

Aspirations of Olympism: a framework for considering the athlete's experience in the Olympic Movement at the close of the twentieth century

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Introduction

Thank you very much for the opportunity of joining you at the Centre for Olympic Studies at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. The Centre is known throughout the world for its innovative scholarship on the mass media and the Olympics, and its thoughtful advocacy and sponsorship of social science research into the problems and prospects of the Olympic Movement. It is therefore a great honour for me to have been chosen the 1996 International Professor. I hope to make the most of it, and to be worthy of your trust in me.

The subject of my lectures this week is “The Athlete and the Olympic Movement at the close of the 20th Century”. My approach will be to outline a normative position on what the athlete's experience ought to be in the Olympic sports and then discuss the social, economic and political conditions which either facilitate the realization of such an approach or undermine it. I will then focus on the various efforts by athletes, including those in the professional sports, to organize collectively to improve the conditions of their lives and discuss the likely outcomes. The idea is to stimulate analysis on what actually occurs in the Olympic sports from the athlete's point of view.

I should say at the outset that my perspective is at once personal, didactic and analytical. I bring to this task the experience of a former Olympic athlete and Olympic arts and culture program participant who continues to believe in the validity of Olympism as a guiding philosophy. As you will hear, I am convinced that if we do not take the aspirations of Olympism seriously, the Olympic Movement will collapse under the weight of its contradictions. At the same time, I have been trained as a historian and political economist, so I know both the possibilities and limitations of “human agency”. I call myself a “critical supporter” of the Olympic Movement.

Tonight in this first presentation, I will outline my understanding of the Olympic ideals, the major tenets of the philosophy we know as “Olympism”, and to share some of the questions and challenges that philosophy poses for us as we consider the condition of the athlete.

First, let me remind you of the history. For Pierre de Coubertin and those who helped him establish the International Olympic Committee and the modern Olympic cycle, the Olympic Games were not simply to be an athletic event, but the focal point of a broadly based social movement which, through the activity of sport and culture, would enhance human development and generally make the world a better place. Coubertin developed his proposals for the Olympic Games in response to deep-seated political and social crises in his native France, after years of study and field research¹. He was particularly concerned about the immiseration and exploitation which accompanied rapid industrialization and urbanization, and the rising class conflict, poverty, disease and despair. Despite the chauvinist tendencies of his youth, he also became troubled by the imperialist rivalries of the European powers, and the growing likelihood of war.

Like many of his contemporaries², Coubertin concluded that the solution was educational reform, so he travelled to Germany, England, the United States and Canada to inspect the leading approaches first-hand. In Germany, it was the ambitious gymnastics pioneered by GutsMuth and spread by the turners. In

the United States and Canada, he visited the early programs of intercollegiate athletics. But he was most impressed by the character education claimed for the games curriculum of the elite male British public schools, such as rugby, made famous by Thomas Hughes' best selling *Tom Brown's School Days*. He came to believe that a system of highly competitive sport could inspire and invigorate the youth of France and thereby shake that country out of its lethargy. As he began to develop sports clubs, Coubertin also became aware of the classical Greek festival of the Olympic Games and modern attempts to emulate them – such as Robert Dover's Cotswold Games of the 17th Century, Dr. Penny Brookes' Much Wenlock Games, which he visited (and observed their elaborate opening and closing ceremonies, competitions and medal presentations); and the Greek Olympic Games begun by Evangelos Zappas in 1870. Public interest in the Olympic tradition grew space with the successful excavations at Olympia, which confirmed longstanding local rumours that the ruins of the stadium and temple of the ancient Games were buried there. A re-creation of the ancient site was displayed at the 1890 Paris World's Fair. In this milieu, Coubertin was inspired to apply his educational aspirations to the entire world. He dreamed that the share pursuit of excellence would build an international movement which could contribute to human progress and the peaceful resolution of international conflict³. It was this internationalist aspiration which distinguished Coubertin's games from their modern predecessors.

In 1894 at a conference at the Sorbonne, Coubertin won international support for these ideas and modern Olympic Games. He created the International Olympic Committee which helped him staged the first Games in Athens in 1896.

There are two points I would like to draw from this brief account. Rather than "revive" the Olympics of classical Greece, as he liked to claim, Coubertin creatively appropriated the symbols of antiquity for a particularly modern project, in response to a modern complex of conditions. We must reject the transhistorical and universal claims for sports, and place their development, and the remarkable growth of Coubertin's Games, in the social specificity of our own times. Secondly, we must understand that Coubertin started the Games as a strategy for social change. He was a reformer, albeit a small-c conservative one, calling his philosophy of reform "Olympism"⁴. While the Games were to demonstrate these ideas in action, Olympism was to be pursued every day, not just every four years.

In the century which followed the Sorbonne conference, the Olympic Movement won the support of every major national community in the world, both gender and all classes. No other project in human history has enjoyed such universal visibility. I am convinced that a major reason for this is the Movement's explicit pursuit of social values – in its official statements, its inspiring ceremonies, its debates over eligibility and fair play, its cultural and technical aid programs, and its briefs to government. No other major sports event was designed primarily as a vehicle for social improvement. Both scholars and pollsters tell us that it is the pursuit of ethical values, as much as the dazzling performances it encourages, which has won the Olympic Movement such a popular following.

Yet today, the Olympic Movement stands at an important crossroads. Despite – or perhaps because of – its commercial success, it risks losing its connection to the broad humanitarian values which attract the

allegiance of so many.

The Aspirations of Olympism

So what are the aspirations of Olympism? How can we retain the integrity of Coubertin's project, while paring away the aristocratic, patriarchal and Eurocentric biases with which he imbued his work?

What follows constitutes the synthesis I have developed and applied to my work in the Canadian Olympic Association and elsewhere. Others may well interpret the Coubertin legacy with different emphasis. But these aspirations are all integral to the Olympic project.

For excellence

Against what he perceived to be the mediocrity and complacency of his age, Coubertin sought to encourage the pursuit of the very best. "Effort is the greatest joy. Success is not a goal in itself but a means of aiming higher", he wrote. For the classical ideal of a "sound mind in a sound body", he substituted "an impassioned mind a vigorous body". As you know, this spirit is captured in the Olympic motto "Citius, Altius, Fortius", and dramatized by the records and "Perfect" scores which seem to explode like fireworks over every games. While this aspiration is most closely associated with athletic training and competition, it applies to all aspects of the Olympic project – from officiating to facility design to the arts and culture program to the communications systems which bring the Games to billions – and beyond to all aspects of life.

We all support "excellence" as a goal, but there is increasing debate about what it actually should mean. Should it focus on the athlete's performance or the underlying conditions?

I believe the latter, for most athletes take the striving for the best as a given – it's the circumstances of their lives which are often problematic. In many countries throughout the world, while governments boast about their champions as symbols of national pride, they are slashing the very public programs which enable boys and girls to enter sports and to train and compete at the top level. Is this "excellence"?

Moreover, a number of participants and observers have begun to question the values which underlie what has been the most dominant use of the term, the single-minded pursuit of the podium. The pressure to win and the tremendous financial bonanzas available to those who do have led to a relentless technologizing and dehumanizing of training, and athletes themselves. Although during the two Olympiads since the Ben Johnson's disqualification from Seoul, the incidence of steroid abuse has clearly declined, there is still a widespread fear that other, less easily detectable performance-enhancing drugs are commonly used⁵.

Another urgent concern is that the uncritical pursuit of victory encourages a disregard for athletes' rights to education, health and well-being, and an environment free from sexual harassment and exploitation. At the 1992 annual general meeting of the Canadian Medical Association, a general practitioner claimed that high performance sport for children was producing the same injuries as child labour in the Industrial Revolution⁶. Many in Canada feel that Bela Karoli's insistence that Kerry Shugg take a second, final vault in Atlanta,

despite her badly injured ankle, was a particularly exploitive example.

Instead of “metre, second and gram”, I would like to develop a measure of “excellence” for the material and social conditions within which athletes pursue their sports. How can we ensure that athletes have the necessary facilities, leadership and financial support to develop their talents to the full? How can we guarantee that these opportunities are “excellent” in the development and protection of athletes’ rights and health and well-being as well?

For education

“That which is most important in the lives of modern people (is) education”, Coubertin wrote a century ago, after a fact-finding trip to the United States and Canada. Sport, he believed, would provide the essential moral part of that education: “if it develops muscles, it also forms character and will... sport seeks out fear to dominate it, exhaustion to triumph over it”. This aspiration is embodied in a number of familiar Olympic traditions, from the expectation that training and competition be regarded as preparation for a subsequent career, to the motto: “The most important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part, just as the most important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle. The essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well”. Above all, Coubertin stressed the intrinsic valuing and testing of the sporting quest as essential to self-learning and growth. Those of us who have experienced it would agree: much of our important knowledge about ourselves and others was gained through the engrossing challenges of sports.

Olympic leaders also encourage other forms of educational development. One is through the provision of coaching which recognizes the complete physical and moral development of the athlete – not just her/his athletic experience. Another is through institutions like the International and National Olympic Academies, the Olympic Solidarity Commission, and the Olympic scientific congresses. Many NOCs prepare curricular materials about the Olympic Movement and the Olympic sports and distribute them to schools and libraries. For example, the Canadian Olympic Association’s Olympic Resource Kits have been distributed to 14,500 schools across Canada, in two languages.

Yet this aspiration, too, raises thorny questions. There is no guarantee that the provision of difficult challenges in sport on or any other activity is by itself educational in a humane, beneficial way. In fact, growing scholarly evidence suggests that high performance sport has been pathological, not educational⁷.

In the case of young athletes, the principal concerns are that children:

- Are not permitted to be children;
- Are denied important social contacts and experiences;
- Are victims of disrupted family life;
- Are exposed to excessive psychological and physiological stress;
- May experience impaired intellectual development;
- May become so involved with the sport that they become detached from the larger society, and
- Face a type of abandonment on completion of their careers.

It is also clear that sports teach some athletes to cheat and lie. Most of us are familiar with this critique. The question is: what should and can we do about it?

Moreover, most of the humanitarian educational activity carried out in the name of the Olympic Movement are directed at school children and members of the public, not the athletes and coaches directly involved.

From my perspective, the ultimate test of the Olympic Movement should be the extent to which the opportunities athletes experience are genuinely educational and developmental in the ways Coubertin espoused. Yet I fear that very little attention is paid by the IOC, NOCs and IFs to the actual pedagogy of sports.

How can we ensure that athletes can learn in desirable ways? What measures can we develop to test the actual outcomes? Any attempt to come to grips with the athlete's condition at the close of the 20th century must address these questions.

For equal opportunity

A corollary to the aspiration for education is the commitment to equalizing and/or spreading opportunity. If participation in sport is a beneficial form of education, then it must be extended to all to create what Coubertin called "a democracy of youth". Coubertin considered opportunities for the whole population indissoluble linked to opportunities for the gifted.

The Olympic Movement makes the greatest contribution to this objective through the "demonstration effect" of the Games and the events leading up to the Games. In Canada, although a direct causal relationship is difficult to prove, it would appear that the 1976 Olympics in Montreal provided a heady stimulus to sport and fitness participation and the provision of opportunity⁸. The 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary added significantly to the public facilities for sport and recreation and generated a large surplus to be used for sport development after the Games. Calgary organisers made the whole country eligible for the Olympic Torch Relay and symbolically affirmed the inclusion of women with both male and female mascots. Seoul, Barcelona and Atlanta gave prominence to the Paralympics. In addition, through the IOC's Olympic Solidarity and its Working Group on Mass Sport, Olympic Days and Junior Olympics Programs, the Olympic Movement encourages participation in other ways.

Despite these attempts, national and international sporting competition has not been free of the enormous inequalities inherent in the societies which support it. A pressing issue continues to be equal opportunity for females. Although the IOC no longer endorses Coubertin's extreme patriarchal bias, its own membership and the Olympic Program are still heavily weighted in favour of males⁹. Even in those countries like my own with a vigorous feminist movement, the record is not significantly better. While opportunities for women as athletes are steadily increasing, women are still significantly under-represented in positions of leadership¹⁰. For example, only 11 of the 76 Canadian coaches in Barcelona were female. Continuing gender inequality threatens the very legitimacy of the Olympic project. Some scholarship suggests that the

very nature of sports needs to be re-examined¹¹.

There are other forms of inequality, too. In most countries, while there is no overt discrimination, national teams are monopolized by native-born children from the upper middle class. In Canada, for example, there is less lower-class participation today than 30 years ago. In North-South terms, the disparities are now greater than ever before¹².

If we are striving to create a “level playing field” in sport, is inequality an even more pressing issue than performance-enhancing drugs?

This challenge must be addressed in any consideration of the contemporary athlete.

For fair play competition

Two expectations are integral to the Olympic ideal of fair competition:

- That athletes abide by the rules and not seek unfair advantage;
- That athletes treat each other not as enemies but as co-players who, while competing fiercely against each other, afford each other the respect due to comrades in the same endeavour.

The first of these expectations is spelled out formally in the rules governing the Games and other international and national competitions. The second is implicit in the Athletes' Oath at the Opening Ceremonies, that handshake of congratulation and friendship in competition, and the collective nature of life in the Olympic Village.

No athletic organization in the world has made as persistent an effort to administer its rules evenly, to penalize violations, and to encourage a high ethical standard among participants as the IOC. The IOC Medical Commission has always been in the vanguard of development in drug testing. In Canada, we take pride and comfort in the creation of the Centre for Drug Free Sport, and the example of Lawrence Lemieux, who jumped overboard in Seoul while he was holding second place to save the life of a fellow sailor.

But recent events allow no room for complacency. It is not just the continuing evidence that performance-enhancing drugs are still being used, if not tacitly encouraged¹³. Other practices, such as the “good” penalty or foul in football and basketball, undermine the integrity of “fair play”. The strategy of deterrents and penalties only works so far. It does little to encourage participants to embrace and affirm the values of “fair play” as their own.

- How can we ensure that the day-to-day activities in the Olympic sports actually affirm “fair play”?
- How can participants be encouraged to internalize the responsibility for “fair play”?

These issues also affect the quality of life for the Olympic athlete.

For international understanding

One of the Olympic Movement's most fervent hopes is that international sport will enhance international understanding: that in the process of playing together, the peoples of the world will learn to understand each other and as a result, will less frequently support the use of force to settle international conflicts. This ideal is symbolized by the fire of the Olympic Torch and Flame, which is shared by every culture around the globe and reminds us of our common struggles as a species. It has been dramatically evoked by the Opening Ceremonies of recent Games.

In keeping with this aspiration, the IOC requires host countries to give entry to all eligible Olympic participants, regardless of citizenship. It is also evoked by many Olympic traditions: the exchange of athlete's pins, uniforms and gifts in the Olympic Village; the mingling of athletes and officials together in the closing ceremonies; and the spontaneous applause given by spectators to athletes from competing political systems.

Given the conflicts of recent years, the IOC has done a commendable job of bringing together people. In the face of dire prediction of boycotts and violence, the Seoul Games represented a signal triumph for Olympic internationalism. A record 161 National Olympic Committees, many of whose governments did not recognize the South Korean regime, joined together in the moving "Beyond all barriers" opening ceremonies. Several major diplomatic and trade agreements were signed. At the same time, the international spotlight and the Olympic message of peace gave powerful stimulus to the movements for democratization and reunification within Korea, and the end of the cold war¹⁴. In 1992, by facilitating the participation of South Africa's first non-racial Olympic Team in Barcelona, the IOC encouraged the creation of a democratic state in that country and the spirit of reconciliation which has inspired the world. In Lillehammer, participants and spectators provided emotional and financial support to the beleaguered inhabitants of Sarajevo.

Still, there is considerable debate about whether the Olympics contribute as much as they could to intercultural understanding and a respect for differences, especially among athletes. Critics claim that the well-publicized togetherness at the time of the Games is superficial, if not hypocritical, as this famous Canadian cartoon suggests. (It depicts the Penticton Vees hockey team, which fought its way to the world championship which sticks and fists, only then to proclaim the importance of "international understanding")¹⁵. In Atlanta, many felt that the American crowd's partisanship at several venues was distinctly inhospitable. Certainly, the Olympic spirit – and even the declaration of an Olympic Truce during the Games – cannot prevent all armed conflict.

Moreover, as John MacAloon suggests, the very practices of high performance sport may militate against the achievement of this inspiration:

Pierre de Coubertin argued that recreating the habits and conditions of one's own country in foreign ones is a major barrier against learning anything. Yet this is exactly what "good" delegation heads, team managers, and coaches seek to accomplish these days. On the folk

theory (which is all it is) that the more familiar the surroundings the better the athletic performance, they go to extraordinary lengths to arrange accommodations, recreation, food, even bedding as little different as possible from what is had at home¹⁶.

Is he correct? In the interviews I have conducted with Canadian athletes who attended the Games of Seoul, Barcelona and Atlanta, I must conclude that he is. In Seoul, organizers went out of their way to provide "home visits" and intercultural opportunities for visiting sportspeople, but except for the delegates to the Olympic Youth Camps, few athletes and coaches took advantage of them¹⁷. I intend to take up Professor MacAloon's challenge in my proposals to the Centre's forthcoming symposium on the Olympic Village.

Nor should the challenge of intercultural understanding be left to those travelling abroad. Given the transmigration of the Olympic century, most countries are composed of people from a wide variety of backgrounds and experiences. We often say that sports bring them together, but the evidence is not very convincing.

- What can be done to enhance intercultural understanding on a daily basis among the participants in the Olympic sports? During competitions at every level of national and international sports? Among spectators? Among the television audience?
- What would be measure of "excellence" in this area?

For other forms of cultural expression, too

Although this aspiration is less well understood, Coubertin also sought to enrich humanity through a flowering of the visual and performing arts encouraged through the Olympic Movement. "Open the doors of the Temple to admit everyone to Culture", he liked to say. As a result of his prodding at the Olympic Congress of 1906, competitions in music, sculpture, painting, literature and architecture were added to the program and gold, silver and bronze medals were awarded to the successful entrants.

After 1948, the competitions were replaced by arts festivals. At many Games, the moving ceremonial artistic displays and imaginative cultural events greatly increased the constituency for the Olympic project. In recent years, Opening and Closing ceremonies have brilliantly blended indigenous dances, games, acrobatics, and symbols with cultural forms from around the world to celebrate the joys of physical activity, and explore the questions of intercultural exchange and peace. In addition, Olympic architecture and pageantry, and the growing popularity of diving, gymnastics, figure skating and synchronized swimming have served to stimulate interest in the aesthetics of physical activity. The cultural side of the Games provides a heady antidote to the narrow specialization encouraged by high performance sports.

Yet I fear that these developments have very little impact upon the world of athletes. Many coaches and chef de missions hold to the view publicized by Nike in its Atlanta ads that "Pageantry is a distraction". In such delegations, athletes have little opportunity to explore the cultural richness of the Games, and some

are even discouraged from participating in the Olympic ceremonies. In Canada, athletes only won the right to do so in Atlanta after a public protest¹⁸. (I should say that in their campaign, they cited the recommendation by the Centre's international symposium on Olympic ceremonies that all NOCs respect athletes' "historic right" to attend these events). How many sports programs explore and affirm the cultural and aesthetic meanings of sports? How many participants are encouraged to explore the sheer beauty of physical activity? Prior to the Montreal Olympics, I was chair of a group which brought artists and athletes together to collaborate on Olympic projects, but if I mention that to athletes today, they can't understand the connection.

As a humanist, I strongly believe that enhancing this aspiration can only broaden and enrich the athlete's experience.

For the independence of sport

Following this mentor Frederic Le Play, Coubertin argued for social and cultural, rather than political solutions to the problems he had identified in France. He also called for the separation of sport from political and governmental interference. He refused to stand for Parliament and kept his political commentaries apart from his writings on sport and education. In creating the IOC, he rejected the principle of democratic election for the idea of membership by cooptation, what he called "delegation-in-reverse", to ensure that the organisation would be controlled by those committed to his ideals.

As you know, subsequent IOC leaders have carried these ideas further and on a number of dramatic and crucial occasions, successfully resisted overt political pressure from governments and other outside interests. Some believe the IOC's finest hour was when it stood united against the world's most powerful state and refused to change the arrangements for the 1980 Games.

Now that the Cold War is over, the IOC has turned its attention to the politics of the Olympic Movement itself, concentrating its efforts upon the more effective incorporation of the powerful International Federations. But as it draws closer to the IFs, the IOC risks becoming more like them, accentuating the trend for the ideology of high performance sport to replace the philosophy of Olympism¹⁹. Moreover, the new IOC-IF alliance marginalizes the concerns of the NOCs and to an even greater extent, the athletes.

The Olympic Movement is also intertwined with commerce. The IOC's TOP program and the NOCs raise funds through the sale of Olympic symbols. The Games' attractiveness to advertisers has also contributed significantly to television revenues from the United States, where the three major commercial networks usually bid against each other. In Atlanta, NBC paid a record \$456 million US for the rights to broadcast the Games, and has contracted to pay another \$3.9 billion US to broadcast the next six Olympic and Winter Olympic Games (until 2008). The donations, sponsorships, licensing fees, prize money and inflated television revenues contributed by the private sector have added significantly to the resources available to carry out the goals of the Olympic Movement. Two decades ago, the IOC was virtually penniless, largely supported by its members' generosity. Today it finances a vast range of activities, including such important new programs as International Solidarity. It distributes millions to the NOCs and IFs. For this reason, many

believe the Olympic Movement should aggressively seek additional sponsorships.

The commercialisation of the Games is not an unmitigated blessing, however. Few sponsors are prepared to fund the infrastructural or developmental costs of sports, or commit themselves to long-term programs, so that only a few established stars benefit. Sponsors' needs for visibility often steer the sports bodies away from important grass roots priorities. Increasingly, sponsors spend much more on self-congratulatory advertising than the actual sport. They demand time-consuming servicing, so that revenues are offset by new costs. Despite the international recession, which has made sports bodies especially vulnerable, they need to be highly selective about the arrangements they enter.

Commercialization also raises questions of legitimacy and control. While the IOC does a good job of keeping advertising out of the stadium, it has not made the same effort with respect to telecast, where the majority of humanity learns about the Games. If you watched the coverage from Lillehammer and Atlanta, you could well have concluded that the entire Olympic project was undertaken to enhance market share – not Olympism. No one I know runs or rows coaches or teaches to create “Olympic properties” or “Olympic inventories” – phrases I have heard from sponsors. They deeply resent the appropriation of the good will they generate in their communities to attract audiences for advertisers, and they fear that at some point the public will turn away in disgust. Moreover, sponsors like Nike undermine the aspirations of Olympism with their aggressively competitive messages. We will have to struggle very hard to regain control and direction of Olympic meaning from the sports media complex.

Again, the Movement must face some tough questions:

- What principles should govern the Olympic Movement's various partnerships with governments and corporations?
- How can the Olympic Movement ensure that the Olympic ideals and meanings are effectively conveyed in all sponsorships, including those with television?

As we consider the needs of athletes,

- How can we protect and strengthen athletes' and coaches' rights of individual expression against the massive power of governments and the corporations?
- To what extent should athletes begin bargaining collectively with the IOC and the Organizing Committee for a share in the Olympic revenues, and a say in how messages are conveyed?

Towards the end of his life Coubertin despaired that the Games were eclipsing their broader purpose and losing their connection with Olympism. In 1925, he resigned the IOC Presidency because – according to one biographer – he came “to the painful conclusion that the IOC was neglecting its mission of reflection and was devoting nearly all its time to the technical side of the Games”²⁰. As you know, both supporters and critics have debated the IOC's commitment to its stated ideals ever since.

Will there be a place for the aspirations of Olympism in the Olympic Movement of the next century? Does it make any sense hold them up as the standard for what athletes can expect? The cynical view – some would call it “practical” or “realistic” – is that ideals are nice, but they have little relevance to the world of “Dream Teams” or global sponsorship. Others, including some of my closest friends, tell me that the contradictions within the present Movement – they say – do gap – they are too great, and that if we want to achieve the aspirations of Olympism, and really help those interested in sports, we should try to eliminate all public funding for high performance sport and Olympic activity and devote ourselves entirely to grassroots development.

I do not entirely share either view. Whether voiced by friend or enemies, both strike me as defeatist. The battle is far from over.

There are real limits to what can be achieved. But as scholars and activists, we do have significant influence over the day-to-day activities in which young women and men are involved, and they – certainly – are worth struggling over. At the moving closing ceremonies at Lillehammer, Liv Ullman and Thor Heyerdahl read passages from the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, linking the Olympic Movement explicitly to the great modern aspiration for human betterment some philosophers have called “the world historical project”. I still feel that is a worthy ambition.

So in the next to seminars, I would like to spell out in detail what might be done to realize these aspirations, discuss the relevant economic and social conditions.

In the meantime, I would be pleased to respond to questions and comments.

Thanks for your attention.

¹ See especially Marie Terréese Eyquem, *Pierre de Coubertin: L'Epoque Olympique* (Paris: Calman – Levy, 1966); John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the origin of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago: U. of Chicago, 1981); and Eugen Weber, “Pierre de Coubertin and the introduction of organised sport in France”, *Journal of contemporary history* 5 (1970), 3-26. For a bibliography, see Sport Information Resource Centre, *Pierre de Coubertin* (Sportbiblio 3) (Ottawa: 1990).

² John Hoberman has found striking similarities between the ideals of Coubertin and those of the Esperanto and Zionist movements, the Red Cross, and the Boy Scouts. See his “A theory of Olympic Internationalism”, paper presented to the First International Symposium for Olympic Research, Centre for Olympic Studies, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, February 12, 1992.

³ “I shall burnish a flabby and cramped youth, its body and its character, by sport, its risks and even its excesses. I shall enlarge its vision and its hearing by showing it with wide horizons, heavenly planetary, historical, horizons of universal history which is engendering mutual respect, will bring about a ferment of international peace. All this is to be for everyone, with no discrimination on account of birth, caste, wealth, situation or occupation”. Cited by Eyquem, “The Founder of the Modern Games”, in Lord Killanin and John Rodda (ed.), *The Olympic Games* (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1976), 139.

⁴ “Those of the old school ... have realized that we are rebels and that we shall end by over-throwing the worm-eaten

structure of their philosophy. And that is true, gentlemen, we are rebels", Coubertin told delegates to the Sorbonne Conference of 1894, which approved his proposal for modern Games.

⁵ Canada, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1990), 507.

⁶ "Fools' gold, Saskatoon Star Phoenix, August 21, 1992. See also Howard Nixon, "A Social Network Analysis of Influences on Athletes to Play with Pain and Injures", Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 16 (2), 1992, 127-35.

⁷ Peter Donnelly, "Problems associated with youth involvement in high-performance sport", in B.D. Cahil and A.J. Pearl (eds.), Intensive participation in children's sport (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1993), 95-126.

⁸ The 1981 Canada Fitness Survey reported that overall participation increased by 54 percent, 1975-81.

⁹ Of the 93 IOC members, only seven are women. In Albertville, there were 23 medal events for women in five sports and 32 for men in six sports. Team sport competition was only available to men. Men and women also competed as pairs in two figure skating events. In Barcelona, there were 86 events for women in 21 sports, and 159 events for men in 26 sports. In addition, 6 competitions in equestrian, 4 in yachting, and 2 in shooting were open to both men and women. See Geneviève Rail, "Women's sport in the post-war period", paper presented to the 30th Session of the International Olympic Academy, Olympia, Greece, June 1990; and the papers on "Olympism, Women and Sport", in F. Landry, M. Landry and M. Yerbés (eds.) Sport ... The Third Millennium (Ste. Foy : Laval, 1991), pp.367-444)

¹⁰ See Ann Hall, "Women Olympians in the Canadian Sport Bureaucracy", in T. Slack and C.R. Hinings (eds.), The Organization and administration of sport (London: Sport Dynamics, 1987); Ann Hall and Trevor Slack, The Gender structure of national sport organizations (Ottawa: Sport Canada, 1990); and Don McIntosh and David Whitson, The Games Planners (Kingston: McGill-Queen's, 1990). More recent work has focused on equity strategies. See The Way ahead for Canadian women in sport (Ottawa: R.T. McKenzie Institute, 1992) and CAHPER Equity Schools Project (Ottawa: 1992).

¹¹ E.g. Helen Lenskyj, "Girl friendly sport and females", keynote presentation to CAHPER Convention, Winnipeg, June 14, 1992.

¹² Rob Beamish, "The persistence of inequality: an analysis of participation patterns among Canada's high performance athletes", International Review of Sport Sociology, 25 (1990), 143-53. Beamish found less regional inequality, however, that is commonly believed. See his "Towards a socio-cultural profile of Canada's high performance athletes", IRSS, 27 (4), 1992, 279-92.

¹³ E.g. John Hoberman, Mortal engines: the science of performance and the dehumanization of sport (New York: Free Press, 1992).

¹⁴ Jong-gie Kim et al., Impact of the Seoul Olympic Games on national development (Seoul: Korea Development Institute, 1989); and Koh Byong-ik (ed.), Toward one world beyond all barriers: proceedings of the Seoul Olympiad Anniversary Conference (Seoul: Seoul Olympic Sports Promotion Foundation, 1990).

¹⁵ See also Richard Espy, The Politics of the Olympic Games (Berkeley: U. of California, 1981) and David Kanin, A Political history of the Olympic Games (Westview, 1981).

¹⁶ John MacAloon, Intercultural Exchange and Olympic Sport (Montreal: Canadian Olympic Association, 1986), 10.

¹⁷ Bruce Kidd, "Seould to the world, the world to Seoul", ... and Ben Johnson: Canada at the 1988 Olympics", in Towards one world beyond all barriers, vol. 1, 434-454.

¹⁸ Randy Starkman, "Olympic athletes upset with COA on housing issue", Toronto Star, March 29, 1996; and Mary Jollimore, "COA time limit for Games sparks athlete outrage", Globe and Mail, April 8, 1996.

¹⁹ Peter Donnelly, "Sport monoculture as crisis and opportunity", Quest, 48(1), 1996, 25-42.

²⁰ Pierre Comte-Offenbach, "Olympism, the Olympic Games, the problems", paper presented to the FSGT International Conference, Paris, May 11-14, 1983, 19.