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Searching for Balance: A Historian's View of the Fractured World of Kinesiology

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In this essay, I drew upon the perspectives of Walter Benjamin's "angel of history" in reflecting upon the history of kinesiology and the influences that led to my own academic career in kinesiology. I have outlined how my disciplinary training as a physical educator and educational historian provided the resources to propel my continuing inquiry into the inter- and cross-disciplinary (and intrinsically entangled) nature of kinesiology. Gender, nationality, training, location, and timing all had their influences on my education and job opportunities and upon building toward a career in a research university where physical education and kinesiology, by design and accident, increasingly separated from one another. From the perspective of a sport historian, I suggest that the language and pursuit of balance might be applied productively to thinking about the future of kinesiology. Sport historians can help in this mission by training a critical lens upon the ongoing traffic between nature and culture and the deep sociocultural situatedness of the science and technology practices used in kinesiology teaching and research in the 21st century. In essence, they can illuminate the historical context of the tools that now frame kinesiology's questions and the political context in which their answers emerge.

Keywords: angel of history, physical education, sport historian

Any single narrative concerning 20th- and 21st-century histories of kinesiology and physical education promises to conceal as much as it reveals about change and continuity. On the other hand, a personal narrative might help pry open the complexities of these epochs as a way to bridge the divide between academic and popular accounts. History speaks to us all the time, of course, but perhaps it speaks best to us when we feel we can understand how it was lived.[1]

In many respects, this is the challenge posed by Cesar R. Torres in his request for each of us to "search the future of kinesiology in its recent past." He asks us to reflect upon the influences that led to an academic career in kinesiology and consider how challenges along the way might provide lessons for the future. In response to this request, I am reminded of the German philosopher Walter Benjamin's view that "each epoch dreams the one to follow," where he envisions history as a porous surface whose holes provide windows into past memories and circumstances (Benjamin, 1968).[2] Benjamin's "angel of history," which he adopted from Paul Klee's famous *Angelus Novus*,[3] seems to stare into the past while being blown into the future, all the while watching the debris of past history piling up behind him. This desire for the new, which in many ways precipitates an eternal return to previous crises, might be seen as reflecting the histories of kinesiology and physical education, as I have understood them historically and experienced them personally within my own career.

Using another crisis or melancholy analogy, Hal Lawson and Scott Kretchmar (2017) more recently viewed the history of kinesiology (and physical education) through the prism of "debates-as-battles," characterized by past leaders' narrow and rigid views that they claim have paved the way for divisiveness, excessive specialization, and fragmentation. They offered the possibility of a renewed discipline that is "fit for purpose in twenty-first century contexts" in the same hopeful way that Dudley Allen Sargent situated physical education in the context of preventive medicine a century and a half ago in the 1880s. Indeed, the new field's connection to health appealed particularly to men and women with medical and scientific interests. Edward Hitchcock at Amherst College had already pioneered the way—systematically using anthropometric tools to place the field of physical education on a scientific foundation (albeit rooted in whiteness and evangelical religion; Braun, 2014, p. 64). It was Sargent who famously argued for a more holistic program of physical culture at Harvard, designed to train physical education teachers in gymnastics, anatomy and physiology, principles of education, physical diagnosis, and preventive medicine (Park, 1992; Sargent & Sargent, 1927). In 1885, physical educators professionalized, established their own organization (the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education), and proudly disseminated their growing expertise through the *American Physical Education Review*. Although George W. Fitz ably promoted early streams of research by establishing a laboratory for the experimental study of the physiology of exercise at Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School, the identity of the new profession of physical education remained rooted in service. "Fitz's advice was not taken: physical education continued to propound theories without adequate research to support their validity" (Gerber, 1971, p. 307).

In many respects, one could argue that the service ethos of physical education, fashioned as it was during this era in North America, became further set in stone during the early decades of the 20th century. Despite the influential work of R. Tait Mackenzie at the University of Pennsylvania in recognizing and advertising the important connection between physical education and medicine, the path to jobs in physical education increasingly went through education, with the focus upon White, middle-class, heterosexual norms (Verbrugge, 2012, p. 20). Lawson and Kretchmar's discussion concerning the refashioning of kinesiology as a helping discipline echoes the much-touted progressive-era dictum attributed to

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John Dewey's education *through* rather than *of* the physical. At Teachers College, Columbia University, professional preparation in physical education led by some of the finest educational thinkers of the time reified the broad social role of the subject. And while Clark H. Hetherington, often referred to as the most scholarly of these early American physical educators, always claimed that "I am not primarily a teacher but by temperament and training a research man," his main focus was upon a professional education program to meet the educational development of the child (Gerber, 1971, p. 389; Tipton, 2013).[4] As Roberta Park underscored decades later in 1981 (Brooks, 1981, p. 21), "from 1885 to the present, American physical education has directed the majority of its efforts to the professional orientation." In spite of the well-known efforts of University of California, Berkeley's Franklin Henry to move physical education onto a more scholarly path in the 1960s, the fragmentation following his desire to "discipline" physical education certainly led to the rapid growth of warring subdisciplines around what mattered most in both professional- and research-based programs. When I was inducted into the American Academy of Kinesiology and Physical Education (now the National Academy of Kinesiology) in 1991, the battle over kinesiology's name, content, and future was in full swing, and jousting was evident at every conference and in many colleges and universities. It was exciting, frustrating, but ultimately, not especially fruitful, as a number of university Departments of Physical Education, Human Movement Sciences, or Kinesiology were reorganized or were eliminated.

My own career in kinesiology mirrors many of the approaches and struggles described by Lawson and Kretchmar, though I prefer Gregg Twietmeyer's assessment that in many respects kinesiology's fundamental commitments regarding human movement remain largely unexamined. They fall, he said, along shifting subdisciplinary lines, which typically pit the sciences against the humanities, and in an arena dedicated to physical activity, paradoxically eliminating the practices of physical activity from its programs (Newell, 2007; Twietmeyer, 2012). My disciplinary training as a historian provided the resources to propel my own continuing inquiry into the inter- and cross-disciplinary (and intrinsically entangled) nature of kinesiology and insights into the construction of knowledge around human movement since the late 19th century. It linked me to colleagues across the humanities in history, anthropology, and sociology and to the kinds of research that were valued and supported in those disciplines. My early training as a physical educator engendered an ongoing respect for the important role of physical activity, its meanings and practices within physical education and kinesiology programs, and its many arenas and audiences, despite the fact that it was a theoretical rather than a professional program. In this sense, I was part of, and different from, the first generation of kinesiology scholars who gained their credentials in the second half of the 20th century through various kinds of blended degree programs. Gender, nationality, training, location, and timing all had their effects and influences on my own education and job opportunities, and upon building toward a career in a large research university where physical education and kinesiology, by design and accident, increasingly separated from one another.

Unsurprisingly, my favorite teachers during my years at high school were those in physical education and history. I remember well the lively Miss Miller, who selected me to be captain of the netball team, and Miss Sharples, who instilled in me the spirit of historical inquiry through avid reading and study. We played lacrosse rather than field hockey, which was seen as "more appropriate" for girls at traditional Girls' Public Day School Trust schools.[5] The study of classics was given more importance than science, and I enjoyed learning Latin, which in retrospect served me well in learning other languages. But I did not particularly like the conservative all-girls high school my parents had selected for me or the extensive travel by bus and train to get there each day. My main interest beyond attending school lay in spending the early mornings and evenings of my teenage years looking after a pony "rescued" from traveling itinerant groups who plied pony rides for children on the extensive beaches close to my home. Horse riding became a daily passion on a rather scarred pony with a big will to jump almost anything, and our gymkhana winnings during the summer months provided money to assist in his room and board in a local field throughout the year.[6] I learned a lot about class and gender issues in mid-20th century England, competing at these local gymkhanas, getting tips from the farm boys about how to outmaneuver competitors in pony races, braiding up manes and tails with my needle and thread, and helping my mother to fabricate formal riding clothes to match the daughters and sons of the "honorables" who arrived in large horseboxes with their grooms and immaculate equipment. Pressed by parents who put a high score on a teaching career for girls, I anticipated a career in physical education and was accepted at Dartford, the well-known physical education college for women established early in the 20th century, before deciding upon seeking a university education.

In 1960, I arrived at the U.K.'s Birmingham University as one of a small group of novice male and female students in Birmingham's unique physical education degree program. Leaders of that physical education department still yearned to generate greater status within Britain's academic community; hence, student places were hotly contested, academic requirements were high, and an entrance examination tested a battery of intellectual and physical skills. In his well-known history of physical education in England, Peter McIntosh pointed out that advocates at British universities had for many years urged that greater attention should be given to the physical health and well-being of students, but it was not until 1946 that a specific academic degree course in physical education was deemed acceptable at a British university. A.D. (Dave) Munrow ably built the program at Birmingham in the post–World War 2 years with the support of a notable faculty and vice chancellor, Sir Raymond Priestley, of Antarctic exploration fame (Heggie, 2019, p. 99).[7] The program, a B.A. in Combined Subjects, required that two degree subjects be studied consecutively—though separately in different departments—with a compulsory foreign language requirement in Year 1. Determined to establish the subject of physical education as an academic entity, Dave Munrow separated the theoretical study of physical activity and its techniques from its teacher training and professional implications, utilizing the medical school for studying anatomy and advocating for "a bag packed with scientific, humanities, aesthetic, and physical disciplines."[8] Sports, he often said, stand between the poets and the scientists. Reflecting later upon his unique academic arrangements, he claimed, "it can safely be asserted that the first course in physical education at a British university had brought the subject out of isolation" (Vertinsky, 2020a, p. 8).

In her study of some of the life stories of postwar British women such as myself, Lynn Abrams (2014) offered the suggestion that female students of my generation who grew to maturity in the early 1960s formed part of a transition or breakthrough generation that has a unique place in the story of the 20th century. In bridging the gap between the Second World War and domesticity and the women's liberation movement of the late 1960s and

early 1970s, she suggested that we found ourselves in an environment through education and work opportunities denied our mothers due to the war and dominant expectations of good womanhood. These tensions between the world of our mothers and a potential future of opportunity promised with the rise of second-wave feminism was most clearly articulated by young women of my own age who arrived at universities when female students still constituted less than 30% of the population. There was a feeling that, although engagement with feminism and women's liberation was on the horizon, women in the sixties, although profoundly affected by the broader shifts in society, were still "only halfway to paradise" (Rowbotham, 2000; Wilson, 1980).[9]

Gender issues, an academic degree program followed by separate professional training, and an ongoing interest in the combined subjects of my academic study all came to the fore in my first job as a history and physical education teacher in a large grammar school in the north of England. School rules mandated academic gowns for the history classroom, tracksuits for physical education, and skirts only in the staff room (Verbrugge, 2012, p. 187).[10] Indeed, the first academic article I ever wrote in later years focused upon the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 and its meanings for teaching physical education in the British secondary school (Vertinsky, 1984). At the same time, my opportunities on what and how to teach my students, despite the surrounding poverty of this part of northeastern England, were far less restrictive than today's regulations and union rules. My history lessons included scrambling with students along Hadrian's Wall while we studied the ancient Roman settlements. Encouraged to organize our own physical education curriculum, I found a way to use the school car park as a putting green, bring in local judo experts, and run ropes up the side of the gym for climbing practice. I joined students in coed field hockey matches and umpired Saturday morning netball competitions in midwinter, wearing my mother's worn-out fur coat for warmth. It was an era when disused battleships from the war years were retrofitted to accommodate hundreds of schoolchildren from inner cities to participate in short European voyages where, as supervisory teachers, we could broaden their outlook with history and geography lessons about the countries we visited while teaching a variety of sports skills on deck.

The rewards of school teaching must not have been enough, however, for my interest turned to graduate school and extending my studies. Perhaps, this was stimulated by the rapidly changing nature of Britain during the 1960s—a time that was deeply involved in the decolonizing process with enticing new ideas about international engagement and optimism for a changing world (Bocking-Welch, 2018). California, especially, beckoned with an opportunity of support to enroll in a master's degree in physical education, history, and sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles. The British Council provided a passage on the studentship *Aurelia* from Southampton to New York, and the Greyhound bus company took me across the country to Los Angeles. The environmental shift from the pit villages of Northumberland and the foggy shores of the North Sea to the Pacific Ocean and beaches of California in the late 1960s was unsettling, but less so than trying to understand the arrangements of the physical education department at the University of California, Los Angeles. I was not acquainted with the effects of consequential proposals for an academic discipline authored by professors in the University of California System, although I learned that the University of California, Los Angeles, department had a long history stretching back to 1915, with graduate study expanding from the late 1930s along with the development of a variety of research laboratories. I remember being met enthusiastically on my first day by Professor Bryant Cratty, who showed me around his expanding motor learning laboratory, as well as wondering why there were so many special classes designed for varsity athletes. I was fortunate to find a mentor in historian Ben Miller, who guided me through my program while I took classes, performed my teaching assistant duties, explored California student life, and watched the burgeoning civil rights movements on the fringes of the campus and in the city of Los Angeles.

I also became interested in the Latino culture I saw all around me in southern California, and once my graduate studies were completed, I set off to explore parts of South America. When a meeting with the Dean of Education at the Universidad Del Valle in Cali, Colombia, led to the offer of a job teaching physical and health education in his faculty, I decided to stay in Cali, improve my Spanish, and work to enhance health and physical activity in the schools and communities of the city. The 2 years I spent there lay the foundation of a sustained interest in the history and politics of health promotion and physical activity. Working with desperately poor populations to improve their levels of nutrition and physical activity in arenas where religion and local politics sometimes seemed to work against those goals provided lessons that would stay with me for the rest of my academic career. I remember especially criticizing young American Peace Corps volunteers bent on initiating standardized American fitness tests at local schools, when the poverty and severe malnutrition of children and teachers seemed much needier goals to serve. Nor was there much opportunity to energize a humanistic physical and health education curriculum when the dean of the faculty became embroiled in a political dispute and the country increasingly reeled from growing division and civil conflict. A spiraling violence left the country hard pressed to handle the social changes of rapid urbanization and the growing concentration of power and wealth among the elite in Colombian society.

Chance encounters constantly shift the contours of one's life course and career, and in my case, a meeting with a visiting research professor from the United States led to marriage, motherhood, and the start of a new life and career at a Canadian university. I was fortunate at that time to begin doctoral work with a group of outstanding revisionist educational historians who were famously reshaping educational historiography and critique (Donato & Lazerson, 2000; Graff, 1991). The 1970s were heady years to enter graduate studies; the history of education was in a golden era—a field of social history attracting research from a variety of fields and providing a formativeness and dynamism, a sense of possibility and openness, and an invitation to experiment with new historical approaches. Indeed, these years changed the direction of historical scholarship toward questions about the reproduction of the existing social order and the harms of racial and ethnic discrimination. It was an era of "let a thousand histories bloom," with a demand by young and migrant scholars to create new histories around much broader sections of society than hitherto. It laid the groundwork of my own ongoing research interests in 19th and 20th century gender, social movements, and body culture.[11] Revisionism also began to reach sport history, led by sport history scholars such as Guy Lewis, who helped found the North American Society for Sport History in 1972. He became part of a pioneering group of sport historians and sociologists at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, many of whom would later become my own colleagues in the developing academic world of sport history. Consciously breaking away from the stereotypical perceptions of physical education history research as lacking

intellectual rigor, Jack Berryman was among those who claimed that "gaining respect in . . . (physical education), and more importantly in the parent disciplines was paramount" (Barney & Segrave, 2014, p. 389).

Working with revisionist historians also provided excellent lessons on the importance of forging relationships across the physical education/kinesiology/department of history aisles where one learned to address the dilemma of talking simultaneously to professional researchers and academic historians, while being comfortable with quantitative and qualitative methodologies, and engaging in a variety of cross-disciplinary activities. Many of these lessons would be required to live and flourish in Departments or Faculties of Kinesiology, and they also helped provide a voice for informing policy development, or at least offering historical perspectives on the shaping of professional physical education and the directions of scientific research around the active sporting body. From a research perspective, few fields grew more rapidly than the history of women during these years, along with a growing focus on activism, women, and sport impelled by the outcomes of Title IX. New gender-based studies revealed the power of gender-differentiated roles in sport, medicine, and education and provided grist for my own developing research portfolio focused on feminism and the history of physical culture (see, e.g., Cahn, 1994). They also helped in promoting a greater place for female faculty in higher education, if not providing the resources to assist in that move. University day cares and female-friendly policies were a very long way off as I gained access to my first university job in physical education at the University of British Columbia. Teaching duties were extensive in the Faculty of Education, and when a long-time instructor in my department complained to the Dean that her salary was considerably lower than her male counterpart, he told her that "he could hire someone twice her size for half the price." Indeed, despite strong backgrounds and heavy workloads, women in my department typically ranked below their male colleagues in terms of salary and signifiers of status—simply put, they often did more but got less.

In the early 1980s, University of British Columbia's Physical Education and Recreation became the School of Human Kinetics following the arrival of Bob Morford, former graduate student of U.C. Berkeley's Franklin Henry. He had worked most recently at the University of Washington in Seattle, serving as chair of a newly formed department in 1973 and recruiting a range of specialists to advance his research agendas, only to experience its demise some years later. Franklin Henry (1978, p. 2) of course had foreseen some potential problems in this arrangement:

> When a physical education department demonstrates that many of its courses and the research of its students and faculty are, in fact, possible within the various traditional disciplines, it also signals the university administration that it can be phased out.

The new kinesiology agenda that Morford and his colleague Hal Lawson laid out for the University of British Columbia attempted to avoid the problems they had experienced at Washington, though it was met with some skepticism. As the focus of the school adjusted to a discipline-based field concerned with human movement, sport, and exercise, shifts in programs and disciplinary emphases were increasingly contested. The pedagogists and coaches would have none of it and redeployed elsewhere. No longer a joint enterprise catering to the athletic needs of the students and professional training in physical education, technology replaced the athletic body in motion, and debates raged within the emergent subdisciplines over laboratory space, curricula, and resources (Vertinsky & McKay, 2004). Over time, groups of faculty members came to inhabit small and different worlds, lending credence to Richard Rorty's (1979) observation that much of what gets defined as knowledge in a society can be recognized as those beliefs and modes of practice that are successful in helping official groups in that society do what they want to do. Future administrative leaders in the school, which had become my home with the invitation of Morford, sharpened this focus of disciplinary fragmentation and its effects on the field. Shirl Hoffman (1985, p. 20) expressed the concerns of many over the development of this situation (and it is a concern that I continue to hold in relation to the training of our graduate students in kinesiology):

> I worry about the academic character of many of the PhD's we are graduating, exceptionally narrow people—technicians almost—who lack a scholars' understanding of how their discipline relates to the broader field of physical education and academic life and who studiously avoid anything that looks or sounds too philosophical.

Future directors began to encourage research productivity by scoring and ranking the research output of each faculty member annually: eight points for a refereed article and six points for an academic book. For a historian for whom published monographs were in many respects the "coin of the realm," it told a story louder than words. To be successful in a kinesiology department, refereed articles were required for promotion and tenure, as well as generating resources to recruit graduate students and maintain a lab. Writing books (other than textbooks) was an occupation for one's spare time—not, as in history departments, a necessary rite of passage to tenure and promotion. Not a great deal may have changed in this regard, noted Jaime Schultz (2016) recently in her critique of the formula used by the National Academy of Kinesiology in its doctoral program review: "Because books register so little in the NAK's ranking system, historians may be steered away from these time consuming, though exceedingly important projects."[12]

I do not have to underscore for senior members of a National Academy of Kinesiology audience how many departments and faculties of kinesiology (and related names) in North America endlessly discussed the nature of their work and goals in the final decades of the 20th century and their mixed fortunes as they moved into the 21st. Karl Newell's (1989, 1990a, 1990b) comprehensive proposals for kinesiology during these years were widely adopted, at least in North America. Physical education, which had been the bread and butter of my school until the 1980s, was redeployed to the Faculty of Education where, with less than adequate support, it was slow to thrive. Roberta Park (1991, 1998) wrote poignantly about physical education's diminished role in kinesiology and its effects on her own department at Berkeley. To her anguish, the department fell victim to the forces of Berkeley's rationalization around the reorganization of the biological sciences. It disbanded in 1997—exactly 100 years after its foundation. "I find myself hard-pressed not to be pessimistic about the field," said the ever-optimistic Earle Zeigler (2005, p. 186) about this state of affairs, "our problem seems to be that we are ill, for we no longer know what we stand for."[13] Not ironically, University of Oregon faculty member Elizabeth Bressan (1979) simply pronounced physical education dead by suicide. Students who could no longer receive professional training as physical educators in many departments (including my own) increasingly turned their sights toward

physiotherapy, occupational therapy, health promotion, and sports medicine, though by this time public health experts had already moved into the field and were reshaping the contours of these professions. As a result, the career options of undergraduate students shifted, leading to a series of questions around the curricula choices of kinesiology departments and faculties, as well as debates over the right mix of scholarly disciplines and practical skills for future development and attractive career options.

In 1996, the Surgeon General's Report on Physical Activity and Health made only fleeting mention of (the problem of) physical education and underscored physical activity as a public health, science, and medical field. "Exercise is medicine" became a common mantra in kinesiology departments, including my own, and it had the effect of drawing the focus of teaching and research (and the corresponding institutional resources) increasingly toward the sciences and the paradigm of the body as a machine while at the same time adding an eclectic variety of health-related options. One effect of this was to delimit the range of social science- and humanities-centered courses and further stifle intellectual discussion between the laboratory sciences and the wider study of sport, physical culture, and society (Andrews, 2008; Latour, 1983). Too often in kinesiology, there has been a tendency to frame the research laboratories as coconstructors of the definition of science itself, without recognition of the many other spaces of knowledge production available to students and faculty (Vertinsky, 2020b). When I spoke about these issues at the Academy some years ago, using Steven Jay Gould's metaphors of the humanities as a cunning fox and science as a persistent hedgehog, my suggestion was that we try to mend or mind the gap by embracing more fertile, collaborative, and interdisciplinary approaches to research and teaching in kinesiology (Vertinsky, 2009).

Meanwhile, as the 20th century ended, I remained with feet planted firmly across the growing education/kinesiology divide, having moved between the Faculty of Education as Associate Dean of Graduate Studies, the headship of a large department, and the school as researcher and teacher in health promotion and the history and sociology of physical culture. I was also deeply involved in university affairs, assisting in the development of graduate colleges, interdisciplinary institutes, and joint research ventures within and well beyond the university. One of several lessons I learned during this time was the importance of sustaining one's research program and funding from research councils while taking on challenging administrative roles, providing an easier return to teaching and scholarship when desired.

Kinesiology in the 21st Century: Ongoing Crises and the Problem of Balance

While historian Eric Hobsbawm (1994) famously labeled the 20th century "the age of extremes," a time devoid of balance ravaged by failed ideologies, binary classifications, and losers and winners, the 21st century only too soon encountered its own successions of drama, big and small. Benjamin's "angel of history" could look back at some of the debris left from the continuing quarrels concerning the divided kingdom of kinesiology departments and wonder about what Lawson and Kretchmar (2017) termed ongoing "undiscussable" problems within a balkanized kinesiology concerning students' needs and the extent to which the pursuit of theoretical knowledge is immediately applicable in professional practice. In 2010, the fellows of the National Academy of Kinesiology made the decision to drop physical education altogether from their title, causing Charles Tipton (2013) to ask whether the Hetherington award should continue to be the highest honor conferred by the Academy (given Hetherington's pedigree in physical education).

Crisis, of course, continues to occupy us all in the midst of another global pandemic, throwing up complex roadblocks to kinesiologists' work in the classroom and laboratory that might well shake up or transform professional orientations and our future modes of scientific work. In today's world, our everyday experiences of what fits where demand new attention to rapidly changing external pressures brought by COVID-19 and increasingly urgent demands for equity, diversity, and inclusion that affect how the academic landscape can, or should, be articulated for teaching and learning. The search for balance in the face of these recurring crises remains a pressing issue for kinesiology departments and faculties as we move into the third decade of the 21st century, and as sport historians, we are acutely aware of the urgent need to rethink our own research and teaching in light of rapidly changing social and cultural conditions.[14] Henning Eichberg's rich analyses of shifting traditions of body cultures reminds us how they have been incorporated for good reasons into different disciplines at different historical moments for different purposes. Norbert Elias's views on the civilizing process of the body, Michel Foucault's focus on embodied disciplines and technologies of the self, and Georges Vigarello's tracing of shifting hygienic and pedagogical strategies in his histories of the body all articulate alternate visions of managing body cultures and the self in different historical time frames. They throw light on the complexity of societal relations and pose new paths for the scientific study of the active body in a collaborative relationship with the humanities and the life sciences. Indeed, concluded Eichberg (2010, p. 177), "it is unlikely that the controversial character of body-cultural studies will disappear in the future though they may very well develop in new and unexpected directions."

Sport historians also recognize the importance of using the insights of the humanities as tools to scrutinize the claims of the sciences investigated and taught in kinesiology, where the study of the White adult male body has long been read as the standard from which others deviate.[15] How we appraise biology and its regulation is itself culturally and historically specific, and in studying the active moving body, the contours of the debates about biology and the tools that are used look very different now as opposed to two decades ago. Indeed, the very contingency of the term "science," as it has been shaped by different eras, geographies, and epistemological traditions, demands deeper historical inquiry (Elshakry, 2010; Thiaw & Maack, 2020). "I am not the greatest enthusiast for the idea that there are lessons that can be derived from history," said Chris Renwick, "but one thing that does seem quite clear is that we should beware anyone who thinks they've got an easy application of biology to society" (Millard, 2020, p. 330). In "New Bottles for New Wine," Renwick (2016) suggested that recent developments in biology mean it may be the ideal time to reconsider long-standing attitudes.

The language and pursuit of balance, then, might usefully be applied to thinking about the future of kinesiology. Sport historians can help us to understand how and why ideas of balance have developed and shifted across time and cultural space in relation to the content and training best accomplished in kinesiology. They can illuminate how the transformative role of interdisciplinary collaboration, the contingency of knowledge development and creation, the political dimensions of the scientific and technological enterprise, and the deep sociocultural situatedness of science and technology practices can all be productively brought to bear upon kinesiology teaching and research in the 21st century. They can

provide the tools to explore how neither biology nor culture have operated as a pure unfettered force, such that we must closely attend to the interdependence of organism and environment in our focus on the active moving body. They can play an active and vital role in helping shape a future science in kinesiology that is antiracist and anti-imperialist and that promotes equity, diversity, humility, and respect (Hamilton & Stoebel, 2020, p. 624). In sum, they can help to provide an ongoing lens upon the traffic between nature and culture, disciplines and the professions, and highlight historically specific ideas about our students as autonomous, flexible, market-driven consumers of the knowledge and tools we have provided them. This, of course, requires a continued conversation about the ways we generate and share scientific, historical, and cultural knowledge about the active moving body and the kinds of training required in a changing marketplace (and physical environment) as we respond to an increasingly diverse population of students. In many ways it is a challenge that reverberates with the bold claims of an emerging physical education profession in the 1890s, "that there are few scientific fields which offer opportunities for the study of problems of greater value to the human race" (Vertinsky, 2017, p. 148).

Notes

1. Not surprisingly, historians make histories that are influenced by their own perspectives and experiences, whether or not they realize it at the time.

2. Benjamin here quotes Jules Michelet, who suggested that every epoch, in fact, not only dreams of the one to follow, but in dreaming, precipitates its awakening. Perhaps, this means a lust for the new that is an eternal return of the same.

3. His "angel of history," adopted from Klee's *Angelus Novus*, stares into the past while being blown into the future in a storm called progress, while watching history piling up its debris behind. To see Klee's evocative *Angeles Novus*, go to https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f3/Klee%2C_Angelus_novus.png.

4. The National Academy of Kinesiology's Hetherington award, established in 1956, is the highest honor bestowed by the Academy for outstanding contributions.

5. The Girls' Public Day School Trust was founded in 1872 by pioneering women and suffragettes in England who sought an academic education for girls.

6. Scars from "misbehavior" while pulling carts.

7. Speaking in his capacity as president of the British Science Association, Priestley famously claimed that his remarkable generation of British arctic explorers had evolved such efficient techniques in their explorations that they had out-Eskimoed the Eskimos!

8. Such a program to be taken as a 1-year postgraduate professional certificate in a separate department or university.

9. Winni Brienes (2001) saw these years through a somewhat different lens in *Young, White and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the Fifties,* but she did accentuate girls' struggles toward feminism during these years.

10. In *Active Bodies*, Martha Verbrugge pointed out that physical education's unyielding heterosexism during the 1950s and '60s in North America was predictable and disheartening.

11. A sustained focus on indigenous populations would not come for some decades.

12. "Here's the gist," she claimed. "In evaluating faculty productivity, a book is weighted the same as a conference presentation; a book is worth one-quarter as much as a journal article."

13. Earle continued to communicate with me about his vibrant views on the field until shortly before his recent death in his 100th year. He received the Academy's Hetherington Award in 1989.

14. See, for example, Alison Wrynn in "Sport History: We're More than Just the Back in 'Back to the Future'" (2014) and Amy Bass, "State of the Field: Sports History and the Cultural Turn" (2014).

15. Mark Dyreson (2018), for example, has shown what happened when an Oklahoma kinesiology expedition examining the running traditions of the Tarahumara imposed their own cultural norms on that culture's way of life, amounting, at best, he suggested, to paternalistic colonialism.

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