Cannon whether his union shall make itself a nuisance or an organization for the good of the game. Fultz's Fraternity accomplished some needed reforms, but Fultz then began looking for trouble. In the winter of 1916–1917, with the war right around the corner, Fultz called upon all fraternity members, major and minor, to sign pledges not to enter into contracts with their clubs until certain grievances of minor league players were met.

Knowing as he did the slender thread which bound the majors and minors together, it was a suicidal policy to try to keep players like Speaker, Sisler

and Johnson from signing big league contracts until Kalamazoo paid \$50 back pay to pitcher Schmeltz and Muskogee reinstated catcher Schmitz.

The new Players' Union should profit by the mistakes of its predecessor. No one has any objection to the players forming an organization, especially one which gives some thought to the old down-and-out player. If instead of searching for grievance with a microscope, the new union seeks to do all it can to help the game, it can make of itself a praiseworthy institution.

The new union may act as a clearing house for rumors of the diamond in the event that any set of players again attempt to undermine the game. Honest players, with the welfare of the game at heart, have made the mistake in the past of being too clannish. They saw things that they knew did not look right; especially was this true of the honest Chicago American League players in 1919 and 1920, but they whispered it among themselves and never went to the constituted baseball authorities with their suspicions.

As far as we recall, Les Mann, who took Phil Douglas' incriminating letter to Branch Rickey, is the only player who has lent much of a hand in cleaning up the game in recent years.

Source: Lieb, F. G. (1923). The new ball players' union. *Sporting Life*, 70(24), 24.

League (USFL), had gone out of business the year before. The players had less leverage, but the union was no less determined to gain true free agency. The intransigence on each side led to a three-week strike, which ended when the ranks of the players became divided, and the union leader decided that the players had a better chance with an antitrust action than a job action.

After an initial victory, the union was told that it would have to decertify itself as a collective bargaining unit to proceed with its antitrust claims. The union did this and in 1990 filed its *McNeil v. NFL* case against the league. The jury found in favor of the union, and the owners were forced to negotiate a more open system.

In January 1993 the two sides reached agreement. Owners agreed to free agency, but only if there was a salary cap. Players agreed to the cap, but only if player costs first exceeded 67 percent of league defined revenues. Even then, the cap would have to be relatively high—63 percent of defined revenues—and the clubs would have to guarantee that at least 58 percent of defined revenues would be spent on players. Further, the agreement permits teams to exceed the cap by counting only a portion of up-front signing bonuses. (Historically, until then, the players' share of revenues had averaged less than 50 percent.) Importantly, the owners agreed that there would be no cap in the last year of the deal—1999. Finally, \$195 million in damages would

have to be paid to the players in settlement of various court actions. This same cap system, with small modifications, has been extended four times and has been the basis for uninterrupted labor peace in the NFL since 1993. Labor relations in hockey were at a crossroads in 2004. Although the league did not adopt unrestricted free agency until the mid-1990s, and even then allowed it to only apply to players with at least ten years in the league or thirty-one years of age, the player payroll share in revenue was considerably higher in the NHL (at around 70 percent) than in the other team sports. In part this is because of hockey's system of salary arbitration, and in part this is because of unrestrained signing bonuses offered to first-year players.

The 1995 CBA expired after the 2004 season (as did the league's television contract with ABC/ESPN). In October 2004 the owners locked out the players. The owners maintained that they would not sign a new CBA unless it included "cost certainty." The union interpreted this to mean a salary cap and has maintained that a cap is unacceptable. Many observers predicted a long work stoppage and a further weakening of the league's fan base.

Perspectives

Whatever the outcome of the NHL's labor negotiations, the 2004 dispute once again raises the issue of why labor markets in sports should be different from elsewhere in the economy. Sports unions (the NFLPA excepted) have argued that the free market is the fairest way to value player talent. Don Fehr at the MLBPA and Bob Goodenow at the NHLPA (National Hockey League Players Association) have maintained it would be unconscionable for their unions to accept a set of rules that would prevent team owners from paying players as much as they wanted to pay them.

The owners, in contrast, have said that sports are different from other industries because of their popularity. Owners, they argue, come under enormous public pressure to build winning teams, and responding to this pressure leads to intense competition and excessive compensation.

One of the interesting features of the sports industry is precisely its degree of public exposure. Team owners benefit from this because it makes them prominent in the community. This prominence, in turn, yields new contacts and influence in business and political circles. Thus, owning a sports team usually helps to promote an owner's other businesses.

Some owners own one or more businesses significantly related to the sports team (such as a local sports channel or radio station, the arena or stadium, a concessions company, surrounding real estate, etc.). The more important these related businesses, generally, the more valuable a player is to the owner. The player contributes to the value of the team, but also to the other businesses. This effect can produce very large disparities in team payrolls, but it can also create payrolls that are disproportionate to the revenues generated in the sport.

Hence, there appears to be a reasonable argument for sports labor markets to be restrained. The MLBPA has accepted implicitly this argument by agreeing to a luxury tax and revenue sharing system. The NHLPA has also stated that it is willing to accept tax-related restraints on payrolls. The question remains whether hard salary caps or incentive systems are the best and fairest way to modify free labor markets in the team sports industry. As long as this issue remains unresolved, collective bargaining in sports promises to continue to be both contentious and interesting.

Andrew Zimbalist

See also Collective Bargaining

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*United Kingdom Olympics Results**2002 Winter Olympics: 1 Gold, 1 Bronze**2004 Summer Olympics: 9 Gold, 9 Silver, 12 Bronze*

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom was the birthplace of modern sport. From the drawing up of rules to the development of sporting philosophies, Britons have played a major role in shaping sport as the world knows it today. This role meant that British sport was overly insular and confident in its early days, while its post-1945 history was marked by doubts and crises as the nation realized that the rest of the world had moved on, a situation that mirrored the U.K.'s wider crisis of confidence in a postimperial world.

Preindustrial Sports

Preindustrial sport in Britain resembled sport in much of Europe. It was not a clearly demarcated activity but rather part of a communal festive culture that saw people congregate to celebrate high days and eat, drink, gamble, and play. The sports of the people reflected their lives: They were rough, proud, and highly localized. Rules were unwritten and based on customs and informal agreements that varied from place to place according to local oral traditions. "Folk" football was one of the most common and popular sports. It had existed in different forms across England and Wales since at least medieval times, but it resembled a melee more than it resembled its modern descendant. Traditional boundaries within rural society were celebrated in such games, with contests between parishes, young and old, and married and unmarried. Other sports played at communal festivals included running races and traditional feats of strength such as lifting or throwing rocks.

The physicality of pre- and early-industrial Britain was also reflected and celebrated in bare-knuckle prizefighting, although this widespread sport could not always be clearly distinguished from public drunken brawls. The brutality of life was further evident in the popularity of animal sports. Bear or bull baiting and cockfighting were among the most popular, but such recreations increasingly came under attack in the middle of the nineteenth century from middle-class moral-

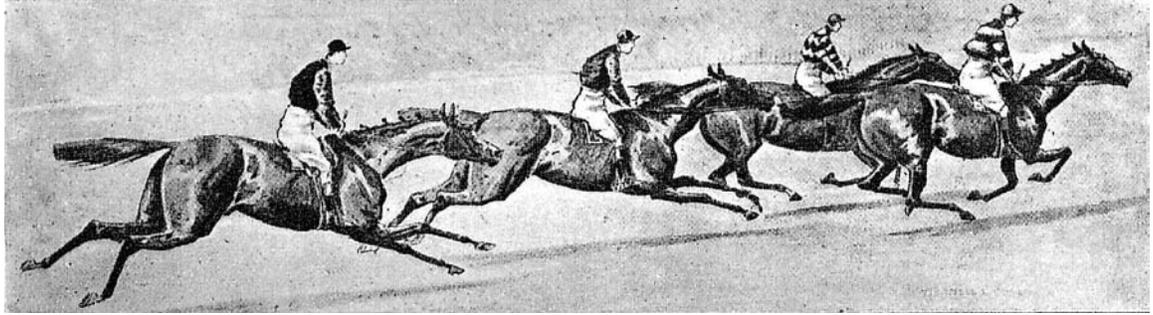
ists. The foxhunting of the upper class was not attacked, suggesting that the crusades owed something to concerns about the turbulent behavior of the workers and not only to the suffering of animals.

The attacks on animal sports were part of a wider process of modernization that saw Britain transformed into the industrial workshop of the world. Urbanization, railways, factories, mills, and mines saw Britain transformed, economically, environmentally, and psychologically. Modern sport was forged within this heady mix of breakneck change; new ways of working and living brought new ways of playing. Along with the assaults on animal sports, folk football was attacked in towns because it disrupted trade and the general orderliness of the increasingly regimented world that industry was creating. Bare-knuckle fighting, too, was attacked as a threatening symbol of a violent working class that unsettled an establishment already worried by the rise of political demands from the workers.

There was, of course, much continuity between preindustrial sport and the commercialized and codified games that emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century. Cockfighting and prizefighting, for example, survived the attempts to outlaw them, but they left the centers of towns for quiet rural spots or pubs and back streets that were away from the surveillance of middle-class authorities. Folk football too lived on, although apparently on a smaller scale that was less oriented around traditional holidays and community celebrations. Its survival in this form surely underpinned the speed with which the codified form that emerged from the public schools was taken up by the masses across Britain.

Emergence of Modern Sport

While forms of football were on the decline in mid-nineteenth-century Britain, they were actually being adopted by the country's public schools as a means of controlling the boys and building their character, both as individual leaders and as socially useful team players. Underpinning the values that football was thought to cultivate were ideas of masculinity and religious conviction. Muscular Christianity deemed that men should



**First time past the stands in the Gold Cup in 1825.
Notice the upright riding position.**

be chivalrous and champions of the weak but also physically strong and robust. The belief that such qualities would create the right sort of men to lead the British Empire meant that a cult of athleticism, whose importance ran far deeper than mere play, developed within the English public schools.

CODIFICATION

Such traditions found a natural extension in the universities. It was here, particularly at Cambridge, that much of the impetus for common sets of rules developed in order to allow boys from different public schools to play together. It was from such beginnings that the moves toward the codification of rules and the establishment of governing bodies mostly sprang. Most famously, representatives of leading London football clubs, including former public schoolboys, met in London in 1863 to establish a common code of rules for football and form the Football Association to govern the game.

With rules and a governing body behind them, former public schoolboys went out into the world, taking their games with them. Not only did this encourage the diffusion of sport outside British shores but it also led to modern sport being taken to the masses by a paternal elite who sought to better the health and morals of the masses, not least because of fears of national decline. Games like soccer and rugby were well suited to urban, industrial communities, requiring only limited time and space, and they very quickly developed in popularity among the working classes across Britain during the late nineteenth century. Such developments created an apparent homogenization of sport culture across Britain, but there were distinct local variations.

Knurr-and-spell and hurling, for example, enjoyed some popularity in the north of England and the Scottish highlands, respectively. Such traditional games furthered the continuity between preindustrial and industrial sport, but to survive, even they had to develop modern organizations and sets of rules.

Modern British sport was not entirely rooted in the public schools and their spheres of influence. In Sheffield, for example, there were independent attempts to draw up sets of rules for football. Even among the southern middle classes, there developed popular sports, such as tennis, whose origins lay elsewhere. Golf could trace its written rules back into eighteenth-century Scotland, but it was not until the wider sporting revolution and mania of the late nineteenth century that the sport's popularity exploded among the British middle classes. Cricket was another sport whose written rules were drawn up in the eighteenth century and thus predate the public-school cult of athleticism.

AMATEURISM

Professionalism in cricket also dated back to the eighteenth century, but as the phenomena developed in other sports in the late nineteenth century, cricket too developed an obsession with amateurism that was closely allied to the public-school ethos of fair play and playing for the sake of the game. Above all, amateurism was about projecting social position in a period of social change and mobility. To be an amateur in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain was to not need to be paid to play. Thus in cricket, where amateurs and professionals often played on the same team, social distinctions were preserved through the use of different changing rooms, different ways of writing names, and

Cards are war, in disguise of a sport. ■ CHARLES LAMB

initially requiring professionals to labor with bowling and even menial tasks such as cleaning the kit.

Yet, despite the snobbery that underpinned amateurism, there was a general reluctance in most sports to impose explicit class-based restrictions on participation, though the Amateur Rowing Association was a notable exception. Furthermore, the reality of amateurism did not always match the rhetoric. Nowhere was this clearer than in the case of cricketer W. G. Grace (1848–1915). Undoubtedly the most famous sportsman of the Victorian era, Grace was a doctor and a gentleman but he was also supremely competitive and certainly not above gamesmanship and demanding excessively generous expenses.

RUGBY AND SOCCER

It was in rugby and soccer that the issue of professionalism became most controversial. The growth of socially mixed northern teams led to broken-time payments, where working men were compensated for missing work in order to play. Such payments, however, not only offended the amateur principles of some of the elite, but they also threatened to take power away from the middle classes, both on and off the playing field. In soccer, professionalism was sanctioned in 1885 in order to ensure that the middle-class Football Association retained control of the game, but it was soon tempered with severe controls on players' freedom to move clubs and be paid what a free market might allow. Such tensions, fueled by north-south rivalries, led rugby to split into two codes (which became known as league and union) in 1895. Rugby league became a sport whose whole existence and identity was closely interwoven with ideas of working-class identity in northern England.

Watching and Playing

Clubs could afford to pay players because soccer and rugby had become something that people watched as well as played. This owed much to the establishment of cup competitions, which, fed by civic and regional rivalries, gave some purpose and excitement to matches. In the industrial north of England, the growing crowds

began to be charged for the privilege of watching and were hosted in purpose-built grounds. Such crowds worried the class prejudices of social onlookers, who complained about the drinking, gambling, and partisanship of supporters, as well as about the impact on the nation's health of a population that spent its free time watching rather than playing.

When soccer continued to be played after the outbreak of war in 1914, the reputation of professional sport plummeted among the middle classes. Nonetheless, sport was to play an important role in maintaining troop morale at the front, and in the aftermath of the Great War, spectator sport reached new heights of popularity. The largest league games in soccer could attract as many as sixty thousand spectators, yet beyond drinking and gambling disorder was rare. This led the sport to be celebrated as a symbol of the general orderliness and good nature of the British working class at a time of political and social unrest at home and abroad.

MASCULINE ENCLAVES

For spectators, professional sport offered an exciting communal experience, where the spheres of home and work could be forgotten in the company of one's peers. As such, crowds at professional soccer and rugby league games became overwhelmingly masculine enclaves that fed a shared sense of community, and perhaps even class identities. Sport's ability to promote civic identity was underpinned not by the players, who being professional were transient, but by the supporters and the club sharing the name of their town or city.

Yet these crowds were not actually representative of such civic communities. Professional sport was mostly watched by skilled male workers, with only a sprinkling of women and the middle classes. Unemployed and unskilled workers were, by and large, excluded by their own poverty and the relative expense of entry prices. Consequently, as unemployment rocketed in parts of Britain during the interwar depression, professional sport suffered. Some clubs in the hardest-hit industrial regions actually went bankrupt. Working-class women were excluded from professional sport by the

A wrestling match at a fair during the Elizabethan era.

constraints of both time and money. Even the skilled workers did not show an uncritical loyalty to their local teams. Professional sport was ultimately entertainment, and people exercised judgment over what was worth spending their limited wages on.

Men played as well as watched, and the towns of Britain boasted a plethora of different sports, from water polo in the public baths to pigeon races from allotments and quoits in fields behind pubs. Darts, dominoes, and billiards flourished inside pubs and clubs. Space was, of course, a key requirement of sport but it was at a premium and the land that was available was heavily used. For all the excitement that sport enabled men and women to add to their lives, they were still constrained by the wider structures of economic power.

Working-class sport could not be divorced from the character of working-class culture. Local sport was thus intensely competitive and often very physical. In both football codes, bodies and fists were hurled through the mud, cinders, and sawdust of the rough pitches that were built on parks, farmland, and even mountainsides. But, win or lose, for many men and boys, playing sport was a source of considerable physical and emotional rewards. For many youths, giving and taking such knocks was part of a wider process of socialization: Playing sport was an experience that helped teach them what it meant to be a man. Similarly, working-class sporting heroes reflected the values and interests of the audience; they were tough, skilled, and attached to their working-class roots.

CRICKET

Cricket was the national sport of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England, in that its following was not limited to one class or region. Matches in urban working-class districts may have lacked the pressed white flannels and neat green wickets of a test match at Lord's, but they shared the same intricacy and subtlety of play. The contest between the skill and speed of the bowler and the technique and bravery of the batsmen was familiar to both working-class boys and upper-class gentlemen. Cricket's popularity also owed something to the



rural image of England that it encapsulated. Cricket on the village green was an evocative and emotive image, employed even by a prime minister at the end of the twentieth century. Yet, from the English elite cricket spread not only to the masses of the cities but also to the four corners of the vast British Empire, where it enabled the colonies both to celebrate imperial links and to take considerable pride in putting the English in their place.

HORSE RACING

Like cricket, horse racing had been organized since the eighteenth century and was followed by all classes, from lords to commoners. Gambling was at the core of its attraction, and a flutter on the horses was extremely popular, despite its illegality (until 1963) when the bet was placed in cash and outside the race course. As with soccer, the sporting press offered form guides and was studied closely, and elaborate schemes were developed to predict a winner. The race course itself was often rather disreputable, with the sporting entertainment on offer to its large crowds supplemented by beer, sideshows, and in the nineteenth century, prostitutes. It provided the middle classes with an opportunity to (mis)behave in a manner that would be impossible in the wider respectable society.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

Respectability did matter on the golf course and in the clubhouse. Although it had a limited working-class following, especially in Scotland, golf was a sport of the middle class and its clubs were important social and business networks that conferred privilege and status within the local community upon their mostly male membership. Tennis too had both a middle-class profile



United Kingdom

Sports during the Boer War in South Africa

On Christmas Day, a year ago, General Buller's army was encamped at Chriveley Hill; and because it was an army of Britishers, the day was given chiefly to sports.

Only ten days before this the broken regiments had come crawling back to the camp from the disaster of that mad attack on the Boer position at Colenso. Even now the tents of the foremost brigade were almost within range of the enemy's big guns. It was a time of strange uncertainty—a time of many rumors.

[. . .]

Of course, both the variety of the sports and the extent to which they could be carried out depended upon the material for such to be found with an army in the field. The men of the naval brigade, as always, were most ingenious. They decided to have what they called "a bit of fun" at the beginning of the festivities. Their officers gave permission. They borrowed a gun carriage from a neighboring field battery and arranged long ropes to drag it by. Then they dressed one of their number as Oom Paul Kruger and an-

other as John Bull, placed them on the seats, and started to drag the carriage through the camps.

[. . .]

In the afternoon all the kinds of sports which were possible under the circumstances were held in the open space about the camp. To the different arms of the service different sports were naturally allotted. The infantry had running races, potato races and the like; the cavalry men engaged each other in wrestling bouts on horseback and tent-pegging competitions; the Royal Army Medical Corps organized a race of ambulance wagons—and these same ambulances which now went tearing wildly over the rough ground of the veldt in order to be first across the finish line, to-morrow or the next day would crawl out cautiously behind the advancing battle front to bring back the wounded from the field; but the most important of all were the horse-races of the mounted infantry brigade.

Source: Scull, G. H. (1899, December). Vacant hours in war: the sporting instinct of the Britisher. *Outing*, 3, 333–334.

and a social importance that often marginalized actually playing the game. Like archery and croquet before it, for the urban middle class of the early twentieth century, the tennis club was an opportunity to meet and flirt with members of the opposite sex of the "right sort." In such ways, sport became an important part of the lives of a middle class that was increasingly socially isolated in the new suburbs.

INTERWAR AND POST-WAR SPORT

Like the rest of Europe, the shadow of war was hanging over the suburbs by the 1930s. In such an atmosphere, sport itself became increasingly political. The England soccer team were even told by the appeasing Foreign Office to give the Nazi salute when playing an international game in Berlin in 1938. The threat from Germany also led to renewed investment in playing fields, as concerns resurfaced about the fitness of a nation on the brink of war. Unlike in World War I, sport was fully pro-

moted during the 1939–1945 conflict, as an improver of spirits and bodies for civilians and troops alike.

Britain finished World War II victorious but physically and economically exhausted. In the austerity that marked the late 1940s, sport was one readily obtainable relief and, encouraged by growing radio coverage, soccer, rugby, cricket, and boxing enjoyed huge crowds. There were also large crowds at the 1948 Olympics, which London hosted in the hope that the games would rejuvenate tourism and help put some color into the postwar austerity. The games were an organizational success and even made a profit—the last Olympics to do so until 1984. After leaning toward isolationism in both politics and sport during the interwar years, the postwar period saw a new awareness in Britain of its relationship with the rest of the world. With the Empire being dissolved, international competitions like the Olympics began to matter more as indicators of national vitality. The conquest of Everest in 1953 offered



United Kingdom

Sports, Teamwork and Colonialism

The following analysis of British colonial rule in the Sudan indicates that involvement in sports made for more efficient administration.

The fact that most members played games and participated in sports gave them a similarity of outlook which was clearly reflected in their handling of administrative matters. The *esprit de corps* which bolstered the provincial polo team was equally applicable in organizing a road gang or supervising the construction of a bridge.

Source: Collins, R. O. (1972). The Sudan political service: A portrait of imperialists. *African Affairs*, 71(1172), 297.

some optimism and confidence for the future, but soccer, Britain and the world's most popular game, was not reassuring for its inventors. England's first forays into the World Cup were far from successful and indicated that the country's loss of global power was not confined to the political sphere.

The Television Era

As economic prosperity returned in the 1950s, spectator sport suffered a downturn in popularity because it now had to compete against the lure of shopping, cars, and increased domestic comforts, of which television was one of the most alluring. Such alternatives were particularly appealing to older men, and thus the 1960s seemed to witness crowds, in soccer at least, become younger. One consequence was the rise of a youthful football-fan culture that utilized humorous but obscene and aggressive chants and promoted fighting between rival supporters. The media spotlight, increasingly looking for sensational stories from across sport, amplified the hooligan problem, but from the late 1960s to the 1980s football fans created a genuine and widespread subculture that drew more upon the thrill of limited violence than upon any sense of a disempowered youth rebelling against the world.

Initially, there was only limited sport shown on television, and many sporting authorities, not least soccer authorities, feared that coverage would kill live audiences. Yet others, like golf and horse racing authorities, saw television as an opportunity to develop their popularity and thus they courted its coverage. The growth of televised sport was therefore sporadic; in the 1950s and 1960s it was often limited to edited highlights or live coverage of only the biggest events on the sporting calendar.

Yet televised sport was to become hugely popular and influential. In the 1960s, coverage of the Olympics and the 1966 World Cup won mass audiences and turned the events into shared celebrations of a global sporting culture. Wimbledon became, for most people, a television event rather than a live tennis championship, while rugby league became inextricably linked to the northern tones of commentator Eddie Waring. By the 1970s, television coverage had also helped turn rugby union's Five Nations Championship into a very popular competition that transcended the sport's middle-class English foundations.

COMMERCIAL OPPORTUNITIES

Television also opened up opportunities to utilize sport commercially, not least through sponsorship. Athletics was one sport where television and sponsorship increased its profile and popularity, but this also created tensions between the amateur traditions of the administrators and the commercial demands of the stars. Other sports suffered similar tensions and responded by either slowly becoming explicitly commercial, as in the case of professional golf, or turning a blind eye to transgressions of amateur code, as in parts of rugby union. Yet ultimately money talked and amateurism gave way to commercial pressures across senior sport.

The changes television was bringing about could be radical. Cricket proved surprisingly willing to embrace change and even introduced a one-day Sunday League as early as 1967, as it searched for a more accessible and exciting one-day format to supplement the waning four-day county game. After the invention of color television,



snooker was televised from the late 1960s, and the sport was transformed from the realm of smoky pubs to something resembling a national craze. The relatively static nature of the game meant that it was cheap to broadcast and conducive to dramatic close-ups. Snooker also had the characters and personalities that the media was increasingly seeking in its coverage of sport.

SATELLITE TV

The real commercial boost from television came in the 1990s with the development of satellite television. Soccer was seen as the key to securing an audience for the new medium. Rupert Murdoch's Sky Global Network spent enormous sums on securing and then keeping the rights to televise the game's senior division. After the 1980s—when hooliganism and the fatal horrors of disasters at Bradford, Heysel, and Hillsborough had seen English football sink to its lowest ebb of popularity and standing—Sky's millions enabled the game's upper echelon to reinvent itself in the 1990s. New all-seater stadiums (enforced by the government to avoid a repeat

of the ninety-six deaths at Hillsborough in 1989) made watching soccer both safer and more sanitized, and an influx of talented foreign players raised standards of play, while a more cynical and overtly commercial edge developed among the game's owners and administrators. Players were the main beneficiaries as their profile, wages, and sponsorship opportunities rapidly escalated in the now hugely fashionable and celebrity-conscious game. David Beckham epitomized this transition, with his pop-star wife, countless sponsorship deals, and media-frenzied private life.

Fans meanwhile could watch more soccer than ever on television but actually attending matches had become extortionately expensive. Other sports were keen to follow soccer's example. Rugby league became Super League, its teams gained American-style epithets, and the sport moved from winter to the less-crowded television schedules of summer. Rugby union, fearing being left behind, suddenly abandoned its amateur heritage and turned professional in 1995, a move that was to bring it as many financial headaches as rewards.



Identities and Inequalities

In the second half of the twentieth century, spectator sport and television may have become interwoven in a relationship built on money, but participatory sport did not die out. However, it too became part of a leisure industry that sold everything from training shoes to personal gyms, and

A traditional British stile on a footpath, used to prevent livestock from leaving the pasture.

*However beautiful the strategy,
you should occasionally look at
the results.* ■ WINSTON CHURCHILL

participation remained skewed by class. The wealthier appeared not only more able to afford to play sport but also more interested in doing so. The foundations and boundaries of the British class system were becoming increasingly blurred, and the diminishing class associations of the most popular sports reflected that. Yet historical legacies and financial requirements meant that equestrian sport still remained beyond the reach and often the tastes of the masses, while activities such as boxing and darts remained closely allied to working-class culture. Success at such sports could take performers out of their working-class origins, but this did not end the cultural resonances that had been built up over a century.

Nor were the gender biases of sport ended by the equal opportunity ethos of the late twentieth century. Playing and watching sport remained far more popular among men, despite the significant advances made in female participation rates and the profile of some leading sportswomen. Olympic athletes like Denise Lewis and Kelly Holmes may have ventured into the celebrity world of sports stardom, but at the start of the twenty-first century, women are still on the margins of sport in terms of numbers, profile, and culture.

Athletes from Britain's ethnic minorities have, however, broken through into the mainstream of nearly all the country's most popular sports. In the early twentieth century, there had been occasional black athletes, in boxing and soccer in particular, but it was the 1970s, when the sons of the first generation of large-scale immigration reached adulthood, that saw British sport become genuinely ethnically mixed. By the twenty-first century, England's national teams had even had black and Asian captains in soccer and cricket, respectively. Such achievements were not simply symbolic but also encouraged a degree of wider racial integration in national culture. Yet sport has also been, and continues to be, the site of explicit racism (notably in the form of soccer chants) and more subtle prejudices about the playing abilities of different ethnic groups. Such prejudices must surely explain why a pro-

fessional soccer player of note has yet to emerge from the U.K.'s large Asian population.

While little sustained media attention was ever devoted to sporting inequalities based on class, gender, or ethnicity, nationhood was a topic of widespread popular interest. When in 1999 the Chelsea Football Club fielded a team that did not include a single British player, there were debates about globalization's potential impact on the future success of British international sides. Sport had always played an important role in shaping national identity within the United Kingdom. For the Welsh, Scottish, and Irish, it had had an important symbolic role in affirming their nationhood and equality with England. While the Scots and Welsh enjoyed cutting the English down to size at football and rugby, the Irish increasingly rejected these sports in favor of their own indigenous games, such as Gaelic football and hurling, which could be used to symbolize a separate, and non-British, cultural heritage.

Martin Johnes

See also All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club; Ascot; Boat Race (Cambridge vs. Oxford); British Open; Commonwealth Games; Henley Regatta; Lord's Cricket Ground; St. Andrews; Wembley Stadium; Wimbledon

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Values and Ethics

Venice Beach

Violence

Volleyball

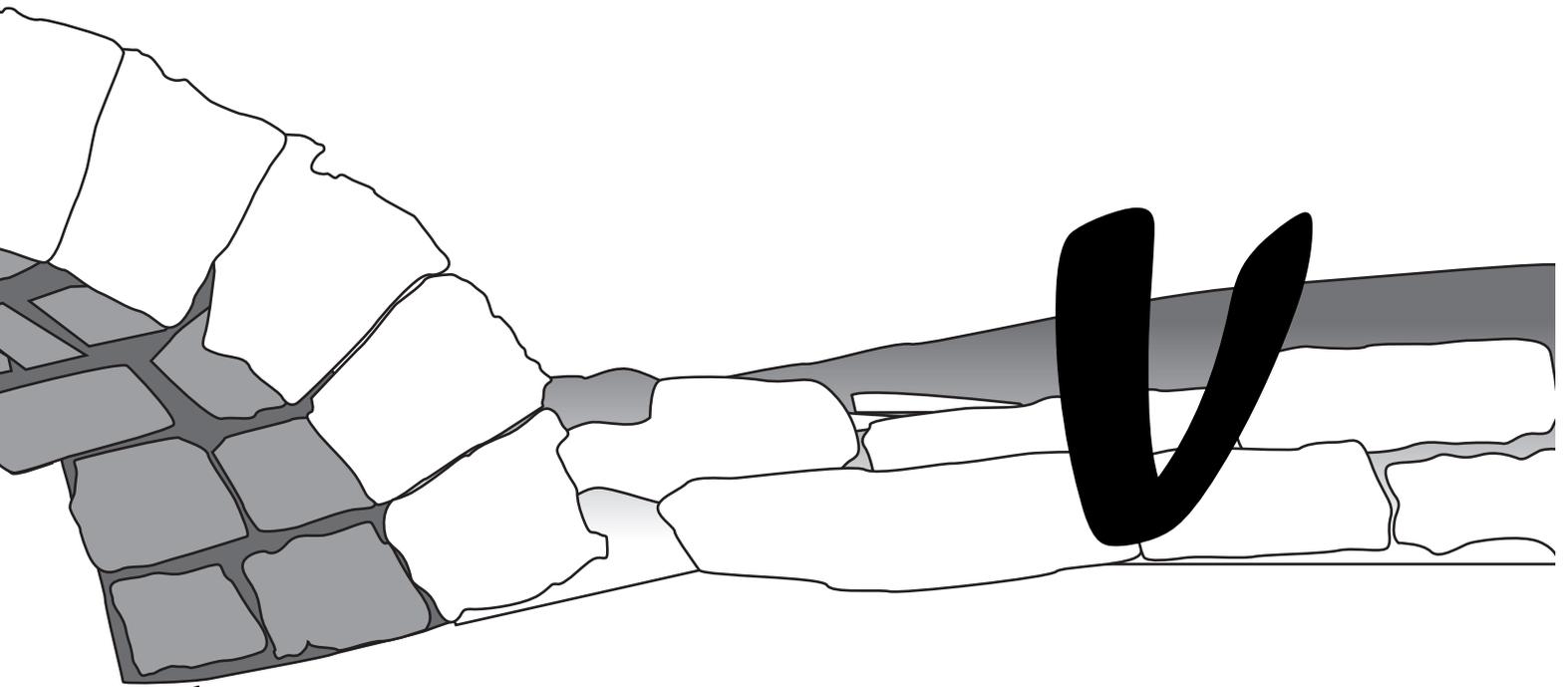
Volleyball, Beach



Values and Ethics

Ethics generally refers to the question of what is right or correct from a moral standpoint. The study of ethics necessitates the critical examination of beliefs. This process involves clarifying the principles that undergird beliefs and subjecting them to rigorous interrogation (Simon 2004). The conundrum for sport scholars is to understand the field of sport as one in which competing and sometimes contradictory values and ethics are debated and idealized (Eitzen 1999). Understanding this complex situation requires defining an approach to the subject, rather than providing clear-cut answers. Ethical inquiry into sport forms a broad field, often with very different areas of investigation and conclusions. A variety of theories and models have been employed and can be applied to the example of sports.

Simon (2004) argues that what these models and theories share is an approach that combines three common features: (1) impartial moral reasoning: one must consider multiple perspectives and points of view, giving no special consideration to his/her position or group; (2) systematic consistency: regardless of characteristics, people should receive comparable responses to similar actions; and (3) reflective judgments: one must consider actual and hypothetical examples from a critical perspective. By approaching ethical dilemmas from a perspective that employs these three features, a reasoned consideration may be made. Sport mirrors the human experience and society in ways that make inquiry illuminating (Eitzen 1999).



Debates over Ethics and Values

Since the inception of modern sport with the advent of industrialization, a host of issues have been debated. Many debates perceived as current also plagued early modern sport and often ancient sport as well. Such debates focus on questions of inclusion/exclusion, the nature of competition, acceptable methods by which to pursue excellence, sportsmanship, and responsibilities toward bodies at risk.

THE NATURE OF COMPETITION

Since the inception of modern sport with the rise of industrialization in the nineteenth century, the nature and value of competition has been considered from an ethical standpoint. Is “winning the only thing,” or is it immaterial compared to “how one plays the game”? In the first case, competition itself must be critically considered. Some scholars contend that competition may be inherently immoral or may reinforce undesirable social values. Others note that competition promotes many positive traits such as loyalty, character, and perseverance (Simon 2004). While some argue that participation in sport builds character, teamwork, and a host of other positive virtues, Shulman and Bowen (2001) report that these traits are already present in athletes. In other words, perhaps those who already possess the traits thought to be taught by sport self-select into them.

Further, many question the benefit of some of the values imparted in competitive sport. Feezell (1987) argues that victory at all costs is by necessity ethically problematic, while others contend that being able to eschew

victory reflects a privileged position that not all athletes (whether recreational or professional) occupy. The enormous amount of debate over this subject reflects a wide range of cultural beliefs and differing social experiences.

WHAT IS A GOOD COMPETITOR?

How one evaluates what a good competitor is depends on one’s views of competition. Is the best competitor the one who plays with honor and dignity or the one who may use anything to win, including intimidation and psychological warfare? Additionally, who one is affects how the larger culture has viewed competition. Early women’s sport had to contend with the idea that competition would make women “manly,” and therefore, competition was considered inappropriate for women. This view carried the weight of institutional verification as medical professionals counseled that the exertion and excitement of competition endangered the reproductive viability and even life of women (Cahn 1994). While many female educators decried the negative consequences of competition, others lauded the positive virtues and saw it as a vehicle to achieve equal rights. Such beliefs still surface in charges that women aren’t interested in competition or that women’s sports are secondary to men’s because they represent a less competitive version of games.

APPROACHES TO COMPETITION

Simon (2004) notes there are several different philosophical approaches to competition in sports. In the first case, one could adopt a utilitarian perspective and focus on competition in terms of the consequences. If



Values and Ethics

Animal Baiting Criticized

Animal baiting, whether involving dogs, bulls, badgers, or bears, has always been controversial. This extract published in The New York Spectator on 7 September 1827 takes the critical view.

Bull Baiting.—The following is the note of “Humanitas,” to which we referred yesterday. The author is a gentleman of respectability, and we therefore call upon the police to interpose and prevent the barbarous spectacle proposed by Mr. Armstrong on Thursday next. One of our friends, in passing Harlem, at the time, accidentally saw the cruel scene.

Mr. Editor—As a friend of “humanity and correct morals,” will you give a hint to the guardians of our city, of a most bloody and cruel Bull Bait, which took place at Armstrong’s tavern, at Harlem yesterday afternoon—and also, that notice was given that another “Piece of Sport” of the same kind, would take place next Thursday, at the same place. These exhibitions are scandalous, and with all the vices attending in their train, tend much to paralyze every effort that can be made for the increase of morality, and virtue among us.

Source: Menna, L. K. (Vol. Ed.). (1995). *Sports in North America—A documentary history: Vol. 2 The origins of modern sports, 1820–1840* (pp. 78–79). Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press.

so, one must determine how consequences will be evaluated. In the second case, one could evaluate competition in terms of its operating as a “mutual quest for excellence.” In this view the ways in which competition may or may not impede this quest are considered. While some contend that competition has simply been redefined as a quest for excellence, others point to how competitive spirits may elevate the play of all involved. For example, being in a competitive situation may lead to an athlete’s setting a new record. Third, competition as competition with the self must be considered. Does competing with one’s earlier performances serve as a positive motivating force? Certainly, many athletes

strive to improve in ways that seem to be beneficial and positive. Fourth, is winning central to competition? While some argue that winning is at the heart of competition, others contend improvement, the elevation of the game, and how one plays the game are central.

What becomes clear is that there is no simple answer to these questions. If one considers that each athlete may take away different lessons from the same sporting situation, the picture becomes even more complicated. What follows from debates surrounding the nature of competition is the behavior of those competing. Sportsmanship and cheating require closer investigation.

Sportsmanship and Cheating

The code of “sportsmanship” is often cited as an example of ethical beliefs, but a great deal of confusion exists as to what the term explicitly means. The slogan adopted by the Sportsmanship Brotherhood in 1926, “not that you won or lost but how you played the game” seems to embody popular sentiment on sportsmanship (Keating 1964). Keating also suggests that what makes sportsmanship so hard to define is that individuals engage in sport at a wide range of levels and with very different goals. He notes that for the recreational setting sportsmanship is an injunction that one should conduct oneself in a manner such that the pleasure found in the activity is not detracted from for oneself or one’s fellow participants. The difficulty in this, as Keating points out, is that it asks those engaged in emotionally charged and sometimes high-stakes competition to act as if they were merely engaged in a diversion. Keating suggests a concept of fair play, in which opponents mutually demonstrate similar expectations to define competitive sportsmanship, while Feezell (1987) suggests that an even more fluid definition that takes specific situations into account be employed to address each situation uniquely.

CHEATING

Cheating seems a clear-cut issue, but what exactly constitutes “cheating”? The controversial ending to the 1999 Women’s World Cup, in which the American

One man practicing sportsmanship is far better than fifty preaching it. ■ KNUTE ROCKNE

team beat the Chinese team in overtime penalty kicks provides an often cited example. Following the match, American goalkeeper Briana Scurry admitted that she had consciously violated the rules. She took two steps toward shooter Liu Ying and successfully blocked the shot. But is this cheating? Or is it a calculated risk, for which she was willing to incur possible penalty? Is a strategic decision to violate the rules and run the risk of “getting caught” cheating?

While some argue that attempting to gain an unfair advantage by breaking a rule deliberately exemplifies poor sportsmanship and qualifies as cheating (Feezell 1987), others contend that it is the responsibility of officials to prevent such infractions (Simon 2004). Pearson (1973) argues that there are two types of deception possible in sport—strategic and definitional deception. *Strategic deception* involves an athlete’s tricking an opponent within the rules of the game. *Definitional deception* involves an athlete’s deliberately breaking the rules of the game. In this view, while strategic deception is acceptable, definitional deception, as committed by Scurry, is not.

Debates over the intentional foul in basketball reveal the complexity of the situation. While some argue the intentional foul is unsportsmanlike, others argue that the very fact players are given a limited number of fouls to “use” implies that they may be strategically deployed. Still others note that it’s not a foul unless the referee calls it. Therefore, nothing the player does is relevant; rather, it’s how the referee interprets actions.

Role of Performance-Enhancing Drugs

The question of cheating becomes more involved when one considers the role of performance-enhancing drugs in sports. The Bay Area Laboratory Co-Operative (BALCO) scandal that broke in 2003 (in which four men employed by BALCO were charged with distributing steroids and other illegal performance-enhancing substances to top athletes) demonstrated that the use of such illegal drugs is endemic in amateur and professional sports. Part of the problem involves what defines a performance-enhancing substance. Certainly, legal painkillers, caffeine, and other

commonly used products enhance performance. But at what point does a substance become illegal? One would think this is an easy definition; but not all leagues have banned some substances. While some argue that athletes have a legitimate right to use performance-enhancing substances, others maintain the risk to athletes outweighs the benefits to performance. Still others contend that the use of performance-enhancing drugs detracts from the sanctity of the game. Some note the coercive pressure to use such drugs is problematic and that athletes may feel they must consume potentially harmful substances to remain competitive.

Sport and Socialization

Similar to arguments centering around competition, the role of sport in socialization generates a great deal of ethical debate. Mirroring traditional divides between functionalist and conflict theorists, debates focus on the integrative function of sport. Some note that sport socializes children by extolling positive virtues like loyalty, courage, and perseverance. Further, participation in sport teaches teamwork, the value of hard work, and responsibility. While many presume these to be positive values, other scholars note that some of what is taught is problematic. While Marxist scholars are critical of the ways in which sport mirrors the logic of capitalist production, inculcating athletes with specific traits that prepare them to be compliant workers (Rigauer 1981), post-structuralists expand on these ideas to note the disciplinary aspects of sport participation. Moreover, sport, in its role of defining masculinity, has long been seen by some as socializing men into a form of masculinity that is violent and misogynist.

Inclusion/Exclusion

When considering ethical issues in sport, one must consider debates over access and control. Who can play in which venues? For whom is sport appropriate? What type of sport? There has long been a schism between idealized, legitimated venues and popular amusements. Modern sport has featured a number of venerated forums—for example, college sports and the



Values and Ethics

The Higher Purpose of Kendo

The credo below, enacted by the All Japan Kendo Federation in 1975, makes clear that the practice of Kendo has the highest of goals:

The concept of Kendo is to discipline the human character through the application of the principles of the Katana.

The purpose of practicing Kendo is:

To mold the mind and body,
To cultivate a vigorous spirit,

And through correct and rigid training,
To strive for improvement in the art of Kendo;
To hold in esteem human courtesy and honor,
To associate with others with sincerity,
And to forever pursue the cultivation of oneself.
Thus will one be able
To love his country and society,
To contribute to the development of culture,
And to promote peace and prosperity among all peoples.

Olympics—that have been viewed as displaying the “best” features and traits held by the Western world and specifically the male world. Hardworking, persevering, loyal, and successful, the idealized athlete embodied hegemonic (the most powerful form of) masculinity (Connel 1987, 1995).

Because these positive virtues were linked exclusively to privileged bodies, subordinated men and women were excluded from the venerated venues of early modern sports. For example, the first modern Olympic Games held in Athens, Greece, in 1896 excluded women and those who worked for a living. Though women were admitted to the second games in 1900, it was in a limited capacity, and even today fewer events are offered to women than men. The exclusion of women, people of color, and the working class from legitimated sporting venues was the subject of great debate and to some degree continues to plague the world of sport.

While marginalized men and women did participate in local games and events, serious concern was expressed regarding the exploitation of athletes, alcohol use, gambling, and other social ills, despite the prevalence of these problems in legitimate venues. In this way, ethical debate actually emerged as a means for disciplining and controlling “other bodies, while privileged bodies were presumed to be above needing such controls. Current debates consider limiting participation in risk sports or sports known to have a high risk

of injury. While some focus on the possibilities of exploitation, particularly of the economically disadvantaged, others see attempts to limit participation as paternalism (Simon 2004).

Sport and Corruption

The problem of corruption at all levels continues to plague the world of sport. Many believe that the unresolved issues surrounding the concepts of amateurism versus professionalism contribute to rampant corruption. These issues center around who can be paid to participate, the implications of payment, legal age restrictions, and the rights of players.

College sports provide an example. Accounts of college sports in the 1800s reveal the existence of “ringers” who spent far more time on athletics than academics. Some traveled from region to region, playing at different colleges and being paid by alumni and local gambling interests. Today, the question of what to do about amateurism remains problematic. While some advocate eliminating the requirements of amateurism from high-level college sports and certain other venues, others contend that this would hardly solve the problem. Investigation into an academic-fraud accusation at the University of Minnesota in 1999 revealed that with the coaches’ knowledge, an academic counselor had written hundreds of papers for players. In addition, the case uncovered improper payments, sexual impropriety, and a host of recruiting violations. Wetzels and Yaeger

In the field of sports you are more or less accepted for what you do rather than what you are. ■ ALTHEA GIBSON

(2000), in their exploration of youth basketball leagues, found that corruption and unethical practices are endemic even to youth sports. The continued exploitation of young athletes by their legal custodians, coaches, leagues, and multinational corporations is a key problem facing the world of sports today.

Bodies at Risk

Concerns of exploitation must include the issue of bodies at risk—athletes in many sports subject their bodies to the possibility of injury. The question of who has the right to control this risk (the athlete, the coach, the team owner?) must be balanced against considerations of what risks are worth accepting. Scholars are critical of the ways in which the type of masculinity venerated in sports encourages athletes to ignore pain and injury. Such practices risk further injury, shorten careers, and can lead to long-term physical disability (Messner 1992).

Moreover, social stratification means that the riskiest sports are largely practiced by those with few other viable options for economic stability and success. As Messner argues, men with options are often able to disengage from sport voluntarily to pursue more stable and less risky careers, while their working-class counterparts more often have fewer options when no longer able to compete. What obligation do sporting bodies have to reduce risk, and what levels of risk are acceptable? For example, despite incontrovertible medical evidence that links blows to the head with the risk of death or long-term debilitation due to head injuries, head gear for boxers is not imposed at the professional level (Jackson 1999). Further, the risk of performance-enhancing drugs cannot be underestimated.

HIV/AIDS AND THE RISK OF INFECTION

In recent years, concerns centering around the transmission of HIV/AIDS and the rights of infected and uninfected athletes have risen to the forefront. Debates over athletes' rights to privacy, risk of transmission, and the role of athletes as public figures remain unresolved. However, most leagues have adopted universal precautions, protecting the rights of athletes to participate,

while minimizing risk. The public and mass media have largely come to support the rights of HIV-positive athletes to participate; however, the public and legislative bodies remain undecided on rules of disclosure. Rather than adopting a single universal principle, Jackson (1999) suggests that any ethical inquiry into HIV/AIDS and sport should adhere to four rules: (1) specific details of any recommendations made must be given; (2) the goals of the recommendation must be stated clearly and honestly; (3) ethical and factual justification for the recommendation must be given; and (4) possible objections to the recommendation must be given.

Imagery

Finally, how should the imagery promoted in sport venues be considered with regard to values and ethics? The team-mascot debate provides an excellent example. Eitzen and Baca Zinn (2001) discuss what they call “the dark side of sports symbols.” Many contend that the use of Native American mascots and symbols is offensive. While some fans assert that these images are not taken seriously or are meant to honor, not offend, many Native American groups have expressed serious objections to mascots such as Chief Wahoo of the Cleveland Indians or gestures such as the tomahawk chop of the Atlanta Braves. Some Native groups have supported specific schools—usually local schools with names that represent the specific nation—in their use of the name, citing few other public forums in which the name of their group is cheered. However, there seems little support or excuse for teams whose mascot, team name, or chant is essentially an ethnic slur.

The Future

The arena of sports remains a site of ethical contention. While sports is an arena in which positive values can be exhibited and taught, it is also an arena in which negative values may be imparted as well. Indeed, debates over the meaning and efficacy of competition reflect disparities in the wider culture as to what values and ethics should be promoted. While barriers to access for women and people of color have been significantly

*A real champion is a champion in life,
not just in sport.* ■ UNKNOWN

reduced, the exploitation of athletes, acceptable means to ends practices (performance enhancing substances, deliberate rules violations, and so forth), and the role of business remain areas of considerable debate.

Faye Wachs

See also Sportsmanship

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Venice Beach

“Venice Beach” is an expression used to describe the physical culture phenomenon that emerged in the Santa Monica Bay region of southern California during the 1930s. Centered in the seaside communities of Santa

Monica and Venice, the phenomenon helped shape the image of southern California as a land of sun, fun, health, and fitness and as a mecca for bodybuilders.

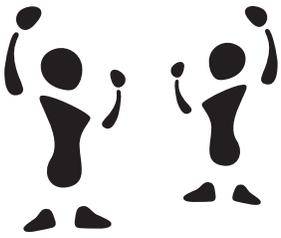
Early History

Because of its congenial climate and abundant natural resources, California attracted many enterprising free spirits from the eastern United States during the late nineteenth century. New York businessman and visionary Abbott Kinney founded Venice in 1900 as an upper-middle-brow Italianate resort, replete with a 25-kilometer network of canals, gondoliers, and a twenty-five-hundred-seat auditorium for lectures, recitals, opera, and plays. When Los Angeles citizens did not respond to such haute (fashionable) culture, Kinney turned his creation into a Coney Island of the Pacific where the masses could enjoy a Ferris wheel, shoot-the-chutes ride, skating rink, dance pavilion, bowling alley, shooting gallery, aquacade, and other amusements. This paradise by the sea declined into speakeasies and gambling halls during the 1920s, but Venice was destined to remain a center for leisure, recreation, and sport—a precursor of Disneyland.

Original Muscle Beach

During the 1930s attention shifted to Santa Monica, where, beside a pier with a roller coaster and merry-go-round, fitness enthusiasts gathered on the beach to engage in volleyball, acrobatics, and gymnastics and to enjoy the sun and fresh air. Known as the “Santa Monica Beach Playground,” it also attracted weightlifters and bodybuilders who found the milieu conducive to training, getting tanned, showing their bodies, and possibly even landing a movie role in nearby Hollywood. The city government encouraged these activities by improving the facilities for acrobats and installing a weight pit for the musclemen. Even before World War II this physical culture hotbed attracted thousands of spectators and participants, especially on weekends and holidays.

During the postwar years the playground entered its golden age and became nationally renowned as “Muscle Beach.” It featured such notables as Abbye (Pudgy) Stockton, the first woman bodybuilder, who with her



husband, Les, operated a gym on Sunset Boulevard. Jack LaLanne brought physical fitness (and the California beach culture) to a new level through his television show that aired from 1951 to 1984 on approximately two hundred stations to millions of viewers. Harold Zinkin, an acrobat and bodybuilder, helped devise the Universal Gym in 1957. Screen star Mae West recruited her celebrated troupe of musclemen from Muscle Beach for nightclub appearances in major cities during the 1950s. Muscle Beach was also a magnet for prominent weightlifters, including Olympic champions John Davis, Paul Anderson, and Isaac Berger, and such bodybuilding greats as John Grimek, George Eiferman, and Dick Dubois. However, the most famous Muscle Beach trainee was the 1947 Mr. America, Steve Reeves, who starred in various sword-and-sandal epics, including *Hercules*, the highest grossing film of 1959.

Closely associated with the beach culture was Vic Tanny's Gym, opened in the late 1930s in a loft above an auto repair shop on Second Street in Santa Monica. Assisted by his brother Armand, a physique star and Muscle Beach regular, Tanny expanded his operation into the first major chain, eventually resulting in eighty-four gyms nationwide, grossing \$15 million a year by the 1960s. Annual Mr. and Miss Muscle Beach contests, combining brawn and beauty, added luster to Santa Monica's image and contributed to the popularity of the growing sport of bodybuilding. However, the intrusion of unsavory elements and some unfortunate incidents prompted city leaders to close Muscle Beach in 1958.

Muscle Beach Moves to Venice

The weightlifters and bodybuilders retreated temporarily to the "Dungeon," a workout facility operated by Vic Tanny in the basement of a nearby commercial building. Then they convinced the city of Venice to set up a weight pen on the beach, about two miles south of the old location. This new Muscle Beach soon attracted a regular clientele and spectators, but without the acrobatic-gymnastics component. It was complemented in 1965 when Joe Gold opened his first gym on Pacific

Avenue. His gym eventually spread to more than five hundred locations in twenty-six countries and became the most famous fitness franchise in the world. These neighboring outdoor-indoor facilities created the arresting image and expression of "Venice Beach" during the 1970s.

When leading fitness promoter Joe Weider moved his operations from New Jersey to Los Angeles in 1972, the reputation of this new Muscle Beach was enhanced by photographs in his magazine of such physique stars as Arnold Schwarzenegger, Franco Columbu, and Lou Ferrigno training there. The most notable icon, however, was Dave Draper, the "Blond Bomber," who co-starred (with Tony Curtis, Claudia Cardinale, and Sharon Tate) in the 1967 film *Don't Make Waves*, based on Ira Wiallach's novel *Muscle Beach*. Muscle magazine photos of Draper and others frolicking in the sun, sand, and surf and surrounded by beves of beautiful women inspired a generation of bodybuilders, many of whom moved to Venice to take part in the California dream.

Bodybuilding's Mecca

This phenomenon had a direct impact on the fitness boom that swept the United States during the late 1970s. Despite the growth of many other bodybuilding centers during the next two decades, attention remained focused on Venice. After selling his original franchise, Joe Gold established his first World Gym International in 1987 on Main Street between Santa Monica and Venice. It eventually blossomed into 280 gyms worldwide with headquarters in the adjacent community of Marina del Rey. The most important center for bodybuilders, however, remains at the Gold's Gym located at Hampton and Sunset in Venice, where the champions train and pose for photographers.

Venice Beach also remains a sentimental source of inspiration. True to its origins, a carnival-like atmosphere prevails on the mile-long Ocean Front Walk where cyclists, joggers, and in-line skaters mingle with jugglers, acrobats, tarot card readers, musicians, bikini-clad women, and gawking tourists—a kaleidoscope of humanity that one would expect to find in southern California. The

*Sports do not build character.
They reveal it.* ■ HEYWOOD BROUN

When a man wants to murder a tiger he calls it sport; when a tiger wants to murder him he calls it ferocity. ■ GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

weight pen, too, is still there, reconstructed in 1986 with a stage to conduct bodybuilding and powerlifting competitions. At the same time, in recognition of a tradition stretching back a half-century, the city formally designated the venue “Muscle Beach Venice.”

John Douglas Fair

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Violence

Violence in sport is not a new area of study. What is new is the systemization of the research being conducted on violence, both on and off the field of play.

Sport used to be about games; not any more. These days no sport is immune from the effects of violent behavior, even those we refer to as “country-club” sports (e.g., tennis, golf, and figure skating). Violence now extends beyond the playing field or the court into real life. Baylor men's basketball player Carlton Dotson has been accused of killing Patrick Dennehy, his teammate and roommate. And NHL hockey player Mike Danton was involved in a failed murder-for-hire plot. These scenarios are real, and they and many other events have begun to impact the institution of sport in ways that no athlete, professional or amateur, who played in the 1940s, 1950s, or even as late as the 1970s could have imagined.

Violence, Sport, and a Critical Understanding

The list of athletes involved in some form of violence or another is long and growing longer. Nor is violence in sport limited to current and former professional athletes; in fact, violence perpetrated by athletes begins early on, often in high school. Coaches and fans, as well, have been a factor in recent years, so that violence is certainly not limited to the court or playing field.

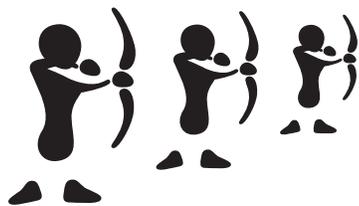
CONTRIBUTIONS OF ATHLETES TO SOCIETY

No one could deny that many athletes do good works. In college, some volunteer at local human-resource agencies or work with troubled kids, and as professionals, many donate food to homeless shelters or money to charities. Some speak out on the travails of smoking, drinking, and drug use as an underage problem in America. A few athletes are also socially conscious and will address issues of poverty and inadequate healthcare for the elderly.

Jeanette Lee, a professional pool player, more commonly known as the “Black Widow,” is currently the national spokeswoman for the Scoliosis Association. In addition, the Jeanette Lee Foundation raises money to help create more public awareness about this disease and the need for more physical therapy programs and scoliosis research.

Emmitt Smith, a professional athlete well known for his football achievements, is becoming equally recognized for his contributions to community services. To date Smith has raised over \$350,000 for charity by auctioning game-worn items and artifacts from his football career. He put it thus: “Football has given me an extraordinary opportunity. This is just one way that I can continue to give back. I have always believed that I have a responsibility to make an impact beyond the football field.” Troy Aikman, former Dallas Cowboys football star, started the Starbright Foundation, which establishes Troy Aikman End Zone playrooms in children's hospitals around the country.

These accomplishments are admirable and should always be recognized as athletes giving back to their re-



spective communities. However, increasingly, some athletes are bringing violence into the very communities they inhabit and sometimes into the communities they visit in sport competitions.

Violence in High School Sport

When most adults today were growing up, violence associated with high school sport involved fistfights between local rivals after a football game or the occasional scuffle between players.

GLEN RIDGE RAPE

Today, however, violence in high school sport involves assault and even rape. Incidents can take place both on and off the field and can sometimes affect nonathletes as well. One incident that received national and international media attention took place in the middle-class suburb of Glen Ridge, New Jersey. In 1989 three high school athletes, all white males, gang raped a mentally retarded seventeen-year-old white female in front of a group of their friends, using a baseball bat and a broom handle. Much of the media attention at the time focused on the culture in the school's athletic program, one which was said not to have valued or required decent character and behavior on the part of its male athletes.

This incident is one of many that detail how young males sometimes assault and commit sexual violence against females (Hattery 2001) with few consequences. The Glen Ridge perpetrators, when convicted, appealed and were out on bail for four years until they were finally sent to prison in 1997. Another aspect of this horrific crime that is in some ways even more disturbing is that there were some ten others who witnessed the crime and did nothing to stop it.

The high school athletes in Glen Ridge that day were participating in what is for some young men a sort of ritual, a twisted rite of passage into what they see as adulthood. The culture of their high school athletic program gave the impression that such behaviors as talking about and carrying out sexually violent acts against women, if not acceptable, were at the very least looked

upon as something that carried no responsibility and had no consequences.

SPUR POSSE

Another incident similar to the Glen Ridge case took place in 1993 in Lakewood, California, a town where the Youth Sports Hall of Fame is not at the high school, not at City Hall, but in the local McDonald's.

In the Lakewood case, teenage male athletes from a street sex gang that went by the name of "Spur Posse" made use of their athletic popularity in high school to seduce female classmates. When done, they passed these girls around for sex and then publicly bragged about their conquests. The news of their exploits sent shock waves across the community and the nation. In a misguided show of support, family members, mothers, girlfriends, and supporters from the community came forth to defend these young males. Dottie Belman, mother of Kristopher Belman, a member of the Spur Posse, together with her husband Donald, served the Lakewood community as coaches of Little League and Pop Warner football, and Dottie herself was a "team mother." She says:

They would make a home run or a touchdown and I held my head high. We were reliving our past. We'd walk into Little League and we were hot stuff. I'd go to Von's and people would come up to me and say, "Your kids are great." I was so proud. Now I go to Von's at 5 a.m. in disguise. I've been Mother of the Year. I've sacrificed everything for my kids. Now I feel like I have to defend my honor (Didion 1993, 55).

Dottie and Donald Belman and a host of other Lakewood parents and residents blamed the girls who were involved for the boys' troubles. It was argued that the girls were "loose"—as Donald Belman said on national television, they had to be, for these girls even had various body parts tattooed. And it was even suggested that perhaps the girls tricked the boys into the sexually aggressive behavior that had transpired. Accepted behavior? Socially approved behavior? The message is yes. The fact that much of the outcry in Lakewood was

Archers played a role in the Battle of Tewksbury in 1471, a decisive battle in the War of the Roses in England.

against the girls who stepped forward to complain about this behavior speaks volumes about how Americans still view male/female relationships and roles in this country. The messages sent to young males are quite clear: predatory sexual behavior carries with it no responsibility and no consequences. Sometimes it can even bestow bragging rights. The escalation in irrational violent behavior among young males is a symptom of the growing tendency in sport programs to condone violence, or at least to “look the other way.”

Violence in Intercollegiate Sport

When the essence of life is to “keep up with the Joneses,” social problems inevitably arise as a result of this chase. Repercussions of this uniquely American rat race are manifest from the available data on individuals and families living beyond their means to the numbers on home foreclosures and bankruptcy.

With the need to win becoming the driving force in athletics, we are seeing the recruitment of student athletes from places as diverse as Riker’s Island (the world’s most populous penal colony) and so-called prep schools that have no academic standing whatsoever.

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA INCIDENT

In a college version of the Glen Ridge and Lakewood crimes, a 14-year-old female child prodigy who was attending the University of Alabama, Birmingham, was kidnapped and held as the sex slave of the basketball and football teams for close to a full semester. This was a crime involving 25 student athletes. Not only was the young girl used as a sex slave while living in the college dormitory, but she was turned into a drug addict as well.

BAYLOR MURDER

One case that stands out as a prime example of college athletic programs out of control—crossing the line into lawbreaking behavior—is the 2003 murder of Baylor basketball player Patrick Dennehy, the arrest of his former roommate and teammate, and the allegation that head basketball coach Dave Bliss told his players to lie to the FBI agents investigating the homicide.



SPORT–SELF-PROMOTIONAL SHOWMANSHIP SYNDROME

One factor in the emergence of lawbreaking behavior in athletes is the system of privilege that the institutions, the student athletes, and the coaches have created that takes them away from the concept of “team” and moves them deeper into what the French sociologist Emile Durkheim describes in his research as “individualism.” Individualism can be defined as the Sport–Self-Promotional Showmanship Syndrome (S–SPSS).

S–SPSS also applies to the institutions that allow academic fraud and those that let faculty salaries lag and building maintenance deteriorate to the lowest levels, then use the funds to enter into the Division 1A athletic category. In other words, these institutions self-promote athletics above and beyond academics.

S–SPSS applies to coaches in the greed attached to their endorsement contracts, the television and radio shows, the automobiles for private use, game and even airline tickets for family and friends, and the use of institutional facilities for private gain (for example, summer camps).



Violence

William Hazlitt's "The Fight" (1822)

The extract below from this famous essay by English writer William Hazlitt graphically depicts the violence of a boxing match.

To see two men smashed to the ground, smeared with gore, stunned, senseless, the breath beaten out of their bodies; and then, before you recover from the shock, to see them rise up with new strength and courage, stand ready to inflict or receive mortal offense, and rush upon each other "like two clouds over the Caspian":—this is the high and heroic state of man! About the twelfth round it seemed as if it must have been over. Neate just then made a tremendous lunge, and hit Hickman full in the face. He hung suspended for a second or two, and then fell back, throwing his hands in the air, and with his face lifted up to the sky. All traces of life, of natural expression, were gone from him. His face was like a human skull, a death's head, spouting blood. The eyes were filled with blood, the nose streamed with blood, the mouth gaped blood. He was like a preternatural, spectral appearance, or like one of the figures in Dante's *Inferno*.

Yet he fought on after this for several rounds, still striking the first desperate blow, and Neate standing on the defensive, and using the same cautious guard to the last, as if he had still all his work to do; and it was not until the Gas-man was so stunned in the seventeenth or eighteenth round that his sense forsook him and he could not come to time, that the battle was declared over. When the Gas-man came to himself the first words he uttered were, "Where am I? What is the matter?" "Nothing is the matter, Tom,—you have lost the battle, but you are the bravest man alive." Neate instantly went up and shook him cordially by the hand, and seeing some old acquaintance, began to flourish with his fists, "Ah, you always said I couldn't fight—What do you think now?" But all in good humor, and without any appearance of arrogance; only it was evident that Bill Neate was pleased that he had won the fight. The carrier-pigeons now mounted into the air, and one of them flew with the news of her husband's victory to the bosom of Mrs. Neate. Alas for Mrs. Hickman!

For the student athlete, it's about trying to get as much playing time as possible, hogging the ball in games, victory celebrations that come with every score, the end-zone dances, and drawing attention to oneself. Even the venerable Florida Seminoles coach Bobby Bowden feels that because, "We give them this, we give them that," it is no wonder they focus on themselves.

This system of privilege for some athletes over others often leads to jealousies on teams and in the end can result in a loss of focus on the overall success of the team. Because this syndrome involves giving one athlete something that another doesn't have, all for the purpose of winning games, sometimes it's hard for student athletes and their coaches to discern right from wrong.

Violence in Professional Sport

In recent years, violence has been on the rise in professional sport; athletes engage in violence both on and off the field of competition.

KERMIT WASHINGTON

On the evening of Friday, 9 December 1977, the Los Angeles Lakers played the Houston Rockets in Houston. Few remember who even won the game, but the events that occurred in the third quarter are forever etched in professional basketball history (Goldpaper 1977).

Laker forward Kermit Washington was struggling for a loose ball while running up court when Houston player Kevin Kunnert got into a shoving match with Washington. Washington (six foot eight and 230 pounds), seeing from the corner of his eye a Houston Rockets player heading in his direction, turned and landed a right cross to the jaw of Houston player Rudy Tomjanovich. The rest is history. NBA Commissioner Larry O'Brien suspended Washington for 60 days (at a cost of \$50,000) and fined him an unprecedented amount of money for the time, \$10,000.

Tomjanovich, a forward for the Rockets, was sent to the hospital for 15 days with a broken jaw, fractured skull,

broken nose, cracked eye socket, and a ruined career. Lisa Olson, writing for the New York *Daily News* says:

Tomjanovich was felled in one punch, his skull and cheekbone fractured, his jaw and nose sinking back into his head like bloody pulps. Abdul-Jabbar said it sounded like a watermelon being dropped on cement.

According to sport writer John Feinstein (2002), the punch thrown by Washington changed the way the National Basketball Association handled on-court violence. Fights did break out prior to the Tomjanovich-Washington fight. Because Washington's punch to the face of Tomjanovich was so violent, the NBA took much more severe measures in punishing out-of-control players. Washington's fine and suspension, for example, was unheard of prior to the fight.

LATRELL SPREWELL

The job of a coach is to make sure that the athletes on his team train hard and win games. Unfortunately, the stresses of such an environment combined with personality clashes or harassing behavior can lead to violence.

Professional basketball player Latrell Sprewell (of the Golden State Warriors) crossed the line and is now paying the price. In a fit of anger because his coach, P. J. Carlesimo, was "in his face," Sprewell choked Carlesimo in front of other players during a practice session on 1 December 1997. Phil Taylor of *Sports Illustrated* put it thus:

When he assaulted and threatened to kill his coach, P. J. Carlesimo, . . . he committed one of the most outrageous acts on the court or field of play that American professional sports in the modern era has known, and that act will surely follow him for the rest of his life.

Almost anywhere except in the NBA, says *New York Times* columnist Ira Berkow, such an act would have meant immediate dismissal. Soon after the incident Sprewell was stripped of his four-year \$32 million contract (and a loss of all endorsement revenues estimated at \$500,000 with Converse). Furthermore, Commis-

Is it normal to wake up in the morning in a sweat because you can't wait to beat another human's guts out? ■ JOE KAPP

sioner David Stern originally suspended Sprewell for a year from the NBA. But on 3 March, 1998, Sprewell was reinstated to the Warriors after lodging a grievance against the team and the league that was favorably heard by arbitrator John Feerick, dean of the Fordham University Law School.

MIKE TYSON

On Saturday, 28 June 1997, in a much-anticipated and -touted World Boxing Association heavyweight title fight, "Iron" Mike Tyson twice bit the ear of his opponent, the then heavyweight champion, Evander Holyfield. This behavior was an all-time low even for professional boxing, inflicted before an international audience on pay-per-view television.

VIOLENCE OUTSIDE THE PLAYING FIELD

Uncivil and violent behavior is not confined to the playing field or court, of course. The behavior of athletes and fans can be just as brutal outside the arena as it is inside.

On 30 April 1993, Monica Seles, one of the world's top female tennis players, was stabbed while playing in a tournament in Hamburg, Germany. Gunther Parche, the assailant, was apparently a fanatic fan of Stephanie Graf and wanted Seles out of the competition. For his crime, Parche was given a two-year suspended sentence. At the 1994 winter Olympic trials, Nancy Kerrigan, the top contender on the U.S. team, was attacked, clubbed in the leg just weeks before the Olympics. Tonya Harding, who was the closest contender to Kerrigan, was later convicted of hiring her ex-boyfriend to club Kerrigan at the trials, allegedly to eliminate her from the competition and ensure Harding's win. Kerrigan was able to recover in time for the Olympics and took a silver medal. Harding finished in eighth place and eventually served time in jail for her involvement in the crime.

TRADITION OF CIVILITY BEING REPLACED

There has always existed a tradition of *civility* in sport: it manifests itself in the form of fair play—by strict



Violence

Mud Battles among the Blackfoot of Canada

The most primitive sport was a mud battle fought by young tribesmen. Sides were picked, and the two bands of Indian boys would repair to a large flat under their respective leaders, each boy armed with a long pliable switch about six feet long and a big ball of mud weighing about 20 pounds. Here the opposing leaders would take up their positions, a distance of about 75 yards separating them. Each fighter would then take a small piece of mud weighing about four ounces and press it hard on the tip of his switch. The flexibility of a switch would send these mud pellets flying with terrific force and they would burn and leave bruises on the body of anyone unfortunate enough to be struck by them. A battle of this kind would rage sometimes for hours, mud whistling through the air accompanied by loud yells from those in the casualty list. After the cessation of hostilities everyone was happy, despite the sore spots and numerous bruises discernable on the bodies of the combatants.

Source: Mountain Horse, M. (1979). *My people, the Bloods* (p. 13). Calgary, Canada: Glenbow-Alberta Institute; Blood Tribal Council.

definition, conformity to established rules. But fair play also involves such ideals as treating others with respect and courtesy, being a good loser, accepting responsibility for one's own mistakes in a mature way.

There is another tradition establishing itself in the arena of modern sport—openly avowed, assiduously cultivated, and zealously carried out—that was succinctly defined in the statement of Coach Woody Hayes that, “I’d rather die a winner than a loser,” and was nicely demonstrated in the testimony of ex-professional lineman Alex Karras that, “I hated everyone on the football field, and my personality would change drastically when I got out there . . . I had a license to kill for sixty minutes a week. My opponents were all fair game, and when I got off the field I had no regrets. It was like going totally insane.”

What happened to the tradition of civility and fair play, on the field and off? Latrell Sprewell in a fit of anger placed his hands around the neck of his coach and choked him. What does an act like this symbolize, even if the coach went beyond the normal boundaries in imposing stricter practice requirements? In many office environments, employers overload workers all the time. Yet most employees know that an action such as strangling their supervisors would result in at the very least termination, if not criminal prosecution.

Should we assume that courtesy among fans, getting an autograph from a professional athlete without having to pay for it, or attending a game without having beer dumped down your shirt only remain as figments of the sport sociological imagination? In answering this question we ultimately bump up against the larger one of what we stand for as a society and as athletes entering the twenty-first century.

Francis Fukuyama in his immensely important book *Trust* (1995) demonstrates that when the community ethos dissolves and folkways disappear, citizens are no longer trustful of each other. As this is happening in American society, says Fukuyama, we begin to see the rise of violent crime and civil litigation; the breakdown of family structure; the decline of a wide range of intermediate social structures such as neighborhoods, churches, unions, clubs, and charities; and the general sense among Americans of a lack of shared values and community with those around them.

ROLE OF MALE DOMINANCE

In her book *The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football*, Mariah Burton Nelson explores the connection between the growing power and strength of women and male resistance to participation by women in athletics. The furor over Title IX is a case in point. As Burton demonstrates, male resistance to female athletic participation can be empirically validated simply looking at the slow pace of compliance with Title IX. This resistance can sometimes take the form of violence.



Volleyball

Outlook

The violent, hyperaggressive, uncivil behavior we see in sport today is an issue that involves society at large. What we tolerate in the sports arena reflects what we as a society find acceptable. And because of the high status and prestige placed upon athletes at all levels but especially in professional sport, we can expect that the huge sums of money that go to the owners of franchises, to the equipment outfitters, to the moguls who own and control the media, to the concessionaires, to the elected officials who run cities where teams play, and to the players themselves will drive individualism and greed to the extreme, and violence will continue.

The media have come to play an enormously important role in sports. By bringing evidence of the growing lack of civility in sport and the attendant rise in violence into our living rooms and by seeming to glorify such behavior, the media not only report the stories, they are a contributing factor in the perpetuation of violence.

Only when we—the athletes, the fans, the media, the coaches, everyone involved in sport—decide that the escalating violence must come to an end will civility again return to sport.

*Angela J. Hattery and
Earl Smith*

See also Masculinity

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Volleyball is a close cousin of basketball: Both sports were created in Massachusetts, and both were created by men who worked for the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Although at the recreational level volleyball maintains a universal appeal and an intuitive structure of play, at its most competitive level it has increasingly emphasized ball handling and specialization of players. The sport was introduced into the Pan American Games in 1955 at Mexico City and into the Olympic Games in 1964 at Tokyo.

Origins

William G. Morgan invented volleyball in 1895. He was physical education director of the YMCA in Holyoke, Massachusetts, and a former student of James Naismith of Springfield, Massachusetts, who invented basketball. Basketball and volleyball were, in fact, invented to be simple, diverting indoor winter sports that could augment the austere regimen of gymnastic exercises that made up the greater part of physical education in the United States during the late nineteenth century. Neither man anticipated the popularity and competitiveness of his creation.

Morgan invented volleyball for his clients at the YMCA: businessmen who were, for the most part, middle-aged, unathletic, and not up to the challenges of basketball. The original version of volleyball was played by two teams who pushed a slow, oversized ball back and forth over a net that was only a few inches higher than some of the players.

Because Morgan had originally used a badminton (or lawn tennis) net for his new sport, he at first called it *mintonette*, but its rules were derived mainly from handball and baseball. The influence of the latter is seen in early volleyball rules, which stipulated that the sport be played in nine "innings," with "three outs" allowed before a team lost the serve. In 1896, while watching a demonstration of the sport, Dr. Alfred Halstead of



An indoor volleyball match at the Pan American Games.

F. H. Brown, yet another YMCA organizer, introduced volleyball in Japan in 1913. Volleyball quickly became popular, and in 1921 the Japanese Imperial Volleyball Association was formed. The YMCA was active in other areas of Asia as well, notably India and China. Volleyball also became popular in the Philippines for a while, and it was played in Manila at the Far Eastern Games organized by the international YMCA in 1913.

During and after World War I many U.S. soldiers played volleyball in Europe, partly because many YMCA instructors had been inducted into the Army as physical education instructors. Many YMCA and YWCA organizers stayed on in Europe after the war, and volleyball grew in popularity through the 1920s, particularly in France, where many volleyball clubs were formed. The Soviets, too, became interested in volleyball, and the Soviets and their client states were to become, with Japan, major competitive players.

In 1931 the first international volleyball tournament in Europe was held in Paris. The Soviets won first place against their most serious opponents, the Estonian team, whose country at that time had only nine years of independence left before it was annexed by the Soviet Union.

Volleyball had become popular by 1920 in Central and South America, particularly in Peru and Brazil. Both countries would become top volleyball competitors.

Although the French had attempted to establish an international volleyball organization in 1936, only in 1946 was the International Volleyball Federation formed. The federation's most active original members were France on the one hand and the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia—all Communist nations—on the other. The United States showed no interest in elite volleyball, and the predominance of Communist nations in elite play ensured that the sport would be played in a highly politicized atmosphere during the next two decades. For example, during the 1949 world championships in Prague, Czechoslovakia, eleven countries competed, and the Soviets won both men's and women's titles. The United States did not bother to

Springfield College—a YMCA colleague of Morgan—suggested that the word *volleyball* better suits the sport's nature of pushing the ball back and forth over the net. The new word was quickly accepted.

Development

Volleyball, like basketball, spread quickly and for similar reasons: Both sports were simple in design and featured clear and intuitively appealing goals. Moreover, the YMCA and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), both of which had chapters throughout the world, promoted both sports. Thus, volleyball, like basketball, initially moved across the globe in aid of a pragmatic and "muscular" Christianity.

The first national championship in the United States was played in 1922 in New York City. Twenty-three teams—most from no farther west than Chicago—competed at the Brooklyn Central YMCA gymnasium. The Pittsburgh team won. The Volleyball Rules Committee of the YMCA officiated this championship and subsequent championships until 1928, when the United States Volleyball Association (USVBA) was formed.

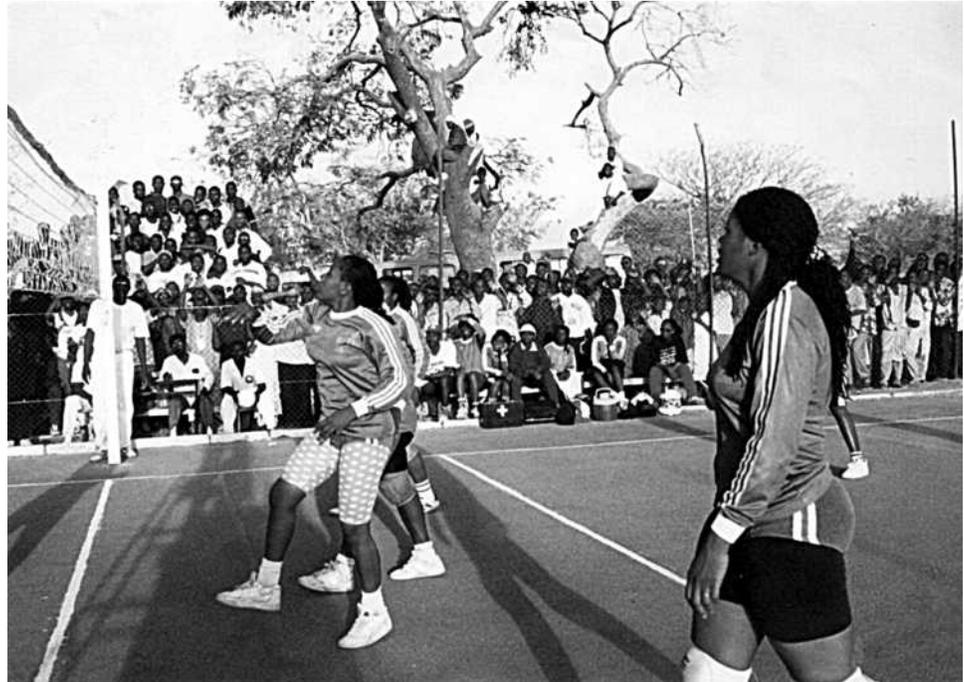
Nigerian women playing volleyball.

send a team. Yugoslavia did not send a team, either, although this fact had nothing to do with athletic ability or interest. Indeed, the Yugoslavians had developed considerable volleyball talent, but the Soviets wanted to send the Yugoslavians a political message via the Soviets' Czechoslovakian clients. In the end the "renegade" Yugoslavians—whose maverick leader Marshal Tito had offended socialist orthodoxy—were denied

visas to travel to the championships. Sending another such message in 1963, the Soviet bloc boycotted an international volleyball event in Albania—another "unorthodox" state. At the Albanian event the only teams were from Albania, China, North Korea, and Romania—all socialist countries that had either broken with the Soviets ideologically or were considering doing so.

During this period the only international volleyball played by the United States was a "match" in 1955 between the staffs of the U.S. and Soviet embassies in the Hague in the Netherlands. According to the *New York Times*, the Soviets—who had proposed the match—"beat the United States on the volleyball court this afternoon in a setting redolent of the spirit of coexistence, cooperation and goodwill." Perhaps one can explain the U.S. loss by the fact that volleyball had been intended as a recreation and not as a seriously competitive sport.

In 1961 the International Olympic Committee voted volleyball into the Olympic Games. The Soviets and their clients and the Japanese supported this vote, and, at the 1964 games in Tokyo the Japanese, Soviet, Polish, and Czech teams were the main players. The Soviets edged out the Czechs for the gold medal in the men's competition; the Czech men won silver, and the Japanese men won bronze. However, the Japanese



women's team played the most exciting volleyball. In fact, one can fairly argue that the Japanese women's team revolutionized volleyball. As one observer wrote, the Japanese women played "with a ferocity and precision that have made almost a new game of a familiar playground pastime." They were never in any danger, losing only one set (to the Polish team), and losing that only because the coach, Daimatsu Hirofumi, had taken some of his better players out of the game when he felt that the Soviet team was learning too much about his team's tactics.

The Japanese women's team was formed in 1953 and sponsored by the Nichibo Spinning Mills near Osaka. Hirofumi, who was the mills' manager in charge of office supplies procurement, drove his team hard: The team practiced six hours a day seven days a week all year. He had a hot temper, and insults and occasional kicks were part of his training. Although some people criticized such training, Hirofumi's 1964 team performed splendidly. One headline captures the surprise that attended the Japanese victory, at least in the United States, as well as a lingering Cold War atmosphere: "Celebrated Team of Office Girls Subdues Russians."

Of special interest to other teams was the Japanese version of the rolling retrieve, which required a player to fall with gymnastic precision and power to save an

The first thing is to love your sport. Never do it to please someone else. It has to be yours. ■ PEGGY FLEMING

incoming ball that could be up to 3 meters away. The player then recovered with grace and speed to rejoin the ongoing play. Since the 1964 Tokyo games, volleyball has been a hard-driving “power” sport in the international arena.

At the first Olympic Games to feature volleyball, the United States finished ninth. At the 1968 Olympic Games at Mexico City, neither the men’s team nor the women’s team of the United States made a very good showing—the Soviets, Japanese, Poles, and Czechs dominated—and U.S. teams did not even qualify for the Olympics again until 1984. The first U.S. national training center for volleyball, near Houston, Texas, was dedicated to women’s volleyball—a rare case of a sport being led, in development and elite participation, by women. However, the U.S. men’s team won the gold medal at the 1984 Olympics; the women’s team won the silver; and the United States has since been a world power.

However, at the 2004 Olympics in Athens, Greece, Brazil and China tied for first place. Brazil won gold in men’s, China won gold in women’s. Russia, Italy, and Cuba finished in third place through fifth place, respectively.

Practice

Originally teams played volleyball over a net that was just 2 meters high, but that height has been raised several times. Now the height is 2.43 meters for men and 2.25 meters for women. The net is 1 meter deep and is stretched across the center of a court that measures 9.14 meters by 18.29 meters. The minimum ceiling height is 7 meters. The ball—first manufactured by Spaulding, the company that originally manufactured basketballs—weighs 250 to 280 grams and measures 38 to 69 centimeters in circumference.

Standard teams have six players (Morgan’s original rules allowed nine players). Each team is arrayed in two rows of three players: left, center, and right forwards and left, center, and right backs. Play begins after first serve is determined by the toss of a coin, and the right

back of one team serves the ball. The serve may be overhanded or underhanded; the player must serve within five seconds of assuming the serving stance, and the served ball must not touch the net. The goal of the receiving team is to return the ball to the opposite side of the net. Team members may handle the ball three times before the ball is returned, and, indeed, game strategy depends on such ball handling.

In the basic volleying process players must master a number of skills. The front line handles blocking. Players in the front line move to the place where they think the ball will be coming into their court and jump with hands outspread and arms overhead to block the ball. Timing is crucial, and often a beginner is coming back down to the ground just as the opponent’s ball flies over the net. Players must avoid body contact with the net, adding another level of challenge to mastering the block.

Should the block fail, receiving players, generally in the back court, use an underhanded stroke played close to the ground. This stroke is designed to “dig” the ball up and into play. The stroke may be two-handed or, if quick lateral movement toward the ball is required, one-handed. The goal is to save the ball and to put it into play for another team member, who may choose to “set” (pass) the ball toward a third team member. The third team member then attempts to “spike” the ball into the opposing team’s court. The set can be toward the forward ranks or toward the back, or even lateral. Much of the skill in setting consists of holding a posture that conceals the direction of the intended pass until the last possible moment.

The spike—one of the more dramatic offensive maneuvers—can be sent into the opposing court at speeds of more than 100 kilometers per hour, leaving opponents with little reaction time. The spike involves a jumping attack and an overhead smash down toward the opposite court. Quick reaction time is essential to execute a good spike: Should a player aim the spike down into the opponent’s front court area, thus risking a successful block, or spike it toward the back to defeat the “diggers”?

The team who is serving wins a point if the other team is unable to return the ball; if the serving team loses, a “side-out” occurs, and the other team takes the serve. The players on the team that scores a side-out rotate clockwise so that each player begins the new set playing from a new position. Players must be in their positions when the ball is served. However, after the serve they may move to any position on the court, introducing the possibility of specialization into a sport that was designed to be universal in terms of the skills required. Of course, the postserve movement of players is also a key factor in overall strategy.

The first team to score fifteen points wins, as long as the other team trails by at least two points. If the trailing team is within one point, the game continues until the two-point spread is reached. A match consists of five games and is won with three games; three-game matches are sometimes played. Teams change sides after each game.

Beach volleyball—although played by many people purely as a form of recreation and by elite volleyball players as a form of training—has developed its own rules, teams, and a professional tour with corporate sponsorship. Teams may be of two or four players, male or female. The cushioning effect of beach sand encourages players to attempt saving dives that would be impossible on a hard gymnasium floor, and jumping for blocks and spiking are more difficult than in standard volleyball.

Alan Trevithick

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Volleyball, Beach

Beach volleyball is similar to indoor volleyball in its structure and rules of play. However, unlike indoor volleyball, beach volleyball has no coaches to facilitate play, and a player has only one teammate to rely on.

Beach volleyball began during the 1920s on the beaches of southern California and Europe. By the 1950s and 1960s tournaments were held in the United States, Brazil, Canada, and France, and in other parts of Europe. During the 1960s President John F. Kennedy attended the first official beach volleyball event at Sorrento Beach in Los Angeles. During the 1990s the Federation Internationale de Volleyball (FIVB), with 214 national federations, began to govern international beach volleyball and volleyball. The FIVB World Tour, formerly known as the “World Championship Series,” is the official international tour. The World Tour grew quickly since it began in 1992, and the groundwork for this growth was laid in the sands of sunny southern California.

Rules and Play

A distinct feature of beach volleyball is the formation of teams. Unlike other sports teams, beach volleyball teams are not contracted for a specified length of time. Players can switch teams as often as they like. Many times these switches are because of injuries, other times because of differences between teammates. Players can compete with one teammate one week and another teammate the next. Playing on any team of only two people is challenging, and beach volleyball is no exception. Maintaining partnerships is not easy. The relationship between the two players can become complicated and can interfere with the ability of the players to communicate and work together. This arrangement makes beach volleyball an interesting combination of a team sport and an individual sport.

Beach volleyball is played on a court of the same size and net height of an indoor volleyball court. However, beach volleyball is played in sand that is 35–40 centi-



Men playing beach volleyball.

Source: istockphoto.com/barsik.

awarded a point; if the receiving team wins the rally, a “side-out” is called, and the receiving team wins the right to serve. When a team “regains” service, the serve alternates between players from that team.

Players are allowed to move freely within their court area; no distinction is made between the front court and back court. Because no center line exists under the net, players can go under the net as long as they do not interfere with their opponents. Players

do not “rotate” from one position to the other as in indoor volleyball. During a rally the ball can be contacted by any part of the body. Three is the maximum number of contacts allowed on each side. A block counts as a contact. The usual sequence of contacts is pass (forearm pass or dig), set (volley or overhand pass), and attack (hit or spike) over the net. The attack cannot be completed with the use of an open-handed tip. If the ball is set, or volleyed over the net to the opponents, it must be set perpendicular to the shoulders of the player setting the ball. No substitution of players is allowed. During each match each team is allowed two timeouts of thirty seconds. Teams also switch sides every multiple of five points (4–1, 6–4, etc.) with a thirty-second rest between side changes.

A variety of scoring systems is used. The standard scoring system on the FIVB World Tour is a one-set match played to fifteen points, with at least a two-point lead required for victory, to a maximum of seventeen points (victory by one point is possible at 17–16). Teams can score points only when they are serving.

Play is between two teams of two players. A rally is initiated by a serve from anywhere in the area bounded by the 9-meter end of a team’s playing court (the team’s baseline) and the extensions of the two 18-meter sidelines of the court. Each player gets only one attempt to serve the ball, and a “net” serve is a fault. Common types of serves are spike serves, overhand float serves, underhand sky serves, and standing topspin serves. The server continues to serve until the opponent wins the rally. If the serving team wins the rally, that team is

do not “rotate” from one position to the other as in indoor volleyball. During a rally the ball can be contacted by any part of the body. Three is the maximum number of contacts allowed on each side. A block counts as a contact. The usual sequence of contacts is pass (forearm pass or dig), set (volley or overhand pass), and attack (hit or spike) over the net. The attack cannot be completed with the use of an open-handed tip. If the ball is set, or volleyed over the net to the opponents, it must be set perpendicular to the shoulders of the player setting the ball. No substitution of players is allowed. During each match each team is allowed two timeouts of thirty seconds. Teams also switch sides every multiple of five points (4–1, 6–4, etc.) with a thirty-second rest between side changes.

Net Gains for Women

Women first appeared at beach volleyball competitions as “beauty contestants,” not as competitors. However, by the 1970s women’s beach volleyball competitions

began to become popular. By the 1980s the United States and Australia began holding national tournaments for women; after beach volleyball became an Olympic sport in 1996, many countries provided competitive opportunities for women.

Women had played organized beach volleyball in southern California since the 1950s. In fact, the United States was one of the first countries to develop a women's professional tour and a women's players association—the Women's Professional Volleyball Association (WPVA).

In 1987 the WPVA tour began with ten events and \$48,900 in total prize money; the top player earned more than eight thousand dollars. Because of such minimal earning potential, many athletes maintained a regular job while participating in weekend tournaments. By 1996 the WPVA tour had grown to fifteen events with more than \$900,000 in prize money; the top player earned more than \$88,000. However, in 1998 the WPVA and its tour began to struggle, and for the first time in more than ten years no tour was sanctioned by the WPVA. The WPVA was dissolved in 1998.

The formation of the WPVA and its tour and the popularity of the sport in the United States played a major role in the development of beach volleyball worldwide. Organizers in the United States also developed a national tour devoted to four-player team volleyball. Four-versus-four events were nationally televised and were sponsored by large corporations, helping to increase the exposure of beach volleyball. Because of the increased media exposure, some athletes who competed on this tour grew in popularity and began to promote beach volleyball outside of competitions. For example, Gabrielle Reese not only began writing magazine articles, but also hosted television shows for the MTV (Music Television) cable channel.

The WPVA competitions in the United States drew many international players who came to develop their skills. For example, Jackie Silva, an Olympic gold medalist in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1996, played on the WPVA tour from 1987 to 1991.

In 1992 the FIVB realized that providing opportunities for women as well as men was essential for global devel-

opment of beach volleyball and its acceptance by the Olympic community. Thus, 1992–1993 was the inaugural season for international women's beach volleyball. The World Tour had two stops, a purse of \$100,000, and more than thirty athletes representing eight countries. By 1998 the World Tour had nine stops, more than \$1.4 million in prize money—with women and men receiving equal prize money in each event, and more than three hundred athletes representing more than thirty countries.

Beach volleyball players, like so many other athletes, were now earning money from advertising. Players could advertise their own sponsors on their competition suits, hats or visors, and washable tattoos. Players could make a career out of playing beach volleyball. In 2002 Karch Kiraly of the United States became the first beach volleyball player to earn \$3 million in prize money. In 2002 he also became the oldest player to win a professional domestic beach volleyball tournament at the age of forty-one.

Considering the importance of the WPVA World Tour in the development of women's beach volleyball, one should not be surprised that U.S. women set the standards during the early years of the FIVB World Tour. The first beach volleyball event for women sanctioned by the FIVB was played in 1992 at the Olympic Year Tournament in Almeira, Spain. The winners were Karolyn Kirby and Nancy Reno of the United States. This team went on to win the second FIVB women's event held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1993, and each player has won numerous events since then.

Since the beginning of the FIVB World Tour, Brazilian women have competed almost as well as U.S. women. From the first event in 1992 to the end of the 1998 season the FIVB had sanctioned fifty World Tour events. The United States won fifteen of the first twenty-five events (1992–1996), and Brazil won ten. Australia was the first country to consistently join Brazil and United States at the top of the sport.

Other nations began to challenge Brazil and the United States by breaking into the top four places at an FIVB World Tour event during the 1994–1995 season. The Japanese team of Sachiko Fujita and Yukiko Taka-



hashi finished fourth at Osaka, Japan. Takahashi has finished in the top four places at an FIVB World Tour event three times, including one silver medal. Beate Buhler and Danja Musch of Germany won the bronze medal at the Brisbane, Australia, event in 1995. Thereafter, Musch finished in the top four at an FIVB World Tour event seven times, with three silver medals and one bronze.

Beach volleyball made its first appearance in multi-sport international games at the 1994 Goodwill Games in St. Petersburg, Russia. Karolyn Kirby and Liz Masakayan of the United States won the gold medal by defeating Monica Rodrigues and Adriana Samuel of Brazil.

At the first Olympic beach volleyball match at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia, Brigitte Lesage and Anabelle Prawerman of France played Mayra Huerta Hernandez and Velia Eguiluz Soto of Mexico before more than nine thousand spectators. In July, Jackie Silva and Sandra Pires of Brazil made history by winning the first-ever Olympic gold medal in beach volleyball, defeating fellow Brazilians Monica Rodrigues and Adriana Samuel. The gold medal won by Silva and Pires was also Brazil's first Olympic gold medal in a women's sport. Natalie Cook and Kerri-Ann Pottharst of Australia won the bronze medal by defeating Linda Hanley and Barbra Fontana from the United States.

At the 2001 Goodwill Games in Brisbane, Australia, featuring the world's sixteen best men's and women's teams, the men's medalists were Jose Loiola and Ricardo Santos (Brazil), gold; Martin Conde and Eduardo Martinez (Argentina), silver; and Stein Metzger and Kevin Wong (United States), bronze. The women's medalists were Sandra Pires and Tatiana Minello (Brazil), gold; Adriana Behar and Shelda Bede (Brazil), silver; and Pauline Manser and Kerri-Ann Pottharst (Australia) and Elaine Youngs and Barbra Fontana (United States), bronze.

At the 2004 Summer Olympics in Athens, Greece, the Ricardo-Emanuel team of Brazil won a gold medal for men's beach volleyball; the Walsh-May team of the United States won a gold medal for women's beach volleyball.

Kristine Drakich

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Wakeboarding
Weightlifting
Wembley Stadium
Wimbledon
Windsurfing
**Women's Sports,
Media Coverage of**
Women's World Cup
Worker Sports
World Cup
World Series
World University Games
Wrestling
Wrigley Field
Wushu



Wakeboarding

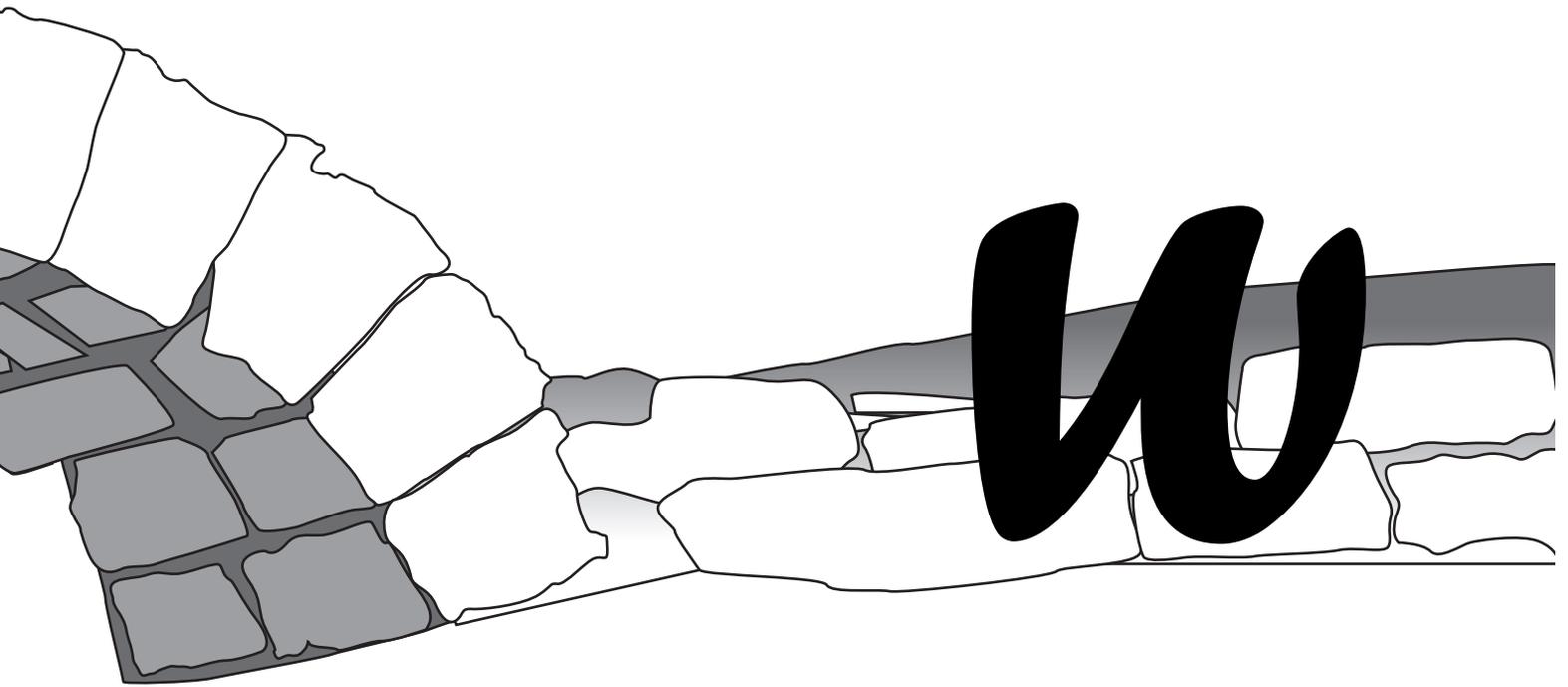
Wakeboarding—a sport that combines surfing, water skiing, skateboarding, and snowboarding—began in 1985 when California surfer Tony Finn created a board called a “Skurfer” by combining a water ski and a short surfboard.

Finn’s creation allowed a wakeboarder—or “rider”—to “freeboard” or “skurf,” performing surfing-like moves on the board while being towed in the wave—or wake—behind a boat. Two of Finn’s friends suggested that he add foot straps to the board to allow riders more freedom of movement. Water ski company owner Herb O’Brien eventually joined with surfboard shapers to create a wakeboard that was more like a surfboard.

The “modern” wakeboard has a symmetrical front-to-back shape and a “twin tail” design—one each in the front and back underneath the board—to allow a more balanced position whether the wakeboarder is riding forward or backward.

Rules and Play

Wakeboarders can perform a variety of flips, turns, and spins called “tricks,” with some riders going as high as 7 meters into the air. Wakeboarding competitions began to develop in 1990 when Jimmy Redmon founded the World Wakeboard Association (WWA), the sport’s world governing body. World Sports & Marketing, a sports promotion and event organizer company, began to sponsor professional wakeboarding events in 1992. Professional wakeboarders can compete in numerous



events today, including the World Wakeboard Championships, the Pro Wakeboard Series, and the X Games (which consist of various so-called extreme sports). Amateur riders can participate in pro-am and other local events at which clinics are sometimes offered in conjunction with competitions.

Women and Wakeboarding

Although men and women compete in the same competitions, they are scored and ranked separately. The professional women's wakeboarding field includes competitors ranging from teenagers to riders in their mid-twenties. Tara Hamilton, a Florida high school student, competed in gymnastics for eight years before she took up wakeboarding. Training with male wakeboarder

Darin Shapiro, Hamilton was ranked among the top women wakeboarders in the world just a few months after she began the sport.

During the 1998 X Games in San Diego, California, silver medalist and first-time participant Dana Preble performed the first Air Raley by a woman. The Air Raley is a trick that consists of a rider hitting the wake, swinging the wakeboard and body head over heels to cross the wake in the air, and landing on the opposite side of the wake.

Competition at the Top

The World Wakeboard Association in 2004 ranked Andrew Adkison of the United States first in the world among men, Dallas Friday of the United States first in the world among women.

C. J. Lockman Hall

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A wakeboarder in action.

Source: istockphoto/Ju-Lee.

Weightlifting

Weightlifting is a sport in which heavy objects, usually barbells, are lifted in competition. It is also an exercise format designed to promote health, fitness, and proficiency in other sports. Since the late nineteenth century, weightlifting has achieved worldwide participation.

Early History

Competitive weightlifting can be traced to prehistoric times when ancient tribes used lifting heavy stones as a test of manhood, and stone-lifting is still done in strongman and strongwoman contests in Europe and America. Sustained interest in weightlifting activities dates from the Greeks, who not only hoisted stones and tossed the discus but also employed iron objects called halteres that resembled modern dumbbells in their games and training. By far the most famous Greek athlete was Milo of Crotona, a weightlifter and wrestler. Milo, a six-time Olympic champion, originated the idea of progressive resistance training by carrying a calf daily until it became a bull, thereby steadily increasing his strength.

Little weightlifting activity transpired during the Middle Ages, and not until the eighteenth century do records show iron weights (dumbbells) being used for light exercise. George Barker Windship, a Harvard-trained physician living in Boston in the 1850s, introduced heavy lifting. Windship incorporated various lifting devices to develop the lower torso and promote his philosophy, "Strength is Health." By the end of the century, strongmen such as Eugen Sandow (England and America), Arthur Saxon (Germany), George Hackenschmidt (Russia), Louis Uni (France), and Louis Cyr (Canada), were performing competitive feats of strength.

Weightlifting Becomes a Sport

The first official international weightlifting competition was held in London in 1891. Inspired by the Greek tradition, Pierre de Coubertin included weightlifting events in his 1896 revival of the Olympic games. The first

champions were Launceston Elliot (Great Britain) who did a one-hand jerk with 156 pounds (70.74 kg) and Viggo Jensen (Denmark) who did a two-hand jerk with 245 pounds (111.16 kg). Weightlifting was also included in the 1904 Olympics in St. Louis and in the 1906 intercalary games in Athens. Although world championships, largely made up of Europeans, occurred from 1903 to 1913, the sport was pursued in a haphazard manner, with relatively few competitions and no firm set of international rules and records. The outbreak of World War I stifled any further progress.

Then in 1920, Jules Rosset, president of the French federation, instigated the International Weightlifting Federation (Federation Haltérophile Internationale) to regulate and administer international competitions. This also was the occasion for weightlifting's return to the Olympics, which were staged in Antwerp. During the 1920s, the French, led by light-heavyweights Ernest Cadine and Charles Rigoulot, set the pace in international competition. The 1924 Paris Olympics marked the last time globe barbells were used. Plate-loading barbells then became standard, soon followed by bars with revolving (ball-bearing) sleeves to minimize friction as the athlete turned the bar while hoisting it. In 1928, the Germans returned to Olympic competition for the first time since the war, and the international federation adopted the press, snatch, and clean and jerk for use in all sanctioned competitions. These two-hand lifts (the Olympic lifts) remained the standard for the next forty-four years and essentially defined the sport.

The 1932 Los Angeles Olympics attracted relatively few weightlifting competitors, but it brought the first appearance by the United States in Olympic or world championships since 1904. Because of America's lackluster (third place) performance, Bob Hoffman of York, Pennsylvania, started recruiting and training young weightlifters and published *Strength & Health* magazine to promote Olympic lifting. Hoffman's lifters steadily improved during the 1930s with one of them, Tony Terlazzo, winning America's first gold medal at the 1936 (Berlin) Olympics. But the Germans, led by



Josef Manger and Rudolf Ismayr, and the Egyptians, under the great Khadar el Sayed Touni, dominated the decade. By the outbreak of World War II, weightlifting was recognized widely as a sport on the international, national, regional, and local levels, but it received far less acceptance as a means for developing health and fitness.

American Golden Age

Given the widespread devastation of European countries from the war, the United States emerged as the dominant weightlifting power, scoring a decisive victory over the Soviet Union at the 1946 world championships in Paris. Led by Hoffman and such great champions as John Davis, Tommy Kono, Pete George, and Norbert Schemansky, American lifters mounted a successful Cold War challenge to the Soviets and brought about a “golden age” of American weightlifting that lasted into the early 1960s. A climax occurred at the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne where Georgia heavyweight Paul Anderson again led the American team to victory over the Russians. So prodigious were Anderson’s feats of strength that he set a new standard for big men (being the first weightlifter to press 400 pounds (181.44 kg)). By universal consensus, the greatest weightlifter of all time was Kono, who won eleven national titles, six world championships, and one silver and two Olympic gold medals and set thirty-seven American, eight Pan American, seven Olympic, and twenty-six world records in three weight classes during his seventeen-year career (1948–1965).

Eventually, however, the Soviets, led by such standouts as Arcady Vorobiev, Yuri Vlasov, Leonid Zhabotinsky, and David Rigert, were beating Hoffman’s men with regularity, and such countries as Poland, Hungary, Japan, Cuba, and Bulgaria were coming to the fore. Most of the countries became competitive on the international level because of the introduction of vigorous (state-funded) nationalization programs. The greatest Asian lifter during the 1960s was Miyake Yoshinobu of Japan, who won three Olympic medals and six world titles and set twenty-five world records.

Agents of Change

By the 1960s, the sport was being affected by several ancillary developments. Because of the persistence of Hoffman and other promoters such as Peary Rader and Joe and Ben Weider, weightlifting was gaining a wider acceptance and was increasingly being employed to improve proficiency in other sports, particularly football, basketball, and baseball, but eventually even swimming, golf, tennis, and distance running, where flexibility and endurance were critical to success. On the other hand, the increased popularity of bodybuilding (physique) and powerlifting competitions during the 1960s seriously detracted from participation in Olympic weightlifting meets on all levels.

Another important change during this era was the internalization of the sport from simply training with barbells to the use of dietary supplements. Developed in the early 1950s by Irvin Johnson, a Chicago dietician and bodybuilding enthusiast, these products, often with a soy base, were designed to make more protein available for muscle growth and improve the weightlifter’s health and functioning of internal organs. Strength athletes started getting bigger and lifting more weight. Even more critical to performance was the introduction of anabolic steroids. First isolated in 1935 by Charles Kochakian, a University of Rochester graduate student, this drug was used on a limited basis in the 1940s to help wounded soldiers recuperate and in the 1950s by Russian weightlifters to fuel their victories in international competition. In the early 1960s, John Ziegler, an Olney, Maryland, physician, introduced steroids to American (York, Pennsylvania) lifters. During the next decade, their use spread to virtually all sports, and in all countries weightlifting totals and records soared. At the 1970 world championships in Columbus, Ohio, Russian superheavyweight Vasily Alexeev became the first man in history to clean and jerk more than 500 pounds (226.8 kg). From 1970 to 1977, the Russian giant broke eighty world records and eventually moved the clean and jerk mark up to 563 pounds (255.38 kg). Controversies surrounding steroids eventually led to their ban and the institution of drug testing by the International Olympic

Committee (IOC) at the 1976 Montreal Olympics. Weightlifters were stigmatized for steroid use in ensuing decades, but ergogenic drug abuse (from lack of testing) was far more prevalent in the sister sports of powerlifting and bodybuilding.

What contributed most to the relative decline of Olympic weightlifting, however, was a controversy over the execution of the overhead press, once the most popular of lifts and a legitimate test of upper body strength. Quite contrary to the rules, lifters were increasingly allowed to employ the legs and hips and an exaggerated backbend. Officiating became heavily mired in international politics, and the whole movement became a farce. At the 1972 Munich Olympics, the International Weightlifting Federation (IWF) made the momentous decision to eliminate the press as a competitive lift. Almost immediately Olympic weightlifting, despite its status as an Olympic sport and the growing public acceptance of weight training, began to decline in popularity, especially in the United States and Western Europe.

East European Dominance

In Eastern Europe and Cuba, however, the weightlifting tradition remained strong, and Bulgaria, a country of only about nine million people, began to replace Russia as the world's greatest lifting power. In the 1970s, Russia won 255 Olympic and world championship medals to Bulgaria's 150, but in the 1980s these totals were just 226 to 210 respectively. By 1989, Bulgaria held 14 of the world records to just 11 for Russia, and with the break-up of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, Bulgaria became the dominant weightlifting power. Bulgaria's greatest weightlifter was Naim Suleimanov ("Pocket Hercules") who set his first world record at age fifteen but was prevented from entering the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics by Bulgaria's boycott. After defecting to Turkey at the 1986 World Cup Tournament in Australia, he became Naim Suleymanoglu and went on to win Olympic gold medals at Seoul, Barcelona, and Atlanta, the first weightlifter to win three in a row.

During this time, despite a windfall of \$656,000, surplus from the 1984 Olympics, and the establish-

The battles that count aren't the ones for gold medals. The struggles within yourself—the invisible, inevitable battles inside all of us—that's where it's at. ■ JESSE OWENS

ment of a first-rate national training facility in Colorado Springs, Colorado, American weightlifting continued its relative decline. At the 1995 world championships in Ghangzhou, China, for instance, the American team placed thirty-first, behind even Nauru, a Pacific island of only 10,000 people. So proficient did Bulgaria become at producing top-flight weightlifters that some of them were hired to become naturalized citizens and compete for other nations, such as Australia and Qatar, in international competition. The continued popularity of powerlifting and bodybuilding, lack of grassroots coaching and training facilities, and meager opportunities for commercial gain relative to other sports contributed to weightlifting's declining status in North America.

Reconstructing an International Order

That Olympic weightlifting retained a high degree of recognition elsewhere may be attributed partly to the stalwart leadership of Gottfried Schodl (Austria) and Tamás Aján (Hungary) in positions of IWF president and general secretary since the 1970s. Among their achievements was a substantial increase in the number of countries and athletes participating on all levels. The 1996 centennial Olympics in Atlanta attracted 100,000 spectators, the largest number in the history of the sport, each paying \$34. In 2003, 1,269 male weightlifters from 127 countries participated in IWF calendar events. Women's competitions, conducted on a regular basis since the late 1970s, also gained international status in 1987 with the first women's world championships in Daytona Beach, Florida. When women's weightlifting became an Olympic event for the first time at Sydney in 2000, Tara Nott, in the 48 kg class, became the first American to win an Olympic gold medal in weightlifting since bantamweight Chuck Vinci's victory at Rome in 1960. In 2003, a record 721 women from 95 countries participated in sanctioned international competitions.

Another leadership initiative has been an increased standardization of rules, officiating practices, and equipment. In 1993, the IWF implemented a more

rigorous drug-testing program that was complemented by a restructuring of weight classes and an abolition of all previous (presumably drug-induced) records. Not surprisingly, contest totals and world records dropped dramatically. In 2003, the IWF conducted 1,351 tests, with only 28 (2 percent) being positive for drugs. Especially with the inclusion of national spot-testing in some countries, weightlifting has become cleaner than its sister sports of powerlifting and bodybuilding.

Entering the Twenty-first Century

With the onset of the twenty-first century, Bulgaria remained a leading lifting power, but other countries including Turkey, China, Russia, Greece, Iran, Poland,



Rumania, and Qatar were producing world-class weightlifters in the men's ranks. In a poll conducted on the IWF Internet site, Hossein Reza Zadeh (105+ class) from Iran and Halil Mutlu (56 kg class) from Turkey received the most votes for world's best lifter in 2003. As of March 2004, Reza Zadeh held all the records in his class. Still his 578-pound (262.15 kg) world-record clean and jerk was only 15 pounds (6.8 kg) higher than Alexeev's 563 (255.42 kg) in 1977, a likely testimony to the effectiveness of drug testing.

In the women's ranks, China has utterly dominated competition, holding eighteen of the twenty-one senior world records and thirteen of the junior records in March 2004. By far the best female lifter, and recipient of the most Internet votes, was Liu Chunhong of China. Though still only a junior level lifter (at age 19), her 270 kg total in 2003 in the 69 kg class was 7.5 kg higher than the 262.5 kg total registered by Nahla Ramadan of Egypt in the 75 kg class. For men and women, especially in capitalist societies, the greatest challenge remains the relative lack of remuneration in Olympic weightlifting.

Weightlifting Basics

The objective of Olympic weightlifting is to register the highest two-lift total in the snatch and the clean and jerk. Each lifter gets three attempts in each lift, with the highest weights in each category being added to his or her total. If a lifter misses all three attempts in either lift, he or she is eliminated from the competition. In the event of a tie, the lighter lifter receives the higher placement. The lifter has two minutes from the time his or her name is called to start the lift. A head referee and two side judges officiate. At least two of three white lights are required for a passing lift. Strategy in weightlifting normally comes into play toward the end of the competition where each athlete will choose a final clean and jerk that will yield a total that other lifters will not be able to surpass.

Weightlifting equipment.

Source: istockphoto/mevans.



In the first competitive lift, the snatch, the bar is pulled from the floor to an overhead position at arms length in one continuous movement. The lifter is allowed to move his feet into either a squatting or splitting position, essentially dipping under the bar while it is momentarily suspended in mid-air. In the recovery portion of the lift, the athlete raises his or her body to an erect position. The clean and jerk is a two-part lift. The athlete first, in the clean, lifts the barbell from the floor to the shoulders, again (as in the snatch) squatting or splitting under the suspended bar. The lifter then recovers into a standing position with the weight resting on the shoulders. After lowering the weight with the knees, the lifter then thrusts it overhead with his or her legs and again dips under the suspended bar by assuming either a split or squat position. In the recovery portion, the athlete again raises his or her body erect.

From 1928 to 1972, the press was also contested. As in the clean and jerk, the barbell was first brought to the lifter's shoulders, using the same foot motion options. The athlete would then stand erect until the head referee signaled the execution of the lift, which was done by pressing the barbell overhead with the arms and shoulders and with no assistance from the legs or lower torso.

In each lift, the athlete must finish with feet in line, body erect, arms and legs fully extended, and the barbell under control overhead. The lifter must hold the weight overhead until receiving the head referee's signal to replace it to the floor.

WEIGHT CLASSES AND EQUIPMENT

Men's competitions consist of eight bodyweight classifications, the upper limits being: 56 kg (123 pounds), 62 kg (137 pounds), 69 kg (152 pounds), 77 kg (170 pounds), 85 kg (187 pounds), 94 kg (207 pounds), 105 kg (231 pounds), and more than 105 kg. For women, there are seven weight classes: 48 kg (106 pounds), 53 kg (117 pounds), 58 kg (128 pounds), 63 kg (139 pounds), 69 kg (152 pounds), 75 kg (165 pounds), and more than 75 kg.

The equipment employed in competitive weightlifting consists of the barbell, a steel bar or rod to which cast-iron or steel disk weights (encased in hard rubber) are attached at each end on a revolving sleeve. The men's competition bar weighs 20 kg (44 pounds). For women, the bar weighs 15 kg (33 pounds). The range of weights added is 25, 20, 15, 10, 5, 2.5, and 1.25 kg (55, 44, 33, 22, 11, 5.5, and 2.75 pounds). All lifts are performed on a square platform that measures four meters on each side.

GOVERNANCE

Five organizations administer the sport of weightlifting, consisting of (in descending order of influence) the International Weightlifting Federation, National Weightlifting Federations, the International Olympic Committee, Olympic committees for individual nations, and the organizing committees for specific competitions. Olympic weightlifting in the United States is governed by USA Weightlifting in Colorado Springs.

Final Reflections

Weightlifting has always been a highly individual sporting endeavor. Although it is possible to compete on a team basis, particularly on the national and international levels, many weightlifters prefer no affiliation. Unlike many sports, there is no possibility for direct interaction with opponents or even members of one's own team. This lack of physical contact and team strategy encourages individuality, yet a strong spirit of camaraderie has always existed among participants.

Historically, weightlifting has attracted ethnic and racial minorities, those seeking greater self-esteem, or individuals not able to participate in team sports. Contrary to popular belief, the best weightlifters (pound-for-pound) are found in the lighter classes, often among individuals who appear quite normal and do not fit the stereotype (bulky, oversized). Speed (from fast-twitch muscles) and flexibility are as important as strength to an Olympic weightlifter's success. Exercise scientists, in fact, have identified the snatch, where great explosive

It's scary to read things like that, you know, being the best player in England, but it gives me confidence. I'm not going to go around shouting about things that people say about me, but it's nice that they say it. ■ DAVID BECKHAM

power and quickness are required, as the fastest movement in all of sport. Through its association as a training aid for other sports during the past half century, weightlifting has gained increased respect for its health and athletic qualities.

John D. Fair

See also Powerlifting; Venice Beach

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Wembley Stadium

Wembley Stadium is a sports stadium in Wembley, London, England. At the time of this writing, the original Wembley Stadium had been torn down and a new one, scheduled to open in 2006, is being built on the site. Wembley stadium was and is expected to continue to be Britain's leading soccer stadium and also a major venue for world soccer competitions.

In the late 1800s the ground that later became the stadium was Wembley Park Leisure Grounds and had facilities for soccer and cricket, gardens, and fountains. After a failed attempt to build a huge tower as a tourist attraction it became a golf course. In the 1920s the government developed the park into a venue for a British Empire Exhibition, with the new stadium, then called Empire Stadium, as the centerpiece. The new stadium was marked by its distinctive twin towers and by its royal box, thirty-nine steps above the field. The first event was the “White Horse Cup Final,” the Football Association (FA) final between the Bolton Wanderers and West Ham. It is believed that some 200,000 people attended with a seating capacity of only 100,000. The game got under way only when Police Constable George Scorey rode up and down the sidelines on his white horse, Billie, pushing the crowds back off the field. Hence, the names, “White Horse Cup Final.” The FA Cup was contested at Wembley every year (except when suspended due to war) until 2000, when the stadium was closed for rebuilding. It is also the home of the National Team and hosted the final game of the 1966 World Cup. It has also hosted five European Cup championships and numerous lower-level British championships. Brazilian soccer immortal Pele noted that “Wembley is the church of football. It is the capital of football and it is the heart of football.”

In addition to soccer, Wembley hosted the track and field events at the 1948 Olympics, Rugby League and Rugby Union matches, motorcycle racing, and several preseason National Football League games. In 1972 it

Wembley Stadium before being replaced in 2004.

began hosting concerts. Notable ones have been those by Bruce Springsteen, Queen, the Spice Girls, and the Live Aid concert in 1985.

In 2000 the stadium was closed, and events shifted elsewhere until it was rebuilt. The rebuilding initiative was controversial and faced numerous financial and political hurdles including concerns about the overall cost, the source of funds, the effect on the surrounding community, and transportation issues. One major controversy has been over the plan to set aside 18,800 seats (of 90,000) for corporations that will pay between 30,000 and 50,000 British pounds to use the seats for a wide range of events for ten years. These subscriptions will provide 70 percent of the stadium's revenues. Some sports fans are concerned that the corporate presence will damage the sports experience for other fans. Manchester United's captain Roy Keane has referred to them as the "prawn sandwich brigade." Supporters of the plan argue that it will help keep the cost down for other fans.

The final plans were not agreed upon until 2002. The 90,000 seats in the new stadium will all have unobstructed views of the field. There will be a retractable roof that will close in inclement weather but remain open at other times to allow the sun to reach the grass field. The most visible feature will be an arch 315 meters long and 133 meters high above the north end. It supports the north stands and part of the south stands as well and replaces internal pillars. The royal box will be in its usual position in the middle of the north stand. The project is budgeted at 757 million pounds. Despite the series of false starts, Wembley Stadium seems on schedule for completion in 2006 and for the FA Cup in May.



David Levinson

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Wimbledon

The All England Lawn Tennis Championships, known as "Wimbledon" (after the locale where they are played), is the most prestigious professional tennis tournament in the world. The championships are staged at the All England Lawn Tennis Club (AELTC), a private club founded in 1868.

Attended by more than 500,000 people each year, Wimbledon has grown tremendously from the gathering of two hundred spectators who attended the first championships in 1877. Only the men's singles event, won by Spencer Gore, was played originally. The women's singles event was not introduced until 1884 (the same year the men's doubles event was introduced). From an entry pool of thirteen women, Maud Watson became the first women's champion. The trophies presented to the initial winners are still presented today: a silver gilt cup (inscribed with "The All England Lawn Tennis Club Single Handed Champion of the World") for men and a silver salver named the "Rosewater Dish" for women. The number of players included in the main draw of the singles events has increased (to 128), as has the prize money. In 1968 the women's and men's singles champions received \$1,313 and \$3,500, respectively, which increased to \$980,875 and \$1,054,375, respectively, by

Tennis is a young man's game. Until you're 25, you can play singles. From 25 to 35, you should play doubles. I won't tell you exactly how old I am, but when I played, there were 28 men on the court—just on my side of the net. ■ GEORGE BURNS

2004. Permanent stands replaced temporary bleachers by the mid-1880s, and by 1922 a fourteen-thousand-seat stadium was built, one of the most prominent additions to date. Presently the Wimbledon championships utilize all nineteen grass courts of the AELTC, including the center court (originally the court around which all others were arranged) with a capacity of 13,810 and the number one court with a capacity of 11,429.

Players

In the beginning the championships were dominated by British players. Ernest and William Renshaw won thirteen singles and doubles championships from 1881 to 1889, followed by Reggie and Laurence Doherty, who won the doubles title eight times from 1896 to 1906. Since 1907 only two Britons, Arthur Gore (in 1901, 1908, and 1909) and Fred Perry (in 1934, 1935, and 1936) have won the men's singles title, and after 1922 only five British women have become singles champions (Kitty McKane Godfree in 1926, Dorothy Round in 1934 and 1937, Angela Mortimer in 1961, Ann Jones in 1969, and Virginia Wade in 1977).

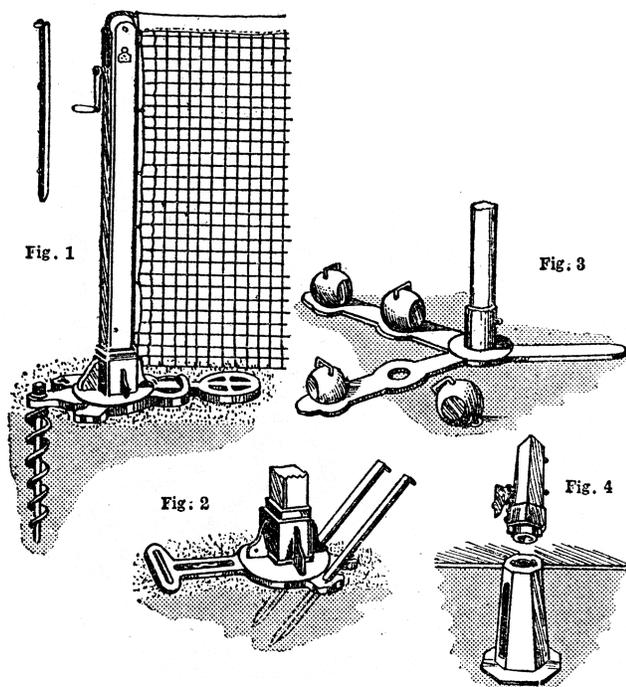
Regardless of the nationality of its players, Wimbledon has become a showcase for the greatest players on the professional women's tour. The participation of overseas players at Wimbledon was initiated by May Sutton in 1905 and by Norman Brookes of Australia in 1907. During the early 1920s Suzanne Lenglen of France dominated Wimbledon by winning six titles before turning professional. Her countrymen, Jean Borota, Jacques Brugnon, Rene Lacoste, and Henri Cochet (the "Four Musketeers"), continued to dominate during the late 1920s. U.S. men (e.g., Jack Kramer and Anthony Talbert) dominated the championships during the late 1940s and early 1950s before handing the mantle to the Australians (e.g., Rod Laver, Roy Emerson, and John Newcombe) until the 1970s. In 1956 Althea Gibson became the first African-American woman to win a title at Wimbledon before Margaret Court Smith captured the singles title three times (1963, 1965, and 1970). Wimbledon joined the "open era" by allowing both amateur and professional players in 1968, the year when Billy Jean King and Rod Laver became the women's and men's champions, respectively.

In 1971 Evonne Fay Goolagong became the first Aborigine (native Australian) to win Wimbledon. In 1980 the Swede Bjorn Borg became the first player to win five consecutive men's singles titles. Boris Becker became the youngest player (at seventeen), the first German, and the first unseeded player to win the same event in 1985. In 1987 the U.S. player Martina Navratilova became the first woman to win six women's singles championships in succession (nine in total by 1990). However, during the late 1980s and 1990s Steffi Graf (Germany) dominated Wimbledon, winning the title seven times. On the men's side the U.S. player Pete Sampras had also recorded seven men's singles wins by 2000.

Traditional Wimbledon

The plethora of Wimbledon traditions has helped maintain the unique character of the championships.

Hardware used to secure the tennis net.





Wimbledon

Bill Tilden at Wimbledon

In 1920 Bill Tilden became the first American to win at Wimbledon. The extract below captures his thoughts as he came to Centre Court at Wimbledon.

Here am I, America's representative, given the opportunity, the fates being kind, to do what no other American has yet done. Under my feet is the turf which the giants of all lawn tennis time have trod. Looking on are the shades of the Renshaws, the Baddelys, the Dohertys, and scores of others almost equally great, watching my strokes, noting my strategy and tactics, nodding, approvingly or the reverse, as they envision my bearing and take cognizance of my every action. Around me, filling every available bit of space, are the men and women who compose the most distinguished and critical gallery in all the lawn tennis world; even royalty has come to view the scene and add luster and *éclat* to it. 'Twould ill become me to do aught but acquit myself well, to justify my selection as one of the representatives of my country. I must act worthily, as beseems the game and its followers. And may the best man win.

Tilden II, W. T., & Merrihew, S. W. (1925). *Match play and the spin of the ball*. New York: American Lawn Tennis.

These traditions include the serving of strawberries and cream, champagne, and Pimms (an alcoholic cocktail supplemented with fruit), along with the presentation of trophies by members of the royal family (e.g., Queen Elizabeth II in 1977, Prince Philip in 2004) and, of course, the ivy-covered walls and timepieces throughout the grounds.

Wimbledon mandates completely white tennis attire for both men and women. Initially white clothing was popular because it masks perspiration. Clothing fashions, the prerogative of women players, have always been a major focus at Wimbledon, from the headband and silk chiffon that Lenglen added to her already delicate calf-length dress in 1919 to the form-fitting all-in-one white body stocking worn by Anne White in 1986.

I'll let the racket do the talking. ■ JOHN MCENROE

With increases in the popularity of professional tennis and player involvement in the fashion industry, the variety in tennis clothing will continue to flourish as it has done in recent years.

The Future

Wimbledon has changed through the years to accommodate the growth in popularity of tennis and the need for improved facilities. During the past twenty-five years the members enclosure was introduced, the center court roof was raised for more seating, and Aorangi Park (a large grassed area that allows televised coverage) was added. Currently the major project is the construction of a retractable roof for center court that will allow play to continue during rain. The projected completion date is 2009.

Since 2003 drug-testing policies at Wimbledon have also been increased in accordance with the Tennis Anti-Doping Program operated by the International Tennis Federation, the Association of Tennis Professionals, and the Women's Tennis Association.

Katie Sell

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Windsurfing

Windsurfing (also called "sailboarding") combines surfing and sailing on what is basically a large surfboard with a sail operated by one person.

History

Windsurfing originated during the late 1960s and, like surfing, developed a distinct culture. The windsurf board was based on designs and technologies adapted from boat sailing and surfing. By the mid-1970s



A windsurfer in training.

Source: istockphoto/lisegagne.

residents) often constitute the majority of participants.

Culture

Windsurfing, along with other new sports such as snowboarding, surfing, and skateboarding (also called “lifestyle sports” or “whiz sports”), developed along with counter-culture social movements in North America. These activities evolved in opposition to mainstream sports and in opposition to the institutionalization of sports in recent

years. A culture has developed around these new sports. The philosophy of windsurfing promotes fun, self-actualization, individualism, and other internal rewards. Windsurfing is less institutionalized than more traditional modern sports, has fewer rules, fewer formal restrictions and exclusion policies, and promotes the idea that anyone can participate. Only a few windsurfers belong to sports organizations. Windsurfing’s “grass roots” are casual weekend sailors.

companies were producing windsurf boards around the developed world, particularly in Australia, Europe, Canada, and Japan. Windsurfing expanded rapidly during the 1980s as more than a half-million boards were sold worldwide. This expansion was largely because of advances in technology, particularly the development of materials with higher strength-to-weight ratios, which allowed lighter, more efficient, and more durable boards and rigs (the mast, sail, and boom) that were easier to use. The so-called fun board, which is shorter and lighter, contributed to the popularity during the mid-1980s, a period when windsurfing was the fastest growing sport in Europe.

Windsurfing had matured somewhat by the early 1990s; equipment sales in Europe—home of the sport’s largest consumer base and biggest producers—peaked during the late 1980s. However, windsurfing has progressed from being a fad and has established itself as a genuine sport that encompasses several forms, ranging from long-board racing and speed sailing to freestyle and wave sailing. Venues range from inland waters, such as lakes and reservoirs, to the open sea. People in many developing nations, including in Africa, South America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific islands, also windsurf. However, because the equipment is expensive and often unavailable in some of these areas, tourists (rather than

years. A culture has developed around these new sports. The philosophy of windsurfing promotes fun, self-actualization, individualism, and other internal rewards. Windsurfing is less institutionalized than more traditional modern sports, has fewer rules, fewer formal restrictions and exclusion policies, and promotes the idea that anyone can participate. Only a few windsurfers belong to sports organizations. Windsurfing’s “grass roots” are casual weekend sailors.

Competition at the Top

In 1984 the Olympic Games accepted windsurfing as a class in the yachting events. Initially women and men competed together, but by 1994 separate women’s and men’s classes were established. Nevertheless, windsurfing competition takes many forms, and for many people the pinnacle is the professional funboard racing circuit, which operates under the auspices of the Professional Windsurfers Association (PWA).

Recreational windsurfers tend not to engage in formal competitions. For many windsurfers organized competition is contrary to the freedom of the windsurfing lifestyle.

In late 2004 the Professional Windsurfers Association ranked these athletes first: Scott McKercher of Australia, men’s wave; Daida Ruano Moreno of Spain, women’s



wave; Antoine Albeau of France, men's racing; Allison Shreeve of Australia, women's racing; Ricardo Campello of Brazil, men's freestyle; Daida Ruano Moreno, women's freestyle; and Matt Pritchard of the United States, Super X.

Culture and Gender

Women windsurf, but their numbers are disproportionately low, and the sport and its culture remain dominated by men. Research in Germany and Australia suggests that women constitute between 25 and 33 percent of windsurfers, although 40 percent of the windsurfers classified as beginners are women.

Demographic data from the United Kingdom also suggest class differences. This data showed that British women who windsurf regularly tend to be able-bodied, white, and middle class. Windsurfing is an expensive sport, although less expensive than other water sports such as sailing. Data showed that women participants in particular have disposable incomes that enable them to purchase the windsurfing board and sail. If participants lack the money to buy the equipment, they will have only a limited interest in participating. Windsurfing is a time-consuming sport; often several hours (at least) are needed to reach the location (often inaccessible by public transport), assemble the equipment, and then spend time out on the water. Women windsurfers interviewed in the United Kingdom suggested that, even for professional women whose income did not limit their ability to participate, finding time to windsurf was difficult; this was especially problematic for women who lived a considerable distance from the water and for women who had family commitments. As a woman instructor explained, "Windsurfing takes up half a day, or a day. Aerobics you can go down to the gym—fit it in—hubby or partner will baby-sit, so windsurfing is a problem. . . . I mean they haven't got time to fit it in, it's not a sport that is accessible to them."

Although improvements in both teaching equipment and methods have made windsurfing more accessible to women, the perception remains that windsurfing is dif-

ficult to learn and requires considerable power and strength. The media (especially videos and magazines) perpetuate this perception by focusing on advanced windsurfing action, with men dominating both photographs and text. Thus, windsurfing is represented as a male domain, with women often the ornamental observers. This emphasis on the hard-core element of the culture excludes outsiders, especially women. As Jessica Crisp, an elite Australian windsurfer, said, "I taught a girl the other day who felt she couldn't even paddle a surfboard because she had no muscles. But right away she was beach-starting, uphauling the sail and sailing around. . . . There is some myth that you have to be huge and strong, but just look at us—we aren't exactly giants. The equipment is so light and easy to learn on now. It's a technique thing in the end" (Crisp 1996, 14–20).

However, as more women participate, elite women are pushing the limits. Women windsurfers of all levels have described the confidence and independence they experience while windsurfing. Although the sport itself is individual, women have gained a sense of community from it.

Belinda Wheaton

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Women

See Baseball Wives; Body Image; Coeducational Sport; Disordered Eating; Feminist Perspective; Gender Equity; Gender Verification; Injury Risk in Women's Sport; Lesbianism; Psychology of Sex Differences; Sexual

Besides pride, loyalty, discipline, heart, and mind, confidence is the key to all the locks. ■ JOE PATERNO

Harassment; Sexuality; Title IX; Women's Sports, Media Coverage of; Women's World Cup

Women's Sports, Media Coverage of

The feminist critique of sport that has existed for over three decades concludes that the marginalization and trivialization of female athletes only serves to reproduce the domination of men over women. Writers tend to agree that the media play a central ideological role not only in “reflecting” but also in reinforcing existing ideas about gender—there is a large body of work focused around the study of the media coverage of women's sports and female athletes. These studies tend to follow two main issues: the amount of coverage and the portrayal of women's sports and female athletes by the media. Many of these studies conclude that despite all the changes that have taken place over the last decades, women's sport is still underrepresented in the media, and when female athletes are covered, it is still in ways that are different from coverage given their male counterparts.

Women and Sport

The notion that in sports physical and biological differences interface with social and cultural interpretations of gender role expectations has been central to much of what has been published in the sociology of sport. Indeed, studies published during the 1970s and 1980s explored remarkable gender differences in patterns of athletic socialization and examined whether sport as an institution neutralizes men's power and privilege over women. They concluded that the marginalization and trivialization of female athletes only serves to reproduce the domination of men over women. In the decades that followed, some scholars continued to claim that sport, perhaps more than any other institution, perpetuates the myth of man's superiority and woman's inferiority, ap-

parently based on masculine biological and physiological supremacy. It is however clear that over the years, and particularly during the 1990s, women have made many advances in organized, competitive, high-performance spectator sports. Overall, figures do suggest a rise in women's participation in sports, particularly in Western societies and most clearly in the United States (following Title IX—an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 guaranteeing equal funding for girls and boys sports that became law in 1972).

Women, Media, and Sport

Why should the media be discussed in relation to women and sport? The main reason is that the mass media—which are an essential feature of modern social life—preserve, transmit, and create important cultural information. Indeed, one central assumption within media studies is that how members of society see themselves, how they are viewed and even treated by others is determined to a great extent by their media representation. It can be argued that when it comes to sport the mass media assume an even greater importance since the overwhelming majority of spectators experience sporting events in their mediated version.

To date a substantial body of work examining the role of the media in relation to women and sport does exist and, very broadly speaking, it tends to focus on two main issues: the amount of coverage and the portrayal of women's sports and female athletes by the media.

AMOUNT OF COVERAGE

Studies published throughout the 1980s, most of the 1990s, and onward have continued to reveal that the lion's share of sports coverage by the media is still dedicated to men's activity. Indeed, a consistent finding is the underreporting of female athletes and their sporting events throughout all mass media; for example, in 1994 men were found to receive 93.8 percent of coverage on U.S. television (Duncan and Messner 1998). Since the media is seen as reflecting what is important and has prestige, this severe underrepresentation is thought to

create the impression that women athletes are nonexistent in the sporting world or of little value when they do exist. Moreover, this “creates a false impression of women’s athleticism by denying the reality of the modern female athlete” (Kane and Greendorfer 1994, 35). This underrepresentation, in turn, is also viewed as creating a vicious circle since the growth of women’s sport is hindered by the lack of funds that nowadays come primarily from sponsorship. Sponsors are interested in investing in sports and teams that are featured regularly on television, and since women’s sports do not qualify as such, they do not get the big cash injections associated with sponsorship.

It is important to point out that the most substantial body of work in this field originates primarily from the United States; however, according to studies from other (Western) countries, the coverage of women’s sport routinely occupies no more than 5 percent of total sport airtime in nations like Italy (Capranica and Aversa 2002), the Netherlands (Knoppers and Elling 2001), Sweden (Koivula 1999), and Britain (Harris 1999). Studies also consistently show that along with significantly less coverage, there are fewer representations of those team or individual women’s sports generally conceived of as “masculine.”

And yet, some changes in the amount of coverage of women’s sport have been traced in major sporting events, like the extensive and successful coverage of the 1999 Women’s World Cup—in ratings terms—especially in the United States, the nation that hosted the games and eventually won the event. This case in fact showed television organizations that there is profit to be made in women’s sport. The 2001 UEFA European Women’s Championship also attracted a high level of sponsorship, live TV screening of the semifinals in all four countries concerned, and ratings that revealed that every fourth television set in Germany was tuned into the opening game (Germany versus Sweden). These could seem like major shifts, and yet, the examples mentioned are of major international sporting events in which it is safe to assume any successful athlete would get extensive media attention in his or her

home country regardless of the athlete’s gender. The Olympic Games are another revealing example in this context; studies by Eastman and Billings (1999) and Tuggle and Owen (1999), analyzing coverage of the 1996 Atlanta Olympics by the American network NBC found an almost equal coverage of men’s and women’s events as determined by parameters like proportions of clock time and numbers of covered medal events. Still, in these studies many reservations emerge in regard to the focusing of women’s sport coverage on those that are considered to be “feminine sports” (for a study of the Sydney Games, see Higgs, Weiller, and Scott 2003).

To date, women’s tennis may be the only clear example of a sport to which the media routinely dedicate much airtime. Thus, for example, in 1999 the American cable channel HBO devoted an unprecedented 70 percent of its tennis coverage to women (Mackay 1999). The intensive coverage of women’s tennis is even more extensive during major events like the Wimbledon tournament. This may be, however, not only because women’s tennis appears to elicit interest in sporting terms but also, as many have noticed, due to the physical appearance of some of the young female players—an argument that links into the qualitative aspect of the research of women, media, and sport.

MEDIA PORTRAYAL OF FEMALE ATHLETES

Beyond the quantitative questions of media coverage, studies also deal with differences in the type of coverage women’s and men’s sports get. Over the years various studies have focused on different practices by which the media construct female athleticism not only as “other than” but also as “lesser than” that of the male. Don Sabo and Curry Jansen (1992), for instance, argue that the skills and strengths of women athletes are often devalued since the dominant standards of excellence are masculine, emphasizing cultural equivalents of hegemonic masculinity: power, self-control, success, agency, and aggression. Furthermore, whereas male athletes are valorized, lionized, and put on cultural pedestals, female athletes are infantilized by sports commentators



who refer to them as “girls” or “young ladies.” Messner, Duncan, and Jensen (1990) found that while male athletes tended to be described in terms of strength and success, the physical strength of female athletes tended to be neutralized by ambivalent language. Another—much referred to in the literature—practice used by the media is the use of names in commentary. Indeed, Messner, Duncan, and Jensen (1990) found that commentators referred to female tennis players by their first names 52.7 percent of the time and to men only 7.8 percent of the time. Pfister’s (1989) study of the coverage of the Olympics by German newspapers also showed that while men were often addressed by their surnames, women were introduced by their first name, a nickname, or a fantasy name. According to her findings, these diminutive, especially intimate, or overly polite forms of address were among the strategies that were almost exclusively applied to women. This phenomenon is perceived by the various writers as displaying a hierarchy of naming, that is, a linguistic practice that reinforces the existing gender-based status differences. Moreover, while the male performance is often linked to power metaphors (like war), the coverage of female athletes is often framed within stereotypes that emphasize their aesthetic appeal rather than athletic skill.

However, in this respect too some changes have been taking place in recent years; thus, for example, in their aforementioned study of the 1996 Olympic Games, Eastman and Billings (1999) found that although the presence of gender stereotyping was not as overwhelming as had been expected, nonetheless “as traditional gender stereotyping suggests, the descriptors applied to women athletes contained more commentary about physical appearance than the descriptors applied to men athletes” (Eastman and Billings 1999, 163). Moreover, the scholars claim that one could also find—mainly in preproduced profile reports—what can be only labeled as “unfortunate stereotyping” (1999, 165). Eastman and Billings note, however, that NBC’s host and on-site reporters were careful to attribute women’s success and failure to the same characteristics as men’s

success and failure. Jones, Murrell, and Jackson (1999) in their study of the 1996 Olympics also found that for female athletes playing “female appropriate” sports, there was a trend toward print media accounts, which focused more on describing their performance than personality or appearance. Other findings by these scholars, however, indicate that the “beauty” and “grace” of the female gymnasts were still the main points of emphasis, despite their having taken U.S. gold in the event. Thus, it can be argued that the “buts” in this case outweigh the positive findings by far. Indeed, in her study Koivula (1999) found, for example, that infantilism (“girl,” “young lady/woman”) was still very much part of the language used by commentators for referring to women athletes, while the language used to describe men (“man” and even “old fellow/man”) linguistically acknowledged their status as adults—this although the athletes were generally of similar age. Moreover, in his study of the representation of woman in football-related stories in the British popular press during the course of the 1996 European Championship, Harris (1999) argues that the message still being portrayed is that sport is an essentially male activity in which women are afforded only subordinate and/or highly sexualized roles.

Appearance and Attractiveness

In fact, among various other findings, researchers analyzing the portrayal of female athletes from different perspectives found the coverage to be often framed within stereotypes that emphasize appearance and attractiveness rather than athletic skill. According to this argument, the sexualization of female athletes trivializes them and robs female athletes of athletic legitimacy, thus preserving hegemonic masculinity.

THE ANNA KOURNIKOVA PHENOMENON

The media coverage of women’s tennis over recent years is highly representative in this context, the most prominent example being Anna Kournikova. Although Kournikova, prior to her early retirement, was for several years one of the top players in the world—in the season of 2000, for instance, she was ranked eighth in the

*Set your goals high, and don't stop
till you get there.* ■ BO JACKSON

world—the amount and type of coverage she gained (and still does) did not correlate with her tennis ranking. To illustrate, during Wimbledon 2000 for every picture of the single's finalist Lindsay Davenport there were twenty of Kournikova in the British newspapers (Mackay 1999). The extensive media attention to the blonde, model-looking Kournikova—also dubbed “tennis's pinup girl”—clearly shows the importance certain branches of the media ascribe to looks and image over tennis skills. Indeed, as one Web-based writer put it, “the Anna Kournikova phenomenon proves you don't need to win tournaments to get your name—and photo—in the media” (Thomas 2001).

Some believe that there is an up side to this phenomena—Chris Evert, three-time Wimbledon champion and later a commentator for NBC, said in an interview: “Girls now want to grow up and be athletes [...] there are attractive, appealing girls out there and now they realize that's it is okay to run around and sweat and be tough. Twenty years ago it was frowned upon and wasn't feminine” (Mackay 1999). Furthermore, according to the Sports Sponsorship Advisory Service, women should “play the sex appeal card to attract more media coverage and therefore more sponsorship” (Gillan 1999). This suggestion infuriated Yvonne Barker, director of Women in Sport, who said: “We believe that women's sport should be sponsored for exactly the same reason as men—because they appeal to their audience for their achievement and intrinsic value. We certainly don't feel that they should be sponsored for sex and sex appeal” (Gillan 1999).

Generally speaking, a certain ambivalence emerges every time a female athlete is framed as a sexual being or is covered by the media not for her sport performance but because she is attractive and conveys sex appeal. Kournikova is but one example: During the 2003 Wimbledon tournament, Maria Sharapova—who one year later would go on to win the Wimbledon crown—drew much of the media's attention for her physical appearance. The dramatic decline in Anna Kournikova's tennis performance (she failed even to qualify) resulted in the media's “eagerness” to crown an appropriate substitute.

Sharapova was one option; Yelena Dukic was another, which was illustrated by the British newspaper headline prior to the match between the two being described as “Battle of the Babes” (*Daily Mirror*, June 28, 2003). However, it is important to emphasize that the current discussion of women's image is more complex than this. In addition to the wide variety of female images currently being presented by the media, tennis (and other sports) also offers an image of powerful sportswomen, manifested by stars like Venus and Serena Williams.

The Future

Over recent years women have certainly advanced in organized competitive sport, and women's sport has also gained considerable ground as far as media visibility is concerned, particularly in major sporting events. A certain shift also occurred in the type of coverage of women's sports and female athletes, and yet recent research findings show that practices used to undermine women's sporting achievements—and identified in the past—are still very much in evidence. All of which continues to send a message that sport is in essence a male activity, in which women play only a subordinate and/or sexualized role. Although it can be argued that the media cannot change the world, it can certainly help—alongside other societal forces—change attitudes about women in sports, but for now—with all the improvements that have been made—one can only hope they will do so more in the future.

Alina Bernstein

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Women's World Cup

Began in 1991, the Women's World Cup, the premier women's international soccer competition, is held every four years and involves female athletes from around the world. Sponsored by Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), this event involves a series of elimination games that begin with twelve to sixteen teams and culminate in a championship game between the top two teams. The Women's World Cup, which has received a great deal of media coverage, has brought issues concerning gender roles in international sports to the forefront in both academic and popular writings.

History

The People's Republic of China hosted twelve teams during the inaugural year, and the United States national team defeated Norway 2–1 for the championship in front of a crowd of sixty-five thousand in Guangzhou's Tianhe Stadium. Chinese media dubbed the front line of the American team—made up of Michelle Akers, Carin Jennings, and April Heinrichs, who combined to score twenty of the twenty-five total goals for the United States—the “Triple-Edged Sword.” The referee for the third-place match, Claudia de Vasconcelos of Brazil, became the first woman to officiate at this level for FIFA.

According to a note made in June 1995 on the FIFA website, “If China in 1991 was the innovation, Sweden in 1995 was the consecration of women's football at the highest level.” In the second Women's World Cup, Sweden hosted twelve teams and held the matches in medium-sized venues that held fewer than twenty thousand fans at a time. While the U.S. team was favored, Norway defeated the American team 2–0 in the semi-

finals and went on to victory in the finals against Germany. Sweden's Ingrid Jonsson became the first woman to referee a FIFA final.

In 1999, the number of participating teams rose from twelve to sixteen. The United States hosted the World Cup and defeated China 5–4 in penalty kicks at the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California. This championship game had over ninety thousand fans in attendance—the largest audience at a female sporting event to date. Almost as many fans attended this final match as had attended the entire series of matches in the 1995 Women's World Cup in Sweden. It was at this event that American Brandi Chastain removed her shirt to reveal a sports



Two American girls of Chinese and Irish ancestry hold a sign saying “Victory to Chinese Women’s Soccer Team” during the 1999 Women’s World Cup.

bra underneath after the winning kick—an image that remains one of the most famous of all sports images.

In 2003, the Women's World Cup was scheduled to take place in China, but due to the SARS outbreak, the venue was switched to the United States. This World Cup took place in six cities in the United States. Numerous North American journalists dubbed the event “World Cup Lite,” because it was put together quickly and was held in venues that hosted crowds of twenty or thirty thousand, rather than eighty or ninety thousand, as was the case in 1999. Taking place in Portland, Oregon, the final match of 2003 was between Germany and Sweden, with Germany winning 2–1 in overtime. In 2007, China will host the event as compensation for the changed venue in 2003 due to the SARS outbreak.

Significance

Women's sports changed dramatically in the last century. With the creation of Title IX in the United States, for example, young girls have more athletic opportunities at the high school and collegiate level than ever before, even if the opportunity for professional play is limited. Nonetheless, the highly publicized photo of U.S. national team player Brandi Chastain in her sports bra after the 1999 win against China in overtime suggests that even if women's sports were increasing in popularity, they were still qualitatively different from men's sports. Female athletes still face challenges with regard to being seen as serious and strong athletes in a world dominated by men's sports.

Internationally, women have increased their participation in sports such as soccer even in countries where women's roles are more traditional than in the United States. During each World Cup, journalists frequently comment on the status of women in the participating countries, noting that in countries such as Brazil and Mexico, where men's soccer is dominant, it is more difficult for female players to feel accepted than it is in the United States and some European nations. However, since the inception of the Women's World Cup, women's participation and status in international sporting events has increased, both as participants and as spectators.

 Women's World Cup			
Key Facts of the Women's World Cup			
Year	Host	Winner/Runner-up	Score
1991	China	USA/Norway	2-1 (1-1)
1995	Sweden	Norway/Germany	2-0 (2-0)
1999	USA	USA/China	0-0 a.e.t. (0-0) 5-4 p.**
2003	USA	Germany /Sweden	2-1 a.e.t. (1-1, 0-1) *

* After extra-time play
** After extra-time play then decided by penalty kicks

Although the number of teams, players, and fans remains far below the equivalent in men's events, after several more Women's World Cup championships, this gap may narrow.

As journalists and academics reflect on the status of women's sports, the Women's World Cup can be seen as either a watershed in the fight for women's equality in international sports or as a blip in the slow but relatively stagnant growth of women's participation in professional sports. Undoubtedly the 1999 championship game was unique in its popularity, and it created a buzz about women's professional soccer leagues and prompted girls and boys to look up to increasing numbers of female athletes such as Mia Hamm and Julie Foudy as sports idols.

However, with the folding of the American professional soccer league for women—the Women's United Soccer Association (FIFA)—just five days before the start of the 2003 Women's World Cup, it is difficult to argue that that buzz has remained as strong as it was in 1999. Either way, the Women's World Cup remains the most visible venue in which professional female athletes from around the world compete for the most coveted championship in soccer. And the event itself signifies a milestone for women's sports that did not exist before 1991.

Michelle Janning

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Worker Sport

In 1925, a year after the Paris Olympic Games, as many as 150,000 workers attended the first Worker Olympics at Frankfurt am Main, Germany. In 1931, one year before the Los Angeles “official” Olympic Games at which 1,408 athletes competed, over 100,000 workers from twenty-six countries took part in the second Worker Olympics in Vienna, Austria. More than a quarter of a million spectators attended the Vienna Games. Five years later, in opposition to the 1936 “Nazi Olympics” in Berlin, Germany, an even grander Worker Olympics was planned for Barcelona, Spain. However, it never took place, since the Spanish Civil War erupted on the day scheduled for the opening ceremony (and its organizers were later shot by Franco's fascists).

The Worker Olympics easily surpassed their rival, the “bourgeois” Olympic Games, in number of competitors and spectators, and in pageant, culture, and even sporting records. Yet today, it is only the official Olympic Games that are commemorated in books, television, and films. The Worker Olympics and the worker sport movement are all but forgotten. However, for millions of workers between World War I and World War II, sport was an integral part of the labor movement, and worker sport clubs or associations existed in almost every country of Europe, in the United States and Canada, and in South America and Asia (e.g., Japan



and India). By 1930 worker sport united well over 4 million people, making it by far the largest working-class cultural movement. At the zenith of its existence, worker “oppositional” sport combined sporting activities with socialist fellowship, solidarity, and working-class culture.

Aims of Worker Sport

The aims of the worker sport movement differed from country to country. All countries agreed, however, that worker sport should give working people the chance to take part in healthy recreation and to do so in a socialist atmosphere. Worker sport differed from bourgeois sport in that the former was open to all workers, women as well as men, and black as well as white (this at a time when many workers, women, and blacks were excluded from bourgeois clubs). It provided a socialist alternative to bourgeois competitive sport, to commercialism, chauvinism, and the obsession with stars and records. It replaced capitalist with socialist values and set the foundation for true working-class culture. Worker sport, therefore, initially emphasized less competitive physical activities, such as gymnastics, acrobatics, tumbling, pyramid forming, mass artistic displays, hiking, cycling, and swimming.

The founders of the worker sport movement believed that sport could be revolutionary, that the movement was no less significant to workers than their political, trade union, and cooperative movements. Sport played a paramount role in the struggle against capitalist nationalism and militarism that pervaded the so-called politically neutral bourgeois sport organizations and, through them, corrupted young working people. The formation of separate worker sport organizations shielded youths from bourgeois values. While capitalism fostered mistrust among workers of different nations, the worker sport organizations banded together internationally to create peace and international solidarity. They turned physical culture into a new international language capable of breaking down all barriers.

In Germany, for example, a worker sport organization, the Worker Gymnastics Association (WGA),

emerged in the 1890s in conscious opposition to the nationalistic German Gymnastics Society (Turnen) that was to spread its considerable influence to North America with the migration of entire German communities. The WGA was followed by the Solidarity Worker Cycling Club and the Friends of Nature Rambling Association in 1895, the Worker Swimming Association in 1897, the Free Sailing Association in 1901, the Worker Athletics Association in 1906, the Worker Chess Association in 1912, and the Free Shooting Association in 1926. With over 350,000 worker-athletes in various clubs even before World War I, Germany became the hub of the worker sport movement.

Olympic Games

While the worker sport movement did not take issue with much of the Baron de Coubertin idealism concerning the modern Olympic Games, it did oppose the games themselves and counterposed them with its own Olympiads, on the following grounds:

- The bourgeois Olympics encouraged competition along national lines, whereas the Worker Olympics stressed internationalism, worker solidarity, and peace. While the International Olympic Committee (IOC) barred German and Austrian athletes from the 1920 Games, and German athletes from the 1924 Games, the 1925 Worker Olympics were held in Germany under the slogan “No More War.”
- While the IOC Games restricted entry on the grounds of sporting ability, the worker games invited all athletes, stressing mass participation as well as expanding events to include poetry and song, plays, artistic displays, political lectures, and pageantry.
- The IOC Games were criticized for being confined chiefly to the sons of the rich and privileged because of their “amateur” rules and aristocratic, bourgeois-dominated Olympic committees. Coubertin himself always opposed women’s participation and readily accepted the cultural superiority of whites over blacks; the longest serving IOC presidents, Baillet-Latour and Avery Brundage, both collaborated with

Hitler's Nazi regime and were unabashedly anti-Semitic. By contrast, the Worker Olympics were explicitly against all chauvinism, racism, sexism, and social exclusivity. They were truly amateur, organized for the edification and enjoyment of workingwomen and workingmen, and they illustrated the fundamental unity of all working people irrespective of color, creed, sex, or national origin.

- The labor movement did not believe that the Olympic spirit of true amateurism and international understanding could be attained in a movement dominated by an aristocratic, bourgeois leadership. It was, therefore, determined that the labor movement should retain its cultural and political integrity within the workers' Olympic movement.

Problems of Worker Sport

Bourgeois society excluded workers from public life as well as from amateur sports clubs and competitions. Consequently, if workers were to compete locally, nationally, or internationally, they had to establish their own sports associations and contests. Such organizations were part of a far-reaching political, trade union, and cultural movement; they formed a network of worker-based organizations that could represent workers throughout their lives. The bourgeois state did all it could to obstruct this movement by introducing new laws, constantly moving the bureaucratic and administrative "goalposts," and at times resorting to brute force. The state, however, could not destroy the rapidly growing worker movement until Mussolini came to power in Italy in 1922 and Adolf Hitler rose to power in Germany after 1933.

Worker sport did not take place in a vacuum. The problems that other branches of the labor movement faced (especially the party struggle—social democratic versus communist—struggle for influence) also affected worker sport. And like these other branches of the labor movement—including trade unions, socialist or labor parties, the cooperative movement, and youth organizations like the Woodcraft Folk, Young Pioneers, and Young Communist League—worker sport rose and fell

everywhere almost simultaneously, reaching a peak in the 1920s and a trough in the late 1930s, and nearly fading away after World War II. National peculiarities invariably added brakes and accelerators, as the German and Austrian tragedies under Hitler; the peaceful demise of worker sport in the United Kingdom, North America, and Scandinavia; and the persistence of worker sport in Israel and Finland all illustrate.

Worker Sport after World War II

World War II weakened, but did not defeat, the worker sport movement. It continues today, although the radically changed circumstances of the postwar world inevitably transformed the movement. In contrast with its prewar development, the movement's new role called upon its member organizations to cooperate selectively with national sports federations and clubs.

A number of factors caused this new situation. First, the Soviet Union had broken its isolation. It emerged from the war a victor, and the Soviet Union's military and political power penetrated into Central and Eastern Europe. With the resulting international friction—Cold War—in which two rival blocs confronted one another in a divided Europe, sport became an obvious arena for international (peaceful) competition. In the Soviet Union, domestic sport was now thought potent enough to take on the world, and victories over bourgeois states, especially the United States, would evidently demonstrate the Soviet system's vitality (apart from space pioneering, sport was the only area in which the USSR could demonstrate superiority).

Second, worker sport encouraged both the Olympic movement and bourgeois sport in general to democratize their memberships. Fewer sports and clubs were confined to middle-class white males, and the belief grew that international sport, particularly the Olympic Games, could be used for peace, democracy, and the isolation of racist regimes, such as South Africa and Rhodesia.

Third, worker sport switched its emphasis to campaigning within bourgeois organizations against commercialism and chauvinism to sport for all—funds,

**Chinese workers
playing basketball
before a large crowd.**

playgrounds, open spaces, and facilities; for working people; for promoting a sport that was profoundly humanistic and free; and for women's sport. As the development of worker sport in France showed, the new goal was no longer to replace bourgeois sport but, instead, to take part in building a national sports system founded on the needs of all.

A separate worker sport movement, however, managed to survive. In 1946, immediately after the war, the Socialist Worker sport association in Western Europe set up the International worker sport Committee (IWSC) in London. Despite a peak of 2.2 million members in fourteen countries, the IWSC never attained the importance of its prewar counterpart—the committee of the same name—because, with the exception of Finland, France, Austria, and Israel, individual member associations were weak. For example, the Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation (TUL), while cooperating with the national sports association (SVUL), retained its own identity; it had a membership of 450,000 (one-half the SVUL membership) in 1990; and it promoted mass gymnastics and artistic displays, family exercise programs, cultural events, and, particularly, women's sporting activities. Its worker sport festivals held in Helsinki's Olympic Stadium attracted as many as 50,000 spectators. The French Worker Sport and Gymnastics Federation (FSGT) had over 100,000 members at the end of the 1990s, coordinated the activities of worker sport clubs throughout the country, organized conferences, and sponsored worker sport events, such as the annual cross-country and cycling contests associated with the Communist newspaper *L'Humanite*, as well as the annual Fete de l'Humanite in which 6,000 people par-



ticipated in the 1980s. The Austrian worker sport Association (ASKO) similarly retained its identity and played an important part in Austrian sport. In Israel, *Hapoel* ("The Worker") is still Israel's largest and strongest sports organization. It is one of the few exceptions where a worker sport organization controls its country's sport.

Reasons for Today's Weakness

There are several reasons why the worker sport movement is relatively weak today (or has faded away completely) and why it never captured the majority of the working class within its membership. Worker sport almost always duplicated bourgeois sports, clubs, federations, and Olympics. This was not significant as long as the older organizations remained socially exclusive preserves of the bourgeoisie. But once the workers succeeded in democratizing sport and once industrial firms, the church, and governments came to realize the potential of sport for social control, the duplication became problematic. Worker sport societies rarely had the prestige, facilities, or funds to compete with bourgeois teams, and they were often denied access to public funds and amenities. Similarly, media coverage of worker sport was

usually confined to the socialist-communist press and was ignored by the bourgeois media. Insofar as only a minority of workers read the socialist-communist party press, it is not surprising that only a minority of workers joined the worker sport movement or were prepared to turn their backs on the glamorous bourgeois clubs for the low-status worker sport organizations. It was common for bourgeois clubs to recruit the best worker athletes—just as they recruited the best athletes from Africa, Asia, and Latin America—by offering athletes attractive financial inducements.

A number of problems hampered efforts to enhance the attractiveness of worker sport. These problems included the explicitly political nature of worker sport, the uncertain—and at times insensitive—attitudes of labor leaders toward organized sport and competition, and the tactical differences over the role of sport in society—not to mention the socialist versus communist wrangling. Apparently, many worker sport leaders failed to understand that a sports organization might be more politically effective by being less explicitly political.

The theoretical argument over the role of sport in society presented an obstacle to the development of worker sport. At one extreme were the proletarian culture advocates (and their supporters in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, and parts of Scandinavia) who saw bourgeois sport as a reflection of a degenerate bourgeois culture that had to be thrown out because it was permeated by chauvinism, exploitation, and militarism. What was needed, they asserted, was a new proletarian system of physical culture based on personal fulfillment, mutual respect, and solidarity. At the other extreme were those, like many North American and British socialists, who regarded sport as one's personal affair, on the periphery of superstructural phenomena and therefore relatively apolitical—not something on which the labor movement should waste its scarce resources. Typically, both extremes resulted in the feeblest of all the worker sport movements in the industrial world.

Where the worker sport movement did flourish, it often suffered from internal problems. In the early years, it emphasized noncompetitive participation, but as the

1920s and 1930s wore on, the bourgeois obsession with records, spectators, and victory infiltrated worker sport and caused the activities to adopt the elements of more organized competitions. It was not uncommon for socialist and communist newspapers, for example, to devote the bulk of their sports coverage to horse racing and winning forecasts.

What Did Worker Sport Accomplish?

Developments in the latter part of the twentieth century opened up a number of possibilities for certain sports. There were far more opportunities for organized sports participation than before the Second World War; the best athletes were more highly skilled and had a better chance to nurture their talent to the fullest for the benefit of the individual and the community. Gifted working-class, nonwhite, and women athletes could, with dedication, reach the top of their sport. There were now sporting spectacles of unprecedented scale, grandeur, and public exposure from which working people could gain considerable enjoyment—even if they were subjected to society's dominant sports values and presented a sport that workers themselves could not control.

The worker sport movement needed to expand if it was to fulfill its cultural and political mission, but this growth presented complex problems. Organized sport, like the working class itself, is a product of modern industrial society, and in a bourgeois world, a large proportion of workingmen and workingwomen are steeped in society's dominant values. Nonetheless, the worker sport movement did try to provide an alternative experience based on workers' own culture, and it did inspire visions of a new socialist culture. To this end, it organized the best sporting programs it could for all athletes, whether a Sunday bike ride or a Worker Olympic festival founded on genuinely socialist values.

Its story is as much a part of the history of sport and the labor movement as Coubertin's Olympics or trade unionism.

James Riordan

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World Cup

By far the most popular single sporting event of the modern world is the World Cup, officially known as the FIFA World Cup, which is the quadrennial international championship for association football (soccer). Established by the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) in 1928, the first World Cup was held in Uruguay in 1930. Since then, the world has celebrated the event seventeen times; it was cancelled because of World War II in 1942 and 1946. The FIFA Women's World Cup was launched in China in 1991. Although still in its infancy, the event has enjoyed significant growth and success in its first decade.

Humble Beginning

FIFA was founded in Paris, France, in May 1904, to represent seven European nations: Belgium, Denmark, France, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. FIFA became truly international a decade later with membership including Argentina, Chile, the United States, and South Africa. For nearly a quarter century, the Olympic Games soccer tournaments were regarded as the world's championship games. Countries tried to use the Olympics to establish their own football supremacy in the world, but the strict amateur code of the Games banned "paid" athletes, often the best, from Olympic competition. Consequently, FIFA established its own international championship and awarded the honor of hosting the first World Cup to Uruguay, a small South

American country that had captured both the 1924 and 1928 Olympic titles. To ensure success of the championship, Uruguay built a brand new 100,000-seat stadium in the capital, Montevideo, and promised compensation for traveling and accommodation expenses for all participating teams. The host's effort, however, was not enough to entice most European teams to make the weeks-long ocean voyage to South America. Only thirteen teams, instead of the anticipated sixteen, competed for championship and its gold trophy (named the Jules Rimet Cup in 1950 for the Frenchman who conceived the World Cup event). Uruguay defeated Argentina in the final and became the first World Cup champion.

The 1934 World Cup in Italy was essentially a European affair with all eight quarter-finalists coming from the continent.

- Uruguay declined to defend its title in retaliation for the widespread European absenteeism in Montevideo.
- Argentina deliberately sent a weakened team to Rome as revenge for losing its best players to Italy after the 1930 World Cup.
- The British teams from England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland remained outside the event since their withdrawal from FIFA in 1928.

In the final, host Italy defeated Czechoslovakia 2–1 in extra-time play. Italy also captured its second World Cup four years later with a more convincing 4–2 victory over Hungary in Paris, France.

Postwar Era

The first postwar World Cup was held in Brazil in 1950. By then, the British football associations had rejoined FIFA. Fourteen teams competed in the three-week long finals. The United States, against all odds, defeated England 1–0 and virtually sent the "masters" of soccer packing. In the championship match, Uruguay defeated host Brazil in front of nearly 200,000 spectators in the brand-new Maracana Stadium, the largest crowd in soccer history.

The 1954 World Cup in Switzerland included the superb performance of a Hungarian team that demol-



World Cup

Keys Facts of the World Cup

Year	Host	Winner/Runner-up	Score
1930	Uruguay	Uruguay/Argentina	4–2 (1–2)
1934	Italy	Italy/Czechoslovakia	2–1 a.e.t. (1–1, 0–0)*
1938	France	Italy/Hungary	4–2 (3–1)
1942	<i>cancelled</i>		
1946	<i>cancelled</i>		
1950	Brazil	Uruguay/Brazil	2–1 (0–0)
1954	Switzerland	West Germany/Hungary	3–2 (2–2)
1958	Sweden	Brazil/Sweden	5–2 (2–1)
1962	Chile	Brazil/Czechoslovakia	3–1 (1–1)
1966	England	England/West Germany	4–2 a.e.t. (2–2, 1–1)*
1970	Mexico	Brazil/Italy	4–1 (1–1)
1974	West Germany	West Germany/Netherlands	2–1 (2–1)
1978	Argentina	Argentina/Netherlands	3–1 a.e.t. (1–1, 1–0)*
1982	Spain	Italy/West Germany	3–1 (0–0)
1986	Mexico	Argentina/West Germany	3–2 (1–0)
1990	Italy	West Germany/Argentina	1–0 (0–0)
1994	USA	Brazil/Italy	0–0 a.e.t. (0–0) 3–2 p.**
1998	France	France/Brazil	3–0 (2–0)
2002	Korea/Japan	Brazil/Germany	2–0 (0–0)

* After extra-time play

** After extra-time play then decided by penalty kicks

ished its opponents with a total score of 25–7, including a 8–3 thumping of West Germany in the first round. The Germans, however, got their revenge in the final with a 3–2 victory over Hungary, becoming only the third country to capture a World Cup.

Pelé and Brazilian Dominance

A record fifty-five countries participated in the 1958 World Cup in Sweden. For the first time, the event received international television coverage, so much of the world witnessed the Brazilian dominance and the rise of Pelé (b. 1940), the king of soccer. Between 1958 and 1970, Brazil won three of four World Cups, losing only the one held in England. The English team, energized by an enthusiastic home crowd, took every advantage on

its own soil, defeated West Germany 4–2 in the final, and won the 1966 World Cup. Yet, the 1966 championship was not spectacular football—physical and defense-oriented play overshadowed the artistry and spontaneity of individual talents. That defensive style of football, however, was short-lived. The era belonged to Pelé and his brilliant Brazilian squad. Their magnificent offense-oriented attacking football mesmerized millions of spectators as well as many of their opponents. By the time Brazil captured its third World Cup—after defeating Italy 4–1 in front of 100,000 fans in Mexico City’s Aztec Stadium in 1970—soccer, with its incomparable popularity, had established itself as the king of sports.

Total Football

Pelé retired from the World Cup after 1970, as did the Jules Rimet trophy, retained by Brazil after winning it three times. But the impact of Brazilian football was profound. The last quarter of the twentieth century saw the rise and

dominance of “total football,” in which the traditional distinction between offense and defense blurred and players became more versatile and involved in the total operation of the team. The Dutch team at the 1974 World Cup epitomized the quality of total football. Although the Dutch lost to West Germany in the final, the team’s dazzling performance with superstar Johan Cruyff (b. 1947) won millions of fans around the world.

By the 1982 World Cup in Spain, FIFA had increased the number of qualifiers from sixteen to twenty-four. In 1986, Mexico became the first country to host two World Cups. Argentina, led by the masterful and unstoppable Diego Maradona (b. 1960), defeated West Germany 3–2 in the final and captured its second World Cup in eight years. The French team, with its near flawless

midfield trio of Michel Platini, Alain Giresse, and Jean Tigana, fascinated the world with its artistry.

Soccer's popularity surged in the 1990s:

- A record 147 countries competed for the twenty-four final seats in the 1994 World Cup held in the United States.
- By the 1998 World Cup in France, FIFA had increased the number of qualifiers to thirty-two to accommodate a more diverse representation of non-European countries.

In 1998, the French team defeated the 1994-champion Brazilians in the final to finally win the event that was conceived on French soil seven decades earlier.

The Future

The first World Cup in the twenty-first century was co-hosted by Korea and Japan in 2002. When the month-long event concluded, it became clear that a new era of soccer had arrived. Teams from Asia, Africa, and North America had successfully challenged the traditional powers from Europe and South America. Korea and Turkey fought all the way into the semi-finals, only to lose to Brazil and Germany, two teams with combined wins of eight World Cups. Nevertheless, as the game's popularity continues to grow and the structure of the World Cup becomes more diverse, soccer's traditional dominance by Europe and South America will soon become the past.

Ying Wushanley

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Baseball is ninety percent mental. The other half if physical ■ YOGI BERRA

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World Series

Each October, American attention focuses on the championship of Major League Baseball, the World Series. The phrase itself conjures images: Babe Ruth “calling his shot” in 1932; Willie Mays in 1954, racing to the outfield wall and making a breathtaking over-the-shoulder catch, then hurling the ball back toward the infield, his hat flying off in the effort; Carlton Fisk in 1975, skipping toward first base, willing the ball out of Fenway Park to force game seven against Cincinnati’s “Big Red Machine”; a hobbled Dodger, Kirk Gibson, bravely circling the bases after his game-winning home run against Oakland in 1988. It causes fans, both young and old, to remember the Sultan of Swat, Mr. October, and even poor Billy Buckner, who booted an easy ground ball and cost the Boston Red Sox a Series victory, forcing a Game 7, which the Red Sox lost, in 1986. For the baseball historian, it brings to mind Tinker to Evers to Chance, the Black Sox, or “Wait ‘til next year!” Such moments and heroes are a part of the shared culture of the United States, the Western Hemisphere, and beyond.

The Early Years

The Fall Classic began when the National League champion, the Pittsburgh Pirates, challenged the American Association champion Boston Pilgrims to a best-of-nine series to determine baseball's world champion in 1903. The series was due in part to a new “National Agreement” that settled the dispute between the established National League and the upstart American Association, ending cutthroat competition for players and fans at the turn of the century. The Pilgrim's victory five games to



World Series

Winners of the World Series

Team	# of Series Won
New York Yankees	26
St. Louis Cardinals	9
Boston Red Sox	5
Cincinnati Reds	5
Los Angeles Dodgers	5
New York Giants	5
Philadelphia Athletics	5
Pittsburgh Pirates	5
Detroit Tigers	4
Oakland Athletics	4
Baltimore Orioles	3
Chicago White Sox	2
Chicago Cubs	2
Cleveland Indians	2
Florida Marlins	2
Minnesota Twins	2
New York Mets	2
Toronto Blue Jays	2
Anaheim Angels	1
Arizona Diamondbacks	1
Atlanta Braves	1
Boston Americans	1
Boston Braves	1
Brooklyn Dodgers	1
Kansas City Royals	1
Milwaukee Braves	1
Philadelphia Phillies	1
Washington Senators	1

three, with one tie, generated terrific popular support, and legitimized the American Association's claim as a coequal league.

Since the 1880s, there had been other so-called world championship series played as exhibitions, but when the New York Giants, the NL champions, refused to play the series against the Pilgrims in 1904, the public outcry forced the National Commission to regularize the series, with a best-of-seven format. From 1905, when the World Series resumed, to 2004 when the

Whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America had better learn baseball, the rules and realities of the game. ■ JACQUES BARZUN

Boston Red Sox defeated the St. Louis Cardinals four games to none, only one other series has been called off, that being in 1994 when the Major League Baseball Players Association strike against the owners canceled the autumnal rite.

War, Scandal, and Natural Disaster

During World War I, Major League Baseball shortened the regular season, played the World Series in September, and entertained the thought of canceling the 1919 season altogether. During the war service teams held their own service World Series, with teams gleaned from drafted professionals. The scandal that erupted after the Chicago White Sox conspired with gamblers to throw the first postwar series in 1919 also threatened its continuation, but firm action by newly installed commissioner Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis saved the day. In the midst of the Great Depression, popular heroes such as Ruth, DiMaggio, and St. Louis's Gas House Gang provided some comfort in the midst of economic chaos. During World War II, the championship continued, minus most of the able-bodied players, as an important factor in boosting morale on the home front. In 1989, just before players from San Francisco and Oakland were to be introduced, an earthquake shook San Francisco's Candlestick Park. The disaster killed sixty-seven people in the Bay Area and forced postponement of Game 3. Some called for the cancellation of the series, but the games went on, providing normalcy and offering Bay Area residents a chance to heal. The 2001 Series, between the Yankees and Arizona Diamondbacks, was played while rubble was being removed from the site where the World Trade Center once stood, for the same reasons.

Technology and the World Series

Over the course of the century of World Series history, technology transformed it from an event that relatively few fans witnessed to a worldwide spectacle beamed globally via television. In the early decades, urban fans



World Series

Sandy Koufax and Yom Kippur

Sandy Koufax's decision not to pitch the opening game of the 1965 World Series had a strong impact on Jews in the United States. In the extract below, Rabbi Lee Bycel recalls that memorable day.

I remember it as if it were yesterday.

It was Oct. 6—the opening day of the 1965 World Series. The Dodgers, behind the great pitching of Sandy Koufax, had won the National League pennant and advanced to the Series. But Koufax, who was slated to start the first game, was not on the mound. He was not even in the stadium.

He was not there because it was Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, the holiest day of the Jewish year. [...]

As a Jewish boy and an ardent baseball fan, I had a great need for Jewish heroes — especially on the

playing field. Koufax's refusal to play on Yom Kippur filled me with pride. I realized that day that no one should ever be embarrassed when practicing one's religion or identifying with one's ancestral culture. Ethnic and religious identity should engender fulfillment and hope.

It was a courageous act for Koufax to abstain from playing in an era that preferred to sanitize difference. His decision not to pitch that Yom Kippur served as an important reminder that America shelters many different faiths and religious practices. Koufax taught me that I could hope to take an active part in American life without compromising my religious convictions. This lesson has remained, and has solidified my commitment to make it accessible to all people.

Source: Bycel, L. (1996, September 20). Sandy Koufax taught pride to generation of young Jews. *Jewish News Weekly of Northern California*.

congregated around telegraph offices to follow the game, and when radio became widespread, businesses used displays, some featuring model fields and movable players, to attract trade. Graham McNamee became a household name when he became the first play-by-play announcer to describe the action of a baseball game live during the 1923 World Series between the Yankees and New York Giants. In modern times the Series reaches a worldwide audience boosted by the increasing presence of international players.

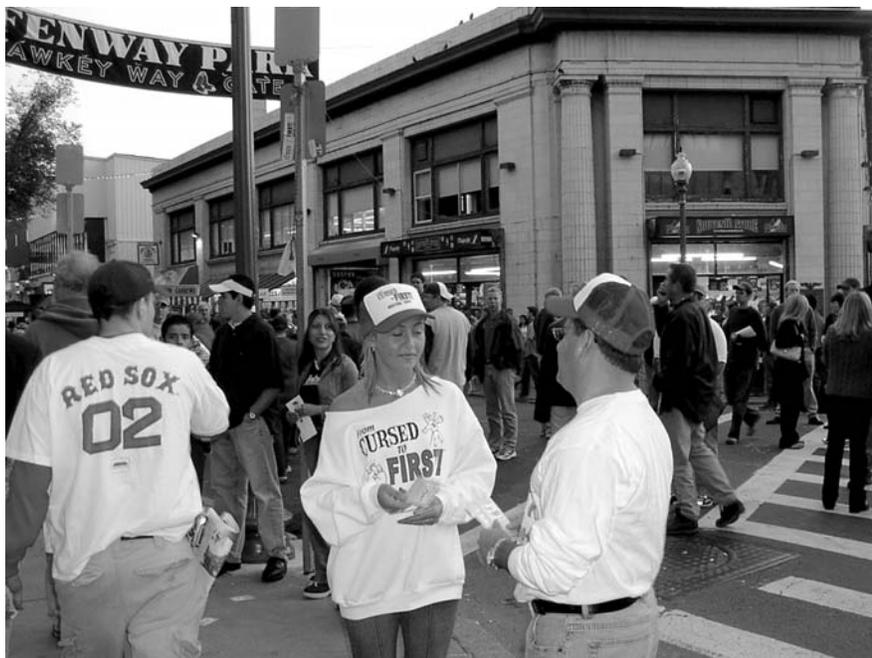
New York Domination

In 1992 the World Series became a “world” series in more than name only when the Toronto Blue Jays won the first of two consecutive championships, and in 1997, the Florida Marlins became the first “Wild Card” (nondivision champion) team to win it all. Despite new faces in the nineties, New York teams have dominated the World Series. The Yankees have won twenty-six; the Giants, before moving to San Francisco in 1958, won five; and “next year” finally came for the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1955, when they defeated the Yankees for their only championship in Brooklyn. The Mets finished

their miracle season with a championship in 1969, and they won again in 1986. In total New York teams have won thirty-three of ninety-eight World Series. New York teams have appeared in 66 percent of the series played, and there have been fourteen “subway series” between New York teams, the last in 2000, between the Yankees and Mets.

Series Mythology

The World Series has such importance in American culture that a mythology has formed around it. According to legend, both the Red Sox and the Chicago Cubs suffer from curses that doom them to postseason futility. The Sox were cursed when the team sold Ruth to the New York Yankees in 1919, but finally disposed of the “Curse of the Bambino” in 2004, beating the St. Louis Cardinals handily. In 1945 Sam “Billy Goat” Sianis, a local tavern owner, and his pet goat were denied entrance into Wrigley Field for Game 4 of the Series against the Detroit Tigers, causing him to curse the Cubs, and his “curse” has kept the team out of the series ever since. (The Cubs have not won a World Series since 1908!)



Fans outside Fenway Park in September 2004, the year the Boston Red Sox won the World Series.

Although some will argue that baseball is no longer the most popular sport in the United States, each October the World Series occupies a significant place in the American psyche and continues to provide cherished moments and heroes for a worldwide audience.

Russ Crawford

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World University Games

The history of university sport can be visualized as three consecutive waves. The first wave originated with universities in the thirteenth century; the second wave coincided with the rise of the games ethic in pub-

lic schools in Great Britain in the nineteenth century and spread to the universities. This was the heyday of elite athleticism and amateurism, which inspired Pierre de Coubertin to found the modern Olympic games. The third wave started after World War I and led university sports into the turmoil of international sport contests and international politics. The University Games of 1959 in Turin, Italy, marked the beginning of yet another wave. From then on

there has been a gradual evolution of “amateur” student sportsmen and women competing with “professional” athletes in games with sometimes dubious university affiliations.

Founding Fathers of the Games

The first person to think of organizing international student sports was the English peace activist Hodgson Pratt (1824–1907), who founded the International Arbitration and Peace Association (IAPA) and chaired the Universal Peace Congress of 1890 in London. When Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937) organized the 1894 congress in Paris that led to the founding of the International Olympic Committee, he invited Pratt to attend as an honorary member. Unable to be there, Pratt wrote to Coubertin and reminded him that he had proposed the idea of international student festivals, combining both sport and arts, at the Rome Peace Congress in 1891. The minutes of this congress describe Pratt’s proposal in this way: “That an annual conference and university fete of international fraternity be held successively at the seats of the great universities, including an international contest via gymnastics and similar exercises, and in contests of merit in poetry and prose on subjects relating to international concord and cooperation” (Anthony 1998).

In his educational zeal, Pierre de Coubertin tried to convince the leading circles of the European universities

It's never too late to become what you might have been. ■ GEORGE ELLIOT

to promote sport and physical education among their students as American universities were doing. During the IOC international congress on Sport and Physical Education in 1905 in Brussels, the following was proposed as recommendation 14: "The university should urge the students to join physical education societies and encourage such associations" (Comité International Olympique 1905, 187). However, a completely diluted version of the original recommendation was finally adopted: "The University should not ignore the physical activity of its students; but on the other hand it should not make it obligatory for them to frequent the gymnasium or the playing field" (Comite 1905, 233).

This weak statement might have been thought up by the university rectors of Brussels, Ghent, Liège, and Louvain, members of the honorary committee of the congress who probably did not want to be forced to change by congress recommendations. Before World War I, the majority of Louvain students preferred the playful atmosphere of traditional folk games such as popinjay shooting, curl bowls, jay bowls, or nine pins to more athletic efforts.

"Then came Jean Petitjean" is the opening line of Claude-Louis Gallien's 1999 biographical contribution to the history of university sport, and Jean Petitjean (1889–1969), a French chemist, is generally considered the father of the world university sports movement. At the first Student Congress of the postwar period, in 1921 in Strasbourg, he proposed the creation of a General Committee for Sports within the National Union of General Students Associations of France. It was under the aegis of this National Union that he organized the first International University Games in Paris in 1923. (See table 1 for a list of Summer and Winter World University Games from 1923 to 2005.) Petitjean wanted to call the first games "University Olympic Games," but Coubertin convinced him to change the name in order to reserve the term "olympic" for "his" Olympic Games.

Ten countries participated in the competitions, which included only track and field events, and Petitjean also invited "the world's fastest human," the American star

athlete Charlie Paddock. During these 1923 Games, an International Congress of University Sports was organized, which recommended the creation of an International University Sports Federation. The next year, the International Students Confederation (CIE) backed this idea and several important sport meets were organized between 1924 and 1939. After the competition in Paris in 1923, International University Games were staged in Warsaw in 1924, in Rome in 1927, in Paris in 1928, in Darmstadt in 1930, in Turin in 1933, in Budapest in 1935, in Paris in 1937, and in Monaco in 1939.

The first University Winter Games were organized in 1928 in Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy. The three sports on the program were speed skating, figure skating, and cross country skiing. The 8th International University Games of 1939 in Monaco were interrupted by the start of the World War II. The participating students headed back home, where many of them became involved in the cruel war game.

The Cold War Split 1945–1959

One year after the end of the war, the International Union of Students (IUS) was founded in Prague to restore the tradition of the former International Students Confederation (CIE). Although during its very first meeting in 1946, some fundamental differences of opinion appeared among student leaders, particularly between the Marxist and the free unionist factions, the Physical Education and Sports Department of the IUS managed to organize the 9th World University Games in 1947 in Paris. Jean Petitjean was one of the initiators of these "reconciliation games," which were attended by about eight hundred students from seventeen countries.

However, in January of the same year, during the 7th University Winter Games in Davos, political incidents between students from both sides of the Iron Curtain disturbed the festive atmosphere. The increasingly overt leftist orientation of the IUS eventually evoked a reaction from the West and a dissident preparatory committee was created in Zurich. In December of 1948 in Luxemburg, seven Western countries (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxemburg, Monaco, The Netherlands, and

Switzerland) decided that they would create an independent Fédération Internationale du Sport Universitaire (FISU) if IUS would not change its Marxist course.

The situation worsened, and only one Western block country, France, participated in the 1949 Winter Games in Splinderuv Mlyn, Czechoslovakia. And when the 10th World University Games were held in Budapest in connection with the Youth Congress for Peace of the communist World Federation of Democratic Youth, only Belgium and France attended. However, because the IUS did not react to the 1948 Luxemburg motion, FISU considered itself legitimately established and organized rival Games in 1949 in Merano, Italy, the “International University Sports Week.”

After this, the split between East and West was considered a fact and FISU and the Physical Education and Sports Department of IUS organized their Summer and Winter University Games and Sport Weeks separately. Yugoslavia was expelled from the Kominform in 1948, and the IUS did the same with the Yugoslavian students in 1949. FISU was of course more than ready to offer the Yugoslavian sporting students a warm welcome: In the middle of the Cold War, FISU organized its 1955 Winter Sport Week in Jahorina, Yugoslavia, while the Summer Sport Week took place in San Sebastian, Spain.

At last, in 1957, on the 50th anniversary of the “neutral” French University Students Federation (UNEF), both FISU and IUS were invited to participate in the World University Games in Paris. Jean Petitjean was the travelling diplomat who man-

aged to bring both sides back together. Except for the virulent Asiatic flu epidemic, which scourged the Cité Universitaire, Petitjean’s reconciliation campaign was a success and the foundations were laid for the reunification of student sport

The Universiades and Primo Nebiolo, 1959–1999

“And then came Primo Nebiolo” could be the opening words of this section. During the first Universiade of the reunited FISU, Primo Nebiolo (1923–1999) from Turin had already revealed himself as the dynamic thriving force behind the local organizing committee. A few

months before the Turin Universiade, the former member countries of the IUS joined the FISU after several secret meetings, which had been planned by Jacques Flouret of France and Georges Oosterlynck of Belgium. It was the first time that the term *Universiade* was used, that the “starred U” flag was introduced, and that national anthems were replaced by the medieval student song *Gaudeamus igitur* during award ceremonies.

Although the new FISU was characterized by the peaceful co-existence of the former rival blocks, new difficulties loomed at the horizon. There were the “nostalgics,” who wanted to keep university sport small and cozy and far from the Olympic circuit and its ever-increasing professionalism. Flouret, for instance, organized the 1960 Winter Universiade in Chamonix at the very same time as the Winter Olympics were being held in



Poster of the 8th International University Games of Monaco in 1939. The events were interrupted by the beginning of World War I and the participants had to return home.

Source: FISU magazine, June 1999.

Table 1.
Summer and Winter World University Games from 1923 to 2005

Summer University Games	Winter University Games
1923 Paris, France	
1924 Warsaw, Poland	
1927 Rome, Italy	
1928 Paris, France	
1930 Darmstadt, Germany	
1933 Turin, Italy	
1935 Budapest, Hungary	
1937 Paris, France	
1939 Monte Carlo, Monaco	
1947 Paris, France	
1953 Dortmund, West Germany	
1957 Paris, France	
1959 Turin, Italy	
1961 Sofia, Bulgaria	1960 Chamonix, France
1963 Porto Allegre, Brazil	1962 Villars, Switzerland
1965 Budapest, Hungary	1964 Spindleruv Mlyn, Czechoslovakia
1967 Tokyo, Japan	1966 Sestriere, Italy
1970 Turin, Italy	1968 Innsbruck, Austria
1973 Moscow, Russia	1970 Rovaniemi, Finland
1975 Rome, Italy	1972 Lake Placid, USA
1977 Sofia, Bulgaria	1975 Livigno, Italy
1979 Mexico City, Mexico	1978 Spindleruv Mlyn, Czechoslovakia
1981 Bucharest, Romania	1981 Jaca, Spain
1983 Edmonton, Canada	1983 Sofia, Bulgaria
1985 Kobe, Japan	1985 Belluno, Italy
1987 Zagreb, Yugoslavia	1987 Strbske Plesso, Czechoslovakia
1989 Duisburg, Germany	1989 Sofia, Bulgaria
1991 Sheffield, England	1991 Sapporo, Japan
1993 Buffalo, USA	1993 Zakopane, Poland
1995 Fukuoka, Japan	1995 Jaca, Spain
1997 Sicily, Italy	1997 Chonju Moju, S. Korea
1999 Palma de Mallorca, Spain	1999 Poprad, Slovakia
2001 Beijing, China	2001 Zakopane, Poland
2003 Daegu, S. Korea	2003 Tarvisio, Italy
2005 Izmir, Turkey	2005 Innsbruck, Austria

Squaw Valley, California. Other leaders wanted the Universiades to become as grandiose and philistine as the Olympic Games. During the Universiade in Sofia, Bulgaria, in 1961, FISU's founding president Paul Schleimer was replaced by the flamboyant and autocratic Primo Nebiolo. A comparative analysis of the Universiades and the Olympic Games between 1959

(Universiade of Turin) and 1996 (Atlanta Olympics) shows that the Universiades have gradually become "interolympics" in which top athletes meet and test each other in student camouflage. This analysis matched the names of the student athletes who were among the five best in their discipline at the Universiades against the names of the three medal winners in consecutive

Olympics. For instance, when the 1959 Turin Universiade was compared with the 1960 Olympic Games for track and field events, eight names reappeared: three men and five women. From 1959 to 1996, Eastern block countries outdid Western block countries with a success rate of, respectively, 241 versus 172 two-time-winners. The Eastern block countries dominated in track and field, gymnastics, fencing, and wrestling, whereas the Western countries were more successful in fancy diving, judo, and swimming.

When the number of two-time-winners was weighed in relation to the number of participants in the Universiades, the success rate varied between 0.65 (Sheffield 1991–Barcelona 1992) and 3.20 (Tokyo 1967–Mexico 1968). After Kobe 1985–Seoul 1988, the relative success rate of Universiade athletes in the Olympics dropped, probably due to the overt acceptance of professional athletes after the 1988 Olympics.

George E. Killian and International University Sports 1999–2005

When Primo Nebiolo died in 1999, he was succeeded by George E. Killian, an American who had served as president of the International Basketball Federation (FIBA) from 1990 to 1998 and who had been FISU First Vice President since 1995 and Vice President since 1987. Some old-timers thought that under the new leadership university sport would opt for less grandiosity and switch back to its origins in which there were real university games for real students. However, the new scenario turned out to be one of further differentiation, magnification, and professionalization.

Apart from the biannual Winter and Summer Universiades, more and more emphasis was now laid on the so-called World University Championships (WUCs). Student athletes met for the first time in a single World University Championship in 1962, and since then there have been 173 WUCs. These events are organized to ensure “continuity in our competition programme, since the Universiades take place in odd years” (New Identity 2004, 6). In 2002 eighty-three countries sent delegations and 4,228 students participated in 24 different WUC



IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch with FISU and IAAF President Primo Nebiolo attending the official inauguration of the General Secretariat of FISU in Brussels, 1992.

Source: FISU magazine, June 1999.

competitions. The following new sports were introduced: shooting, floorball, matchracing (sailing), beach volleyball, and bridge.

For the Summer Universiade in Daegu, South Korea, in 2003, it was decided to include judo, archery, and taekwondo, three disciplines that were already regularly organized as WUCs. In 2004 twenty-seven World University Championships were scheduled in all parts of the world. The program now also included woodball (a kind of pall-mall), softball, rugby sevens, and water skiing. At the 22nd Winter Universiade in Innsbruck/Seefeld, Austria, in 2005, medals were for the first time awarded in ski cross. The Summer Universiade of 2005 in Izmir, Turkey, is proposing sailing, wrestling, taekwondo, and archery as optional sports. In 2007, the 23rd Winter Universiade will be hosted by Torino, Italy, and the 24th Summer Universiade by Bangkok, Thailand.

During a press conference in Zakopane at the 20th Winter Universiade in 2001, FISU President Killian said, “We can’t try to copy the Olympic Games programmes.

The most important factor for us is if students really practise a particular sport. Because Universiades are for students-sportsmen, not for professionals” (FISU 2001). This sounds anachronistic, since today most top athletes at the Universiades or World University Championships are professional athletes who happen to study or who are registered as students, and not university students who happen to practise a sport. At the 2003 Tarvisio Winter Universiade, a female Russian cross-country skier was disqualified because she had a positive drug test for norandrosterone.

In imitation of the IOC, FISU President Killian now also speaks of the FISU “family,” whereas the term “enterprise” might be more accurate. All in all, because of the democratization of higher education on the one hand and the increasing professionalization and internationalization (globalization) of sport on the other hand, more and more Universiade athletes and their coaches have not the slightest idea what the Latin medieval song *Gaudeamus igitur*, which replaces the national anthems at the Universiades, might mean.

Roland Renson

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Wrestling

Wrestling is a contact sport in which the objective of participants is to take down their opponent by using holds that involve placing both of the opponent's shoulders in contact with the mat (called a “pin” or “fall”). Although the objective may seem simple, accomplishing it requires effort and skill.

Origins

Wrestling is one of the world's oldest sports. Its history extends back thousands of years to the development of the first great empires around the Mediterranean Sea, in the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates Rivers, and in India and China. Scholars believe paintings from Egypt from about 3000 BCE to be the oldest evidence of the sport. Stories and legends handed down by the early poets and storytellers tell of wrestling in ancient Greece. In the *Odyssey* the ancient Greek poet Homer gives accounts of wrestling matches back to the eighth century BCE, including a story of a wrestling combat between Odysseus and Ajax with Achilles as referee. From the Roman empire the oldest evidence of wrestling is found in wall paintings that date from the fifth century BCE.

Rules and Play

Wrestlers are divided into classes based on gender, age, and weight. Wrestlers weigh in the day before a competition. Three referees are needed, each having their



Wrestling

“Wrestling Holds” By Grantland Rice

The Headlock is no way I'd choose
To try to chase away the blues;
If I was quite depressed and flat
I hardly think I'd seek a mat
And hire some human bracing-bit
To squeeze my skull until it split.

The Toehold, with its warping trend,
Is not the way I'd pick to spend
A happy, cheerful afternoon
In January or in June.
While twisted toes may cop the pelf,
I'd rather wiggle mine myself.

The Scissors may be worth a run,
But I can think of better fun
Than letting Stecher play the snake
Unto my abdominal ache,
The while he wraps his legs around
My cracking ribs on mat or ground.

Though here and there I strike a scale,
I do not get the wrestler's kale;
But I had rather keep instead
My uncracked toes and ribs and head;
For when through working I prefer
To have my bones just where they were.

Source: Rice, G. (1924). Wrestling holds. *Badminton*, p. 130–131.

own tasks. According to the standardized value system, wrestlers are rewarded for the holds they use to take down their opponent. The holds are rated as more or less difficult and also are rewarded differently. Points are awarded for each rewarded hold. A match is terminated when one wrestler is ten points ahead or when time runs out. The wrestler with the most points wins and must have at least three points to win a match. The International Federation of Associated Wrestling Styles (FILA, www.fila-wrestling.com), the governing body, continually revises the rules.

A wrestler needs minimal equipment: light, soft-soled boots and a wrestling costume, generally a singlet.

Some wrestlers also use a mouth guard, knee pads, or headgear.

About two hundred forms of wrestling exist. The freestyle and Greco-Roman forms have been dominant in Europe, and freestyle is the most common in the United States. Greco-Roman and freestyle dominate amateur competition.

Freestyle

In freestyle wrestling competitors use a wide variety of holds on the upper body and legs; competitors cannot grasp the opponent's clothing to secure a hold. The modern sport, which is practiced in the Olympic Games, the World Games, and competitions of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), represents a tradition thousands of years old and manifested worldwide. The tactics, heroes, and lore of freestyle wrestling have had considerable impact on literature, art, and history.

Some types of freestyle wrestling practiced today appear to be descendants of ancient forms. The Nuba of the lower Sudan have held wrestling festivals for centuries, if not for millennia, and continuity seems to exist between the costumes of the Nubian wrestlers seen in Egyptian sculpture and the gourd-strung skirts that Nuba wrestlers still wear. A popular folk wrestling of India performed on a mud surface also continues an ancient tradition. Freestyle wrestling has been popular in Great Britain for centuries, and the Lancashire style in particular has had a great influence on modern wrestling. In this style, often called “catch as catch can,” contestants begin standing and continue the bout on the ground if neither contestant scores a fall from standing.

In the United States after the Civil War freestyle wrestling spread quickly, and by the 1880s its tournaments drew hundreds of contestants. Urbanization, industrialization, and the closing of the Western frontier formed the context in which this combat sport—along with boxing—became popular. A professional circuit, not corrupted by the theatrics of later years, emerged during this era, as did amateur organizations: About the time of the first New York Athletic Club wrestling

A wrestling match at the Pan American Games.

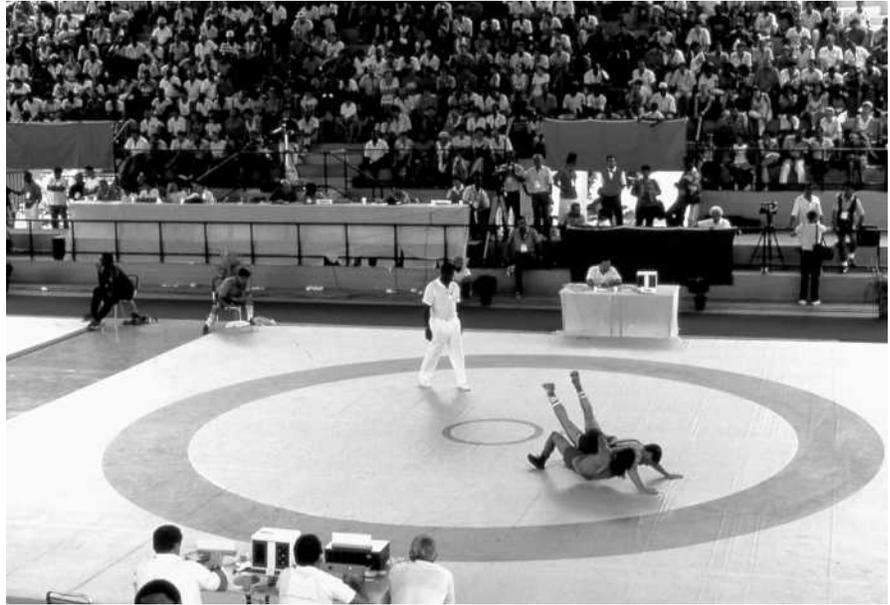
tournament in 1878, professional championship bouts offered purses of up to \$1,000.

From the earliest years FILA and intercollegiate rules stressed the safety of competitors. Tactics and holds that jeopardize life or limb or that punish the opponent, rather than gain leverage, have been consistently illegal. These tactics and holds include strangleholds, the full nelson, twisting hammerlocks, the flying mare with the opponent's arm locked, and slamming the opponent to the mat. Modern rules have gone further in banning virtually any hold that pressures a joint in a direction contrary to its natural movement.

Greco-Roman

Greco-Roman wrestling is governed by all the rules and procedures of freestyle wrestling, but contestants may not take holds below the waist or even use their legs actively in holds; thus, the leg takedowns and trips fundamental to freestyle wrestling are prohibited. The arm drags, bear hugs, and headlocks of freestyle wrestling, on the other hand, are a central part of Greco-Roman wrestling. Far from creating a dull contest, the restriction of holds to the upper body has encouraged the use of a spectacular series of throws called "souples," in which the offensive wrestler lifts the opponent in a high arch while falling backward to a bridge on his or her own neck and bringing the opponent's shoulders into contact with the mat. Even in wrestling on the mat (*par terre*), the Greco-Roman wrestler must seek body-lock and gut-wrench holds to turn the opponent for a fall. The ability to arch backward from a standing position onto one's own neck confidently and safely while lifting and turning the opponent to the mat is crucial. Rules prohibit stalling, and after fifteen seconds of inconclusive action, a bout must resume with both wrestlers standing in a neutral position and working toward a throw.

Despite its name, Greco-Roman is not an ancient form of wrestling but rather is mainly a development of



nineteenth-century Europe, where it achieved popularity as an amateur and professional sport and appeared in the first modern Olympics in 1896 in Athens, Greece. It maintains its popularity today, especially among wrestlers in Europe and the Far East.

The formalization of the elements of Greco-Roman wrestling into today's sport is a recent phenomenon. Sixteenth-century drawings of wrestling ascribed to Albrecht Durer and Fabian von Auerswald's *Wrestler's Art* depict leg holds inadmissible in Greco-Roman wrestling today, suggesting that freestyle, rather than Greco-Roman, was the main form of wrestling of that era.

Despite the similarities of Greco-Roman to several British forms of wrestling and its promotion by William Muldoon in the United States after the Civil War, the sport never achieved lasting popularity in the English-speaking world, yielding to the more unstructured freestyle form. Greco-Roman wrestling appeared at the first modern Olympics, where three contestants competed in the heavyweight class, with Karl Schuhman of Germany winning first place over Georgios Tsitas of Greece. Freestyle wrestling, by comparison, did not appear in the Olympics until the 1904 games in St. Louis, Missouri.

Women on the Mat

Wrestling traditionally has been a male domain from which women largely have been excluded. Only



Wrestling

Wrestling in an Asian Indian Folktale

In an ancient village by the Simsang River Chela Asanpa came across a very strong man who was sitting in an open courtyard of his house making bamboo-threads out of big wahnok bamboos by splitting open the thick stiff nodes with his mere hands. The strong man welcomed Chela Asanpa cordially, killed a fatling bull for him and entertained him with food and drink. After he had dined Chela Asanpa said to his host:

I have heard much about you and so have come to wrestle with you. If you defeat me in a wrestling bout, you will have to come over to my village with your milam and spi for a duel. First, I shall entertain you with a grand feast in my house. Then we shall go to the village proper where we shall fight our duel with our milams and spis. If you are defeated you must leave your head with me. If I lose, you shall have my head to bring home here as a trophy. However, if you are defeated in our wrestling bout tomorrow, I shall leave you in peace as a man of no account to me. Do you agree?

The strong burly man of the ancient village readily agreed. The next day the two contestants cleared a site on the plain, loamy soil near the bank of the Simsang River. They together bathed and ate their meal. Then they began their wrestling contest in the clearing which they had earlier prepared. It was a titanic struggle, each holding the other in deadly grips, and trying his utmost to hurl the other down. What a spectacle they presented, these two enormously strong men clenched in each other's ironlike arms, straining their immense muscles, bending their huge bodies in an effort to fling and floor each other! At times they appeared like lifeless statues on pedestal,

so immovable they stood, though at such moments they were utilizing their full physical capacity to cause each other to give way. They sank deep into the loamy soil in the midst of their tremendous struggle. All about the ground was drenched with their perspiration. Hour followed hour. The sun stood on the western horizon, and the two mighty giants wrestled on continuously without one being able to floor the other. Both were by now almost utterly exhausted. Finally, exerting all his strength Chela Asanpa made one last vigorously desperate attempt to hurl his opponent down on the ground and succeeded. The colossal contest was over.

The victor and the vanquished praised each other's performance. Hand in hand they went down to the river to bathe. After that the strong man of the ancient village killed a seven-year old castrated pig for Chela Asanpa, procured a good deal of rice-beer, and dined with his conqueror until late at night. In the morning the host killed thirty-two cocks and twelve hens in the name of Chela Asanpa for the purpose of divining the future of his guest. After examining the entrails of the cocks and hens he said to Chela Asanpa:

My divination indicates that you will go on vanquishing all whom you encounter and that you will never allow your head to fall into the hands of an enemy. However, you will die a natural death at a ripe age, full of honour and fame. Your name and fame will remain in the mouths of our descendants for generations to come. Now, friend, take your full share of our customary Achik hospitality.

Source: Rongmuthu, D. W. (Comp.). (1960). *The folk-tales of the Garos* (p. 20-22). Gauhati, India. University of Gauhati.

recently have women been welcomed by the international wrestling community and by the sport in general but still not on equal terms with men. That competitions are being organized for women and men together is a sign of progress in women's wrestling.

The history of women's wrestling in ancient times is largely unrecorded, but some documentation exists. This documentation suggests that wrestling between virgins of noble heritage was related to religious ceremonies. From Greek myths the legend of Atalanta is the best known through a vase painting from the



Wrestling

Wrestling in Hawaii

Wrestling was also practised by the more athletic youth, as a preparation to the single combats usual in almost every battle. Sometimes they had sham fights, when large numbers engaged, and each party advanced and retreated, attacked and defended, and exercised all the manoeuvres employed in actual engagement. Admirably constituted by nature with fine-formed bodies, supple joints, strong and active limbs, accustomed also to a light and cumbersome dress, they took great delight in these gymnastic and warlike exercises, and in the practice of them spent no inconsiderable portion of their time.

Source: Ellis, W. (1917). *Narrative of a tour through Hawaii, or Owhyhee: with observations on the natural history of the Sandwich Islands, and remarks on the manners, customs, traditions, history, and language of their inhabitants* (pp. 278). Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co. Ltd.

fifth or sixth century BCE, illustrating her grappling with Peleus.

As wrestling developed during the twentieth century, contests were organized professionally and held in circuses or in traveling booths, both in the United States and Europe. Most participants were men, but women were also allowed to perform. Between World War I and World War II women wrestlers became popular in several countries, but most women wrestlers were aware that the crowds came for the novelty: to see women wrestle. The matches, including mud wrestling, were mostly gimmicks.

Although participation by women has increased, women's wrestling remains controversial. The sport's physical requirements and great degree of body contact link it with masculinity; thus, many people still consider wrestling to be inappropriate for women. Therefore, as women's wrestling developed during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the athletes experienced barriers both in the sport and in daily life.

During the 1970s women's wrestling was largely practiced in European countries such as Belgium, France, and Norway. However, during the 1980s the sport began to

develop on other continents. FILA established the first commission for women's wrestling in 1983.

Effects

Advocates of wrestling emphasize that it offers wholesome physical and mental exercise and is one of the best sports for developing physical fitness: It improves balance, builds muscle tone, and develops agility, quickness, flexibility, and power. It also may develop positive personality characteristics such as determination, courage, self-confidence, and self-reliance.

Injuries are common, but they are seldom serious. Use of protective equipment can reduce some injuries; for example, head gear protects against cauliflower ear, which is an ear that, after many falls, becomes deformed by fluid accumulation under the skin that has calcified.

Competition at the Top

In the 2004 Olympics at Athens, women gold medal winners were: freestyle, 48 kilograms, Irim Merleni, Ukraine; 55 kilograms, Saori Yoshida, Japan; 63 kilograms, Kaori Icho, Japan; and 72 kilograms, Xu Wang, China. Men gold medal winners were: men's freestyle, 55 kilograms, Mavlet Batirov, Russia; 60 kilograms, Yandro Miguel Quintana, Cuba; 66 kilograms, Elbrus Tedeyev, Ukraine; 74 kilograms, Buvaysa Saytieyev, Russia; 84 kilograms, Cael Sanderson, United States; 96 kilograms, Khadjimourat Gatsalov, Russia; 120 kilograms, Artur Taymazov, Uzbekistan; men's Greco-Roman, 55 kilograms, Istvan Majoros, Hungary; 60 kilograms, Ji Hyun Jung, South Korea; 66 kilograms, Farid Mansurov, Azerbaijan; 74 kilograms, Alexandr Doktorishvili, Uzbekistan; 84 kilograms, Alexei Michine, Russia; 96 kilograms, Karam Ibrahim, Egypt; and 120 kilograms, Khasan Baroev, Russia.

*Mari-Kristin Sisjord and
Michael B. Poliakoff*

See also Arm Wrestling; Sumo

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Wrigley Field

Wrigley Field is the home of the Chicago Cubs baseball team and is the second-oldest ballpark in the majors. Only Boston's Fenway Park, opened in 1912, is older. It was built as the home of the Chicago Federals, later Whales, of the just-established Federal League by team owner Charlie Weeghman, at the cost of an estimated \$250,000. It opened on April 23, 1914, as Weeghman Park and was also known as the North Side Ball Park, as the first ball park built on Chicago's North Side. When the Federal League folded two years later, Weeghman and his ten partners bought the Chicago Cubs of the National League and moved them to Weeghman Park. One of Weeghman's partners was the chewing gum king, William Wrigley Jr., and by 1919 Wrigley had bought out the other partners, including Weeghman. In 1920 the field was renamed Cubs Park and then in 1926 renamed Wrigley Field in honor of the owner. In 1914 the park had a capacity of 14,000 that was expanded over the years to its current

capacity of 38,902 in 1998, small by current stadium standards. The field is also relatively small and play is affected by onshore or offshore Lake Michigan winds, favoring either the hitter or pitcher, respectively.

In 1937 outfield bleachers were added as was the scoreboard, which continues to be manually operated and has yet to be hit by batted ball. Both were added by baseball executive and innovator Bill Veeck. He also had Japanese and Boston ivy planted along the centerfield wall. The ivy thrived, giving the wall a unique appearance among major league stadiums. Among other Wrigley Field firsts were the first permanent concession in a baseball stadium (1914), allowing fans to keep foul balls, and throwing opposing team home run balls back on to the field. At the end of each game, a flag signifying a win or lose is flown from a center field flag pole—either a white flag with a blue W or a blue flag with a white L. Another feature is the custom of fans watching the game from the rooftops of houses on Waveland and Sheffield avenues.

Let There Be Lights

Until August 8 1988, Wrigley Field did not have lights and 5,687 consecutive day games had been played there. Wrigley had planned to install lights for the 1941 season but instead donated them to the government for use during World War II. Lights were finally installed over the objection of some residents in the Wrigleyville neighborhood under pressure from Major League Baseball and the Cubs management, who threatened to leave the stadium. The Cubs have played in six World Series at the field, but lost all six. The most famous event associated with Wrigley Field is Babe Ruth's "called shot" home run off of Charlie Root in the 1932 World Series. Ruth did make a hand gesture to the outfield before hitting Root's pitch into the bleachers, although it is not clear what he meant by the gesture. Among the great players who performed at Wrigley Field are Cubs shortstop Ernie Banks, third baseman Ron Santo, and outfielder Billy Williams. All three are honored by flags that hang from the foul poles displaying their uniform numbers, 14, 10, and 26.

Wrigley is also associated with a unique cast of off-the-field characters, including a group of regulars in the



Panoramic view of the stands at Wrigley Field in Chicago.

Source: istockphoto.com/fig.

bleachers about whose antics the play *Bleacher Bums* was written; William “Billy Goat” Sianis, a Chicago restaurant owner who put a “curse” on the Cubs when he and his goat were asked to leave a 1945 World Series game; and popular play-by-play announcer Harry Carey.

The Future

Like the other old ballpark, Fenway Park in Boston, Wrigley Field retains its appeal as a stadium that reflects an earlier era of baseball that has resisted destruction and desertion. Cubs fans are hopeful that the Red Sox’ winning the World Series in 2004 is a sign that their long World Series drought—dating back to 1908—will end soon as well.

David Levinson

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Wushu

Wushu is the Chinese martial arts, ranging from their origins in early Stone Age cultures to the martially inspired arts practiced today. The word *wushu* is composed of two characters: *Wu* is associated with

military and warfare; *shu* with the skill or methods of performing an activity.

The word *gongfu*, or *kung-fu*, often used in the West to refer to Chinese martial arts, is actually composed of two Chinese characters that refer to the time and effort required to accomplish any human activity.

Development

Chinese martial traditions evolved with social and technological changes during China's history. Martial arts required a variety of defensive and offensive specializations, from basic hand-to-hand combat to complex techniques of large-scale warfare. Although composed primarily of martial arts, wushu has long been associated with meditative exercise, physical conditioning, dance, drama, and competitive exhibition. Wushu developed as an important element of China's culture and influenced the martial traditions of neighboring countries and eventually the rest of the world.

The Chinese martial arts grew out of people's need for protection against other people and dangerous animals. As Chinese society became more complex, so did its martial systems. The first martial systems used the body parts most appropriate for the task: feet, hands, knees, elbows, and head. Rudimentary skills were supplemented by the use of farming and hunting tools made of wood and stone, including the spear, club, and knife. As people developed the basic technology and began to use metals, a range of weaponry became available. Chinese society came to place more emphasis on warfare, and the martial arts became a specialized profession for many people. However, with the advent of modern firearms in China, people began to practice traditional martial arts more as forms of sport and exercise.

Today such martial arts enjoy a growing popularity throughout the world. Although people practice them in all cultures, martial arts of Asian origin are the better known because of their sophisticated repertoire of techniques coupled with philosophies of self-cultivation. The histories of the most popular Asian martial arts in-

dicating a strong Chinese influence. For example, Okinawan karate developed from China's Fujian Province, and the founder of Korean taekwondo studied wushu while serving in the military in Manchuria. The martial arts in Japan, Korea, and Indonesia were influenced by encounters with Chinese people during trade, immigration, and war. Knowledge of Asian martial arts likewise spread to the rest of the world, the movie industry being the most significant popularizer.

Basic forms of Chinese martial arts developed during early Neolithic (relating to the latest period of the Stone Age characterized by polished stone implements) times as products of a survival instinct. They also provided entertainment, as in games of "head butting" in which contestants wore animal horns. By the Zhou dynasty (1045–256 BCE), wushu had reached an advanced level. Excavations of the period have uncovered arms and armor, including halberds, spears, chariots, bows, arrows, swords, helmets, and knives. Other artifacts indicate not only sophisticated military organization, but also a culture in which martial arts were valued for their role in securing or maintaining political stability. The crossbow and iron weapons came into use during the fifth century BCE, ushering in new forms of martial arts. Military treatises, such as Sun Tsu's *The Art of War*, detailed military tactics and maneuvers that people still study today.

During later centuries China remained the apex of refined culture, and surrounding countries looked to it for inspiration and knowledge. However, with China's cultural advances came threats of invasion by people seeking its riches. Likewise, internal conflicts erupted because of inevitable social inequities that developed among economic groups. China's history flows through dynastic cycles during which imperial armies fought invading barbarians and/or native rebels. Such turmoil taught the Chinese to rely on martial arts as a security measure. Those people who possessed the most advanced systems felt that they had an advantage in protecting their empire, clan, or family. Therefore, martial arts systems were highly secretive and taught only to selected people.

*Winners never quit and
quitters never win.* ■ UNKNOWN

Effective Systems

The martial arts systems reflected the social positions and concerns of their creators. For instance, the imperial army developed martial arts for large-scale military engagements. Such arts often focused on long-range weapons, such as the crossbow. Their maneuvers usually required a fast cavalry to execute their objectives. However, sometimes the imperial political-military structure collapsed, leaving the commoners to fend for themselves. Other groups developed their own martial arts systems, often organizing themselves around a common bond, be it social, linguistic, or philosophical.

Because talented people were credited with creating specific martial arts systems, their families often retained control of such knowledge by passing it down from generation to generation. Their concerns were primarily for the security of family and clan. Their limited resources kept their focus on developing skills that a fighter could use, including in the use of weapons such as spear, sword, and knife. They often fought against individuals or small groups, so open-hand boxing skills were also important.

Martial arts styles were usually named for the people, places, or philosophical ideas associated with them. A few hundred Chinese styles exist, but many more styles and substyles have yet to be categorized. For the sake of simplicity, experts sometimes place martial arts styles into general categories, such as northern-southern, internal-external, or Taoist-Buddhist, and sometimes according to their place of origin.

The association of some Chinese martial arts with temples is of special importance. During times of turmoil, people often used temples as places of refuge. Such temples attracted people from all segments of Chinese society, including martial arts experts who came to live together, often comparing their knowledge. Some temples, such as Shaolin, became “universities” where experts contributed to the evolution and preservation of martial arts.

The rise of modern weaponry has led to the extinction of some martial arts traditions. Nonetheless, many

martial arts remain popular in China because, in part, of their pervasive presence in Chinese culture. Their historical importance has been the subject of many literary endeavors, including a martial arts genre. As moving art forms, the martial arts are living expressions of their developers’ creativity. People also value martial arts forms for their therapeutic benefits. In China the majority of people who practice martial arts do so primarily for such benefits. However, people also practice martial arts in theatrical productions, self-defense classes, entertainment industries, meditative practices, military training programs, and sporting events.

In China today modern forms of entertainment are relatively limited. Computers, televisions, and electronic games, for instance, are luxuries that relatively few people can afford. Modern health care is also limited because of high costs. Wushu, as a form of sport and exercise, is an attractive alternative. Martial arts exhibitions have a long tradition in China. Competitions are featured at the national level. International teams also have been formed. Routines standardized by government regulations are taught in martial arts schools and in colleges that have wushu departments.

Competitive martial arts exhibitions have transformed traditional solo routines by incorporating gymnastic elements to achieve greater visual effects. Matches between individuals, usually judged on a point system, limit the type of techniques used. Overall, martial arts sports have adapted elements from traditional systems, thus presenting only one aspect of what martial arts entail. Financial and political concerns increasingly play a role in martial arts as world participation in Asian martial arts increases.

The Future

Today people practice wushu for a variety of reasons in all parts of the world. Some people see wushu as a violent activity and thus are either attracted to it or seek to suppress it. Martial arts sports are popular with people who enjoy competition. Such competition ranges from full-contact bouts with no rules to no-contact tournaments with rules to prevent injuries and ensure fair-

ness in judging. However, problems continue to plague martial arts sports because no one internationally recognized system for teaching, ranking, or judging exists.

Still other people desire to learn martial arts for the physical and psychological benefits. More than ever people are attracted to wushu not simply as a physical activity but as a way of self-discovery. Therefore, despite its organizational disarray as a sport, wushu will increase in popularity.

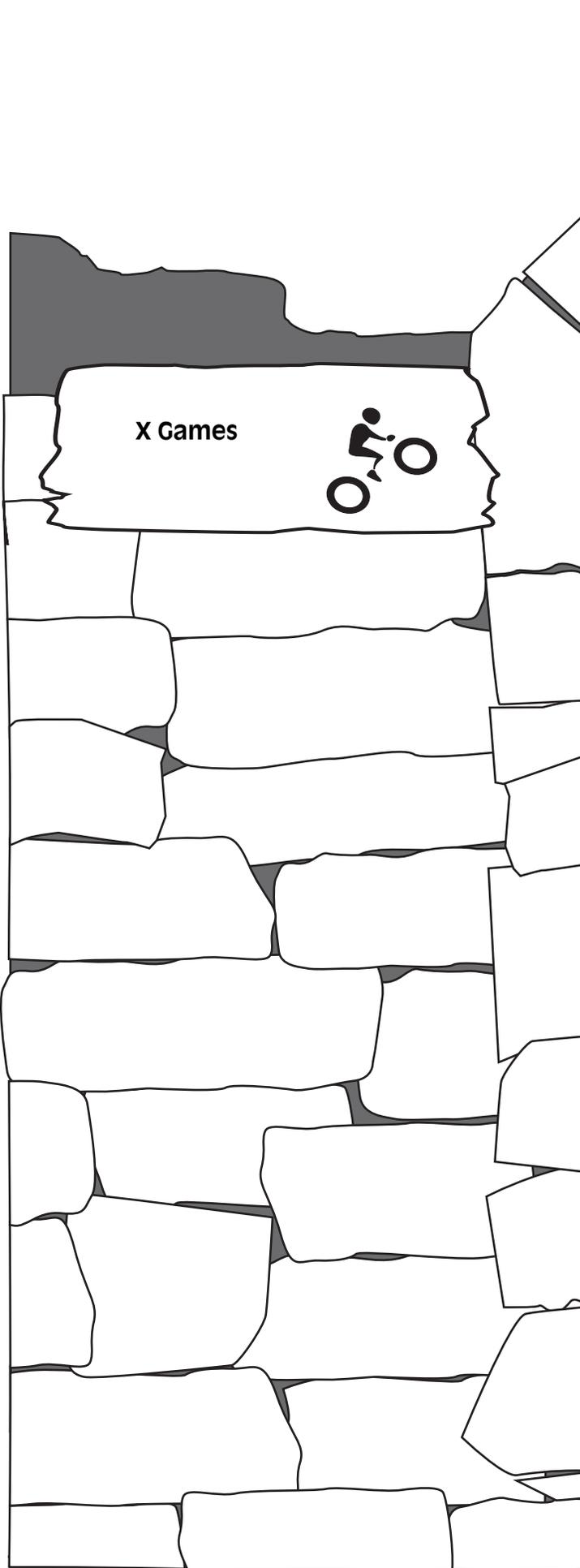
Michael A. DeMarco

See also Mixed Martial Arts

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X Games

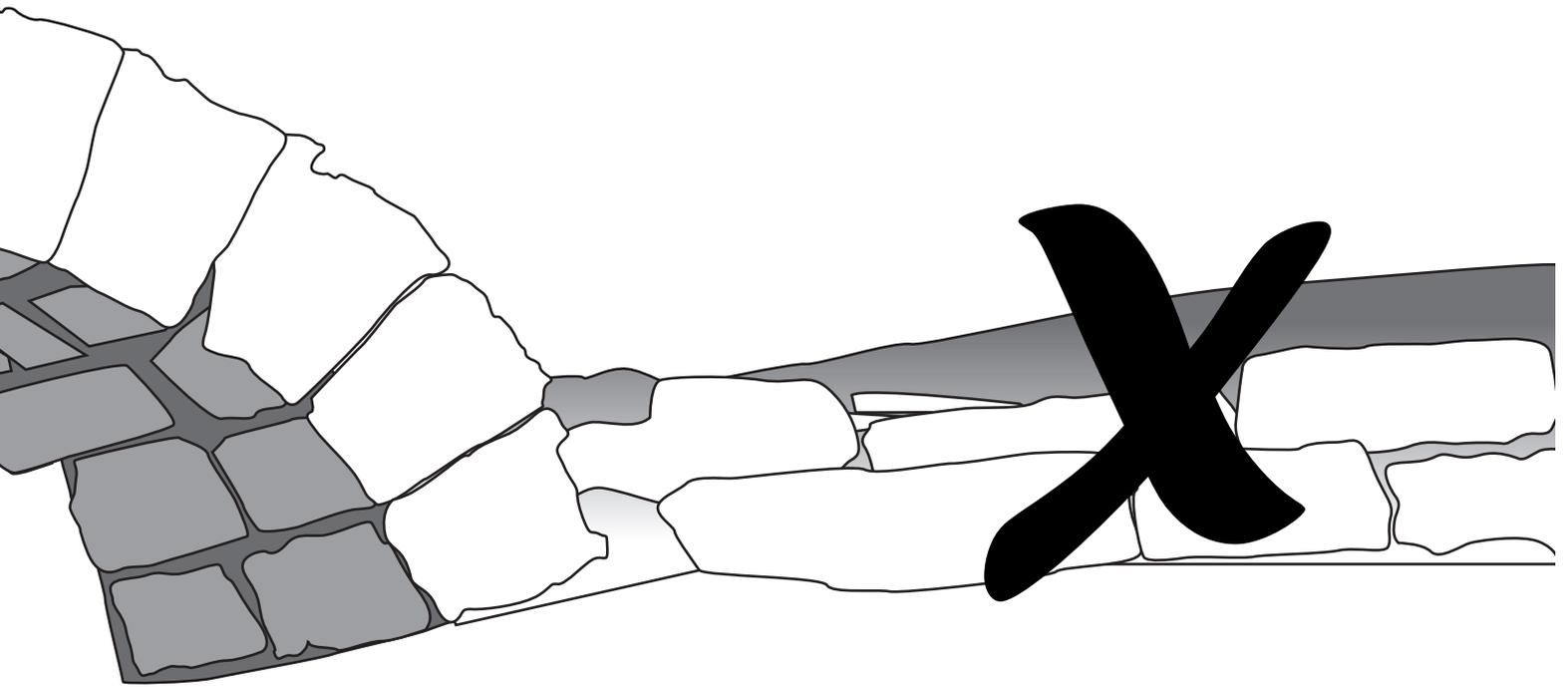


X Games

The concept of competition, whether athletic or otherwise, is universal; it crosses all language and cultural boundaries and can serve to unite an entire country, as it often does with the Olympic games. There exists, however, an even greater desire to test the human spirit, to push farther and expand the boundaries of athletics. Conventional sports are giving way to a new breed where adrenaline runs freely and the more extreme athlete goes home with the gold medal. The venue for this risk-taking, thrill-seeking, extreme athlete is the X Games.

History of the X Games

In 1993, Entertainment Sports Network Programming Director Ron Semiao envisioned a competition for extreme-sports athletes. Prior to this, organized athletic events were limited to traditional sports. With the growth of extreme sports in the last two decades of the twentieth century, the opportunity existed to create an outlet for the extreme and alternative athlete. After two years of preparation, ESPN successfully staged the first Extreme Games in Newport, Providence, and Middletown, Rhode Island, and in Mount Snow, Vermont, from 24 June through 1 July of 1995; 198,000 spectators attended. Nine sport categories were included, with such events as BMX/stunt bike, barefoot water-ski jumping, bungee jumping, in-line skating, kite skiing, mountain biking, skateboarding, sky surfing, sport climbing, street luge, windsurfing, and X Venture Race.



The success of the first Extreme Games and an enthusiastic response by the athletes, sponsors, and spectators encouraged ESPN to organize a second Extreme Games in 1996.

In January of 1996, the name Extreme Games was officially changed to X Games. Altering the name gave ESPN the ability to more easily market the games to international viewers and allowed for better branding opportunities. In April of 1996, the first X Games Road Show traveled throughout the United States, bringing a two-day interactive expo to twelve cities, including Boston, San Francisco, and Miami. In June of the same year, beneath the shadows of ancient temples, the first international exhibit took place in Shanghai. Spectators were treated to demonstrations of bicycle stunts, in-line skating and skateboarding. These demonstrations shadowed X Games II, held in late June before 200,000 spectators.

Winter X Games

The growing popularity of the X Games encouraged ESPN to organize the first Winter X Games. From 30 January through 2 February 1997, at the Snow Summit Mountain Resort in Big Bear Lake, California, spectators had the opportunity to watch extreme athletes compete in ice climbing, shovel racing, snowboarding, snow mountain bike racing, and a multisport crossover event.

Growing Popularity

Since the inception of the X Games in 1995, both men and women have had the opportunity to compete, and

1996 saw the beginning of international exposure and eventual participation in the X Games themselves. In 1997 the annual tradition of both winter and summer X Games began. In April of 1998, the first international X Games, the Asian X Games, were held in Phuket, Thailand, and featured two hundred athletes competing for spots in X Games IV in San Diego. X Games IV attracted 233,000 spectators, and there were nearly 275,000 spectators at X Games V.

The popularity of the games continued to increase, both within the United States and across the globe. In November of 1999, the first Junior X Games were held in Phuket, Thailand, attracting action-sports athletes between the ages of eight and fourteen. Within four years, the Asian X Games led to the development of the Junior X Games and, in March of 2002, the beginning of the Latin X Games. In July of 2002, the European X Games were held.

The global expansion of the X Games continued in May of 2002 with a new event, the X Games Global Championship. The premise of the Global Championship is that six world teams will compete against each other in a four-day competition, with both winter and summer X Games events. The events included are skateboard, bicycle stunt, Moto X, aggressive in-line skate, snowboard, and ski. Team USA edged out Team Europe to win the inaugural X Games Global Championship. Since 2002, the X Games have continued to grow in popularity. These extreme sports, once on the fringe, are finding their way into mainstream sport entertainment and international competition.



X Games

X Games Journalism

Just like the Games themselves, X Games journalism is breathless, exciting, and over the top. The extract below is part of an EXPN.com recap of the top ten moments of the 10th X Games, held in Los Angeles from 5–8 August 2004.

The first stop on the X Games X recap tour is the mammoth, monster, mother-of-all, behemoth drop-in, take your pick, shoot the gap, then trick-it-up-on-the-pipe mega ramp. The X gods pulled out all the stops for the 10th-anniversary edition and constructed the ultimate playground for six skateboard crazies.

The big lady featured a choose-your-own-adventure: a 50- or 70-foot roll-in that launched you over either a 50-foot gap or a 70-foot gap for he with stones. If you landed it, you were launched NOT-ever-so-gently into the 27-foot quarterpipe.

This is NOT for the faint of heart. Although the master of this monster—Mr. Danny Way—has a serious heart condition . . . an abnormal excess of heart. The 30-year-old vet from Encinitas, CA, was the only guy who dared drop in from the tipity top and he landed it Christ-air style.

Source: Burkheit, M. (2004, August 10). Top 10 of X Games X. Retrieved April 12, 2005, from http://expn.go.com/expn/summerx/2004/story?pageName=040809_bestof_XGX2

Significance of the X Games

Extreme sports were neither developed for the purpose of entertainment nor for competition. The athletes that chose to participate in extreme sports did so for their own pleasure. Competition was not a prime motivator. Individual style was encouraged. Setting personal records was desired. These athletes were thrill seekers looking to push the limits of their own bodies and the boundaries of their sports.

The athletes who pursue extreme sports are men and women, adults and youth, who live in different countries throughout the world. The adrenaline rush and high risk of their event is what brings these athletes together. The development of the X Games gives these athletes a stage and a greater chance to improve themselves and push these extreme sports further than ever imagined. The X Games are the showcase for broken records and sometimes broken bones but also for never-

before-seen tricks such as Tony Hawk's "900 degree turn" in skateboarding or for the "Body Varial" in Moto X. The X Games encourage the development of and increased participation in extreme sports.

In August of 2001, ESPN helped to create skate parks designed to give an authentic X Games experience to anyone using it. Designed by the industry's top course designers, these public facilities offer skateboarding, bike stunt riding (BMX), and in-line skating ramps and props. These parks are currently located in five major metropolitan markets: Atlanta, Dallas, Denver, Philadelphia, and St. Louis.

The Future

Since the X Games were first introduced in 1995, the growth of extreme sports has been incredible. Athletes across the United States, Asia, South America, and beyond have taken sports originally considered to be too

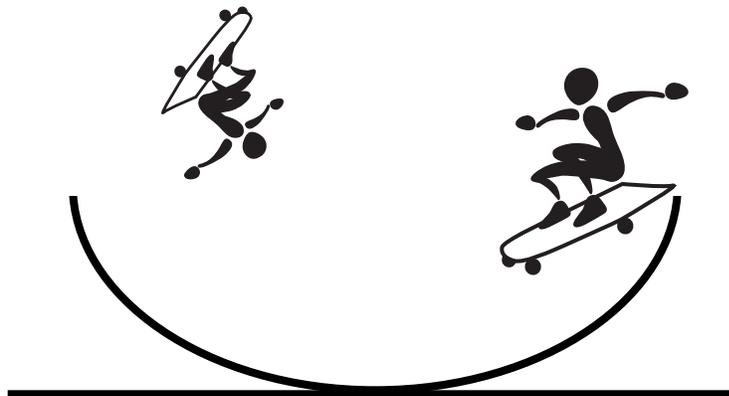


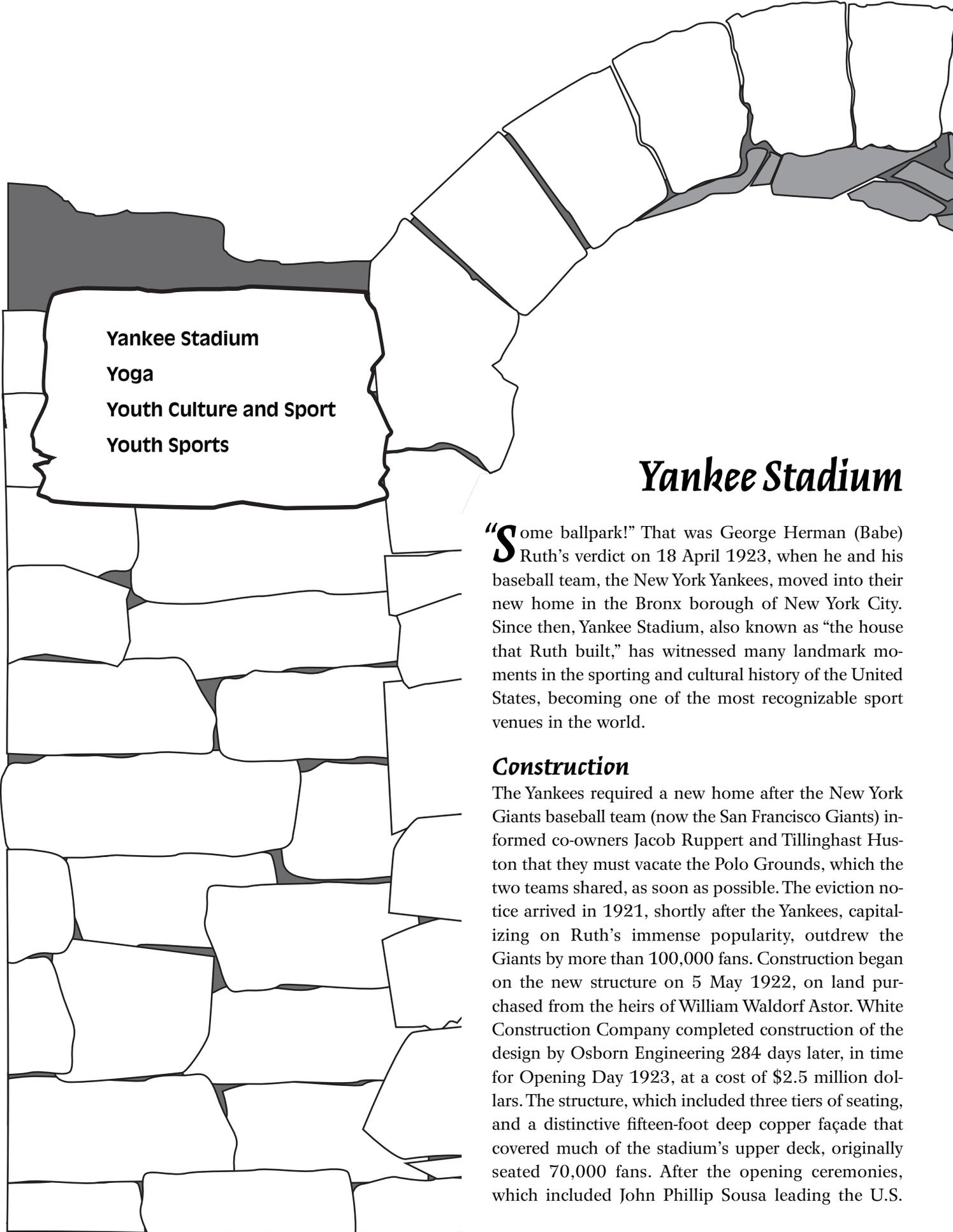
dangerous and helped them to become a source of entertainment and an important part of the sport culture of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. With the help of its athletes and its fans, the X Games will continue to grow and expand as the sports become more extreme and as its athletes remain determined to push their limits.

Annette C. Nack

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Yankee Stadium

Yoga

Youth Culture and Sport

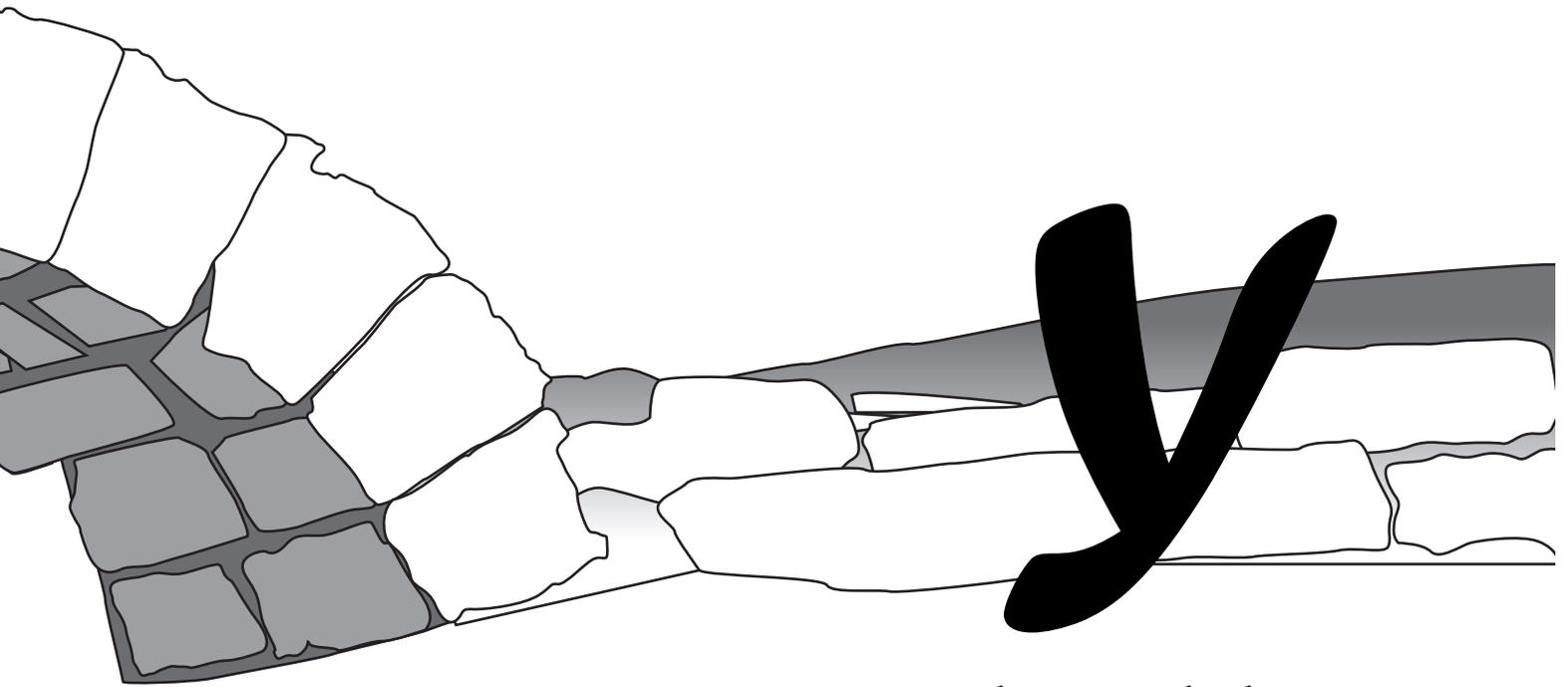
Youth Sports

Yankee Stadium

“Some ballpark!” That was George Herman (Babe) Ruth’s verdict on 18 April 1923, when he and his baseball team, the New York Yankees, moved into their new home in the Bronx borough of New York City. Since then, Yankee Stadium, also known as “the house that Ruth built,” has witnessed many landmark moments in the sporting and cultural history of the United States, becoming one of the most recognizable sport venues in the world.

Construction

The Yankees required a new home after the New York Giants baseball team (now the San Francisco Giants) informed co-owners Jacob Ruppert and Tillinghast Huston that they must vacate the Polo Grounds, which the two teams shared, as soon as possible. The eviction notice arrived in 1921, shortly after the Yankees, capitalizing on Ruth’s immense popularity, outdrew the Giants by more than 100,000 fans. Construction began on the new structure on 5 May 1922, on land purchased from the heirs of William Waldorf Astor. White Construction Company completed construction of the design by Osborn Engineering 284 days later, in time for Opening Day 1923, at a cost of \$2.5 million dollars. The structure, which included three tiers of seating, and a distinctive fifteen-foot deep copper façade that covered much of the stadium’s upper deck, originally seated 70,000 fans. After the opening ceremonies, which included John Phillip Sousa leading the U.S.



Army's Seventh Regiment band, 74,200 fans watched Ruth hit a three-run homer to defeat his old team, the Boston Red Sox, 4–1.

Innovation and Renovation

Many innovations baseball fans take for granted originated at Yankee Stadium:

- Yankee business manager Edward Barrow marked the distances from home plate on the outfield walls, which under the original design measured 281 feet in left, 295 feet in right, and 487 feet in center field.
- In 1946, Yankees president Larry McPhail installed lights so the Yankees began playing night baseball.
- The first electronic message board was installed in 1959.
- In 1976, after a complete renovation, the scoreboard featured baseball's first telescreen, which displayed slow-motion replays.

The renovation carried out by new owner New York City during the 1974 and 1975 seasons totally remodeled the aging structure. The new stadium had a capacity of 57,145 fans, fewer than the original design, but eliminated seats with obstructed views from the old stadium. The new dimensions included 318 feet to left, 314 to right, and 408 to the center field wall. Estimated at \$24 million, the actual cost to the city was nearly \$100 million during a time when the city defaulted on loans and faced bankruptcy. Despite the city's financial difficulties, its purchase of the stadium saved the Yankees for New York after the two parties signed a thirty-year lease in 1972.

Sports Milestones and Other Events

No other venue has been the scene for as many World Series (thirty-nine) as Yankee Stadium, which has been the site of many other memorable moments in baseball history:

- Babe Ruth hit his sixtieth homerun during the 1927 season, the Major League Baseball record until Roger Maris broke it there with his sixty-first homer in 1961.
- The Yankee's dominance of professional baseball that began with Ruth's acquisition included a World Series victory in their first season in their new home, a feat repeated twenty-five times since.
- Don Larsen pitched the only perfect game in World Series history there in 1956.
- Yankee Reggie Jackson added to the lore that joins Yankee Stadium and the World Series by hitting three consecutive pitches for homeruns in 1977.

Yankee Stadium has also served as the venue for numerous other sporting spectacles, including some legendary contests in American sports history:

- Thirty championship-boxing matches took place there, including the 1936 and 1938 fights between the German Max Schmeling and American Joe Lewis. Lewis gained revenge and salvaged American pride in the rematch when he knocked out the German in the first round.
- "The Greatest," Muhammad Ali, defeated Ken Norton in 1976 in a championship boxing match.
- On 12 November 1928, one of the most storied college football games of all time took place in Yankee



Stadium when the Fighting Irish of Notre Dame faced the Golden Knights of Army. At halftime of a scoreless tie, Notre Dame coach Knute Rockne made his legendary plea to “win one for the Gipper,” and Notre Dame responded by winning 12–6.

- On 28 December 1958, the National Football League’s New York Giants and the Baltimore Colts played to a 17–17 tie at the end of regulation in the NFL Championship Game, and in the first “sudden death” overtime game, Alan Ameche scored the winning touchdown, giving Baltimore the win. The game, still considered one of the greatest in NFL history, helped cement professional football’s popularity with the American public.

Yankee Stadium has also been the site for historic non-sporting events, with the largest crowd of 123,707 gathering for a Jehovah’s Witnesses convention. On 4 October 1965, in the first visit of a pontiff to North America, Pope Paul VI celebrated mass before 80,000 fans, and Pope John Paul II did the same in 1979. In commemoration, plaques of the two popes were added to the monuments that adorn the area behind the centerfield wall, joining such Yankee legends as Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Joe DiMaggio, and Mickey Mantle. The area, which includes a memorial to the victims of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, is open to fans before and after games.

The Future

One of the most recognizable landmarks in professional sports, and the first structure to be titled “stadium,” Yankee Stadium joins Chicago’s Wrigley Field and Boston’s Fenway Park as the oldest and most venerated baseball stadiums; collectively, they served as models for retro-style baseball stadiums constructed in the 1990s. The future remains uncertain for the only stadium used as a regular backdrop for an American television situation comedy (*Seinfeld*), and the scene for so many memorable moments, but tentative plans call for a new Yankee Stadium to be constructed across the street from the old site.

Russ Crawford

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Yoga

Yoga is an ancient Indian spiritual philosophy that focuses on achieving deeper awareness of the body and mind through disciplined, dedicated practice. Yogic practice usually involves asanas, which are postures or sequences of postures; pranayama, or breathing modification and exercises; and meditation and sometimes chanting. Yoga is not a religion. To practice it, one need not sacrifice one’s own faith or beliefs.

Types of Yoga

Yoga is divided into six main types or branches:

- Raja yoga follows the strict form outlined by Patanjali in the *Yoga Sutras*, with emphasis on meditation, and is the preferred type of yoga for monastic practitioners, although monastic life is not required to practice it.
- Karma yoga, an ancient Vedic type of yoga, applies to a more spiritual practice of yoga and is focused on the yogic principle of ahimsa, that is, the avoidance of accumulating karma.
- Bhakti yoga is a devotional type of yoga. Within the *Mahabharata*, which is one of the most important

Indian religious epics, is the critical text, the *Bhagavad Gita*, which contains the seed teachings of the *Mahabharata*, particularly the devotional bhakti yoga. Bhakti yoga was first presented in the *Bhagavad Gita* through a conversation between the epic's hero Arjuna and the deity Krishna, who describes bhakti as full devotion of the practitioner to the deity. Thus, this type of yoga is more emotionally centered than are the older types of Vedic yogas.

- Jnana yoga, an older, more scholarly type of yoga than bhakti yoga, focuses on the yogic texts and scriptures, following a more direct path to realization. Realization, in this sense, is an extension of a person's consciousness that remains constant in all life activities—a state akin to the deep, peaceful awareness achieved through meditation.
- Tantra yoga, perhaps the most misunderstood form of yoga, and the most esoteric, is associated with finding the sacred in the mundane, and is closely linked with rituals. Interestingly, most Tantra yogis are celibate, contrary to popular Western ideas about Tantric sexual rituals. A yogi is an advanced practitioner of yoga. Often such a practitioner is able to use yoga to achieve a deep meditative state and perform

the more advanced postures easily, and may serve as a teacher of yoga.

- Hatha yoga, which first appeared in the ninth or tenth century CE, uses asanas, postures, or sequences of postures to purify the body and eventually the mind. Hatha yoga's focus, therefore, is more on the physical body than are some of the more cerebral yogas.

STYLES OF HATHA YOGA

Hatha is the most widely practiced form of yoga in the West. Within hatha yoga, several styles exist that include, but are not limited to, *ashtanga*, *iyengar*, *bikram*, *kundalini*, *Kripalu*, and *Tibetan*. These styles represent different schools of thought, or emphasize the ideas of specific masters, and are likely to be present in either full form or in varying degrees or combinations in a yoga class, as decided by the individual instructor.

- Ashtanga yoga was popularized by K. Pattabhi Jois, from Mysore, India, and is based on six series of asanas that increase in difficulty as the yoga student acquires more skill. During a yoga session, each set of asanas flows into the next. Ashtanga yoga allows students to use the asanas best suited to their own abilities and encourages students to increase difficulty only when they feel ready to do so.

- Iyengar yoga, which was founded by B. K. S. Iyengar in Pune, India, focuses on proper muscular and skeletal alignment, and the asanas are held much longer than in other styles.

- Bikram yoga, founded by Bikram Choudhury in the latter part of the twentieth century, is practiced in a very hot room, often exceeding 100° F (38° C). Bikram yoga is a



Yoga teacher Mark Gerow demonstrates the bound triangle posture.

If you can believe it, the mind can achieve it. ■ RONNIE LOTT

favorite style of Hollywood stars because it induces a high degree of perspiration, promoting both physical fitness and cleansing the body of toxins.

- Kundalini yoga, founded by Yogi Bhajan in the late 1960s, focuses on a Tantric path, using the kundalini energy that is centered at the base of the spine.
- Kripalu yoga was developed in the 1970s by Amrit Desai, who founded the Kripalu Center in the Berkshires of Massachusetts. Kripalu yoga uses three major stages: willful practice, willful surrender, and meditation in motion. Practice of the Kripalu style leads to a personal sense of harmony and trust in the body's own wisdom.
- Tibetan yoga, practiced in Tibet but virtually unknown outside Tibet until the twentieth century, combines asanas, Tantric meditation, and pranayama. Five continuous asanas are repeated and increased until practitioners can perform the twenty-one repetitions of the full practice.

Ancient Practices Continue

The history of yoga begins in the Vedic period, approximately 3,500 years ago. The origins of yogic practice were brought to India with invading Aryans' Brahmanism. The Aryans, from west of India, had a sacred language called Sanskrit, from which the term "yoga" originates. Yoga means "to yoke." As oxen are yoked to haul a heavy load, a yogi is yoked to self-discipline. Yoga was mentioned in the Vedas, which were memorized during the Vedic period because the Aryans did not yet have a written language. A good deal of evidence suggests that yoga was already present in the Vedic practice of the Aryans, so yoga may be 5,000 years old.

During the Preclassical period at the end of the Brahmanical era or Vedic period, texts called the Upanishads became prevalent. Although the Upanishads do not specifically target yogic asana practice, they stress the importance of a sincere commitment to the practice of yoga and meditation. Patanjali composed the 195 *Yoga Sutras* during the Classical period, which began about 1800 years ago. The *Yoga Sutras* and the eight-limbed path they delineate are important because these are the

first texts to systematically present yogic practice. Differing styles, including Hatha, developed during the subsequent Postclassical period, which began about 1600 years ago and continues. The Yoga Upanishads, written during this time by the unknown authors, provide clear instruction in pranayama, chanting, and the use of inner sound.

Around 1785, fifty years before yoga was introduced in the United States, English scholars began to study a variety of yogic texts. They, and later American scholars such as Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), drew from these texts to produce philosophical writings. Yoga was not publicly discussed or practiced until Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) arrived in the United States in 1893. In 1899, Vivekananda established the New York Vedanta Society, the first yoga school in the United States, which still exists. The Vedanta Society remains focused on four of the yoga branches: raja, karma, jnana, and bhakti.

Thereafter, many yogis traveled to the United States until the 1920s, when the United States government placed a quota on Indian immigration. This led many people, such as Paul Brunton (1898–1991), to travel to India in search of yogic instruction. Later Brunton established a yoga center in the United States, which is named for him. In 1934, Brunton authored *A Search in Secret India* after meeting Ramana Maharishi (1879–1950), one of yoga's greatest teachers. Brunton's foundation remains devoted to transmitting ideas between Eastern and Western philosophies. Richard Hittleman (1927–1991), another spiritual disciple of Maharishi, began teaching only the physical benefits of yoga to his students in New York City, later had a television program with the same approach, and founded the Yoga Universal Foundation, which educates its students on yogic philosophy.

Western Yoga in the Twenty-first Century

Presently, yoga is experiencing a revival in the United States; it seems to be everywhere. From pop music "gurus" to classes offered at corporately owned health



The forward bend is a classic yoga asana, practiced here by a class at the Berkshire Mountain Yoga studio.

HOLISTIC YOGIC HEALTH

Yogis believe health is a balanced state of the anatomical and physiological bodily functioning united with mental and emotional stability. Yoga emphasizes mind-body unity, focusing on a person as a whole being. In yoga, asana practice includes both physical and psychological processes. Asanas lengthen and strengthen the muscles and joints, improve balance,

and affect mental states. Another aspect of yoga that has impressive effects on health is pranayama, the art of breath control. Essentially, yogis believe that the body itself is a powerful remedy for health problems.

- *From books or videotapes.* Although books and videos are excellent teaching aids, they can hardly substitute for the benefit of having the experience and guidance of a trained yoga teacher.
- *In a basic class at a fitness center.* Although beginners will have the benefit of a yoga teacher, a growing trend among gyms is to hire yoga teachers who have undergone rapid training that does not allow them time to become familiar with the deep history and Sanskrit origin of yoga, nor with the deepened awareness of meditation. This rapid process does little to honor the rich tradition of yoga, and problems may arise if the teacher lacks enough experience to handle more nuanced aspects of yoga practice, such as a person's emotional response to an asana.
- *From a teacher trained in one of the formal traditions of yoga.* Trying a couple of classes in different styles to find one that feels right is a good idea. The benefit of taking a class in a yoga center is twofold: having the dedicated but gentle guidance of the instructor and having a caring, supportive class environment. Yoga students should feel safe to share the experiences they have during a session with one another. This is especially important for beginners, who may experience emotional or physical discomfort and find it helpful to speak with others who may be experiencing similar feelings.

WESTERN HEALTH AND YOGA

Medical research suggests that conditions such as asthma, back pain, carpal tunnel syndrome, cardiovascular diseases, epileptic seizure, obsessive compulsive disorder, and depression can be alleviated with a doctor-supervised regimen of yoga. For example, *Journal of Asthma* has reported that 74 percent of 255 asthma patients who participated in a 1986 medical study sustained significant improvement. The *New England Journal of Medicine* has further discussed the effects of yoga on carpal tunnel syndrome indicating that an eleven-asana-series that focuses on a full range of motion for most joints in the upper body is more effective than conventional treatments, including drugs and surgery, for sufferers of carpal tunnel.

Dr. Dean Ornish is a well-known medical doctor who has incorporated yoga in his therapy to reverse various heart diseases. Regular asana practice and meditation improve circulation of the blood to the heart and increases oxygen levels, so Dr. Ornish uses yoga to help his patients reduce low-density lipoprotein levels (LDL cholesterol) and blood pressure. The pranayama exercises calm the central nervous system, which frequently becomes overtaxed in "Type A" individuals prone to cardiovascular diseases. Dr. Ornish's

therapy is widely commended and used by doctors around the world.

Yoga and Sport

Yoga is now becoming a more important component of training for athletes. One pioneer, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, began to practice yoga early in his basketball career, in high school. The aspects of limberness, concentration, and breath control drew him to yoga. By 1984, Abdul-Jabbar was studying with Bikram Choudhury. Abdul-Jabbar believes that yoga was instrumental to the longevity of his career, which spanned more than two decades. He avoided injuries that his fellow players endured and feels that he gained a deeper understanding of his body that allowed him to remain strong and healthy.

Phil Jackson, a leading basketball coach formerly with the Chicago Bulls and Los Angeles Lakers, has routinely employed contemplative practices and meditation to help his players succeed on the court. Jackson advocates that his players create a calm, serene place within themselves, even amidst the chaos of the game and the fans, to facilitate deeper concentration. He also feels that this contemplation helps him to feel more balanced, regardless of the outcome of the game.

Many other professional athletes use yoga to help them train. They come from the full spectrum of sports, including Evander Holyfield, Pete Sampras, Venus and Serena Williams, and Dan Marino. Judging by the success of these athletes, yoga has a potential to tap into the hidden body resources and enhance athletic performance.

The Future of Yoga in the West

Yoga has potential to aid healing in a variety of health conditions. As with any form of physical activity, however, practitioners should consult a physician before beginning a yoga regimen, particularly if they suffer from health problems. Western doctors who want to employ yoga already have a model for the fusion of yoga with Western medicine. In India, during the past forty years, yoga has been increasingly included in Western medi-

cine with great success, specifically for preventing illness. Illness prevention, which is more cost effective, has been important to achieving the health standards of the World Health Organization. This is especially true for impoverished areas, where physicians often combine preventative medicine with the limited Western medicine available. Although preventative medicine has not been as widely accepted in the United States as it has even in Europe, the Caribbean, and Asia, various academic disciplines have held discourses about the efficacy of preventative medicine. Yoga, with asanas that stimulate immune and healthy organ function, is particularly well suited for such a practice and is becoming employed in Western nations outside the United States for preventing disease. U.S. doctors are now beginning to look at the numerous studies from these countries for ways to incorporate yoga into Western medical treatments.

Despite yoga's great antiquity, it is proving to be beneficial for diverse populations. Its holistic, harmonizing approach to whole body health and vitality often succeeds where other methods fail. Yoga's versatility, wide scope, and focus on healthy living ensure its vitality and continued practice in the West. Yoga just may be one of the East's greatest contributions to the West.

*Sarah E. Page and
Tatiana V. Ryba*

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It's really impossible for athletes to grow up. On the one hand, you're a child, still playing a game. But on the other hand, you're a superhuman hero that everyone dreams of being. No wonder we have such a hard time understanding who we are. ■ BILLIE JEAN KING

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Youth Culture and Sport

The term *youth* has historically been used to identify people in the transitional period between early childhood and adulthood, including puberty and adolescence. The role of sport in the values, beliefs, and ways of life of young people has long been researched and publicly debated. Indeed, few issues provoke sharper disagreements than whether sports provide constructive experiences and contribute positively to young people's development. Complicating these discussions is the changing nature of sport itself. Sport is now experienced by many youth within a web of both live and virtual media experiences, including television and computer games, rather than simply as participating in actual organized programs. For some youth, sports options have expanded to include *alternative* as well as *traditional* sports. Traditional youth sport involves adult leadership, structured competition, and sponsorship by public or nonprofit agencies. Alternative sports more resemble informal play and feature less adult involvement, less structure, deemphasized competition, and privatization.

Organized youth sports programs developed in Europe and North America in the late 1800s attempted to prepare children, mostly boys, for industrialization and an increasingly competitive society. Boys were targeted to counteract what were seen as "feminizing" forces in their social environments. The few programs developed for girls were much less vigorous and competitive because of beliefs that girls were frail and needed to prepare for child rearing and domestic lives. Sports sponsored by

schools, clubs, private organizations, and governmental agencies grew rapidly during the twentieth century to the point where, in some societies, participation is now an assumed rite of childhood. Around the world, organized sports continue to be used to target social problems of youth, including crime, violence, drug use, racial and ethnic tension, the loss of cultural heritage, child labor, and AIDS awareness. Many youth sports programs around the world are also linked to, if not integral parts of, elite sport systems and the production of professional athletes.

Growing Popularity of Sports

The tremendous variety of sports among cultures around the world, in addition to varying ways of collecting information about them, make comparisons of various countries difficult. Unfortunately, little systematic information exists about sport for youth in developing countries; most research focuses on Europe, North America, and Oceania. In these regions of the world, sports participation and interest among youth increased substantially through the last quarter of the twentieth century. In the United States, the overwhelming majority of American youth, both boys and girls, now spend time with sports via television, movies, video games, magazines, books, newspapers, the Internet, and radio. U.S. boys and girls differ significantly, however, in the sports they follow most closely, with boys preferring, in order, National Football League (NFL) football, National Basketball Association (NBA) basketball, and the Olympics and baseball (tied for third). Among girls, most popular are the Olympics, gymnastics, and figure skating, followed by NBA basketball. Boys are also twice as likely as girls to watch extreme sports, motor sports, National Hockey League (NHL) hockey, and boxing. Nearly equal percentages of girls and boys watch the most popular sports among boys, but boys are half as likely to watch the most popular sports among girls. This reflects a pattern in which women's sports receive a small fraction of the media coverage of men's sports.

Figures for actual sports participation around the world suggest strongly that sports participation is the



most popular leisure time activity of youth. In the United States, 74 percent of youth ages six to seventeen, or about 26 million youth, participate in one of eighteen sports offered by clubs, leagues, or schools. Of these, 11 million are girls and 15 million are boys. The team sports with the overall highest rate of participation for both boys and girls in the United States are basketball, followed closely by soccer. From there, participation figures among U.S youth show boys preferring, in order, baseball and tackle football, and girls choosing softball, volleyball, and cheerleading. On a worldwide basis, soccer is the number one participation sport among boys, and among both boys and girls in Canada. Among all team sports in the United States, soccer has grown the fastest in recent years and is the only sport where numbers of girls and boys participating is nearly equal.

Outcomes of Participation

There is plenty of debate about the relative merits of organized youth sports programs, but little evidence supports the many platitudes about them. Adult-led, community-sponsored sports may create occasions for youth and families to join forces; establish achievement arenas for children; provide early experiences of leadership, discipline, and competition; and enhance health and fitness. Those same programs can also create tensions, conflict, and hostility among adults; create work-like pressures on youth to please their parents and coaches; foster inappropriate expectations about their performances; and actually do more harm than good to their health and well-being. Under the right conditions, youth who participate in school-sponsored sports may have higher academic performance, educational aspirations, and enhanced career options than do those who do not, but ample evidence indicates that sports programs may subvert the educational mission of their sponsoring schools, sidetrack students into focusing exclusively on sports, and bestow disproportionate and inappropriate privileges to young, usually male, athletes. In general, organized youth sports are successful and constructive to the degree that they place the in-

terests of youth above those of the adults who lead them and the organizations that sponsor them. They also benefit from adults who are educated about the developmental characteristics of youth, effective at instruction in the skills of their sports, and genuinely concerned about the welfare of their athletes.

Current Issues

The composition, incomes, and other circumstances of the households and larger societies in which youth live are changing rapidly, and the role of sports in their lives is changing accordingly:

1. Among the most important demographic changes of the last twenty years have been the increase of single parent households, the need for both parents to work outside the home, and the “aging” of populations, particularly in North America and Europe. Youth now compose smaller percentages of their societies than in past years, and the cultures in which they live are increasingly focused on accommodating the needs and interests of adults.
2. Migration patterns from lesser- to more-developed countries have changed the composition and economic circumstances of youth, exacerbating differences between the rich and poor.
3. The expansion of global media, as parts of larger globalization patterns, has significantly influenced how youth spend their time and how they include sports in their lives.
4. There is an increasing shift in sponsorship and provision of youth sports away from the public and non-profit sectors to the private and corporate sectors.

These four factors working together, in addition to the sex-segregated history of youth sport, are essential in understanding the role of sport in contemporary youth culture.

GLOBAL BUT NOT UNIVERSAL

Although we know that youth sports are a growing world phenomenon, a number of youth in the world have little or no access to them. Organized sports in-



Youth Culture and Sport

Youth Sports in Korea

The smallest schoolboys began the wrestling—little fellows of six and seven stepping forth into the arena and wrestling away until one of them threw the other amid universal applause. Older boys then had their turn and when one or other of them distinguished himself by defeating several competitors in succession the applause became wild and he had to go up and receive a prize, which consisted generally of a lead-pencil, a block of writing-paper, a couple of spools of cotton or some other useful object. Then came wrestlers of still larger size and finally fully grown men. Now the contests became more exciting than ever, the spectators shouting and yelling for all they were worth.

After the wrestling came the swinging. A big swing had been erected. Whoever swung highest won the prize. The heights attained were marked by a string which had to be touched. Swinging would seem to be the favourite exercise for girls in Korea. I have seen very large swings of this kind in many Korean villages and they are used by girls only. All the girls on this

occasion wore handsome national costumes. The women spectators secured places for themselves quite near the swings at the start of the competition but all drew close while it was in progress.

The competition seemed to be restricted to girls of marriageable age. I expected that they would sit on the seat but they all stood on it. The first competitor was a really handsome girl and in due course we were to see what Engan could show in the matter of female charms. Some of the competitors swung up to an astonishing height, winning loud applause as well as the allotted prizes. To prevent their skirts from flying up into their faces they all made a kind of jerk with their knees at the right moment. A great number of the women looking on carried babies on their backs and these babies were duly fed in the course of the festival. Many of the intending competitors were still a-waiting their turn when the rain began to pelt down on us once more, dispersing the whole joyous crowd in their brightly-coloured clothes.

Source: Bergman, S. (1938). *In Korean wilds and villages* (p. 60–62). London: John Gifford.

involvement for children requires time, resources, facilities, and at least some adult and social support. Accordingly, youth living in conditions where any of these things are lacking may have diminished chances of accessing the array of well-organized and high-quality sports programs available to more fortunate children. Research in Canada strongly suggests that household income levels have a dramatic impact on youth involvement in sports. Three-quarters of children from households earning \$80,000 (Canadian) per year are active in sports, but less than 50 percent of children whose parents earn less than \$40,000 were active in sports. Data on changes to families and levels of poverty in the United States show that minority children are more likely to live in these diminished conditions. Before they reach age six, more than a quarter of U.S. children will already have lived with only one parent, including two-thirds of African-American children. More than 12 million children

in the United States were living below the poverty line in 2002, with the number of African-American children living in *extreme* poverty increasing by 1 million in 2003. Seventy-five percent of the children of migrant farm workers in the United States live below the national poverty line. About 5 million children in the United States spend time outside of school with no adult supervision.

SEDENTARY LIVES AND OBESITY

A study of youth sports across twenty different countries in the mid-1990s revealed a worldwide trend toward the formation of two groups of youth: one intensely involved in organized sports, the other quite inactive. In the United States, 20 percent of children ages eight to sixteen engage in two or fewer stints of activity per week, and 25 percent watch four or more hours of television per day. Evidence also suggests that school-based



Youth with a skateboard depicted in an urban grunge area. *Source: istockphoto/lovleah.*

physical education programs are not providing an adequate amount of time for children to be active. One study found third-grade children were involved an average of twenty-five minutes *per week* in moderate to vigorous activity, despite recommendations that children participate in thirty to sixty minutes *per day*.

Not surprisingly, inactivity is related to the increasing numbers of youth who are obese. The World Health Organization (WHO) lists obesity as among the ten most significant health problems in the world, although obesity is a problem characteristic of a few wealthy countries. Indeed, the WHO lists the number one health problem in the world as child and maternal *underweight*. On the other hand, young teens in the United States are heavier than those of fourteen other industrialized countries. For African-American and Latino children, particularly girls, these figures are higher, including

27 percent of African American teen girls. These figures represent a fourfold increase since the early 1970s.

The involvement of parents has been shown to be a key factor in their children's activities. A Canadian study found that interest and participation among youth increases if their parents are physically active and if they volunteer to be part of their children's programs. However, two-thirds of U.S. parents surveyed about the problem of inactivity among their children state that, although they realize participation in activity with their children is important, they have little time to do so. Forty percent of these surveyed parents also said they have little or no access to community playgrounds, parks, or other facilities in which to play with their children, with this barrier being more difficult for African-Americans and Latinos. Illustrative of the worldwide pattern, however, evidence shows that parents of children with the time and wherewithal have increasingly chosen structured, rather than "free time," activities for their children. In general, when left on their own, youth appear to be increasingly more interested in sedentary pursuits than active ones.

GENDER, RACE, AND CLASS CONTINUE TO DIVIDE

The high participation rate for boys in sports reflects a worldwide pattern in which boys remain more active in sports than girls. In the United States, even though participation numbers for youth reflect considerable increases among girls during the past thirty years, some studies show that boys spend twice as much time involved in sports as girls do. The increasing numbers of girls participating also needs to be qualified by race and class differences. Nearly 90 percent of U.S. girl participants are those who live in suburban areas, compared with only 15 percent of urban girls. African-American girls have one-third as many participation opportunities as their white counterparts do.

The differences between boys and girls reflect the sex-segregated and mostly unequal sports programs of the past. Girls also continue to receive mixed messages from the culture at large about their places in the sport



Youths playing a variety of games and sports.

world. Although they are often encouraged and welcomed into sports at early ages, girls continue to see an overwhelming emphasis on male sports in the media and learn that participation in traditionally masculine sports may entail risks to their gender and sexual identities. Predictably, even though both boys and girls have historically shown decreases in participation in sports during early adolescence, these figures are consistently higher for girls than for boys. In general, the most popular sports in the world have been built on male values and interests, and girls have simply been asked to fit into those programs.

An Alternative Future?

Traditional team sports participation appears to be on the decline in the United States, with just over half of all youth participating in these activities. On the other hand, the popularity of extreme or alternative sports has increased dramatically. Indeed, the fastest growing sport in the United States is in-line skating, with 29 million participants, nearly double the number of soccer participants. Other alternative sports, including skateboarding, mountain biking, snowboarding, bungee

jumping, rock or artificial wall climbing, paintball, and whitewater kayaking or canoeing, have all increased in popularity.

The implications of these changes are noteworthy:

1. Far fewer alternative sports are sponsored by public institutions, such as schools, recreation departments, and nonprofit leagues; instead, alternative sports tend to be offered by commercial, for-profit firms or corporations. Consequently, participation in alternative sports depends more heavily than traditional sports on the resources of youth and their families. As with traditional sports, such costs present considerable obstacles for youth from poor families, given the often expensive and specialized equipment, facilities, and instruction some alternative sports require.
2. The commercial status of providers of these activities means that, as youth participate, they are now also cultivated as potential consumers of products, both related and unrelated to participation in sports.
3. Although there are competitions in alternative sports such as skateboarding, bicycle motocross (BMX), and

mountain biking, unlike traditional sports, most participants focus on their own enjoyment rather than on a team or school's tradition or won/lost record.

4. Although specialized training may be involved in learning the skills of these sports, the traditional roles of adult figures, including coaches and parents, is significantly altered or absent altogether in alternative sports. The diminished adult involvement may foster creativity and increased enjoyment, but it may also mean activities that are less safe and mostly guided by values fostered in media.
5. To the degree that alternative sports are built on the values and interests of males, and male participants in them are the primary focus of alternative sport media coverage, they will attract more boys than girls.

Stephan Walk

Further Reading

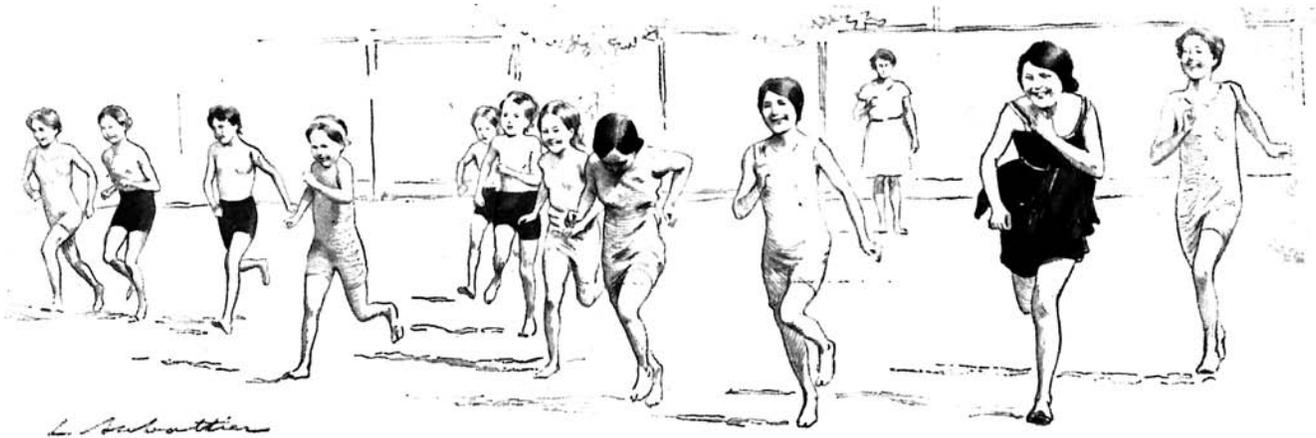
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Youth Sports

Children around the world play a wide range of physical activities and informal games native to their cultures. *Youth sports*, or *formally organized games and physical challenges designed for children and adolescents*, are relatively new activities in human history, because they depend on human and material resources and the existence of particular ideas about childhood and adolescence.

Youth sports require resources in the form of adults who have the time, money, and skills needed to organize and manage programs. They also require a critical mass of children with discretionary time and access to facilities and spaces designed for their organized games or physical challenges. In nations and regions where family income is very low, there are few, if any, youth sports. Adults in these settings lack resources to initiate and manage formally organized games and challenges, children lack free time to play in scheduled activities, and there are no playing fields and facilities to accommodate youth sports. In a material sense, youth sports are a luxury that many people in the world cannot afford.

Youth sports also require particular cultural ideas. People organize youth sports when they define childhood and adolescence as identifiable periods of the life course during which social, psychological, and cognitive development occurs in connection with personal experiences. This definition provides an incentive for organizing games and challenges designed specifically for children. Family and community resources are dedicated



French girls in a playground race in 1913.

to youth sports only when there are widespread beliefs that childhood and adolescence are times during which fun and developmental experiences are important.

The Emergence of Youth Sports

Playing youth sports is a taken-for-granted experience among many young people in wealthy, postindustrial societies. This is especially true when families have enough money to pay for equipment, program fees, and transportation to practices, games, and events. However, youth sports are a creation of the twentieth century, and they have become widely popular only since the 1950s.

It was not until the early 1900s that many people in England and North America began to realize that the behavior and character of children were strongly influenced by their social environment and everyday experiences. This belief that the environment influenced a person's overall development was encouraging to people interested in progress and reform. It caused them to think about how they might control the experiences of children so that they would grow up to be responsible and productive adults in societies where citizenship and work were highly valued. They knew that democracy depended on responsibility, and a growing capitalist economy depended on productivity.

Progressive reformers in the United States during the early twentieth century were influenced by educators in England who saw sports as ideal activities for molding the characters of young boys. In fact the very first youth sports were developed in exclusive private schools in

England. Playing sports, thought the headmasters at these schools, would help the sons of wealthy and powerful people in British society become future leaders in business, government, and the military.

Reform-oriented adults in the United States took the notion that sports built character and used it as a basis for organizing youth sports, especially team sports for boys, in schools, on playgrounds, and in church groups. The hope was that team sports would teach boys from working-class and immigrant families values about work, cooperation, productivity, and obedience to authority in the pursuit of competitive success. It was also hoped that sports would help boys from middle- and upper-class families become strong, assertive, competitive men who would eventually become the captains of industry, government, and the military. Teaching privileged boys to be tough, competitive men was important to many reformers because they worried that these boys were learning too many feminine values because they were raised exclusively by their mothers. Fathers worked long hours and were seldom at home, so there was a fear that boys had few chances to learn about manhood. Sports were seen as activities that would turn boys into men.

At the same time that youth sports were organized for boys, other activities were organized to help girls learn about motherhood and homemaking. Most people during the early twentieth century, even progressive reformers, believed that it was more important for girls to learn domestic skills than sport skills. School curriculum and playground activities were organized to

In the late twentieth century basketball became one of the most popular sports around the world. Here, young men in Shanghai, China, in 2003 play in a basketball tournament.

reflect this belief. According to ideas held by most people through the 1950s, girls were naturally suited to be wives and mothers, not athletes or leaders in society. Many physicians promoted the idea that playing vigorous physical activities were dangerous to the overall health and well-being of girls and women. Therefore, girls only needed to know about sports so they could raise their sons properly.

Until the 1970s there were few youth sports for girls apart from those that occurred in connection with the lifestyles of relatively wealthy families. When girls did participate, their sports were designed to enhance physical poise, coordination, and general health. Gender-mixed participation in youth sports was rare; if girls played sports and games with boys, it was done informally by girls who were identified as “tomboys.”

Although there were exceptions to these patterns, organized youth sports through most of the twentieth century were developed around prevailing cultural ideas about how boys and girls should grow up and what they were supposed to learn in the process of becoming productive adults.

Organized Youth Sports Since the 1950s

As the first wave of the Baby Boom generation (that is, children born between 1946 and 1964) moved through childhood during the 1950s and 1960s, youth sports became increasingly popular in Europe and North America. Growth was especially dramatic in the United States, where youth sports were funded by a combination of



public, private, and commercial sponsors. Local park and recreation departments sponsored programs. The YMCA, YWCA, Boys and Girls Clubs, and many religious organizations and churches added programs of their own. Entrepreneurs developed commercial clubs for children whose parents could afford to pay for private lessons and exclusive sport participation opportunities.

Parents also entered the scene as active promoters of youth sports. They were eager to have the characters of their sons built through organized, competitive sports. Fathers became coaches, managers, and league administrators. Mothers did laundry and became chauffeurs and short-order cooks so their sons were always ready and properly suited up for practices and games.

Most organized youth sports through the mid-1970s were for boys eight to fourteen years old. The programs usually emphasized a combination of fun and competition as preparation for future occupational success. Girls' interests in sports were largely ignored, and few girls had opportunities to play on organized youth teams or varsity sports in schools.

It was not until the mid-1970s that the women's movement, the health and fitness movement, and government legislation (Title IX in the United States) prohibiting sex discrimination in public school programs all came together to stimulate the development of sport



Youth Sports

Ritual Fighting among Dogon Boys in West Africa

During the four months following the harvests, the boys of the two Ogols [villages] meet on prepared ground, as soon as the night falls and when the moon lights the countryside sufficiently. They place themselves in a circle *unu gonawe*; literally children in a circle; those of Ogolda occupy the half circle on the side of their village; those of Ogoldognou face them. A boy steps out from one of the sides, places himself in the middle of the circle and makes a defiant gesture towards the adversary side: he raises to his side his bent right leg, extends his right arm while holding his forearm vertically. A boy of the other side comes and places himself before him and the two seize each other by the waist, passing their right arm under the left arm of the other. The hands are crossed behind the back, without gripping each other. They try to unbalance each other by side to side twisting of the trunk, or by taking hold of the adversary's thigh. Each one tries equally to turn the other upside down while pressing the upper part of their body against the chest of the adversary and by seizing him by the loins. In order to avoid being taken by these different methods, the two fighters, at the beginning, stoop toward one another, with their feet very far apart.

He who falls under the other is beaten and hooted at by the opposing side. The vanquished is seized by one of his comrades and carried to the place where he was before the challenge took place. Two other boys take their turn in the contest.

When a child refuses to come and prepare the space on which one fights, his comrades insult him and forbid him to enter the circle on the first day of the competitions, but on that day only: *u y minne buburu üw bunno beg wr ngalu*. One said to you yesterday: "come and beat the earth into dust!" You responded: "I will not come."

When a boy refuses to take part in the fights, he is mocked and accused of cowardice or weakness: *u y a[caron] jjori üw amuga omuode wrngalu*.

One said to you yesterday: "Come to the fight." You, weak child, you have answered: "I am not coming!"

One can, without ridicule, refuse to fight with a comrade wearing a bracelet of iron *señe*. In effect, while holding upon the loins with the iron, one causes such a pain to the adversary that he immediately falls on his back.

These fights are organized generally between quarters or between villages. For the region of Sanga, Ogolda fights against Ogoldognou, Sangui against Enguel, Bongo against Gogoli: the two Diaméni like the Dini, both fight against Tabda; Doziou and Tabda unite against Guinna, etc. If a quarter finds itself alone, it divides into two sides.

Formerly, before the arrival of the French, all of the boys of the region of Upper Sanga would gather together in order to witness the fights between the two Ogols. Nowadays the nocturnal games are forbidden on the grounds that they are too noisy.

Source: Griaule, M. (1938). *Dogon games* (p. 119–121). Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie.

programs for girls. These programs grew rapidly during the 1970s and early 1980s, and now most girls in North America have opportunities to participate in youth sports. However, participation rates among girls remain lower than rates among boys because playing sports continues to be connected more strongly with masculinity than femininity. Furthermore, some girls continue to be discouraged by beliefs that "girls are not

as good as boys" in sports and that being successful as an athlete in certain sports will cause others to question their femininity.

Even though traditional ideas about masculinity and femininity still influence participation in youth sports, playing sports is now an accepted part of the process of growing up in most postindustrial nations. Parents encourage sons and daughters to play youth sports. Some

parents wonder if their children should play in programs where winning is emphasized more than overall child development, but many parents seek out the win-oriented programs, hoping their children will become the winners.

Current Trends in Youth Sports

In addition to increased popularity, recent trends in youth sports include the following:

1. Youth sports have become increasingly privatized in that they are more often sponsored by private and commercial organizations and less often sponsored by public, tax-supported organizations.
2. Youth sports increasingly emphasize a “performance ethic” in that participants, even in recreational programs, are encouraged to evaluate their experiences in terms of developing technical skills and progressing to higher levels of achievement.
3. There is an increase in elite sport training facilities dedicated to producing highly skilled, specialized athletes who progress through increasingly difficult levels of competition.
4. Parents have become more involved in and concerned about the participation and success of their children in youth sports because they see sports as socially and developmentally important activities for young people.
5. Participation in alternative or “action” sports has increased because some young people prefer unstructured, participant-controlled physical challenges such as those encountered in BMX biking, skateboarding, in-line skating, and snowboarding, among others.

These five trends have an impact on who participates in organized youth sports, the conditions of their participation, the types of experiences they have, and the meanings that they give to those experiences.

The Effects of Participation in Youth Sport

Youth sports provide a dynamic context in which young people can experience many positive outcomes. These outcomes include becoming more physically fit, learn-

For truly it is to be noted, that children’s plays are not sports, and should be deemed as their most serious actions. ■ MICHEL EYQUEM DE MONTAIGNE

ing about one’s body, and developing physical competence, self-esteem, social skills, and the ability to make moral decisions (Ewing et al. 2002). However, studies of the effects of participating in youth sports have produced mixed findings because the experiences of young people vary across programs, teams, and situations. Furthermore, the meanings given to sport experiences and the ways that they are integrated into the lives of young people vary from one participant to the next.

A review of the research indicates that positive developmental outcomes are most likely when youth sports provide young people with opportunities to expand their identities, experiences, and relationships under the guidance of adults concerned with and knowledgeable about developmental issues. Negative outcomes are most likely when participation constrains identity development, limits the diversity of a young person’s experiences and relationships, and occurs under the guidance of adults who focus on competitive success without explicit strategies for fostering general development (Coakley 2004).

Research also indicates that young people are most likely to have fun in youth sports when programs are organized to maximize action, personal involvement in the action, and the formation and reaffirmation of friendships among participants (Coakley 2004). However, definitions of fun change as children develop, as their goals related to sports change, and as they see their connections with the rest of the world in new ways. Although most young people define fun in terms of opportunities to develop and display physical competence across a range of activities and challenges, competitive success becomes a requirement for fun among many young people who participate in programs that have a strong emphasis on winning and moving up to higher levels of competition. A sense of fun is generally related to perceived competence, but ideas about competence vary with young people’s ideas about what is important in their lives. When success in a single sport becomes a primary focus, satisfaction and self-esteem among young people are likely to swing back and forth from one extreme to another depending on recent and anticipated competitive outcomes.

Problems in Youth Sports

Youth sports are not without problems. Some programs have become so costly that many young people are excluded. At the same time, many communities have cut publicly funded programs due to budget crises. Instead of sponsoring programs as they have done in the past, many publicly funded park and recreation programs now issue permits to club-based youth sport organizations that use fields and facilities. The cost of club-based programs often discourages participation by children from low-income families, which intensifies existing forms of socioeconomic segregation in many communities. Furthermore, the widespread notion that sports exemplify ideals of bodily perfection has limited the provision of youth sports for young people with disabilities.

Some youth sports programs are now organized so that young people are expected or required to participate year-round. In the case of children younger than fourteen years old, this specialization often restricts overall physical and social development, undermines motivation, and creates burnout. Burnout occurs primarily during early adolescence when young people feel that they have lost personal control over the conditions of their sport participation. This causes stress, and when stress becomes excessive, burnout becomes common.

The seriousness and demands of youth sports have also created problems for parents and problem parents. Many parents today feel it is their moral obligation to find the best programs for their children and ensure that their children experience success in those programs. These parents often believe that if they do things correctly their children will reap rewards such as college scholarships and even professional contracts and prize money in their sports. Under these conditions their children's accomplishments become evidence for their own moral worth as parents. These expectations put significant pressure on children to perform well and to continue playing a sport even when they would like to expand their interests and participate in other activities. It also creates pressure for coaches who may not always do what parents expect of them or think is appropriate.

As the stakes associated with youth sports have increased, so have the numbers of problem parents. At the same time, media accounts have publicized the actions of obnoxious and sometimes violent parents to the point that such characters have become the stuff of urban legends. Problem parents not only create challenges for coaches and program administrators, they also create challenges for young athletes who seek control of their sport experiences.

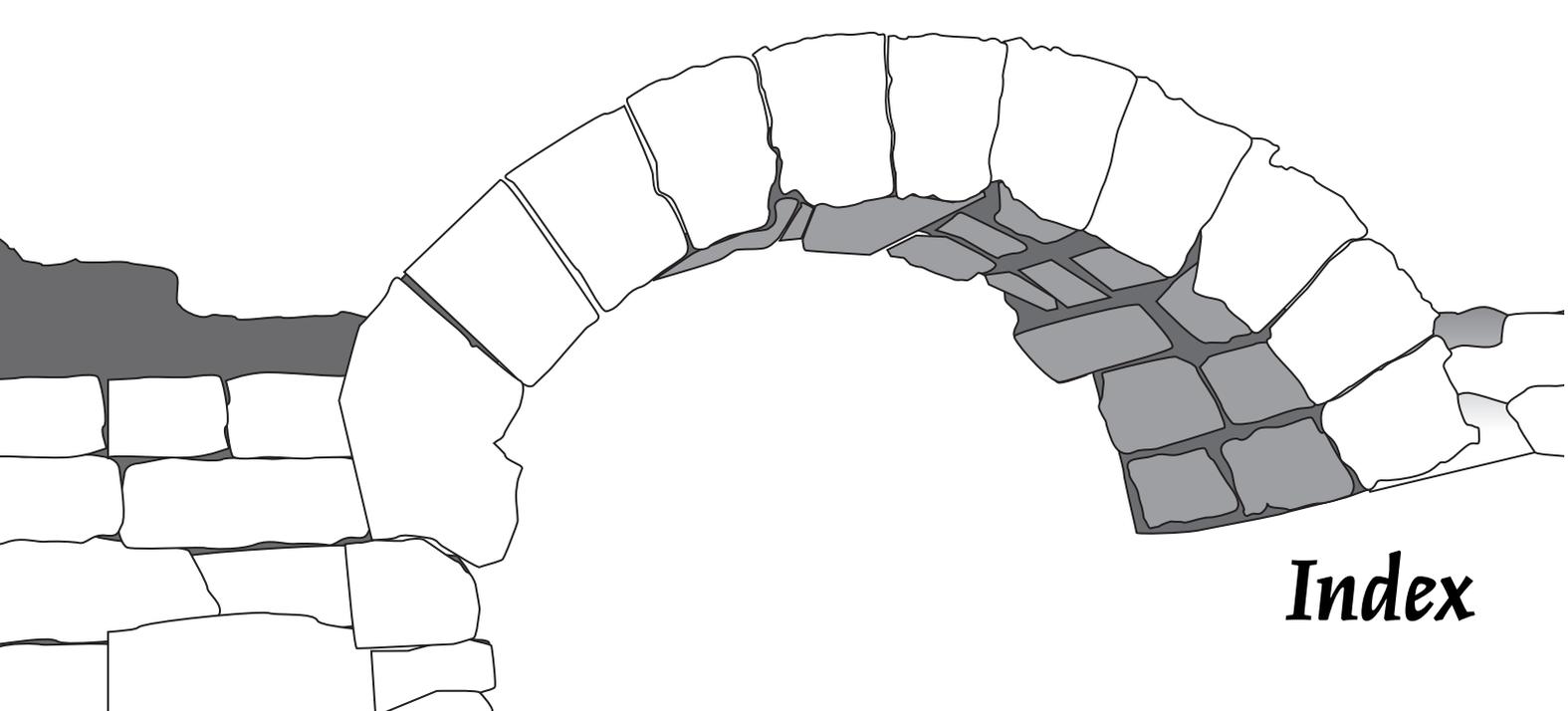
These and other problems have created challenges related to youth sports. Although the goal of many people is to ensure that all children have opportunities to play sports and develop and display physical skills in contexts that are safe and fun, there are others who have a goal of producing elite sport performers. Achieving both of these goals simultaneously is difficult when resources are limited. In the meantime increasing rates of childhood obesity in many postindustrial societies have raised questions about how to organize youth sports in ways that maximize health through the life course.

Jay Coakley

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Index

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

A

- AAASP (Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology), **3:999, 3:1225**
- Aaron, Hank, **1:149**
- Aarons, Ruth, **4:1590**
- AAU. *See* Amateur Athletic Union (AAU)
- ABA (American Basketball Association), **3:1245, 4:1650**
- ABC. *See* Walt Disney/ABC/Capital Cities
- Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem, **1:173, 1:175, 3:1255, 4:1738**
- Abera, Gezsaahagne, **3:967**
- Aboriginal Sport Circle, **3:1063–1064**
- Abraham, Fritz, **3:944–945**
- Abramovich, Roman, **3:1134**
- Abstracts, periodical, **3:952**
- Academic sport and physical education periodicals, **3:949–951, 3:959, 3:1175–1176, 3:1223**
- Academies and camps, sport, 1:3–4, 1:306, 1:308, 2:817–820. *See also* Youth sports**
- Acordeon, Mestre, **1:44**
- Acro skiing, **4:1410**
- Actualization. *See* Self-determination, athlete's
- Adapted physical education, 1:5–9. *See also* Disability sport**
- Addie, Pauline May Betz, **4:1606**
- Adidas, **3:974, 3:975, 4:1491**
- Adkison, Andrew, **4:1685**
- Adler, Friedrich, **3:1104**
- Adolescents. *See* **Youth sports**
- ADR (Alternative dispute resolution), **3:919**
- “Adrenalin sports,” **2:539**
- Adu, Freddie, **2:510**
- Adults, older. *See* **Senior sport**
- Adventure education, 1:9–11**
- Adventure racing, **2:541**
- Advertising. *See* **Marketing**
- Aeneid*, **3:935**
- Aerial skiing, **4:1410**
- Aerobics, 1:12–15, 2:607–608, 4:1511. *See also* Endurance; Fitness**
- Aesthetics, 1:15–20. *See also* Art; Beauty**
- Affective aspects, spectator sports consumptions, **4:1471–1473**
- African Games, 1:20–25, 3:1337**
- African-American scholar-athletes, **2:812, 3:1323–1328**
- Agents, 1:25–29, 3:922. *See also* Free agency**
- Aggassi, Andre, **4:1606, 4:1608, 4:1609**
- Agostini, Giacomo, **2:854**
- Ahlqvist, Carl, **2:609**
- AIDS and HIV, 1:30–35, 4:1667. *See also* Homophobia**
- Aikido, 1:35–38**
- Aikman, Troy, **4:1670**
- Ailey, Alvin, **1:440**
- Aján, Tamán, **4:1688**
- AJS motorcycles, **3:1021**
- Alaska, **2:788, 2:790**
- Alaska International Senior Games, **3:1342**
- Albertville Olympics (1992), **3:1122, 3:1349**

A

- Albright, Frankee, **2**:598
- Alcindor, Lew. *See* Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem
- Alcott, Louisa May, **4**:1489
- Alexander, Grover Cleveland, **1**:149
- Alexander, Pete, **1**:149
- Alexeev, Vasily, **4**:1687, **4**:1689
- Algeria, **3**:1237, **4**:1446–1447
- Ali, Muhammad, **1**:243, **3**:1236, **3**:1255
 in art, **1**:96
 as athlete celebrity, **1**:109
 health issues, **1**:246
 Norton match, **4**:1733
 title loss, **1**:247
- All Blacks, **3**:1072–1073, **3**:1077, **3**:1270, **4**:1487, **4**:1491
- All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club**, **1**:38–40. *See also* **Wimbledon**
- All Indian Rodeo Cowboys Association, **3**:1062
- All Whites, **3**:1077
- Allen, Marcus, **3**:1192
- Allen, Mark, **1**:192
- Allen, Mel, **3**:1245
- Allin, Ching, **3**:1198
- Allison, Jim, **2**:793
- Allison, Stacy, **3**:1030
- Alpine Club, **3**:1040, **3**:1046
- Alpine skiing. *See* **Skiing, Alpine**
- Alpine style mountaineering, **3**:1045–1046
- Alps, **3**:1039–1041, **4**:1582
- Alternative dispute resolution (ADR), **3**:919, **3**:923
- Alternative sports**, **1**:40–44, **4**:1739, **4**:1743–1744, **4**:1748. *See also* specific sports
- Alvarez, Lili, **4**:1465
- Alzado, Lyle, **4**:1552
- Amateur Athletic Union (AAU)
 Boston Marathon, **3**:968
 Mr. America contest, **3**:1211
 powerlifting supported by, **3**:1211–1212
 taekwando accepted into, **4**:1592
 track and field, **2**:873–874, **4**:1624, **4**:1630, **4**:1632
 women's basketball championship, first, **1**:174
 wrestling, **4**:1719
- Amateur Rowing Association, **4**:1655
- Amateur Softball Association (ASA), **4**:1449–1451, **4**:1454
- Amateur sport clubs, **1**:315–318
- Amateur vs. professional debate**, **1**:44–49, **3**:1218–1221
 college athletics, **1**:45–49, **1**:339, **1**:348, **2**:477–479
 Olympics, **3**:1107, **3**:1113, **3**:1120, **3**:1219–1221, **4**:1604, **4**:1705
 tennis, **4**:1604, **4**:1606–1607, **4**:1693
 track and field, **4**:1623
 United Kingdom, amateurism in, **3**:1220, **4**:1654–1655, **4**:1658
- Ameche, Alan, **4**:1734
- Amenorrhea, **1**:33, **1**:197
- American Alpine Club, **3**:1046
- American Basketball Association (ABA), **3**:1245, **4**:1650
- American Football League (AFL), **3**:921
- American League (AL), **1**:145, **1**:150
- American Power Boat Association (APBA), **3**:1018, **3**:1019
- American sports exceptionalism**, **1**:49–52
- American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO)**, **1**:52–53
- Americans with Disabilities Act (1990), **1**:7, **1**:34, **2**:465
- America's Cup**, **1**:54–56, **3**:1077, **3**:1315, **3**:1321
- Amherst College, **3**:1324
- Amish, inline skates used by, **4**:1392
- Ammann, Simon, **3**:1123
- Amphetamines, **3**:1165, **4**:1531
- Amundsen, Roald, **4**:1415
- Anabolic steroids. *See* **Steroids**
- Anaheim Mighty Ducks, **3**:995, **3**:1134
- Anders, Beth, **2**:738
- Anderson, Benedict, **4**:1446
- Anderson, Paul, **3**:1211, **4**:1687
- Ando, Miki, **4**:1387
- Andretti, Mario, **2**:795
- Andretti, Michael, **2**:795
- Androstenedione, **3**:1166
- Anemia**, **1**:57–59
- Angel, Jose, **2**:544
- Angelopoulos-Daskalki, Gianna, **3**:1108
- Angerer, Willy, **2**:500
- Angling. *See* **Fishing**
- Anheuser Busch (company), **2**:523

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Animal rights, 1:60–68.** *See also* **Bullfighting; Foxhunting; Horse racing**
 feminism and, 1:64–65
 historical aspects, 1:62
 movement, 1:63–67
 origins, 1:60–61
 philosophies, 1:61, 1:63
 rodeo, 3:1277
- Anorexia nervosa, 2:458. *See also* **Disordered eating**
- Anson, Adrian “Cap,” 1:147, 1:148
- Antarctic exploration, 4:1415
- Anthropology Days, 1:68–70, 1:81**
- Anti-competition movement, 1:377–378
- Anti-jock movement, 1:70–72**
- Antwerp Olympics (1920), 1:187, 1:189, 3:1118
- Anxiety, role in sports performance of, 3:1001–1002
- Any Given Sunday*, 3:1050
- AOL Time-Warner, 3:992, 3:994
- Apartheid. *See* **South Africa**
- APBA (American Power Boat Association), 3:1018–1019
- Apnea free diving, 4:1646
- Apparatus, gymnastics. *See* **Gymnastics, apparatus**
- Apparel. *See* Athletic equipment and apparel;
Sporting goods industry
- Applebee, Constance M. K., 2:735, 3:914–915
- Aqua-Lung, 4:1645, 4:1646
- Aquatic exercise, 2:602
- Arab Games, 1:72–74**
- Arad, Yael, 2:847, 2:849
- Arai, Junko, 2:889–890
- Arcari, Bruno, 2:854
- Archery, 1:74–84, 3:935.** *See also* **Kyudo**
 in art, 1:77, 1:93–1:95
 China, 1:309
 English longbow and, 1:77–78
 in Europe, 1:78–79
 forms of, 1:82–83
 historical aspects, 1:74–76
 international aspects, 1:76–77
 Toxophilites and, 1:79–80
- Argentina, 1:84–89, 3:1143, 3:1146, 4:1429, 4:1709**
- Arizona Diamondbacks, 4:1711
- Arizona State University scholar-athlete case study, 3:1326–1327
- Arlberg-Kandahar ski race, 4:1400
- Arledge, Roone, 2:629, 3:1191
- Arlin, Harold, 3:1243
- Arlington, Lizzie, 1:153
- Arm wrestling, 1:90–92**
- Armstrong, Debbie, 4:1403
- Armstrong, Lance, 1:426, 2:603, 4:1616
 as athlete hero, 1:115
 endorsements and, 1:354, 2:507, 2:508
- Arousal, role in sports performance of, 3:1001–1002
- Arrayoz, Bautista de, 3:1157
- “Arrows.” *See* **Darts**
- Art, 1:92–97.** *See also* **Beauty**
 abstract, 1:95–96
 aesthetics and, 1:15–20
 ancient sports images, 1:92–93
 human body and, 1:96
 mechanized motion and, 1:96–97
 modern sports images, 1:93–95
 realism, 1:95–96
- As You Like It*, 3:936
- ASA (Amateur Softball Association), 4:1449–1452, 4:1454
- Ascot, 1:97–99**
- Ashe, Arthur, 1:31, 1:32, 4:1605, 4:1608
- Ashe, Thomas, 1:278
- Ashes, the, 1:99–101**
- Ashford, Evelyn, 3:1144
- Ashtanga yoga, 4:1735
- Asian Conference on Women and Sports, 2:867
- Asian Games, 1:101–106, 4:1376.** *See also* **South East Asian Games**
 China, 1:104–105, 1:312
 future aspects, 1:106
 history, 1:101–102, 3:1299, 3:1303–1304
 India, 1:102, 1:104
 Indonesia, 1:102–103
 Iran, 1:103–104
 Japan, 1:102, 1:105
 locations, 1:104
 Philippines, 1:102
 sepak takraw, 3:1347
 South Korea, 1:104, 1:106
 Thailand, 1:103–106
- Asian South Pacific Association of Sport Psychology (ASPASP), 3:1225
- Askin, Bob, 3:1274
- ASPASP (Asian South Pacific Association of Sport Psychology), 3:1225

- Association football. *See Soccer*
- Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology (AAASP), **3:999, 3:1225**
- Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP), **4:1604, 4:1606, 4:1607**
- Asthma, **2:536**
- Astrodome, 1:106–108**
- Astroturf, **2:520**
- Atarashii Naginata, **2:869, 2:871–872, 3:1054–1056**
- Athens Olympics
1896 (*See Olympics, Summer*)
2004 (*See Olympics, 2004*)
- Athlete rights, **3:920**
- Athletes as celebrities, 1:108–113, 1:371, 2:506–511**
- Athletes as heroes, 1:114–116**
- Athletic equipment and apparel, **3:955**. *See also Sponsorship; Sporting goods industry*
- billiards, **1:193–194**
- biomechanics and, **1:199**
- fashion and, **2:568–572, 4:1567**
- mountain bikes, **3:1031–1032**
- powerlifting equipment, **3:1211, 3:1213, 3:1214**
- running, **3:970**
- surfboards, **4:1567**
- table tennis equipment, **4:1588**
- tennis, **4:1598–1601, 4:1604**
- wakeboard, **4:1684**
- Athletic talent migration, 1:116–120, 4:1491**.
See also Globalization
- Athletic training, 1:120–123**. *See also Fitness; Strength training*
- biotechnology and, **1:201–202**
- burnout and, **1:268–270**
- Atienza, Maribel, **1:266**
- Atlanta Braves, **3:995, 4:1474, 4:1667**
- Atlanta Hawks, **3:995**
- Atlanta Olympics (1996), **4:1532–1533**
- Atlanta Thrashers, **3:995**
- Atlas, Charles, **1:220, 2:606, 3:988**
- ATP. *See Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP)*
- AT&T Pebble Beach National Pro-Am, **3:1154**
- AT&T radio stations, **3:1244**
- ATV racing, **2:541**
- Auction houses, memorabilia sold by, **3:997**
- Auerbach, Red, **1:173**
- Auffermann, Uli, **2:501**
- Augusta National Golf Club, **3:988–990**
- Austin, Tex, **3:1274, 3:1277**
- Australia, 1:123–128, 1:231, 1:357, 4:1446**.
See also Commonwealth Games
- beach volleyball, **4:1683**
- Bondi Beach, **1:228–231**
- lifeguarding, **3:934, 4:1564–1565**
- newspaper sports pages, **3:1079, 3:1080**
- parachuting in, **3:1150**
- radio broadcasts, **3:1189–1190, 3:1192**
- rodeos, **3:1273, 3:1278**
- rugby, **1:125, 3:1299–1301**
- surfing, **4:1568–1569**
- Sydney and Melbourne Olympics, **1:125, 3:1115, 4:1483, 4:1501**
- televised sports in, **3:993, 3:995**
- tennis, **4:1693**
- Australian Open Tennis Championship, **4:1605–1607**
- Australian Rugby League (ARL), **3:995**
- Australian rules football, 1:128–130, 1:317**
- Austria, 1:131–133, 3:1120–1121, 4:1706**
- Auto racing, 1:133–137, 3:1338**. *See also Indianapolis 500; Karting*
- broadcasting of, **3:1191**
- Le Mans, **1:133, 3:924–925**
- New Zealand, **3:1073–1074**
- Nextel (Winston Cup), **1:136, 3:1083–1085**
- sponsorship of, **3:978**
- Autry, Gene, **3:1275**
- Avellán, Isabel, **1:88**
- AYSO (American Youth Soccer Organization), 1:52–53**
- Aztecs, **3:1003–1005**
- B**
- Backstroke, swimming, **4:1575**
- Bad News Bears, The*, **3:1049**
- Baden-Powell, Worrington, **1:289**
- Badminton, 1:138–142, 2:863, 4:1376**
- Bahktin, Mikhail, **3:1056**
- Baillet-Latour, Henri de, **1:187–189, 3:1117, 4:1704–1705**
- Bait fishing, **2:595**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Baker, Cindy, **1:91**
 Baker, Josephine, **1:439**
 Baker, Moe, **1:90**
 Bakoyannis, Dora, **3:1108**
 Balance beam, **2:717**
 Balas, Iolanda, **3:1279**
 Balck, Victor, **3:1117**
 BALCO (Bay Area Laboratories Co-operative),
3:1167, 4:1665
 Baldini, Stefano, **3:1110**
 Baldwin, Tom, **3:1148**
 Baliko, Chris, **1:91**
 Ballesteros, Seve, **1:258, 3:989**
 Ballet, **1:436–438**
Ballooning, 1:142–144
 Ballparks. *See* **Baseball stadium life**; Stadiums
 Ballroom dancing, **2:443**
 Balmat, Jacques, **3:1040**
 Baltimore Colts, **4:1479, 4:1564, 4:1734**
 Baltimore Orioles, **3:1168**
 Bankier, William “Apollo,” **2:880, 2:884**
 Barbells, **3:1210, 3:1211, 3:1213, 4:1686,**
4:1690
 Barcelona Olympics (1992), **3:1115**
 Barclay, Robert, **3:1232–1234**
 Barna, Victor, **4:1588–1589**
 Barrilleaux, Doris, **1:222**
 Barrow, Edward, **4:1733**
 Barry, Brent, **3:1237**
 Bartali, Gino, **1:426, 2:853, 4:1552**
 Bartholomew, Joseph M., **2:694**
 Baryshnikov, Alexander, **4:1621**
 Baryshnikov, Mikhail, **1:440**
 Basden, George, **3:1086**
 BASE jumping, **2:541**
Baseball, 1:144–157, 3:936, 3:938, 3:1188.
See also **Baseball stadium life**; **Fenway Park**;
 Major League Baseball (MLB); **World Series**;
Wrigley Field
 in art, **1:95**
 Astrodome, **1:106–108**
 athletic talent migration in, **1:117–118**
 Canada, **1:283**
 in Central America, **1:155**
 church leagues, **3:1254**
 competition at the top, **1:155–156**
 development of, **1:147–151**
 equipment, **1:153**
 facilities, **1:153**
 franchise relocation, **2:649–653**
 global aspects, **1:154–155**
 governing body, **1:156**
 history, **1:144–147**
 Japan, **1:154, 1:156, 2:860–861, 2:867**
 leagues, **1:145–146, 1:150**
 memorabilia, **3:997**
 Mexico, **3:1006, 3:1009**
 movies, **3:1047–1051**
 nature of the sport, **1:151–153**
 organization of, **1:145–146**
 periodicals, **3:952–953**
 racial issues, **1:115, 1:146–147, 1:153**
 scandals in, **1:150–151**
 technology, equipment changes due to, **4:1597,**
4:1600
 women and, **1:153–154**
 Yankee Stadium, **1:159, 4:1732–1734**
Baseball Index, 3:952
Baseball nicknames, 1:157–158
Baseball stadium life, 1:159–165
 ballpark spectators, **1:159–160**
 ballparks, **1:153, 1:159**
 field, **1:160–161**
 front office, **1:164–165**
 pressbox, **1:163–164**
 stands, **1:161–163**
Baseball wives, 1:165–168
 Basedow, Johann, **3:1178**
Basketball, 1:168–176, 3:938
 athletic talent migration in, **1:119**
 competition at the top, **1:174–175**
 current game, **1:173–174**
 governing bodies, **1:176**
 history, **1:168–170, 1:172, 3:1254**
 Japan, **2:863**
 leagues, professional, **1:170–171**
 memorabilia, **3:997**
 movies, **3:1047, 3:1050**
 nature of the sport, **1:174–175**
 in Olympics, **1:175–176, 3:1109, 3:1113**
 professional, **3:923**
 racial issues, **1:171–172**
 rules, new, **1:172–173**
 social class and, **4:1438**
 television and, **1:174–175, 3:992, 4:1500**
 women in, **1:174, 2:812, 4:1358**

Basques

pelota played by, **3:1155–1157**

strength competitions, **4:1551**

Bates, Robert H., **3:1045–1046**

Baton twirling, 1:176–179

Baudrillard, Jean, **3:1208–1209**

Bay Area Laboratories Co-operative (BALCO),
3:1167, 4:1665

Baylor University, **4:1672**

Beamon, Bob, **4:1618, 4:1623**

Beauclerk, Frederick, **3:940**

Beauty, 1:15–20, 1:179–184, 4:1360–1361.

See also Art

Bechler, Steve, **3:1168**

Becker, Boris, **1:39, 4:1605, 4:1693**

Beckham, David, **4:1501**

as athlete celebrity, **1:110, 1:112–113, 1:184,**
4:1659

brand management and, **1:250**

endorsements and, **2:507, 4:1659**

Bee, Clair, **1:175**

Beers, William George, **3:913–914**

Beeston, Paul, **4:1649**

Behavioral intention, athlete's, **3:1012–1013**

Belbin, Tracey, **2:736**

Belgium, 1:184–189, 3:1118, 3:1271,
4:1516

Bell, James "Cool Papa," **1:147**

Bell, Judy, **2:695**

Bellutti, Antonella, **2:854**

Belman, Dottie and Donald, **4:1671**

Belmondo, Stefania, **2:854**

Bench, Johnny, **1:150**

Bends, the, **4:1645–1646**

Benjedid, Chadli, **3:1237**

Bennett, James Gordon, **3:1197**

Bennett, James Gordon, Jr., **4:1535–1536**

Benvenuti, Nino, **2:854**

Beracasa, José, **3:1143**

Berenson, Senda, **3:908, 4:1358**

Berezhnaya, Elena, **3:1123, 4:1385**

Bergmann, Juliette, **1:225**

Bergmann, Richard, **4:1590**

Bergman-Österberg, Martina, **3:1178**

Berlin Olympic Stadium, **3:1105–1107**

Berlin Olympics (1936), **1:109, 2:678, 2:821, 2:823,**
2:852–853, 3:991, 3:1105–1107, 3:1116,
4:1504, 4:1703

Berman, Chris, **2:525**

Berry, Joyce Cran, **3:914–915**

Bert, Paul, **4:1645–1646**

Berterelli, Ernesto, **1:54**

Bertrand, John, **1:54**

Berwanger, Jay, **2:626**

Betjeman, John, **3:939**

Beyer, Henry, **3:1180**

Beyond the Boundaries, 3:1235

Beyus, Bob, **2:522**

Bezdek, Hugo, **2:626**

Bhakti yoga, **4:1734**

Biathlon and triathlon, 1:189–193, 2:480,
3:1120, 3:1123, 3:1159, 4:1405

Bibbia, Nino, **4:1418**

Bicarbonate, **3:1093–1094**

Bicycle polo, **3:1198–1199**

Bicycling. *See Cycling; Mountain biking*

Bier, August, **3:1181**

Bierhoff, Oliver, **2:529**

Bierma, Nathan, **3:1206**

Big-game fishing, **2:597**

Bikila, Abebe, **1:234, 3:967**

Bikram yoga, **4:1735**

Billiards, 1:193–195, 4:1656

Bilson, Frank L., **1:82**

Bing Crosby National Pro-Am, **3:1154**

Binging behavior. *See Disordered eating*

Biomechanics, 1:195–199, 2:900–902. See also

Physical education; Sport science

Biotechnology, 1:199–204, 4:1601–1602. See also
Technology

Bird, Larry

as athlete celebrity, **1:111**

as college athlete, **2:810**

ranking, **1:50, 1:173, 1:175**

salary issue, **2:493, 3:1322, 4:1650**

Birkenhead Bowls Club, **1:318**

Bisexuality, defined, **2:753**

Bislett Stadium, 1:204–205

Bjoerndalen, Ole Einar, **3:1123**

Björkstén, Elli, **2:588**

Blackman, Marty, **1:26**

Blackmur, R. P., **3:1056–1057**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Blair, Bonnie, **3:1123, 4:1390**
 Blake, Sir Peter, **1:54**
 Blanchard, J. P., **3:1148**
 Blanchard's balloons, **1:143**
 Blanco, Ramon, **3:1030**
 Blankers-Koen, Francina "Fanny," **1:17, 2:730**
 Blatter, Silvio, **3:938**
 Bleibtrey, Esthelda, **4:1578**
 Blériot, Louis, **2:611**
 Blind athletes. *See* **Disability sport**
 Bliss, Dave, **4:1672**
 Blood doping. *See* **Performance enhancement**
Blue Chips, **3:1050**
 Boas, Franz, **3:1179**
Boat race (Cambridge vs. Oxford), 1:206–208, 2:727
Boating, ice, 1:208–210, 3:1311–1314
Bobsledding, 1:210–214, 2:856, 3:941, 3:1050, 3:1118
 Bocce and petanque, **1:235–237**
Body image, 1:16–17, 1:214–218, 2:457. See also Feminist perspective
 Body mass index (BMI), **2:458**
Bodybuilding, 1:218–228. See also Venice Beach
 fitness and, **2:601–602, 2:605–607**
 history, **1:218–222**
 men's, **1:219–220**
 muscularity/femininity debate, **1:223–225**
 organizations, **1:222–223**
 powerlifting and, **3:1211**
 rules and play, **1:226–227**
 women's, **1:220–225**
 Boer War, sport during, **4:1657**
 Bogner, Willy, **4:1409**
 Boklov, Jan, **4:1397**
 Bolivarian Games, **3:1145**
Bondi Beach, 1:228–231
 Bonds, Barry, **2:828, 3:1167, 4:1552**
Book of Kings, **3:935**
Boomerang throwing, 1:231–233
 Boosting, **2:464–465**
 Borelli, Lou, **2:890–891**
 Borg, Björn, **1:39, 4:1605, 4:1693**
 Borota, Jean, **1:39**
 Borra, Luigi, **2:852**
 Boshen, W.C., **2:597**
 Bosman, Jean-Marc, **2:493**
 Bossi, Carmelo, **2:854**
 Boston Celtics, **1:173, 3:1322**
Boston Marathon, 1:7, 1:233–235, 3:967, 3:970, 3:1075
 Kenyan participation, **2:899**
 women, **1:234, 3:968**
 Boston Red Sox, **1:249, 2:584, 4:1710–4:1712**
 Botha, Frans, **1:247**
Boucher v. Syracuse University, **4:1612**
 Boule, **1:235, 1:236**
 Boulmerka, Hassiba, **1:23, 3:1237**
 Bourdillon, Tom, **3:1029**
 Bouton, Bobbie, **1:168**
 Bowden, Bobby, **4:1673**
 Bowerman, Bill, **1:402, 3:970**
Bowls and bowling, 1:235–241, 3:1342
 bocce and petanque, **1:235–237**
 future aspects, **1:241**
 history, **1:235–236, 3:1252**
 indoor variants, **1:238**
 international play, **1:238–239**
 in North America, **1:239–241**
 participation in, **1:237–238**
 rules and play, **1:236–237**
 Boxer Rebellion, **2:880, 2:884**
 "Boxercise" classes, **1:245**
Boxing, 1:241–247, 2:701, 3:1081
 amateur, **1:243–244**
 in art, **1:96**
 corruption in, **1:246–247**
 history, **1:242–243**
 Kenya, **2:899**
 in literature, **3:936–938**
 at Madison Square Garden, **3:947–948**
 Mexico, **3:1006**
 mixed martial arts, **3:1010–1012**
 movies, **3:1050**
 New Zealand, **3:1072**
 Olympics, ancient, **3:1102**
 Olympics, modern, **1:243, 1:244**
 physical dangers of, **1:245–246**
 popular culture and, **1:247**
 professional, **1:243**
 racism in, **1:247, 3:987, 3:1236, 3:1337**
 radio broadcasts, **3:990, 3:1189, 3:1190, 3:1243**
 Senegal, **3:1337, 3:1338**
 social issues, **1:245–247**
 television broadcasts, **3:993**

Boxing (*continued*)

- violence in, **1:241, 4:1673, 4:1674**
 women's, **1:244–245**
- Boyd, Jean, **3:1326**
- Brabham, Jack, **2:794**
- Brack, Kenny, **2:794**
- Bradman, Donald, **1:101, 1:115, 1:127**
- Braid, James, **1:257**
- Brand, Myles, **3:1326, 4:1615–1616**
- Brand management, 1:248–252, 2:649–653.**
See also Sponsorship
- Brandsten, Ernst, **2:475**
- Brandsten, Greta Johanson, **2:475**
- Brazil, 1:252–256.** *See also Capoeira*
 beach volleyball, **4:1683**
 Maracana Stadium, **3:964–965**
 masculine nature of soccer in, **3:986**
 mixed martial arts, **3:1011**
 São Paulo Pan American Games (1963), **3:1143–1144**
 soccer, **1:254–55, 3:986, 4:1430, 4:1433, 4:1491, 4:1709**
- Breal, Michel, **3:966**
- Breast-feeding and exercise, **3:1261**
- Breaststroke, swimming, **4:1575**
- Breeze, Joe, **3:1031**
- Breitenbach, Jake, **3:1029**
- Brezek, John, **1:90**
- Brisbane Broncos, **3:995**
- Britain. *See United Kingdom*
- British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), **3:991, 3:993, 3:994**
- British Empire Games, **1:355**
- British Open, 1:256–258, 3:1073, 4:1543**
- Britten, John, **3:1074**
- Britton, Helene, **3:1135**
- Broadwick, Charles, **3:1148**
- Broekhoff, Jan, **3:908**
- Broekhuysen, Nico, **3:907–908**
- Brooklyn Dodgers, **3:1244, 4:1712**
- Brooks, Cleanth, **3:1056–1057**
- Brooks, Herb, **3:918**
- Brotherhood of Professional Baseball Players, **3:1131, 3:1132**
- Broun, Heywood, **4:1537**
- Broun, Heywood Hale, **4:1537**
- Brown, Bruce, **2:543**
- Brown, Elwood S., **2:808, 2:809**
- Brown, Franklin H., **2:863**
- Brown, Mordecai “Three Finger,” **1:149**
- Brown, Walter, **1:171**
- Brown University, **4:1613**
- Browne, Mary Kendell, **4:1606**
- Brugnon, Jacques, **1:39**
- Brundage, Avery, **3:1117, 3:1120, 3:1143, 3:1219, 4:1504, 4:1704–1705**
- Brunei, **4:1463**
- Brunet, Pierre, **4:1385**
- Bryan, Bob and Mike, **4:1608**
- Bryant, Kobe, **1:354, 2:510**
- Bryant, Paul “Bear,” **1:350, 2:810**
- Bryn Mawr College, **4:1603**
- BSA motorcycles, **3:1021, 3:1022**
- Bubka, Sergey, **4:1624**
- Buchman, Sydney, **3:1048**
- Buckner, Bill, **4:1710**
- Budd, Zola, **4:1460**
- Budge, Don, **4:1605**
- Budo. *See Japanese martial arts, traditional*
- Buehning, Dr. Peter, **2:721**
- Bulgaria, 1:258–261, 3:999, 4:1688, 4:1689**
- Bulimia, **2:458.** *See also Disordered eating*
- Bull Durham, 3:1050*
- Bulletins, **3:949**
- Bullfighting, 1:261–268, 3:937–938**
 animal rights and, **1:66**
 matadors, selection process, **1:264–265**
 matadors, women as, **1:265–266**
 Mexico, **3:1006**
 origins, **1:262**
 practice of, **1:262–264, 1:266–268**
- Bulpetts, W. H., **4:1416**
- Bunche, Ralph, **3:1324**
- Bundy, May Sutton, **4:1606**
- Bungee jumping, **2:541**
- Burk, Martha, **3:989**
- Burke, Glenn, **1:31, 1:32**
- Burnout, 1:268–270, 4:1749.** *See also Psychology*
- Burton, Michael, **4:1578**
- Burton Nelson, Mariah, **4:1675**
- Burton snowboards, **4:1419**
- Burtuzzi, Todd, **4:1502**

Busch family, **3:1134**
 Bush, George W., administration of, **4:1614–1615**
 Bushido, **2:865, 2:880**
 Button, Richard “Dick,” **3:1120, 4:1384, 4:1546**
 Buttrick, Barbara, **1:245**
Buzkashi, 1:270–273
 Byers, Chester, **3:1274**
 Byers, Walter, **1:46**

C

Cadine, Ernest, **4:1686**
 Caffeine, **3:1093**
 Calgary Olympics (1988), **3:1121–1122**
Call of the Wild, The, **4:1416**
 Calorie, defined, **2:458–459**
 Calvert, Allen, **2:606**
 Calvin, John, **3:1252**
 Camarillo, Leo, **3:1276**
 Cambodia, **4:1461–1462**
Cameroon, 1:274–277
Camogie, 1:277–280, 2:839, 2:841
 Campanella, Roy, **1:147**
 Campbell, Jeannette, **1:87, 1:88**
 Campbell, Veronica, **2:858–859**
 Camps. *See Academies and camps, sport*
Canada, 1:281–287. See also Commonwealth Games; Montreal Olympics (1976); Native American games and sports; Stanley Cup
 baseball, **1:283**
 Calgary Olympics (1988), **3:1121–1122**
 Commonwealth Games and, **1:357–358**
 curling and, **1:417–418**
 football, **1:283, 2:630–632**
 future aspects, **1:285–286**
 history, **1:281–282**
 hockey, **1:282–283, 4:1545–1546**
 Hockey Night in Canada, **3:962–963, 3:990, 3:1192**
 lacrosse, **1:283, 3:913–915, 3:1062**
 lifeguarding, **3:933–934**
 Maple Leaf Gardens, **3:962–964**
 mountaineering in, **3:1044–3:1046**
 newspaper sports pages, **3:991, 3:1079**
 organizations, **1:285**
 racism, **1:281, 4:1491**
 Ringette, **3:1265**
 rodeos, **3:1272, 3:1274, 3:1278**
 snowshoeing, **4:1421, 4:1422**

sports and national identity, **4:1491**
 televised sports in, **1:285–286, 3:963, 3:991**
 Winnipeg Pan American Games, **3:1144, 3:1146**
 winter Olympic history, **3:1118, 3:1119, 3:1123**
 women and sport, **1:283–284**
 youth and sport, **1:284–285**
 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, **1:285, 3:991**
 “Canadian canoeing,” **1:287**
 Canadian Colleges Athletic Association (CCAA), **1:284**
 Canadian Football League (CFL), **1:283**
 Canary, Martha “Calamity Jane,” **2:785**
 Cancer, **2:533, 2:536**
Canoeing and kayaking, 1:287–293
 canoe polo, **1:291**
 canoe sailing, **1:291**
 competition, **1:291–292**
 dragon boat racing, **1:291**
 flatwater, **1:290**
 future aspects, **1:292–293**
 governing body, **1:292**
 history, **1:287–288**
 marathon, **1:290–291**
 popularity of, **1:288**
 recreational racing, **1:288–289**
 slalom, **1:290**
 variations, **1:290–291**
 wildwater, **1:290**
 Canopying, **2:541**
 Canutt, Enos Edward “Yakima,” **3:1274**
 Canyoning, **2:541**
 Capital Cities. *See Walt Disney/ABC/Capital Cities*
Capoeira, 1:43–44, 1:293–295, 2:617
 Capriati, Jennifer, **1:308**
 Car racing. *See Auto racing*
 Carbohydrates, **3:1091–1092, 3:1094, 3:1162**
 Carbohydrates, healthy eating and, **2:456–457**
 Cardiovascular diseases, **1:12, 2:533, 2:534–535, 4:1526, 4:1528, 4:1737**
 Cardiovascular endurance, **2:511–512, 2:534–535, 2:599, 4:1509, 4:1511–1512**
 Carew, Rod, **1:150**
 Caribbean Games. *See Central American and Caribbean Games*
 Carlesimo, P. J., **4:1674**
 Carlisle Indian School, **3:1062**
 Carlos, John, **1:17, 4:1506**
 Carmichael, Chris, **2:603**

- Carnegie Report**, **1:45–46**, **1:295–297**, **2:815**
 Carnera, Primo, **2:853**
 Carolina Panthers, **4:1563**
 Carom billiards, **1:193**, **1:194**
 Carpenter Burton, Jake, **4:1419**
 Carpentier, Georges, **1:242**, **3:1189**, **3:1243**, **3:1337**
 Carrel, Jean, **3:1041**
Carriage driving, **1:297–299**
 Carter, H. Adams, **3:1045**
 Carter, Hamish, **3:1074**
 Cartwright, Alexander, Jr., **1:145**
Cashel Byron's Profession, **3:936**
 Cassina, Igor, **2:718**
 Cassioli, Giuseppe, **3:1114**
 Casting, defined, **2:595**
 Catholic Youth Organization, **3:1254**
 Catlin, George, **1:77**, **1:93**
 Caulkins, Tracy, **3:1144**
 Cave diving, **2:541**
 Cawley, Evonne. *See* Goolagong, Evonne Fay
 Cayley, George, **4:1423**
 Cazaly, Roy, **1:130**
 CBS, **1:354**, **3:992**, **3:1192**, **3:1245**, **4:1485**
 Centazz, Guilherme, **3:1204**
 Central America, Mesoamerican ball court games in, **3:1003–1005**
Central American and Caribbean Games, **1:299–301**, **3:1145**
 Cuba and, **1:404–406**
 Honduras and, **2:756–757**
 Jamaican participation, **2:857**
 Mexican participation in, **3:1006–1007**
 Central American and Caribbean University Games, **3:1145**
 Cha cha cha, **2:443**, **2:444**
 Chadwick, Henry, **1:147**, **1:148**
 Chamberlain, Wilt “the Stilt,” **1:172**, **1:173**, **4:1360**
 Chambers, John Graham, **1:242**
 Chamonix Olympics (1924), **3:1118**, **4:1545**
 Champions League, soccer, **4:1433–1434**
 Chand, Dhyan, **2:738**
 Chandler, Richard, **3:1103**
Changing Room, The, **3:939**
 Chanute, Octave, **4:1423**
 Chapey, Paul, **2:745**
- Chariot races, **3:1282**, **3:1283**
Chariots of Fire, **3:1335**
 Charles, Bob, **3:1073**
 Charles, J.A.C., **1:142**
 Charleston, Oscar, **1:147**
 Charlesworth, Ric, **2:738**
 Charlotte Bobcats, **3:1134**
 Charreada, **3:1273**, **3:1278**
 Chase, Hal, **1:150**
 Chastain, Brandi, **1:183**, **4:1702**
 Chausson, Anne-Caroline, **3:1036**
 Cheating, **4:1530**, **4:1664–1665**
Cheerleading, **1:301–306**
 Chelsea Football Club, **3:1134**
 Chenal-Minuzzo, **3:1120**
 Chess, **3:1050**, **4:1598**
 Chesser, Todd, **2:543**
 Chicago Black Sox, **1:150–151**, **3:1073**, **3:1136**, **4:1711**
 Chicago Bulls, **1:173**, **3:1245**
 Chicago Cubs, **3:1163**, **3:1245**, **4:1474**, **4:1476**, **4:1479**. *See also* Sosa, Sammy; **Wrigley Field**
 Chicago White Sox, **1:150–151**, **3:1133**, **3:1136**, **4:1711**
 Chichén Itzá, **3:1003**, **3:1005**
Child sport stars, **1:306–309**. *See also* **Academies and camps, sport**; **Elite sports parents**; **Youth sports**
 Chile, **3:1278**
China, **1:309–315**, **4:1505**, **4:1701–1702**. *See also* **Wushu** (kung fu)
 ancient, sports in, **1:309–310**, **3:1160–1161**
 Asian Games and, **1:101**, **1:102**, **1:104**
 badminton in, **1:141**
 modern sport and physical education, **1:310–315**, **3:1179**
 sepak takraw, history of, **3:1345**
 soccer, **4:1701–1702**
 table tennis, **4:1586–1587**, **4:1589–1591**
 taekwondo, history of, **4:1591**
 tai chi, history of, **4:1595**, **4:1597**
 weightlifting, **4:1689**
 Chizevsky, Kim, **1:223**, **1:225**
 Choi, Hong Hi, **4:1592**, **4:1593**
 Chouniard, Yvon, **3:1043**
 Christianity, sport and, **3:1250–1256**, **4:1357–1358**
 Chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD), **2:536**
 Chukchee of Siberia, sports ritual of, **3:1251**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Chunhong, Liu, **4:1689**
- Cierpinski, Waldemar, **3:967**
- Cincinnati Reds, **3:1134, 4:1475, 4:1710**
- Cinema. *See* **Movies**
- Cintron, Conchita, **1:266**
- Circuit training, **2:515–516**
- Citizenship Through Sports Alliance (CTSA), **4:1533**
- Clark, E. B., **2:863**
- Clark, Jim, **1:133, 2:794**
- Clark Flores, José de Jesús, **3:1009, 3:1143**
- Clarke, William, **1:388**
- Clemens, Mrs. Roger, **1:167**
- Clement, Amanda, **1:154**
- Clemente, Roberto, **1:150**
- Cleveland Browns, **2:489**
- Cleveland Indians, **3:983, 4:1667**
- Clifton, Nathaniel “Sweetwater,” **1:172**
- Clijsters, Kim, **1:189, 4:1608**
- Clouds from Both Sides*, **3:1000**
- Clout shooting, **1:83**
- Club sport systems, 1:315–320**
- Coaching, 1:320–328**
- attitudes, essential, **1:321**
- characteristics, essential, **1:321–322**
- coach and athlete, sexual relations between (*See* **Sexual harassment**)
- ethical issues, **1:322–323**
- gender equity in, **2:669**
- history, **1:324–325**
- organizations, **1:326–327**
- salaries and perks, **1:349**
- school sports, participation in, **3:1331**
- social issues, **1:325–326**
- stress and, **1:323–324**
- training, **1:326**
- Coakley, Jay, **3:1186–1187, 3:1192**
- Coan, Ed, **3:1213**
- Coase theorem, **2:655–656**
- Cobb, Ty, **1:149, 1:155**
- Coca Cola (company), **1:111, 2:509–510, 4:1482**
- Cocaine, **3:1166**
- Cochet, Henri, **1:39**
- Cody, Buffalo Bill, **2:782, 3:1273, 3:1277**
- Coeducational sport, 1:328–333**
- Cognitive aspects, spectator sports consumption, **4:1470–1471**
- Cognitive information processing personality theory, **3:1174–1175**
- Cohen v. Brown University*, **4:1613**
- Cohn, Linda, **2:525**
- Cold War, **4:1506–1507**
- Olympics and, **3:1119–1122, 4:1478, 4:1506–1507**
- World University Games, **4:1714–1715**
- Coliseum (Rome), 1:334–335**
- Collective bargaining, 1:335–338, 3:923, 4:1648–1652. See also Unionism**
- baseball and, **1:150, 1:336–338, 2:651**
- free agency and, **1:337, 2:655–656**
- College athletes, 1:340–347. See also Amateur vs. professional debate; Intercollegiate athletics; World University Games**
- academic standards, **1:343**
- African-American students, **2:812, 3:1323–1328**
- controversies, **1:346**
- corporations and, **1:341–343**
- Drake Group, **1:48, 2:477–479**
- football, **1:340–341, 2:811**
- history, **1:340**
- locker rooms for, **1:348–349**
- perks, **1:349–350**
- professional sports, move to, **1:348**
- recruiting practices, **1:350–351**
- reform, early, **1:341**
- Sanity Code, **1:341**
- women’s sports, **1:343–344, 1:346, 2:812–813**
- College Sport Network, **4:1483**
- Collings, Gertrude, **2:597**
- Collins, Eddie, **1:149**
- Collins, John, **2:843, 2:844**
- Collins, Wilkie, **3:936**
- Colonialism, **3:1235**
- Colorado Avalanche, **4:1502**
- Columbia University, **2:811, 4:1500**
- Comaneci, Nadia, **1:16, 1:115, 1:308, 2:715, 3:1279**
- Comiskey, Charles, **1:148, 3:1133**
- Commercialization of college sports, 1:250, 1:347–351. See also Amateur vs. professional debate; Carnegie Report**
- Commission on Opportunity in Athletics, **4:1614–1615**
- Commodification and commercialization, 1:351–354, 4:1503–1504. See also Commercialization of college sports; Marketing; Ownership; Spectator consumption behavior; Sponsorship**
- brand management, **1:248–252, 2:649–653**
- global symbolism of sport, **3:1270**

Commodification and commercialization*(continued)*jogging/running, **2:873**Olympics, **1:352–354, 3:1115–1116**professionalism and, **3:1220**United Kingdom, **4:1658–1659**Wembley Stadium, **4:1692****Commonwealth Games, 1:125, 1:354–359***Commotio cordis*, defined, **2:796****Community, 1:359–365, 4:1496. See also Fan loyalty; Social identity; Sport and national identity**Compagnoni, Deborah, **2:854****Competition, 1:365–372**anti-competition movement, **1:377–378**approaches to, **4:1663–1664**cooperation, **1:376–379**corporations and, **1:370–371**critical perspectives on, **1:369–370**cultural variances, **1:368–369**as defining feature of sport, **1:367–368**good competitor, evaluation of, **4:1663**historical perspective, **1:366–367**implications, **1:371**media and, **1:370–371**nature of, **4:1663**relationships of, **1:366****Competitive balance, 1:372–376**Conant, James, **2:901**Conative aspects, spectator sports consumption, **4:1473**Concentration, role in sports performance of, **1:1015–106, 3:1002**Confidence, role in sports performance of, **3:1002***Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, A, 3:936*Connell, Frank, **2:597**Conner, Dennis, **1:54, 1:55**Connolly, Cyril, **4:1359**Connolly, Mary Catherine, **4:1606**Connors, Jimmy, **4:1605**Consett Rugby Club, **1:317**Constitutional overstrain, theory of, **2:573**Consumer services, **3:955**Conte, Victor, Jr., **3:1167**"Continental handball," **2:720**Contract law, **3:919**Converse (company), **2:506**Conway, Martin, **3:1025**Conzelman, Jimmy, **2:626**Cook, James, **4:1566**Cooney, Gerry, **1:247**Cooper, Chuck, **1:172**Cooper, Kenneth, **1:12, 2:511, 2:607, 2:608, 2:873****Cooperation, 1:376–379**Cooperstown (NY), **1:145, 1:155**Coors Brewing Company, **2:481, 3:978**Coppi, Fausto, **1:426, 2:853**Corbett, James J., **3:1072**Cordero, Angel, **2:763**Coronary artery disease (CAD). *See* Cardiovascular diseasesCorruption, in sports, **4:1666–1667. See also****Sportsmanship; Values and ethics**baseball, **1:150–151 (See also Chicago Black Sox)**boxing, **1:246–247**bullfighting, **1:266–267**cricket, **1:390**cycling, **1:422–423**horse racing, **2:763, 2:765**internet and, **2:826–827**Cortes, Hernan, **3:1038**Corti, Claudio, **2:501**Cortina d'Ampezzo Olympics (1956), **2:854, 3:1120**Cortopassi, Greg, **2:619**Cosell, Howard, **3:1191**Costa Rica, **3:1146**Costas, Bob, **3:1245–1246**Costeau, Jacques-Yves, **4:1644–1646**Cotton Bowl (Dallas), **2:628**Coubertin, Pierre de, **2:817**modern Olympics founded by, **2:580, 2:644, 2:821, 3:1104, 3:1107, 3:1111–1113**multiculturalism, support for, **3:1052**Olympic, use of term, **2:809**Olympic ideal promoted by, **3:1179, 3:1219, 4:1622**pentathlon introduced by, **3:1158, 3:1159**as president of International Olympic Committee, **3:1117**on swimming, **4:1577**women athletes, opinion on, **2:573, 3:967, 4:1612, 4:1625, 4:1704**World University Games and, **4:1713–1714**Coulthard, David, **1:184**

Country club, 1:379–386

- activities, 1:380–381
- development of, 1:381–382
- gender, issues of, 1:384
- golf, impact on, 1:382–383
- history, 1:379–380, 1:384–386

Court of Arbitration of Sport (CAS), 3:919, 3:920

Couthard, David, 3:1191

Coutts, Russell, 1:54

Cowboys Turtle Association (CTA), 3:1274–1275

Cowles, Betsy, 3:1028

Cown, Tommay, 3:1243

Cranston, Toller, 4:1384–1385

Cranz, Christl, 4:1402

Crawford, Sam, 1:155

Crawford, Shawn, 3:1109

Crawl stroke, swimming, 4:1575

Creatine, 3:1093, 3:1166

Cresta Run, skeleton, 4:1417–1418

Crick, Francis, 1:199

Cricket, 1:386–391, 3:936, 3:1235, 4:1656

- amateurs and professionals in, 4:1654–1655
- in art, 1:94

Ashes, the, 1:99–101

Australia, 1:124–125, 3:1189–1190, 3:1192

clubs, 1:319

colonialism and, 4:1446

Jamaica, 2:859

Lord's Cricket Ground, 3:939–941

memorabilia, 3:997

New Zealand, 3:1072, 3:1074, 3:1075

South Africa, 4:1455–1456, 4:1458

television and, 1:389, 3:995, 4:1477, 4:1658–1659

women in, 2:859

Cricket World Cup, 1:392–394

Crimes, sports. *See* Corruption, in sports; Gambling;

Violence

Crist, Bob, 3:1212

Cronkite, Walter, 3:1245

Croquet, 1:95, 1:394–398, 4:1489

Crosby, Bob, 3:1274

Crosby, Cornelia T., 2:597

Crossbow shooting, 1:83

Cross-country running, 1:398–404

Cross-country skiing. *See* Skiing, cross-country

Croz, Michel, 3:1040–1041

Crum, Ben, 3:909

Crump, Diane, 2:763

Cruz, Juanita, 1:265–266

CTA (Cowboys Turtle Association), 3:1274–1275

CTSA (Citizenship Through Sports Alliance), 4:1533

Cuba, 1:155–156, 1:404–409, 3:1144–1146, 4:1505, 4:1688. *See also* Central American and Caribbean Games

Cuban, Mark, 2:489

Cuervo, Jorge, 3:1144

Cultural studies theory, 1:409–414

Cunningham, Merce, 1:439, 1:440

Curavoo, Karen Brisson, 1:91

Curi-Pressig, Anne, 2:483

Curling, 1:414–420, 3:1122

Curry, John, 4:1384–1385

Curry, Jon, 1:31

Curtis, Katharine, 4:1580

Curtis, Mike, 4:1479

Curtius, Ernst, 3:1104

Cusack, Michael, 2:635

Cycling, 1:420–427, 3:937, 3:938. *See also*

Biathlon and triathlon; Mountain biking;

Tour de France

Belgium, 1:186, 1:188

bicycling polo, 3:1198–1199

competition in, 1:426–427

duathlon, 2:480–483

history, 1:420–423

nature of, 1:423–426

New Zealand, 3:1075

Portugal, 3:1203

women in, 1:427

Cypress Gardens, 4:1412, 4:1414

Cyr, Louis, 3:1210, 4:1686

Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia), 1:428–431,

3:999, 4:1677–1678

D

Da Vinci, Leonardo, 3:1148, 4:1423

Daehlie, Bjorn, 3:1123

Daimler, Gottlieb, 3:1017, 3:1021

Dalai Lama, 3:1025

Dallas Cowboys, 3:1170

Dally, Eugène, 3:1179

Dance, 1:432–442. *See also* Capoeira

aerobic, 1:12

in Asia, 1:433

athletics of, 1:440–441

ballet, 1:436–438

exercise, 1:12

Dance (*continued*)

future aspects, **1**:441
 global forms of, **1**:433–434
 Highland Games and, **2**:733
 historical aspects, **1**:432–433
 human movement studies and, **2**:772–773
 Native American, **3**:1061
 origins of Western, **1**:434–435
 in physical education, **3**:1182
 Renaissance court, **1**:435–436
 revolutions in, **1**:438–440
 training, **1**:440
 “Dance fight,” **1**:293
DanceSport, **2**:443–445
 Daniel, Charles, **4**:1578
 Darbellay, Michel, **2**:501
 Darbepoetin, **3**:1168
Darts, **2**:445–447, **4**:1656
 Database marketing, **3**:976–977
 Davenport, Lindsay, **4**:1700
 Davin, Pat, **2**:635
 Davis, Al, **2**:491
 Davis, Dwight Filley, **2**:447–448
 Davis, Jeanette, **1**:91
 Davis, Malachi, **1**:119
Davis Cup, **2**:447–449, **3**:1073, **3**:1279, **4**:1603–1605, **4**:1608
 Davos, Switzerland, **3**:941, **3**:942, **4**:1416, **4**:1543, **4**:1714
 Dawson, Zack, **2**:890
 De Dion, Baron, **3**:1021
 De Oliveira, Joao Carlos, **3**:1144
 De Varona, Donna, **4**:1614
 Deaf World Games. *See* **Deaflympics**
Deaflympics, **2**:449–452, **2**:461, **2**:463
 Dean, Cleve, **1**:90
 Dean, Dizzy, **1**:149
 Decker, Mary. *See* Slaney, Mary Decker
 Deconstructionism, **3**:1058–1059
 Dedyulya, Svetlana, **3**:1213
 Deferr, Gervasio, **2**:718
 Definitional deception, **4**:1665
 Dehydration, **2**:459–460
 DeJesus, Esteban, **1**:31
 Delauney, Henry, **2**:526, **2**:528

Delgado, Carlos, **2**:654
 DeLillo, Don, **3**:938
 DeLorme, Thomas, **4**:1508, **4**:1511
 DeMar, Clarence H., **1**:234
 Dempsey, Jack, **1**:109, **1**:243, **3**:1006
 broadcasts of matches, **3**:990, **3**:1189, **3**:1190, **3**:1243
 Carpentier match, **1**:242, **3**:1189
 Denali, **3**:1044
 Dene Games, **3**:1060, **3**:1065
Denmark, **2**:452–456
 Dennehy, Patrick, **4**:1672
 DePalma, Ralph, **2**:794
Der wesse Rausch, **4**:1409
 Derrida, Jacques, **3**:1058–1059
 Desai, Amrit, **4**:1736
 DeSaussure, H. B., **3**:1040
 Desbonnet, Edmond, **2**:880, **2**:884
 Desessartz, Jean Charles, **3**:1177
 Desgrange, Henri, **4**:1616–1617
 Designated hitter rule, **1**:150
 Desjardins, Peter, **2**:474
 Destivelle, Catherine, **2**:499, **2**:501
 Devers, Gail, **4**:1627
 Devoy, Susan, **3**:1075
 Di Centa, Manuela, **2**:854
 Diabetes mellitus, **2**:533, **2**:535–536
 Diack, Lamine, **3**:1337
 Diaghilev, Sergei, **1**:438
 Dialogics, narrative theory, **3**:1056
 Dianabol, **3**:1165, **3**:1212
 Dibiasi, Klaus, **2**:475–2:477
 Didrikson, Babe. *See* Zaharias, Mildred “Babe”
 Didrikson
 Diem, Carl, **3**:1104, **3**:1114
Diet and weight loss, **2**:456–460, **3**:1127–1129, **3**:1332, **4**:1551–1552. *See also* **Exercise and health**; **Nutrition**
 Dietary supplements, **3**:1092–1094, **4**:1687
 Dill, David Bruce, **4**:1508
 Dillard, Terry, **3**:1212
 Dilutional pseudoanemia, **1**:57
 DiMaggio, Joe, **1**:112, **1**:149, **1**:157, **4**:1734
 Diouf, Assani, **3**:1337
Disability sport, **2**:460–466. *See also*
 Deaflympics; **Paralympics**;
 Special Olympics
 adapted physical education, **1**:5–9
 defined, **2**:461

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- exercise, health and, **2:537**
 goalball, **2:686–688**
 historical aspects, **2:461–462**
 international competitions, **2:462–463**
 issues/controversies, **2:463–465**
 Pan American Games for the Blind, **3:1147**
 Pan American Wheelchair Games, **3:1147**
 for senior athletes, **3:1344**
 tennis, **4:1608**
 trends, **2:465–466**
- Discus throwing, **2:700–701, 4:1622–1624**
- Disordered eating, 2:466–473, 3:1332. See also**
Diet and weight loss; Exercise and health;
Nutrition
 dancers and, **1:440**
 diagnosis, **2:467**
 gymnasts and, **2:716**
 health consequences of, **2:467–2:469**
 helping athletes with, **2:470–471**
 overview, **2:466–467, 2:471–472**
 prevalence, **2:467, 2:468**
 prevention, **2:468, 2:470**
 risk factors, **1:33, 1:217, 2:468**
 sexuality of ideal body, **4:1360–1361**
 signs/symptoms, **2:469**
 treatment, **2:471, 2:472**
 youth sports and, **2:796**
- Dispositional personality theory, **3:1172–1174**
- Distance running. *See* **Marathon and distance running**
- Diving, 2:473–477. See also Underwater sports**
- DNA testing, **1:199, 2:673–674**
- Doby, Larry, **1:147**
- Docherty, Bevan, **3:1074**
- Dog sled racing, **4:1415–1417. See also Iditarod**
- Dogon people, racing ritual of, **4:1497**
- Doherty, Matt, **1:349**
- Doherty, Reggie and Laurence, **4:1605, 4:1693**
- Domed stadiums, **1:106–108, 1:159, 2:520**
- Donaldson, Gillian Sheen, **2:582**
- Donnelly, Ben “Sport,” **2:625**
- Donor services, **3:957**
- Don’t Make Waves*, **4:1670**
- Doping, blood. *See* **Performance enhancement**
- Doreen, Wilber, **1:82**
- Doubleday, Abner, **1:144–145**
- Douglas, Archibald Lucius, **2:862**
- Douglas, Francis, **3:1041**
- Downing, Liz, **2:483**
- Doyle, Mamie, **3:1319**
- Drag racing, **1:133, 1:134**
- Dragon boat racing, **1:289, 1:291**
- Drake Group, 1:48, 2:477–479**
- Draper, Dave, **1:219, 4:1670**
- Draves, Victoria Manalo, **2:475, 2:476**
- Dream Team, **1:175, 3:1113, 3:1220–1221**
- Dressage, **1:298, 2:766–767**
- Dresse, Antoine, **2:449–450**
- Dreyfus, Barney, **2:625**
- Drive, He Said*, **3:938**
- Drugs. *See* **Performance enhancement**
- Dry-fly fishing, **2:595**
- Duathlon, 2:480–483**
- Dudley, Jimmy, **3:1240**
- Duke University, **4:1613–1614**
- Dukic, Yelena, **4:1700**
- Dunaway, Deborah, **2:598**
- Duncan, George, **3:1307**
- Duncan, Isadora, **1:439**
- Dundee, Johnny, **3:1243**
- Dunlap, Alison, **3:1036**
- DuPont, Richard, **4:1423**
- Durack, Fanny, **4:1578**
- Durkheim, Emile, **3:1206, 3:1266–1267, 4:1492, 4:1495, 4:1672**
- D’Usseaux, Eugenio Brunetta, **3:1117**
- Duval, Helen, **3:1342**
- Duvall, David, **2:509**
- Dyhrenfurth, Norman, **3:1029**
- Dyson, Betty, **1:245**
- E**
- Eagan, Ed, **2:522**
- Eagan, Edward, **3:1118**
- Eakins, Thomas, **3:1295**
- Earnhart, Dale, **1:133**
- East Germany, 2:484–488, 3:999, 3:1119, 3:1165–1166**
- East Timor, **4:1463**
- Easy Rider*, **3:1022**
- Eating disorders. *See* **Disordered eating**
- Eco-Challenge, **2:541**
- Economics and public policy, 2:488–496, 3:958–959, 4:1519–1520. See also Ownership; Revenue sharing; Social class and sport; Spectator consumption behavior; Sporting goods industry; Unionism**
 beach volleyball, prize money in, **4:1682**

Economics and public policy (*continued*)

cooperation and, **2:490–492**
 crisis in, **2:495–496**
 franchise relocation, **2:649–653** (*See also Fan loyalty*)
 golf, **4:1438–1439**
 labor market and, **2:492–493**
 memorabilia, **3:996–998**
 NASCAR, **3:1085**
 Olympics, cost of, **3:1111, 3:1120**
 overview, **2:488–489**
 periodicals, **3:951**
 professional sports and, **2:489–490, 2:493–495, 3:992**
 rodeo, prizes in, **3:1272–1273, 3:1275–1276**
 rowing, costs of, **3:1289**
 salaries, professional athletes, **2:493–494, 2:654–655, 4:1439–1430, 4:1648**
 size of sports industry, **3:958–959, 3:975**
 ski professionals, **4:1403**
 soccer, **4:1430**
 sponsorship, spending on, **3:978, 4:1482–1486**
 subsidization, professional teams, **2:494–495**
 Super Bowl, economic value of, **4:1562–1563**
 tennis, **4:1604, 4:1607, 4:1692**
 Tour de France, **4:1617**
 Edberg, Stefan, **4:1605**
 Ederle, Gertrude, **4:1578**
 Edschmid, Kasimir, **3:937**
 Edstrom, Sigfrid, **3:1117**
 Edwards, Jonathon, **4:1623–1624**
 Edwards, Michael, **3:1122**
 Egan, Pierce, **4:1534–1535**
 Egorova, Ljubov, **3:1122**
Egypt, 2:496–498, 3:1160
Eiger North Face, 2:498–502
 Eiselen, Ernst, **3:1283**
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., **4:1508**
 Eisenhower Trophy, **3:1073**
 El Guerrou, Hicham, **3:1109**
 Elder, Lee, **3:989**
 Elderly. *See Senior sport*
 Elek, Ilona, **2:582**
Elfstedentocht, 2:502–503

Elite sports parents, 1:3–4, 2:503–506, 2:557–562. *See also Youth sports*

Elliot, Launceston, **4:1686**
 Ellis, F. B., **4:1629**
 Ellison, Tom, **3:1072**
 Els, Ernie, **2:508**
 Elssler, Fanny, **1:437**
 Elway, John, **2:507**
 Emerson, Roy, **1:39**
End Zone, 3:938
 Ender, Kornelia, **4:1578**
Endorsements, 2:506–511. *See also Athletes as celebrities; Sponsorship*
Endurance, 2:511–517
 aerobic, **2:512–514, 2:599, 2:604**
 cardiovascular, **2:511–512, 2:599, 2:604**
 circuit training, **2:515–516**
 cross-training, **2:516**
 fitness and, **2:511–512**
 medical clearance, **2:516**
 muscular, **2:514–2:516, 2:599, 2:604**
 overload and progression, **2:515**
 relative perceived exertion (RPE) scale, **2:514**
 target heart rate zone, **2:513–514**
 Enebuske, Claes, **3:1178**
 England. *See United Kingdom*
 English billiards, **1:195**
 Enjoyment by athlete, **3:1015**
 Enquist, Per Olov, **3:938**
 Entertainment and Sports Network (ESPN). *See ESPN*
Environment, 2:517–522, 2:782, 4:1526
 Environmental physiology, **4:1509–1510**
 Ephedrine, **3:1168**
 Epstein, Theodore, Jr., **3:1342**
 Equipment. *See Athletic equipment and apparel*
 Erasmus, Desiderius, **3:1252**
 Ergometers, **3:1294**
 Erickson, Marian, **2:888**
 Ericson, Jon, **2:477**
 Eriksen, Stein, **4:1403**
 Erratchun, Jean, **3:1157**
 Erving, Julius “Dr. J.,” **1:172–173**
 Erythropoietin (EPO), **3:1168, 4:1526, 4:1617**
ESPN, 1:354, 2:490, 2:522–525, 3:994, 4:1652
 broadcast rights, table of, **3:992**
 extreme sports and, **4:1380, 4:1728**
 radio network, **3:1246**
 sports news on, **4:1476–1477**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Estadio Mario Filho, **3:964–965**
- Ethics. *See* **Sportsmanship; Values and ethics**
- Ethiopia
 gugs horse sport, **4:1502**
 Olympic marathon victories, **3:967**
- Ethnicity and racism, **3:1236–1238**
- Etienne, Joseph and Jacques, **1:142**
- Eurhythmics, **1:438**
- Euro 2000, **4:1502, 4:1531**
- Euro 2004, 2:526–527**
- European Federation of Sport Psychology (FEPSAC),
 3:1225
- European Football Championship, 2:528–530,**
 4:1433–1434
- “European handball,” **2:720**
- Eurosport, 2:530–532**
- Evans, Charles, **3:1029**
- Evans, Janet, **4:1578**
- Everest, George, **3:1025**
- Everest, Mount. *See* **Mount Everest**
- Everson, Cory, **1:224**
- Evert, Chris, **4:1606, 4:1700**
- Evetts, Phyllis, **2:888**
- Evey, Stuart, **2:523**
- Evinrude, Ole, **3:1017**
- Ewald, Manfred, **3:1165–1166**
- Exclusion, ethical issue of, **4:1665–1666**
- Exercise and health, 2:532–539. See also Diet and weight loss; Endurance; Fitness; Nutrition; Osteoporosis; Performance; Reproduction (reproductive health); Sport science; Yoga**
 adolescents and, **2:537–538**
 adverse effects, **2:536–537**
 cancer and, **2:536**
 cardiovascular disease and, **2:533–535**
 chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and, **2:536**
 defined, **2:532–533**
 diabetes and, **2:535–536**
 disabled people and, **2:537**
 health, overall, **2:533–534**
 hyperlipidemia and, **2:535**
 hypertension and, **2:535**
 mental health and, **2:536**
 obesity and, **2:534**
 for older adults (*See* **Senior sport**)
 peripheral vascular disease and, **2:535**
 special populations and, **2:537–538**
 stroke and, **2:535**
 young adults and, **2:537–538**
 youth sports and (*See* **Youth sports**)
- Exercise machines, **2:607**
- Exercise-induced hemolysis, **1:57, 1:58**
- Experience marketing, **3:979**
- Extreme sports, 2:539–543. See also X Games**
- Extreme surfing, 2:543–545**
- F**
- FA (Football Association). *See* **Football Association (FA)**
- Faber, Red, **1:149**
- Facility management, 2:546–551**
- Facility naming rights, 2:551–553. See also Sponsorship**
- Fair Play for Children (FPC), **4:1533**
- Fairbairn, Steve, **3:1292**
- Fairchild, Julia, **2:597**
- Falconry, 2:553–557**
- Faldo, Nick, **1:258, 3:989**
- False anemia, **1:57**
- Family involvement, 2:557–562. See also Elite sports parents**
- Fan clubs, **3:976**
- Fan loyalty, 2:562–565, 2:649, 4:1495, 4:1496. See also Social identity**
- Fanck, Arnold, **4:1400, 4:1409**
- Fangio, Juan Manuel, **1:85**
- Fantasy camps. *See* **Academies and camps, sport**
- Fantasy sports, 2:566–568**
- Fanzines, **3:949**
- Faroux, Charles, **3:924**
- Farr, Bruce, **1:54**
- Fashion, 2:568–572, 4:1567. See also Athletic equipment and apparel; Beauty**
- Fast pitch softball, **4:1452**
- Fat City*, **3:938**
- Fats, healthy eating and, **2:457**
- Faulkner, Max, **1:258**
- Fay, Sir Michael, **1:54**
- Federation Cup, **4:1604, 4:1607**
- Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), **2:862, 3:964, 4:1431, 4:1434, 4:1522, 4:1533. See also Women’s World Cup; World Cup**
- Federation Internationale de Ski (FIS)
 Alpine skiing, **4:1403**
 cross-country skiing, **4:1404, 4:1406, 4:1408**

Federation Internationale de Ski (*continued*)

free-style skiing, **4**:1408, **4**:1410

snowboarding, **4**:1420

Federer, Roger, **4**:1606, **4**:1609

Feerick, John, **4**:1674

Fehr, Donald, **1**:25, **4**:1648, **4**:1652

Felicien, Perdita, **3**:1109

Feller, Bob, **1**:149, **1**:336

Fells Method, biological maturation and, **2**:710

Female triad, **1**:33, **1**:217, **2**:468, **2**:470

Feminist perspective, **2**:572–579, **4**:1442, **4**:1443.

See also **Gender equity; Lesbianism**

animal rights and, **1**:64–65

culture, difference and, **2**:576–578

muscularity, bodybuilding and, **1**:223–225

sport apparel, fashion and, **2**:568–572

sport as sexist spectacle, **4**:1502–1503

Fencing, **2**:579–584. *See also* **Iaido; Kendo; Kyudo**

competitions, **2**:580–582

naginata (naginatado), **2**:867–872, **3**:1054–1056

rules and play, **2**:582–584

Fenley, Molissa, **1**:440

Fenway Park, **2**:584–586

brand management and, **1**:249

design, **1**:163

facility management, **2**:549

history, **1**:159, **4**:1734

FEPSAC (European Federation of Sport Psychology), **3**:1225

Ferguson, Tom, **3**:1276

Fernandez, Lisa, **4**:1454

Ferrigno, Lou, **4**:1670

Festivals. *See* **Folk sports**

Field hockey, **2**:734–739

Field of Dreams, **3**:1050, **3**:1051

Field shooting, **1**:82–83

FIFA. *See* Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)

Figure skating. *See* **Skating, ice figure**

Finch, Jennie, **4**:1451

Fingleton, Jack, **3**:941

Finland, **2**:586–590

at Olympics, **2**:587–589, **3**:1118

Ringette, **3**:1265

ski jumping, **4**:1396–1397

worker sport in, **4**:1706

Finn, Tony, **4**:1684

Firdawsi, Hakim Abu ol-Qasem Mansur, **3**:935

Fire and Ice, **4**:1409

Firpo, Luis Angel, **1**:85

Fischart, Johann, **3**:935

Fischer, Leo, **4**:1449–1450

Fischer, Scott, **3**:1030

Fisher, Carl, **2**:793

Fisher, Carsten, **2**:738

Fisher, Gary, **3**:1031

Fisher, Hugh, **1**:281

Fisher, Sarah, **1**:134, **2**:795

Fishing, **2**:590–598, **3**:937. *See also* **Hunting**

big-game, **2**:597

competitions, **2**:593–595

economic impact, **2**:591

facts about, finding, **2**:598

freshwater, **2**:596–597

ice, **1**:361

methods/equipment, early, **2**:591–593

record catches, **2**:597–598

saltwater, **2**:597

types, **2**:595–597

Fisk, Carlton, **4**:1710

Fitch, Bill, **1**:173

Fitness, **2**:598–604, **3**:956, **4**:1528. *See also*

Athletic training; Diet and weight loss;

Endurance; Nutrition; Performance;

Physical education; Senior sport; Sport science

components of, **2**:599–600, **2**:604–605

cultural aspects, **2**:600–601

future aspects, **2**:603–604

growth, development and, **2**:704–705, **2**:712

popularity of, **2**:601–602

pregnancy, exercise during, **3**:1257–1262

sexuality of ideal body, **4**:1360–1361

trends, current/emerging, **2**:602–603

U. S. government, promotion by, **4**:1508–1509

youth sports and, **4**:1741–1742, **4**:1746–1748

Fitness industry, **2**:604–609

Fittapaldi, Emerson, **1**:133

Fitz, George, **3**:1181, **4**:1508

Fitzsimmons, Bob “Ruby Robert,” **3**:1072

Fixx, Jim, **2**:873, **3**:970

- Flag football, **2:632–635**
- Flatwater freestyle racing, **1:289**
- Flatwater kayaking, **1:290**
- Fleming, Peggy, **3:1120**
- Flessel, Laura, **2:582**
- Flexibility, fitness and, **2:599, 2:604**
- Flight shooting, **1:83**
- Flood, Curt, **1:337, 2:654**
- Floor exercise, **2:716–717**
- “Floor hockey,” **2:806**
- Floorball, 2:609–610**
- Florida Marlins, **4:1479, 4:1712**
- Flouret, Jacques, **4:1715**
- Flowers, Vonetta, **3:1236**
- Fly casting, **2:595**
- Fly-fishing, **2:595**
- Flying, 2:610–612**
- Folk sports, 2:612–619**
- Afghanistan, **1:270**
 - Belgium, **1:185**
 - Cameroon, **1:275–276**
 - defined, **2:612–618**
 - fundamentals of, **2:614–616**
 - modern, **2:616–618**
 - nature of, **2:618–619**
 - premodern, **2:613–614**
- Follis, Charles, **2:628**
- Fonda, Jane, **1:12, 2:602, 2:608**
- Fonst, Ramon, **2:580**
- Fontaine, Steve, **4:1414**
- Foo, Mark, **2:543**
- Foot races, ancient olympics, **2:700**
- Foot strike hemolysis, **1:58**
- Footbag, 2:619–621**
- Football, 2:622–630, 3:938. See also**
- National Football League (NFL);
 - Super Bowl**
 - amateur vs. professional debate, **1:47**
 - anti-jock movement and, **1:70**
 - in art, **1:95**
 - athletic talent migration in, **1:118–119**
 - college, **1:340–341, 2:625–628, 2:811, 3:1243–1245**
 - development, **2:623–624**
 - ESPN and, **2:523–524**
 - memorabilia, **3:997**
 - movies, **3:1047–1050**
 - origins, **2:622–623**
 - as religion, **4:1493, 4:1496–1497**
 - television and, **1:353–354, 2:628–629, 3:992–3:993, 3:1191–1192, 4:1476, 4:1479, 4:1501, 4:1562**
- Football, Canadian, 2:630–632**
- Football, flag, 2:632–635**
- Football, Gaelic, 2:635–638**
- Football Association (FA), **4:1427–1429, 4:1654, 4:1655, 4:1691**
- For Love of the Game*, **3:1050**
- Ford, Alexander Hume, **4:1566–1567**
- Foreman, George, **1:243, 2:507**
- Formula 1 racing, **1:133, 1:135**
- Foro Italico, 2:638–640**
- Fosbury, Dick (Fosbury Flop), **4:1619**
- Foster, Andrew “Rube,” **1:147**
- Foucault, Michel, **3:1058, 3:1207–1208**
- Foudy, Julie, **4:1614, 4:1703**
- Four-in-hand driving, **1:298**
- Fowler, John “Bud,” **1:146**
- Fowler, William Herbert, **3:1154**
- Fox, James, **3:1159**
- Fox, Terry, **1:115**
- Fox Sports Radio, **3:1246**
- Fox Television, **1:354, 3:992, 3:994, 4:1485**
- Foxhunting, 1:65–66, 2:640–644**
- Foxtrot, **2:443, 2:444**
- Foyt, A.J., **2:795**
- FPC (Fair Play for Children), **4:1533**
- France, 2:644–649. See also Jousting;**
- Tour de France**
 - Albertville Olympics (1992), **3:1122, 3:1349**
 - Chamonix Olympics (1924), **3:1118, 4:1545**
 - Grenoble Olympics (1968), **3:1120**
 - Le Mans, **1:133, 3:924–925**
 - Olympic marathon victories, **3:967**
 - parachuting in, **3:1148**
 - rugby in, **3:1299**
 - soccer, **2:645, 3:1135, 3:1236, 4:1429, 4:1446–1447, 4:1709–1710**
 - volleyball, **4:1677**
 - weightlifting, **4:1686**
 - worker sport in, **4:1706**
- France, Bill, Sr., **3:1083**
- Franchise relocation, 2:490, 2:649–653.**
- See also Fan loyalty*
- Francioni, Warren, **1:41**
- Francis, Bev, **1:224**

Franco, Francisco, **4:1464, 4:1465**
 Frank, Gerry, **3:1213**
 Franko, Jure, **3:1121**
 Franz, Ernie, **3:1212–1213**
 Fraser, Dawn, **4:1578**
 Fraser, Gretchen, **3:1119, 4:1546**
 Fraser, Ken, **2:597**
 Fraser, Neale, **1:39**
 Frazier, Joe, **1:243, 1:247**
 Fredericks, Frankie, **1:23**
Free agency, 1:150, 1:337, 2:653–657, 4:1648–1652. See also Collective bargaining; Unionism
 Free calisthenics, **2:716–717**
 Free climbing, **2:541**
 Free diving, **4:1646**
 Freeman, Cathy, **1:126, 4:1501**
 Freestyle skiing, **4:1408–1410**
 Freestyle wrestling, **4:1719–1720**
 Freeth, George, **4:1566**
 French Open Tennis Championship, **3:1279, 4:1606, 4:1609**
 Freshwater fishing, **2:596–597**
 Friday, Dallas, **4:1685**
 Friedman, Gal, **2:847, 3:1110**
 Friesinger, Anni, **1:183**
 Frigerio, Ugo, **3:1234**
 Frisbie, **1:41–42, 4:1640–1643**
 Froebel, Friedrich, **3:1181**
 Frontiere, Georgia, **3:1134**
 Frye, Jack, **1:146**
 Fu Mingxia, **2:476**
 Fudge, Gloria Miller, **1:224**
 Fujiyama, Mount, **3:1039**
 Fukayama, Francis, **4:1675**
 Funakoshi, Gichen, **2:887**
 Furst, Silvia, **3:1035**
 Furtado, Juli, **3:1035**

G

Gabler, Dr. George, **1:169**
 Gaelic football, **2:635–638**
 Gaelic Games, **3:1271**
 Gagnan, Emile, **4:1644–1646**

Gait, Paul and Gary, **3:917**
 Galenic theory, **4:1523–1524**
 Gallico, Paul, **4:1537–1538**
 Gambling, **3:922, 3:1220. See also Chicago Black Sox; Corruption; Horse racing**
 Internet, **2:830–831**
 Native American games of chance, **3:1061, 3:1063**
 New Zealand, **3:1072**
 Singapore, **4:1376**
 Super Bowl, **4:1563**
 Games, folk. *See Folk sports*
Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO), 2:658–661
 Gaming. *See Gambling*
 GANEFO (Games of the New Emerging Forces), **2:658–661**
 Gant, Lamar, **3:1213**
 Garcia, Sergio, **2:508**
 Gardner, Leonard, **3:938**
Gargantua, **3:936**
 Garlits, Don, **1:133**
 Garmisch-Partenkirchen Olympics (1936), **3:1119**
 Garnerin, Andre Jacques, **3:1148**
 Garnett, Kevin, **3:1322**
 Gate control theory, pain, **3:1139–1140**
 Gate-revenue sharing, **3:1263**
 Gatlin, Justin, **3:1109**
 Gating, Mike, **4:1458**
Gay Games, 2:661–665
 Gebreselassie, Haile, **1:23**
 Geesink, Anton, **2:882**
 Gehrig, Lou, **1:149, 1:157, 4:1734**
 Geijessen, Carolina, **4:1390**
Gender equity, 2:665–671, 4:1443–1444. See also Body image; Disordered eating; Feminist perspective; Injury risk in women's sport; Lesbianism; Psychology of gender differences; Sexual harassment; Sexuality
 coeducational sport, **1:328–333**
 in foxhunting, **2:641, 2:642–643**
 International Olympic Academy and, **2:818–819**
 masculinity and, **3:985–988**
 women's sports, coverage of, **4:1697–1701**
 in youth sports, **4:1742–1743, 4:1746–1748**
Gender verification, 2:671–675, 3:1279, 4:1525
 General Electric (company), **4:1485. See also NBC**
 General Mills, **3:1244**
 Genlis, Comtesse de, **3:1177**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Gerevich, Aladar, **2:581**
- Germany, 2:675–681.** *See also* Berlin Olympics (1936); **East Germany; Turner festivals** (turners)
- Eiger North Face, **2:498–502**
- Garmisch-Partenkirchen Olympics (1936), **3:1119**
- glider development, history of, **4:1423**
- lifeguarding, **3:932–933**
- motorcycle racing, **3:1021–1023**
- Munich Olympics (1972), **3:1116, 4:1506**
- physical education in, **3:1178, 3:1180–1181, 3:1283–1284**
- soccer, **4:1429–1430, 4:1446, 4:1531**
- sports medicine in, **4:1525**
- women's sports, coverage of, **4:1698, 4:1699**
- worker sport in, **4:1703–1705**
- Gesner, Conrad, **3:1039**
- Gestring, Marjorie, **2:477**
- Getty Oil (company), **2:523, 2:524**
- Gevaert, Kim, **1:188**
- Geyelin, H. L., **4:1629**
- Gibb, Roberta "Bobbi," **1:234**
- Gibson, Althea, **2:694–695, 3:1143, 4:1436, 4:1606, 4:1693**
- Gibson, Bob, **1:149–150**
- Gibson, Hoot, **3:1274**
- Gibson, Josh, **1:147**
- Gibson, Kirk, **4:1710**
- Gibson, Thomas R., **2:837**
- Gigghia, Alcides, **3:964**
- Gilera motorcycles, **3:1021, 3:1022**
- Gilkey, Art, **3:1045–1046**
- Gillette (company), **2:506**
- Gills, Jim, **2:843**
- Ginobili, Emanuel "Manu," **1:85, 1:119**
- Giove, Missy, **3:1036**
- Gipp, George, **3:1255**
- Giresse, Alain, **4:1710**
- Gladden, Washington, **3:1254**
- Gladiatorial combat, **3:1282–1283, 4:1357, 4:1475**
- Glazer, Malcolm, **3:1132**
- Glen Ridge, New Jersey, rape case, **4:1671**
- Gliding
- hang, **2:722–724**
- soaring, **4:1423–1427**
- Globalization, 2:681–686.** *See also* **Internet; Sport and national identity; Sport tourism**
- commercialized sport and, **1:352–353**
- internet and, **2:827–828**
- national identity and, **4:1490–1491**
- sport politics, **4:1504–1508**
- Glycogen, **3:1092, 3:1094–1095**
- Goalball, 2:686–688**
- Goalie's Fear during the Penalty Kick, The*, **3:939**
- Goal-setting for sports performance, **3:1001, 3:1015**
- Goat dragging (buzkashi), **1:270–273**
- Goerner, Hermann, **3:1210**
- Gogarty, Deidre, **1:244**
- Goggins, Steve, **3:1213**
- Go-karting, **2:890–891**
- Gold, Joseph (Gold's Gym), **1:220, 2:601, 2:602, 4:1670**
- Golden State Warriors, **4:1674**
- Goldsworthy, Bill, **1:31**
- Golf, 2:688–696, 3:1073, 4:1656.** *See also* **British Open; St. Andrews**
- amateur, **2:692–693**
- in art, **1:95**
- country clubs and, **1:382–383**
- courses, pollution and, **2:521**
- derivation of word, **3:1071**
- endorsements and, **2:506**
- equipment, **2:690–692**
- history, **2:688–689**
- Masters Tournament, **3:988–990**
- memorabilia, **3:997**
- Mexico, **3:1006**
- minorities in, **2:693–695**
- movies, **3:1050**
- New Zealand, **3:1073**
- at Olympics, **3:1113**
- Pebble Beach, **3:1153–1155**
- professional, **2:690–692**
- rules development, **2:689–690**
- Ryder Cup, **3:1307–1309**
- social class and, **4:1438–1439**
- technology, equipment changes due to, **4:1597–1599, 4:1601**
- women in, **2:693–695, 3:1113**
- Golubnichiy, Vladimir, **3:1234**
- Goncharov, Valeri, **2:718**
- Goodenow, Bob, **4:1652**
- Goodyear, Scott, **2:794**
- Goolagong, Evonne Fay, **3:1236, 4:1606, 4:1693**
- Gordon, Robby, **2:794**
- Gore, Arthur, **4:1693**

Gore, Spencer, **4:1692**
 Governance sport clubs, **1:316, 1:319**
 Grace, W. G., **1:388, 3:940–941, 4:1655**
 Gracie, Carlos, Helio, and Rorion, **3:1011**
 Graf, Stephanie “Steffi,” **1:133, 4:1606, 4:1674, 4:1693**
 Grafström, Gillis, **3:1118, 4:1384**
 Graham, Billy, **3:1255**
 Graham, Leslie, **3:1024**
 Graham, Martha, **1:439, 1:440**
 Graham, Trevor, **3:1167**
 Grand, George, **2:523**
 Grand Prix, **1:135**
 Grand Slam, tennis, **4:1605–1606**
 Grand Tetons, **3:1044**
 Grange, Harold “Red,” **2:626**
 Grant, Douglas, **3:1154**
 Grant, Frank, **1:146**
 Grant, George F., **2:694**
 Grantham, William W., **3:1287–1288**
 Granville, Laura, **4:1608**
 Great Britain. *See* **United Kingdom**
 Greco-Roman wrestling, **4:1720**
Greece, 2:696–698
 Athens Olympics (1896) (*See* **Olympics, Summer**)
 Athens Olympics (2004) (*See* **Olympics, 2004**)
Greece, ancient, 2:698–702, 4:1357. See also
 Homer; **Olympia**
 performance, **3:1161**
 performance enhancement, **3:1164**
 religion and sport, **3:1247–1250, 3:1267**
 wrestling, origins of, **4:1718**
 Green Bay Packers, **3:1134, 4:1563**
 Greenberg, Hank, **3:1255**
 Grenoble Olympics (1968), **3:1120**
 Gretzky, Wayne, **1:115, 2:744**
 Greulich-Pyle (GP) Method, biological maturation and, **2:709**
 Grey, Zane, **2:597**
 “Gridiron football,” **2:632**
 Griffith, Coleman, **3:998, 3:1163, 3:1170, 3:1172**
 Grimek, John, **1:220**
 Gros, Piero, **2:854**

Grove, Lefty, **1:149**
Grove City College v. Bell, **3:921, 4:1610–1611, 4:1613**
Growth and development, 2:702–713. See also
 Exercise and health; Nutrition; Youth sports
 biological maturation and, **2:708–711**
 normal, standards of, **2:706–708**
 physical fitness and, **2:704–705, 2:712**
 sexual maturation, ages and, **2:710–711**
 studies over time, **2:703–704**
 Gruber, Stein, **3:1122–1123**
 Grudzielanek, Mark, **1:157**
 Grut, Willie, **3:1158**
 Guerin, Robert, **2:821**
 Guerrero, Wilton, **4:1530**
 Guettich, Bruce, **2:619**
 Guevara, Ana, **3:1009**
 Gulick, Luther Halsey, **1:168, 3:1179, 3:1181–1182, 4:1495**
 Guthrie, Janet, **1:134, 2:795**
 GutsMuths, Johann Christoph Friedrich, **2:675–676, 2:714, 3:1178, 3:1283**
 Guttmann, Allen, **1:51, 1:76**
 Guttmann, Ludwig, **3:1150–1152**
 Gymkhana, **2:769**
Gymnastics, apparatus, 2:713–718
 Belgium, **1:185–186**
 Bulgaria, **1:260**
 human movement studies and, **2:772**
 Japan, **2:861**
 at Olympics, **2:714–718, 3:1140**
 Poland, **3:1194**
 Romania, **3:1279**
Gymnastics, rhythmic, 2:718–719

H

Habeler, Peter, **3:1029, 3:1030**
 Hackenschmidt, George, **4:1686**
 Hackl, Georg, **3:942**
 Hacky Sack®, **2:619**
 Hadlee, Richard, **3:1074**
 Hadow, Douglas, **3:1041**
 Hageborge, Otto, **2:474**
 Hagen, Walter, **2:692, 3:1307**
 Hahn, Kurt, **1:9**
 Haibin Teng, **2:718**
 Haines, Dan, **4:1411**
 Haines, Jackson, **4:1382**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Hainz, Christoph, **2:501**
 Hakanson, Walter, **4:1450**
 Halas, George, **2:625**
 Halazy, Oliver, **1:7**
 Haldane, John, **4:1645–1646**
 Hale, Edward Everett, **3:1253**
 Hall, Bob, **1:234**
 Hall, G. Stanley, **3:1181**
 Hall, Lars, **3:1158–1159**
 Hall, Rob, **3:1030**
 Haller, Gordon, **2:843**
 Halprin, Anna, **1:442**
 Halstead, Alfred, **4:1676–1677**
 Hamilton, Bethany, **2:543**
 Hamilton, Laird, **2:543**
 Hamilton, Tara, **4:1685**
 Hamm, Mia, **1:183, 1:250, 1:354, 2:810**
 Hamm, Paul, **2:718**
 Hammer, **4:1622, 4:1623**
 Hancock, George, **4:1449**
Handball, team, 2:720–722, 3:1281
 Handicapped sports. *See* **Disability sport**
 Handke, Peter, **3:939**
Hang gliding, 2:722–724
 Hanlon, Ned, **2:491**
 Hannibal, **3:1039**
 Hansson, O. B., **3:1124**
 Hardekopf, Cristina, **1:88**
 Harding, Tonya, **4:1387, 4:1674**
 Hargrove, Mike, **1:157, 1:167**
 Hargrove, Sharon, **1:167**
 Harlem Globetrotters, **1:171, 1:172**
 Harley Davidson, **3:1021, 3:1022**
 Harlin, John, **2:501**
 Harmsworth Trophy, **3:1018**
 Harness racing, **2:761–762**
 Harrer, Heinrich, **2:501**
 Harrington, Joey, **1:349**
 Harris, David, **1:196**
 Harris, William T., **3:1179**
 Harrison, C. Keith, **3:1326**
 Harroun, Ray, **2:794**
 Hartwell, Edward M., **3:1178**
 Harvard University, **2:811, 3:1324, 4:1449, 4:1508, 4:1509**
 Harvey, William, **4:1524**
 Hasiltudes, **2:874, 2:876–878**
 Hatcher, Billy, **4:1530**
 Hatha yoga, **4:1735**
 Hautamaeki, Matti, **4:1397**
 Hawaii Ironman Triathlon, **1:191**
 Hawk, Tony, **1:40, 2:507, 2:508, 4:1379, 4:1380, 4:1731**
 “Hawking,” **2:553**
 Hayashizake Jinsuke Shigenobu, **2:869**
 Hayes, Woody, **4:1675**
Hazing, 2:724–727
 Hazlitt, William, **4:1673**
 HBO, **4:1698**
 H’Doubler, Margaret, **3:1182**
 Head, Howard, **4:1598**
 Health and fitness. *See* **Fitness**
 Hearn, George, **4:1579**
 Heart disease. *See* **Cardiovascular diseases**
 Heath, Lady, **3:1115**
 Heckmair, Andreas, **2:500, 2:501**
 Heffelfinger, Walter “Pudge,” **2:625**
 Heiden, Eric, **3:1121**
 Heiden, Max, **2:720**
 Helley, W. S., **3:1198**
 Helmsley, Lord Francis, **1:211**
 Helton, Mike, **4:1530**
 Hemenway, Robert, **3:1327**
 Hemingway, Ernest, **3:937–938**
 Hemmings, Deon, **2:858–859**
 Hemmings, Fred, **4:1570**
 Henderson, George, **3:970**
 Hendricks, Agnes E. M. B. “Aggi,” **1:134**
 Henie, Sonja, **3:1118, 3:1119, 4:1383–1384**
 Henin, Justine, **1:189**
 Henin-Hardenne, Justine, **4:1608**
Henley Regatta, 2:727–729
 Henman, Tim, **4:1485**
 Henry, Franklin, **2:901**
 Henry, Jodie, **4:1578**
Henry V, **3:936**
Heptathlon, 2:729–731
 Herbert, Charles, **3:1113**
 Herd, Franklin, **4:1622**
 Herkimer, Larry, **1:301**
 Hernandez, Angela, **1:266**
 Hernández, Tirso, **3:1008**
 Herodotus, **3:966**
 Herr, Andy, **4:1529**
 Heterosexuality, defined, **2:753**
 Hetherington, Clark, **3:1182**

- Hewitt, Foster, **3:962–963**
 Hewitt, Lleyton, **1:126, 4:1606**
 HGH (human growth hormone), **3:1168**
 Hicks, Helen, **2:692**
 Hicks, Thomas, **3:1165**
 Hideo, Nomo, **1:117**
 Higgins, Bob, **1:146**
 Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, **3:1253**
 High bar, **2:716**
 High jump, **4:1619–1620, 4:1623**
 High-impact aerobics, **1:13**
Highland Games, 2:731–734, 3:1333–1335, 4:1550–1551, 4:1632
 Hill, Grant, **2:810**
 Hill, Lynn, **3:1044**
 Hill climbing auto racing, **1:133**
 Hillary, Edmund, **1:115, 3:1026–1030, 3:1044, 3:1076**
 Himalayas, **3:1044–1045**. *See also* K2; **Mount Everest**
 Hingis, Martina, **1:308**
 Hinterstoisser, Andreas, **2:500**
 Hiraoka, Hiroshi, **2:860–861**
 Hirofumi, Daimatsu, **4:1678**
 Hise, Joseph Curtis, **3:1210**
 Hitchcock, Edward, **3:1178**
 Hitler, Adolf, **3:1105, 3:1106, 4:1504**
 Hitomi, Kinue, **2:867**
 HIV. *See* **AIDS and HIV**
 Hoad, Lew, **1:39**
Hockey, field, 2:734–739
Hockey, ice, 2:739–745, 3:1118–1123. *See also* **Lake Placid**; National Hockey League (NHL)
 anti-jock movement and, **1:70**
 Canada, **1:282–283, 4:1545–1546**
 crimes related to, **3:922, 4:1478, 4:1502**
 Hockey Night in Canada, **3:962–963, 3:990, 3:1192**
 Maple Leaf Gardens, **3:962–964**
 memorabilia, **3:997**
 movies, **3:1049**
 prayer for, **4:1498**
 professional, **3:923**
 Stanley Cup, **2:739, 4:1546–1548**
 women, **3:1123**
 Hockey, indoor, **2:738**
Hockey, in-line, 2:745–747, 4:1394–1395
 Hockey, underwater, **4:1646–1647**
 Hoepfner, Manfred, **3:1165–1166**
 Hoffman, Bob, **1:220, 1:221, 2:606, 3:1211–1212, 4:1510, 4:1686–1687**
 Hogan, Ben, **1:258, 3:989**
 Hogan, Michael, **2:636**
 Holder, C.F., **2:597**
 Holland, Jerome “Brud,” **2:812**
 Hollins, Marion, **2:693**
Holmenkollen Ski Jump, 2:747–748, 4:1395
Holmenkollen Sunday, 2:748–750
 Holmes, Alfred (Tup), **2:694**
 Holt, Lawrence, **1:9**
 Holyfield, Evander, **4:1738**
Home field advantage, 2:750–752. *See also* **Fan loyalty**
 Homer, **3:935, 3:1247, 4:1718**
Homophobia, 2:752–756, 3:987, 3:988, 4:1609.
 See also **AIDS and HIV**; **Lesbianism**
 feminist perspective, **2:576**
 Gay Games and, **2:661**
 sexuality in sports and, **4:1359**
 Honda motorcycles, **3:1022**
Honduras, 2:756–758
 Hoogenband, Pieter van den, **3:1109, 4:1578**
Hoosiers, **3:1050**
 Hopman, Harry, **2:448**
 Horine, M. F., **4:1619**
 Horizontal bar, **2:716**
 Hornbein, Tom, **3:1029**
 Hornsby, Rogers, **1:149**
 Hornussen, **4:1581**
Horse racing, 2:758–766, 3:937
 animal rights and, **1:65**
 Argentina, **1:84**
 in art, **1:94**
 Ascot, **1:97–99**
 Australia, **3:1189–1190**
 Belgium, **1:186**
 Brazil, **1:252–253**
 carriage driving, **1:297–299**
 controversies, **2:763, 2:765**
 harness, **2:761–762**
 history, **2:758–759, 3:1282, 3:1283**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- movies, **3:1050**
 New Zealand, **3:1072**
 performance enhancement, **2:763, 2:765, 3:1166**
 radio broadcast of, **3:1244, 3:1245**
 social aspects, **2:762–763**
 South Africa, **4:1455–1456**
 steeplechase, **2:762**
 thoroughbred, **2:759–761**
 United Kingdom, **4:1656**
Horseback riding, 2:766–771
 New Zealand, **3:1074**
 Portugal, **3:1202**
 Spain, **4:1463–1464**
 Horween, Arnold, **2:626**
 Hosoi, Christian, **4:1379**
 Hot dogging, **4:1408, 4:1409**
 Houston, Charles, **3:1028, 3:1030, 3:1045–1046**
 Houston, Oscar, **3:1028**
 Houston Astros, **4:1530**
 Houston Rockets, **4:1673–1674**
 Howard, Dwight, **1:348**
 Hoy, William “Dummy,” **1:148**
 Hoyt, Dick and Rick, **1:192**
 Hsi En-ting, **4:1590**
 Hsu Shao-Fa, **4:1589**
 Huang Liang, **4:1589**
 Hubbard, William Dehart, **4:1618**
 Hudson, Robert A., **3:1308**
 Hughes, Sarah, **1:308**
 Hughes, Thomas, **3:1176, 3:1177, 3:1253, 4:1427**
 Hulman, Tony, **2:794**
 Human Genome Project, **4:1513**
 Human growth hormone (HGH), **3:1168**
Human movement studies, 2:771–776. See also
 Physical education
 Human services, **3:955**
 Humphrey, Doris, **1:439**
Hungary, 2:776–779, 3:1200, 3:1201, 4:1588–
 1590
 Hunt, H. C. John, **3:1028–1029**
 Hunt, Lamar, **2:629, 4:1563**
 Hunter, C. J., **3:1168**
 Hunter seat horseback riding, **2:769**
Hunting, 2:779–785, 3:937. See also Fishing
 animal rights and, **1:65, 1:66–67**
 clubs, **2:784**
 falconry, **2:553–557**
 foxhunting, **1:65–66, 2:640–644**
 historical aspects, **2:779–780**
 methods, **2:780–781**
 Portugal, **3:1202**
 regulation of, **2:782–783**
 safety, **2:780–781**
 underwater, **4:1647**
 unrestricted, dangers of, **2:782**
 weapons, **2:781–782**
 women in, **2:785**
 Huntsman World Senior Games, **3:1342**
 Hurdles, **4:1627, 4:1630, 4:1631**
Hurling, 1:277, 1:278, 2:786–787
 Husing, Ted, **3:1245**
 Hussein, Ibrahim, **1:234**
 Huston, Tillinghast, **4:1732**
 Hutchinson, Jock, **1:258**
 Hveger, Ragnhild, **4:1578**
 Hyatt, John Wesley, **1:194**
 Hyde, Lloyd, **2:725**
 Hyperlipidemia, **2:535**
 Hyperreality, **3:1208–1209**
 Hypertension, **2:535**
- I**
- IAAF. *See* International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF)
 Iaido, **2:869–872, 2:896, 2:897**
 Iba, Hank, **1:175**
 IBM, **4:1482, 4:1604**
 Ibos, **3:1086**
 Ice boating, **1:208–210, 3:1311–1314**
 Ice hockey. *See* **Hockey, ice**
 Ice skating. *See* **Skating, ice figure; Skating, ice speed**
 Iceberg profile, **3:1173**
Iditarod, 2:788–790, 4:1416, 4:1422
Iliad, **3:935, 3:1247**
 Imagery
 sports performance, role in, **3:1001**
 sports venues, promoted in, **4:1667**
 Imagined communities, sports teams as, **4:1445–**
 1447, 4:1470–1471
 Inclusion, ethical issue of, **4:1665–1666**
 Indart, Jose Ramon, **3:1157**
 Indexing services, periodical, **3:952**
India, 1:102, 1:104, 2:790–793, 4:1522
 Indian motorcycles, **3:1021**
 Indian wrestling, **1:90**

- Indianapolis 500**, 1:133, 1:135, 2:793–795, 3:1244
- Indianapolis Pan American Games (1987), 3:1145–1146
- Individualism in sport, issues of, 4:1672–1673
- Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (1997), 1:5, 1:6
- Indonesia, 1:102–103, 4:1372–1376, 4:1462
- Indoor hockey, 2:738
- Indoor sport facilities. *See* Stadiums
- Ingels, Art, 2:890–891
- Ingwerson, Bert, 2:626
- Injuries, youth**, 1:307–308, 2:795–797, 4:1527–1528
- Injury**, 2:797–801, 3:987, 4:1525–1528, 4:1667.
See also **Athletic training; Sports medicine**
athletic training and, 1:122
in boxing, 1:245–246
exercise, adverse effects of, 2:536–537
knees and, 1:198–199
overuse, 1:197, 1:269, 4:1512
pain, 3:1138–1142
prevention, 1:200–201, 2:599–600, 2:780–781
professionalism, increased injuries and, 3:1220–1221
- Injury risk in women's sport**, 1:197, 1:198, 2:801–806, 3:1257–1262, 4:1527–1528
- In-line hockey. *See* **Hockey, in-line**
- In-line skating. *See* **Skating, in-line**
- Innebandy**, 2:609, 2:806–807
- Innsbruck, Austria
luge, origins of, 3:941
Olympics, 3:1120–1121
- Intellectual property, 3:923
- Interallied Games**, 2:807–809
- Intercollegiate athletics**, 2:809–817, 3:1177.
See also **Amateur vs. professional debate; College athletes; World University Games**
commercialization of, 1:347–351
controversies, 2:813–816, 4:1531–1532
divisions, 2:809–810
Drake Group, 1:48, 2:477–479
football, 1:340–341, 2:811
future aspects, 2:816–817
governing bodies, 2:811–812
historical aspects, 2:810–811
radio broadcasts, 3:1243–1245
social mobility and, 4:1440
speedball, 4:1480–1482
television and, 1:174–175, 1:350, 2:628, 3:991–992, 4:1476, 4:1483, 4:1500
tennis, 4:1608
track and field, 4:1631–1632
trends in, 2:813–816
Ultimate, 4:1643
violence and, 4:1672–1673
women in, 1:343–344, 1:346, 2:812–813
youth leagues and, 3:1187
- International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF), 4:1531, 4:1618, 4:1622, 4:1625, 4:1632
false start rule, 4:1629
Golden League, 4:1622
race walking events, 3:1233
Senegal, center in, 3:1337
women's running events, 3:968
world records certified by, 4:1624
- International Olympic Academy**, 2:817–820
- International Olympic Committee (IOC), 1:325, 3:1107, 3:1116–1117, 4:1505. *See also* **Olympics; Olympics, Summer; Olympics, Winter**
amateurs, issue of (*See* **Amateur vs. professional debate**)
codified rules and policies, 3:919–920
ethics and, 4:1531–1533
Paralympics and, 3:1152
pentathlon and, 3:1158, 3:1159
South Africa, policy toward, 4:1458, 4:1460
Special Olympics authorized by, 4:1467
sports medicine, role in, 4:1525
substance abuse policies, 3:919, 3:1167, 3:1168
technology, controlling innovations due to, 4:1599, 4:1601
trademark protection by, 3:923
- International Paralympic Committee (IPC), 2:462
- International politics**, 2:820–825, 4:1506–1508.
See also **Sport and national identity**
- International Silent Games. *See* **Deaflympics**
- International Skating Union (ISU), 4:1383, 4:1386–1387, 4:1389
- International Society of Sport Psychology (ISSP), 3:1224–1225

International Tennis Federation (ITF)
 amateur/professional tournaments, **4:1606–1607**
 Veterans Circuit, **4:1604**

Internet, 2:825–832
 fans, athletes and, **2:828–829**
 fantasy sports and, **2:566**
 gambling and, **2:830–831**
 globalization, **2:827–828**
 information and dialogue, **2:826–827**
 International Olympic Academy and, **2:819**
 Major League Baseball (MLB), used by, **4:1499**
 overview, **2:825–826**
 periodicals, online access to, **3:952–953**
 ticket sales, **3:979**
 video games, **2:829–830**

Interorganizational networks, **3:958**

Interpretive sociology, 2:832–836

Inzer Designs, **3:1213**

IOC. *See* International Olympic Committee (IOC)

IPC (International Paralympic Committee), **2:462**

Iran, 1:103–104, 2:836–839, 2:844–847

Ireland, 2:635–638, 2:839–842, 3:1271, 3:1298.
See also Camogie; Hurling

Iron deficiency anemia, **1:57, 1:58**

Ironman Triathlon, 2:842–844, 3:1342, 4:1565

Irvine, Andrew, **3:1027–1028**

Irvine, Marion, **3:1342**

Iselin, Hope Goddard, **3:1321**

Islam, sport and, **2:497–498, 3:1250, 3:1255, 3:1256**
 Iran, **2:838–839**
 silat, **4:1373, 4:1374**

Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games, 2:844–847

Israel, 2:847–850, 3:945, 3:1110, 3:1116

ISSP (International Society of Sport Psychology), **3:1224–1225**

Italy, 2:850–855. See also Rome, ancient
 Cortina d'Ampezzo Olympics (1956), **3:1120**
 motorcycle racing, **3:1021**
 soccer, **3:1264, 4:1429**
 women and sports, **2:854, 4:1698**

ITF (International Tennis Federation)
 amateur/professional tournaments, **4:1606–1607**
 Veterans Circuit, **4:1604**

Itosu, Anko, **2:887**

Iyengar yoga, **4:1735**

J

Jackie Robinson Story, The, **3:1047–1048**

Jacklin, Tony, **3:1308**

Jacks, Sam, **3:1265**

Jackson, Andy, **1:146**

Jackson, Phil, **1:173, 1:249, 4:1738**

Jackson, Reggie, **1:150, 4:1733**

Jackson, "Shoeless Joe," **1:149**

Jaffee, Irving, **3:1118**

Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig, **2:714, 3:1178, 3:1283**

Jai alai, **3:1009, 3:1156**

Jamaica, 2:856–859. See also Commonwealth Games

James, C. L. R., **3:1235**

James, Charmayne, **3:1276**

James, LeBron, **1:111, 2:508, 2:510**

Jameson, Frederic, **3:1058**

Jansen, Dan, **3:1123**

Jansma, Paul, **1:5**

Japan, 2:859–867. See also Baseball; Japanese martial arts, traditional; Sumo
 archery, **1:76**
 Asian Games and, **1:101, 1:102, 1:105**
 beach volleyball, **4:1683**
 football, **1:118–119**
 future, **2:867**
 martial arts, **1:35**
 modernized martial arts, **2:864**
 motorcycle racing, **3:1022**
 Nagano Olympics (1998), **2:860, 3:1123**
 physical education in, **3:1179**
 Sapporo Olympics (1972), **2:860, 3:1119, 3:1120**
 sepak takraw, history of, **3:1345**
 table tennis, **4:1586, 4:1589–1590**
 traditional sports, **2:864–867**
 volleyball, **4:1678–1679**
 weightlifting, **4:1687**
 westernized sports, history of, **2:860–863**
 women and sport, **2:866–867, 2:869, 3:1055–1056**

Japanese martial arts, traditional, 2:864, 2:867, 2:868–872, 3:939. See also Judo; Jujutsu; Karate; Kendo
 aikido, **1:35–38**
 naginata (naginatado), **2:867–872, 3:1054–1056**
 for women, **2:867, 2:869, 2:888–890, 2:896**

Jardine, Douglas, **1:100**

Jarripeno, **3:1005–1006**

Javelin, **2:701, 4:1621–1623**
 Jazz dance, **1:434**
 Jazzercise, **1:12, 2:608**
 Jdrzejczak, Otylia, **3:1195**
 Jeffries, Jim, **3:987**
 Jenkins, Dan, **4:1539**
 Jennings, Lynn, **1:401, 1:402**
 Jensen, Viggo, **4:1686**
 Jihong Zhou, **2:477**
 Inana yoga, **4:1735**
Jogging, 2:872–874, 3:968–970
 Johansson, Hjalmar, **2:474, 2:475**
 Johnson, Ben, **4:1531**
 Johnson, Bill, **3:1121, 4:1403**
 Johnson, Byron Bancroft, **1:145**
 Johnson, Earvin “Magic”
 as athlete celebrity, **1:111**
 as college athlete, **2:810**
 health issues, **1:30–1:33**
 ranking, **1:50, 1:173**
 Johnson, Irvin, **4:1687**
 Johnson, Jack, **1:242, 3:987, 3:1006**
 Johnson, Junior, **3:1083**
 Johnson, Richard, **1:146**
 Johnson, Robert L., **3:1134**
 Johnson, W. T., **3:1274–1275**
 Johnson, Wait C., **2:808**
 Johnson, Walter, **1:149**
 Joly, Andrée, **4:1385**
 Jones, Bill T., **1:442**
 Jones, Dot, **1:90, 1:91**
 Jones, Marion, **3:1167, 3:1168, 4:1627**
 Jones, Parnelli, **2:794**
 Jones, Rammel, **2:862**
 Jones, Robert, **4:1382**
 Jones, Robert Tyre (Bobby), **1:258, 2:693, 3:988, 4:1543**
 Jordan, Michael, **1:339, 3:1081, 4:1444**
 as athlete celebrity, **1:110–112, 2:828**
 as athlete hero, **1:115**
 brand management, **1:251**
 as college athlete, **2:810**
 endorsements and, **1:354, 2:506, 2:508, 2:510**
 ranking, **1:50, 1:173**

Jousting, 2:874–879, 3:935, 3:1161, 4:1357–1358, 4:1475
 development, **2:877–878**
 origins, **2:876–877**
 practice, **2:878–879**
 Joyner-Kersey, Jackie, **2:731, 3:1146**
 Jubinville, Karyn, **1:91**
 Judaism, sport and, **3:1255, 3:1256**
Judo, 1:37, 2:879–883
 Athens Olympics, 2004, controversy at, **3:1109**
 Japan, **2:864, 2:867**
Jujutsu, 1:36, 2:879, 2:881, 2:884–885, 3:1010, 3:1011
 Julin, Magda, **3:1118**
 Jumping. *See* **Track and field—jumping and throwing**

K

K2, **3:1000, 3:1030, 3:1045**
 Kahanamoku, Duke Paoa, **4:1566, 4:1578**
 Kailus, Mount, **3:1038–1039**
 Kajinosuke, Tanikaze, **4:1561**
 Kalganov, Michael, **2:847**
 Kallio, Elin, **2:588**
 Kanazawa, Hirokazu, **2:888**
 Kanjuro, Shibata, XXI, **2:872**
 Kano, Jigoro, **1:36, 2:879–881, 2:884**
 Kansas City Chiefs, **4:1563**
Karate, 2:886–890, 3:1010
 Karma yoga, **4:1734**
 Karolyi, Bela, **1:308, 2:716**
 Karppinen, Pertti, **3:1295**
 Karras, Alex, **4:1675**
 Karsavina, Tamara, **1:438**
Karting, 1:133, 1:137, 2:890–891
 Kasperek, Fritz, **2:501**
 Kawasaki motorcycles, **3:1022**
 Kayaking. *See* **Canoeing and kayaking**
 Kazmaier, Bill, **3:1213**
 Kee Chung Sohn, **3:905**
 Keeler, “Wee” Willie, **1:148**
 Kehoe, George, **4:1449**
 Keino, Kipchoge, **2:898, 2:900**
 Kellerman, Annette, **2:475, 4:1578, 4:1580**
 Kelley, Charlie, **3:1031**
 Kelley, Essie, **3:1144**
 Kelly, Jack, **2:728, 3:1295**
 Kelly, John, **3:1295**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Kelly, Michael "King," 1:148
 Kelty, Agnes, 2:849
 Kemari, 2:865–866
 Kemp, Dixon, 3:1315
Kendo, 2:864, 2:867, 2:892–898, 4:1666.
 See also Iaido
 Dai Nihon Butokukai, 2:895
 equipment, 2:893
 future of, 2:897
 history and development, 2:892–893
 international spread of, 2:897
 Meiji period kenjutsu, 2:893–894
 post-war democratization, 2:896
 pre-war militarism, 2:895–896
 rei, 2:895
 schools, kenjutsu in, 2:894–895
 tradition *vs.* sport, 2:897
 training methodology, 2:893
 Kenkichi, Sakakibara, 2:894
 Kennedy, John F., 2:902
 Kenteris, Costas, 3:1109, 3:1110
 Kentucky Derby, 3:1244, 3:1245
Kenya, 2:898–900
 Kenyatta, Jomo, 2:899
 Kerrigan, Nancy, 4:1387, 4:1674
 Kickboxing. *See* **Taekwando**
 Kidder, Kieran, 3:1213
 Killander, Ernst, 3:1124
 Killanin, Lord, 3:1117, 4:1462
 Killian, George E., 4:1717–1718
 Killy, Jean-Claude, 3:1120, 4:1402, 4:1403
 Kim, Jimmy, 4:1594
 Kim Un-yong, 4:1593
 Kindlundh, Anna, 4:1573
 Kiner, Ralph, 1:336
Kinesiology, 1:196–199, 2:900–902. *See also*
 Physical education; Sport science
 King, Billie Jean, 1:39, 2:602, 3:931, 4:1606–1609,
 4:1693
 Kingsley, Charles, 3:1253
 Kinney, Abbott, 4:1668
 Kiptanui, Moses, 1:23
 Kiraly, Karch, 4:1682
 Kirby, Carolyn, 4:1682, 4:1683
 Kirk, William, 3:1188
 Kirkland, Gelsey, 1:440
 Kite, Tom, 3:1155
Kite sports, 1:42, 2:542, 3:903–904, 3:906
 Kjellstrom, Bjorn, 3:1124, 3:1125
 Klemperer, Wolfgang, 4:1423
 Klobukowska, Eva, 2:674
 Knees, injury and, 1:198–199
 Knight, Bob, 1:175, 4:1530
 Knight, Phil, 1:111, 1:402
 Knight Commission, 1:342–343
 Knox, Alexander, 3:1048
 Knudsen, Dane Fredrik, 1:421, 2:721
Knute Rockne, All American, 3:1047–1048
 Koch, Bill, 1:54, 1:56, 4:1405
 Koch, Konrad, 2:720
 Kochakian, Charles, 4:1687
 Koetter, Dirk, 3:1326
 Kolbe, Peter-Michael, 3:1295
 Kolesar, Judy, 2:888
 Koll, Edward R., 2:725
 Konishi, Yasuhiro, 2:887
 Kono, Tommy, 4:1687
 Konopacka, Halina, 3:1194–1195
 Korbut, Olga, 1:308, 2:715, 2:804
 Korda, Petr, 4:1609
Koreas, 3:905–907, 4:1587, 4:1591–1593
Korfball, 3:907–911, 3:1069
 Korzeniowski, Robert, 3:1195, 3:1234
 Koss, Johann Olav, 3:1123
 Kostélic, Janica, 3:1123
 Koufax, Sandy, 1:149, 3:1255, 4:1712
 Kournikova, Anna, 1:183, 2:510, 4:1502, 4:1609,
 4:1699–1700
 Kozlova, Anna, 4:1581
 Kraenzlein, Alvin, 4:1627
 Kramer, Ingrid, 2:475
 Krankl, Hans, 1:133
 Kreuter, Chad, 4:1531
 Krieger, Heidi, 3:1166
 Kripalu yoga, 4:1736
 Krone, Julie, 2:763
 Kronfeld, Robert, 4:1423
 Krzyzewski, Mike, 2:810
 Kuerten, Gustavo, 2:509
 Kundalini yoga, 4:1736
 Kung fu. *See* **Wushu** (kung fu)
 Kunisato, Naganuma Shirozaemon, 2:893
 Kuparento, Jodaki, 3:1148
 Kurz, Toni, 2:500
 Kusanku, 2:887
 Kusner, Kathy, 2:763

Kusocinski, Janusz, **3**:1195
 Kuznetsova, Elena, **4**:1609
 Kuznetsova, Svetlana, **4**:1609
 Kwan, Michelle, **1**:308
 Kyudo, **2**:864, **2**:867, **2**:868, **2**:870–872

L

Labor issues, professional sports, **3**:923. *See also*

Sexual harassment; Unionism

injuries to athletes, **3**:1220
 rodeo cowboys, strike by, **3**:1274–1275
 salary caps, **3**:1322–1323
 soccer, **4**:1430–1431
 tennis, **4**:1606–1607

Lacoste, Rene, **1**:39

Lacrosse, **3**:911–918, **3**:1061, **3**:1062

Canada, **1**:283
 future, **3**:917
 governing bodies, **3**:915–917
 history, **3**:911–913
 modern, growth of, **3**:913–916
 professional, **3**:917
 rules and play, **3**:916–917
 for women, **3**:914–917

Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA), **1**:385,
3:930

LaDue, Florence, **3**:1274

Laguerre, Andre, **4**:1539

Laird, Dr. Bob, **2**:843, **2**:844

Laird, Ron, **3**:1234

Lajoie, Nap, **1**:149

Lajunen, Sampan, **3**:1123

Lake Placid, **3**:918, **3**:1118–1119, **3**:1121

Lakewood, California, Spur Posse case, **4**:1671–1672

LaLanne, Jack, **1**:220, **2**:601, **2**:606–607, **4**:1669

Lambeau, Curly, **2**:625

Lambert, Michael, **3**:1213

Lambert, Raymond, **3**:1028

Lampell, Millard, **3**:1048

Landis, Kennesaw Mountain, **4**:1711

Landry, Tom, **4**:1497

Lang, Otto, **4**:1400

Langer, Gustave Harold, **3**:1342

Laos, **4**:1461–1462

Lardner, Ring, **4**:1537

Larner, Jeremy, **3**:938

Larsen, Don, **4**:1733

Larwood, Harold, **1**:101

Laser, Christine, **2**:731

Lasutina, Larissa, **3**:1123

Latfod, Bob, **3**:1084

Lauda, Nikki, **1**:133

Laver, Rod, **1**:39, **4**:1605, **4**:1693

Law, **3**:918–924. *See also* **Collective bargaining;**

Economics and public policy; Free agency;

Sexual harassment; Title IX; Unionism

athlete rights, **3**:920

contract law, **3**:919

Court of Arbitration of Sport (CAS), **3**:919, **3**:920

crimes, **3**:922

future, **3**:923

history, **3**:919

intellectual property, **3**:923

labor issues (*See* Labor issues, professional sports)

NCAA, **3**:920–921

Olympic movement, **3**:919–920

periodicals, **3**:951

prayer by athletes, constitutional issues of, **3**:1215–
 1217

sports agents, **3**:922

torts, **3**:922

World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO),
3:923

Lawn tennis, **1**:38–40, **2**:447

Le Mans, **1**:133, **3**:924–925

League of Their Own, A, **3**:1050

League-revenue sharing. *See* **Revenue sharing**

Leaves of Grass, **3**:936

Lee, Haeng Ung, **4**:1593

Lee, Jeanette, **4**:1670

Lee, Sammy, **2**:475, **2**:476

Lee v. Weisman, **3**:1216

Legaignoux, Bruno and Dominique, **3**:903

Legrange, Louis, **4**:1393

Leisure sports, participation in, **3**:958

Leland, George Adams, **2**:861, **3**:1179

Lemaire, Lyn, **2**:843

Lemon, Meadowlark, **1**:172

Lendl, Ivan, **4**:1605

Lengendre, Robert, **4**:1618

Lenglen, Suzanne, **1**:39, **4**:1606, **4**:1693

Lenin, Vladimir, **3**:998

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Lenoir, Jean, **3:1017**
 Leonard, Benny, **1:243**
 Leonard, Lee, **2:523**
 Leonard, Ray, **3:1144**
 Lepennec, Emilie, **2:718**
 Lepper, Merry, **3:968**
 Lerner, Helen, **2:597**
Lesbianism, 2:576, 3:926–931, 4:1609. See also
 Homophobia
 competitiveness in sport and, **3:928–929**
 future, **3:931–932**
 historical foundations, **3:926–927**
 homonegative attitudes, **3:926, 3:929–931**
 recognition of lesbians in sport, **3:930–931**
 sexuality and sport, **3:927–928**
 success of women athletes and, **3:928**
 vocabulary, **3:926**
 Lesgaft, Pyotr, **3:1179**
 Leslie, Lisa, **1:174, 2:510**
 Lever, Sir Ashton, **1:79**
 Levin, Jenifer, **3:938**
 Lewis, Carl, **1:115, 3:1146, 4:1618, 4:1623,**
 4:1627
 Lewis, Dio, **2:861**
 Lewis, Duffy, **2:585**
 Lewis, Joe, **4:1733**
 Lewis, Jonas Norman, **1:336**
 Lewis, William Henry, **2:812, 3:1324**
 Lexan, Ben, **1:54**
 Li Bong-ju, **1:234**
 Liboton, Roland, **1:188**
 Liddell, Eric, **3:1335**
 Lieb, Fred, **4:1537**
 Liebling, A. J., **4:1539–1540**
Lifeguarding, 3:932–934, 4:1564–1566
 Lilienthal, Otto, **4:1423**
 Lillard, Joe, **2:628**
 Lillehammer Olympics (1994), **3:1122–1123**
 Lima, Vanderlei, **3:1110**
 Limas, Arlene, **4:1594**
 Lin Ma, **4:1591**
 Lincoln, Abraham, **3:1233**
 Lincoln, D. F., **3:1179**
 Lind, John, **4:1569**
 Ling, Per Henrik, **3:1178, 4:1524**
 Ling Association, **3:1066–1068, 3:1179**
 Linton, Arthur, **3:1165**
 Lipa, Elisabeta, **3:1295**
 Lipinski, Tara, **1:308, 3:1229**
 Liston, Sonny, **1:243**
Literature, 3:934–939. See also Magazines;
 Sportswriting and reporting
 epic poems and feats, **3:935–936**
 modern sports literature, **3:936–939**
 narrative theory, **3:1056–1058**
 physical education supported by, **3:1176–1178**
Little Women, **4:1489**
 Livy, **3:1039**
 Lloyd, Earl, **1:172**
 Loader, Danyon, **3:1074**
 Lobo, Rebecca, **1:174, 2:810**
 Local-revenue sharing, **3:1263**
 Locke, John, **3:1177**
 Lockouts, collective bargaining and, **1:338, 2:657**
 Loie, Fuller, **1:439**
 London, Jack, **4:1415–1416**
 London Marathon, **2:874, 3:967, 3:970**
 London Olympics (1908), **3:1118**
 London Olympics (1948), **4:1657, 4:1691**
 Londoner Norton, **3:1021**
Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner, **3:938**
 Long horse (vault), **2:717**
 Long jump, **4:1618, 4:1623**
 Longboat, Thomas, **1:281, 3:1064**
 Longbow, English, **1:77–78**
Longest Yard, The, **3:1049**
 Longfellow, Wilbert, **3:932, 3:933**
 Longhi, Stefano, **2:501**
 Lonormand, Sebastian, **3:1148**
 Lopes, Carlos, **3:1204**
 Lopez, Steven, **4:1594**
 Lord, Thomas, **3:940**
Lord's Cricket Ground, 1:99, 3:939–941
 Los Angeles Dodgers, **3:995, 3:1009, 4:1530,**
 4:1710
 Los Angeles Lakers, **4:1673–1674**
 Los Angeles Olympics (1984), **3:906, 3:1115,**
 3:1116, 4:1483–1485, 4:1506–1507
 Louganis, Greg, **1:31–1:33, 2:476, 2:477**
 Louis, Joe, **1:243, 1:246, 3:1081, 3:1236**
 Louys, Spiridon, **3:967**
 Love III, Davis, **2:509**
Love Me Tender, **3:938**
 Lovelock, John Edward, **3:1073**
 Lovin, Fita, **1:401**
 Low-impact aerobics, **1:13**

Lowry, Philip, **1:159**
 Lowry, Sunny, **4:1358**
 LPGA. *See* Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA)
 Lucas, Jerry, **1:175**
 Lucas, Tad, **3:1274, 3:1276**
 Luce, Henry, **4:1539**
 Lucian, **3:966**
 Ludodiversity, folk games and, **1:185**
Luge, 2:542, 3:941–943
 Lunn, Arnold, **4:1398–1400**
 Luque, Adolfo, **1:155**
 Lusko, Cammie, **1:224**
 Luther, Martin, **3:1252**
 Luyendyk, Arie, **2:794**
 Lydiard, Arthur, **3:968–970**
 Lynn, Fred, **2:586**
 Lynn, Peter, **3:903**

M

Mable, Alice, **4:1606**
Maccabiah Games, 3:944–947
 MacFadden, Bernarr, **1:219–1:221, 2:606**
 MacGregor, John, **1:288, 1:289**
 Mackenzie, Alister, **3:988**
 MacLean, John, **2:843**
 MacLennan, Hugh Dan, **4:1362, 4:1363**
 Macredy, R. J., **3:1198**
Madison Square Garden, 3:947–948, 3:1274, 3:1275
 boxing and, **1:243, 1:247**
 statuary, **1:94**
 Maehata, Hideko, **2:867**
Magazines, 3:948–954, 4:1475. *See also*
 Literature; Sportswriting and reporting
 abstract and indexing services, **3:951–952**
 academic sport and physical education periodicals, **3:949–951, 3:959, 3:1175–1176, 3:1223**
 full-text and online access, **3:952–953**
 future, **3:953**
 general sport, **3:948, 4:1538–1539**
 memorabilia, information on, **3:997**
 newsletters and bulletins, **3:949**
 sport-specific, **3:948–949, 3:970, 3:1046, 3:1211, 3:1213, 4:1510, 4:1686**

Mahoney, Mary, **1:245**
 Maier, Hermann, **3:1123**
 Major Indoor Lacrosse League (MILL), **3:917**
Major League, 3:1050
 Major League Baseball (MLB), **3:923, 4:1522. *See also* Free agency; Unionism; World Series; Wrigley Field; specific teams**
 economics, public policy and, **2:489**
 endorsements and, **2:509**
 fan behavior, **4:1479**
 franchise relocation and, **2:651**
 Internet and, **4:1499**
 radio broadcasts, **3:1240, 3:1241, 3:1244–1246, 4:1712**
 religion and, **3:1255**
 revenue sharing, **3:1263–1264**
 salary caps, **3:1323**
 sponsorship and, **4:1483–1485**
 sports psychology, use of, **3:1170**
 substance abuse issues, **3:1166–1167**
 team ownership, **3:1131, 3:1133–1136**
 television broadcasts, **1:163–164, 3:992, 4:1485**
 ticket sales, **4:1474–1475**
 Major League Baseball Players' Association (MLBPA). *See* **Unionism**
 Malaysia, **1:358, 3:1345–1348, 4:1372–1376, 4:1461–1463**
 Male hormones, synthetic, **3:1116**
 Mallory, George Leigh, **3:1026–1028, 3:1038**
 Malone, Karl, **1:32, 1:173**
 Malone, Moses, **1:173**
 Malya, netball in, **3:1067**
Man and Wife, 3:936
Management, 3:954–962. *See also* Economics and public policy; Marketing; Ownership
 academic study of, **3:959**
 allied industries, **3:959–961**
 as coordination, **3:957–958**
 defining the field, **3:954–956**
 economic impact of sports industry, **3:958–959**
 facility management, **2:546–551**
 future, **3:961**
 periodicals, **3:951**
 services, classifying, **3:956–957**
 Manchester City, **3:995**
 Manchester United, **1:248, 1:249, 3:995–996, 3:1132**
 Mandela, Nelson, **3:1236, 4:1458**
 Mangiarotti, Edoardo, **2:581**
 Manning, Peyton, **2:810**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Mantegazza, Paolo, **2:852**
- Mantle, Mickey, **1:149, 4:1734**
- Maori rugby players, **3:1072, 3:1076–1077**
- Maple Leaf Gardens, 3:962–964**
- Maracana Stadium, 3:964–965**
- Maradona, Diego, **4:1709**
- Marathon and distance running, 3:965–971, 4:1627–1628, 4:1630, 4:1631. See also Boston Marathon**
- Athens Olympics (2004), **3:1109, 3:1110**
- jogging inspired by, **2:873–874, 3:968–970**
- Kenyan participation, **2:899–900**
- Native American running, **3:969**
- New Zealand, **3:1075**
- Olympics, **3:966–967, 3:1204**
- Portugal, **3:1204**
- women, **3:967–968**
- Marathon canoeing, **1:290–291**
- Marbury, Stephon, **1:348**
- “March Madness,” **1:175**
- Marciano, Rocky, **1:243**
- Marey, Etienne-Jules, **3:1179**
- Mariani, Carolina, **1:88**
- Marino, Dan, **4:1738**
- Maris, Roger, **1:149, 3:1166, 4:1733**
- Marketing, 3:971–980. See also Commodification and commercialization; Media-sports complex; Ownership; Spectator consumption behavior; Sponsorship; Sport tourism; Sporting goods industry**
- basics, **3:971**
- current practices, **3:975–978**
- facility naming rights, **2:551–553**
- future, **3:978–979**
- mascots and, **3:982**
- memorabilia, **3:996–998**
- newspaper sports pages, **3:1079**
- of Olympics (*See* Olympics)
- overview, **3:971–973**
- periodicals, **3:951**
- process, **3:973–975**
- of tennis, **4:1604, 4:1608–1610**
- United Kingdom, **4:1658–1659**
- Marshall, Mike, **2:619**
- Marshall, Nancy, **1:168**
- Martial arts, **3:939. See also Japanese martial arts, traditional; Judo; Jujutsu; Kendo; Silat; Taekwando; Wushu**
- China, **1:310**
- mental conditioning, used for, **3:1000**
- mixed, **3:1010–1012**
- silat, **4:1372–1376**
- tai chi, **4:1595–1597**
- Martin, Casey, **1:7**
- Martin, Christy, **1:244**
- Marx, Karl, **3:1206, 4:1505–1506**
- Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC), **1:319, 1:387, 3:939–940**
- Mascots, 1:162, 3:980–985**
- controversies, **3:982–984, 4:1667**
- current, **3:981–982**
- perspectives, **3:984–985**
- Masculinity, 3:985–988, 4:1360, 4:1675**
- Mason, James, **3:954**
- Masotta, Katrina, **2:738**
- Massey, Christopher Michael, **4:1412**
- Masters games, **3:1342–1344**
- Masters Tournament, 3:988–990**
- Matete, Samual, **1:23**
- Mathewson, Christy, **1:149, 2:625**
- Mathias, Christian, **1:210**
- Matsui, Hideki, **1:154, 2:861**
- Matterhorn, **3:1040**
- Mattes, Roland, **4:1575, 4:1578**
- Matthes, Ruthie, **3:1035**
- Maturation, defined, **2:703**
- Mauermayer, Gisela, **2:730**
- Mauritzi, C.F., **2:474**
- Mayans, **3:1003–1005**
- Mayer, Helene, **2:582**
- Mayer, Hermann, **1:133**
- Mays, Willie, **1:149, 1:157, 4:1710**
- Ma'ysz, Adam, **3:1195**
- Mazzinghi, Sandro, **2:854**
- MCC (Marylebone Cricket Club). *See* Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC)
- McCarthy, E. Jerome, **3:973**
- McCartney, Kathleen, **2:843**
- McCloy, Charles, **3:1179**
- McCormack, Mark, **1:26**
- McCormick, Kelly, **2:476**
- McCormick, Pat, **2:476**
- McCoy, Georgia, **2:598**
- McDaniel, Stephen, **2:826**
- McDonald, Les, **1:192**
- McDonald's (company), **1:111**
- McEnroe, John, **1:39, 4:1605**
- McFadden, Bernarr, **2:880, 2:884**

McGee, Maz, **4**:1563
 McGraw, John, **1**:148
 McGwire, Mark, **1**:160, **3**:1166
 McHale, Kevin, **1**:173
 McKenley, Herb, **2**:857, **2**:858
 McKinley, Mount, **3**:1044
 McLane, David, **2**:745
 McLaren, Bruce, **3**:1073–1074
 McLish, Rachel, **1**:224
 McManus, Sean, **3**:1192
 McNally, Dave, **1**:150, **1**:337, **2**:654
 McNamee, Graham, **3**:1190, **3**:1245, **4**:1476,
4:1712
McNeil v. NFL, **4**:1651
 McPhail, Larry, **4**:1733
 Mears, Rick, **2**:795
Media-sports complex, **3**:961, **3**:990–996,
4:1476–1478. *See also* **ESPN; Magazines;**
Movies; Play-by-play announcing; Radio;
Sportswriting and reporting; X games
 debates, **3**:993–994
 deregulation, new technology, and globalization,
3:994–995
 Eurosport, **2**:530–532
 future, **3**:996, **3**:1082
 government intervention in sports broadcasting,
3:993
 history, **3**:990–991
 mountain biking, coverage of, **3**:1032
 national identity, representing, **3**:1082
 newspapers, **3**:990–991, **3**:1078–1083
 Robinson, Jackie, story of, **3**:1047–1048
 sports-television relationship/transformation,
3:991–993 (*See also* **Television**)
 superleagues and media control, **3**:995
 symbiosis and vertical integration, **3**:995–996,
3:1134
 synthetic images (hyperreality), **3**:1208–1209
 women's sports, coverage of, **4**:1697–1700
 Medicine, sports. *See* **Sports medicine**
Medline/PubMed, **3**:952
 Melbourne Olympics (1956), **1**:125
 Melges, Buddy, **1**:54
 Melzack, Ronald, **3**:1139
Memorabilia industry, **3**:996–998

Mendez, Jose, **1**:155
 Mendoza, Daniel, **1**:242
 Mendy, Jean Baptiste, **3**:1338
Mental conditioning, **3**:998–1003, **3**:1012–1016.
See also **Coaching; Psychology**
 Mental health, **2**:536
 Mercedes-Benz, **4**:1604
Mercer v. Duke University, **4**:1613–1614
 Merckx, Eddy, **1**:188
 Merivale, Charles, **1**:206
 Merlin, Joseph, **4**:1391
 Merrill, Janice, **3**:1144
Mesoamerican ball court games, **3**:1003–1006
 Messersmith, Andy, **1**:150, **1**:337, **2**:654
 Messner, Reinhold, **3**:1029, **3**:1030
Metamorphoses, **3**:935
Mexico, **3**:1005–1010
 Central American and Caribbean Games, **3**:1006–
 1007
 future, **3**:1009–1010
 history, **3**:1005–1006
 Mesoamerican ball court games, **3**:1003–1006
 mountain climbing, **3**:1038
 Olympic Games, **3**:1008–1009
 organizations, **3**:1009
 Pan American Games, **3**:1007–1008, **3**:1143,
3:1144
 participant and spectator sports, **3**:1006
 professional sports, **3**:1009
 rodeos, **3**:1273, **3**:1278
 women and sport, **3**:1009
 Mexico City Olympics (1968), **1**:17, **3**:1008–1009,
4:1506, **4**:1526
 Meyer, Debbie, **4**:1578
 Meyer, Starke, **1**:209
 Miami Dolphins, **4**:1479
 Michigan State University, **1**:350
 Micronutrients, **3**:1092–1094
 Middle Ages, sports in, **3**:1161–1162
 Middle Tennessee State University, **3**:984
 Middle-distance races, **4**:1627–1628, **4**:1630, **4**:1631
 Mikami, Takayuki, **2**:888
 MILL (Major Indoor Lacrosse League), **3**:917
 Miller, Charles, **1**:254
 Miller, Gin, **1**:13
 Miller, Johnny, **1**:258
 Miller, Marvin, **1**:337
 Miller, Warren, **4**:1409
 Milliat, Alice, **2**:574

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Milo of Crotona, **3:1210, 4:1686**
 Milovich, Dimitrije, **4:1419**
 Minerals, healthy eating and, **2:457**
 Minnesota Vikings, **3:1168**
 Minor leagues, **1:146**
 Miracle on Ice, **3:918, 3:1121, 4:1487**
 Miresmaili, Arash, **3:1109**
 Miske, Billy, **3:1243**
 Missett, Judy Sheppard, **1:12, 2:608**
 Mitchell, Abe, **3:1307**
 Mitchell, Billy, **3:1148**
 Mitchell, E. D., **4:1480**
 Mitchell, Jackie, **1:153**
 Mitchell, Maxine, **2:582**
 Mitford, Mary Russel, **3:936**
 Mittermaier, Rosi, **4:1402**
Mixed martial arts, 3:1010–1012
 MLB. *See* Major League Baseball (MLB)
 Moceanu, Dominique, **1:308**
 Modern dance, **1:434, 1:438, 2:772–773**
 Modernism, **3:1205–1207**
 Mogul skiing, **4:1408, 4:1409**
 Molino, Cosimo, **2:852**
Monday Night Football, **3:1191–1192, 4:1479**
 Mont Blanc, **3:1040**
 Montagu, Ivor, **4:1588**
 Montana, Joe, **2:810**
 Montgolfier brothers, **1:142, 3:1148**
 Montgomery, Jim, **4:1578**
 Montgomery, John, **4:1423**
 Montgomery, Tim, **3:1167**
 Montherlant, Henry de, **3:937**
 Montreal Canadiens, **4:1547**
 Montreal Olympics (1976), **3:971, 3:1115, 3:1116, 4:1482, 4:1506**
 Moolenijzer, Nicolaas, **3:908**
 Moore, Steve, **4:1502**
 Moos, Bill, **1:349**
 Morceli, Noureddine, **1:23**
 Morgan, Joe, **1:150**
 Morgan, John N., **3:1342**
 Morgan, William G., **4:1676–1677**
 Moriarty, Jay, **2:543, 2:544**
 Morris, Alwyn, **1:281**
 Morris, Mark, **1:440**
 Morris, “Old” Tom, **1:256**
 Morrison, Cynthia, **2:732**
 Morrison, Fred, **1:41**
 Morrison, Tommy, **1:31, 1:33**
 Morriss, Violette, **3:1024**
 Morse, Samuel F. B., **3:1153–1154**
 Moscow Olympics (1980), **3:999, 3:1116, 3:1305, 4:1506–1507**
 Moser-Pröll, Annemarie, **1:133**
 Moss, Julie, **2:843**
 Mosso, Angelo, **2:852**
 Mota, Rosa, **1:234, 3:1204**
Motivation, 3:998–1003, 3:1012–1016, 3:1174.
 See also Coaching; Psychology
 spectator consumption behavior and, **4:1470–1471**
 television, fans motivated by, **4:1477–1478**
 Motley, Marion, **2:628**
 Moto Guzzi, **3:1021, 3:1022**
Motorboat racing, 3:1017–1019
Motorcycle racing, 3:1020–1024
Mount Everest, 3:1024–1031, 4:1657–1658
 early interest in climbing, **3:1025–1027**
 first expeditions, **3:1027–1028**
 later expeditions, **3:1029–1031, 3:1045**
 U. S.-British team, 1952, **3:1027–1028**
Mountain biking, 3:1031–1037
 bicycle technology, **3:1032**
 biking events, **2:542, 3:1032–1034**
 future, **3:1037**
 governing bodies, **3:1034–1035**
 media coverage, **3:1032**
 problems, **3:1036–1037**
 women bikers, **3:1035–1036**
 Mountain boarding, **2:542**
Mountaineering, 1:42–43, 3:939, 3:1037–1047.
 See also Mount Everest
 Alpine style, **3:1045–1046**
 basic climbing procedures, **3:1041–1043**
 clubs, **3:1046**
 difficulty of climb, **3:1040**
 early history, **3:1038–1039**
 Eiger North Face, **2:498–502**
 mental conditioning for, **3:1000**
 rules, **3:1043**
 short climbs and expeditions, **3:1044**
 siege techniques for big mountains, **3:1044–1045**
 sports climbing, **3:1046–1047**
 technical climbing, **3:1039–1041**
 tools, new, **3:1043–1045**
 women, **3:1028, 3:1030, 3:1041, 3:1044**
 Movement, human, **2:771–776.** *See also Physical education*

Movement education, **3:1182**

Movies, **1:16**, **1:18**, **3:1047–1051**

arm wrestling, **1:90**

Australian rules football, **1:130**

boxing, **1:247**

figure skating, **4:1384**

motorcycle racing, **3:1022**

running, **3:1335**

skiing, **4:1400**, **4:1408–1409**

synchronized swimming, **4:1580**

Venice Beach, **4:1669**

Mr. America contest, **3:1211**, **4:1670**

Mueller-Preiss, Ellen, **2:582**

Muldoon, William, **4:1720**

Muldowney, Shirley, **1:134**

Mulford, Ralph, **2:794**

Mulhall, Lucille, **3:1274**

Multiculturalism, **3:1051–1053**. *See also*

Anthropology Days; Native American games and sports; Racism

Mummery, Albert F., **3:1030**, **3:1041**

Munich Olympics (1972), **3:1116**, **4:1506**

Murdoch, John, **3:1335**

Murdoch, Rupert, **1:111**, **1:112**, **3:994**, **3:995**, **3:1270**, **4:1659**

Murphy, Dennis, **2:745**

Murphy Cup, **2:745**

Murray, Jim, **4:1539–1540**

Murray, Lenda, **1:224**, **1:225**

Murray, Ty, **3:1276**

Muscle Beach, **4:1670**

Muscle Beach (CA). *See* **Venice Beach**

Musial, Stan, **1:149**

Muster, Thomas, **1:133**

Mutlu, Halil, **4:1689**

Myskina, Anastasia, **4:1609**

N

Naegele, Bob, Jr., **2:745**

Nagano Olympics (1998), **2:860**, **3:1123**, **4:1385**

Nagashima, Shigeo, **2:861**

Naginata (naginatado), **2:867–872**, **3:1054–1056**

NAIG. *See* North American Indigenous Games (NAIG)

Naish, Robby, **3:903**

Naismith, James, **1:168–169**, **1:343**, **3:1066**, **3:1254**

Naismith Memorial Hall, **1:176**

Nam Sun Uong, **3:905**

Namath, Joe, **2:507**, **2:629**, **4:1564**

Namba, Yasuko, **3:1030**

Names

facility naming rights, **2:551–553** (*See also* **Sponsorship**)

nicknames, **1:157–158**, **2:525**

Nandrolone, **4:1526**, **4:1609**

Nanga Parbat, **3:1045**

Nansen, Fridtjof, **4:1398**, **4:1404**

Narrative theory, **3:1056–1060**

NASCAR. *See* National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR)

NASPE. *See* North American Society for Sport Management (NASSM)

NASSM (North American Society for Sport Management), **3:954–955**, **3:959**

Nastase, Ilie, **2:507**, **3:1279**, **4:1605**

National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR), **1:134**, **1:136**, **3:978**, **4:1530**

Nextel (Winston Cup), **3:1083–1085**

radio broadcasts, **3:1246**

sponsorship and, **4:1484**

television contracts, **3:992**, **3:1085**

National Baseball Hall of Fame (Cooperstown, NY), **1:155**

National Basketball Association (NBA), **3:947**

See also specific teams

agents and, **1:29**

brand management and, **1:249**

collective bargaining and, **1:337**

economics, public policy and, **2:489**

endorsements and, **2:509**

foreign interest in, **3:1069**

franchise relocation and, **2:651–652**

free agency and, **2:654**, **2:657**

history, **1:170–172**

Olympics, players at, **1:175**, **3:1109**, **3:1113**, **3:1220–1221**

players' union (*See* **Unionism**)

racism and, **3:1237**

radio broadcasts, **3:1245**

revenue sharing, **3:1263–1264**

salary cap, **3:1322**

sponsorship and, **4:1484**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- team ownership, **3:1134**
 television contracts, **3:992, 4:1500**
 violence in, **4:1673–1674**
- National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA),
3:920–921, 3:958. See also College athletes; Intercollegiate athletics
- Academic Reform Movement (ARM), **3:1324, 3:1326–1327**
- agents and, **1:28**
- amateur *vs.* professional debate, **1:45–49, 1:339**
- Carnegie Report and, **1:296**
- ethics and, **4:1531–1532**
- guidelines, **1:35, 2:809**
- history, **1:341**
- lacrosse, **3:916, 3:917**
- spending on sports by schools in, **3:958–959**
- sponsorships, **4:1483**
- substance abuse, **3:1168**
- television and, **1:174–175, 1:350, 2:628, 3:991–992, 4:1476, 4:1483**
- tennis, **4:1608**
- Title IX and, **4:1615–1616**
- track and field events, **4:1624, 4:1631–1632**
- wrestling, **4:1719**
- National Football League (NFL), **2:625–628, 3:921, 3:923, 3:961. See also Super Bowl; specific teams**
- agents and, **1:29**
- American Football League-NFC lawsuit and merger, **3:921, 4:1563–1564**
- collective bargaining and, **1:337**
- economics, public policy and, **2:489**
- endorsements and, **2:509**
- fan behavior, **4:1479**
- foreign interest in, **3:1069**
- franchise relocation and, **2:650–651**
- free agency and, **2:654, 2:657**
- globalization and, **1:353**
- players, contributions to community by, **4:1670**
- players' union (*See Unionism*)
- racism and, **3:1237**
- radio broadcasts, **3:1245, 3:1246**
- religion and, **3:1255**
- revenue sharing, **2:490, 3:1263–1264**
- salary cap, **3:1322–1323**
- sponsorship and, **4:1484**
- sports psychology, use of, **3:1170**
- substance abuse, **3:1167–1168**
- team ownership, **3:1134**
- television and, **1:353–354, 2:628–629, 3:992–993, 3:1191–1192, 4:1476, 4:1479, 4:1501, 4:1562**
- National Hockey League (NHL), **3:947. See also specific teams**
- agents and, **1:28, 1:29**
- Canada, **1:282–283**
- collective bargaining and, **1:337**
- economics, public policy and, **2:489**
- franchise relocation and, **2:652**
- free agency and, **2:654, 2:657**
- history, **2:740**
- players' union (*See Unionism*)
- radio broadcasts, **3:962–963, 3:990**
- revenue sharing, **3:1263–1264**
- salary caps, **3:1323**
- sponsorship and, **4:1484–1485**
- Stanley Cup, **2:739, 4:1546–1548**
- team ownership, **3:1134**
- television and, **3:991, 3:992, 4:1500**
- National identity, sport and. *See Sport and national identity*
- National Indian Athletic Association, **3:1060, 3:1063**
- National Indian Finals Rodeo, **3:1060, 3:1063**
- National Lacrosse League (NLL), **3:917**
- National League (NL), **1:145, 1:150**
- National Library of Medicine, **3:952**
- National Off-Road Bicycling Association (NORBA)
 events, **3:1032–1035**
- National Senior Games and Senior Olympics,
3:1340–1342
- National Veterans Golden Age Games (NVGAG),
3:1344
- National Wrestling Coaches Association, **4:1614–1616**
- Native American games and sports, 3:1060–1066. See also Lacrosse**
- all-Native sporting competitions, **3:1051, 3:1060, 3:1062–1064**
- Anthropology Days and, **1:68**
- archery, **1:77, 1:93**
- dance and, **1:432–1:434**
- Euro-American impact, **3:1061–1062**
- history, **3:1060–1061, 3:1247**
- hunting and, **2:782**
- mascot controversies, **3:983–984, 4:1667**
- Mesoamerican ball court games, **3:1003–1006**

Native American games and sports (*continued*)

mountain climbing for religious reasons, **3:1038**
 racism and, **3:1237, 3:1276**
 religion and, **3:1247**
 rodeos, **3:1060, 3:1062, 3:1063, 3:1273, 3:1276**
 running, **3:969, 3:1063**
 significance, **3:1065–1066**
 traditional sports and games competitions,
3:1064–1065

Natural, The, **3:1049–1051**

Navratilova, Martina, **1:39, 2:576, 3:931, 4:1606,**
4:1609, 4:1693

Nazis, **2:677–678, 4:1657**. *See also* Berlin Olympics
 (1936)

motorcycle racing supported by, **3:1023**
 in Romania, **3:1279**

worker sport and, **4:1703–1705**

NBA. *See* National Basketball Association (NBA)

NBC, **1:353, 1:354, 3:992, 3:1244, 3:1246, 4:1485,**
4:1585, 4:1698, 4:1699

NCAA. *See* National Collegiate Athletic Association
 (NCAA)

Ndereba, Catherine, **1:234, 2:899**

Nebiolo, Primo, **4:1715–1717**

Necessary Roughness, **3:1050**

Negotiations, labor. *See* **Collective bargaining**

Negro National League, **1:147**

Neiminen, Toni, **3:1122**

Neligan, Gwen, **2:582**

Nelson, Byron, **2:692, 3:989**

Nelson, Don, **1:173**

Nelson, Lindsey, **3:1245**

Nelson, Maud, **1:154**

Nepal, **3:1025–1030**

Netball, 3:1066–1068, 3:1072, 3:1074–1075

Netherlands, 2:747, 3:1069–1071

Elfstedentocht, **2:502–503**

korfball, **3:907–911, 3:1069**

lifeguarding, **3:932, 3:933**

sailing, history of, **3:1315**

skating, history of, **4:1381, 4:1388, 4:1390**

soccer, **3:1070, 4:1709**

women's sports, coverage of, **4:1698**

Netsch, Adolf, **3:1284**

Neubert, Ramona, **2:731**

Neville, Jack, **3:1154**

New criticism, narrative theory, **3:1056–1057**

New England Patriots, **4:1563**

New Jersey Nets, **3:977**

New York Cosmos, **4:1431**

New York Giants (baseball team), **3:1243–3:1245,**
4:1712

New York Giants (football team), **4:1734**

New York Jets, **4:1564**

New York Knicks, **3:947, 3:948, 3:995**

New York Liberty, **3:947**

New York Marathon, **3:970, 3:1075**

New York Mets, **4:1712**

New York Rangers, **3:947, 3:948, 3:995**

New York Yacht Club, **1:55, 1:316**

New York Yankees, **1:248, 3:1243–1245, 3:1264,**
4:1649, 4:1711–1712, 4:1732

New Zealand, 1:357, 3:1071–1078. *See also*
Commonwealth Games

future, **3:1077**

history, **3:1072**

netball, **3:1068, 3:1072, 3:1074–1075**

organizations, **3:1076**

participant and spectator sports, **3:1072–1074**

rodeos, **3:1273, 3:1278**

rugby in, **3:1075–1077, 3:1116, 3:1299–1301,**
4:1458 (*See also* All Blacks)

sport in society, **3:1076–1077**

televised sports in, **3:993–3:995**

women and sport, **3:1074–1075, 3:1077**

youth sports, **3:1075**

Newby, Arthur, **2:793**

Newby-Fraser, Paula, **2:843**

Newcombe, John, **1:39**

News Corporation (Fox), **1:354, 3:994, 3:995,**
3:1246, 4:1485

Newsletters, **3:949**

Newspapers, 3:990–991, 3:1078–1083, 4:1616–
1617. *See also* **Media-sports complex;**

Sportswriting and reporting

Nextel (Winston) Cup, 1:136, 3:1083–1085

NFL. *See* National Football League (NFL)

Ngugi, John, **1:402**

NHL. *See* National Hockey League (NHL)

Nibelungenlied, **3:935**

Nichibo Spinning Mills, **4:1678**

Nichols, Billy, **4:1414**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

Nickalls, Vivian and Guy, **2:728**
 Nicklaus, Jack, **1:258, 2:507, 3:989, 3:1154–1155, 3:1308, 4:1543**
 Nicknames
 baseball, **1:157–158**
 ESPN and, **2:525**
Nigeria, 1:438, 3:1085–1088
 Nike (company), **3:959, 3:974–976, 4:1489, 4:1520–1522**
 Freddie Adu and, **2:510**
 LeBron James and, **2:508**
 Michael Jordan and, **1:111–112, 1:251, 2:506**
 Steve Prefontaine and, **2:608**
 Tiger Woods and, **2:507**
 Nixon, Richard M, **4:1507, 4:1610**
 Noel, J. B., **3:1026**
 Noguchi, Mizuki, **3:1109**
 Noll, Greg, **2:544**
 Nomo, Hideo, **1:154, 2:861**
 NORBA (National Off-Road Bicycling Association)
 events, **3:1032–1035**
 Nordau, Max, **3:944**
 Nordquest, Joe, **3:1211**
 Norgay, Tenzing, **1:115, 3:1026–1030, 3:1044**
 Norman, Greg, **1:258**
 Norman, Peter, **1:17**
 North American Indigenous Games (NAIG), **3:1051, 3:1060, 3:1064**
 North American Society for Sport Management (NASSM), **3:954–955, 3:959, 3:960**
North Dallas Forty, **3:1049**
 North Korea, **3:905–907, 4:1587, 4:1592**
 Northern Games, **3:1060, 3:1065**
 Norton, Edward, **3:1027**
 Norton, Ken, **4:1733**
Norway, 1:204, 2:748, 3:1088–1090, 3:1118, 4:1545
 Bislett Stadium, **1:204–205**
 Holmenkollen Ski Jump, **2:747–750, 4:1395**
 Lillehammer Olympics (1994), **3:1122–1123**
 Oslo Olympics (1952), **3:1119–1120**
 ski jumping, **4:1395–1396**
 skiing, **4:1400, 4:1403, 4:1404**
 Notre Dame University, **3:1254, 4:1476**. *See also*
 Rockne, Knute
 Nott, Tara, **4:1688**
 Nowitzki, Dirk, **1:119**
 Nurmi, Paavo, **1:115, 2:589**

Nutrition, 3:1090–1095, 3:1162. *See also* **Diet and weight loss**
 for competition, **3:1094–1095**
 healthy eating, **2:456–457**
 micronutrients and dietary supplements, **3:1092–1094, 4:1687**
 osteoporosis and, **3:1127–1129**
 for training, **3:1090–1092**
 Nuvolari, Tazio, **2:853, 3:1022**
 NVGAG (National Veterans Golden Age Games), **3:1344**
 Nykänen, Matti, **3:1122, 4:1396**

O

Oakland Athletics, **3:1170, 4:1710, 4:1711**
 Oakland Raiders, **3:1167**
 Oakley, Annie, **2:785**
 Obesity. *See also* **Diet and weight loss**
 exercise, health and, **2:533, 2:534, 4:1508**
 youth sports and, **4:1510, 4:1741–1742**
 O'Brien, Herb, **4:1684**
 O'Brien, Larry, **4:1673**
 O'Brien, Parry, **4:1621**
 Ocean (offshore) sailboat racing, **3:1319**
 Ochoa, Francisco Fernandez, **3:1120**
 Octopush, **4:1646–1647**
 Odell, Noel, **3:1027, 3:1045**
Odyssey, **3:935, 4:1718**
 Oerter, Al, **4:1624**
Officiating, 3:1096–1102
 changing rules over time, **3:1101**
 components of official's job, **3:1096–1098**
 errors by officials, **3:1100–1101**
 figure skating, **4:1386–1387**
 selecting and evaluating officials, **3:1099–1100**
 sport and competition level, effect of, **3:1098–1099**
 violence toward officials, **3:1099**
 Women's World Cup, **4:1701–1702**
 Off-road auto racing, **1:133**
 Ogilvie, Bruce, **3:1170**
 Ogimura, Ichiro, **4:1589**
 Oh, Sadharu, **2:861**
 Oikaze, Yoshida, **4:1559, 4:1560**
 Okafor, Emeka, **1:348**
 Okayama, Yasutaka, **1:119**
 Okinawa, **2:886–887**
 Okrent, Daniel, **2:566**

Olberman, Keith, **2:525**
 Older adults. *See* **Senior sport**
 OLN (Outdoor Life Network), **3:1032**
 Olson, Scott, **2:745, 4:1391**
Olympia, 2:700–702, 3:1102–1104, 3:1161, 3:1248–1250, 4:1475, 4:1499, 4:1624
 Olympic Charter, **3:1112, 3:1220**
 Olympic flag, **3:1113–1114**
 “Olympic handball,” **2:720**
 Olympic hymn, **3:1114**
 Olympic motto, **3:1116**
Olympic Stadium (Berlin), 1936, 3:1105–1107
 Olympics. *See also* International Olympic Committee (IOC); **Special Olympics**; United States Olympic Committee (USOC)
 amateurs *vs.* professionals in (*See* **Amateur vs. professional debate**)
 ancient games (*See* **Olympia**)
 Anthropology Days and, **1:68–70**
 boycotts, **3:919, 3:1116, 3:1120, 3:1305, 4:1506, 4:1688**
 Cold War, **3:1119–1122, 4:1478, 4:1506–1507**
 facility management and, **2:546–547**
 fitness and, **2:601**
 gender verification in, **2:672–673**
 International Olympic Academy, **2:817–820**
 law and, **3:919–920**
 marketing of, **1:352–354, 2:509, 3:971, 3:978, 3:1115–1116, 4:1482–1483, 4:1485**
 multiculturalism in, **3:1051–1052**
 racism and, **4:1458, 4:1460, 4:1704–1705**
 ritual and, **3:1268**
 as spectacle, **4:1500, 4:1501**
 substance abuse (*See* **Performance enhancement**)
 technology, controlling innovations due to, **4:1599, 4:1601, 4:1602**
 television broadcasts, **1:353–354, 3:991, 4:1501**
 trademark protection, **3:923**
 women in, **2:573–574, 2:667–668**
 Worker Olympics and, **3:1304, 4:1703–1705**
Olympics, 2004, 2:681, 2:719, 3:1107–1111
 drug use in, **1:18–19**
 swimming at, **4:1578**

Olympics, Summer

Antwerp (1920), **1:187, 1:189, 3:1118**
 archery, **1:80–82**
 Argentinian participation, **1:87**
 Athens (1896), **3:966, 3:967, 3:986, 3:1107, 3:1113, 3:1114, 3:1116**
 Athens (2004) (*See* **Olympics, 2004**)
 Atlanta (1996), **4:1532–1533**
 badminton, **1:139, 1:141**
 Barcelona (1992), **3:1115**
 baseball, **1:156**
 basketball, **1:175–176, 3:1109, 3:1113**
 Beijing (2008), **2:686**
 Berlin (1936) (*See* Berlin Olympics (1936))
 British participation, **4:1657, 4:1658**
 Chinese participation, **1:314–315**
 commercialism, **3:1115–1116**
 Cuban participation, **1:407–408**
 dance, **2:444**
 Dutch participation in, **3:1070**
 fencing, **2:580–582**
 Honduran participation, **2:757**
 Hungarian participation, **2:778–779**
 in-line skates, **4:1392**
 Italian participation, **2:854**
 Jamaican participation, **2:858–860**
 Japanese participation, **2:860, 2:867**
 judo, **2:882, 2:883**
 Kenyan participation, **2:898–899**
 Korean participation, **3:905**
 lacrosse, **3:914, 3:915, 3:917**
 London (1908), **3:1118**
 London (1948), **4:1657, 4:1691**
 Los Angeles (1984) (*See* Los Angeles Olympics (1984))
 marathons, **3:966–967**
 Melbourne (1956), **1:125**
 Mexican participation in, **3:1008–1009**
 Mexico City (1968) (*See* Mexico City Olympics (1968))
 Montreal (1976) (*See* Montreal Olympics (1976))
 Moscow (1980) (*See* Moscow Olympics (1980))
 Munich (1972), **3:1116, 4:1506**
 New Zealand participation, **3:1073–3:1075**
 Nigerian participation, **3:1085**
 Norwegian participation, **3:1088**
 pelota, **3:1157**
 pentathlon, **3:1157–1159**
 Polish participation, **3:1194–1195**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- political tensions, **3:1116**
 Portuguese participation, **3:1204, 3:1205**
 race walking in, **3:1233–1235**
 revival, **3:1112–1114**
 roller hockey, **4:1395**
 Romanian participation, **1:1279–1281**
 Rome (1960), **2:639–640, 2:854, 4:1485**
 rowing, **3:1295**
 sailing, **3:1314**
 Senegalese participation, **3:1337–1338**
 Seoul (1988), **3:906, 3:907**
 soccer, **4:1433**
 softball, **4:1451**
 Soviet participation, **3:1159, 3:1305**
 Stockholm (1912), **3:1117**
 swimming, **3:1113, 4:1575–1579**
 swimming, synchronized, **4:1580–1581**
 Swiss participation, **4:1582–1583**
 Sydney (2000) (*See* Sydney Olympics (2000))
 table tennis at, **4:1590–1591**
 taekwando, **4:1592, 4:1594**
 tennis, **4:1604, 4:1609**
 torch relay, **3:1114–1115**
 track and field, **3:968, 4:1618, 4:1622–1625**
 treatment of, **4:1632**
 tug-of-war, **4:1633–1634**
 Turkish participation, **4:1635, 4:1636**
 volleyball, **4:1678–1679**
 volleyball, beach, **4:1683**
 water polo, **3:1201**
 weightlifting, **3:1211, 4:1686–1688**
 windsurfing, **4:1695**
 winter games at, **3:1117–1118**
 women in, **3:986, 4:1503, 4:1576, 4:1622, 4:1623, 4:1625–1626, 4:1628, 4:1666, 4:1698, 4:1699, 4:1704**
 wrestling, **4:1719, 4:1720, 4:1722**
- Olympics, Winter, 3:1117–1123, 3:1236.** *See also*
 Lake Placid; St. Moritz
 Albertville (1992), **3:1122, 3:1349**
 biathlon (*See* **Biathlon and triathlon**)
 bobsledding, **1:211–212**
 Calgary (1988), **3:1121–1122**
 Chamonix (1924), **3:1118, 4:1545**
 Cold War games, **3:1119–1122**
 Cortina d'Ampezzo (1956), **2:854, 3:1120**
 curling, **1:419**
 early games, **3:1118–1119**
 figure skating, **4:1383–1386**
 Garmisch-Partenkirchen (1936), **3:1119**
 Grenoble (1968), **3:1120**
 Innsbruck (1964), **3:1120**
 Innsbruck (1976), **3:1120–1121**
 Italian participation, **2:854**
 Jamaican bobsled team, **2:856**
 Korean participation, **3:907**
 Lillehammer (1994), **3:1122–1123**
 luge, **3:942**
 Miracle on Ice (*See* Miracle on Ice)
 Nagano (1998), **2:860, 3:1123, 4:1385**
 Norwegian participation, **3:1088**
 Oslo (1952), **3:1119–1120**
 pentathlon, **3:1159**
 post-Cold War, **3:1122–1123**
 Salt Lake City (2002) (*See* Salt Lake City Olympics (2002))
 Sapporo (1972), **2:860, 3:1119, 3:1120**
 Sarajevo (1984), **3:1121**
 skeleton sledding, **4:1418**
 ski jumping, **4:1396–1397**
 skiing, Alpine, **4:1401–1403**
 skiing, cross-country, **4:1405–1406**
 skiing, freestyle, **4:1408, 4:1410**
 snowboarding, **4:1420**
 Soviet participation, **3:1120–1122, 3:1305**
 speed skating, **4:1388–1390**
 Squaw Valley (1960), **3:1120, 4:1485**
 Switzerland in, **4:1583**
 torch relay, **3:1119**
 Vancouver (2010), **1:286**
 women in, **4:1388, 4:1402, 4:1503**
 World War II, **3:1119**
- Olympique de Marseilles, **3:1135**
Olympiques, Les, **3:937**
 Olympus, Mount, **3:1039**
 O'Malley, Walter, **3:954**
 Omori, Hyozo, **2:863**
One in a Million, **4:1384**
One on One, **3:1049, 3:1050**
 O'Neal, Shaquille, **3:1322**
 O'Neil, John "Buck," **1:147**
 Onischenko, Boris, **3:1159**
 Oosterlynck, Georges, **4:1715**
Open to All: Title IX at Thirty, **4:1614**
 Orange Bowl (Miami), **2:628**
Orienteering, 3:1124–1126

Ornish, Dr. Dean, **4**:1737
 Oropeza, Vicente, **3**:1276
 Ortega, Domingo, **1**:265
 Orvis-Marbury, Mary, **2**:597
 Osage nation, **3**:969
 Osiier, Ellen, **2**:581
 Oslo Olympics (1952), **3**:1119
Osteoporosis, **1**:217, **2**:471, **2**:536, **3**:1126–1131, **3**:1340, **4**:1511
 Ottey, Merlene, **2**:858–859
 Otto, Kristen, **4**:1578
 Otto, Nikolaus August, **3**:1021
 Ouden, Willie den, **4**:1578
Our Village, **3**:936
 Outcome expectations, athlete's, **3**:1013–1014
 Outdoor Life Network (OLN), **3**:1032
 Outerbridge, Mary Ewing, **4**:1603
 Outward Bound, **1**:9, **1**:11
 Overload, **4**:1511–1513
 Overuse injuries. *See* **Injury**
 Ovid, **3**:935
 Owens, Jesse, **1**:109, **1**:115, **2**:812, **3**:1236, **4**:1626
Ownership, **3**:1131–1137
 future, **3**:1136
 models of, **3**:996, **3**:1133–1136
 organizational background, **3**:1131–1133

P

P
 Paccard, Michel, **3**:1040
 Pacifico, Larry, **3**:1212
 Packer, Kerry, **1**:389, **1**:390, **3**:995
 Paddock, Charles, **2**:809, **4**:1714
 Padilha, Sylvio de Magalhaes, **3**:1143
 Paes, Leander, **4**:1606
 Page, Dorothy G., **2**:789
 Paglinawan, Ruby, **2**:888
 Paige, Leroy "Satchel," **1**:147
 Paige, Rod, **4**:1614
Pain, **3**:1138–1142. *See also* **Injury**
 Palamas, Kostis, **3**:1114
 Palm, Kerstin, **2**:582
 Palmer, Arnold, **1**:258, **2**:507, **3**:989
 Pamplona (Spain), **1**:261

Pan American Games, **3**:1142–1147. *See also*
Central American and Caribbean Games

 Argentina and, **1**:86–87
 Cuba and, **1**:406–407
 history, **3**:1142–1143
 Honduras and, **2**:757
 Jamaica and, **2**:857–858
 karate at, **2**:889–890
 Mexico and, **3**:1007–1008, **3**:1143
 race walking in, **3**:1234
 significance of, **3**:1147
 softball, **4**:1451, **4**:1453
 swimming, **4**:1579
 winter, **3**:1146
 Pan American Games for the Blind, **3**:1147
 Pan American Wheelchair Games, **3**:1147
 Pancratium, defined, **2**:701
 Pankration, **3**:1010–1011
Pantagruel, **3**:936
 Par golf, **2**:690
Parachuting, **3**:1147–1150
 Paragliding, **2**:542
 Parallel bars, **2**:717
Paralympics, **2**:461, **2**:462–463, **2**:687, **3**:1150–1153
 Athens, 2004, **3**:1110
 summer games, list of, **3**:1151
 Winter, **3**:1123, **3**:1151
 Parawing sailing, **3**:1311, **3**:1312, **3**:1314
 Parcels, Bill, **1**:249
 Parche, Gunther, **4**:1674
 Parents, role of, **1**:3–4, **2**:503–506, **2**:557–562.
 See also **Youth sports**
 Park, Willie, **1**:256
 Parker, Arnold, **4**:1587–1588
 Parker, Tony, **1**:119
 Parkour, **2**:542
 Parnell, Mel, **2**:585
 Parrington, Frank, **2**:473
 Parrish, Robert, **1**:173
 Participant services, **3**:955–956
 Paterno, Joe, **2**:810
 Patrick, Dan, **2**:525
 Patten, David, **1**:90
 Patterson, Carly, **2**:718
 Patton, George S., **3**:1159
 Paulche, Wilhelm, **4**:1582
 Pauley, Michael J., **4**:1449–1450

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Paulhan, Louis, **2:611**
- Pavlova, Anna, **1:438**
- Pebble Beach, 3:1153–1155**
- Peck, Annie, **3:1041**
- Pedestrianism. *See* **Race walking**
- Pedroso, Eustaquio, **1:155**
- Pelé, **1:115, 2:507, 3:1236, 4:1431, 4:1434, 4:1709**
- Pellaton, Scott M., **4:1414**
- Pelletier, David, **3:1123, 4:1385**
- Pelota, 3:1155–1157**
- Frontenis (pelota vasca), Mexico, **3:1006**
- Mesoamerican pelota maya/pelota mixteca, **3:1003–1005**
- Pentathlon, ancient, **3:1102**
- Pentathlon, modern, 3:1157–1159, 3:1342**
- Pentathlon, **2:730**
- Pentland Group, **4:1521**
- Pep, Willie, **1:243**
- Peppe, Mike, **2:475**
- Pérez Dueñas, Pedro, **3:1144**
- Performance, 3:1160–1164. See also Performance enhancement**
- Performance enhancement, 3:923, 3:987, 3:1164–1171, 4:1526–1527. See also Nutrition; Psychology; Steroids; Technology; World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA)**
- ancient times, **3:1164–1165**
- BALCO case, **3:1167, 4:1665**
- biotechnology and, **1:202–203, 4:1601–1602**
- blood doping, **2:590, 3:1168, 4:1526, 4:1575**
- bodybuilding, **1:223, 1:225**
- dietary supplements, **3:1093–1094**
- disability sport, **2:464–465**
- early professional sports, **3:1165**
- ephedrine, **3:1168**
- future, **3:1170–1171**
- horse racing, **2:763, 2:765, 3:1166**
- human growth hormone, **3:1168**
- NCAA policies, **3:920**
- Olympics, **1:18–19, 3:919, 3:1109, 3:1110, 3:1123**
- Pan American Games, **3:1144–1145, 3:1147**
- powerlifting/weightlifting, **3:1165, 3:1212–1213, 4:1687**
- recent professional sports, **3:1166**
- school sports, **3:1332**
- sports authorities, actions by, **3:1167, 3:1168**
- sports psychology as alternative to, **3:1169–1170**
- sportsmanship and, **4:1530–1531, 4:1665**
- strength and, **4:1551–1552**
- teens, by, **3:1169**
- tennis, **4:1609**
- Tlingits, drugs used by, **3:1169**
- Tour de France, **3:1168, 4:1531, 4:1617**
- track and field, **4:1625**
- Periodicals. *See* **Magazines**
- Periodization, **4:1512–1513**
- Peripheral vascular disease (PVD), **2:535**
- Perkain, **3:1157**
- Permission marketing, **3:976**
- Perry, Fred, **4:1605, 4:1693**
- Pershing, General “Black Jack,” **2:808**
- Personality, 3:1171–1175, 3:1227–1228. See also Motivation; Psychology; Psychology of gender differences**
- Pesky, Johnny, **2:585**
- Pétain, Marshall Philippe, **2:808**
- Pétanque, bocce and, **1:235–237**
- Peters, Mary, **2:731**
- Petitjean, Jean, **4:1714**
- Petrarch, **3:1039**
- Petty, Richard, **1:133**
- Pezzo, Paola, **2:854, 3:1035–1036**
- PGA. *See* Professional Golf Association (PGA)
- Phar Lap (race horse), **1:127**
- Pheidippides, **3:966**
- Phelan, Jacquie, **3:1035**
- Phelps, Michael, **3:1109, 4:1578**
- Phenomenological personality theory, **3:1174–1175**
- Philadelphia Phillies, **3:1243**
- Physical education, 3:1175–1184. See also Fitness; Sport science; Turner festivals (turners)**
- adapted physical education, **1:5–9**
- China, **1:309–312**
- coeducational sport, **1:328–333**
- conceptual and curricular changes, **3:1181–1182**
- connections to other fields and organizations, **3:1179–1181**
- early research efforts, **3:1182–1183**
- eighteenth-century antecedents, **3:1177–1178, 4:1524**
- health reform and public health, links to, **3:1178–1179**
- human movement studies, **2:771–776**
- kinesiology, **2:900–902**

Physical education (*continued*)

- as multidisciplinary field, **3:1181**
- nineteenth-century developments, **3:1178, 4:1524, 4:1582**
- outlook, **3:1183**
- periodicals, **3:949–951**
- Portugal, **3:1203–1204**
- rope jumping, **3:1283–1285**
- Soviet Union, **3:1179, 3:1304**
- Turkey, **4:1635–1636**
- Pickett, Bill, **3:1273, 3:1274, 3:1276**
- Piercy, Violet, **3:968**
- Pilates, 1:441, 2:603, 3:1184–1186**
- Pilcher, Percy, **4:1423**
- Pillay, Dhanaraj, **2:736**
- Pilots, **2:612**
- Ping-pong. *See* **Table tennis**
- Piping, as Highland Games event, **2:733**
- Pippig, Uta, **1:234**
- Pires, Sandra, **4:1683**
- Pittsburgh Pirates, **3:1243**
- Pius XII, Pope, **4:1359**
- “Plasticbandy,” **2:609**
- Platform diving, **2:474**
- Platini, **4:1710**
- Plato, **3:1176–1177**
- Platz, Tom, **1:222**
- Play vs. organized sport, 3:1186–1188**
- Play-by-play announcing, 3:1188–1193**
 - beginnings of, **3:1189–1190**
 - broadcast team, **3:1189**
 - early resistance by sports organizations, **3:1190**
 - entertaining style, **3:1190–1191**
 - by former athletes and coaches, **3:1192**
 - future, **3:1193**
 - Monday Night Football*, **3:1191–1192**
 - viewers influenced by, **3:1192**
 - women announcers, **3:1192**
- Player, Gary, **1:258, 3:989**
- Playing surfaces, **2:518, 2:520**
- Plimpton, James, **4:1393**
- Pocket billiards, **1:193, 1:195**
- Pocock, George, **3:903**
- Podoloff, Maurice, **1:171–172**

Poland, 3:1193–1196

- Pole vault, **4:1620, 4:1623–1624**
- Poll, Sylvia, **3:1146**
- Pollack, Burglinde, **2:731**
- Pollard, Fritz, **2:625, 2:628, 2:812**
- Pollution, sports and, **2:520–521**
- Polo, 1:1966–1198, 3:935–936**
 - Argentina, **1:85**
 - in art, **1:94**
 - China, **1:309**
 - Iran, **2:836**

Polo, bicycle, 3:1198–1199

- Polo, canoe, **1:291**
- Polo, water, 3:1199–1202, 4:1656**
- Pommel horse, **2:714, 2:717**
- Ponor, Catalina, **2:718**
- Pool, Robert, **3:915**
- Pool (billiards), **1:193–195, 4:1656**
- Pope, Dick, **4:1412**
- Popinjay shooting, **1:79–1:81, 1:83**
- Popocatepetl, **3:1038**
- Popov, Alexander, **4:1578**
- Porter, Pat, **1:402**
- Portland Trailblazers, **3:1170**

Portugal, 3:1202–1205

- Posse, Nils, **3:1178**
- Postmodernism, 3:1205–1210**
- Poststructuralism, **3:1058–1059, 3:1207**

Pound, Dick, **3:1110**

- Powell, Foster, **3:1232**
- Powell, Mike, **4:1618**
- Powell, Rene, **2:695**
- Power kiting, **1:42**

Powerlifting, 3:1165, 3:1210–1215. See also**Weightlifting**

- Pow-wows, **3:1064–1065**
- Pratt, Hodgson, **4:1713**

Prayer, 3:1215–1218. See also Religion; Sport as religionPRCA. *See* Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA)Preble, Dana, **4:1685**Prefontaine, Steve, **1:402, 2:608**Pregnancy. *See* **Reproduction** (reproductive health)Price, Nick, **1:258**Princeton University, **2:811, 2:812, 3:1244, 4:1500, 4:1643**Pritzi, Gertrude, **4:1590**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

Pro-am sport clubs, **1:315, 1:316**
 Prochazka, Heinz, **2:450**
 Profanity, **4:1530**
 Professional Golf Association (PGA), **1:7, 1:385, 3:989**
 Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA), **3:1272–1273, 3:1275–1278**
 Professional services, **3:955**
 Professional sport clubs, **1:315, 1:316**
Professionalism, 3:1218–1221
 brand management and, **1:249–250**
 free agency and, **2:654**
 salaries and, **2:493–494**
 Profit, Christophe, **2:501**
Program, The, **3:1050**
 Prohaska, Herbert, **1:133**
 Protein intake, **3:1091**
 Proteins, healthy eating and, **2:457**
 Protest, sport as vehicle for, **3:1235–1236**
 Protopopov, Ludmila and Oleg, **4:1385**
 Proust, Marcel, **3:937**
 Psychodynamic theory, **3:1171–1172**
Psychology, 3:1163, 3:1221–1226. See also
 Social identity
 extreme sports and, **2:539, 2:541**
 fan loyalty, **2:562–565, 2:649**
 future, **3:1225–1226**
 home field advantage, **2:750–752**
 mental conditioning, **3:998–1003**
 motivation, **3:1012–1016**
 performance enhancing drugs, alternative to, **3:1169–1170**
 periodicals, **3:951**
 personality and sports, **3:1171–1175**
 research, teaching, and consultation, **3:1223–1224**
 scope, **3:1222–1223**
 sport psychology societies, **3:1224–1225**
Psychology of gender differences, 3:1226–1231.
 See also Gender equity
 applied sport psychology, **3:1230–1231**
 future, **3:1231**
 personality and gender-role orientation, **3:1227–1228**
 sex differences, **3:1227**
 social processes and gender, **3:1228–1230**
 women's sports, gender in, **3:1226–1227**
 Public policy. *See Economics and public policy*
 Puica, Maricica, **1:401**

Pulaski, Maximillian, **4:1411**
 Purging behavior. *See Disordered eating*
 Puritanism, sport and, **3:1252–1253**
 Pyle, C.C., **1:26**

Q

Quarrie, Donald, **2:857, 2:858, 3:1144**
 Queensberry Rules, **1:242–243**
 Quickstep, **2:443, 2:444**
 Quiriot, Fidelia, **3:1146**

R

R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, **3:1083**
 Rabelais, François, **3:936**
Race walking, 3:967, 3:1195, 3:1232–1235
Racism, 2:577, 3:927, 3:1235–1239, 4:1444, 4:1502–1504
 baseball, **1:115, 1:146–147, 1:153**
 basketball, **1:171–172**
 boxing, **1:244, 1:247, 3:987, 3:1236, 3:1337**
 Canadian sports, **1:281, 4:1491**
 in coaching, **1:325**
 colonialism and, **4:1446–1447**
 football, **2:628**
 golf, **2:694–695**
 intercollegiate athletics, **2:812**
 multiculturalism and, **3:1051–1053**
 against Native Americans, **3:1062, 3:1276**
 New Zealand rugby, issue in, **3:1076–1077**
 newspaper sports pages, racial stereotypes in, **3:1080–1082**
 Olympics and, **4:1704–1705**
 professional golf, issue in, **3:989**
 rodeos, **3:1276**
 scholar-ballers and, **3:1324**
 South Africa, apartheid in (*See South Africa*)
 youth sports, **4:1742–1743**
Racquetball, 3:1240–1242
 Radcliffe, Paula, **3:1109**
 Rader, Peary, **3:1210, 3:1211, 4:1687**
 Radigonda, Ron, **4:1450**
Radio, 3:990–991, 3:1242–1247, 4:1476. See also
 Play-by-play announcing
 Hockey Night in Canada, **3:962–963, 3:1192**
 Tour de France, coverage of, **4:1617**
 Rafter, Pat, **1:126**
 Rainer, Edi, **2:500**
 Rainsford, William S., **3:1254**

Q

R

- Raja yoga, **4**:1734
 Ramadan, Nahla, **4**:1689
 Ramirez, Manny, **2**:654
 Ranier, Mount, **3**:1044
 Rarick, Randy, **4**:1570
 Raschker, Eileen-Philippa Kersten, **3**:1343
 Rasmussen, Bill, **2**:522, **2**:523
 Rasmussen, Scott, **2**:522, **2**:523
 Ratjen, Dora, **2**:674
 Raue, Bill, **2**:745
 Ravitch, Richard, **4**:1648
 Rawlings Sporting Goods Co., **4**:1522
 Ray, Johnny, **3**:1243
 Ray, Ted, **3**:1307
 Reader-response theory, **3**:1058
 Reagan, Ronald, **3**:1083, **3**:1245, **4**:1476
 Red Grange Rule, **2**:626
 Redgrave, Steven, **3**:1295
 Redington, Joe, Sr., **2**:789
 Redmon, Jimmy, **4**:1684
 Reebok (company), **4**:1522, **4**:1604
 Mark Walker and, **2**:510
 Venus Williams and, **2**:508, **2**:509
 Reed, Rick, **1**:158
 Rees, Dai, **3**:1308
 Reeves, Steve, **4**:1670
 Reggae Boyz soccer team, **2**:856
 Rehabilitation Act (1973), **1**:34
 Reichardt, Lou, **3**:1029
 Reinhoudt, Cindy, **3**:1212
 Relationship marketing, **3**:976–977
 Relative perceived exertion (RPE) scale, **2**:514
 Relaxation skills, **3**:1001–1002
Religion, **3**:1247–1256, **4**:1712. *See also*
 Rituals; Sport as religion
 ancient gods and games, **3**:1247–1250
 medieval and renaissance Christianity, **3**:1250–
 1252, **4**:1357–1358
 nineteenth and twentieth centuries, **3**:1253–1255,
 4:1358–1359
 prayer, **3**:1215–1218
 Puritanism, effect of, **3**:1252–1253
 women in sport, **3**:1255–1256
 Renfro, William, **1**:146
 Renshaw, Ernie and William, **4**:1605, **4**:1693
 Renson, Roland, **3**:907–909
Replacements, The, **3**:1050
Reproduction (reproductive health), **1**:198, **2**:538,
 3:1257–1262
 Reserve system, free agency and, **2**:654
 Resistance training, **4**:1510, **4**:1511
 Retton, Mary Lou, **2**:716
Revenue sharing, **2**:490–491, **3**:923, **3**:1262–
 1264, **4**:1648
 Revithi, Stamata, **3**:967
 Reyes, Ernie, **4**:1594–1595
 Reynolds, Allie, **1**:336
 Reynolds, John Hamilton, **3**:936
 Rhee, Jhoon, **4**:1592
 Rhoda, Franklin, **3**:1038
 Riach, Nancy, **3**:1335
 Ribbs, Willy T., **2**:795
 Rice, Bobby, **2**:795
 Rice, Grantland, **2**:563, **3**:1243, **4**:1536–1538
 Richards, Tap, **3**:1027
 Richardson, Dot, **4**:1454
 Richardson, Mildred and T. D., **4**:1385
 Richardson, Nolan, **2**:810
 Richmond, Tim, **1**:31
 Richter, Ulrika, **4**:1578
 Rickard, George L. “Tex,” **1**:243
 Rickenbacker, Eddie, **2**:794
 Riddles, Libby, **4**:1416
 Riding. *See* **Horseback riding**
 Riefenstahl, Leni, **1**:19, **4**:1409
 Riffin, Aileen, **2**:476
 Riggs, Bobby, **2**:602, **4**:1607
 Rigoulot, Charles, **4**:1686
 Riley, Dawn, **1**:56
 Riley, Pat, **1**:173
 Rimet, Jules, **2**:821
 Rinehart, Tina, **3**:1213
Ringette, **3**:1264–1266
 Rings, **2**:716
 Rio de Janeiro, Maracana Stadium, **3**:964–965
 Ritchey, Tom, **3**:1031
Rituals, **3**:3 *See also* **Mascots; Religion;**
 Sport as religion
 behavior and social construct, **3**:1267–1268
 Chukchee of Siberia, sports ritual of, **3**:1251
 future, **3**:1270–1271
 global entertainment, **3**:1270

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- modern sports as rituals, **3:1270–1271**
 prayer, **3:1215–1218**
 pregame rituals, **3:1270**
 symbols and symbolism, **3:1268–1270**
 Road Runners Club of America, **2:874**
 Roba, Fatuma, **1:234, 3:967**
 Rober, Lewis, **4:1449**
 Roberson, Gene, **3:1211**
 Robert, Charles and Ainé, **1:142**
 Roberts, Cheryl, **4:1461**
 Roberts, Clifford, **3:988**
 Roberts, Eugene, **1:234**
 Roberts, Katie (Vulcana), **1:221**
 Roberts, Robin, **2:525**
 Robertson, Oscar, **1:175, 3:1143**
 Robeson, Paul, **2:625, 2:628, 2:812, 3:1324**
 Robinson, Eddie, **2:810**
 Robinson, Frank, **1:150**
 Robinson, (Jackie) John Roosevelt, **1:147, 3:1047–1048**
 as athlete hero, **1:115**
 as college athlete, **2:812**
 racial issue and, **2:628**
 Robinson, Sugar Ray, **1:243, 1:246**
 Roby, Douglas, **3:1143**
 Roche, Bertrand, **3:1030**
 Rockne, Knute, **1:326**
 as football coach, **2:626, 3:1163, 3:1255, 4:1734**
 as football player, **2:625**
 movie, **3:1047–1048**
 Rocky Mountains, **3:1038, 3:1044**
 Roddick, Andy, **4:1609**
Rodeo, 3:1272–1279
 animal rights and, **3:1277**
 current, **3:1278**
 development, **3:1274–1276**
 events, **3:1277**
 international, **3:1277–1278**
 Native Americans and, **3:1060, 3:1062, 3:1063, 3:1273, 3:1276**
 organizations, **3:1276–1277**
 origins, **3:1273**
 Rodgers, Bill, **2:873**
 Rodriguez, Alex, **2:654**
 Rodríguez, Jorge, **3:1144**
 Rodriguez, Jim, **3:1276**
 Roe, Allison, **3:1075**
 Roesler, Corey and Bill, **3:903**
 Rogan, “Bullet” Joe, **1:147**
 Rogers, Bill, **1:234**
 Rogers, Will, **3:1274**
 Rogge, Jacques, **1:189, 3:1109, 3:1117, 3:1123**
 Rolex, **4:1604**
 Roller skating. *See* **Skating, roller**
 Roman, Charles P., **2:606**
Romania, 3:1279–1281
 Romanowski, Bill, **3:1167**
 Romary, Janice York, **2:582**
Rome, ancient, 3:1281–1283, 4:1357, 4:1475, 4:1499
 performance, **3:1161**
 performance enhancement, **3:1164–1165**
 religion and sport, **3:1250**
 wrestling, origins of, **4:1718**
 Rome Olympics (1960), **2:639–640, 2:854, 4:1485**
 Romero, Curro, **1:267**
 Roosevelt, Theodore, **2:811**
Rope jumping, 3:1283–1285
 Rope skipping, **3:1284–1285**
 Roper, Sylvester, **3:1021**
 Rose, Murray, **4:1578**
 Rose, Pete, **1:150, 1:151**
 Rose Bowl (Pasadena), **2:628**
 Roseano, Angelica, **2:849**
 Rosendahl, Heide, **2:731**
 Ross, Norman, **2:809, 4:1578**
 Rosset, Jules, **4:1686**
 Rossi, Valentino, **2:854**
 Rosu, Monica, **2:718**
 “Rotisserie,” **2:566**
Rounders and stoolball, 3:1285–1288
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, **3:1283**
 Rowe, David, **2:826**
Rowing, 3:1288–1296
 amateurism in, **4:1655**
 in art, **1:95**
 Belgium, **1:186**
 boat race (Cambridge *vs.* Oxford), **1:206–208, 2:727**
 Brazil, **1:253**
 competition, top, **3:1294–1295**
 equipment, **3:1289–1290, 4:1599**
 governing body, **3:1295**
 Henley Regatta, **2:727–729**
 history, **3:1288–1289**

Rowing (*continued*)

- Japan, **2**:862
- Mexico, **3**:1006
- nature of sport, **3**:1291–1292
- New Zealand, **3**:1073, **3**:1075
- racing, **3**:1292–1294
- social context, **3**:1289
- social rowing, **3**:1294
- team and individual success, **3**:1295
- Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews.
See **St. Andrews**
- Rozeanu, Virgilia, **3**:1279
- Rozelle, Pete, **2**:523, **2**:629
- “Rozier” balloons, **1**:143
- RPE (relative perceived exertion) scale, **2**:514
- Rubens Alcais, Eugene, **2**:449–450
- Rubin, Barbara Jo, **2**:763
- Rudeski, Greg, **4**:1609
- Rudolph, Wilma, **3**:1143, **4**:1627
- Rugby**, **3**:939, **3**:1296–1302
 - amateur *vs.* professionals, **3**:1220, **4**:1658
 - Australia, **1**:125, **3**:1299–1301
 - European Superleague, **3**:1270, **4**:1659
 - future, **3**:1301
 - historical development, **3**:1296–1297
 - injuries in, **3**:1220
 - international spread, **3**:1299–1301
 - Japan, **2**:863
 - memorabilia, **3**:997
 - New Zealand (*See* **New Zealand**)
 - power struggles, **3**:1297
 - Romania, **3**:1279
 - Rugby Union/Rugby League differentiated, **3**:1296
 - televised competitions, **3**:992, **3**:995, **3**:1296, **4**:1659
 - transition and structural uncertainty, **3**:1297–1299
 - United Kingdom (*See* **United Kingdom**)
 - at Wembley Stadium, **4**:1691
 - women’s, **3**:1075, **3**:1077
- Ruiz, Tracie, **4**:1581
- Rumba, **2**:443, **2**:444
- Runner’s World*, **2**:872–874, **3**:970
- Running, **2**:872–874, **3**:936–938, **3**:968–970.

See also **Marathon and distance running**;

Track and field—running and hurdling

- Native Americans, **3**:969, **3**:1063
- runner’s “high,” **3**:1141
- Running clubs, **2**:874
- Running with bulls, **1**:261, **2**:542
- Runyon, Damon, **4**:1537–1538
- Rupp, Adolph, **1**:175
- Rupp, Edward, **4**:1498
- Ruppert, Jacob, **4**:1732
- Russia and USSR**, **3**:1302–1397, **4**:1505. *See also*
 - Moscow Olympics (1980)
 - Chukchee of Siberia, sports ritual of, **3**:1251
 - forced industrialization and sport, **3**:1304
 - Maccabiah Games and, **3**:945–946
 - mental conditioning of athletes, use of, **3**:998–999, **3**:1163
 - Olympic participation, **3**:1120–1122, **3**:1159, **3**:1305
 - physical education in, **3**:1179, **3**:1304
 - post-Communist developments, **3**:1305–1307
 - postwar sports competition, **3**:1304–1305
 - rowing, **3**:1295
 - Russian Revolution, sport in, **3**:1302–1304
 - substance abuse by athletes, **3**:1165
 - Tatarstan, folk sport and self-determination in, **3**:1306
 - tennis, **4**:1609
 - volleyball, **4**:1677–1678
 - weightlifting, **4**:1687–4:1689
 - worker sport in, **3**:1304, **4**:1705, **4**:1707
- Russian formalists, narrative theory, **3**:1056
- Russo-Japanese War, **2**:880, **2**:884
- Rutgers University, **3**:1324, **4**:1643
- Ruth, “Babe” George Herman, **3**:997, **4**:1712
 - as athlete celebrity, **1**:109
 - nickname, **1**:157
 - ranking, **1**:149, **1**:159
 - at Yankee Stadium, **4**:1732–4:1734
- Ruud, Birger, **4**:1396–1397, **4**:1402
- Ryan, Nolan, **1**:150, **2**:654
- Rychlak, Gene, **3**:1213
- Ryder, Samuel, **3**:1307
- Ryder Cup**, **3**:1307–1309

S

- Sabatini, Gabriela, **1**:85, **1**:88
- Saddle seat horseback riding, **2**:769
- Safety, in sports, **1**:229–230. *See also* **Injury**
- Sail sports**, **1**:291, **3**:1310–1314. *See also* **Kite sports**; **Windsurfing**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Sailboarding, **3:1311–1313**
- Sailer, Toni, **3:1120, 4:1402, 4:1403**
- Sailing, 3:1314–1321, 4:1376. See also America's Cup**
- boats, **3:1315–1317**
- categories, **3:1317–1320**
- New Zealand, **3:1073, 3:1077**
- origins, **3:1315**
- outlook, **3:1321**
- racing, **3:1319–1321**
- women in, **3:1321**
- Salary caps, 3:1322–1323. See also Collective bargaining; Economics and public policy; Revenue sharing; Unionism**
- Salavato, Joan, **2:597**
- Salazar, Alberto, **2:873**
- Salchow, Ulrich, **3:1118, 4:1383**
- Salé, Jamie, **3:1123, 4:1385**
- “Salibandy,” **2:609, 2:806**
- Salinas, Juan, **3:1276**
- Salt Lake City Olympics (2002), **3:1123, 3:1168, 4:1385, 4:1533**
- Saltwater fishing, **2:593, 2:594, 2:597**
- Samaranch, Juan Antonio, **1:24, 3:1117**
- Samaras, Spyros, **3:1114**
- Samba, **2:443, 2:444**
- Samba, Cire, **3:1337**
- Sampras, Pete, **1:39, 4:1606, 4:1693, 4:1738**
- Sampson, Charles, **3:1276**
- Sampson, Millie, **3:968**
- Samuelson, Joan Benoit, **1:234, 3:967**
- Samuelson, Ralph, **4:1411**
- San Francisco 49ers, **3:1134, 3:1170**
- San Francisco Giants, **3:979, 3:1167, 4:1711**
- Sanchez, Cristina, **1:266**
- Sanchez, Felix, **3:1146**
- Sanderson, Derek, **1:27**
- Sandhu, Emanuel, **4:1385**
- Sandow, Eugen (Eugene), **1:219, 1:220, 2:606, 3:1210, 4:1686**
- Sandwina (bodybuilder), **1:221**
- Sandyachting, **3:1310–1314**
- Sanex, **4:1604**
- Sanity Code, NCAA and, **1:341, 2:815**
- Santa Fe Independent School District v. Jane Doe, et al.*, **3:1216**
- Santa Monica, California, **4:1669–1670**
- Saperstein, Abe, **1:171, 1:172**
- Sapp, Patrick, **2:828**
- Sapporo Olympics (1972), **2:860, 3:1119, 3:1120**
- Sarajevo Olympics (1984), **3:1121**
- Sarazen, Gene, **2:692, 3:989**
- Sargent, Dudley, **3:927, 3:1179**
- Sarnoff, David, **3:1244**
- Sasaki, Kazuhiro, **1:154, 2:861**
- Satellite radio, **3:1246**
- Saturday's Hero*, **3:1048**
- Saunders, Steve, **3:978**
- Savage Mountain, The*, **3:1046**
- Saxon, Arthur, **4:1686**
- Sayenev, Victor, **4:1623**
- Scaino da Salo, Antonio, **3:1252**
- Scandals. *See* Corruption, in sports
- Schäfer (Schaefer), Karl, **3:1118–1119**
- Schelenz, Karl, **2:720**
- Schembechler, Bo, **2:810**
- Scherens, Jef “Poeske,” **1:188**
- Scheuchzer, Johann, **3:1039**
- Schick, Marcus, **3:1213**
- Schilling, Shonda (Mrs. Curt), **1:167**
- Schlager, Werner, **1:133**
- Schlanegger, Hedy, **4:1583**
- Schleimer, Paul, **4:1716**
- Schmeling, Max, **3:1236, 4:1733**
- Schneider, Hannes, **4:1400, 4:1403, 4:1409**
- Schneider, Vrenie, **3:1123**
- Schodl, Gottfried, **4:1688**
- Schoening, Pete, **3:1046**
- Scholar-baller, 2:812, 3:1323–1328**
- Scholarships, sports, **1:46–47, 2:478–479, 2:812, 3:1323–1328**
- School performance, 3:1328–1333**
- Schott, Marge, **3:1133**
- Schottenheimer, Marty, **4:1531**
- Schranz, Karl, **3:1120**
- Schuba, Beatrix, **4:1387**
- Schuhmann, Karl, **4:1720**
- Schumacher, Michael, **1:250, 2:507, 2:508**
- Schuyler, George L., **1:54**
- Schwartz, Eric, **2:483**
- Schwartz, Karen and Howard, **1:14**
- Schwartz, Lou, **3:1245, 3:1246**
- Schwarzenegger, Arnold, **1:225, 2:602, 4:1670**
- Scotland, 3:1333–1336, 4:1656. See also Commonwealth Games; Curling; Highland Games; St. Andrews**
- golf in, **2:688–689**
- rounders, history of, **3:1287**

Scotland (*continued*)

- rugby in, **3**:1298
- shinty, **4**:1361–1363
- skating, history of, **4**:1381, **4**:1388–1389
- soccer, **4**:1429, **4**:1446
- sport apparel in, **2**:570
- tug-of-war, **4**:1632
- Scott, Jack, **1**:376
- Scott, Robert Falcon, **4**:1415
- Scott, Stuart, **2**:525
- Scratch golfers, **2**:690
- Scuba, **4**:1643, **4**:1646–1647
- Scumacher, Michael, **1**:134
- Scurry, Briana, **4**:1665
- Se Ri Pak, **2**:508, **3**:907
- Sears, Eleonara, **4**:1606
- Seaver, Tom, **1**:150
- Seavey, Mitch, **4**:1416
- Second, The*, **3**:938
- Security, sports facilities and, **2**:549–551
- Segura, Bernardo, **3**:1234
- Sehorn, Jason, **3**:1237
- Seles, Monica, **2**:550, **4**:1674
- Self-determination, athlete's, **3**:1014, **3**:1174
- Self-efficacy beliefs, athlete's, **3**:1013
- Selig, Bud, **4**:1649
- Senegal, 3:1337–1338**
- Senior sport, 3:1338–1345**
 - aging and exercise, **2**:537–538, **3**:1338–1340, **4**:1511
 - Alaska International Senior Games, **3**:1342
 - benefit of exercise on aging, **3**:1340
 - fitness and, **2**:602–603
 - Huntsman World Senior Games, **3**:1342
 - masters and veterans games, **3**:1342–1344
 - National Senior Games and Senior Olympics, **3**:1340–1342
 - National Veterans Golden Age Games (NVGAG), **3**:1344
 - sports medicine, **4**:1527–1528
 - World Master Games (WMG), **3**:1344
- Sepak takraw, 3:1345–1348, 4:1376**
- Seppala, Leonard, **4**:1416
- Service of Ladies*, **3**:935

Sex, defined, **2**:671

Sex and performance, 3:1348–1350. *See also*
Gender verification; Lesbianism

Sex chromatin testing, **2**:673, **2**:674

Sexual abuse. *See* **Sexual harassment**

Sexual discrimination, defined, **2**:753

Sexual harassment, 3:1350–1357. *See also*
Feminist perspective; Gender equity;
Sexuality

abusers, identification of, **3**:1353

definitions, **3**:1350–1351

exploitation continuum, **3**:1351

intimacy of coach/athlete relationship, **3**:1353–1354

myths and taboos, **3**:1351–1352

personal experiences of athletes and coaches,
3:1354–1355

persons at risk, **3**:1353

prevention, **3**:1355–1356

previous research, **3**:1352–1353

sports organizations, response of, **3**:1352

triggers of, **3**:1353

Sexual orientation, defined, **2**:671–672, **2**:753

Sexuality, 4:1357–1361. *See also* **Feminist perspective; Homophobia**

beauty and, **1**:179–184, **4**:1360–1361

sport as sexist spectacle, **4**:1502–1503

Seyé, Abdouleye, **3**:1337

Shahamorov, Esther Roth, **2**:849

Shakespeare, William, **3**:936

Shandler, Ron, **2**:566

Sharapova, Maria, **4**:1609, **4**:1700

Shaw, George Bernard, **3**:936

Shawn, Ted, **1**:440

Shea, Jack, **3**:1118

Sheehan, George, **2**:873

Sheil, Bernard J., **3**:1254

Sherpas, **3**:1026–1030, **3**:1044–1045

Sherrod, Blackie, **4**:1539

Shevchenko, Irina, **3**:1109

Shewfelt, Kyle, **2**:718

Shin Geum Dan, **3**:905

Shinty, 4:1361–1363

Shippen, John M., **2**:694

Shipton, Eric, **3**:1045

Shooting, 4:1363–1372. *See also* **Biathlon and triathlon; Hunting**

competition, top, **4**:1369–1370

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

governing bodies, **4:1370–1372**
 history, **4:1363–1366**
 rifle and pistol shooting, **4:1366–1367**
 shotgunning, **4:1367–1369**
 Shorter, Frank, **1:234, 1:402, 2:873, 3:1144**
 Shot put, **4:1620–1621, 4:1623**
 Shouaa, Ghada, **2:731**
 Shoulders, Jim, **3:1276**
 Show jumping, **2:766**
 Shrake, Bud, **4:1539**
 Shriver, Eunice Kennedy, **4:1466, 4:1468**
 Shriver, Pam, **3:1146**
 Shriver, Sargent, **4:1467**
 Shriver, Timothy, **4:1466, 4:1468**
 Shults, Kenny, **2:620**
 Shultz, John, **2:789**
 Shuttlecocks, **1:138, 1:140**
 Sianis, Sam, **4:1712**
 Siciliano, Angelo. *See* Atlas, Charles
 Sick, Max, **2:606**
 Sidat-Singh, Wilmeth, **2:628**
 Side horse, **2:717**
 Sidesaddle horseback riding, **2:768–769**
 Siegl, Siegrun, **2:731**
 Sierra Blanca, **3:1038**
 Siitonen, Pauli, **4:1406**
 Sikharulidze, Anton, **3:1123, 4:1385**
 Siki, Battling, **3:1337**
Silat, 3:1010, 4:1372–1376
 Silk, Valerie, **2:843, 2:844**
 Sillitoe, Alan, **3:938**
 Silva, Jackie, **4:1682, 4:1683**
 Simmons, Chester, **2:523**
 Simmons, Louie, **3:1214**
 Simmons, Richard, **1:12, 2:602, 2:608**
 Simonson, Eric, **3:1027**
 Simpson, Tommy, **4:1531, 4:1617**
 Sims, Tom, **4:1419**
 Sinclair, Rosabelle, **3:914–915**
Singapore, 4:1376–1378, 4:1462
 Singh, Balbir, **2:738**
 Singh, Vijay, **2:508**
 Sirius radio, **3:1246**
 Sisley, Alfred, **3:1295**
 Skadarasy, Ernst, **4:1400**
 Skate sailing, **3:1311–1313**
Skateboarding, 1:40–41, 4:1378–1379
 Skater hockey, **2:745**

Skating, ice figure, 3:1229, 3:1231, 4:1380–1388, 4:1502
 competing styles, **4:1382**
 early history, **4:1381–1382**
 future, **4:1387–1388**
 ice dancing, **4:1385–1386**
 institutionalization of sport, **4:1382–1385**
 judging, **4:1386–1387**
 at Olympics, **3:1118–1123**
 pairs, **4:1385**
 recent developments, **4:1387**
 violence in, **4:1387, 4:1674**
Skating, ice speed, 4:1382–1383, 4:1388–1391
 Elfstedentocht, **2:502–503**
 Norway, **1:204, 1:205**
 at Olympics, **3:1118, 3:1120, 3:1121, 3:1123**
Skating, in-line, 2:541–542, 4:1391–1395.
See also Hockey, in-line
Skating, roller, 3:1312, 3:1313, 4:1393–1395.
See also Skating, in-line
 Skeletal age, determining, **2:710**
 Skeleton. *See* Sledding—skeleton
 Ski ballet, **4:1410**
Ski jumping, 4:1395–1397, 4:1405
 Holmenkollen Ski Jump, **2:747–750, 4:1395**
 at Olympics, **3:1119, 3:1122**
 Poland, **3:1195**
 Ski sailing, **3:1312, 3:1313**
 Skidiving, **2:542**
Skiing, Alpine, 4:1397–1404, 4:1582. See also
St. Moritz
 competition, top, **4:1402–1403**
 early races, **4:1399–1400**
 environmental issues, **2:521**
 extreme, **2:541**
 governing body, **4:1403**
 history, **4:1398–1399**
 Japan, **2:861**
 kite skiing, **1:42, 3:904**
 nature of sport, **4:1401–1402**
 Norwegians spread sport, **4:1400–1401**
 at Olympics, **3:1118–3:1120, 3:1123, 4:1583**
 snowboarding and, **4:1401**
 technology, equipment changes due to, **4:1598**
 tourism and, **4:1515**
Skiing, cross-country, 2:861, 3:1123, 4:1404–1408. See also Biathlon and triathlon
Skiing, freestyle, 4:1408–1410

Skiing, water, 4:1410–1414

Skiing, 2:542, 4:1546

Skurfer, 4:1684

Sky Global Network, 3:994, 4:1659

Sky surfing, 2:542

Skydiving, 3:1147–1150

SkyDome, 2:520

Slalom kayaking, 1:290

Slaney, Mary Decker, 2:804, 3:1144, 4:1628

Slap Shot, 3:1049

Slater, Duke, 2:628

Sled dog racing, 4:1415–1417. See also Iditarod

Sledding

bobsledding (*See Bobsledding*)

luge, 2:542, 3:941–943

Sledding—skeleton, 3:941, 3:1119, 3:1123, 4:1417–1418

Sloane, William Milligan, 3:1113, 3:1117

Slow pitch softball, 4:1452

Smetania, Raisa, 3:1122

Smith, Albert, 3:1040

Smith, Bill, 2:598

Smith, “Bonefish Bonnie,” 2:598

Smith, Dean, 1:175, 2:810

Smith, Emmitt, 4:1670

Smith, Horton, 3:989

Smith, Jerry, 1:31

Smith, Kathy, 2:608

Smith, Margaret Court, 4:1606, 4:1693

Smith, Michele, 4:1454

Smith, Red, 4:1538

Smith, Stan, 4:1605, 4:1608

Smith, Tommie, 1:17, 4:1506

Smith, Wilson, 1:210

Smith College, 4:1603

Smythe, Conn, 3:962–963

Snead, Sam, 3:989

Snell, Peter, 3:1073

Snooker billiards, 1:194

Snorkeling, 4:1646

Snouffer, Chet, 1:233

Snowball fights, 3:1121

Snowboarding, 3:904, 4:1401, 4:1418–1420, 4:1546**Snowshoe racing, 4:1421–1422**

Snowsnake, 3:1065

Snurfer, 4:1419

Soaring, 2:722–724, 4:1423–1427

Sobek, Joe, 3:1240

Soccer, 3:938–939, 4:1427–1434. See alsoFederation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA); Manchester United; **Women’s World Cup; World Cup**

American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO), 1:52–53

Argentina, 4:1429, 4:1709

Athens Olympics (2004), 3:1110

athletic talent migration in, 1:117

Brazil (*See Brazil*)

China, 4:1701–1702

competition, top, 4:1433–1434

early forms of, 3:1250–1252

economics of, 2:489, 2:490

Euro 2000, 4:1502, 4:1531

Euro 2004, 2:526–527

European Football Championship, 2:528–530, 4:1433–1434

expansion beyond Britain, 4:1429–1430

France (*See France*)

Germany, 4:1429–1430, 4:1446, 4:1531

governing body, 4:1434

hooliganism, 4:1430, 4:1431, 4:1502, 4:1658, 4:1659

Italy, 3:1264, 4:1429

Jamaica, 2:856

Japan, 2:862–863, 2:867

Kenya, 2:899

Korea, 3:905–907

Maracana Stadium, 3:964–965

memorabilia, 3:997

Mexico, 3:1006, 3:1009

movies, 3:1047, 3:1050

nature of sport, 4:1432–1433

Netherlands, 3:1070, 4:1709

New Zealand, 3:1077

Nigeria, 3:1086

in North American market, 4:1431–1432, 4:1484–1485

Norway, 3:1089–1090

origins, 4:1427–1429

para-soccer, 3:1086

Poland, 3:1195

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Portugal, **3**:1203
 racism and, **3**:1239, **4**:1502
 revenue sharing, professional leagues, **3**:1263–1264
 Romania, **3**:1279
 Singapore, **4**:1376
 social identities of teams, **4**:1446
 Spain, **3**:1264, **4**:1446
 team ownership, **3**:1132, **3**:1134, **3**:1136
 televised broadcasts, **3**:993, **3**:995–996, **4**:1430–1432, **4**:1477, **4**:1485, **4**:1658, **4**:1659
 United Kingdom (*See* **United Kingdom**)
 Uruguay, **4**:1430
 at Wembley Stadium, **4**:1691
 women's, **4**:1431–1432
 young people, programs for, **1**:52–53
- Social class and sport, 4:1434–1441**
 basketball, **4**:1438
 economics, **4**:1435–1437
 education, **4**:1440
 future, **4**:1440–1441
 golf, **4**:1438–1439
 professional sports, **4**:1439–1440
 social capital, **4**:1437–1438
 social mobility, **4**:1439
 sports participation, **4**:1435
- Social constructivism, 4:1441–1444**
- Social ideas, **3**:957
- Social identity, 4:1445–1449, 4:1470–1471.**
See also **Athletes as celebrities; Sport and national identity**
 athletes as heroes, **1**:114–116
 masculinity and, **3**:985–987
 school sports, effect of participation in, **3**:1330–1331
- Social-cognitive personality theories, **3**:1175
 Socialization, sport and, **4**:1665
 Sociological narrative studies, **3**:1058–1059
 Sociology
 interpretive, **2**:832–836
 postmodernism and, **3**:1206–1207
 Sodium bicarbonate, **3**:1093–1094
 Soft tennis, **2**:861
- Softball, 4:1449–1455**
 Amateur Softball Association (ASA), **4**:1449–1452
 competition, top, **4**:1453–1454
 description of game, **4**:1452
 future, **4**:1454
 governing bodies, **4**:1454
 Mexico, **3**:1006
 New Zealand men's team, **3**:1073
 organizations, **4**:1452–1453
 professional, **4**:1454
 “Softbandy,” **2**:609
 Sokol clubs, **3**:1194
 Solomon, Donnie, **2**:543
 Sombart, Werner, **1**:49–50
Songe, Le, **3**:937
 Sorensen, Jackie, **1**:12, **2**:608
 Sorenstam, Annika, **1**:354, **2**:508, **2**:510
 Sorrese, Dan, **1**:91
 Sosa, Sammy, **1**:160, **3**:1166, **4**:1530
 SOSUPE (South American Society of Sport Psychology), **3**:1225
 Sotomayor, Javier, **3**:1146
 Soule, Aileen Rikken, **3**:1342
- South Africa, 4:1455–1461**
 ball games, tribal, **4**:1459
 competition, top, **4**:1460–1461
 exclusion from Olympics, **1**:20, **1**:21–22
 future, **4**:1461
 Olympics participation, **4**:1458, **4**:1460
 rugby, **3**:1299–1300
 sports after apartheid, **3**:1236, **4**:1458–1460
 sports before apartheid, **4**:1455–1457
 sports during apartheid, **3**:1235, **4**:1457–1458, **4**:1506
 World Cup in, **4**:1433
- South American Games, **1**:85–86, **3**:1145
 South American Society of Sport Psychology (SOSUPE), **3**:1225
- South East Asian Games, 3:1347, 4:1376, 4:1461–1463**
- South Korea, **3**:905–907, **4**:1592
 Asian Games and, **1**:104, **1**:106
 table tennis, **4**:1587
- Souza, Kenny, **2**:483
- Soviet Union. *See* **Russia and USSR**
- Spahn, Warren, **1**:149
- Spain, 4:1463–1465. See also Bullfighting**
 Barcelona Olympics (1992), **3**:1115
 at Olympics, **3**:1120
 soccer, **3**:1264, **4**:1446
 Worker Olympics and, **4**:1703
- Spalding, Albert G., **1**:145, **1**:148, **3**:1131, **3**:1134
Spalding Baseball Guides, **3**:952–953

- Speaker, Tris, **1:149**
 Spear fishing, **2:591**
Special Olympics, **1:7**, **2:461**, **2:463**, **4:1465–1469**
Spectator consumption behavior, **4:1469–1475**.
See also Marketing; Sporting goods industry
 demographic aspects, **4:1469–1470**
 environmental aspects, **4:1473–1474**
 past behavior as predictor, **4:1473**
 psychographic aspects, **4:1470–1473**
Spectators, **3:956**, **4:1475–1480**. *See also Fan loyalty; Mascots; Sport as spectacle; Violence*
 ancient fans, **4:1475**
 baseball, **1:159–160**
 comfort, environment and, **2:518–519**
 fan behavior, **4:1478–1479**, **4:1502**, **4:1531**
 franchise relocation, **2:649–653**
 future, **4:1479**
 international consequences, **4:1478**
 radio, role of, **4:1476**
 stadiums, **4:1475–1476**
 television, role of, **4:1476–1478**, **4:1500–1501**
 Speed biking, **2:542**. *See also Mountain biking*
 Speed skating. *See Skating, ice speed*
Speedball, **4:1480–1482**
 Speigler, Gustav, **3:945**
 Spiess, Adolph, **3:1178**, **4:1582**
 Spiller, Ben, **2:694**
 Spin casting, **2:595**
 Spirit of St. Louis basketball teams, **3:1245**
 Spitz, Mark, **2:507**, **4:1578**
 Spitzack, Carol, **1:216**
 Spock, Benjamin, **3:1295**
 Spoelstra, Jon, **3:977**
 SPOLIT, **3:952**
 SPONET, **3:952**
Sponsorship, **3:956–957**, **3:977–979**, **4:1482–1486**, **4:1501**. *See also Athletes as celebrities; Marketing*
 America's Cup race, **1:56**
 baseball radio broadcasts, **3:1244**
 facility naming rights, **2:551–553**
 Japanese volleyball, **4:1678**
 motorcycle races, **3:1022**
 national teams, corporate sponsorship of, **4:1491**
 Nigerian youth sports, **3:1087**
 Olympics, **3:978**, **3:1115**, **4:1482–1483**, **4:1485**
 race walking, **3:1233**
 sailboat racing, offshore, **3:1319**
 tennis, **4:1483**, **4:1604**, **4:1607**
 United Kingdom, **4:1658**
 wakeboarding, **4:1684**
 Wembley Stadium, **4:1692**
 worldwide spending on, **3:957**
 Sport academies. *See Academies and camps, sport*
Sport and Gagaly, **3:937**
Sport and national identity, **4:1486–1491**
 globalization and, **4:1490–1491**
 media, role of, **3:1082**
 national identity defined, **4:1487–1488**
 popular culture, sport in, **4:1491**
 single national identity, **4:1488–1490**
 study of, **4:1488**
Sport as religion, **4:1492–1498**. *See also Religion; Rituals*
 as alternative to civil religion, **4:1493–1494**
 future, **4:1496–1498**
 meaning of, **4:1496–1498**
 reflection of society, religion and sport as, **4:1494–1496**
Sport as spectacle, **4:1499–1504**. *See also Racism; Spectators; Violence*
 commercially exploitive spectacle, sport as, **4:1503–1504**
 early spectator entertainment, **4:1499**
 Olympics, **4:1500**, **4:1501** (*See also Olympics, Summer; Olympics, Winter*)
 technology, impact on spectator sport of, **4:1499–1501**
 violent, sexist spectacle, sport as, **4:1501–1503**
 Sport history periodicals, **3:951**
 Sport philosophy periodicals, **3:951**
Sport politics, **4:1504–1508**
Sport science, **4:1508–1514**. *See also Fitness; Physical education*
 biomechanics, **1:195–199**, **2:900–902**
 careers, **4:1514**
 classical issues in, **4:1508**
 environmental physiology, **4:1509–1510**
 exercise prescription, **4:1511–1513**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- future athletes and weekend warriors, **4:1511**
golden years, **4:1511**
heart-healthy lifestyle, **4:1509**
human movement studies, **2:771–776**
periodicals, **3:949–951**
periodization, **4:1511–1513**
physical fitness assessment, **4:1508–1509**
principles of, **4:1511–1512**
resistance training, **4:1510, 4:1511**
strength training (*See* Strength training)
- Sport tourism, 3:959–961, 4:1514–1517**
SPORTDiscus, 3:952
- Sporting goods industry, 3:958–961, 3:974–977, 4:1517–1522.** *See also* Athletic equipment and apparel; **Spectator consumption behavior; Technology**
contemporary economic significance of, **4:1519–1520**
corporate and social responsibility, **4:1521–1522**
emergence of, **4:1518–1519**
global market, **4:1517–1518**
goods, circulation of, **4:1518**
issues and controversy, **4:1520–1521**
mascots and, **3:982**
memorabilia, **3:996–998**
organizations and associations, **4:1518**
team ownership by, **3:1131**
- Sporting News Radio, **3:1246**
- Sports bars, rise of, **2:524–525**
- Sports camps. *See* **Academies and camps, sport**
Sports Collector's Digest, 3:997
Sports Illustrated, 4:1538–1539
- Sports management. *See* **Management**
- Sports medicine, 3:1180, 3:1203, 4:1523–1528.**
See also **Diet and weight loss; Disordered eating; Exercise and health; Injuries, youth; Injury; Injury risk in women's sport; Nutrition; Osteoporosis; Sport science**
anemia, **1:57–59**
contemporary issues, **4:1525–1527**
fitness and, **4:1528**
history, **4:1523–1525**
injured female athletes, **2:804–805**
women, children, and older adults, **4:1527–1528**
- Sports products. *See* Athletic equipment and apparel;
Sporting goods industry
- Sport-Self-Promotional Showmanship Syndrome (S-SPSS), **4:1672–1673**
- Sportsmanship, 4:1528–1534.** *See also* Corruption, in sports; **Performance enhancement; Violence**
cheating, **4:1530, 4:1664–1665**
ethical character, development of, **4:1529–1530**
future of fair play, **4:1533–1534**
organizational level, ethics at, **4:1531–1533**
profanity, **4:1530**
return to ethical behavior, **4:1533**
- Sportswriting and reporting, 4:1534–1540.**
See also **Literature; Magazines; Newspapers**
American pioneers of, **4:1535**
Bennett, James Gordon, Jr., **4:1535–1536**
birth of daily sports page, **4:1536**
cultural values and, **1:15–16, 1:18**
Egan, Pierce, **4:1534–1535**
Liebling, A. J., **4:1539–1540**
Murray, Jim, **4:1539–1540**
other luminaries, **4:1537–1538**
Rice, Grantland, **3:1243, 4:1536–1537**
Smith, Red, **4:1538**
Sports Illustrated, 4:1538–1539
Texas sportswriters, **4:1539**
women, **4:1539**
- Sprewell, Latrell, **4:1674**
- Springboard diving, **2:474, 2:475**
- Springboks, **3:1077**
- Springfield (MA), **1:168, 1:176**
- Sprints, **4:1625–1626, 4:1630–1631**
- Spur Posse case, **4:1671–1672**
- Spurrier, Steve, **1:349**
- Squash, 3:1075, 4:1540–1542**
- Squaw Valley Olympics (1960), **3:1120, 4:1485**
- Ssirum Korean wrestling, **3:905**
- S-SPSS (Sport-Self-Promotional Showmanship Syndrome), **4:1672–1673**
- St. Andrews, 1:319, 2:688, 2:689, 4:1542–1544**
- St. Goddard, Emile, **4:1416**
- St. James, Lynn, **1:134**
- St. Louis Cardinals, **3:1133, 3:1134, 3:1136, 3:1166, 4:1711, 4:1712**
- St. Louis Rams, **3:1134**
- St. Moritz, 4:1544–1546**
athletic clubs and events, **4:1544–1545**
bobsledding, **1:211, 1:212, 3:941**
luge, **3:941**
Olympics, **3:1118–1119, 3:1159, 4:1416–1417, 4:1545–1546**

- Stadiums. *See also* **Baseball stadium life**; **Domed stadiums**; **Fenway Park**
 Bislett Stadium, **1**:204–205
 college, **1**:348–349
 environmental issues, **2**:521
 franchise relocation and, **2**:652–653
 indoor, **2**:520
 Maracana Stadium, **3**:964–965
 spectator sports and, **4**:1475–1476, **4**:1500–1501
 Yankee Stadium, **1**:159, **4**:1732–1734
- Stagg, Amos Alonzo, **1**:296
- Stalberger, John, **2**:619
- Staley, Dawn, **2**:810
- Standpoint theory, **4**:1442–1443
- Stanford University, **2**:812, **3**:1244, **4**:1479, **4**:1643
- Stanley, Frederick Ashley, **4**:1546–1547
- Stanley Cup**, **2**:739, **4**:1546–1548
- Stearns, Cheryl, **3**:1150
- Steeplechase (horse race), **2**:762
- Steeplechase (track and field), **4**:1628, **4**:1630
- Steinborn, Henry, **3**:1210
- Steinbrenner, George, **4**:1127, **4**:1649
- Stenberg, Sigge, **3**:1124
- Stenmark, Ingemar, **3**:1121, **4**:1403
- Step aerobics, **1**:13
- Stephen, Leslie, **3**:1030
- Stephens, Rebecca, **3**:1030
- Stern, David, **1**:111, **1**:249, **1**:348, **4**:1674
- Steroids, **3**:1094, **3**:1165–1167, **4**:1601
 bodybuilding and, **1**:223, **1**:225, **4**:1551–1552
 at Olympics, **3**:1116
 in powerlifting, **3**:1212
 sportsmanship and, **4**:1531
 Sweden, use in, **4**:1573
 in tennis, **4**:1609
 in track and field, **4**:1625
 in weightlifting, **4**:1687
 by women, **2**:804
- Stevens, A. Leo, **3**:1148
- Still rings, **2**:716
- Stilt racing, **2**:613
- Stock car racing, **1**:133, **1**:135–136
- Stock seat horseback riding, **2**:769
- Stockholm Olympics (1912), **3**:1117
- Stockhorn, **3**:1039
- Stockton, Abbye “Pudgy” Eville, **1**:221, **2**:601, **2**:602, **4**:1668–1669
- Stockton, Les, **1**:220, **2**:601
- Stojko, Elvis, **3**:1229
- Stoke Mandeville Games, **1**:7, **1**:82, **3**:1150–1152
- Stone, Donna, **2**:582
- Stoolball, **3**:1285–1288
- Storey, David, **3**:939
- Stovey, George, **1**:146, **1**:147
- Strange, Frederick William, **2**:861–862
- Strange, Mike, **2**:544
- Strategic deception, **4**:1665
- Strawberry, Darryl, **1**:347
- Streb, Elizabeth, **1**:440
- Streb, Marla, **3**:1036
- Street hockey, **2**:745
- Street luge, **2**:542
- Strength**, **4**:1510, **4**:1548–1553
 competitions, **4**:1550–1551
 diet and drugs, **4**:1551–1552
 differences in, **4**:1549
 exercises, **4**:1549–1550
 maximum, **4**:1552
- Strength training, **3**:1162–1163, **3**:1340, **4**:1510, **4**:1511, **4**:1549–1550
- Stress**, **4**:1553–1557. *See also* **Burnout**;
Psychology
 athletic injury model, **3**:1140–1141
 burnout and, **1**:268–269, **4**:1749
 coaching and, **1**:323–324
- Strikes, collective bargaining and, **1**:150, **1**:160, **1**:337–338, **2**:657
- Stringer, Corey, **3**:1168
- Stroke, **2**:535
- Stronger Women Get, The More Men Love Football, The*, **4**:1675
- Strongman competitions, **3**:1213. *See also*
Bodybuilding; **Powerlifting**; **Weightlifting**
- Stroud, Cleveland, **4**:1529
- Stroud, Leonard, **3**:1274
- Strug, Kerri, **2**:716, **3**:1140
- Student-athletes, **2**:478, **2**:813–815
- Su Il Nam, **3**:905
- Suárez, Paola, **1**:85, **1**:88
- Substance abuse. *See* **Performance enhancement**
- Sudan, **1**:19, **4**:1719

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Sudirman Cup, **1:141**
 Sugar Bowl (New Orleans), **2:628**
 Sukarno, Ahmed, **2:658–660**
 Suleimanov (Suleymanoglu), Naim, **4:1688**
 Sullivan, Christopher, **2:826**
 Sullivan, John, **1:243**
 Sullivan, Kathy, **2:888**
 Sumer, sports in, **3:1160**
 Summitt, Pat, **1:324, 1:345, 2:810**
 Sumner, Cheryl, **1:221**
Sumo, 2:864, 2:867, 4:1557–1560
Sumo Grand Tournament Series, 4:1560–1562
Sun Also Rises, The, **3:937–938**
Super Bowl, 2:550–551, 2:629, 4:1485, 4:1501, 4:1562–1564
 Supermoto (Supermotard), **2:542**
Surf lifesaving, 4:1564–1566
 Surface, playing. *See* Playing surfaces
Surfing, 4:1566–1571
 competitive surfing, **4:1568–1571**
 extreme surfing, **2:543–545**
 innovations, **4:1567**
 kite surfing, **3:903–904**
 origins of, **4:1566–1577**
 social acceptance, **4:1567–1568**
 Sutherland, Jock, **2:626**
 Suzuki, Ichiro, **1:154, 2:828, 2:861**
 Suzuki motorcycles, **3:1022**
 Swain, Beryl, **3:1024**
 Swanson, Becca, **3:1213**
Sweden, 2:806, 3:1158–1159, 4:1571–1573
 physical education in, **3:1178**
 Stockholm Olympics (1912), **3:1117**
 table tennis, **4:1587, 4:1590**
 Swift, Grace Ann, **1:91**
Swimming, 3:938, 4:1376, 4:1573–1579. See also
 Biathlon and triathlon
 Athens Olympics (2004), **3:1109**
 competitive, **4:1576–1578**
 governing body, **4:1579**
 history, **4:1574–1576**
 Olympics, **3:1113, 4:1575–1579**
 Poland, **3:1195**
 senior athletes, **3:1342**
 strokes, **4:1575–1576**
 technology, equipment changes due to, **4:1598, 4:1602**
 television, effect on rules of, **3:993**
 water polo, **3:1199–1202**
 women, **3:1113**
Swimming, synchronized, 4:1579–1581
 Swing, **2:443**
 Switzer, Kathrine, **1:234, 1:400, 3:968**
Switzerland, 4:1581–1585. See also Davos, Switzerland; **St. Moritz**
 Swoopes, Sheryl, **1:174**
 Swordsmanship. *See* **Fencing**
 Sydney Olympics (2000), **1:125, 3:1115, 4:1483, 4:1501, 4:1515, 4:1532–1533**
 Sydor, Alison, **3:1036**
 Syers, Madge, **4:1383**
 Synchronized driving, **2:474**
 Syracuse University, **4:1612**
 Szewinska, Irena, **3:1195**
- T**
- Tabei, Junko, **3:1030**
Table tennis, 3:1279, 4:1376, 4:1507, 4:1586–1591
 competition, **4:1586–1591**
 development, **4:1587–1588**
 origins, **4:1587**
Taekwando, 1:37, 3:905, 4:1591–1595
 Taerea, Briece, **2:544**
 Taglioni, Marie, **1:437**
Tai chi, 4:1595–1597
 Taiaroa, Jack, **3:1072**
 Takahashi, Yukiko, **4:1683**
 Takeko, Mitamura, **2:872**
 Takeshi, Mitsuzuka, **2:872**
 Talk test, exercise and, **2:514**
 Tamini, Noel, **3:970**
 Tampakos, Dimosthenis, **2:718**
 Tan Liangde, **2:475–476**
 Tanaka, Ginnoy, **2:863**
 Tango, **2:443, 2:444**
 Tanner-Whitehouse (TW) Method, biological maturation and, **2:709–710**
 Tanny, Victor “Vic,” **2:601, 4:1670**
 Tantra yoga, **4:1735**
 Tap dance, **1:434**
 Tapje, Bernard, **3:1136**
 Target heart rate zone, **2:513–514**
 Target shooting. *See* **Shooting**
 Taylor, Chuck, **2:506**
 Taylor, George, **4:1524**

- Taylor, J. H., **1:257**
 Taylor, Marshall “Major” Walter, **1:426**
 Taylor, Paul, **1:440**
 TBS, **3:992**
Technology, **4:1508**, **4:1597–1602**. *See also* Athletic equipment and apparel
 biotechnology, **1:199–204**, **4:1601–1602**
 controlling innovations in sport, **4:1598–1602**, **4:1622**
 future, **4:1602**
 new materials, opportunities provided by, **4:1597–1598**
 spectator sport, impact on, **4:1499–1501**
 team *vs.* individual, **4:1599–1601**
 Ted Stevens Olympic and Amateur Sports Act, **3:920**
 Telemark skiing, **4:1405**
 Television, **1:353–354**, **3:991–993**, **4:1476–1478**, **4:1500–1501**, **4:1585**. *See also* **ESPN**; **Play-by-play announcing**; **Wimbledon**
 athlete celebrities and, **1:109–110**, **1:112–113**
 Australia, **3:993**, **3:995**
 baseball and, **1:163–164**, **3:992**, **4:1485**
 basketball and, **1:174–175**, **3:992**, **4:1500**
 Canada, **1:285–286**, **3:963**, **3:991**
 corporate sponsorship and, **4:1483**, **4:1485**
 cricket and (*See* **Cricket**)
 curling and, **1:419**
 endorsements and, **2:506**
 Eurosport, **2:530–532**
 football and (*See* **Football**)
 hockey, **3:991**, **3:992**, **4:1500**
 intercollegiate athletics and (*See* **Intercollegiate athletics**)
 mixed martial arts competitions, **3:1011**
 mountain biking and, **3:1032**
 NASCAR and, **3:992**, **3:1085**
 New Zealand, **3:993–3:995**
 newspapers and, **3:1078**
 Olympics (*See* **Olympics**)
 Pan American Games, **3:1146**
 revenue sharing and, **4:901264**
 rugby and (*See* **Rugby**)
 soccer and (*See* **Soccer**)
 synthetic images (hyperreality), **3:1208–1209**
 tennis and (*See* **Tennis**)
 Tour de France, **4:1617**
 track and field and, **3:993**, **4:1629**
 United Kingdom, **3:991–995**, **4:1658–1659**
 women’s sports, coverage of, **4:1697–1698**
 X Games on, **4:1380**
 Telfair, Sebastian, **1:348**
Tennis, **3:937–938**, **4:1436**, **4:1603–1610**. *See also* **Davis Cup**; **Wimbledon**
 amateur *vs.* professional (*See* **Amateur vs. professional debate**)
 in art, **1:95**
 current issues and challenges, **4:1607–1610**
 endorsements and, **2:506**
 history, **3:1252**, **4:1603**, **4:1606**, **4:1608**
 Japan, **2:861**
 lawn, **1:38–40**, **2:447**
 Mexico, **3:1006**
 New Zealand, **3:1073**
 notable players, **3:1279**, **4:1605–1606**
 at Olympics, **3:1113**
 rules, equipment, and training, changes in, **4:1604–1605**
 senior athletes, **3:1342**
 significant events, **4:1606–1607**
 soft tennis, **2:861**
 sponsorship of, **4:1483**, **4:1604**, **4:1607**
 technology, equipment changes due to, **4:1598–4:1601**, **4:1604**
 television broadcasts, **1:354**, **3:991**, **3:1073**, **4:1485**, **4:1608**, **4:1658**, **4:1698–1700**
 United Kingdom, **4:1656–1657**
 violence and, **4:1674**
 women, **3:1113**, **4:1502**, **4:1698–1700**
 worldwide growth and participation, **4:1603–1604**
 Terrell, Roy, **4:1539**
 Tertullian, **3:1250**
 Testoni, Claudia, **2:853**
 Tetrahydrogestrinone (THG), **3:1167**, **4:1527**
 Thailand, **4:1461–1463**
 Asian Games and, **1:103–106**
 sepak takraw, **3:1346–3:1348**
 Thanou, Katrina, **3:1109**
 Tharp, Twyla, **1:440**
 Theodorakis, Mikis, **3:1110**
 THG (tetrahydrogestrinone), **3:1167**, **4:1527**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- This Sporting Life*, **3:939**
 Thomas, Jim, **3:1150**
 Thomas Cup, **1:141**
 Thompson, Edith, **2:735**
 Thompson, Hunter S., **1:349**
 Thompson, John, **2:810**
 Thompson, William and Maurice, **1:80, 1:81**
 Thöni, Gustav, **2:854**
 Thornton, Colonel Thomas, **2:554**
 Thoroughbred horse racing, **2:759–761**
 Thorp, Ian, **4:1578**
 Thorpe, Jim, **2:625, 3:1113, 4:1623**
 Throwing. *See* **Track and field—jumping and throwing**
 Tibet, **3:1025–1028, 3:1038–1039**
 Tibetan yoga, **4:1736**
 Ticket sales, **3:977, 3:979**
 revenue sharing and, **3:1263**
 soccer, **4:1431**
 spectator consumption behavior and, **4:1474–1475**
 Super Bowl, **4:1563**
 Ticketmaster, **3:977**
 Tigana, Jean, **4:1710**
 Tilden, Bill, **2:448, 4:1694**
 Tilghman, Billy, **2:782**
 Tillander, Gunnar, **3:1125**
 Tilman, H. L., **3:1028**
 Tilman, H. W., **3:1045**
 Tishman, Maria Cerra, **2:582**
 Tissie, Philippe, **3:1179**
Title IX, **3:921–922, 3:1229, 4:1610–1616, 4:1675, 4:1697**. *See also* **Gender equity; Intercollegiate athletics**
 application and enforcement of, **4:1611–1613**
 athletic training and, **1:122**
 baton twirling and, **1:178**
 cheerleading and, **1:303**
 coaching and, **1:325**
 college athletics and, **1:344, 1:346**
 Commission on Opportunity in Athletics debate, **4:1614–1615**
 cross-country running and, **1:403**
 current status, **4:1615**
 field hockey and, **2:737**
 fitness boom and, **2:602**
 gymnastics and, **2:715**
 history, **4:1610–1611**
 ice hockey and, **2:743–744**
 intercollegiate athletics and, **2:813**
 key lawsuits, **4:1613–1614**
 korfbal and, **3:908**
 lesbianism and, **3:930–931**
 Women's World Cup and, **4:1702**
 youth sports and, **4:1746**
 TNT (Turner Network Television), **3:992, 3:1146**
 Tobin, Michael, **2:483**
 Toboganning, **3:941**
 Todd, Jan, **1:221, 3:1212**
 Todd, Mark, **3:1074**
 Todd, Terry, **3:1211**
 Tohei, Koichi, **1:36**
Tom Brown's Schooldays, **3:1176, 3:1177, 4:1427, 4:1475–1476**
 Tomba, Alberto, **3:1122, 4:1403**
 Tomjanovich, Rudy, **4:1673–1674**
 Topolski, Dan, **1:207**
 Toronto Blue Jays, **4:1712**
 Toronto Maple Leafs, **3:962–964, 4:1547**
 Torts, sports-related, **3:922**
 Tough Man Competitions, **2:542**
 Touny, Ahmed, **1:72**
Tour de France, **4:1552, 4:1582, 4:1616–1618**
 competitiveness of, **1:423, 1:426**
 drug use in, **1:18–19**
 substance abuse, **3:1168, 4:1531, 4:1617**
 tourism and, **4:1515**
 yellow jersey, **3:990, 4:1616**
 Tourist Trophy motorcycle race, **3:1022–1024**
 Tournaments, medieval. *See* **Jousting**
 Tow-in surfing, **2:544**
 Townsend, Peter, **4:1570**
 Toxophilites and archery, **1:79–80**
Track and field—jumping and throwing, **4:1618–1624**
 amateurism and controversy, **4:1623**
 competition, top, **4:1623–1624**
 governing bodies, **4:1624** (*See also* International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF))
 jumping, **4:1618**
 at Olympics, **2:700, 3:1102, 3:1109, 3:1113**
 technology, equipment changes due to, **4:1598, 4:1622**
 throwing, **4:1620–1623**
 women, **3:1113**
 world records, tables of, **4:1621**

Track and field—running and hurdling, 4:1624–1632. *See also* **Biathlon and triathlon**

competition, top, **4:1631–1632**
 cross-country running, **1:398–404**
 drug use, **4:1626**
 duathlon, **2:480–483**
 facilities and equipment, **4:1631**
 governing bodies, **4:1631–1632** (*See also*
 International Amateur Athletics Federation
 [IAAF])
 history, **4:1624–1625**
 hurdles, **4:1627, 4:1630, 4:1631**
 literature, **3:938**
 middle-distance and long-distance races, **4:1627–1628, 4:1630, 4:1631**
 movies, **3:1050**
 nature of, **4:1629–11631**
 at Olympics, **3:1102, 3:1109–1110, 3:1113**
 relays, **4:1629, 4:1630**
 senior athletes, **3:1342, 3:1343**
 sprints, **4:1626–1627, 4:1630–1631**
 steeplechase, **4:1628, 4:1630**
 television, effect on rules of, **3:993, 4:1629**
 women in, **3:968, 3:1113, 4:1625–1626**
 world records, tables of, **4:1629**

Tracks on Ice, **4:1382**

Training and trainers. *See* **Athletic training;**
 Strength training

Trek (company), **2:507**

Tremblay, Kari, **1:91**

Trevino, Lee, **1:258**

Trezeguet, David, **2:529**

Trias, Robert, **2:888**

Triathlon. *See* **Biathlon and triathlon**

Trillini, Giovanna, **2:854**

Triple jump, **4:1618–1619, 4:1623**

Triplett, Norman, **3:998, 3:1163, 3:1169–1170**

“Trotting,” **2:761**

Truck racing, **1:136**

Trujillo, James Charles, **3:1276**

Trust, **4:1675**

Tsitas, Georgios, **4:1720**

Tsuboi, Gendo, **2:861**

Tsugutake, Nakanishi Chuzo, **2:893**

Tug of war, 4:1632–1634

Tullis, Julie, **3:1000**

Tumbling, **1:303**

Tunney, Gene, **1:109, 3:1190**

Turati, Augusto, **2:853**

Turkey, 4:1634–1636

Turkoglu, Hidayet, **3:1237**

Turner, Ted, **1:111**

Turner festivals (turners), **2:676, 3:1178, 3:1283, 4:1358–1359, 4:1636–1639**

Turner Network Television (TNT), **3:992, 3:1146**

Twain, Mark, **3:936, 4:1566**

Twentieth century, sports performance in,
3:1162–1163

20,000 Leagues Under the Sea, **4:1644**

Twirling, baton, **1:176–179**

Twombly, A. S., **4:1566**

Tyson, Mike, **1:243, 2:510, 3:1255, 4:1360, 4:1674**

U

Uber Cup, **1:141**

UCI (Union Cycliste Internationale), **3:1034**

Uecker, Bob, **3:1240**

UEFA. *See* Union of European Football Associations
 (UEFA)

Ueshiba, Kisshomaru, **1:36**

Ueshiba, Morihei, **1:36**

UIM (Union Of International Motor Boating),
3:1018, 3:1019

Ulmer, Sarah, **3:1075**

Ultimate Fighting Championship, **3:1011–1012**

Ultimate (Ultimate Frisbee), **1:41–42, 4:1640–1643**

Umbro (company), **4:1522**

Underwater sports, 4:1643–1648

dangers of, **4:1644–1646**

free diving, **4:1646**

future, **4:1647–1648**

origins of, **4:1643–1644**

recreational activities, **4:1646–1647**

scuba, **4:1643, 4:1646–1647**

technical diving, **4:1647**

Uneven parallel bars, **2:717**

Uni, Louis, **4:1686**

“Unihockey/unihok,” **2:609, 2:806**

Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI), **3:1034**

U

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Union of European Football Associations (UEFA),
3:958
 European Football Championship, **2:528–530**,
4:1433–1434
 stadium safety requirements, **3:964**
 Women's Championship, television coverage of,
4:1698
- Union Of International Motor Boating (UIM),
3:1018, 3:1019
- Unionism, 3:923, 4:1648–1652. See also**
Collective bargaining; Free agency
 defining labor issues, **4:1649–1650**
 Major League Baseball (MLB), **1:25, 1:336–337**,
3:923, 3:1131–1132, 4:1648–1649, 4:1651–
1652
 National Basketball Association (NBA), **3:923**,
4:1648–1650
 National Football League (NFL), **3:923, 4:1648–**
1652
 National Hockey League (NHL), **2:652, 3:923**,
4:1648, 4:1649
- United Kingdom, 4:1653–1661. See also Cricket;**
Scotland; St. Andrews; Wimbledon
 amateurism in, **4:1654–1655, 4:1658**
 archery in, **1:77–78**
 Ascot, **1:97–99**
 British Open, **1:256–258, 3:1073**
 Cambridge *vs.* Oxford boat race, **1:206–208**,
2:727
 Commonwealth countries, sports exported to,
3:1072, 3:1235, 3:1299, 4:1446, 4:1455–
1456
 Commonwealth Games, **1:125, 1:354–359**
 cultural studies theory and, **1:410**
 emergence of modern sport, **4:1653–1655**
 figure skating, **4:1382**
 Henley Regatta, **2:727–729**
 identities and inequalities, **4:1659–1660**
 influence on European sports, **3:1069, 4:1429–**
1430
 jousting, **2:876–879**
 lifeguarding, **3:932**
 London Olympics, **3:1118, 4:1657, 4:1691**
 memorabilia industry, **3:997**
 motorcycle racing, **3:1021–1024**
 mountaineering in, **3:1040–1041, 3:1046**
 netball, **3:1066–1068**
 participant and spectator sports, **4:1655–1658**
 polo, **3:1197**
 preindustrial sports, **4:1653**
 public schools, athletics at, **3:1176, 3:1177**
 rounders, history of, **3:1287**
 rowing, **3:1289, 3:1295**
 rugby, **3:1296–1301, 4:1654, 4:1655, 4:1658**,
4:1659
 in Ryder Cup, **3:1307–1308**
 sailing, history of, **3:1315**
 skating, history of, **4:1382–1383, 4:1388**
 skiing, **4:1398–1399**
 soccer, **3:1239, 3:1263–1264, 3:1336, 4:1428–**
1430, 4:1446, 4:1502, 4:1531, 4:1654–1655,
4:1658–1659, 4:1691
 sponsorship, spending on, **3:978**
 sporting goods industry, **4:1519–1521**
 sports and national identity, **4:1491**
 sports tourism in, **4:1515–1516**
 table tennis, **4:1587–1588**
 team ownership, **3:1132, 3:1134**
 televised sports in, **3:991–995, 4:1658–1659**
 tug-of-war, **4:1632**
 water polo, **3:1199–1201**
 Wembley Stadium, **4:1691–1692**
 women's sports, coverage of, **4:1698**
- United Parcel Service (UPS), **3:978**
- United States. *See* **America's Cup; Astrodome;**
Baseball; Boston Marathon; Carnegie
Report; College athletes; Davis Cup; Drake
Group; Economics and public policy; ESPN;
Fenway Park; Football; Indianapolis 500;
Intercollegiate athletics; Masters; Native
American games and sports; Pebble Beach;
Ryder Cup; Title IX; Venice Beach; Wrigley
Field; Yankee Stadium
- U. S. Amateur Championship (golf), **3:1154**
 U. S. Anti-Doping Agency, **3:1167**
 U. S. Open Golf Championship, **3:1154–1155**
 U. S. Open Tennis Championship, **3:1279, 4:1605**,
4:1607–4:1609
- United States Coast Guard Auxiliary, **3:1018**
 United States Football League (USFL), **4:1650–1651**
 United States Olympic Committee (USOC), **3:920**
 marketing by, **3:977**
 mental conditioning of athletes, use of, **3:999**,
3:1002, 3:1163, 3:1170

United States Power Boat Squadron, **3**:1018
 Universiades. *See* **World University Games**
 University of Alabama, **3**:1244, **4**:1672
 University of California, **2**:812, **3**:1324, **4**:1479,
4:1643
 University of Chicago, **3**:1244
 University of Colorado, **1**:349
 University of Illinois, **1**:349–350, **3**:983
 University of Iowa, **3**:1245
 University of Michigan, **2**:811, **3**:1245, **4**:1480
 University of Missouri, **1**:349, **3**:1245
 University of Nebraska, **3**:1244, **4**:1476
 University of Oregon, **1**:348–349
 University of Pennsylvania, **3**:1244
 University of Pittsburgh, **3**:1243
 University of Southern California, **3**:1244
 University of Wisconsin, **1**:350
 Unser, Al, Jr., **2**:794
 Unser, Al, Sr., **2**:795
 Unser, Bobby, **2**:795
 Unsoeld, Willi, **3**:1029
 UPS (United Parcel Service), **3**:978
 USA Track & Field, **2**:874
 USFL (United States Football League), **4**:1650–1651
 USSR. *See* **Russia and USSR**

V

Valenzuela, Fernando, **3**:1009
Values and ethics, **1**:285, **4**:1662–1668. *See also*
 Corruption, in sports; **Sportsmanship**
 biotechnology and sports, **1**:202–203
 debates over, **4**:1663–1664
 disability sport and, **2**:464–465
 foxhunting and, **2**:641
 future, **4**:1667–1668
 HIV/AIDS, **4**:1667
 imagery of sport, promotion of, **4**:1667
 inclusion/exclusion, **4**:1665–1666
 injury, risk of, **4**:1667
 intercollegiate athletics and, **2**:815–816
 school values, commitment to, **3**:1330–1331
 socialization and sport, **4**:1665
 Van Aaken, Ernst, **3**:968, **3**:970
 Van Dorn, Marieke, **2**:738

Van Innis, Hubert, **1**:80
 Van Lierde, Luc, **2**:843
 Van Looy, Rik, **1**:188
 Van Steenberghe, Rik, **1**:188
 Vance, Dazzy, **1**:149
 Vancouver Canucks, **4**:1502
 Vander Merwe, Marina, **2**:738
 Vardon, Harry, **1**:257
 Vare, Glenna Collett, **2**:693
 Vault (long horse), **2**:714, **2**:717
 Vázquez Raña, Mario, **3**:1009
 Vázquez Raña, Olegario, **3**:1009
 Vega, Nora Alicia, **1**:88
 Venables, Stephen, **3**:1029
Venice Beach, **1**:220, **2**:602, **4**:1668–1670
 Ventouz, Mount, **3**:1039
 Veranzio, Fausto, **3**:1148
 Verne, Jules, **4**:1644
 Vezina, Steve, **2**:746
 Vezzali, Valentina, **2**:854
 Viacom. *See* CBS
 Vic Tanny's Gym, **4**:1670
 "Victorian rules football," **1**:128
 Video games, **2**:829–830
 Video replay, **3**:992
 Vietnam, **4**:1461–1463
 Vigoro, **1**:127
 Vikelas, Dimitrios, **3**:1117
 Vilas, Guillermo, **1**:85, **4**:1605
 Vince, Marion Lloyd, **2**:582
 Vintage auto racing, **1**:133, **1**:136–137
Violence, **4**:1501–1502, **4**:1531–1532, **4**:1670–
1676
 boxing, **1**:241, **4**:1673, **4**:1674
 contributions by athletes to society, **4**:1670–1671
 facility management and, **2**:549–550
 in high school sports, **4**:1671–1672
 in intercollegiate sports, **4**:1672–1673
 Kerrigan-Harding incident, **4**:1387, **4**:1674
 masculinity and, **3**:987
 outlook, **4**:1676
 in professional sport, **4**:1673–1675
 soccer hooliganism, **4**:1430, **4**:1431, **4**:1478,
4:1502, **4**:1658, **4**:1659
 by spectators, **4**:1478–1480, **4**:1502, **4**:1531
 Virgil, **3**:935
 Virginia Slims tournament, **4**:1483
 Visa, **3**:978, **4**:1482

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

Visually impaired athletes. *See* **Disability sport**

Vitamins, healthy eating and, **2:457**

Volleyball, 4:1676–1680

Volleyball, beach, 4:1680–1683

Volvo Ocean Race, **3:1319**

Von Gesner, Konrad, **4:1582**

Von Laban, Rudolph, **1:438**

Von Lerch, Thodor, **2:861**

Von Liechtenstein, Ulrich von, **3:935**

Voog, Daisy, **2:501**

Vôrg, Ludwig, **2:500, 2:501**

W

Waddell, Dr. Tom, **1:31, 2:661**

Waddell, George “Rube,” **1:149**

Wagner, Honus, **1:149, 1:157**

Wahlsten, Juhani, **3:1265**

Waitz, Grete, **1:401**

Wakeboarding, 2:542–543, 4:1684–1685

Wales, **1:356**

Walker, Hershel, **2:810**

Walker, John, **3:1074**

Walker, Mark, **2:510**

Walker, Moses Fleetwood “Fleet,” **1:146**

Walker, Murray, **3:1191**

Walker, Welday, **1:146**

Wall, Patrick, **3:1139**

Wall of Ice, **3:939**

Wallach, Ira, **4:1670**

Walt Disney/ABC/Capital Cities, **1:354, 2:524, 3:992, 3:994, 3:1146, 4:1485, 4:1500.**

See also ESPN

Anaheim Mighty Ducks, **3:995, 3:1134**

hockey, televising of, **4:1652**

Monday Night Football, **3:1191–1192, 4:1479**

Wide World of Sports, **4:1476, 4:1569**

Walton, Bill, **1:175**

Waltz, **2:444**

Wangali, Robert, **2:899**

Wanshu, **2:887**

Warbrick, Joe, **3:1072**

Waring, Thomas, **1:79**

Warshaw, Mark, **4:1568**

Washburn, Brad, **3:1045**

Washington, Kenny, **2:628**

Washington, Kermit, **4:1673–1674**

Washington Redskins, **3:983**

Water Dancer, **3:938**

Water polo, **3:1199–1202**

Water skiing, **4:1410–1414**

Watson, Andrew, **3:1236**

Watson, Greg, **2:483**

Watson, James, **1:199**

Watson, Maud, **4:1692**

Watson, Tom, **1:258, 3:989, 3:1154–1155**

Watterson, Garrett, **2:726**

Waugh, Andrew, **3:1025**

Way, Danny, **1:40**

Webber, Chris, **3:1237**

Weber, Max, **3:1206**

Weble, Ursula, **4:1416**

Weider, Ben, **1:220, 3:1211, 4:1687**

Weider, Joseph, **1:220, 2:601, 3:1211, 4:1510, 4:1669, 4:1687**

Weight loss. *See* **Diet and weight loss**

Weightlifting, 4:1376, 4:1510, 4:1670, 4:1686–1691. *See also* **Bodybuilding**

agents of change in, **4:1687–1688**

American golden age of, **4:1687**

basics of, **4:1689–1690**

current status, **4:1689**

early history, **4:1686**

East European dominance, **4:1688**

governance, **4:1690**

international order, reconstruction of, **4:1688–1689**

powerlifting, **3:1210–1215 3:1165**

as sport, **4:1686**

steroid use, **3:1165**

Weiss, Alta, **1:154**

Weiss, Michael, **4:1385**

Weissflog, Jens, **4:1397**

Weissmuller, Johnny, **4:1578**

Weld, Theresa, **3:1118**

Welsh, Lillian, **3:1178**

Wembley Stadium, 4:1691–1692

Wenzel, Hanni, **3:1121**

Wepner, Chuck, **1:246, 1:247**

West, Mae, **4:1669**

West Virginia University, **3:1243**

Western horseback riding, **2:769**

Westinghouse Radio, **3:1243**

Weston, Edward Payson, **3:1233**

Westside Barbell Club, **3:1214**

Wet-fly fishing, **2:595**

Wethered, Joyce, **2:693**

- WFAN-AM radio, **3**:1246
- Wham-O Manufacturing Company, **4**:1640
- Wheaties (company), **2**:506
- Wheelchair athletes/athletics
 basketball, **2**:461, **2**:462
 Boston Marathon and, **1**:7–8, **1**:234
 ethical concerns, **2**:465
- Wheeler, Frank, **2**:793
- Wheeler, Rashidi, **3**:1168
- Wheel-rolling game, **1**:69
- Whillans, Don, **1**:43
- Whitbread Round the World Race, **3**:1319
- White, Albert, **2**:476
- White, Andrew, **3**:1245
- White, Byron “Whizzer,” **2**:626
- White, Cheryl, **2**:763
- White, Sol, **1**:146
- White, Stanford, **3**:947
- White Fang*, **4**:1416
- White Frenzy, The*, **4**:1409
- Whitehead, Cindy, **3**:1035
- Whitewater freestyle racing, **1**:289
- Whitfield, Fred, **3**:1276
- Whitman, Walt, **3**:936
- Whitmore, Walter James, **1**:395
- Whymper, Edward, **3**:1040–1041
- Wide World of Sports*, **4**:1476, **4**:1569
- Wiggins, Alan, **1**:31
- Wightman Cup, **4**:1604
- Wigman, Mary, **1**:438, **3**:1182
- Wilander, Mars, **4**:1605
- Wilbye, Harald, **3**:1124–1125
- Wilcox, Howdy, **2**:794
- Wild One, The*, **3**:1022
- Wild West shows, **3**:1273–1274, **3**:1277–1278
- Wilding, Anthony, **3**:1073
- Wildwater canoeing and kayaking, **1**:290
- Wilhelm, Bruce, **3**:1213
- Wilkins, Lenny, **1**:173
- Williams, Esther, **4**:1580
- Williams, Jason, **3**:1238
- Williams, John, **1**:82
- Williams, Lucinda, **3**:1143
- Williams, Mitch, **1**:157
- Williams, Serena, **4**:1608
 endorsements and, **1**:250, **1**:354, **2**:510
 as yoga practitioner, **4**:1738
- Williams, “Smokey” Joe, **1**:147
- Williams, Ted, **1**:149, **1**:157, **2**:585
- Williams, Venus, **4**:1604, **4**:1608
 endorsements and, **1**:250, **2**:508–**2**:510
 as yoga practitioner, **4**:1738
- Williams, Willie, **1**:350
- Willis, Helen, **1**:39
- Willis, Michael, **2**:544
- Wills, Helen, **3**:928, **4**:1606
- Wills, Maury, **1**:149
- Wilmarth, Dick, **2**:789
- Wilson, Horace, **2**:860–861
- Wilson, Maurice, **3**:1028
- Wilson, William, **3**:1200
- Wimbledon**, **1**:38, **3**:993, **4**:1603, **4**:1692–1694
 players, **4**:1605–1607, **4**:1609, **4**:1693
 prize money, **4**:1692
 sponsorship of, **4**:1604
 television broadcasts, **1**:354, **3**:991, **3**:1073,
4:1485, **4**:1658
 traditions, **4**:1693–1694
- Wind, Herbert Warren, **3**:989
- Windship, George Barker, **3**:1210, **4**:1686
- Windsurfing**, **3**:903–904, **3**:1314, **4**:1694–1696
- Winfrey, Oprah, **2**:874
- Wingfield, Walter Clapton, **1**:38, **4**:1603
- Winnick, Joseph, **1**:7
- Winston (Nextel) Cup, **1**:136, **3**:1083–1085
- Wint, Arthur, **2**:857, **2**:858
- Winter, Liane, **3**:968
- Winter Olympics. *See* **Olympics, Winter**
- Wipicat, **3**:903
- WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization),
3:923
- Wise, John, **3**:1148
- Witt, Katarina, **3**:1121, **3**:1122
- WMG (World Master Games), **3**:1344
- WNBA. *See* Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA)
- Wolde, Mamo, **3**:967
- Wollstonecraft, Mary, **3**:1177
- Wolsey, Thomas, **3**:1252
- Women. *See* **Baseball wives; Body image; Coeducational sport; Disordered eating; Feminist perspective; Gender equity;**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.

- Gender verification; Injury risk in women's sport; Lesbianism; Psychology of gender differences; Sexual harassment; Sexuality; Title IX; Women's sports, media coverage of; Women's World Cup**
- Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA), **1:174, 3:947, 4:1484**
- Women's Professional Rodeo Association (WPRA), **3:1275, 3:1276–1278**
- Women's sports, media coverage of, 4:1697–1701**
- Women's Tennis Association (WTA), **4:1483, 4:1604, 4:1606–1607**
- Women's World Cup, 4:1431, 4:1432, 4:1664–1665, 4:1698, 4:1701–1703**
- Wood, "Smokey" Joe, **1:149**
- Wood, Thomas Denison, **3:1182**
- Wooden, John, **1:175**
- Woods, Tiger, **3:989, 3:1155, 4:1543**
- as athlete celebrity, **1:111**
- as athlete hero, **1:115**
- brand management and, **1:250**
- endorsements and, **1:354, 2:507–2:509**
- father's comments on, **2:504**
- Woolf, Bob, **1:26, 1:27**
- Wordsworth, Charles, **1:206**
- Worker sports, 2:587–588, 2:676, 3:1304, 4:1703–1708**
- Workman, Fanny, **3:1041**
- World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), **1:202–203, 1:285, 3:920, 3:1093, 3:1110, 3:1116, 4:1513, 4:1526**
- World Cup, 4:1431, 4:1433, 4:1448, 4:1708–1710**
- Brazilian dominance, **4:1709**
- commodification of sport, example of, **1:353**
- Korean participation, **3:905–906**
- at Maracana Stadium, **3:964**
- origins, **4:1708**
- postwar era, **4:1708–1709**
- racism, **3:1236**
- Romanian participation, **3:1279**
- sponsorship, spending on, **3:978**
- television broadcasts, **4:1430, 4:1431, 4:1433, 4:1477, 4:1485, 4:1658**
- total football, dominance of, **4:1709–1710**
- violence and, **4:1478**
- World Games for the Deaf. *See* **Deaflympics**
- World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), **3:923**
- World Master Games (WMG), **3:1344**
- World Series, 4:1710–1713**
- cancellation (1994), **1:150, 1:160, 1:338**
- radio broadcast, **3:990, 3:1241, 3:1244, 3:1245**
- television broadcasts, **4:1485**
- World Series cricket, **3:995**
- World Team Tennis, **4:1608**
- World University Games, 4:1713–1718**
- Cold War split, 1945-1959, **4:1714–1715**
- founders, **4:1713–1714**
- International University Sports and George E. Killian (1999-2005), **4:1717–1718**
- Universiades and Primo Nebiolo, 1959-1999, **4:1715–1717**
- World War I
- glider development, **4:1423**
- rounders, history of, **3:1287**
- skiing, **4:1405**
- soccer, **4:1429**
- World Series during, **4:1711**
- World War II. *See also* **Nazis**
- glider development, **4:1423**
- Japanese martial arts, effect on, **2:895–896**
- United Kingdom, sports promoted by, **4:1657**
- World Series during, **4:1711**
- World's Strongest Man competition, **4:1551**
- Worthy, James, **1:173**
- WPRA (Women's Professional Rodeo Association), **3:1275, 3:1276–1278**
- Wrestling, 4:1718–1723**
- arm wrestling, **1:90–92**
- in art, **1:96**
- China, **1:309**
- freestyle, **4:1719–1720**
- Greco-Roman, **4:1720**
- Iran, **2:836**
- movies, **3:1050**
- in Olympics, **2:701**
- origins, **3:1102, 3:1103, 4:1718**
- rules and play, **4:1718–1719**
- as spectacle, **4:1503**
- ssirum Korean wrestling, **3:905**
- Sudan, **1:19**
- Swiss folk wrestling, **4:1584**
- Title IX and, **4:1614–1616**
- women, **4:1720–1722**

Wright, Mickey, **2:692**
 Wright, Orville and Wilbur, **2:611, 2:723, 4:1423, 4:1425**
 Wrigley, Philip, **1:153**
 Wrigley, William, Jr., **4:1723**
Wrigley Field, **1:159, 1:249, 2:625, 4:1479, 4:1712, 4:1723–1724, 4:1734**
 Wrist wrestling, **1:90**
 Writing, sports. *See* **Sportswriting and reporting**
 WTA. *See* Women's Tennis Association (WTA)
 Wulff, Lee, **2:597**
Wushu (kung fu), **1:310, 3:1010, 4:1724–1727**
 Wyatt, Jonathan, **3:1074**

X

X Games, **2:509, 2:524, 2:539, 4:1380, 4:1728–1731**
 Xiong Ni, **2:476, 2:477**
 XM radio, **3:1246**

Y

Yachting. *See* **Sail sports**
 Yale University, **2:811, 3:981, 4:1449**
 Yamaha motorcycles, **3:1022**
 Yang Luchan, **4:1595**
Yankee Stadium, **1:159, 4:1732–1734**
 Yao Ming, **2:509, 2:828**
 Yastrzemski, Carl, **1:150**
 Yasushi, Inoue, **3:939**
 Yawkey, Tom, **2:585**
 YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association), **3:957, 3:1179, 3:1254, 3:1255, 4:1359, 4:1495**
 gymnastics promoted by, **2:714**
 Japan, **2:863**
 Mexico, **3:1006**
 volleyball, invention of, **4:1676–1677**
Yoga, **2:603, 4:1734–1739**
 York, Denise DeBartolo, **3:1134**
 Yosemite Valley, **3:1044**
 Yoshinobu, Miyake, **4:1687**
 Yost, Paul Edward, **1:143**
 Young, Buddy, **2:628**
 Young, Denton True "Cy," **1:148**
 Young, Geoffrey Winthrop, **3:1043**

Young, Larry, **3:1234**
 Young, Nat, **2:544**
 Young Men's Christian Association. *See* YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association)
 Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), **3:1256**
 Younghusband, Francis, **3:1025, 3:1026**
Youth culture and sport, **4:1739–1744**
Youth sports, **4:1511, 4:1744–1749**. *See also*
 Parents, role of
 academies and camps, **1:3–4, 2:817–820**
 exercise and health, **2:537–538, 4:1509–1511, 4:1741–1742, 4:1748–1749**
 Fair Play for Children (FPC), **4:1533**
 family involvement, **2:557–562** (*See also* **Elite sports parents**)
 female superstars, **1:308**
 growth, development and, **2:712**
 injuries and, **2:795–797**
 play v. organized sport, **3:1186–1188**
 track and field, **4:1618**
 violence and, **4:1671–1672**
 Yuko, Mashima, **3:939**
 YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association), **3:1256**

Z

Zadeh, Reza, **4:1689**
 Zafarana, Giacomo, **2:852**
 Zagunis, Mariel, **2:582**
 Zaharias, Mildred "Babe" Didrikson, **1:115, 1:153, 2:692, 3:928, 3:930**
 Zane, Frank, **2:602**
 Zarella, Joe, **3:1212**
 Zatopek, Emile, **3:967**
 Zeevi, Arik, **2:847**
 Zenzaemon, Yoshida, **4:1561**
 Zhang Sanfeng, **4:1595**
 Zidan, Zinedine, **3:1236**
 Ziegler, John B., **3:1165, 4:1687**
 Zinkin, Harold, **4:1669**
 Zionism, **3:944–946**
 Zurner, Albert, **2:476**
 Zwaanswijk, Adri, **3:908**

X**Y****Z**

Notes: 1) **Bold** entries and page numbers denote encyclopedia entries; 2) The bold numbers preceding the page numbers denote the volumes (1–4) where the page numbers can be found.
