

# 2021 Annual Convention of the North American Society for Sport History

May 28-31, 2021 | Virtual via Hopin

## Conference Agenda

Overview and details of the sessions of this conference. Please select a date or location to show only sessions at that day or location. Please select a single session for detailed view (with abstracts and downloads if available).

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## Session Overview

Date: Saturday, 29/May/2021

7:30am - 8:30am

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### Opening Session and Reception

Session Chair: **David K. Wiggins**, George Mason University

Introductory Comments, presented by NASSH President Dave Wiggins  
Service Awards, presented by Jan Todd  
JSH Article Award, presented by Maureen Smith  
Dissertation Prize Award, presented by Heather Dichter  
Book Awards, presented by Malcolm Maclean  
Conference Program/Details, presented by Murray Phillips

8:45am - 9:30am

HOPIN

### Keynote Address: Rita Liberti

*This contribution has been accepted as an invited presentation.*

#### **Fast Friends: Edith McGuire Duvall, Wyomia Tyus, and the Political Possibilities of Friendship**

**Rita Liberti**

California State University East Bay, United States of America

The word "friend" or "friendship" can often be found within the "acknowledgments" section of our writing, however these dyadic bonds are far less likely to be a topic for study, let alone form the conceptual core of our work in sport history. When friendship does find its way into sport history it tends to be framed as a tangential piece of a larger discussion about "community." My own work in the field followed this pattern, thereby relegating the friendships on which "community" was built to an afterthought. My remarks in this presentation are an initial attempt to rethink friendship, bringing it centerstage. Far from trivial or consequential these bonds offer us insight into the past, as well as critical ways of understanding how the past is retold to us in the present.

The sixty-year friendship between 1960s Olympic track gold medalists and Tennessee State Tigerbelles, Edith McGuire Duvall and Wyomia Tyus serves as the primary focus around which my comments are centered. Obviously, their personal bond is meaningful on an individual level. But it also functions politically as a way to understand how their friendship assisted them in navigating the hierarchical spaces of elite level sport, as well as the oppressive contours of racism and sexism.

9:30am - 10:00am

HOPIN

### Histories of NASSH 1

Session Chair: **Carly Adams**, University of Lethbridge

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute panel.*

#### **Histories of NASSH and/or the Field of Sport History in 7 Minutes! Session 1**

**Tom Fabian<sup>1</sup>, Dain TePoel<sup>2</sup>, Kevin Wamsley<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>St. Francis Xavier University; <sup>2</sup>Lock Haven University

The year 1973 was significant in North American sport history for a number of reasons. In September of that year, Billie Jean King defeated Bobby Riggs in the "Battle of the Sexes," Secretariat became the first Triple Crown winner since 1948, and the Miami Dolphins' undefeated season culminated in a Super Bowl victory. Canadian Karen Magnussen was the Ladies World Figure Skating champion and the Montreal Canadiens won another Stanley Cup. The year 2022 also marks the 50th Anniversary of the first NASSH meeting held in 1973 at The Ohio State University.

This session celebrates the founding of NASSH by highlighting a breadth of perspectives on the history of organization and field of Sport History. Presenters will have seven minutes each to discuss a topic, ensuring the session encompasses a variety of perspectives and voices. Topics include the contributions of pioneering members Marin H Eyler, Guy Lewis, Alan Metcalfe, and Roberta J. Park; important milestones in NASSH history; the role of sport historians in both history and higher education; current challenges; and future considerations for the organization. This lightning-fast approach makes it interesting for people to watch the presentations and encourage them to engage in a robust discussion about the past, present, and future directions of NASSH and the field of Sport History.

9:30am - 10:00am

HOPIN

### Sporting Cultures

*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

#### **Frisbee and the American Counterculture**

**Ryan Timothy Murtha**

The University of Texas at Austin, United States of America

In the 1960s and 1970s, the American countercultural movement offered a vision of an alternative way of structuring society. They had diagnosed a sickness they claimed pervaded all parts of American culture, including sports. Thus, their alternative society included an alternative way of playing sports, a way that was most apparent in the form of frisbee. The counterculture, and the amorphous group of hippies, beatniks, and antiwar protestors that made it up, took that ubiquitous plastic disc and instilled in it an incredible amount of political meaning. In this paper, I will use newspaper and video archives to examine this important chapter of frisbee's history, contextualizing it among other subcultural sports, and analyze its making and unmaking as an object of political significance. Through

this, I hope to deepen understandings of the countercultural movement, and show the impact of the counterculture on the sports world in subsequent decades.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Battle for the Hockey Soul of Toronto: The Toronto Toros vs. The Toronto Maple Leafs (1973-1976)**

**Denis M Crawford**

Youngstown State University, United States of America

Canadian entrepreneur Johnny F. Bassett founded the Toronto Toros hockey team in 1973. The Toros were a member of the upstart World Hockey Association (WHA) and engaged in a three-year battle with the National Hockey League's (NHL) Toronto Maple Leafs for market share. The hockey rivalry mirrored the larger cultural and political developments of Toronto. The Maple Leafs represented "Toronto the Good," a derisive sobriquet bestowed upon the city by those who chafed at the pious and WASPish nature of Toronto's government, culture, and sporting institutions. A leader of this movement was Conn Smythe, creator of the stately Maple Leaf Gardens who believed a hockey game should be like a night at the opera. The Toros represented "New Toronto," a movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s which saw the city's growing immigrant and middle-class citizens flex their burgeoning cultural and economic muscle. The younger generation was personified by Johnny F. Bassett, founder of the Toronto Toros and an unabashed showman who felt a hockey game should be like a night at a wrestling match or night club. Bassett was also not above publicly tweaking the establishment, particularly the Leafs. The Toros ultimately failed due to the lack of a sufficient arena, but their brief run presaged Toronto's transformation into a more cosmopolitan city and the Leafs' loss of dominance over the local sports scene.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Class Interference: Hip-Hop, Gang Culture, and the Ban on Raiders Apparel in Schools**

**Tolga Ozyurtcu**

The University of Texas at Austin, United States of America

Recently, the NFL's Oakland Raiders rebranded as the Las Vegas Raiders, completing a transition several years in the making. Unlike most franchises making such a move, the Raiders' relocation was not accompanied by an updated visual identity; team colors and the iconic "pirate" logo remain the same, an unsurprising decision given the longstanding visibility and popularity of the Raiders' brand.

But the decades old logo and silver and black color scheme have a complicated history. This paper explores the period in the early 1990s when Raiders merchandise and colors were banned in schools across the United States. Rooted in the connection between sports apparel and an increasingly visible gang culture, the bans extended into other public spaces and included other sport logos (such as the Los Angeles Kings and Dallas Cowboys), but the national conversation centered on campus concerns about the one-eyed pirate. It was a complex conversation, centering issues of race and class, heightened by the ascendance of rap music into mainstream American culture.

Drawing on media accounts, pop cultural artifacts (e.g., music videos, song lyrics), interviews, and school and law enforcement archives, the paper pursues four lines of inquiry. First is the question of origins: when and how did sports merchandise (especially the Raiders) become part of gang culture and how did this image enter a broader, pop-cultural consciousness? Second, what was the scope and breadth of these bans: beyond areas with known gang activity, how far did they extend into traditionally "safe" communities in the US? Third, how did the team and league react and respond? Finally, legacy: in some places, these bans continue today and there have been suggestions that the NFL blocked the Raiders' return to Los Angeles due to the same gang-related image concerns that first emerged three decades ago.

**10:00am - 10:30am**

**HOPIN**

**Morning Tea**

**10:30am - 11:15am**

**HOPIN**

**Graduate Essay Award: Tom Fabian**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an invited presentation.*

### **Whose National Sport? The Dubious Origins and Reinvented Histories of National Sports?**

**Tom Fabian**

St. Francis Xavier University, Canada

National sports are chosen, declared, or proclaimed, by presidential decree or popular demand, because they have the ability to symbolize social cohesion, legitimize authority, and indoctrinate national values. In many instances, however, national sports are traditional games, rather than modern sports, because traditional games are somatic markers of the intangible cultural heritage of nations. Moreover, upon examination, some national (traditional) sports are revealed to have dubious origins and are not, in fact, indigenous to the nation, or are not representative of the entire nation. They are therefore examples of the reinvention of a nation's history. This essay will investigate the origin myths and political instrumentalization of the national sports of Brazilian capoeira, muay thai, and Korean taekwondo in order to demonstrate that the primary reason for adopting traditional games as national sports is the integration of politically sensitive aspects of nations' histories.

**11:15am - 11:45am**

**HOPIN**

**Bodies, Gender and Sport**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Feminism and American Women's Rugby**

**Lydia Jane Furse**

De Montfort University, World Rugby Museum

Men's rugby union has a connotation as a conservative sport, in some senses antithetical to feminism. Yet the development of women's rugby union cannot be understood without the context of the wider social and cultural shifts in the gender order in the United States of America during the 1970s, particularly the influence of second-wave feminism. This paper traces the relationship between American women's rugby and feminism, examining the extent to which women's rugby signified a physical extension of women's liberation. In offering participants freedom of movement and the challenge of physical contact, both attributes strongly associated with male-defined sport, women's rugby transgressed traditional gender boundaries. Sociologists have identified women's rugby as a site of resistance to heteronormativity, thereby challenging the patriarchal gender order. However, early pioneers in women's rugby, as with other female footballers from the 1970s, have proved to be reluctant to overtly identify their actions as feminist. Instead, participants utilised wider egalitarian principles to defend their right to play rugby, indicating that the influence of second-wave feminism was a pre-cursor to the success of women's rugby during the 1970s. The extent to which rugby was a vehicle to advance or encourage the overall causes of women was limited by participation rates, a lack of mainstream media attention, and the development of women's rugby within American male-stream rugby culture. For individuals, however, women's rugby offered a space in which to challenge the gender order. The relationship between women's rugby union and feminism is therefore complex, ambiguous, and to some extent, paradoxical. This paper contextualises the evolution of women's rugby in the United States and the sport's relation to feminism during the 1970s.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Pride in the Saddle: How the Sport of Rodeo Became the LGBTQ Pride Celebration of the American West**

**Nicholas Villanueva**

University of Colorado Boulder, United States of America

Following the Stonewall Riots of 1969, gay and lesbian men and women stepped out of the shadows of society more so than ever, and widespread protests for liberation, equal rights, and acceptance emerged during the 1970s. The gay liberation movement of the 1970s was about recognition of LGBTQ identity and necessitated widespread visibility of their uniqueness from heteronormativity. Early activists fought for acceptance of their lifestyle—denying socially constructed rules of what was deemed conventional for society. By the mid-decade LGBTQ people were a more visible presence, and, for a group of athletes in Reno, Nevada, they wanted to celebrate their uniqueness within the gay community through the sport of rodeo. This paper examines the untold history of the modern gay rights

movement in the American West. The Reno Gay Rodeo, first envisioned in 1975, and first held in 1976, challenged what greater society believed gay men and lesbians to look like and how they should act. This paper examines how the sport of rodeo was the impetus for gay pride celebrations in the rural American West. I argue that the gay rodeo was the pioneering gay pride of the American West. In some cities, its attendance outnumbered the attendance numbers at traditional gay pride celebrations in major cities like Denver and Phoenix. In both the smaller towns and large cities, the gay rodeo became a political force that challenged the heteronormative space of the American West and rural towns.

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*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

**“Fitness is More than Firm Muscles”: The Life and Legacy of Paige Palmer, Ohio's First Lady of Fitness**

**Kristen Wilson, Jan Todd**

UT Austin, United States of America

In January 1948, Paige Palmer hosted the first televised fitness program in the United States, proceeding the likes of television fitness icons Jack LaLanne (1951) and Debbie Drake (1960). As notable as Palmer is for being a first lady of fitness, still more impressive is her longevity, her show an important part of WEWS-Cleveland's line-up until her medical retirement in 1973. Palmer has likely remained largely unrecognized because her show did not secure national syndication and her program advocated for a broad definition of fitness that included much more than the calisthenics-based exercises that anchored her show. The Paige Palmer Show included segments that urged an assumed audience of housewives and their young children to cultivate their minds as well as their bodies, segments such as “Art Forms...bring[ing] art and the appreciation of art to the homemaker” and “Sex Education for the Pre-Schooler... a frank open discussion about the beginning of life.” Palmer further reframed exercise as not a masculine or masculinizing endeavor, but one that could be innately feminine, for both figure maintenance and expressions of feminine duty and capacity. She did so by encouraging housewives to recognize the housework they performed as not only part of their duties as wife and/or mother, but as physical exertion, empowering women to take on calisthenic routines that utilized their underlying skills as athletes, of a sort. Furthermore, as Cold War concerns for the health of American children surfaced, Palmer sought to give her viewers and readers the authority to direct the exercise, nutrition, and even mental health of their families.

11:15am - 11:45am

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**Concussion in Sport**

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty minute contemporary sport session.*

**Critical Perspectives of Concussion in Sport**

**Stephen John Townsend<sup>1</sup>, Kathleen Bachynski<sup>2</sup>, Stacy Lorenz<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>The University of Queensland, Australia; <sup>2</sup>Muhlenberg College; <sup>3</sup>University of Alberta, Canada

Although interest in sport related concussion has intensified since the early 2000s, brain injuries are not new to sport. The papers in this session contextualise the contemporary ‘concussion crisis’ by analysing the historical forces that continue to shape attitudes towards sport concussion.

Dr Kathleen Bachynski – “The Rough and Tumble: Promoting Tackle Football for Boys in the United States, 1950s-1960s”

At mid-twentieth century, tackle football became the most popular sport for American high school boys. This paper examines the cultural priorities other than child health that contributed to the rise of youth tackle football in the United States. These deep-rooted beliefs about masculinity, citizenship and risk enabled the disregard of a well-established body of medical knowledge, and continue to shape contemporary concussion debates.

Dr Stephen Townsend – “Punch Drunk: Distant and Close Readings of Concussion in the Australian Press”

Evidence from Australian newspaper archives reveals a history of press discourse about sport concussion since the late 19th century. These discussions often included surprisingly sophisticated understandings of the relationship between sport, concussion, and degenerative brain disease. By critically examining how and why Australian press attitudes toward concussion changed over time, this presentation questions why public concerns about concussion have intensified so greatly in the 21st century and not in the past.

Dr Stacy Lorenz – “The Contestants Took All and Said Nothing”: Hockey, Masculinity, and the Implications for the Current Concussion Crisis”

Research into violence and manhood in late 19th- and early 20th-century hockey reveals an admiration for players who could “take their taps like men.” These attitudes persist today and shape current discussions about the consequences of hockey violence, including concussions. This paper explores socio-historical approaches to health and injury in hockey, and provides a basis for questioning and changing current attitudes toward physicality, pain, and gender expectations.

11:15am - 11:45am

HOPIN

**Theory, Method and Sport History**

*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

**Duelism: Confronting Sport through Its Doubles**

**Brittany Reid<sup>1</sup>, Taylor McKee<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Thompson Rivers University; <sup>2</sup>Western University

In our upcoming, edited collection for Common Ground's Sport & Society imprint, we adopt a consciously interdisciplinary approach to sport that accounts for its centrality and multiplicity of meaning in North American society. To that end, “Duelism: Confronting Sport through Its Doubles” reflects the many corollaries of sport studies by including treatments of our topic from established and emerging scholars, including many NASSH members. Accordingly, this collection will treat the broader concept of sport by observing how sports and sporting culture are defined through their relationships to diverse facets of life and society. From nationhood to gender, to class and violence, we have gathered critical readings from diverse critical viewpoints that acknowledge and interrogate the concept of sport by exploring it in connection with its significant doubles: an approach we have termed “duelism.”

We coined the term “duelism” to account for two important features of sport: first, that the development of sports and the academic legitimization of sport studies has been defined by intense periods of contestation, adversity, and struggle. As Coakley and Donnelly observe in *Sports in Society* (2009), sport history can be viewed as the “study of certain people at different times and in different places struggling over and coming to terms with what they wanted their physical activities to be and how they wished to include them in their lives” (56). Secondly, in addition to capturing the spirit of combat and contestation that has so long defined sport in society, the term “duelism” is intended to explicitly underscore sport's duality, as a positive and negative force, and to highlight our approach to reading and critiquing sport through its many doubles. In this presentation, we introduce the critical framework for “Duelism” and offer a brief look into the exciting research being done by our contributing authors.

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*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

**“The Suburbs of Hell”: The Diary of Landon Carter and the Sports History of 18th Century Virginia**

**Aram Goudsouzian**

University of Memphis, United States of America

“The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778” has long served as a rich primary source for scholars of colonial Virginia. Carter was a wealthy planter in the Tidewater, and his diary conveys both support for the American Revolution and an anxiety about crumbling order. As Rhys Isaac notes in an extraordinary book about Carter's text, historians have plucked quotations from the diary, not only because of its vivid writing, but also because of its emotional range, from lyrical descriptions to pious resolution to white-hot wrath. Carter's diary puffs with righteous pride, and it moans with lamentations of betrayal.

Historians of sport – most notably Nancy Struna in “People of Prowess” – have also employed Carter's diary as a source. But it remains an underutilized resource in sport history. The diary illustrates the tortured meaning of leisure to the elite class in the age of Revolution. Carter sought virtue through discipline, and he railed against the leisure ethic of the younger generation – particularly that of his son, Robert Wormeley Carter. His diary details many conflicts over Robert's penchant for gambling on horseracing and cards. This behavior had larger consequences for the planters' eroding authority in an emergent age of popular politics. The root of all vice, he wrote, lay in “the art of playing.”

The diary is valuable, moreover, for its silences – it says little about the leisure of women or the middling classes. Though Carter writes about slaves, he states nothing of blacks' own culture of entertainment. There is no mention of exiled Indians. Though written by a unique and rarefied member of Tidewater society, the diary nevertheless provides one illuminating viewpoint on the meaning of sport and leisure in eighteenth century America.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**Staying with Discomfort: White Anxiety and the Indigenous Research Space**

**Catherine Sherwood**

The University of Queensland, Australia

I am a young, white, female, non-Indigenous doctoral student who is researching the history of two Aboriginal rugby league football teams from Brisbane, Australia. I am nearly two years into my doctoral research, and my research activities have largely involved meeting with participants, mostly older Aboriginal men, to record their memories of their time with the Brisbane All Blacks and Brisbane Natives football teams. Like every PhD student, I have faced a number of challenges while conducting my research. However, my greatest challenge has been dealing with my own anxieties about my position as a white person conducting research with Aboriginal individuals and communities. My anxiety stems partly from my knowledge about the history of Western research and its implication in colonization, and partly from the body of literature on Aboriginal research methodologies that highlights fundamental issues with people like me doing research involving Aboriginal people. I will draw upon relevant literature to reflect on my anxieties, my experience, and the issues for non-Indigenous researchers like myself in conducting ethical and respectful research with Aboriginal individuals and communities.

12:00pm - 12:30pm  
HOPIN

**Landscape/Ecology and Sport**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**'A favorite with holiday makers': Excursions and Holidaying on the Landscape of Cooking Lake, Alberta 1894-1933**

**Linnea Mae Bell, PearlAnn Reichwein**

University of Alberta, Canada

Lakes have been popular destinations for relaxation, leisure activities, and community development. This paper examines the popularity of summer excursions to Cooking Lake in central Alberta between 1894 and 1933. Local excursionists went to the lake for sailing, swimming, and beach activities in the region of Edmonton, Alberta. Cooking Lake emerged as a site of summer amusement in the late nineteenth century, led by hunters with the Koney Island Sporting Company and was later expanded by outdoor recreation interests and commercial tourism operators. Excursions were directly linked to local businesses, the Grand Trunk Pacific railway, and the development of a nodal tourism network that encouraged crowds—in the thousands—to visit Cooking Lake every summer. Expanding the study of lakeside recreation to the prairies, we investigate a site that was once considered "a favourite with holiday makers" from Edmonton, but one that was largely lost and obscured by changing water levels by the 1940s.

Based on archival newspapers, tourism ephemera, and oral history interview transcripts, the study draws on the ties between weekends and leisure to explore how families and visitors of various classes spent holidays at the lake. The connection between leisure activities and the weekend, as explored by Witold Rybczynski, informs an understanding of how Cooking Lake weekends and summer holiday excursion experiences fell outside the norms of daily life. Ultimately, Cooking Lake gained a seasonal tourism identity influenced by weekend excursions and local tourism as a facet of modern urban life as it transformed into a nodal rural tourism destination that featured an 'anti-culture' of carnivalesque leisure and lakeshore landscapes as a mirror of city life.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**The Landscape as Art**

**Jordan B Goldstein**

Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada

Golf Courses symbolize more than the relationship between player and landscape. In Canada, where the landscape historically is tied to national identity, golf courses can take on nationalist meanings as well. This presentation builds off my 2019 NASSH exploratory presentation "Stanley Thompson: The Heroic School of Architecture as Canadiana." This paper investigates the relationship between landscape and nationalism through Canadian golf architect legend Stanley Thompson's golf courses. In particular, Thompson's creation of the Heroic School of Golf Architecture represents a Canadian adaptation to the Strategic School of Golf Architecture. Thompson allowed the landscape, in particular the dramatic landscape, to dictate the courses and in doing so imbued popular Canadian nationalist ideas in these courses. Thompson was not alone in using the landscape as inspiration during the Golden Era of Golf Architecture (1910-1937). His contemporaries, the famous Group of Seven landscape artists, provide a comparison to show how different types of artists used the landscape to express Canadian national ideas. This paper particularly will rely on a contemporary analysis using the famous Group of Seven artists to fully explore the link between Canadian national ideals, the natural environment, and artistic interpretations of heroism in a Canadian framework.

The paper seeks to answer the following questions: In what ways did both Stanley Thompson and the Group of Seven use the landscape to communicate Canadian nationalism? Are there durable connections between these two sets of artists (golf course architects and landscape painters) during this time period? Additionally, the paper looks at unique ways to integrate sport and art history together. This provides a way forward for sport historians to incorporate art history into their investigations.

12:00pm - 12:30pm  
HOPIN

**Nationalism, Patriotism and Sport**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**One Successful Example for Spanish National Identity: Bahamontes, the First Sports Quixotic Hero**

**Juan Carlos Castillo**

University of Northern Iowa, United States of America

Spain in the 20th century was a country in search of a unified national identity. The Franco regime set this nationalizing process as one of its main goals, in order to legitimize itself. In many senses this project failed, and many national symbols ended up with negative associations. This article argues that there was one successful example of promotion of that identity: the use of sports, a form of Billig's Banal Nationalism. The national press participated in this process by pushing the ideal of the Spanish quixotic hero, personified by several athletes in individual sports. Unlike other symbols of national identity that failed because of their political connotation, sports heroes were considered devoid of political content, a fact that allowed them to become acceptable icons of Spanish identity. As a result, the names of these athletes are still invoked today as pioneering examples of great Spaniards, which proves that this aspect of national identity was successful in becoming part of the Spanish collective identity. This presentation focuses on Federico Martín Bahamontes, the first Spanish winner of the Tour de France in 1959. Bahamontes represented this ideal through five main characteristics: idealism to succeed despite humble origins, moral values, perseverance in the face of adversity, irrational and impractical decisions, and heroism for the nation. All these characteristics are studied here through the words of newspapers from the time, to provide a well-rounded portrait of what the perfect Spanish quixotic hero looked like.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**Title IX Impact Upon Women's College Basketball, 1972-1986**

**Samuel Xavier Fleischer**

Washington State University, United States of America

Leading up to the first Olympic competition for women's basketball in 1976, the Soviet Union had not lost an international tournament since the late 1950s. At the Montréal Games, the Soviet women easily won the gold, beating five other nations by more than 31 points per contest—including a 112-77 defeat of the United States. By 1986, however, United States women's basketball had caught and surpassed the "Soviet sports machine" in head-to-head competition and international championship play. How was the US able to

make up this considerable gap and overcome the USSR's domination on the women's amateur basketball court in this short time period? The passage of Title IX in 1972 created more opportunities for girls and women to play basketball in the United States, meaning a new generation of young women had access to better coaching, equipment, facilities, and overall training than their generational predecessors. Specifically, the quality of women's college basketball as a whole improved considerably and consistently from the mid-1970s into the early 1980s and beyond, offering a larger and tremendously talented player pool for the US national team, thereby elevating the Americans to a level above the lifetime-training programs of the Cold War-era Soviet Union. This paper will examine the pre-Title IX era of women's basketball in the United States and argue the immediate and subsequent impact of Title IX implementation on the sport's development at the collegiate level, the major training ground for the American national team's roster pool of players of the 1980s. This is historically significant, as by legally mandating equal funding and opportunity for girls/women in public programs across the US, the Title IX legislation changed women's college basketball forever: domestic gender equality on several fronts and international Cold War/political clout on the fields of athletic competition, respectively.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**"National Responsibility": A History of Willful Nostalgia in the Canadian Football League**

**Craig Greenham<sup>1</sup>, Ben Andrews<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Windsor, Canada; <sup>2</sup>Dalhousie University

The Canadian Football League (CFL) has long promoted itself and its championship game, the Grey Cup, as an integral part of Canadian identity and a force for national unity. Different periods of league history offer more or less support for this notion, as public interest in the league has fluctuated greatly over time. The 1970s were a period of relative prosperity for many teams, but by the late-1980s, attendance declines threatened its survival. During this period, municipal, regional, and provincial governments rushed to support CFL teams through loans, tax breaks and rent abatements. Pressed by frustrated taxpayers, politicians justified government support with little more than willful nostalgia for a formerly-proud CFL. Three case studies are discussed detailing these events in different markets across the CFL. The nostalgic discourse of league officials, politicians, and journalists is examined.

12:00pm - 12:30pm

HOPIN

**Soccer, Inclusion and Exclusion**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**The history of Palestinian soccer in Lebanon**

**Danyel Reiche**

American University of Beirut, Lebanon (Lebanese Republic)

Soccer can be a tool for diversity in society and for the integration of a society's minorities. However, in the case of Palestinian refugee players in Lebanon, soccer is not a site at which discrimination against Palestinians in the country is lessened. Palestinians have lived in Lebanon for at least four generations; there are 450,000 refugees registered with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) (around 10% of Lebanon's population), many of whom are living in 12 recognized refugee camps. According to UNRWA, they are prevented from working in at least 39 professions. There are only 157 soccer clubs in four divisions in Lebanon. The one-Palestinian-per-team cap introduced in the 1998/1999 season limits the number of available spots for Palestinians on Lebanese soccer teams to 157 and has intensified intra-Palestinian competition. Another result of this rule is that Palestinians have formed their own parallel soccer infrastructure in Lebanon, with their own teams and leagues and even a "national" team of the best Palestinian players in Lebanon. This team also plays friendlies against major Lebanese teams, contributing to some interaction between Lebanese and Palestinian communities. This presentation will look at the historical development of Palestinian soccer in Lebanon, the integration of Palestinian players into Lebanese clubs, the reasons for the cap on the number of Palestinian players on Lebanese teams, and the support for Palestinian soccer in Lebanon from the Palestinian Football Association (PFA) in Palestine. I will review press and academic articles on Palestinian sport in Lebanon and collect primary data by interviewing key stakeholders such as representatives from UNRWA, PFA, and the Lebanese Football Association (LFA).

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**Clever Headers: Chinese Soccer During the Era of Exclusion**

**Robert Hayashi**

Amherst College, United States of America

With the growth of Asian American Studies, the era of Chinese Exclusion has received increasing attention. This time period, roughly 1889-1952, has been a primary focus in American sports studies, too. Yet, both fields have often ignored Chinese athletes, some of whom excelled in the public sphere, even during Chinese Exclusion.

Numerous Chinese migrants competed in American soccer leagues during the early 1900s, especially in the East. These young migrants formed all-Chinese sides that played in local municipal leagues against mainly all-white teams. They received support from leading soccer officials and respectful press coverage. The majority of the players were college students who had learned the game in China and were part of an already established pathway of Chinese students to elite academic spaces. And these athletes were most visible as members of their college sides, for some were stars. All-Americans.

I discuss the general history of these athletes and consider what their prominent visibility during a period of virulent anti-Chinese sentiment signified: about sport, race and the challenges to recovering Asian American sports history. I contend examining this history reveals common assumptions that limit recognition of Asian American athletes. For instance, scholars have noted that a focus on the mechanisms and impact of the exclusion of Chinese has dissuaded focus on Chinese agency. These soccer players' stories also highlight the general lack of attention on Asian Americans in sports studies. Yet, their participation is essential information when examining the unique evolution of soccer in the United States. Their history also reveals the influential connection between sport diffusion and elite colleges and I consider its ongoing legacy in relation to Asian student athletes today. For the impressive mobility of these athletes was only enabled by their molding in elite spaces and their evolving transnational opportunities in the modern world.

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*This contribution has been accepted as a pre-recorded presentation.*

**Bank workers sportsmen: a study of the Athletic Sports Banking League – São Paulo, 1929-1945.**

**Gabriela Marta Marques de Oliveira, Edivaldo Góis Junior**

State University of Campinas, Brazil

The bank workers' trade union was very important in the São Paulo of the 1930s. It offered many kinds of services for their members, including the Liga Bancária de Esportes Atlético (Athletic Sports Banking League), a league in which only clubs composed by bank workers were able to participate. This league provided the affiliated members with many different sports, but the central one was soccer. Playing soccer was the reason they founded the league in 1929. Other sports were included in the league before it was founded, such as athletics, chess, basketball and ping pong.

Sports were central in the occupation of the free time of bank workers, and many clubs were founded between the start of the league and 1945. Two of them were Satélite Futebol Clube and Associação Atlético Banco do Brasil (A.A.B.B.), both congregating workers from Banco do Brasil. These clubs have a special history because of the link between them. A.A.B.B. was the first one to be founded but because of a disagreement with high employees, the founders left this club and founded another one, Satélite Futebol Club.

The objective of our research is understanding how sports helped form a common experience for bank workers. To do this, we read the papers of the bank workers trade union between 1929 and 1945, the minutes of both clubs and some of newspapers of great circulation in the city of São Paulo. The period was chosen so that we could investigate the formation of the Bank League and the intraclass tensions generated by the founding of the two clubs. The sources suggest that looking at the class issues could help form new interpretations about the practice of soccer in São Paulo and Brazil, since it focuses on another dynamic in the practice of the game.

12:30pm - 1:00pm

HOPIN

1:00pm - 1:30pm

Lunch

College Sport, Administration and Policy

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The Founding of the Southeastern Conference**

**Jim Watkins**

Tusculum University, United States of America

Thirteen members of the Southern Conference left in 1933 to form the Southeastern Conference (SEC), which has become one of the most prominent athletic conferences in college sport. Why did these institutions leave the Southern Conference to form their own? Newspapers portrayed the realignment as necessary to make the conference more geographically convenient and a more reasonable size. Archival documents, however, indicate that the decision of SEC institutions to separate from the Southern Conference began as an academic reform. Some university presidents complained that the lower academic standards of certain institutions made it easier for their athletes to remain academically eligible, providing them with a competitive advantage. Moreover, university presidents discussed not inviting institutions who did geographically fit with the SEC because they distrusted those institutions to uphold recruiting standards. Despite these concerns, none of the prominent football programs that university presidents expressed concerns about were excluded from the SEC. To obtain sources related to this topic, the author has visited the university archives of all thirteen institutions who formed the SEC and has examined newspapers from throughout the Southeast. The history of how the SEC was formed is significant to the history of college sport because previous historiography portrays athletic conferences during the 1930s as being important to academic reform. Ronald Smith described them as "the locus of reform if it were to be successful," while John Thelin argues conferences were "intended as a mechanism for reform" but eventually openly allowed the practices that reformers initially intended to prohibit. This paper argues that while the willingness of university presidents to invite member institutions to the SEC that they distrusted may provide evidence to Thelin's criticisms of conferences as a source of reform, basing conference membership on geography was compatible with academic reform.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Just Look at the Buildings: Analyzing the College Sports Arms Race since Board of Regents v. NCAA**

**Ryan Swanson, John Barnes**

University of New Mexico

The Supreme Court's ruling in 1984 that colleges and conferences could negotiate their own television contracts began a new era in American intercollegiate athletics. What had been a multimillion dollar business, became—over the course of the following 40 years—a multibillion dollar business. Television contracts soared. Correspondingly, so too did coaching salaries and the sheer number of athletic department employees, especially at NCAA Division I schools. Basketball and football athletes became the economic engines to support athletic departments with upwards of 20 teams. As the implementation of Title IX became more effective, the leveraging grew more pronounced. Athletic departments sought to maximize the profits created by a handful of athletes in order to pay for sprawling departments.

This study focuses on an obvious, but under-analyzed metric to assess the evolution of college sports—infrastructure. While scholars have long paid attention to stadiums and arenas, what about the rise of practice facilities, athletic advisement centers, palatial football headquarters (yes, we're looking at you Clemson), athletic dorms, and staff office buildings?

In this co-authored study, the authors assess not only these issues but also how the buildings arms race has segregated college athletics. Visit more than a handful of colleges and it quickly becomes obvious who are "haves" and who are the "have nots" in terms of college athletics. The Power 5's lead in infrastructure only seems to be increasing. The euphemistically named "Mid-Majors" cannot compete.

This study will contribute to the studies on how college sports fit in American education and society. They authors believe it will facilitate a fruitful discussion as a part of NASSH's 2021 proceedings.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The Last Bastion of Big-Money "Amateur" Sports**

**Sheldon Anderson**

Miami University, United States of America

This paper offers a brief overview of the history of modern amateur sports, the problems of the intercollegiate Division-I sports system in the United States, past efforts to reform the NCAA, and radical recommendations to change it.

Intercollegiate sports began in the late nineteenth century with rowing regattas and football games, mirroring the ideals of English upper class amateurism. Soccer and rugby leagues succumbed to economic realities when club owners in the north of England began to compensate their players

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) also fought a losing battle against paying Olympic athletes. In 1992 the IOC finally allowed professionals into the Games.

This leaves the NCAA as the last bastion of amateurism in the world of big money "amateur" sports. It is no secret that the non-profit NCAA is running a for-profit system in men's sports. The financial lure has resulted in repeated rules violations that has undermined the mission of higher education, academically, financially, and morally. Reform efforts have failed because there is just too much money being made by the bureaucrats in power (not the athletes).

The paper concludes with recommendations to revolutionize Division-I sports. The best solution is to divorce the teams from the universities, make them self-sufficient, self-funding clubs, pay the players, and end the rules about academic requirements. Universities can make their own rules of eligibility. Nike, Apple, or Amazon would love to put their stamp on these club teams. Change in this direction could come from the courts; in 2019 California passed a law that allowed college players to sell their likenesses, throwing the entire NCAA system into question.

1:00pm - 1:30pm  
HOPIN

## **Single Sport Histories**

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **'We've a team o' Bowhill lassies that are dandies at the game': Women's football in Scotland, 1914-1921.**

**Fiona Skillen**

Glasgow Caledonian University, United Kingdom

Football for women has a long history in Scotland. The earliest records of women playing football can be traced back to 1628. The roots of the modern women's game can be traced back to the 1880s and 1890s when early matches were played in Glasgow and Edinburgh. By the outbreak of the First World War the women's game had become established in England, particularly in the north. Much has been written about these developments. Best known amongst the teams of the north were the Dick Kerrs Ladies who's skill and popularity saw them become internationally recognized during the period. It has been suggested that the game was also growing in popularity in Scotland however little has been written about these developments at a national level.

Contemporary mass media coverage of women's sport generally, and football specifically, is sparse. None the less it is often in local and specialist papers we catch glimpses of the women's game. As a result this paper will be drawing on reports and photographs from local newspapers and workplace magazines to trace the developments. This paper is a work in progress, I will present my initial thoughts and findings relating to the growth and the developments of the women's game during the First World War and interwar years in Scotland.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **"A Natural Interest in the Game:" History, Agency, and Hockey, 1896-1921.**

**Thomas Rorke**

Penn State

In the second decade of the twentieth century, ice hockey surged as a popular sport for women. In Montreal and eastern Ontario, women's hockey attracted large crowds and the attention of journalists. Hockey scholar Michael McKinley contends that the sport's

popularity "came from necessity," as an effect of the Great War. Men went overseas to the war, and women filled in the vacant spaces at the rink. As the story goes, when the war ended, the rinks returned to their natural state, and the women's game waned away.

The Great War certainly affected many aspects of social life, but the popularity of hockey for women was a secular trend that started before the war. Characterizing the women's hockey boom as a "war effect" has several negative effects as a conceptual frame. This narrative forecloses on the agency of the players, who had their own reasons for wanting to play. Further, framing this period as aberrant defines the exclusion of women as the norm, rather than as a historically contingent situation linked to specific (and sexist) ideas. It also narrows the scope of historical understanding to a season-to-season level, foreclosing on the longer-term patterns of changes in how people, both men and women, played and thought about sports and games.

Using sources from eastern Ontario newspapers and the archives of several women's colleges, in particular Vassar, this paper shows that the development of women's hockey in both Ontario and New York in this era was not a "war effect", but rather was part of a secular trend towards a broadening of what games women wanted to play.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Uncovering women's hidden experiences of playing golf at club level in Scotland 1945-1995**

**Lauren Beatty**

Glasgow Caledonian University, United Kingdom

The existing historiography on women's golf in Scotland demonstrates that women's experiences of playing golf at club level post Second World War have been overlooked. The absence of women, and in particular ordinary working class women, from the written record, has produced a history which focusses predominantly on elite and pioneering, upper-class female golfers. Very little is known about what motivated women to play golf, or the challenges they faced.

This paper is part of wider research undertaken during the first year of a Collaborative Doctorate Partnership PhD, in collaboration with Glasgow Caledonian University and the British Golf Museum. It will outline the importance of uncovering women's personal experiences of playing golf at club level in Scotland post Second World War, demonstrating how doing so will address an important gap in the historiography of women's sport. Oral history will be discussed as an integral method of ensuring that ordinary women golfers, from varying social backgrounds, have their voices heard. Class, gender and stage of life-cycle will be presented as key categories for analysis when exploring women's motivations for playing golf and any challenges they faced.

1:00pm - 1:30pm  
HOPIN

### **Sport, Health and Injury**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Is It the Helmet? The National Commission on Product Safety and Football Helmet Standards, 1961-1973**

**Kathleen Bachynski**

Muhlenberg College, United States of America

In September 1961, a Nappanee, Indiana high school student named Larry Slabaugh took to the football field in a match against Bremen, a town less than ten miles away. The fifteen year old dove headfirst at the ball carrier for the opposing team, but didn't get up. He was rushed to the hospital, where he died before the game was over.

Slabaugh's death, attributed to a brain injury, became the eleventh high school football fatality that season. There would soon be more, prompting American writer George Walsh to examine the spate of deaths in November 1961 for Sports Illustrated. The magazine pointed out that three-quarters of these deaths had been from injuries to players' heads and necks that were supposedly protected by equipment. "Is it the helmet?" the headline asked.

Walsh was just one of many sportswriters, doctors and coaches sounding the alarm that year. Their concerns primarily centered on the plastic helmets with faceguards that had been recently introduced to the sport. Many observers worried this technological development was in fact increasing the risk of death and injury as compared to older, leather style helmets. Nonetheless, virtually no experts treated eliminating helmets from football as a serious option for consideration. Instead, doctors and engineers further promoted efforts to improve helmet design. Drawing on sports league publications, medical journals, coaching journals, advertisements, newspaper accounts, and testimony from the National Commission on Product Safety's congressional hearings, this paper examines how American policymakers identified protective athletic headgear as a product in need of regulation. These hearings set the stage for the development of the first American football helmet standards in the 1970s. They also revealed competing conceptions of the nature of youth sports injury risks, the possibilities and limitations of technology, and the responsibilities of industry and government to address the hazards.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **A History of Conditioning-Related Deaths in College Football, 1960-2020**

**Nicholas Schulze, Jason Shurley**

University of Wisconsin - Whitewater, United States of America

On September 1, 1962 the Texas Longhorn football team took the practice field for the first time to prepare for the upcoming season. Just over an hour into practice Reggie Grob, a sophomore lineman from Houston, collapsed and was taken to nearby Brackenridge hospital. Seventeen days later, Grob succumbed to complications of heat stroke, including kidney and liver failure. On May 29, 2018, Jordan McNair, a sophomore offensive lineman at the University of Maryland joined his teammates for an offseason football conditioning workout, supervised by the team's strength and conditioning coach. After a series of 110-yard sprints, McNair faltered, unable to continue. He was taken to the athletic training room where he suffered a seizure and was transported to a nearby hospital. McNair died two weeks later, like Grob, of complications related to heat stroke.

Two deaths related to football conditioning more than a half a century apart, remarkable in their similarities. Since the 1960s, the number of fatalities due to trauma directly related to football has decreased seventy-one percent. In that same span, the number of fatalities related to nontraumatic causes, including heat stroke, cardiovascular events, and sickle cell trait, has barely budged, decreasing only ten percent. The reduction in death due to trauma is attributable to improvement in helmet design and medical care, as well as rule changes related to tackling. Despite a variety of rules or recommendations related to acclimatization periods, hydration status, and equipment, however, the number of nontraumatic deaths has not followed a similar trajectory. This presentation will explore deaths related to conditioning for football since 1960 and discuss why nontraumatic fatalities have not decreased in parallel with traumatic deaths.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **"Could lifting weights stunt my growth?": A History of the Association Between Weight Training and Epiphyseal Plate Injuries**

**Jamie Schneider, Jason Shurley**

University of Wisconsin - Whitewater, United States of America

As early as the 1970s, many physicians discouraged children from taking up weight training until they reached puberty, or even skeletal maturity. This is partly due to the likelihood of gaining more muscle mass with increased testosterone levels after the onset of puberty, but it also is due to the risk associated with injuries. Research has looked at the number and type of injuries that resulted from weight training among various age groups. Researchers have also looked at events that took place prior to individuals sustaining these injuries and evaluated whether the injuries were accidental, meaning they could have been prevented with proper form and increased supervision. Younger individuals tended to receive more accidental injuries and less nonaccidental injuries when compared to older age groups. Most of the accidental injuries that occurred were fractures, causing concern among researchers and physicians about the impact of these types of injuries occurring at the epiphyseal plates. The epiphyseal plate is the site of longitudinal bone growth and disrupting this area during key developmental periods may halt or cause irregular growth. Although children tend to suffer more accidental injuries, many have the potential of being prevented, which is likely a soothe apprehensions among prospective weight trainers and their parents.

This presentation will examine when and why strength training became connected to concerns about damaging epiphyseal plates and stunting growth in children. It also aims to discuss the benefits and risks associated with strength training prior to the start of puberty. Sources for this paper will include medical journals, popular press articles and books, and other archival sources made available through the University of Wisconsin library system.

1:45pm - 2:15pm  
HOPIN

## Business, Economics, Crime and Sport

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **A Defensive Strategy and a Basic Structure: John Chapman's Six Day Racing Circuit in "Tex's Golden Age of Sport, 1921-1929**

**Ari de Wilde**

Eastern Connecticut State University, United States of America

Historians have written extensively on sport in the 1920s. But, perhaps, no place better represented the period than the events of George "Tex" Rickard's Madison Square Garden. From boxing to hockey, the sports on offer were beyond popular and many went on to influence the strategies of urban arena owners for the century that followed. Some of the events, however, did not last for the next century. One of the most prominent events of the period were Six Day bicycle races. Considered a foreign event today, a formidable circuit of winter races existed during the 1920s and Madison Square Garden was the most famous host of them, hosting two entire Six Day races each winter in the 1920s. At the center of the spectacle was John M. Chapman—a career bicycle racing promoter. In this paper, I examine the events of the 1920s and John Chapman's circuit of races in the "Tex" Rickard controlled garden. I argue that John Chapman used a defensive entrepreneurial strategy and a basically structured organization to great effect during the 1920s.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **"Rebels" on the Run: Kenyan Gambles on Intercollegiate Athletics, Apartheid Sport, and US Road Racing of the 1980s**

**Michelle Marie Sikes**

Penn State University, United States of America

In October 1988, a group of predominately American track and field athletes defied the sport boycott of South Africa to compete in the first major international athletics competitions in the apartheid state since the IAAF expelled South Africa in 1976. They all were assured of generous compensation but risked suspension for undertaking this "rebel tour." Perhaps the most surprising member of the visiting team was Kenyan Samson Obwocha, one of the greatest distance runners in Brevard Junior College, Ranger Junior College, and East Texas State University history. African nations, including Kenya, refused to countenance contact with South Africa. Harsh penalties awaited those who broke the rules. Yet the potential for a high pay-off combined with lack of alternatives drew the Kenyan-born junior college and Division II NCAA national champion to compete in South Africa, despite the infamy it promised. Obwocha, whose running hovered on the periphery of greatness, had been scavenging the road race circuit in the United States for prize money and racing continually to make a living. After news of his involvement broke upon landing in South Africa, Obwocha realized his livelihood, career, and reputation were at stake and returned the next day to America, unremunerated. Obwocha failed to escape economic precarity and ultimately brought scandal to Kenya. Both the grand effort to isolate apartheid South Africa and the brutal economics of making a livelihood from running shaped his athletics career. In recent years, historians have expanded our knowledge of the external struggle against apartheid in sport, including studies of other "rebels" who defied all efforts to isolate South Africa in sport. Journeyman runner Samson Obwocha of Kenya represents a case study that connects this body of literature to work on labor in sports history and the harsh economics of 1980s road racing in the United States.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The Rise of Harness Racing and the Emergence of Syndicate Crime in Chicago, 1840-1883**

**Steven Allan Riess**

Northeastern Illinois University

The history of American harness racing has received relatively little attention. The only major study of American harness racing is a chapter on antebellum New York City racing in M. Adelman's *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-70*.

This paper will examine the history of harness racing in Chicago, c. 1840-1880, when the first formal tracks were established. Chicago was the leading center of Midwestern trotting and pacing. Thoroughbred racing was too expensive at the time. Harness racing was a more democratic sport, employing placid work horses previously used to pull wagons or for pleasure driving. Despite the state's anti-wagering laws, Chicago soon became one of the primary sites of illegal off-track gambling. Racing was serious business, and in 1866 a driver was actually murdered during a race. Chicago's first prominent gambler was George Trussell, so successful that in 1866 he bought Dexter, the leading trotter of the nineteenth century.

In 1867 Dexter Park racetrack was opened adjacent to the new Union Stockyards by John B. Sherman, a major Stockyards investor. It was supplanted in 1878 by the Chicago Driving Park (CDP), located in a more accessible site next to the West Side Park, an area of considerable beauty and pleasant odors, a big improvement over the malodorous Dexter Park.

In the early 1870s the interest in betting on racing led gambling kingpin Mike McDonald, a partner in "The Store," a huge gambling emporium, to use his political clout to establish and protect the heavily Irish-American and first American organized crime syndicate. Americans. He used his clout and wealth to convince rivals to join his operation, creating a gambling trust that nearly monopolized Chicago's off-track horse race betting in Chicago for the next two decades.

1:45pm - 2:15pm  
HOPIN

## Communist Sports and the West: Ideology, Exchange, and Competition

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute thematic session*

### **Communist Sports and the West: Ideology, Exchange, and Competition**

**Timur Mukhamatulin<sup>1</sup>, Johanna Mellis<sup>2</sup>, Erica Fraser<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Rutgers University, United States of America; <sup>2</sup>Ursinus College, United States of America; <sup>3</sup>Carleton University, Canada

Our session aims to cover different aspects of Socialist European sports history in the context of Cold War interaction with the West, such as the issues of gender, athletes' agency, and ideological exchange and competition. Erica Fraser's paper deals with the case of the prominent Soviet ice hockey and football player Vsevolod Bobrov, whose celebrity masculinity was cultivated at home and abroad to promote athleticism and able-bodiedness both to a domestic audience ravaged by war wounds and a Western audience conditioned to fear a Soviet "superman." Using Soviet media and cultural products, Fraser shows the links between Bobrov's image and the issues of masculinity in Cold War society. She focuses on his agency as a Soviet citizen, athlete, and veteran. Johanna Mellis' presentation is devoted to athletes' actions in the case of Socialist Hungary. Using oral history as well as archival materials, Mellis shows how athletes from the East shaped the International Olympic movement and motivated their leaders to enforce Olympic amateurism. Timur Mukhamatulin's paper focuses on whether rhythmic gymnastics was an appropriate discipline for the Soviet Union in a period of High Stalinism (1945-1953). Mukhamatulin shows how these arguments were intertwined with nascent conservative notions of femininity and gender relations in the Soviet Union. Soviet rhythmic gymnastics became the Cold War's battlefield as well since these discussions were linked with "bigger" Soviet ideological campaigns, such as the one against cosmopolitanism, taking place in the late Stalinist era. Together, these three papers demonstrate the influence of socialist sports on the sports movement worldwide and argue that the history of socialist sport can best be understood in conversation with western Cold War sports history.

1:45pm - 2:15pm  
HOPIN

## Sporting Sites of Memory

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The Appeal of History: Racetracks and Their Visual and Cultural Ties to Tradition**

**Jonathan Silverman**

UMass Lowell, United States of America

Racetracks use history to appeal to its patrons in two ways: through its design and architecture and its appeal to social class and tradition. The use of history as a way of promoting racing is logical; racing is one of the world's oldest sports, and elements of it would



be familiar to many generations of racetrack goers—at its core, the sport involves domesticated horses and a variegated audience who gamble on the horses. Now, racetracks are highly computerized and mechanized places, but the architecture remains rooted, at least stylistically, in the past. In a post-modern world where style no longer indicates period, racetracks deciding to emphasize their historical roots by referencing period styles from racing's heyday has some logic as well. For example the style of Keeneland Race Course in Lexington, Kentucky resembles a style that might be called Olde English or English Feudal despite being built in the 1930s. Saratoga Race Course in New York and Churchill Downs in Kentucky have styles that might be viewed as Victorian. In addition, in places like Suffolk Downs, the names and dates of horses who have run there, as the legendary horse Seabiscuit did in the 1930s, are prominently displayed inside the racetrack.

While the world focuses more on economic class than it does social class, the fashion attached to upper classes still remains a staple at many tracks, who encourage all patrons, but especially women, to dress up for the racetrack. Racetrack operators are hoping that racegoers make the connection between the historically rooted costumes of women and what racetrack operators and goers mutually settle on as tradition. This paper will explore racetrack's use of history as a way of appealing to both regular-attending and potential trackgoers, even as it continually re-invents its connections to technology.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Turner's Arena: "...Where Negro Athletes [Were] the Same as Any Other"**

**Chris Elzey**

George Mason University, United States of America

Between 1935 and 1965, Turner's Arena in Washington, DC, was a popular fixture among the city's sports fans. In its infancy, Turner's —named after Joe Turner, a white Washingtonian and erstwhile wrestling titleholder cum sports promoter who oversaw the arena's operations—mainly hosted wrestling and boxing matches. By the early 1940s, basketball games were played there too. People crowded into the venue's cramped quarters to watch some of the country's best athletes. Almost everybody in DC knew Turner's.

But to black Washingtonians, Turner's represented something more. Located at 1341 W Street, NW, a short distance from U Street, then dubbed "Black Broadway," the arena played a critical role in not only dismantling racial barriers in sport but also providing African Americans with a much-needed cultural space during Jim Crow. One ad in the early 1940s trumpeted: "Joe Turner Promotions Offer Washington the Best Boxing and Wrestling Talent Where Negro Athletes Are the Same as Any Other."

This paper explores the role Turner's played in the District during segregation. It examines the events, celebrities, and teams that helped endear the venue to black Washingtonians. The Washington Bears, a popular all-black basketball team, called Turner's home, and competed against white teams there. Turner's hosted the inaugural Colored (now Central) Intercollegiate Athletic Association (CIAA) basketball tournament and staged the first racially mixed boxing match approved by the District section of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU). Duke Ellington and Ella Fitzgerald played Turner's. Jimmie Lunceford and white drummer Gene Krupa drew thousands of black and white Washingtonians to the arena in 1941. The Baltimore Afro-American queried: "So it Can't Happen Here? Color Line Vanishes When Swing King in Washington."

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Golden Girl Goes Bronze: Brandi Chastain, Public Statuary, and the Illusion of Equality in Women's Sports**

**Ashley D. Loup**

University of Iowa, United States of America

This presentation explores the 2019 unveiling of the Brandi Chastain statue at the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California as part of the legacy of memorializing female athletes through public statuary. The statue memorializes the iconic moment after she scored the winning goal in the penalty kick shootout of the 1999 World Cup final. It depicts Chastain kneeling, her jersey clenched in her fists, her muscular torso and sports bra visible, with her mouth open, and eyes screwed shut. Erected amid the United States women's national team's 2019 FIFA World Cup victory and battle for equal pay, the Chastain statue illustrates the fraught political landscape through which particular women are able to be commemorated.

This presentation uses the Chastain statue to unpack the role that commemorative statues play in the creation of collective memory, and how these public art works can serve to displace current tensions. In particular, it builds on Alison's Landsberg's theory of "prosthetic memory," which posits that people form connections to historical moments through popular representations of these moments. The Chastain statue demonstrates how the still rare public display of female athletic excellence shapes the meanings and politics of women's sport.

**2:30pm - 3:10pm**  
**HOPIN**

### **Histories of NASSH 2**

*This contribution has been accepted as an bullet presentation.*

### **Histories of NASSH and/or the Field of Sport History in 7 Minutes! Session 2**

**Mark S. Dyreson<sup>1</sup>, Paul Dzyak<sup>1</sup>, Andrew Linden<sup>2</sup>, Alison Wrynn<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Pennsylvania State University; <sup>2</sup>California State University, Long Beach; <sup>3</sup>California State University, Northridge

The year 1973 was significant in North American sport history for a number of reasons. In September of that year, Billie Jean King defeated Bobby Riggs in the "Battle of the Sexes." Secretariat became the first Triple Crown winner since 1948, and the Miami Dolphins' undefeated season culminated in a Super Bowl victory. Canadian Karen Magnussen was the Ladies World Figure Skating champion and the Montreal Canadians won another Stanley Cup. The year 2022 also marks the 50th Anniversary of the first NASSH meeting held in 1973 at The Ohio State University.

This session celebrates the founding of NASSH by highlighting a breadth of perspectives on the history of organization and field of Sport History. Presenters will have seven minutes each to discuss a topic, ensuring the session encompasses a variety of perspectives and voices. Topics include the contributions of pioneering members Marin H Eyster, Guy Lewis, Alan Metcalfe, and Roberta J. Park; important milestones in NASSH history; the role of sport historians in both history and higher education; current challenges; and future considerations for the organization. This lightning-fast approach makes it interesting for people to watch the presentations and encourage them to engage in a robust discussion about the past, present, and future directions of NASSH and the field of Sport History.

**2:30pm - 3:10pm**  
**HOPIN**

### **Indigenous Sport History**

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **"Performing Indigeneity; Appropriating Indigeness: Kapa Haka in/and Rugby Union in Aotearoa/New Zealand"**

**Malcolm MacLean**

The University of Queensland, Australia; De Montfort University, United Kingdom

Recent historiographic trends that admit the voices, both scholarly and archival, of Empire's Others alongside emerging post- and decolonial praxis are prompting a significant rethinking of the dynamics of colonial sport. This rethinking has also been spurred the refinement notions of settler colonialism, with tentative steps towards reconceptualising the place of sport in the project of making settlers Indigenous. These analyses of sport in settler colonial settings are disrupting the imagery of Indigenous peoples in modern sport forms, suggesting a tentative recognition of the imperial and colonial foundations of much sports practice. Even so, there remains a failure to recognise the historical agency of Indigenous peoples in Colonial and Imperial sport, in part as a factor in extinguishment of Indigenous distinctiveness in settler colonial states.

One of sport's key roles in Indigenous extinguishment in settlement colonies is when it becomes a site of the appropriation of Indigeneity. During the latter 19th century a tendency for touring teams from settler colonies to perform what were presented as 'native war dances' marked both colonial nationalist identities and the indigenisation of settlers. The most persistent has been the use of haka in New Zealand rugby, notably by the men's national representative team. The high profile of the All Black haka overshadows its fraught presence through much of the 20th century, signifying a profound national ambivalence towards Māori as settler colonial relations became embedded. That profile also obscures a more banal Māori engagement with rugby and the deployment of haka in other rugby settings. Both the 20th century experience of All Black haka and local experience show haka to be much more contested

and complex sites and practices that are explored through evidence derived from literary and visual sources and will draw on a nuanced awareness both of haka and of iwi distinctiveness.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Sport and cultural continuity in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia**

**Gary Osmond**

University of Queensland, Australia

This paper considers the ways that modern sport enabled Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia to continue cultural and social practices, traditions, and values in the face of settler colonialism. Historical research on Indigenous sport internationally has focused on racism and its deleterious effects. Increasingly, sport historians also consider resistive practices and the ways that sport helped build individual and community autonomy, identity, and pride in the face of cultural and social destruction. In all of these approaches, however, Western sport is emblematic of settler-colonial practices that disrupted, destroyed, and replaced traditional cultures. Elided is discussion of how modern sport helped Indigenous people maintain aspects of culture and identity. Based on my research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in Queensland, Australia, I draw on written, oral, and photographic evidence to reinterpret Indigenous engagement with sport.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Community Sport History, Colonization, and the Settling of Lethbridge, Alberta, 1885-1915**

**Robert Kossuth**

NASSH, Canada

Local, community-focused sport history studies in North America have not typically considered colonization and relations between European settlers and Indigenous peoples. The emergence of Lethbridge, a product of federal government policy promoting Euro-Canadian settlement, relied, at least partly, on physical recreation as a site for forming relationships in this new community. Sport in this context became a central element of the process of colonization. Thus, any consideration of the early history of Lethbridge must address how physical cultural existed within this contact zone as a critical point of intersection for establishing and defining colonial relations. To this end, this analysis focuses on the ways sporting practices constructed, reinforced, sustained, and even strained relationships among various groups in early Lethbridge.

Some of the earliest interactions between migrant settlers and Indigenous peoples in Lethbridge included physical competitions. In this period of contact, gender, class, and ethnic divisions shaped the ways people living in this new community interacted, influencing how local institutions operated and the formation of networks of power relations. The actors in this colonial environment included middle-class entrepreneurs and professionals, the Blackfoot (Niitsitapi) peoples, working class migrants including miners, along with various government-sanctioned organizations including, for example, the North-West Mounted Police. Thus, a local/community sport history of early Lethbridge requires moving beyond the methods and categories focusing only on settlers and sport in an urban context, and must specifically address how colonizing relations shaped how and why groups participated in these practices. In Lethbridge before the First World War, sporting culture served complex ends that privileged some while marginalizing others. Ultimately, these activities served to reinforce the power of white-male settlers, yet, in some instances, also provided opportunities to some Indigenous peoples and working-class migrants to disrupt the logic of the settler's vision of their community.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Decolonizing and Indigenizing a First Year Sport History Course: Successes and Challenges**

**Marty Jeffery Clark, Andrea Phillipson**

Mount Royal University, Canada

In this paper I will discuss my ongoing attempt to decolonize and Indigenize a first-year undergraduate course on the history of sport and culture at Mount Royal University in Calgary, Alberta. I will explain some of the changes I have made to the structure and content of the course as well as some of new pedagogical strategies I have used to honour and respect Indigenous history and ways of knowing. In particular, I will outline a new interactive archives session and assignment that requires students to find and analyze racialized representations of Indigenous peoples in Calgary Stampede programs from the 1950s. Ultimately, I will discuss the challenges that I have faced as a settler scholar who is trying to carefully and respectfully "flip" the course from a focus on the "history of sport in Western Civilization" towards the history of the Indigenous peoples, sport, culture, and land upon which Mount Royal now stands.

**2:30pm - 3:10pm**

**HOPIN**

### **New Perspectives on Japanese Sport**

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute thematic session*

#### **New Perspectives on Japanese History of Sport before World War II**

**Rikuma Sasaki<sup>1</sup>, Xie Jinwen<sup>1</sup>, Koya Sato<sup>2</sup>, Kohei Kawashima<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Waseda University, Japan; <sup>2</sup>Juntendo University, Japan

Historians of sport have critically examined their presumptions to find approaches that transcend the conceptual and methodological limitations that those presumptions imposed on their thought and practice. For example, in one of the most productive areas of recent inquiry into the past of sports, that is, the inflow and outflow of sports over the borders that divide various scales of units and groups, such as communities, regions, and nations, continuous attempts have been made to relativize the "national" framework, and to reexamine the efficacy and appropriateness of the directionality "from foreign countries to the upper strata of native society," and "the leaders to the masses." In the study of pre-war (Imperial) Japan's sporting ideology and practice, we also find a rich accumulation of scholarly investigation and interpretation along these lines. Recently, Kou Takashima has traced the relationship between the nation and sports during WWII years, and documented in detail the process of gradual disappearance of sports from the Empire. Also, Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu analyzes the diffusion of baseball in an expansive area of the Pacific-Rim nations.

However, there still remains large unexplored areas in pre-war Japanese history of sport. A new generation of researchers based in Japan have done much work to shed light on these areas from the angles that have not been adopted before. This session is organized by scholars representing this generation. The first paper by R. Sasaki focuses on the origin of Sport Science in Japan, the second paper by J. Xie examines the diffusion of karate in Taiwan during the period of Japanese colonization, and the third paper by K. Sato discusses the views of kendo and its practice in high schools under the old system. Lastly, the commentator speculates on their impact on interpretations of the Japanese history of sport before WWII.

**Date: Sunday, 30/May/2021**

**8:00am - 9:15am**

**HOPIN**

### **Caucus for Inclusion**

**9:30am - 10:00am**

**HOPIN**

### **Human Rights, Activism and Sport**

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

#### **The Impact of American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society on the 1970s Human Rights Movement**

**Tanya Kathleen Jones, Thomas M Hunt**

The University of Texas at Austin, United States of America

The 1970s were a tempestuous time in the United States. While the Civil Rights Movement had classified and absorbed the 1960s, a new movement formed in the 1970s. The human rights movement in the U.S. not only focused on the indisputable rights for African

American citizens but all minority groups within the U.S. and across the globe. During the 1970s, many non-governmental organizations began to appear in the United States to spread equality. One of these groups was the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS) which was created by human rights activist Richard Lapchick in 1976. Members of multiple coalitions against Apartheid attended the ACCESS's first meeting on May 25, 1977, and determined the exact purpose of ACCESS. According to the meeting minutes, ACCESS had two primary goals: "a. Total isolation of South Africa in sport by 1980...b. An end to all U.S. sports competition with South Africa as ACCESS' contribution to this goal." The meeting minutes explained that ACCESS would accomplish these goals first with an educational campaign.

Lapchick believed that sport plays a crucial role in the eradication of apartheid laws. The rise of the human rights movement in America brought new energy to the battle for inclusive sport participation. This 20-minute individual presentation will examine how Richard Lapchick and ACCESS used sport to fight for equality in the U.S. and abroad during the 1970s. This paper will address the success and failures of ACCESS and how it became an umbrella organization for many other NGOs like for Coalition of Concerned Black Americans, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Sports for the People, amongst others.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Olympic Project for Human Rights Movement & the Harvard Men's Crew at the 1968 Summer Olympic Games: Allies or the Great White Hope?**

**Amanda N. Schweinbenz<sup>1</sup>, C. Keith Harrison<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Laurentian University, Canada; <sup>2</sup>University of Central Florida, USA

The iconic image of Tommie Smith and John Carlos standing on the podium, bowed heads, black-gloved fists in the air during the playing of the American national anthem at the 1968 Summer Olympic Games in Mexico City is a symbol of resistance and the civil rights movement. It is well recognized the Dr. Harry Edwards was the lead architect of the Olympic Project for Human Rights, a movement that was designed to be a non-violent protest the against the inhumane treatment of black men in the United States. While Edwards and several of the track and field athletes worked to create awareness among the African American athletes, a small group of rowers out of Harvard University also took notice. Shortly after the Harvard men's eight was selected to represent the United States at the 1968 Games, a number of the men decided that they too wanted to support the initiative the Edwards had started. In their attempt to prove that they were indeed allies to the black athletes on the American team, the men met with Edwards and decided to send letters to each person selected to represent the United States at the 1968 Games in Mexico which outlined the plight of the black American athletes. However, while their intentions may have been honourable, their initiative was not supported by many within the Olympic Project for Human Rights movement. Several members of the movement argued that these privileged white men had no right getting involved and their initiative was unwanted. This raises important discussions surrounding allyship; more specifically what constitutes an ally compared to the "great white hope"? This paper critically examines the Harvard men's support of the Olympic Project for Human Rights movement and its intended show of allyship.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Wrongs and Redress: Reevaluating Wyoming's Black 14**

**Glenn Michael Richard Houlihan**

University of Wyoming, United States of America

In October 1969, fourteen black players were expelled from the University of Wyoming (UW) football team after asking to wear black armbands in an upcoming game against Brigham Young University (BYU). The planned protest was in response to both racist treatment black UW players had received while playing BYU at Provo the previous year and the Mormon Church's exclusionary policy preventing African Americans from entering into the priesthood. The request was met with fury by Head Coach Lloyd Eaton, who unilaterally dismissed the fourteen players from the team. At the game, police confiscated the Black Student Alliance's placards in support of the expelled players but did nothing about a large confederate flag being waved near the back of the War Memorial Stadium. Only three of the players would return to play football at UW.

Fifty years later, in September 2019, UW finally apologized for the incident. During a commemorative dinner, UW Athletic Director Tom Burman read an official apology letter from the university and the players were honored at halftime during the weekend's football game against the University of Idaho.

In Part One, this paper will contextualize the historic wrongs perpetuated by UW against the Black 14, utilizing Michel-Rolph Trouillot's Silencing the Past and archival research at the American Heritage Center (AHC) to frame the player's torrid experience as series of 'silencings'. Part Two will consider redress, inspired by A. Naomi Paik's Rightlessness. Through interviews with members of the Black 14 and the UW community, I will explore the legacy of UW's apology. This paper will argue that, as opposed to genuine redress, the offering of remorse was a superficial attempt at restitution designed to promote the interests of the university over those of the former players.

9:30am - 10:00am

HOPIN

### **Sport, Bodies, Medical Knowledge and Performance**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

#### **"The early bird may get the worm...": Gentlemanly sleep and sport training in the 1900s and 1910s**

**Sarah Barnes**

York University, Canada

Sleep is now positioned as the "new frontier" of human high performance. Since 2011, the Canadian Olympic Committee had funded sleep research and screened athletes for sleep disorders. Professional sport programs routinely consult sleep-optimizing companies. The proliferation of wearable technologies means that athletes of all levels track their sleep. A common refrain that accompanies these sleep-related developments is that the world of sport is finally waking up to the importance of rest for athletes. Popular narratives often celebrate high profile male athletes who say they have begun to re-evaluate the importance of sleep and to recognize the self-discipline that is required to rest for more than ten hours a night, as many sleep and sport scientists recommend. Such laudatory narratives are underpinned by the assumption that "manly" men are naturally adverse, if not hostile, to the very idea of lengthy sleep. Scholars in critical sleep studies have echoed these sentiments by grounding their investigations of gender and sleep in analyses that consider how American leaders have used the disparagement of sleep to construct idealized versions of manhood. Scholars of sleep have not yet considered the dynamics of a social context, like sport, where privileged masculinities have been positively linked to the desire for "good" sleep. This paper is framed by historical and cultural studies of sport literatures, and by literature from critical studies of sleep. I draw on athletic training manuals and newspapers published in the first two decades of the twentieth century to illuminate a social context in which highly celebrated masculinities were positively linked to substantial sleep. I argue that while sleep was discussed, prioritized, and regulated in amateur sporting circles, poor quality or insufficient sleep was not considered as a serious problem for gentleman athletes of the time.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

#### **A History of Sport and the Athlete experience in Shaping Medical Knowledge**

**Mathew Mossey**

AUIS, USA

In 1974, a Major League Baseball pitcher for the Los Angeles Dodgers was told by the team doctor that due to an injury in his elbow his career was over. The injury stemmed from the tremendous strain placed on the elbow while pitching and was a complication encountered by an increasing number of pitchers with career ending ramifications. Desperate for a better outcome, Dodgers pitcher Tommy John approached the team's orthopedic surgeon to consider

whether there was any option that had been missed. Surgeon Frank Lobe suggested an experimental procedure, but believed that the operation had a 1% chance of success. Despite this, John consented to the procedure and following surgery and rehabilitation he returned to pitch for another 14 years.

Using the John's story as a launching point, this paper will examine how sports and the athlete have had a role in advancing medical procedures and understanding. To be clear, this is not an examination into the development of sports medicine as a discipline. Rather, this is an investigation into how sports and the athlete experience has raised questions and complications that contributed to the re-thinking of ideas and medical knowledge that proved beneficial beyond the athletic arena.

Research indicates that current historiographical trends range from the development of sports medicine as a discipline to the role of doping in performance enhancement. However, the nature in which athletes have served as ideal subjects to further medical understanding remains relatively unexplored. As such, this paper hopes to draw attention to the significant role that sports have had in shaping medicine throughout the 20th century, while also garnering ideas on how this project could be expanded further.

*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Blood in the Water: Menstrual Hygiene & the Emergence of Pharmaceutical Reproduction Control in Sport**

**Victoria Felkar**

University of British Columbia, Canada

For much of the 20th century, synthetic steroid hormones have had an enormous influence on science, medicine, and sport. Despite this, across multiple domains, including scientific study, clinical application, and public policy, knowledge about women and the use of these compounds in sport remains fragmented and largely underdeveloped. Moreover, there is little recognition or critical inquiry into the longstanding and popular use of synthetic estrogen and synthetic progesterone (progestin) by sportswomen. Over the last 85 years, various forms of these synthetic steroid hormones have been used individually or together to strategically manipulate female athlete reproductive function for sporting purposes. Drawing from archival materials, this paper will explore the emergence of this practice in the 1930s and discuss the various social and cultural factors that shaped its formation. Specifically, I will examine a request made by Japanese sport officials following the 1932 Olympics to a team of endocrinology scholars – and the subsequent research completed by these researchers that would ultimately produce a pharmaceutical 'solution' to allow female swimmers to compete during their menstrual cycles. Although there were significant advances in scientific understanding of during this era, traditional ideas about women's reproduction reinforced rigid cultural concern for menstrual hygiene and etiquette. This included the longstanding taboo of swimming during the menstrual cycle, which remained as a critical barrier limiting women's sport participation. At the same time, developments in endocrinology and pharmacology gave way to the advent of various preparations of pharmaceutical steroids – including compounds that were designed specifically for the manipulation of women's reproductive function. This paper will explore how these factors supported the strategic manipulation of female athlete reproduction and menstruation, and consider the potential influence of this practice on understanding of women's health and performance in sport.

**10:00am - 10:30am**

**Morning Tea**

**HOPIN**

**10:30am - 11:15am**

**Elliott Gorn Keynote**

**HOPIN**

**11:15am - 11:45am**

**Gender, Inclusion, Agency and Outdoor Sports**

**HOPIN**

*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Exploring Gender and Adult Possibilities in Iowa's Segregated Summer Camps, 1925-1950**

**Sarah J. Eikleberry**

St. Ambrose University, United States of America

According to Des Moines YWCA records and the African American-owned weekly newspaper, the Iowa Bystander, Midwestern families scrimped and club members fundraised in order to include their children in the American summer camp movement. This paper examines the ways in which African professionals and club members worked to carve out stay-away camp experiences from 1925-1950. Mimicking much of the national and local branches of the YWCA and YMCA, these environments, segregated by race, gender, and age, allowed for ritualized and hierarchical social progression. YWCA and YMCA summer camps near Des Moines and Okoboji, Iowa provided opportunities for both outdoor work and play, satisfying the mutual desires of both adults and children who experienced limited access to municipal swimming areas or private dance halls, theaters, soda fountains, and roller skating rinks. Gender influenced the ways that boys and girls experienced recreation, significantly reducing access to outdoor adventures for many girls. Though boys were able to obtain longer camp periods for cheaper rates, Bystander editors and the Des Moines YWCA branch provided column space and newsletters for girls and teens to document these coveted slivers of summer life. Such forms of print and visual culture help to illustrate the diverging aspirations Des Moines daughters' had for themselves as future women.

*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Promoting and Protecting a Philosophy: A Closer Look at the Women's Mountain Bike & Tea Society (WOMBATS)**

**Shelley Lucas<sup>1</sup>, Laura Frances Chase<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Boise State University, United States of America; <sup>2</sup>California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, United States of America

Jacquie Phelan started the Women's Mountain Bike & Tea Society, better known as WOMBATS, in the mid-1980s. As one of the few women who competed in mountain biking in the early days of the sport, Phelan sought to introduce women to mountain biking as a recreational activity, in large part to disrupt the social construction of mountain biking as a male preserve. The published mission for WOMBATS referred to encouraging girls and women to try mountain biking because it was fun, creating a network of women's riders, promoting the bike as transportation, and changing the world. Phelan has spoken about the WOMBATS as a feminist endeavor and saw mountain biking as a way to empower women. When mountain biking as a sport and recreational activity grew, so did efforts to attract women into the sport – efforts that sometimes conflicted with what the WOMBATS stood for. In this paper, we will explore how the WOMBATS philosophy was promoted and protected by Phelan and other club members, particularly in light of the development of other women's mountain biking groups and events. Primary source materials from Phelan's personal collection, including WOMBATS newsletters, detailed instructions for ride leaders, personal correspondence to chapter leaders, fundraising solicitations, itineraries for camps, rides, and workshops, as well as testimonials published by WOMBATS across the country illustrate the extent to which Phelan and her fellow WOMBATS both promoted and sought to protect the philosophy underlying this women's mountain biking group.

*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Obscured Origins: Judy Collins and the untold story of how Ironman Triathlon came into being**

**Jane Elizabeth Hunt**

Bond University, Australia

On January 1, 2020 I clicked the email icon on my iPhone. I knew I shouldn't. It was New Year's Day. But what I saw was a gift. Someone whom I reached out to in April last year, had emailed. Judy Collins, in a 2000 word poignant essay, delivered a revelation – an untold story about the origins of Ironman triathlon. She explained why that story never appeared in histories of the sport, articulating clearly the steps through which the Ironman Origins narrative had been diverted from the truth she knew. While preparing to add this alternate narrative to the 'crude website' she and her husband maintain, an email from me 'showed up', reminding her about my research for a woman centred history of triathlon. The significance of the New Year's Day email to me, is not simply the new perspective it adds to the Ironman Origins story, but the evidence it offers of the silencing of women's voices in the articulation of sporting pasts. The obscurity of the perspectives of women in sports mythologies lies at the heart of my project. This paper interrogates the silencing of one voice and draws some implications for readings of sport history more broadly.

**11:15am - 11:45am**

**Navigating a Scholarly Career: Sport History in the New Millennium**

**HOPIN**

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute thematic session*

### **Navigating a Scholarly Career: Sport History in the new Millennium**

**Murray Phillips<sup>1</sup>, Adams Carly<sup>2</sup>, Booth Douglas<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>The University of Queensland, Australia; <sup>2</sup>University of Lethbridge, Canada; <sup>3</sup>Thompson Rivers University, Canada

In many ways, being a scholar in sport history is similar to other academic disciplines. That is, you need to teach, you need to work collegially in your school, department, and university, and you need to function effectively as a scholar in research endeavours. While the actual emphasis on teaching, administration and research varies between and within institutions, this session will focus on research and scholarship. All three presenters, Carly Adams, Douglas Booth and Murray Phillips, have worked in the field in three different national systems – Canada, New Zealand and Australia – and will offer their perspectives on developing a scholarly career. Carly Adams will investigate what it is like to be a public intellectual in the sport domain. What skills does it require, does it necessitate specific training, how does it tie into our scholarly work and, more broadly, are the demands of being a public intellectual worth the effort in the context of building an academic career? Douglas Booth will provide a framework for developing excellence in scholarship. He will investigate the role of mentors, how to advance and articulate scholarship that is cutting edge, and how to produce work that offers fresh interpretations and arguments that potentially change the shape of the field. Murray Phillips will specifically examine one of the major publishing outlets for sport historians: journals. In particular, he will examine sport history journals through metrics generated by the Web of Science, Scopus and Google Scholar. He will compare the metrics of sport history journals with mainstream history journals and those journals that constitute the sport humanities: education, leisure, management, philosophy and sociology. Finally, he will evaluate the contentious role of metrics in the humanities.

11:15am - 11:45am  
HOPIN

## Segregation and Integration in the Stands

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute thematic session*

### Three Examinations of Segregation and Integration in the Stands

**Seth S. Tannenbaum<sup>1</sup>, Andrew McGregor<sup>2</sup>, Raja Malikah Rahim<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Drexel University; <sup>2</sup>Dallas Community College District; <sup>3</sup>University of Florida

Three early career historians, Andrew McGregor, Raja Malikah Rahim, and Seth Tannenbaum will examine the meaning of segregation and integration in the stands at sporting events. Although scholars have examined athletes who broke racial barriers, they have focused less attention on similar barriers for fans. McGregor will speak about the debates over the segregated seating policy at the University of Oklahoma's football stadium following the desegregation of the university in the early 1950s. The various plans show a reluctance to embrace integration. Rahim will depict how African Americans in and connected to Historically Black Colleges and Universities refashioned college basketball and created their own game that embodied the politics of athletic emancipation. In the era of segregation, Black college basketball teams played a separate game, infused with political and cultural meanings that derived exclusively from Black culture and Black ingenuity, that was not confined to Black-only arenas and audiences. HBCU coaches and players cultivated a game that sparked the interest of white Americans and allowed integrated audiences in the North and the South to redefine Black-only and white-only places and spaces. Tannenbaum will discuss the 1944 integration of Sportsman's Park in St. Louis, home to two major league baseball teams. He shows that activist Black fans, not Black athletes, were responsible for the desegregation of the ballpark and aimed to employ the politics of respectability there in an attempt to gain access to civil rights in other parts of St. Louis. Louis Moore, author of *We Will Win the Day* (2017), who has written about the segregation and integration of the home of the Houston Oilers of the AFL in 1960 and 1961 will be the commenter and moderator.

12:00pm - 12:30pm  
HOPIN

## Governance of Sport and PE

*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

### "A New International Order"?: The Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport, 1977-1993

**Scott R. Jedlicka**

Washington State University, United States of America

International sport governance has long been the province of private, voluntary organizations. National governments, despite their keen interest in using sport for diplomatic purposes, have largely been content to cede authority over sport itself to entities like the International Olympic Committee and international sport federations. A (perhaps the most) notable exception to this historical rule was the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO's) effort, beginning in the 1970s, to take a "greater and fuller role as propagator of physical education and sport." As an intergovernmental organization, UNESCO's bid for a more prominent position in international sport governance—backed by the ironclad currency of national sovereignty—threatened to unsettle the "apolitical" global sporting landscape.

Drawing primarily on source material from the UNESCO digital archive, this paper traces the establishment, activities, and temporary demise of UNESCO's Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport (CIGEPS). Created to "promote the role and value of sport and its inclusion in public policy", CIGEPS was a central component of UNESCO's attempt to involve itself in international sport governance. Indeed, because it acted as the conduit through which UNESCO sought to influence member states' sport policies as well as their more general philosophies about the role sport ought to play in society, CIGEPS serves as an historical "test case" for an alternative sport governance model, one in which principles and strategic priorities for sport were shaped—at least in theory—by truly international collaboration, as opposed to the whims and fancies of self-appointed private authorities. As the legitimacy and efficacy of national and international sport governing bodies faces renewed scrutiny, the story of CIGEPS can impart lessons about the possibilities and pitfalls of sport governance reform.

*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

### The Shelving of the 1980 Canadian Men's Ice Hockey National Team (and the Dumping of Father David Bauer)

**Matt Hoven**

University of Alberta, St. Joseph's College, Canada

This paper uncovers the political intrigue between Hockey Canada board members who supported the expansion of Canada's National Team via the Canadian university hockey system versus those who sought to ensure the National Hockey League's supremacy in the sport (Hardy and Holman, 2018). Prior to the 1980 Winter Olympic Games in Lake Placid, the Directing Manager of the Canadian men's ice hockey team, Father David Bauer, pitched an alternative stream of hockey designed toward the Olympic Games and based upon the full educational development of hockey players.

It is generally assumed that the shelving of the 1980 National Team was based upon two factors: a shortage of enthusiasm for the team's disappointing sixth place finish at Lake Placid and a major funding shortfall due to the postponement of the 1980 Canada Cup. This conclusion is inaccurate based upon interviews and archival research, including Bauer's own writings, that show the NHL's sphere of influence had effectively taken control of Hockey Canada. A new federal minister of sport, Gerald Regan, who had old hockey ties to the league, moved quickly to apply pressure on those board members supporting an expanded National Team; this included Supreme Court Judge Willard "Bud" Estey, who at first supported Bauer's alternate vision but began to follow a position spelled out by the NHL supporters. After Chair Estey broke a tie in a board vote that shelved the team in June 1980, he mended in short order a disagreement with Regan and re-configured the National Team as a feeder system for the NHL. Bauer was left stunned by the turn of events that pragmatically ended his leadership of a team he had established in the 1960s.

*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

### Exchanging Jobs: The IOC, USOC, and the Bobby Lee Hunter Case, 1972

**Stephen Robert Wenn**

Kinesiology and Physical Education, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada

Patience waned as U.S. Olympic performances in the 1960s disappointed the public, and those in the U.S. Congress. Munich proved a tipping point. The President's Commission on Olympic Sports birthed the Amateur Sports Act (1978) and a new path in terms of the USOC's structure and power. Winning Olympic medals remained paramount with the U.S. locked in its Cold War rivalry with the likes of the Soviet Union and East Germany.

Some might perceive the USOC's actions concerning Bobby Lee Hunter's pursuit of a place on the U.S. boxing team for the Munich Olympic Games reflective of this emphasis on producing medals. Hunter, the favorite to capture the flyweight spot on the team, was serving the fifth year of an 18-year sentence for manslaughter in South Carolina. Devout support for Hunter's case from USOC President Clifford Buck, and Executive Director, Arthur Lentz, flummoxed IOC officials, including IOC President Avery Brundage, who opposed his participation.

This paper examines, through the use of material from the Avery Brundage Collection and the IOC Archives, the debate concerning Bobby Lee Hunter's right to participate in the Munich Olympics as a lesser known story within the history of contemporary relations between the USOC and IOC heretofore dominated by differences over the Rick DeMont case and fallout from the men's basketball final. The debate also posed an interesting philosophical question concerning the role of sport and the Olympic Games. Can sport rehabilitate individuals within the prison system? And, should the Olympic Games stand as a viable forum for pursuing such aims? Though U.S. sport officials and IOC executives stood in opposite corners and exchanged jabs over the matter, no knockout blow was landed as Bobby Lee Hunter suffered an upset loss to Timothy Dement in the Olympic Trials, thereby putting an end to his Olympic dream.

12:00pm - 12:30pm  
HOPIN

## Race and Ethnicity in US Sport

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Ford's Southern Strategy: Joe Louis and the Car Dealership**

**silke-maria weineck**

university of michigan, United States of America

This talk will present previously unpublished archival material, consisting of letters Henry Ford II solicited from Ford car dealers and regional managers in response to Joe Louis' request to open a Ford dealership in Chicago. Joe Louis, who continues to hold the record in heavyweight championship title victories, has been frequently identified by historians and sports writers as "the first national black hero"—this paper will explore just how little that was worth during the late 1940s, at a time Harry Truman desegregated the military and the Southern Democrats broke away from the party to constitute themselves as "Dixiecrats." 30 pages of hostile and often shocking correspondence, predominantly from the American South and the industrial North, contain a deeply troubling record demonstrating how "redlining," the racist practice of excluding African-Americans from neighborhoods where they were deemed undesirable, was extended to business practices. This is all the more striking in Joe Louis' case because the boxer prominently served the war effort and was instrumental in recruiting black soldiers who had every reason to distrust a segregated American military that would rarely allow them to carry arms. The archive sheds light on the argumentative strategies Ford employees used to argue that car selling should remain "a white man's business." It is, I believe, of interest to this conference in particular since it allows us to determine the limits of sports stardom in post-war America.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Breaking Barriers: Ted Corbitt and the 1950s "Golden Age" of Black American Distance Running**

**Jacob Fredericks**

Pennsylvania State University, USA

In July 1952, Ted Corbitt finished the Helsinki Olympic marathon in 44th place, becoming the first Black American to represent the United States at the Olympics in that 26.2-mile event. By the decade's end, Corbitt was breaking other barriers in the sport. He led the New York Road Runners as the organization's first president and used his position to expand access to endurance running, which set the stage for the running boom of the 1970s. Corbitt's path-breaking achievements, which have received little scholarly attention, deserve consideration for three reasons. First, investigating this "founding father" of (Black) American distance running responds to current calls to better understand histories of race, and anti-Black racism, in the United States. Second, Corbitt's rise to Olympic competition reveals many of the challenges Black athletes faced competing in endurance events during the era as well as the possibilities therein. Existing on the edges of the era's more glamorous track and field events, endurance events opened opportunities for athletes willing and able to train for long distance races. Lastly, by examining the success of 1950s-era pioneering Black American endurance runners, a clearer picture of the state of American distance running emerges. Black American endurance runners competed in and sometimes won marathons throughout the 1950s. Thus, distance running emerged as one of the few desegregated spaces in American sport, and the 1950s should be known as a "golden age" for Black American marathon runners.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Un-Bear-able: The Untold Story of the 1923 Milwaukee Bears**

**Kenneth Jon-Edward Bartelt**

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, United States of America

While Negro League baseball has been the subject of much scholarship since the publication of Robert Peterson's pioneering work, *Only the Ball was White* in 1970, many Negro League teams remain mired in historical obscurity. One such franchise comes in the form of the 1923 Milwaukee Bears, a brief member of Rube Foster's Negro National League (NNL) that relocated to Toledo midseason after three months of struggling to attract fans in the Cream City. The following study will add the untold story of the 1923 Milwaukee Bears to the existing Black baseball historiography, exploring the many factors that contributed to the club's inability to complete a full season in Milwaukee. As this study will demonstrate, some factors contributing to the Bears' failure, such as not owning their own ballpark, were obstacles common to Negro League baseball. Still others, like the absence of a large, unified Black middle class from which to derive a consistent fanbase, were unique to the Milwaukee context. By contextualizing the 1923 Milwaukee Bears' season within a critical analysis of the development of Black Milwaukee, a more nuanced understanding of the franchise's struggles can be achieved. In addition to analyzing the reasons behind the Milwaukee Bears' failures, this study also discusses the Milwaukee team's connections to some of the most significant moments and figures in Black baseball history, including being managed by National Baseball Hall of Famer, Pete Hill, and playing in some of the first Negro League games ever umpired by Black men.

12:00pm - 12:30pm  
HOPIN

## Sport as an Ideological Battleground

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Every Event for Mao, Every Victor Because of Mao: Sporting Events at the Onset of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**

**Y. Andrew Hao**

University of Minnesota Morris, United States of America

The second half of 1966 witnessed the pinnacle of the politicization of sporting events in Chinese sport history. Now that Chairman Mao Zedong had just launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a nationwide radical leftist sociopolitical movement, domestic sport events became a prominent venue for collective Mao Zedong Thought study, the core ritual of Mao worship, and international exchange served as a platform for foreign sportspersons to pay homage to Mao (or at least appear to do so before the Chinese public) and for China to display a united anti-U.S., anti-imperialist (and often anti-Soviet) front in international sport and world politics.

This paper focuses on the sporting events and international sporting exchanges in which elite Chinese sportspersons were engaged from May to December of 1966. In so doing, it examines how the Cultural Revolution enabled the incorporation of ceaseless, blatant Mao-worshipping propaganda into those events, which in return served the purpose of buttressing and expanding the Cultural Revolution within and beyond the sport sector. In particular, it studies three events: 1) the Beijing New Emerging Forces Weightlifting Championships; 2) the Beijing Table Tennis Invitational; and 3) the First Asian Games of New Emerging Forces in Cambodia.

In depicting this months-long, escalating Maoist frenzy, this paper examines how Chinese sportspersons dedicated their professional life to the propaganda of the Cultural Revolution and the amplification of Mao worship. Even so, it also concludes that, for reasons both imposed by the party apparatus and self-inflicted, this state-of-affairs had negative consequences for the involved individuals—the sportspersons would soon find themselves and their professions on the opposite side of the morals of the Cultural Revolution at the turn of 1967, and the destruction of the elite sport sector of China neared.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **A Revolution Calls Time-Out: Egypt and Sport Policy in the Aftermath of the 1952 Revolution**

**Paul Tchir**

University of California, San Diego, United States of America

The Revolution of 1952 represented a turning point for Egypt not only politically, but also in the cultural realm, which had helped engender transformations that supported a movement against the seven-decade British occupation. In particular, sport and its concomitant discourse played a critical role in allowing the ideas of intellectuals to be presented in an accessible manner and engage a broader selection of the population. For the new military-controlled state, therefore, the delineation of a cohesive sport policy that could be used to garner much-needed support and further government objectives was a priority. In the late 1950s and beyond, sport was used to disseminate state-sponsored narratives and ideologies, and received more resources from the government than ever before, helping subscribe Egyptians to new ideals of socialism and suggesting that the role of building the nation belonged to everyone.

In the early years of the new Egyptian Republic, however, the government could neither carelessly nor completely discard the systems of the British occupiers, or else they risked dismantling the very structures that could further their aims. Thanks to a grant from NASSH, my research, based in archives in both Lausanne and Cairo, demonstrates that the Revolution continued to be supported, at least in the realm of sport, by the traditional frameworks against which the movement rallied. There was, therefore, more continuity than discontinuity between British and post-revolutionary policy at first, as well as continued efforts to work with international sporting bodies, integrating Egypt even deeper into the global movement. It was not until the 1956 Suez Crisis that a radical shift occurred in which the Egyptian government not only became overtly political with sport, but abandoned its attempts to become one among the club of Europeans and sought a leadership role in the Arab World instead.

12:30pm - 1:00pm

HOPIN

Lunch

1:00pm - 1:30pm

HOPIN

Individuals as History Makers

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**Daphne Akhurst - Australian Sportswoman**

**Richard Brian Naughton**

Monash University, Australia

This paper considers the role played by Daphne Akhurst in the history of Australian women's sport. Although she is now little remembered, Akhurst won the Australian women's singles tennis championship five times in the 1920s, and was Australia's major female sports figure after the swimmer, Fanny Durack, who won a gold medal at the 1912 Olympic Games.

The pair, Akhurst and Durack, provide an interest counterpoint – with Durack being a controversial figure, often at odds with officialdom, and willing to break rules. She was also a highly popular figure because of her spirited nature.

Daphne Akhurst was just as popular, but for different reasons. There was a sweet, stylishness about the way she played. It was a clever game of tennis, moving her opponents about the court, before going for a "killer shot".

She was also physically attractive and blessed with a variety of different talents. Throughout her schooling and period of study she was a scholarship student at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music and finished her studies with diplomas in performance and teaching.

As a twelve-year-old, the young woman who eventually reached the semi-finals of Wimbledon, played in piano recitals in the Sydney Town Hall.

Akhurst's life ended tragically, and all too briefly, in 1933.

The 1920s was a significant decade for women's sport. At the outset few sports were played by women – and in a sport like tennis there were some restraints limits on who was able to play. Akhurst's particular personality and qualities helped to popularise women's sport in Australia. This paper considers Akhurst's role in this.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**"Judy Gedney: Powerlifting's power lifter"**

**Kimberly Beckwith**

University of Texas at Austin, United States of America

Judy Gedney (1940-2019) is remembered by many people for her small stature (4'11"), huge smile and welcoming nature. Having a gymnastics career first, Gedney came to the sport of powerlifting late in her life—aged thirty-nine. She didn't let that slow her down, however, she went on to become a national champion and world champion powerlifter in the 1980s and 1990s. Raised in a service-oriented family, she believed that she should give back to the sport she loved. Therefore, she became involved in the administration of several lifting organizations—both national and international in scope. In doing so, she helped to create and improve the policies pertaining to women and drug-free lifters around the world. Her efforts, begun in an era when women were just starting to advocate for their own sporting experiences, have led to many of the policies that are in effect in today's USA Powerlifting – an organization recognized by the International Powerlifting Federation and the International Olympic Committee.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**Billy Mills: Still Running Brave**

**Francis Bernard Kish**

University of Kansas, United States of America

The 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games marks the 56th Anniversary of Billy Mills stunning victory in the 10,000 meter run in the 1964 games. This presentation captures Billy's remarkable life story. He overcame poverty on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota and the loss of his Mother and Father when he was less than 12 years old. He attended Haskell Indian University in Lawrence Kansas and from there earned a track scholarship from the University of Kansas. At both Haskell and KU he excelled as a middle and long distance runner, earning All-American status in cross-country. Following his graduation from Kansas in 1962, Billy was commissioned a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps. While in the Marines, he trained for a berth on the US Olympic Team and qualified for the 10,000 Meter Run and the Marathon. His record setting victory in the 10 K Run is still considered the greatest upset in track and field at the Summer Olympics. In 1983 a movie, "Running Brave", chronicling Billy's life was made starring Robby Benson as Billy. Mr. Mills and his wife Pat have established a Foundation dedicated to helping needy Native American youth and families.

This lecture was developed from hours of research in the Spencer Research Library and a two hour telephone interview with Billy. It includes Power Point slides and a seven minute video featuring Mr. Mills.

1:00pm - 1:30pm

HOPIN

Sport Politics, Policy and the Olympics

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**"Positive Reform to the World": Japan and the Olympic Movement, 1909–2020**

**Robin Kiettiński**

CUNY - LaGuardia Community College

Japan has played a unique role in the Olympic Movement, and the Olympics have played a unique role in Japan's development vis-à-vis its relationship with other countries and particularly with the "West." As the first non-Western nation to belong to the International Olympic Committee (IOC), to send athletes (male and female) to the Games, and to host both Summer and Winter Olympics, Japan's pioneering role in making the Olympics a truly international event is clear. The Games have also played a significant role in the development of Japan's national identity in the 20th and 21st centuries – both how Japan sees itself in relation to the rest of the world, and how the rest of the world sees Japan. As Tokyo today prepares to host its biggest event yet, the Summer Olympics in 2020, a number of critical economic, demographic, and environmental issues have garnered increasing media attention. In highlighting these issues within the historic trajectory of the Olympics in Japan, this presentation sheds light on why involvement in the Olympic Movement has been so prioritized by the Japanese government over the past century. I will also discuss some of the major initiatives being rolled out for the 2020 Olympics, and the ways in which event organizers envision the Olympics playing a role in shaping Japan's future.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

## Growth Machines, Event Coalitions, and the Long-term Impact of the 1976 Denver Olympics Controversy

**Adam Patrick Berg**

University of North Carolina Greensboro, United States of America

In May 1970 what sociologist Harvey Molotch calls a "growth machine" successfully won a bid for Denver to host the 1976 winter Olympics. The machine represented a team of powerful business interests and allied politicians seeking to use the games to promote growth through tourism. However, as political scientist Sidney Tarrow describes, a variegated "event coalition" emerged in response. This collection of opponents was constituted by Mexican American and African American urbanites calling for affordable housing options in the city, white middle-class exurban environments looking to protect the aesthetics of their towns, judicious state-level politician worried about the misallocation of taxpayer dollars, and progressive political operative aiming to infuse Colorado with direct democratic action. Ultimately, the event coalition defeated the machine, banishing "Denver '76" through a statewide referendum. However, this paper looks beyond the referendum to ask the following question: How effective was Colorado's anti-Olympic effort – not just regarding the games, but in its defiance of Colorado's "growth machine" write large? The answer is that the struggle to halt the Denver games proved merely a moment of movements, not a veritably society-wide rebellion. The opponents sought to stop the games as a mechanism to convey specific and provincial alarms. As result, even as they coalesced around the issue of the Olympics, they never directed themselves fully against the state's pro-growth powerbase and so failed to unseat it. Even though certain anti-Olympics groups and individuals would witness resounding successes in the years to come, the Colorado growth machine remained in power. Moreover, when it came to the achievements of respective segments of Colorado's anti-Olympic alliance, advocates who occupied more marginalized statuses saw relatively meager returns compared to counterparts who entered the Olympic with more sizable political resources.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

## “The world will be watching, and so will NSA!”: a history of technology and security at the Olympic Games

**Austin Duckworth, Jörg Krieger**

Aarhus University

In August of 2018 the Japanese technology firm NEC, along with the 2020 - now 2021 - Japanese Olympic Games Organizing Committee (TOGOC), announced that the Summer Olympic Games in Tokyo would be the first Olympic Games in modern history to implement facial recognition technology as a security measure for athletes and accredited personnel, including journalists, volunteers and sponsors. While Tokyo's use of facial recognition may be an Olympic first, it will not be the first Games to employ cutting-edge technology to aid security. Rather, the Olympic Games have proven to be a laboratory for technologies employed for security measures. While scholars often focus on the expansion of security and technology for major events from a modern perspective, there is a lack of historical context provided within these studies.

The following paper explores the expansion of technology, surveillance, and security at the Olympic Games since the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Olympic Games. While the 1972 Munich Olympics marked a watershed moment for security at the Olympics, it took nearly a decade for technology to enter as a major factor. The focus of this paper is not only on the increased use of technology but also on the commercialization of security for the Games. This study will provide a further framework for scholars to critically analyze how technology is utilized for security at major sporting events.

1:45pm - 3:00pm

HOPIN

## Historical Perspectives of the Esports Industry

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute panel.*

### Historical Perspectives of the Esports Industry

**Sam Schelfhout<sup>1</sup>, Tom Fabian<sup>2</sup>, Jennifer Sterling<sup>3</sup>, Matthew Jungsuk Howard<sup>4</sup>, Kurt Melcher<sup>5</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Texas at Austin, United States of America; <sup>2</sup>St. Francis Xavier University, Canada; <sup>3</sup>University of Iowa, United States of America; <sup>4</sup>North Carolina State University, United States of America; <sup>5</sup>Robert Morris University Illinois, United States of America

Despite its contentious status as a "sport," the esports revolution is upon us. With a global industry value worth upwards of \$100 billion and world championships that draw live audiences of tens of thousands of fans, it is impossible to study contemporary (or future) sporting traditions without considering the impact of esports. And, with any contemporary trend that ruffles the status quo it is important to analyze its historical roots in order to have meaningful and informed discussion. This panel seeks to examine the history and evolution of the esports industry from several historical perspectives, including sociocultural, political, and economic.

Jennifer Sterling will present the history of Ottumwa, Iowa, and its former Twin Galaxies video arcade that have recently been re-situated as the "Video Game Capital of the World" and "Birthplace of Esports" respectively.

Matthew Howard will discuss a historical ontology of esports usernames and the rise of professionalism in esports. This presentation uses content analysis of username content of professional players in League of Legends.

Kurt Melcher will discuss the potential advantages and costs associated with formal governance in the collegiate esports ecosystem, including the involvement of the National Collegiate Athletic Association in supporting its growth.

Sam Schelfhout and Tom Fabian will conclude the panel with the expansion of esports in China with a focus on the incorporation of esports in the Olympic Movement and its introduction as a demonstration sport at the Asian Games in 2018.

If this sport-form reflects the future of entertainment and participatory sport, then there is a crucial need to review, analyze, and critique its historical precedents.

1:45pm - 3:00pm

HOPIN

## Towards 50 Years: Reflections on NASSH and the Field of Sport History

*This contribution has been accepted as synchronous session.*

### Towards 50 Years: Reflections on NASSH and the Field of Sport History

**Vicky Paraschak<sup>1</sup>, Robert Kossuth<sup>2</sup>, Ron Smith<sup>3</sup>, Kathleen Bachynski<sup>4</sup>, Amanda Schweinbenz<sup>5</sup>, Carlton Harrison<sup>6</sup>, Lindsay Parks Pieper<sup>7</sup>, Carly Adams<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Windsor; <sup>2</sup>University of Lethbridge; <sup>3</sup>Penn State University; <sup>4</sup>Muhlenberg College; <sup>5</sup>Laurentian University; <sup>6</sup>University of Central Florida; <sup>7</sup>University of Lynchburg

In this synchronous special session, hosted by NASSH 50, four papers will be presented. The contributors discuss the founding of NASSH by highlighting a breadth of perspectives on the history of the organization and the field of sport history. Presenters will have seven minutes each to discuss their topic, ensuring the session encompasses a variety of perspectives and voices. The papers will include considerations of Blackness & Whiteness in sport history; personal involvements in the origin of NASSH; public health approaches to sport history, and the involvement of Alan Metcalfe and the 'present' of Canadian sport history.

4:00pm - 5:00pm

HOPIN

## Graduate Social Event

Date: Monday, 31/May/2021

8:00am - 8:45am

HOPIN

## Graduate Essay Award: Zachary Bigalke

*This contribution has been accepted as an invited presentation.*

### Two Flashpoints in Time: BYU Football as a Catalyst for the Bowl Championship Series Era

**Zachary R. Bigalke**

Penn State University, United States of America



Under LaVell Edwards, Brigham Young University football won the 1984 national championship after finishing as the only undefeated program in the country. Twelve years later, BYU became the first major football team in the modern era to win fourteen games when they went 14-1 and won the Cotton Bowl in 1996. This paper investigates these two flashpoints in college football history and their role as a catalyst helping drive the formation of the Bowl Championship Series. Through an investigation of regional and national news sources, the long decade between BYU's national championship and its snub by the Bowl Alliance despite finishing fifth in the national polls present a window into how a Western Athletic Conference powerhouse played a critical role in the consolidation of national championship narratives through the creation of the Bowl Championship Series, and the meanings that Utah communities ascribed to this high point in the program's history.

8:45am - 9:15am  
HOPIN

### North American Indians, Modernity, and Sport

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute thematic session*

#### North American Indians, Modernity, and Sport

**Natalie M. Welch<sup>1</sup>, Beth Eby<sup>2</sup>, Tara A. Keegan<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Linfield College; <sup>2</sup>University of Texas, Austin; <sup>3</sup>University of Oregon

This panel aims to add to the growing field of Indigenous sport studies in North America. The presentations of Natalie Welch (Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians), Beth Eby, and Tara Keegan engage histories of Western modernity and its many intersections with Native traditions and inventions to tell stories of Native community-building, cultural preservation, identity, and overlooked accomplishments. Dr. Welch's research, conducted with Dr. Andrew Meyer of Baylor University, focuses on the contemporary rather than traditionally studied historical tribal use of stickball among several American Indian communities. Dr. Eby will discuss the use of basketball among female boarding school graduates and explore the enduring role of sport in their lives and relationships with other alumni. Keegan tells the story of an all-women's marathon contested between Raramuri runners on American soil in 1927, an event for which they have received little attention.

The presentations cover a wide timeline through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. They also, in turn, include reservations, boarding schools, and cities. These various settings house different elements of the Indigenous sporting experience and the different institutions and communities in which athletes participated and which they shaped. The presentations also focus on different sports, some, like running and stickball, with important and ancient roots in Indigenous life and spirituality, and sports like basketball representing a strictly modern enterprise. Despite this diversity in subject and approach, each of the presentations discusses enduring implications of the stories they tell: community-building through sport among the Eastern Cherokee, an Indigenous sporting culture born of school but redefined for decades outside of it, and the erasure of Native women's athletic accomplishments that stands to be corrected. This panel will inform studies of Indigenous culture and sport, modernity, and, in some cases, gender as an analytical lens within these fields.

8:45am - 9:15am  
HOPIN

### Reading Women in the Sports Media

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

#### "'Is Aerobic Exercise Fit for a Lady?' Popular Women's Magazines and Women's Sports, Before and After Title IX"

**Greg Kaliss**

Franklin & Marshall College, United States of America

Historians and other scholars have long noted the often-negative responses to women athletes in the U.S. However, the explosion of sporting opportunities made available by Title IX's passage in 1972 transformed public discourse in remarkable ways. Multiple magazines exist to encourage women's fitness, professional sports leagues for women in basketball and soccer have emerged, and countless apparel manufacturers, gymnasiums, and sports drinks brands have attempted to capitalize on the popularity of sports and fitness activities for women. Despite these gains, some significant resistance remains. Among women, these concerns often manifest in regard to issues of heteronormativity, anxieties about effects on supposedly feminine body types, and concerns about the objectification of female athletes.

One way to explore the longer history of these tensions is through popular women's magazines. By analyzing publications such as Seventeen, Woman's Day, Essence, Redbook, and more, I will explore the ways in which the coverage of women's sports in these magazines through the 1970s served both to challenge conventional gender norms and uphold them. I pay particular attention to magazines' stories on running and jogging. Often viewed as overly masculine and dangerous for women, competitive sprinting and distance running nonetheless provided key opportunities for women athletes to earn acclaim—from 1928 Olympian Betty Robinson, to 1932 Olympian Babe Didrikson, to 1960 Olympian Wilma Rudolph, to 1967 Boston Marathon runners Roberta Gibb and Kathrine Switzer. In covering these women (or not!), and the growing volume of amateur women runners in the 1970s, these magazines attempted to negotiate gender norms, by reaching out to readers' interests and allaying their concerns. In doing so, they highlight the contested terrain that accompanied women's growing presence in the world of sports, and the mainstream pressures against which women athletes still have to fight for their place in arenas, courts, and stadiums.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

#### Mary Link at the Havalanta Games, 1949-1956: "Reading" Women's Swimming in the U.S. South in the mid-20th Century

**Michael Thomas Wood**

University of Alabama, United States of America

Mary Link represented Atlanta in women's swimming at the Havalanta Games, a series of eleven transnational athletic and cultural exchanges held between the Northside Atlanta Kiwanis Club and the Big Five Clubs of Havana, from 1949 to 1956. She came from a white upper-/upper-middle-class household and gained access to aquatic sports through socially and racially exclusive athletic clubs. This portion of Link's experience reveals inclusion and exclusion in amateur women's sports. Descriptions of her achievements generally conformed to traditional gender roles and often emphasized her physical attractiveness rather than their athletic ability. She never achieved national fame, but her athletic career offers an opportunity to examine amateur women's sport in the U.S. South prior to the passage of Title IX.

My paper will profile and analyze Link through "reading" print media accounts of her participation in swimming. Inspired by the multilayered critical cultural studies methodology described by Susan Birrell and Mary G. McDonald in the introduction of their coedited work, *Reading Sports: Critical Essays on Power and Representation* (2000), I will adopt a "cross power lines" approach which will examine newspaper accounts. Overall, this multifaceted analysis to Link and her participation in swimming, particularly at the Havalanta Games, will enhance our understanding of amateur women's sports in the U.S. South in the late-1940s and 1950s.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

#### Sport and Second Wave Feminism through the Lens of Ms. Magazine

**Ryan Timothy Murtha**

The University of Texas at Austin, United States of America

Both the second wave feminist movement and the women's sporting boom of the 1970s have greatly impacted the United States over the past half century. But despite being temporally linked, historians have yet to establish the many other connections between the two movements. In fact, some have suggested this is because those connections do not exist. Recently, historians Susan Ware and Jaime Schultz have begun to disprove this myth. This continues in the same vein, making use of Ms. magazine (the so-called mouthpiece of the women's liberation movement) to establish that second wave feminists were often playing, thinking, and writing about sport. Here, I provide evidence of many links between the women's sport and women's liberation movements, so much so that it would likely be more accurate to think of the former as part of the latter as opposed to something distinct from it.

8:45am - 9:15am

### Sport and Global Politics

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Resistance through Participation: International Sport and Colonial Defiance in Puerto Rico**

**Alec S. Hurley, Thomas M. Hunt**

University of Texas at Austin, United States of America

At the end of December 1965, the weary American leader of the International Olympic Committee, Avery Brundage penned a letter to the head of the Olympic Committee of the USSR, Konstantin Andrianov, lamenting the toll the Cold War had taken on international sport. He sorrowfully mused, "When are we going to be able to concentrate on sport and not be bothered with these unsolvable political problems that do not concern us?" At issue facing the two exasperated leaders were the actions surrounding the Olympic Committees of their respective territory and ally in the Caribbean: Puerto Rico and Cuba. Despite protests, accusations of colonial governance, and broader Cold War tensions, Puerto Rico hosted the Cuban delegation along with other nations comprising the Atlantic equatorial states at the tenth Central American and Caribbean Games. Fourteen years later, the small island colony, one-hundred miles southeast of Miami, would again defy United States foreign policy by sending three boxers – as American citizens – to compete at the boycotted Moscow Olympics.

This presentation will discuss the above two acts of sportive resistance in Puerto Rico concerning concurrent global post-colonial movements. From hosting the 1966 Central American and Caribbean Games to participating in the 1980 Moscow Olympics, Puerto Rico's actions will be examined through a neocolonial framework, focused on modalities of freedom and human actualization, as expressed by Ben Carrington in 2010. Research for this presentation stems from archives and interviews with staff at the Comité Olímpico de Puerto Rico, documents from the CIA archives, and prolific secondary books and articles from Antonio Sotomayor and Roberta Park. The inclusion of existing neocolonial states in the sportive nationalism discourse is crucial to our field as a reminder that sport may challenge political hegemony but is often insufficient.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The Baltic American Freedom League, the Reagan administration, and the Olympics of the 1980s**

**Erin Redihan**

Worcester State University, United States of America

This paper will look at the efforts made by the Baltic American Freedom League to prevent Soviet participation in the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid and the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles. The Baltic American Freedom League was a group organized in Los Angeles to support the Baltic nations' efforts to counter the Soviet domination of the Baltic States. Some of its members also worked to prevent Soviet teams from competing in the Olympics in 1980 and 1984. This paper will use the group's records, held at the University of Minnesota, to describe these efforts as well as documents from the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. While they were unsuccessful in that the Soviet Union competed in Lake Placid and decided not to compete of their own accord in 1984 (and despite the best efforts of the Ronald Reagan administration), they were an important voice in Soviet resistance and their ideas coincided with the anti-Soviet mindset that provided the basis for NSDD-32 and the Reagan Doctrine during the president's first term. Despite this ideological convergence, the Reagan administration continued to push for a Soviet team to compete in Los Angeles.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The Russian Doping Scandal in the Context of Global Political Relations**

**Thomas M. Hunt, Austin Duckworth**

The University of Texas at Austin, United States of America

The ongoing Russian doping scandal constitutes perhaps the single most prominent controversy in recent sports history. Occurring as it did after a world record setting performance at the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, Ben Johnson's positive test for steroids perhaps equaled it terms of dramatic revelation. The same might be said of the admittance by Lance Armstrong of his use of performance-enhancing substances in seven Tour de France victories. None of these, however, featured the type of state involvement which appears to have taken place in Russia. Indeed, only the Cold War case of the Soviet Union and its satellite system in Eastern seems to offer a meaningful point of comparison.

The return to Great Power competition that is now under way in global political relations imparts a great deal of meaning to this fact. In recently describing the dynamics at play in the current scandal, a Russian-American research team composed of scholars Sergey Altukhov and John Nauright went so far as to invoke the specter of last century's era of superpower rivalry. In doing so, they declared that no less than a "New Sporting Cold War" was at hand.

While too early to predict how matters will play out in the coming years, it is nevertheless clear at this point that the contemporary doping scandal reveals much about Russia's complicated relationship with the wider world. It is one marked by individual self-interest as well as geopolitical trends and nationalist ambitions. With much to criticize on all sides of the matter, this is very much a story about the dark side of sports.

9:30am - 10:00am

HOPIN

## **Amateurism, Professionalism, and Ideologies of Sport Participation**

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The Six Events That Created and Destroyed Amateurism**

**Molly Harry**

University of Virginia, United States of America

Amateurism—competing in intercollegiate sports as an avocation motivated by the educational and physical aspects of athletics—is the founding principle of America's college sport system (Oriard, 2012). However, this principle is met with criticisms as many note the ways in which it disadvantages groups of athletes, particularly those in the revenue-generating sports of football and men's basketball, who are also predominantly athletes of color (Nocera & Strauss, 2016). This presentation provides six key events in amateurism and American college sports history that helped establish and dismantle this bedrock principle: (1) the 1855 regatta between Harvard and Yale in which Harvard's coxswain was not a student, highlighting a need for fair play regulations, a void in which amateurism could fill; (2) the National Collegiate Athletic Association's (NCAA) formal introduction of amateurism in 1922; (3) the creation of the term "student-athlete" by Walter Byers in 1955 solidified the triad of student-athlete, amateurism, and intercollegiate sport for decades; (4) the establishment of athletic scholarships in 1956, which many argue is the beginning of the end of amateurism as athletes received some form of compensation in return for athletics talent; (5) O'Bannon v. NCAA in 2014 demonstrated issues with amateurism, mainly athletes' lack of ownership of their name, image, and likeness (NIL) based on the Association's principle of amateurism; and (6) California's passage of the Fair Pay to Play Act in 2019, calling for the right of athletes to access and own their NIL, an event that would result in a major blow to amateurism and subsequent NIL bills in over 30 states. These six events explain the history of amateurism and ultimately, the way in which the NCAA was forced to adopt impending legislation for NIL, resulting in a shift in the ways in which scholars, practitioners, and athletics stakeholders understand amateurism.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The image of power and the power of the image. From the imperial equestrian effigy to that of the sportsman political leader**

**Javier González-del-Castillo, Ainhoa Boubeta-Vázquez**

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (Spain), Spain

Historically, the coexistence of sport and politics had its origin in the eighth century before our era, when the institution of Ekecheiria was established in Ancient Greece by signing an "international treaty". This agreement, which in addition to recognizing the permanent immunity of the Sanctuary of Olympia, allowed athletes and their respective families to travel safely to compete or attend the Olympic Games, as if to return later to their places of origin with total security.

Fifteen centuries later, the Olympic movement made its appearance again in 1892. The intentions of the Baron Pierre de Coubertin went beyond mere sports practice because, by recovering the tradition of the Olympic Games, competitions should also contribute to the end of the wars thanks to the Olympic Truce, which should be respected during the celebration of the events. But nevertheless,

from the first moment, sport and politics were united, but the element that began to confusion happened when the policy start to use the sport for its purposes, a circumstance that soon began to manifest itself.

Sports, thanks to its worldwide popularity, began to play a prominent role, becoming an important weapon in the International Relations. In this sense, the Olympic Games are the biggest sporting event and perfectly exemplify the relationship between sport and politics.

This work aims to go one step further, and demonstrate how the image of power of political leaders throughout history has evolved, and how sports it has become an image of the power and strenght of political leaders.

9:30am - 10:00am  
HOPIN

### Histories of NASSH 3

*This contribution has been accepted as an bullet presentation.*

#### Histories of NASSH and/or the Field of Sport History in 7 Minutes! Session 3

David Wiggins<sup>1</sup>, Tom Jable<sup>2</sup>, Colleen English<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>George Mason University; <sup>2</sup>William Paterson University; <sup>3</sup>Penn State Berks

The year 1973 was significant in North American sport history for a number of reasons. In September of that year, Billie Jean King defeated Bobby Riggs in the "Battle of the Sexes," Secretariat became the first Triple Crown winner since 1948, and the Miami Dolphins' undefeated season culminated in a Super Bowl victory. Canadian Karen Magnussen was the Ladies World Figure Skating champion and the Montreal Canadiens won another Stanley Cup. The year 2022 also marks the 50th Anniversary of the first NASSH meeting held in 1973 at The Ohio State University.

This session celebrates the founding of NASSH by highlighting a breadth of perspectives on the history of organization and field of Sport History. Presenters will have seven minutes each to discuss a topic, ensuring the session encompasses a variety of perspectives and voices. Topics include the contributions of pioneering members Marin H Eyler, Guy Lewis, Alan Metcalfe, and Roberta J. Park; important milestones in NASSH history; the role of sport historians in both history and higher education; current challenges; and future considerations for the organization. This lightning-fast approach makes it interesting for people to watch the presentations and encourage them to engage in a robust discussion about the past, present, and future directions of NASSH and the field of Sport History.

9:30am - 10:00am  
HOPIN

### Rethinking Fandom

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

#### If You Want To Be You Already Are: If You Want To Be, You Already Are: Queer Performance and Persistence Confronting Contemporary Right-Wing Activism in Portland's Soccer Stadium

Chris W Henderson

University of Rhode Island, United States of America

At every Portland Thorns match, the Rose City Riveters—a queer women-led independent fan group—collectively perform an uninterrupted repertoire of dances and songs that loudly celebrate their team in the North End of Providence Park. The Riveters' organic and collective structure, expressive vocalization and intent to commandeer the stadium's atmosphere builds community. The Riveters' persistent performance functions as an ephemeral utopia where queer people build strength, see each other and confront threats to their community. Contemporary right-wing activists target Portland and Providence Park for the same reasons that enable the Riveters to thrive in the North End: the unabashed embrace of queer acts and queer identity.

Here, I trace the historical context of the Riveters in Providence Park and their particular forms of sport-based activism. Through archival research, I place Providence Park in the racialized, gendered, and sexualized structures of Oregon, a bastion of white supremacist and anti-gay ideologies and structures. I trace the stadium's development from a playing field established for elite society in 1911 to its current iteration as one of the most celebrated US soccer venues. I establish the Riveters' origins within the hyper-masculinist Timbers Army fan group for the Portland Timbers men's soccer team and the National Women Soccer League's heteronormative gender codes of women's soccer fandom. Utilizing performance ethnography and oral history, I then illuminate the Riveters efforts to maintain queer space in ways that undermine the individuals, groups and institutions that ridicule, disrupt and crush queer lives and communities. Employing Muñoz's theory of concrete utopia and Werner's ideas of playful queer modes of social activism, I demonstrate how the Riveters proactively defend their space through queer acts of activism that include a community support structure, visible displays of pride and love, and direct confrontation of fans, athletes and corporate stadium policies that engage homophobic politics.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

#### Humanizing the Fan: Reflections on the Obituary's Place in Prosopography

David Galindo

Manchester Metropolitan University, United Kingdom

Historically, the business of sport has proved dehumanizing for the athlete and fan alike. Contemporary research into the arena of sport has noted the significance of humanizing athletes who have been traditionally manipulated, exploited, and physically and/or mentally damaged. However, these studies have not recognized the importance of humanizing the fan. The purpose of this paper is to humanize the fan who is constantly targeted and manipulated by marketing in the confines of a neoliberal capitalist society that often puts profits before people. Using the biographical method of prosopography, 1,823 local San Antonio newspaper obituaries were analyzed and revealed the existence of an imagined community in sport referred to here as the 'Spurs Family'. The obituaries revealed intimacy, liminality, and representational significance, and also elucidated the identifying features of an individual's life such as that of being a fan. The results also illuminated the importance of imaginings in the creation of identity, explicated the role the San Antonio Spurs played in providing a good death for the departed, complicated the imagined versus real community binary, and exhibited how sources of such sentiment (obituaries) counteracted the impersonal deficiencies of prosopography. This study humanizes the fan, challenges sport historians to continue this trend when interrogating the fan's place in the business of sport, and illustrates how obituaries can serve as useful materials in developing historical interpretations. Until historians of sport truly attempt to humanize all parties involved in the business of sport, dehumanization through injury, economic exploitation, and identity manipulation will continue for both the athlete and fan.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

#### Sport as Resistance: hockey in French-Canada

John Valentine

MacEwan University, Canada

Much has been written about the importance of hockey, the Montreal Canadiens, and in particular Maurice 'Rocket' Richard, to French-Canadians. This research does not focus on Richard or the riot, but on hockey being used for identity construction and resistance. The 1969 Report from the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism paints a scathing picture of the inequality French-Canadians faced in post-World War II Canada. The social situation is of course rooted in Canada's historic French-English conflict. The series of humiliations sparked French-Canadian nationalism and hockey became an outlet for French-Canadian discontent and cultural empowerment. The sport of hockey, the Montreal Canadiens team, and Rocket Richard helped French-Canadians feel empowered during the 1950s and 1960s. The team, and the sport, was used as a way to challenge the history of humiliation French-Canadians had experienced at the hands of the English. The sport: historically, hockey was associated with French-Canada, even when there were few opportunities for French-Canadians to play organized hockey. Hockey soon became a symbol of the survival of French-Canadian culture. Numerous studies have found that French-Canadians face discrimination in hockey, so success can be a defiant act for francophones. The team: the Montreal Canadiens were expected to represent French-Canada, for example they were expected to play French speaking players, and employ French speaking administration, so the team's representational character was heightened (yet this expectation did not exist with any other professional sport in Quebec). Hockey as resistance was most obviously demonstrated by the riot that demonstrated the pent-up frustration of a subordinate group dominated by a wealthy English minority, eventually contributing to the rise of a separatist movement.

10:00am - 10:30am  
HOPIN

Morning Tea

10:30am - 11:00am  
HOPIN

O'Bannon, Amateurism, Scholarships, and the Payment of Athletes

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute thematic session*

**O'Bannon, Amateurism, Scholarships, and the Payment of Athletes**

**Ronald Smith<sup>1</sup>, Sarah Fields<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Penn State University, United States of America; <sup>2</sup>University of Colorado, Denver, United States of America

Paper # 1 - Ronald Smith. "The Historical Payment of Athletes and Faux Amateurism."

Going back to the mid-nineteenth century, I will be showing how the concepts of amateurism created by the British and exhibited by Oxford and Cambridge Universities was never accepted by the athletes participating in U. S. It begins with the Harvard and Yale crew meet in 1852. Faux amateurism will be shown in paying athletes in "Summer Baseball"; offering free tutoring, training tables, athletic dorms; creation of the term "student-athlete" to sidestep athletes as workers and receiving workers' compensation; the NCAA finally accepting pay through athletic scholarships in the 1950s; and developing the idea of unions in the twentieth century. The paper will lead up to the lawsuits and state legislation to allow the payment of athletes beyond full athletic scholarship, such as the O'Bannon lawsuit. Based on about 20 archival holdings and lawsuits and legislation

20 Minute Session: We will be showing four short clips from the following: 1) O'Bannon E-game video of the 1995 NCAA championship basketball game, 2) UCLA gymnast Katelyn Ohashi's perfect 10 on floor exercise on YouTube with tens of millions of hits and no payment to Ohashi, 3) Governor Newsom signing the California law, on LeBron James TV show, to allow athletes' payments for names, images, and likenesses, and 4) a statement on amateurism by the NCAA's president Mark Emmert.

Paper # 2 - Sarah Fields. "The O'Bannon Lawsuit and Its Impact on the Payment of College Athletes." Sarah will use her legal skills to interpret the 2014-15 O'Bannon v. NCAA lawsuit and its impact on increasing the pay for college athletes legally and legislatively. Based on lawsuits.

Moderator and Comments: Tommy Hunt, as moderator, will lead the discussion following the papers and comments.

10:30am - 11:00am  
HOPIN

Sport Historians as Spectators

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute panel.*

**Sport Historians as Spectators**

**Mike Cronin<sup>1</sup>, Dan Nathan<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Boston College, Ireland; <sup>2</sup>Skidmore College

Mark Neumann (1988) pointed out that tourists are rarely left to draw their own conclusions about the objects or places before them. Instead, they more often confront a body of public discourse – signs, maps, guides and guide books – that repeatedly mark the boundaries of significance and value at tourist sites. But what happens when a tourist visits a cultural event when both visitor and contextual expert? In essence, what happens when sport historians go to observe and watch historically informed sporting events? The two panelists gathered for this session have all travelled, in recent years, away from their home country and attended sporting events with long chronological lineages. At once the two journeys as outsiders and tourists and, to a degree they require Neumann's body of public discourse, and yet in watching they all bring their historical knowledge to the event. What are they seeing? How do their senses respond? Where does such an event fit into the theoretical and methodological frameworks of sport history that they carry in their heads? This session will travel with the presenters into the sporting events, cultural artifacts if you will, of the historical past, which now function as traditional customs, and see how they responded emotionally, intellectually and in sensory terms. In essence, how does life as a historian of sport challenge the ways in which we see? Are we better served for our ways of knowing?

Presentation 1: Mike Cronin, The Ceret Bull-fight

The subject of this paper are the corridas (bull fights) that take place in Céret, in the Pyrénées-Orientales department of southern France, every July. The corridas have been held in Céret since 1577, and were made famous during the 1950s when Picasso lived in the town and produced a body of ceramic and visual work that captured the corridas at the Plaza de Toros. I went to the corridas as a tourist, but also as a sport historian. I expected to find a town full of other tourists (as the event is held around the Bastille Day weekend), with the locals content to make money from those who had come to watch the bull fight. Instead I found few tourists, a town packed full of locals, and an enthusiastic embrace of the corridas (which had been heightened in that part of French Catalonia since the government in Spanish Catalonia had banned bull fighting in 2012). The paper will chart my journey – mindful of the need for 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) and alert to the 'native's point of view' (Hollinshead, 1991). The aim is to understand what I witnessed (or believed I saw), and to assess my immersion in the corridas experience as a historian of sport, but one with little knowledge of bull fighting and sparse assistance in terms of 'public discourse' within Céret itself. The paper will include my thoughts on the artistry and attraction of bullfighting (Hemmingway, 1932; Mitchell, 1991; Shubert, 1999; Kennedy 2000), and contrast these with my internalised critique of the spectacle (Hardouin-Fugeir, 2010; Josephs, 2013; Beilin, 2015). In all, what does the annual staging of the corrida tell us about history, sport,

tradition, identity, tourism and commodification in the twenty-first century? And how would my experience have been different if I had access to personal knowledge, public discourses or a copy of Manual de Tauromaquia Para Nuevos Aficionados (The Bullfighting Guide for New Fans, 2011)?

Presentation 2: Dan Nathan, "Honest and Vividly Rendered Confusion": At the Palio di Siena, Part II

What happens when sport history and travel writing collide and merge? This paper is an attempt to find out. Commingling writing about the past with writing about place, this paper is about my July 2018 experience at the Palio di Siena, a horse race run twice a summer in Siena, Italy, a Tuscan hill town. As I noted in my 2019 NASSH paper, the race features ten half-bred horses and their jockeys, who ride bareback while wearing colorful costumes, each of whom represents one of the city's seventeen contrada (districts or traditional neighborhoods). The race is relatively short. It is three furious laps around the city's beautiful Piazza del Campo, in the shadow of the Palazzo Pubblico (town hall) and the Torre del Mangia, on a carefully crafted but temporary race track composed of dirt and sand. Once the horses are off, the race takes roughly 90 seconds. Approximately 40,000 people cram into and around the Piazza del Campo to watch the race and cheer for their contrada. Being at the Palio was an interactive, transhistorical, cross-cultural, and visceral experience, some of which is difficult to communicate. As the former mayor of Siena Pierluigi Piccini once put it: "To write about the Palio is never easy." Likewise, articulating the experience of being at the Palio is taxing and fraught with challenges. Some are epistemological, some are linguistic, some are cultural. Others are due to the event itself. The buildup to the race is slowly paced and highly ritualized. The race itself is a whirlwind of color and cheering, energy and excitement. Needless to say, a whirlwind is not easily depicted. Still, this paper conveys "an honest and vividly rendered confusion," to borrow a phrase from writer Tom Bissell. It will offer a collage of historically inflected impressions of the Palio and implicitly argue for increased experiential learning and creative modes of historical representation.

11:15am - 11:45am  
HOPIN

Film, Journalism & Sport History

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**Forgotten Footage: Sports, Disability, and the 1964 Tokyo Paralympics in Japanese Documentary Film**

**Dennis J. Frost**

Kalamazoo College, United States of America

In November 1964, Japan became only the third country, and the first outside Europe, to host the international Paralympic Games. When organizers first raised the possibility of hosting this event in Tokyo, athletes from Japan had never participated in the Paralympics before, and few people in Japan were even aware of the existence of sports for those with disabilities. Despite this initial lack of familiarity, the 1964 Games generated a remarkable degree of popular and media attention in Japan, including six independently produced Japanese films. While most of these films were thought to be lost, this paper examines one film rediscovered only in 2019 in

the lead up to the Tokyo 2020 Paralympics. As a documentary targeting a mass domestic audience, the 1965 Daiei (now Kadokawa) film, *„Tokyo Paralympics: Festival of Love and Glory“* offers a unique vantage point for exploring how the Paralympics were introduced and perceived in Japanese society. In contrast to official reports and explanations from Paralympic promoters that focused overwhelmingly on the rehabilitative and highly medicalized objectives of the Games with minimal attention to the athletes themselves, the Daiei documentary provided audiences with extended commentary from several Japanese athletes describing their experiences living with a disability. Given the stigma associated with disability at the time, the film played an important role in raising awareness about disability in Japan by sharing these individual experiences. At the same time, with its emphasis on sports as a means for individuals to overcome disability and “return to society,” the film echoed official promotional materials. In this sense, Daiei’s long-forgotten documentary not only stands as a representative example of its times, but also provides important insights on the historical production of stereotypes and other patterns of representation that continue to haunt the Paralympics today in Japan and beyond.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **What is Sport? What is a Sport Documentary Film?**

**Douglas Adam Brown**

University of Manitoba, Canada

Documentaries are understood as films that represent reality and provide some form of historical record of the world at a particular time and place. This paper examines a time and place in Canadian history that witnessed an inordinately vigorous rate of production of documentary films about sport. In the 1960s, the National Film Board (NFB) of Canada, a federal government agency, produced thirty-seven films that examined sport from an intriguing range of perspectives. Within this large archive, one group of films stand out because of who directed them, the use of aesthetic and technical innovations and how they treated sport as a documentary subject. The films that I examine in this paper were produced by a group of culturally and politically like-minded French-Canadian (Québécois) filmmakers known as *l’équipe français*. Rather than documenting and presenting stories about specific events or people, their films interrogated the idea of sport, the semiology of sport in modern society, sport as spectacle and sport as a mediated spectacle. The documentaries produced by *l’équipe français* in the 60s destabilized and disrupted this notion of a cohesive and singular Canadian nation. By focusing their cameras on sport, *l’équipe français* produced films that allow French-Canadians to recognize themselves in a medium that had been dominated by English-Canadian versions of reality. The production of these films is evidence of a period in Canadian history when sport factored into critical sociological and political discourse. No longer was sport simply regarded as a symbol or reflection of a society’s attributes. Rather, *l’équipe français* regarded sport as a constituting practice that could construct, reinforce and even destabilize social and political identities, relationships and hierarchies. This sociological consciousness reflected their engagement with contemporary continental philosophers like Roland Barthes and the emergence of sport as a legitimate subject for academic philosophers and sociologists.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **“Flash”: Malcolm Gordon and Citizen-Sports-Journalism in the Pre-Internet Era**

**Andrew R.M. Smith**

Nichols College, United States of America

In the twenty-first century, the evolution and accessibility of mobile devices and internet access has empowered people without “credentials” to produce “news.” Citizen-sports-journalism (CSJ) has become a mainstay of the sport media landscape, not only on social media platforms but via websites dedicated in part or in toto to CSJ contributors. However, the phone-toting foot soldiers of contemporary CSJ rest on a foundation that predates the invention of the iPhone or publicization of the internet.

Between the 1960s and 1980s, Malcolm “Flash” Gordon wrote, illustrated, published and distributed his own boxing magazine with the primary purpose of shining lights into the darkest corners of America’s least regulated sport. Inside each issue of the innocuously titled “Tonight’s Boxing Program” (TBP), which Gordon and only three other contributors personally sold outside of arenas for 35 cents, these guerrilla-writers called out irregularities in the fight game. Gordon probably lost money on a small list of subscribers who received all 52 issues in the mail for an annual fee of \$35. Profit was not the point; in fact Gordon adamantly refused any “favors”—including free tickets—from fighters, managers, or promoters to ensure TBP’s objectivity. It paid off in other ways. Gordon, in the pages of TBP, broke two of boxing’s biggest scandals and laid a foundation for citizen-sports-journalists (CSJ) with more tools and outlets in the future.

This paper integrates recent scholarship on CSJ as well as the history of boxing and the most complete archived collection of TBP issues in order to illustrate the significance of Gordon and TBP as antecedents to the proliferation of contemporary CSJ.

11:15am - 11:45am  
HOPIN

## **Sports Stadia and Legacies**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Inside The Pit: A Basketball Journey Discussing the Historic and Cultural Significance of a Special College Basketball Venue**

**Mark James LaSota**

University of New Mexico, United States of America

Dreamstyle Arena, better known as The Pit, is a historical college basketball venue located in Albuquerque, NM. The nickname was coined by students prior to its opening due to an innovative subterranean design with its playing floor 37 feet below street level. Since 1966, University of New Mexico Lobo basketball teams have participated in this extraordinary sports setting. The Pit is known for its loud and enthusiastic crowds and can be an intimidating road game for visiting teams (Nelson, 2013). During the 1998-99 basketball season, the St. Petersburg Times conducted a study of decibel levels in college basketball arenas and a UNM men’s game at The Pit against Arizona registered the loudest at 118 decibels (UNM media guide, 2013-14). Since The Pit opened, UNM Men’s basketball has been among the attendance leaders averaged close to 15,400 fans per game (GoLobo.com, 2020). The Pit has provided a distinct home court advantage for the Lobo men’s basketball team, who won over 80 percent of their home games there (College Basketball Reference, 2020).

Aside from UNM sports, there have been several other significant games and events that have taken place in this historic gem. One such event was the 1983 NCAA Men’s Final Four, which featured one of the most memorable national championship game finishes in college basketball history with North Carolina State winning by a point on a last second basket. As a basketball lover, there are so is so much to love about this arena. It is about as intimate of a basketball setting as a fan can experience. The following paper will provide a historic look at The Pit and take you on a basketball journey to better understanding the basketball culture in Albuquerque, NM.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **LA Coliseum: Still Standing**

**Phil Hatlem**

Saint Leo University, United States of America

When the Olympic Torch is ignited above Tokyo’s new National Stadium on July 23rd, 2021, the city will become the fifth to host multiple Summer Olympic Games, joining Athens, London, Los Angeles, and Paris. Of these five, to date only London has hosted three Games, with Paris scheduled to join as a three-time host three years from now, and then Los Angeles in 2028.

Robert Trumbour states that stadiums are the civic monuments for cities, and are likely to be a city’s most visible structure. One would certainly believe that Olympic Stadiums would fall into this category, and thus would be among those venues that are revered and preserved for their history. Yet for the three-time hosts, both London and Paris have used different stadiums for each of the Games they have hosted. That makes Los Angeles unique by having the same stadium, the Los Angeles Coliseum, host events in all of the Summer Games they have or will host (1932, 1984, and 2028).

This presentation is intended to provide a historical narrative of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, including its design, purpose, and events that have made it unique among Olympic venues. Guiding questions include: How has the venue added to the experience of the Games? How has hosting the Games helped establish its legacy? How will hosting Athletics in 2028 add to the stadium’s legacy? This study will demonstrate the singular uniqueness of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum among Olympic venues.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

## **"Yea Ball!": Philanthropy, Higher Education, and the Construction of Muncie's Ball Gymnasium**

**Benjamin Joseph Downs**

Ball State University, United States of America

On January 9, 1925, acting chairman of the board of trustees of the Indiana State Normal School (ISNS), Charles A. Greathouse, formally accepted the gifts of Ball Gymnasium and the Science Hall from Frank C. Ball and the Ball family of industrialists on behalf of the ISNS Eastern Division located in Muncie. Greathouse saluted the Ball family in front of a crowd of approximately 5,000 school and community members inside Ball Gymnasium stating, "men like these good friends in Muncie find a nobler happiness in strengthening the fabric of human society." While Ball Gymnasium bore the surname of its benefactors, that gift, as well as the Ball family's continued financial support of the school, resulted in the Indiana General Assembly renaming the Muncie institution Ball State Teachers College in 1929, Ball State College in 1961, and ultimately Ball State University in 1965.

Providing university athletic facilities as philanthropic gifts was a common practice during the first quarter of the 20th century. For example, the University of Notre Dame's Cartier Field, the University of Tennessee's Shields-Watkins Field, and the University of North Carolina's Kenan Memorial Stadium emerged as philanthropic gifts to those institutions. This paper seeks to understand the relationship between philanthropy, college athletic facility construction, and higher education administration. The author utilized primary sources (e.g., Ball State University Archives, Andrew Seager Archive of the Built Environment, contemporaneous Indiana and campus newspapers, and facility site visits) to present how the Ball family shaped a community and college campus through the construction of a multipurpose athletic facility. Ultimately, the paper demonstrates the Ball family utilized their financial resources to combat perceived moral failings in the United States by providing a space to develop the mind, body, and spirit of future generations of Indiana teachers and residents.

12:00pm - 12:30pm

HOPIN

## **Discourses of Health/Defining the Sporting Body**

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **"Making Up" Short People: James Tanner's Interest in Physique and his Role in Establishing the Short Stature of Children as a Medical Classification**

**Aishwarya Ramachandran, Patricia Vertinsky**

UBC, Canada

This paper examines well-known 20th century growth and development expert James Tanner's role in identifying the bounds of short stature and imperatives for modes of correction through sophisticated measurement techniques during his lengthy career. It considers whether his ongoing interest in somatotyping and genetics, and personal admiration for athletic prowess may have led him to valorize height as a surrogate marker of potential talent and success and construct small, non-athletic children as in greater need of medical treatment. Tanner's specific measurement techniques informed his successful nation-wide clinical trial for human growth hormone (hGH) in 1959, which was suspended in 1985 following the outbreak of iatrogenic Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease. While he was not directly implicated in lawsuits filed against agencies which supplied hGH, the effects of his early enthusiasm for somatotyping and its racial foundations in the sport sciences bear greater reflection in relation to his views on measuring and treating shortness.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **From a river that heals and amuses, to a river that causes diseases: Tietê between the 1900s and the 1940s (São Paulo, Brazil)**

**Daniele Cristina Carquejeiro de Medeiros<sup>1</sup>, Evelise Amgarten Quitzau<sup>2</sup>, Marcelo Moraes e Silva<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Brazil; <sup>2</sup>Universidad de la República, Uruguay; <sup>3</sup>Universidade Federal do Paraná, Brazil

The Tietê is the main river in the city of São Paulo. The river and its affluents were vital to the city's growth, supplying energy, sand, rocks, and food. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the river also became a place for amusements and sporting practices. The installation of rowing clubs on its shores promoted practices like swimming, rowing, and other institutionalized amusements that constituted the city's physical culture. For clubs, press and authorities, rowing and swimming were sports that promoted hygiene, health, and moral development of their exercisers. In this sense, this paper aims to analyze how clubs' discourses about the river changed during the first decades of the twentieth century, going from a place suitable for sporting practices to a place associated with diseases and contamination. The selected sources for this research were the newspapers "A Gazeta" and "Correio Paulistano", and magazines published by the rowing clubs. The research indicates that although discourses about the dangers of the rivers existed since the nineteenth century, they were ignored by the clubs, sportsmen, and authorities, who saw aquatic exercises as healthy practices. We conclude that there was a significant change in how they understood the river. In the first decades of the twentieth century, they agreed that the river was beneficial to people's health. However, from the 1930s on, there is a change in discourse, led mainly by the clubs, who now glorified their recently built pools and rejected the rivers, connecting them to discourses about disease and pollution that already existed in medical literature since the beginning of the century.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The Umpire Strikes Back: How Silk O'Loughlin Brought Signs to the 1906 World Series**

**Rebecca Edwards**

Rochester Institute of Technology, United States of America

The 1906 World Series was a series of firsts. It was the first modern 'subway' series, pitting the Chicago Cubs against the Chicago White Sox. It was the first appearance in the World Series for both franchises. It represented the first time that the Cubs' famous infield of Tinker, Evers, and Chance played together in the World Series. And it was the first series in which umpires called the games using gestures behind home plate. The first umpire to strike back against crowd noise with clear gestures was veteran AL umpire Francis 'Silk' O'Loughlin, who started gesturing behind home during Game 2 of the Series, because, as the Chicago Tribune reported, "the din of rooting was so great it was impossible to hear an umpire's decision." The signs worked so well that they were used for the remainder of the Series and finally adopted permanently into major league baseball in 1909. O'Loughlin brought the signs behind the plate, but they were not original to him. Newspapers such as the Chicago Tribune and the Washington Post recognized these signs as "Dummy Hoy's mute signal code." Hoy was retired by 1906, but, as the sport's first deaf baseball star, he had relied on a system of signs to see an umpire's call. His third base coach signed the call to him whenever he batted. Since Hoy played in both the American and National Leagues, many players, fans, and umpires were familiar with his sign system. Faced with the noise of all of Chicago in 1906, O'Loughlin did the only thing that made sense; he borrowed Dummy Hoy's signs and used them himself. This paper will explore the historical evidence linking Hoy to the creation of the signs of baseball, as well as O'Loughlin's role in cementing their permanent use.

12:00pm - 12:30pm

HOPIN

## **Urban Sport: Development, Neoliberalism and Resistance**

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **A League of Their Own: Retracing the Social, Political, and Affective Constitution of the WNBA**

**Mary G McDonald**

Georgia Institute of Technology, United States of America

The NBA helped to establish the WNBA in 1997 and today the WNBA is the longest operating professional team sport league for women in the United States. Most recently WNBA players have received media attention for their activism off the court, including in their fight against police brutality and institutional racism. The league and players just signed a new progressive collective bargaining agreement that allows for better salaries, travel, and benefits. These developments build upon a rich history constituted by competing ideologies and economic forces, which continue to shape the league and broader culture. For example, early marketing attempts projected a complicated image of empowerment and rugged individualism which helped to link the WNBA to a type of postfeminism in being pro-women without sufficiently attending to remaining cultural barriers within and beyond sport (McDonald, 2000). Drawing upon critical cultural studies and feminist intersectional conceptualizations, this paper returns to the 1997 founding of the league in order to (re) trace the affective, neoliberal, racialized and gender politics at play. This is achieved through examination of WNBA documents,

interviews, and popular media accounts. The resulting historical account helps to further explicate the complicated contemporary cultural status of the WNBA as spectacle while also illuminating dominant gender and race relations more broadly.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**Stray dogs, the Indian Grand Prix, and the meaning of sport**

**Callie Batts Maddox**

Miami University, United States of America

Two days before the inaugural Indian Grand Prix, a stray dog wandered onto the track at the Buddh International Circuit (BIC) in Greater Noida outside of Delhi, interrupting a practice run and prompting British bookmaker William Hill to offer 100-1 odds that either the subsequent practice session, the qualifying round, or the race itself would be delayed by the presence of a curious dog. The canines stayed away, and on October 30, 2011, Sebastian Vettel won India's first Formula One race in front of 95,000 spectators, Bollywood stars, and the business elite. Framed as the latest sporting iteration of a cosmopolitan India—joining the Indian Premier League and the Commonwealth Games—the Grand Prix was meant to herald the success of private investment in Formula One, as the race was one of the few on the F1 schedule not subsidized by local government. In 2014, the Indian Grand Prix was cancelled due to scheduling problems and the race failed to reappear on the calendar for 2015, signaling its ultimate demise. The race could not survive at the BIC due to the track's location in the state of Uttar Pradesh, wherein the government categorized F1 not as sport, but as entertainment. This designation required the imposition of taxes on the teams, sponsors, tickets, and all materials related to the Grand Prix. There is irony here, as F1 exists as a spectacularized form of sporting entertainment, but the refusal of the state government to grant F1 a customs exception spelled the ruination of the Indian Grand Prix. Drawing on media coverage and government policies, this presentation examines the short history of the Indian Grand Prix within the context of a neoliberalizing India. The story reveals questions about privatization, the reliance on sport to spur urban development, and the very meaning of sport.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**The 1963 Detroit Olympics Petition**

**Stefan Szymanski, Gidon Jakar**

School of Kinesiology, University of Michigan, United States of America

In 1963 the city of Detroit unsuccessfully bid to host the 1968 Olympic Games. As part of the bid the city organized a petition which generated around 40,000 signatures, together with names and addresses. These are preserved in the archive of Detroit Public Library. This paper analyzes the distribution of around 10,000 addresses from the petition, using geo-coding, and presents maps to show which parts of Detroit and the surrounding counties expressed greatest support for the bid.

The data suggests that there was broad support both inside the city and in the surrounding counties. Thus, it is possible that an Olympics in the city of Detroit would have acted as a unifying factor, in sharp contrast with the hostility which has since characterized the relationship between city and suburbs. The paper speculates on whether the events of 1967 in Detroit would have played out differently had the city been one year away from hosting the Olympic Games. The paper thus contributes to the debate on the impact of the Olympic Games not by looking at a city which did host the Games, but one that did not.

12:30pm - 1:00pm

HOPIN

1:00pm - 1:30pm

HOPIN

Lunch

**Transformations of MLB Stadiums**

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*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute thematic session*

**The Transformation of MLB Stadiums: From a Quest for Order at the Ballpark to “Mallparks” of Consumption**

**Joseph Eaton<sup>1</sup>, Bob Trumpbour<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>National Chengchi University; <sup>2</sup>Penn State University Altoona

Joseph Eaton addresses continuing problems at the ballpark in his “Sick Society at the Ball Park”: The Cubs’ Opening Day Riot, 1970.” As Eaton recounts, Chicago and national sports media explained the episode not in the continuum of problems within MLB, but as an outgrowth of the 1960s. Ironically, security measures – meant to enhance safety at Wrigley Field – contributed to the Cubs’ development into a national team.

Bob Trumpbour outlines changes in stadium construction in his “Forbes Field’s Role in the Transition to Modern Ballpark Construction: A 1909 Case Study.” The first MLB stadium to cost a million dollars, Forbes Field was constructed using advanced engineering and contained modern amenities. As Trumpbour explains, Forbes Field influenced stadium building during the transition from wood to concrete and steel construction.

The signpost episodes that we analyze tell of longstanding concerns for safety at the ballpark but also of MLB’s growing competence and affluence. Moreover, in addressing these important chapters in the evolution of baseball stadiums, one better understands larger societal concerns and issues.

1:00pm - 1:30pm

HOPIN

**National Identity and Sport**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**The Fluid History of Australian National Identity in Sport**

**Matthew J Barnard**

Bond University, United States of America

Australia has for its short history been known through many identifiers, yet perhaps most persistently, as a country of sport mad people. Since federation in 1901, Australians have consistently produced internationally competitive teams and athletes who have gone on to become household names. Popular culture would argue that these figures embody the very essence of what it means to be Australian, and in turn contribute to the shared history of the nation. As such, almost all formal literature on modern Australian identity take note of the significant role that sports people and sport has on the Australian way of life.

This paper examines the uniquely fluid nature of Australian national identity and its close connection to sport throughout the 20th and into the 21st century. Grounded in the assumption that an identity only exists when in conversation with an external entity, the essay examines four key relationships between Australia and foreign players.

In analyzing Australian relations, and policy decisions through the lens of sport with Britain, The United States, Europe, and Asia, a clear narrative is formed of the increased sense of ambiguity towards a single identity representative of a post millennium Australian population. This vagueness is further heightened with both a rapidly globalizing world, and an influx in cosmopolitanism as a result of rapid immigration.

Utilizing products of mass media such as newspaper and magazine articles, and political speeches, the importance of key events both within and outside of sport comes to the forefront of this fluid phenomenon. Events examined include the 1850’s Australian Gold rush, the 1942 British surrender of Singapore the 1983 America’s Cup, and the 2015 AFC Asian Cup.

In concluding the paper argues that Australian identity as it relates to sport is fundamentally outdated in that it is not representative of the Australian population.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**“Californian ‘start-em-young’ system”: The Golden State and USA Swimming, 1954-1964**

**Matthew R. Hodler<sup>1</sup>, Maureen Smith<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Rhode Island, United States of America; <sup>2</sup>California State University, Sacramento, United States of America

Given its sustained success at the Olympics, the United States swim team has been called an “aquatic superpower” and “one of the most dominant dynasties in sport” by journalists. Its foundation is its strong domestic youth and collegiate swimming programs, with

California teams, schools, and coaches at its center. California is the foundation on which United States' international swimming success is built. Over a third of the 2016 American Olympic swimming team were from the Golden State and over half of the team that represented the United States at the 2019 FINA World Championships in Gwanju. South Korea had strong California ties. Additionally, over a quarter of the current national swimming team consists of Californians, and two of the four American professional swim teams in the new International Swimming League were based in the state. These numbers are unsurprising; US National swimming teams at all levels are often over-represented by swimmers and coaches with strong Californian ties.

California has produced elite swimmers since the first Olympics US swimmers won a medal (1904), but the state's clubs and teams really developed into national and international swimming powers in the post-war California. There has not been much historical research on the roots of California swimming dominance, its strong networks of youth swimming programs. Using trade publications and other popular media sources from 1954-1964, this paper investigates the development of the California youth swimming program and explores how this program shaped meanings and performances of racialized, gendered, and classed meanings of American nationalism as it influenced and shaped broader American swimming culture as it rose to prominence in global competitions in the 1950s and 1960s

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**More than a Men's Phenomenon: Foreign-Born Women at the FIFA World Cup and Summer Olympic Soccer Tournament**

**Zachary R. Bigalke**

Penn State University, United States of America

From the first FIFA World Cup tournament in 1930, athletes have participated in the competition who were not born in the geopolitical borders of the national team for which they elected to compete. Most scholarship on nationality in international competition focuses on male participation in events like the FIFA World Cup or on events such as the Olympic Games that incorporate men's and women's competitions.

Men, however, are by no means the only athletes who make the calculus to compete for teams with which they affiliate through avenues other than birthright. To better understand how national identity impacts the national teams for which individual athletes compete, and how this phenomenon compares with men's experiences, it is critical to shine more light on those instances where women have represented nations outside of their nativity.

To address this underrepresented side of research into national identity and international competition, this research utilizes both quantitative and qualitative research. To investigate the topic quantitatively requires the compilation of a dataset of foreign-born competitors in the FIFA Women's World Cup and the Summer Olympics women's soccer tournament, drawing upon publicly-available birthplace data for female soccer players to compile this information. From this dataset, the research also draws upon the case studies of individual athletes to contextualize the reasons why athletes compete for teams other than the one representing their birthplace.

Given the more modern timeframe of women's soccer competitions vis-à-vis the men's World Cup and men's Olympic soccer tournament, this also presents an opportunity to investigate opinion in both print and online media related to teams' use of foreign-born talent and a preliminary look at how this discourse is framed differently for men and women.

1:00pm - 1:30pm  
HOPIN

**Race, Racism and Segregation**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**Sprinting from Segregation in the "City Too Busy to Hate": Black Student Protests, White Patronage, and Athlete Activists at the 1963 Georgia AAU Track and Field Meet**

**Cam Mallett**

Penn State, United States of America

In May of 1963, the Georgia branch of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) for the first time desegregated its annual track and field championships in the midst of a Black student sit-in movement that had wracked Atlanta for over a month. The Georgia AAU courted teams from the state's historically Black schools, including Morehouse and Clark, even as their students—including some athletes—joined the protests and faced arrests. While the national AAU had a long history of including African Americans in national championship meets and Olympic trials that it sanctioned, Southern branches had for decades relentlessly practiced whites-only policies. This groundbreaking Georgia break with tradition took place amidst the tumultuous confluence of three significant changes in Southern Civil Rights history just emerging at that moment. First, the meet happened as Southern Blacks increasingly agitated for their rights in the streets and had begun extending protests into the arena of sport—a process that rapidly escalated in late 1960s. Second, white Southerners in positions of power enabled this particular challenge of color lines, a part of broader patterns. Third, historically white universities such as Georgia and Vanderbilt that had already competed against Blacks in "intersectional" competitions but had not yet dropped the color lines on their own teams, at this moment finally consented to desegregated competition on Southern soil. At this pivotal juncture, the 1963 Georgia meet showcased seismic shifts regarding race and athletics that had begun to emerge, illuminating a future trajectory not yet trod

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**A Tale of Three Athletes: Black Canadians' Journey to the Olympics (1920-1940)**

**Ornella Nzindukiyimana**

St. Francis Xavier University, Canada

The contrast in the journeys of teammates Phil Edwards, Ray Lewis, and Sammy Richardson to the Olympic arena in the 1930s underscores the importance of challenging essentializing narratives. While all were Black men, the first was a selective school educated intercollegiate athlete, the second a railway porter, and the third a teenager from a "working class hardscrabble" neighborhood. Through these athletes, I explicate the complexities of experiences at the intersection of race, class, and gender, and to make visible multiplicity in the often essentialized Black experience. When being an Olympian guaranteed little in financial or professional security to an athlete, their stories especially underscore the role of class status in training, performance, and individual experiences of Black athletes. From their backgrounds and personal accounts to their portrayal in the press, these individuals walked into the Olympic stadium together, but their paths to and from it were worlds apart.

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

**Minstrelsy & Medals: A Young Sol Butler Navigates Racialized Celebrity**

**Brian James Hallstoos**

University of Dubuque, United States of America

From the point he started dominating high school athletics in Kansas, Olympian Sol Butler (1895-1954) became a lightning rod for racialized attention in Jim Crow America. Born into an African American family with a long history of fleeing oppression and moving toward educational and economic opportunity, Sol used athletics as a tool to challenge segregation. He emerged as a teenage track and football star during the peak of boxer Jack Johnson's notoriety, a reality that profoundly shaped the public image Butler crafted in his predominantly white community. Rather than braggadocio, he presented impeccable humility. While acknowledging the presence of racism, he promoted the idea grounded in respectability politics that white people would accept Black people after witnessing their talents and, according to middle-class standards, good behavior. Butler also engaged in a form of popular culture rooted in racial misrepresentation. During his sophomore year of high school, he and other African American youth began performing blackface minstrelsy on stage to interracial audiences. My presentation considers the role music, dance and humor played in his early years of sports celebrity. I argue that he adopted a debasing, although potentially subversive theatrical form to distance himself from an assumed brash blackness that threatened his physical safety and the support he perceived as necessary for his athletic ascension as a race leader.

1:45pm - 2:15pm  
HOPIN

**Rethinking Sport History and the Visual**

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*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*



## **Novelty or Notorious? Women's Sports History through Trading Cards: 1850-1972**

**Cindy Dick**

Arizona State University, United States of America

Through the rarely seen medium of women's sports trading cards, this presentation will explore a hidden history of select female athletes pre-1972.

This presentation is based on a personal collection that has been 28 years in the making and consists of over 1,300 original women's trading cards that were printed in 25 countries between the 1850s and 1972. The majority of the cards originate from European countries (particularly Germany), the United Kingdom and the United States. The cards are printed near the time the athlete competed, giving a fairer representation of the times than what aftermarket cards represent. After giving a brief overview of the evolution of trading cards, I will highlight a few of the athletes, their cards and what makes them unique.

Trading cards were a form of product advertisement that became a popular collectible because the subjects represented a myriad of topics that brought the world to the viewer. Athletes on trading cards were the predecessor of today's sports cards, and while sports cards are largely seen as a hobby that is by, for, and about men, within these trading cards reside a treasure trove of women's sports history. Sports cards have remained a popular collectible for over a century and their familiarity makes them an accessible and novel medium to learn about former female athletes along with the societal forces that shaped their opportunities.

Images on trading cards illustrate an important, yet forgotten display of women's sport history. These cards provide powerful depictions of early life and include images not often used by the media or published in history books. Through the cards, a counter narrative emerges. By giving attention to women in sports, and not sexualizing the images, appreciation was given to these female athletes.

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*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

## **Sport, history, and the graphic novel**

**Russell Field**

University of Manitoba, Canada

Comics, in particular the rebranded for adult readers "graphic novel," have until recently struggled to be taken seriously as a subject of scholarly investigation. Focusing primarily on North American comics and graphic novels, as opposed to British comics (e.g., "Roy of the Rovers"), European bande dessinée (most commonly associated with French and Belgian artists), or Japanese manga, this paper explores three inter-related themes in considering the connection between comics/graphic novels and sport history. First, the paper offers an overview and history of the genre, focusing in particular on representations of sport and physical culture, from the sequential narrative illustration of early newspaper strips (such as Richard Felton Outcault's "The Yellow Kid") and subsequently comic books (in particular the physical culture of superhero comics) to the emergence of long-form graphic novels and the reworking of the classic grid structure. Baetens and Frey (2015: 13) argue that it is "the ability of the graphic novel to work on the borderlines of first-person narrative, history-from-below, and oral history, as well as to introduce fiction with historical meaning (and vice versa), that makes it so fascinating and important a body of work." The second portion of this paper considers the possibilities for sport history inherent in comics, situating this within earlier considerations of the visual in sport history. Finally, while certain graphic novels about sport have received scholarly treatment – The Golem's Mighty Swing (2001) by James Sturm, Mendoza the Jew (2013) by Ronald Schechter, and Reinhard Kleist's The Boxer (2013) – this is a far from an exhaustive list. This paper concludes with a proposed typology of sport-historical themed graphic novels as a way of asserting the significance of the comic/graphic novel to sport history, both as an historical artifact for consideration as evidence and as a representational vehicle for dissemination of research.

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*This contribution has been accepted as a poster presentation*

## **Glamour Shots or Athletic Competence?: Gender and Sports Photos in High School Yearbooks**

**Heather Van Mullem**

Lewis-Clark State College, United States of America

Despite the growth of girls and women's participation in sport since the passage of Title IX in 1972 (Samsel, 2017), sport continues to be a contested environment for its female participants (Messner, 2002). Historically, girls and women have had to battle to have the right to play and to be viewed as "competent athletes" (Kane & Buysee, 2005). Furthermore, research has consistently demonstrated that female athletes have been underrepresented and misrepresented in all forms of media throughout history (Cohen, 2001) compared to their male counterparts. While the media cannot tell people what to think, it can influence how individuals come to understand things (Coakley, 2009). Previous research examining representations of gender in sports media has focused on images of female athletes, competing at the professional or collegiate level, and presented in various forms of traditional (e.g., magazines (Fink & Kensicki, 2002), newscasts (Messner & Cooke, 2010), etc.) and social media (Geurin-Eagleman & Clavio, 2015). However, little research has focused on the portrayal of high school female athletes or on the imagery in yearbooks. Therefore, the primary purpose of this study was to examine how student athletes, both female and male, were presented in photographs in the athletics section of yearbooks created between 1920-2020 at two Northwest high schools. Yearbooks were chosen for examination because they are the primary document generated by high schools to record the activities of the academic year. This paper will share the results of this study and compare and contrast the ways female athletes have been represented in various forms of media over time. Agenda Setting Theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) and Framing Theory (Goffman, 1974) will be used to explore the influence of image quantity and content used at the professional and collegiate levels on images selected for inclusion in high school yearbooks.

1:45pm - 2:15pm  
HOPIN

## **Sport in the Big Apple and the Windy City**

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*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

### **Nat Holman: The Winningest Most Forgotten College Basketball Coach Ever.**

**Arthur Banton**

Tennessee Technological University, United States of America

In 1950, Nat Holman, the head coach at the City College of New York, cemented his admission to the basketball Hall of Fame when his team won the national championship. At the time Holman had coached for 23 seasons, won more than 300 games, and authored several books on the game. Holman was considered a scholar of the game and was refereed to by the media as Mr. Basketball. However, when it comes to great college coaches his name and consequently his legacy is completely forgotten. This essay examines his great career and explains why he is the winningest most forgotten college basketball coach ever.

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*This contribution has been accepted as a seven minute individual presentation.*

### **"Behind every coach....," Stagg and Stella: College Football's most Enduring Coaching Partnership**

**Erin McCarthy**

Columbia College Chicago, United States of America

As soon as he arrived on the campus of the University of Chicago in 1892, Amos Alonzo Stagg, attracted considerable attention. An eligible bachelor at a co-educational institution, Stagg set out to "spread the gospel of football" across campus, including visits to the women's dorms. Stella Robertson, a member of Chicago's first graduating class, was one of the young co-eds smitten with the famous coach. Robertson was an extraordinary young woman. Her Baptist background brought her to the University of Chicago from Albion, New York, and she enrolled in the required courses for completion of her A.B. which included physical culture. She played basketball and excelled at tennis, completing her physical culture requirements within her first two years.

After one of Stagg's football talks, Robertson approached the coach and introduced herself—the attraction was immediate and mutual. Despite the protests and dire warnings of their families and the university president, the thirty-three year old coach and the 18 year-old student became engaged; they married in September of 1894, two days before the start of the football season. The scandal President Harper warned of never materialized, and Mrs. Alonzo Stagg completed her degree and graduated with her class of 1896. The birth of their first child would end her graduate studies, but she soon applied her considerable talents to her husband's coaching career.

The Stagg's coaching partnership was not without precedent. At Yale, Alice Sumner Camp observed football practices and was included in the captain's meetings her husband held in their home. Stagg, a member of the Yale eleven in 1888, was an eye-witness to Alice Camp's coaching ability, and he and Stella would go on to adapt the "Camp model" in their own marriage, creating what would become the longest college football coaching partnership in the history of the sport.

*This contribution has been accepted as an seven minute individual presentation.*

### **The Transformation of German Turnerism in Chicago**

**Gerald Robert Gems<sup>1</sup>, Gertrud Ursula Pfister<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>North Central College, United States of America; <sup>2</sup>University of Copenhagen, Denmark

2020 NASSH Abstract:

The Transformation of German Turnerism in Chicago

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Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, a German nationalist, founded the Turner movement as a response to the Napoleonic occupation of his homeland in the early nineteenth century. Jahn emphasized the practice of gymnastics, fitness exercises, and games. Turnerism revived with the onset of the German Revolution of 1848; but its ultimate failure sent many refugees to the United States, where they established their own Turner societies. This study focuses on the Turner clubs in the city of Chicago after 1848. The growth of Chicago during the late nineteenth century and the role of Germans within the city had ramifications for the larger American polity. It considers the initial adherence to German nationalist sentiments, the involvement of the German Turners in the local political and educational affairs of the city, and the gradual transition to the Americanization of the movement. The study analyzes the particular power of sport as an assimilative factor as second generation German youth were attracted to the American games of baseball, football, and basketball with a relative decline in the practice of gymnastics to the consternation of Turner leadership. Germans, however, assumed leadership in the national organization of bowling. World War I and its consequent ostracism of German culture further diminished German influence in the political and educational spheres of city governance, which signaled the death knell of the Turner movement in Chicago. Turner clubs lingered for a few decades thereafter, serving as social centers, still espousing a muted sense of ethnicity rather than the nationalistic vanguards of German life in America.

**2:30pm - 3:10pm**

**HOPIN**

### **Graduate Roundtable**

**2:30pm - 3:10pm**

**HOPIN**

### **Higher Education and Collegiate Sport**

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty-minute thematic session*

#### **Higher Education and Collegiate Sport**

**Bennett Koerber<sup>1</sup>, Brian M. Ingrassia<sup>2</sup>, Brian Hallstoos<sup>3</sup>, Cordelia Brazile<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Carnegie Mellon University; <sup>2</sup>West Texas A&M University; <sup>3</sup>University of Dubuque; <sup>4</sup>University of Pittsburgh

Since the 1800s, sport has been an important part of higher education, providing extracurricular activities while also helping institutions craft distinctive, marketable identities. Though many scholars focus on the history of "big-time" men's collegiate athletics, analysis of smaller colleges and women's athletics complicates the conventional narrative arc. This thematic session interrogates sport's varied meanings in relation to twentieth-century higher education.

Bennett Koerber examines how Swarthmore College's Frank Aydelotte ended big-time football in 1931 and instead implemented an "athletics for all" program affording all male coeds opportunities to participate. Aydelotte's rebranding of football and simultaneous implementation of an honors program illustrate important links between athletics and academic reform.

Brian Ingrassia analyzes 1930s conference realignment to show how resentment of commercialization caused small private colleges in Iowa to abandon competition against larger institutions. Some college leaders imagined smaller-scale athletics more appropriate for "liberal arts" colleges, and changed conference affiliation to reflect new ideas about sport and education.

Brian Hallstoos shows how early-1900s athlete Sol Butler had a long-term impact upon a predominantly white institution (PWI). Butler provided a model of black excellence that has given University of Dubuque students, staff, faculty, and administrators an opportunity to commemorate and honor him in ways that make the institution a more welcoming environment.

Cordelia Brazile analyzes women's sports on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1979, Britain's University Athletic Union (UAU) declared its intention to administer women's championships; the following year, America's National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) voted to begin offering women's championships. In both cases, the male model of sport won out and muted alternative visions of sport once promoted by institutions like the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) and the Women's Inter-University Athletic Board (WIUAB).

**2:30pm - 3:10pm**

**HOPIN**

### **Studying Sex: The Role of Sociocultural Scholars in Tackling Gender-Based Policies in Sport**

*This contribution has been accepted as a thirty minute contemporary sport session.*

#### **Studying Sex: The Role of Sociocultural Scholars in Tackling Gender-Based Policies in Sport**

**Camille Marie Croteau<sup>1</sup>, Lindsay Parks Pieper<sup>2</sup>, Madeleine Pape<sup>3</sup>, Bruce Kidd<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Western University, Canada; <sup>2</sup>University of Lausanne; <sup>3</sup>Northwestern University; <sup>4</sup>University of Toronto

Sex verification in sport has received extensive scholarly attention. However, much of the research and corresponding debates on the issue have remained largely bifurcated. Sport scientists and medical practitioners typically focus on pinpointing the biological determinants of sex while sociocultural scholars highlight how cultural, racial, and classed understandings of gender influence sex-based policies. This session considers the schism and offers a blueprint for bridging the gap. Presenters discuss how to engage with proponents of testing from medical and scientific fields about the cultural, historical, and sociological elements of verification practices. Camille M. Croteau lays the foundation for the session by exploring the historical development of sport science research in shaping sport policy. She asks what role sport historians should—and should not—play when writing about the history of sport medicine. Madeleine Pape follows by tracing feminist efforts to leverage a binary understanding of sex as a platform for women's inclusion in sport. She considers the prospects for "women's sport" to forge new alliances with alternative expressions of science and feminism, women athletes in the Global South, and movements to advance the rights and recognition of sex and gender minoritized people. Bruce Kidd next uses Indian sprinter Dutee Chand's and South African runner Caster Semenya's appeals to document the inability of the Court of Arbitration of Sport (CAS) to address questions of human rights. He argues that international sport organizations must either amend the rules of CAS or create a new independent tribunal to accept and enforce the obligations of human rights. Finally, Lindsay Parks Pieper looks at three moments of gender-based policy creation to demonstrate a purposeful discounting of sociocultural experts and perspectives. Throughout the 2000s, international sport organizations intentionally prioritized medical and scientific viewpoints over scholars who raised gender, racial, and ethical issues.

**4:00pm - 4:50pm**

**HOPIN**

### **NASSH Social Event**

Session Chair: **David K. Wiggins**, George Mason University

Closing Comments, presented by Dave Wiggins

In-Memoriam, presented by Bob Barney

50th Anniversary, presented by Carly Adams and Lindsay Parks-Pieper

Passing of the Hat, presented by Dave Wiggins and Murray Phillips

Closing Comments, presented by Murray Phillips

