

več za apriorno določanje smisla s strani zgolj enega centra, pač pa za pluralistične rede vrednot. V jeziku Habermasa ta model lahko povežemo s komunikativno racionalnostjo, ko pa vključimo Luhmannovo razmišljanje, se model zakomplicira, na kar avtor ponazarja na več mestih. Luhmann s konceptom referenčnosti vlogo drugega modela praktično odpravlja in s tem pripisuje preveliko vlogo funkcionalni diferenciaciji in zanemara segmentarno in stratifikacijsko. Matej Makarovič te ugotovitve sooča na številnih nivojih obravnave, tako na pojmu inkluzije, vrednotne generalizacije, kolonizacije vrednotnih sfer itd. (str.105)

Načrtno centralni model se nanaša na funkcijo G, torej na doseganje ciljev, s čimer nakazuje vidik načrtnosti v delovanju. V ospredju je kolektivna usmerjenost, ki se največkrat povezuje s centralnimi družbenimi instancami. Zadnji, načrtno acentrični model, ponudi idejo srednje poti med navedenimi štirimi modeli. Avtor večkrat opozarja na pomanjkljivosti posameznih modelov, kar je sicer značilnost modelov in definicij nasploh. Gre za iskanje alternative med (ne)načrtnostjo in (a)centričnostjo. Na tem mestu govorimo o pogajalskih omrežjih in sistemih; že Parsons nakazuje takšno razmišljanje v tržnem, centralno-planskem ali pogajalskem modelu. Matej Makarovič torej na primeru novejših avtorjev (kot tudi predhodno obravnavanih klasikih) potrjuje osrednjo hipotezo: evolucija družb vodi v acentričnost in načrtnost delovanja.

V zadnjem delu se posveča različnim kombinacijam modelov. Na eni strani vključuje tri oblike diferenciacije, na drugi pa štiri modele, in sicer oba centrična in acentrična. Za vsakega posebej skuša najti empirične podkrepite, a obenem pojasnjuje, da je postopek empiričnega dokazovanja zaradi obsežne komparativne in zgodovinske analize praktično nemogoč. Vsekakor dokaže trend evolucije k načrtnosti in acentričnosti, kar seveda ne pomeni, da je potrebno alternativne možnosti izključiti, saj ponuja njihovo vmestitev v nove družbene pogoje.

Kakorkoli že, moderne družbe ostajajo sinonim za kompleksnost in hkrati za izjemen potencial koordinacije. Sama evolucija ni prinesla zgolj večje kompleksnosti, pač pa hkrati sredstva za njeno obvladovanje. Družbeni sistemi tako nujno niso nekaj danega, pač pa tudi nosilec ter predmet načrtovanja. Matej Makarovič skozi množice primerov dokazuje, kako nesmiselno je zanašanje na zgolj posamične modele, ki idealnotipsko vodijo do stagnacije ali obratnih učinkov, kar nam empirično dokazujejo izkušnje različnih "izmov".

Boštjan Šaver

eds. Susan Birrell, Mary McDonald: Reading Sport: Critical Essays on Power and Representation. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000 326 pages (ISBN 1-55553-429-5), 22.50 USD

Reading Sport is an anthology with a clear thesis: structures of dominance expressed around what we call the power lines of race, class, gender, and sexuality do not work independently and thus cannot be understood in isolation from one another. Moreover, because they operate in historically specific ways with identifiable consequences, we must develop theoretical and methodological practices capable of capturing that complexity. The essays provide analyses of sporting events, people and media in order to organize understanding and action by exploring power relations. Their ideas follow from recent critical work in sport, particularly the theoretical approach known as critical cultural studies: power as a central focus for understanding social life. All the essays are concerned with the reproduction of power through ideological means. The easiest way to get to ideology is through the media, surrounded as we are by mediated accounts and narratives (p. 13). As key questions we can ask ourselves, are there any other ways of reading sport?

The first essay *Hegemonic Masculinity on the Mound* by Nick Trujillo examines the print and television representations of Nolan Ryan, the great baseball pitcher, as an illustration of how images of male athletes are reproduced in American culture. The author argues that the media have functioned hegemonically by personifying Ryan as the archetypical male athletic hero. Such an idealized form of masculinity becomes hegemonic when it is widely accepted in a culture and when that acceptance reinforces the dominant gender ideology of the culture. Sport and work play important roles in producing hegemonic masculinity; the construction of sport as work is even more powerful: first, mediated sport reaffirms the Protestant work ethic, second; sport overemphasises success as an occupational achievement involving victories and individual records; third, sport is commodified, inasmuch as leagues, teams, and individual athletes are sold as commodities in the marketplace. The author claims that media coverage of Nolan Ryan has reinforced all of these features and thus that he has been reproduced as a successful male worker in an industrial capitalist society.

In the second chapter Leola Johnson and David Roediger claim that O.J. Simpson's sport career has functioned as a spectacle in which the male body and the white mind are at once exalted, and in which white men feel especially empowered to judge and to identify with African Americans. Thus, when Simpson, as early as 1969, boasted that his triumph lay as being seen as a man and not a black man, he was half right. The white male target audience had a great interest in claiming his power as a male. But in doing so, they could also reserve the right to view his abilities as natural, easy, and elemental traits of the *primitive other*. Simpson's success offered white viewers the opportunity to sit in judgment of black manliness while simultaneously claiming to have transcended racial thinking – his image has remained a vehicle through which white racial ideologies can be spun out together. Melisse Lafrance and Genevieve Rail argue something similar in the case of the basketball player Dennis Rodman: according to many observers, Rodman has radically defied normative convention and conspired to redefine representations of gender, race and desire within the American cultural imaginary. In this text, the authors are interested in elucidating the cultural and economic logics both underlying and propelling the Rodman sensation. They suggest that Rodman's normative masculinity remains perfectly intact while he carries out allegedly marginal behavior, and that he neither critiques dominant gender ideologies nor exposes the fluidity of sex/gender categories. Thus Rodman maintains and reinscribes dominant modalities of masculinity, phallogocentrism, heteronormativity, white supremacy, and consumer capitalism.

When a Looker is Really a Bitch by Lisa Dish and Mary Jo Kane is an essay that talks about the incident in September 1990, when Lisa Olson, a sports reporter for the Boston Herald, was sexually harassed in the locker room of the New England Patriots football team. Five months after the confrontation, Patriots owner Victor Kiam was still saluting his players when, at an awards banquet for an Old-Timers Athletic Association, he quipped: *Do you know what Lisa Olson has in common with the Iraqis? They have both seen Patriot missiles up close*. However the authors argue that by her intrusion into the locker room as a woman sports reporter, she destabilizes the opposition between masculinity as that which is both penetrating and impenetrable, and femininity as that which is receptive and deferential in the face of male power. This article offers a feminist deconstruction of looking, which they analyse as excess rather than as crime. The charge of looking is deployed to contain this excess by turning her look of appraisal and her authoritative critical voice into a crime: she refused to perform apologetic.

Much like the explosive rise of golfer Tiger Woods, Nancy Lopez burst onto the Ladies Professional Golf Association tour with bang at the end of the 1970s. Decoding representations of race, class and sexuality, and despite the limited extent of actual social mobility through sport, Lopez serves as a symbol to promote and sustain hegemonic ideology about widespread social climbing in the American social structure. The author of this chapter Katherine M. Jamieson suggests that in reading Lopez as text and by decoding Sports Illustrated, *Nuestro*, and Hispanic

media accounts of Lopez, the reader faces the complexity of Lopez's multiple statuses – the very real experience of intersecting statuses of race, class, sexuality, and gender. Also in the chapter *Excavating Michael Jordan's Blackness* David L. Andrews begins from the parallel fact of Michael Jordan's blackness: without doubt one of the most pivotal, yet strangely overlooked questions posed by contemporary American culture. In spite of the color-blind credo expressed by Jerry Reinsdorf, owner of the Chicago Bulls: *Is Michael Jordan black? Michael has no color...*, the author claims that close examination of Jordan's popular signification reveals a complex narrative incorporating many of the historically grounded racial codes that continue to structure the racial formation of the United States. The author argues that, far from his racial identity being nonexistent, the imaged persona of Michael Jordan represents an important site of mediated popular culture at which particular racial ideologies are publicized and authorized: Michael Jordan's blackness and his status as a floating racial signifier who, in Derridean terms, is constantly under erasure. Started in terms of the mythological American meritocracy: African Americans are tolerated, and even valued, if they abdicate their race and are seen to assimilate successfully into the practices, value system, and hence identity of white America. Racial discourse is never transcended; it is in a Derridean sense, *always already there*. Jordan is thus – claims Andrews – not an example of racial transcendence; rather, he is an agent of racial displacement.

The next essay documents the ways in which the spectacle of ice skating is grounded on notions of white, middle-class, heterosexual ideals of femininity. Abigail M. Feder-Kane demonstrates that Harding and Kerrigan projected contrasting images of white feminine deviance and elegance – Kerrigan is an athlete who has managed to make the signs of her athleticism all but visible: that is, none of the stereotypical signs of the athlete ever seemed to disrupt the ladylike Kerrigan package. In contrast, Harding, with her long jumps, speed, and muscular body, was aggressively athletic. Her incompetence as a woman, whether it was her choice of costumes, her hobbies, and her controversial behavior, marked her as deviant. Because she was such a strong jumper, she threatened the very notions of sexual difference which to a large extent define masculinity. On the other hand, Sam Stoloff argues that femininity, in the same context, reveals itself as a class style – as a signifier of leisure and cultural capital. Harding and Kerrigan represented competing middle-class fantasies of the poor – Harding the threatening fantasy of a resentful lumpenproletariat, something outside and beneath the national corpus, and Kerrigan the reassuring fantasy of conservative, assimilationist blue collar. The author argues that sport is thus an open field of social representation, and not a set of fixed social meanings.

The chapter *Disciplining the Body* by Shari Lee Dworkin and Faye Linda Wachs deals with HIV-positive male athletes, media surveillance and the policing of sexuality. The last essay about Rene Richards also analyzes a similar construction: the naturalization of difference. Susan Birrell and Cheryl L. Cole explain that Rene Richards is a constructed-female transsexual, a man ranked highly by the United States Tennis Association; one major purpose of this paper is to problematize the fiction of science and the discourse of transsexualism, including assumptions about the ontological status of sex and femininity, and to ask how sex reassignment or sex change is possible. Our culture constructs women and produces particular notions of gender, sex, and difference. The authors argue that anxieties constructed through sex, gender, and sexuality in our culture reside ultimately in the body, and our attitudes toward our own body as well as the bodies of others. Foucault suggests that the body is directly involved in a political field; power relations have an intimate hold upon it: they invest it, train it, and torture it, force it to carry out its tasks, to perform ceremonies and emit signs. The discourse on bodies within the Richards controversy demonstrates the cultural significance of constructing women's bodies as a different from and representing them as physically inferior to men's bodies. However, the incident illuminates, according to Birrell and Cole, the part sport plays in the reproduction of an ideology of sex difference/power, gender and sex identity, and the regulation of the body – sport is a central site for the naturalization of sex and gender differences.

Historically sport has always been a field of male symbolic power; in these terms, the sport and gender issue is a contemporary paradox, where socially constructed reality overcomes slowly changeable cultural meanings and constructions. Hence this book is a valuable contribution to the field of sport studies and the sociology of sport. Comprehensively developed chapters provide illuminating insight into a society where dominant cultural groups maintain their power and continue to shape sport and social interactions to reflect their own interests.

Boštjan Slatnar

Richard G. Klein, Edgar Blake: The Dawn of Human Culture. New York: John Wiley&Sons, 2002
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Človeška revolucija, kreativna eksplozija, veliki skok naprej, družbenokulturni veliki pok in nenazadnje zora človeške kulture je le nekaj poimenovanj, ki poskušajo ujeti in pojasniti presenetljive in v mnogočem še vedno neznane, da ne rečem skrivnostne spremembe, ki označujejo prehod iz srednjega paleolitika v mlajši paleolitik oziroma iz mousterienske v aurignaciensko kulturo (tradicijo) kamnitih orodij. Zdi se, da se je tam nekje pred 50000 do 45000 leti spremenilo vse. No ja, kot bomo videli, skoraj vse.

V čem je ključni problem? Pravzaprav gre za dve povezani vprašanji. Na eni strani je treba najti razlago, ki bo pojasnila naravnost presenetljivo hitrost sprememb, ki jih srednji paleolitik, razen z nekaj bolj ali manj vprašljivimi izjemami (z vidika datiranja in interpretacije najdb), ne napoveduje (str. 240). Na drugi strani pa vznikne že kar klasično vprašanje: 'žwhodunit'? Zelo poenostavljeno rečeno, težava je v očitnem neskladju med časom, ko se pojavi 'žmoderna anatomija' (*Homo sapiens*) in trenutkom nastopa 'žmodernega vedenja' (str. 21). Namreč za mousteriensko tradicijo je značilna izdelava orodij na podlagi vnaprej pripravljenih jeder, sorazmerno majhno število različnih specializiranih orodij, majhna variabilnost orodij skozi prostor in čas, in pridobivanje surovin za orodja iz lokalnih virov (str. 180, 186, 230). Temu lahko, če vemo, da je mousterien običajno izenačen z neandertalcom (*Homo neanderthalensis*), dodamo še lesene sulice (str. 158), obvladovanje ognja, vsaj občasne pokope, ki pa ne kažejo obrednih značilnosti (str. 192), pomoč poškodovanim, pogosto nabiranje okre ipd. Do sem vse lepo in prav. Neandertalec pač nima 'žmoderne anatomije', niti 'žmodernega vedenja'. Če bi se nato pojavil *sapiens* z obema značilnostima bi bil problem rešen. Toda najdbe v Afriki kažejo, da se je *Homo sapiens* razvil pred vsaj 130000 leti. Tu sta, za natančnejšo umestitev problema, na mestu opombi. Najnovejše najdbe fragmentov treh različnih lobanj pri vasi Herto v Etiopiji, pripisane podvrsti *Homo sapiens idaltu*, so pomaknile takšno datacijo vsaj za tri desetisočletja nazaj. In druga, soobstoj dveh ali več hominidnih vrst ni nič izjemnega, ampak pravilo. Ravno prikaz človeške evolucije v zapleteni razvejanosti več kot petnajstih vrst umeščenih v vsaj štiri rodove, je verjetno najboljši del knjige.

Kakorkoli že, ko se *sapiens* pojavi v vsej svoji 'žmoderni anatomiji', se v vedenju ne razlikuje bistveno od neandertalca. Ali kot pravita Klein in Edgar: "... ljudje, ki so pred 130000 do 50000 leti živeli v Afriki, so bili nemara anatomsko moderni ali skoraj moderni, toda vedenjsko so bili podobni neandertalcem" (str. 230). Potem pa so nenadoma začeli izdelovati okrasne predmete, orodje je postajalo vse bolj specializirano in spremenljivo v prostoru in času, pokopi so postali očitno povezani z rituali, pojavila se je umetnost itd. Zakaj? Njun odgovor: "... naključna mutacija, ki je povzročila nastanek povsem modernih človeških možganov" (str. 270). Natančneje, gre za,