

27th International Congress of the European  
Committee for Sports History (CESH)  
June 04, 05 and 06, 2024  
Condorcet Campus Paris-Aubervilliers & University Paris Nanterre













## COMMUNICATIONS BOOKLET

Congress Website: <https://cesh2024upn.sciencescall.org>

The conference program is also available on the ISP laboratory website:  
<https://isp.cnrs.fr/27e-congres-international-du-comite-europeen-dhistoire-du-sport-cesh/>

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Welcome to Nanterre!

Dear colleagues and students, the CESH 2024 organizing committee warmly welcomes you to Nanterre, a city with a passion for sport (U Arena92, Stade Yves-du-Manoir de Colombes from the 1924 Paris Olympics, Metropolitans 92 Basket, etc.) and a place steeped in history (May 68...)!

We're delighted to be hosting a conference straddling two major sites for research in the Humanities and Social Sciences in the Paris region and France: the Condorcet Campus and Paris Nanterre University. Embracing UPN's motto, "The university of possibilities", we have done everything possible to make this congress a reality on the eve of the Paris 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

We hope that the three days you spend in Nanterre, close to the French capital, will enrich you intellectually and culturally. We have no doubt that you will seize the theme of the congress by making worlds through your exchanges, cooperations, debates, discussions, etc. in order to give rise to rich and diversified collaborations.

We look forward to welcoming you and forging links around our common goals of sport and Olympism,

Yours sincerely



**Pascal Charitas**, Associate Professor, ISP member, Coordinator of the Organising Committee

We would like to extend our warmest thanks to the ISP director, full Professor Olivier Le Noé, and to the ISP laboratory administration, without whom this scientific event would not have been possible.



**Aleksandra Mikanovic**, CNRS research engineer and ISP General Secretary, in charge of administration and administrative and financial management.



**Magali Vautelin**, CNRS technician, administrative and financial management assistant at ISP's Nanterre site.

Last but not least, we would like to thank the IDHE.S laboratory, the administrative and technical staff of the UFR STAPS of the Université Paris Nanterre for their support, the members of the Organizing and Scientific Committee, the Campus Condorcet and the Université Paris Nanterre, as well as our partner.



EUROPEAN COMMITTEE FOR  
SPORTS HISTORY  
[www.cesh-site.eu](http://www.cesh-site.eu)



## **CESH 2024 - Paris**

### *Message for the booklet of abstracts*

Dear Colleagues and Friends,

This booklet speaks for itself. The number and diversity of papers that will be given at our 27<sup>th</sup> international congress of CESH attest of the success of the event before it has even started!

The Olympic summer of 2024 is an exciting period in France, Europe and beyond. While athletes focus on performance and stakeholder on the impact of the Olympics in Paris, the media shows an increased interest in the cultural side of sport.

The Games also put to the light our work as sports historians. When Pascal Charitas suggested the organisation of a CESH congress in his home university in Paris, it seemed obvious it had to be in 2024. However, as the list of papers proves, our role remains the scientific analysis of sport and physical culture in the historical past. In fact, the excitement about the representation of sport in Paris should reinforce our position as independent researchers.

Organising this congress in legendary Paris shortly before the holding of the Olympics was a significant challenge that Pascal took up with enthusiasm from the start. It also tells a lot about his commitment to work, to science and to CESH. We cannot but be extremely grateful for his hard work that gives us the possibility to meet again in such a wonderful place today.

We also thank the institutions, heads and staff of the various bodies that helped and supported him in the preparation of the congress.

Have a fabulous time in Paris!

Prof Daphné Bolz

**President of CESH**

## ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Charitas Pascal (coordinator), ISP  
Bouchareb Sandrine, ISP  
Connan Dominique, ISP  
Cordier Marine, IDHES  
Dalla Pria Yan, IDHES  
Defrance Jacques (Emeritus), ISP  
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Mikanovic Aleksandra, ISP General Secretary  
Séguillon Didier, IDHEA  
Sorez Julien, ISP  
Vautelin Magali, ISP Administrative and Financial Manager  
Verly Mathieu

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Belmaati Cherkaoui Zineb, ISP, *PhD*  
Catteau Louis, ISP, *doctoral student*  
Coste Andréas, ISP, *doctoral student*  
Gabriel Perez Louis, IDHES, *doctoral student*  
Guéry Valentin, ISP, *PhD*  
Haydar Akin Eren, ISP, *doctoral student*  
Kouamouo Hervé, ISP, *doctoral student*  
Ruzhelnyk Olga, ISP, *PhD*

**Students of Master courses:** Sport and Social Sciences: National and International Perspectives (3SPNI), Sports Organization Management (MOS) and Sports Events and Recreation Management (MELS)

## SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

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Teja Angela (Italian Society of Sports History, Rome)  
Venuti Lorenzo (The University of Florence)  
Verly Mathieu (Paris Nanterre University)

## PARTNERS



<https://www.campus-condorcet.fr/>

**Campus Condorcet Paris - Aubervilliers** is a campus located between Porte de la Chapelle in Paris and La Plaine Saint-Denis in Aubervilliers, which will open at the start of the 2019 academic year. Eleven institutions, universities and institutes are taking part. It is dedicated to the human and social sciences (SHS).

### History

The project was born in 2008 from the alliance of Paris I, Paris 8, Paris XIII, EHESS, EPHE and École des Chartes, joined by CNRS, INED, Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Paris 3. It is steered by the Condorcet Foundation, chaired from 2009 to 2016 by Jean-Claude Waquet, previously President of the École pratique des hautes études. Paris 10 joined the Condorcet project in 2018. It is one of ten campuses selected in July 2008 by the Ministry of Higher Education as part of the Campus plan. The operation is supported by the local authorities concerned (Aubervilliers, Plaine Commune, City of Paris, Seine-Saint-Denis General Council, Île-de-France region). Since June 22, 2022, Pierre-Paul Zalio has been President of the Campus Condorcet public institution.

### The main site of the Condorcet Campus is located in Aubervilliers:

**12,000** researchers and doctoral students work in **116** research units and as many teaching rooms, occupying a dozen buildings (including those of the Institut national d'études démographiques) on more than six hectares, including a library of one million books known as the "Humathèque".

**The Aubervilliers site is entirely dedicated to research and research training in the humanities and social sciences.** The Campus takes the form of a large reception and services platform, equipped and outfitted to meet the demands of the human and social sciences and provide those who practice them with the best possible conditions for training, learning and scientific production. Structured around a large research library, the site provides users with facilities to welcome researchers, students and programs, as well as all the resources required for campus life

### The facilities:

- Buildings to house the research units of the founding members, as well as the headquarters of several of them.
- The Humathèque Condorcet.
- The Project Hotel.
- The Conference Center.
- The Researchers' House.

- Faculty club.
- Espace associatif et culturel.
- Sports facilities.
- Medical and social center.
- Catering facilities.
- 450 student housing units.
- The headquarters of the Campus Condorcet public institution.

### Key principles

Four objectives have guided the programming of the Campus Condorcet:

- **Promote links and exchanges** within scientific communities, by providing research units with the working, tutoring and discussion spaces they too often lack, thus fostering proximity between researchers and facilitating the supervision of doctoral students.
- **Enable encounters between disciplines and between researchers**, thanks to a conference center, a project hotel - dedicated to hosting temporary research programs, particularly on transdisciplinary issues - and a residence for visiting researchers with 88 units.
- **Facilitating access to knowledge**, by providing the scientific community with a research library that will bring together material and immaterial documentation in all disciplines of the human and social sciences, combining digital services, book collections, scientific archives and social spaces.
- **Stimulate campus life**, by giving pride of place to places for university socializing and student life, catering facilities and other service structures, as well as accommodation for students and young researchers.

### Shared services

The emphasis is firmly on the development of shared services, creating a true campus structure for the benefit of the entire scientific community. **These services include :**

- **L'Humathèque**, a large open-access research library bringing together the holdings of more than fifty libraries and documentation centers currently dispersed around the world, and offering, in addition to one million documentary units, a digital offering adapted to new research uses in the human sciences,
- **A conference center**,
- **A House of Visiting Researchers**,
- **A Faculty Club**,
- **A project hotel**, complementing the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Paris Nord, located close to the campus,
- **Facilities to support campus life**: catering, community and cultural center, socio-medical center (a sports facility and crèche are planned for the future).

**Aubervilliers will thus be home** to a coherent and comprehensive range of facilities and services. Thanks to this infrastructure, researchers will be able to develop their programs in the best possible conditions, within the framework of the scientific policy defined by the founding members.



**Founded in 1964, Université Paris Nanterre (Hauts-de-Seine department, 92)** is a French multidisciplinary university specializing in economics, humanities and social sciences, law, literature, psychology and political science. The university is located near the La Défense business district of the Greater Paris metropolitan area, the second most attractive business district in Europe.

With over **35,000** students and **43** research units, Université Paris Nanterre is a major research and educational institution in the Paris region. It is the university of the Hauts-de-Seine region, rich in history, values and national and international influence.

**As a multi-disciplinary university**, its training offer and research activities cover the broad spectrum of the humanities and social sciences, literature and languages, law, economics and management, technology, culture and the arts, information and communication sciences, engineering sciences and the sciences and techniques of physical and sports activities. In all these fields, since its inception, Université Paris Nanterre has championed innovation in research and teaching, and has made a point of playing a social role: promoting the social advancement of its students and taking a critical look, in the noble sense of the term, at society and its evolution.

**The company has four sites:** Nanterre, Ville-d'Avray, Saint-Cloud and La Défense. The Nanterre site is unique in the Paris region: a 32-hectare “green” campus offering exceptional facilities for sports, cultural activities and scientific documentation. It is also home to La Contemporaine, a library, archives and museum of contemporary worlds, the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme-Mondes and the Bernard-Marie Koltès theater.

**Université Paris Nanterre is a public institution** whose core missions are education and research. It is characterized by its multi-disciplinary approach and its openness to the world around it.

**University of Paris Nanterre in figures :**



- **+35,000** students
- **2,100** staff, including **1,200** teaching, research and teaching staff and **900** library, engineering, administrative, technical, social and healthcare staff (BIATSS)
- **4 sites:** Nanterre, Ville-d'Avray, Saint-Cloud, La Défense

## Formation

### 4 major disciplines:

*Arts-Literature-Languages / Law-Economy-Management / Humanities and Social Sciences / Sciences-Technology-Health*

- **90** courses in Licence 1 and BUT 1
- **+180** Master 1 courses
- **+ 100** apprenticeship programs
- **1** Université de la Culture Permanente

## Research

- **43** research units, including 13 CNRS mixed research units and 1 research support unit (MSH Mondes)
- **6** doctoral schools - **1,300** doctoral students
- **2** Ecoles Universitaires de Recherche (EUR): Artec and HED
- **2** Laboratoires d'excellences (Labex) : Labex iPOPs -Individuals, Populations, Societies and Labex The Past in the Present
- **30** research networks

## Campus life

- **1** “green” main campus of 32 hectares, 12 hectares of green space
- **1** Maison de l'Etudiant.e, + 80 student associations
- Outstanding sports facilities, **+ 50 sports activities**
- **1** theater
- **1** library-museum, La Contemporaine, library, archives, museum of contemporary worlds

## International

- **+ 6,400** international students
- **500** partners in 80 countries
- **145** international co-supervision and co-direction of theses

## Commitments and partnerships

- **1** Foundation, the Fondation Université Paris Nanterre - FUPN
- **1** alumni network, 10,000 registered members
- UPN is a member of Campus Condorcet, Alliance Paris Lumières and the European university EDUC



<https://www.mshmondes.cnrs.fr/>

## Presentation

**The Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Mondes is a research and support unit (UAR 3225) supervised by the CNRS, Université Paris Nanterre and Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.** It focuses on ancient, present and future worlds, as well as those near and far. With an international outlook, it promotes interdisciplinarity, experimentation and innovation in the human and social sciences, decentralization of knowledge, and openness to the arts and other sciences.

**MSH Mondes organizes its scientific life around the logic of networking and collaboration:** ephemeral workshops, conferences, experiments, and the hosting of international guests... Every year, it launches a call for projects on its scientific axes and, every two years, a call for audiovisual and multimedia projects.

**Since spring 2023, its scientific project has been structured around two axes:**

- “Memories and heritages of societies and environments;
- Conditions d'existence et transformations épismologiques des sciences humaines et sociales”.

**From an initial focus on the dialogue between archaeology and anthropology,** its scope has expanded to include all the research communities of the universities of Paris Nanterre and Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. It also houses the UMR ArScAn, Temps and LESC research units in the Ginouvès building on the Nanterre campus, employing over 600 people. It contributes to the history of science and technology through the holdings and collections it houses and preserves.

**Thanks to its professional expertise, specialized engineering and equipment, MSH Mondes supports research.** It organizes the collection, conservation and access to important scientific resources (via the Bibliothèque d'Archéologie et des Sciences de l'Antiquité and the Pôle archives), as well as stimulating projects for the enhancement and reuse of materials for teaching, research and/or creative purposes. It produces and distributes scientific content via the Imagerie des patrimoines et spatialisation (MAPS) platform, the Data and Digital Humanities cluster, the Audiovisual and Multimedia cluster and the Editorial cluster.

**It contributes to the training of master's and doctoral students and offers ad hoc training courses for research teams.** MSH Mondes is involved in the Frantiq network (Fédération et Ressources sur l'Antiquité, GDS 3378), which it also hosts. It works in synergy with several IR\* Huma-Num consortia and is an active member of the Réseau national des Maisons des Sciences de l'Homme (RnMSH).

### Scope

**Since summer 2023,** MSH Mondes has covered all the research units of Paris Nanterre University and Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University. **Their research teams** can call on the expertise and support of MSH Mondes for their projects, participate in calls for expressions of interest to take part in the scientific life of MSH Mondes, propose joint actions, particularly international ones, and respond to calls for projects.

**Three units are housed at MSH Mondes in the Ginouvès building:** ArScAn, LESC and TempS.

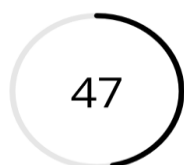
Institut des  
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du politique



<https://isp.cnrs.fr/>



CNRS  
Researchers



Teachers-  
researchers



Engineers &  
technicians



Doctoral  
students



Postdoctoral  
fellows

**The Institut des sciences sociales du politique (ISP)** is a CNRS joint research unit (UMR no. 7220) located on the campuses of Université Paris Nanterre and École normale supérieure Paris-Saclay (formerly ENS Cachan). As part of the Institut des sciences humaines et sociales of the CNRS, ISP reports to **sections 40** (Politique, pouvoir, organisation), principal, **36** (Sociologie et sciences du droit) and **33 (Mondes modernes et contemporains)**, secondary, of the Comité national de la recherche scientifique.

### Laboratory history

**The ISP was created as a joint research unit in 2006**, when two teams (GAPP/ENS Cachan and LASP/Université Paris X) merged. One team was dedicated to research into public action and the sociology of law, while the other focused on the analysis of political change, particularly in post-communist Eastern Europe, and more specifically on democratization phenomena.

During this first phase of its existence, the ISP set itself the goal of closely articulating these different approaches to political sociology, in order to contribute to the advancement of a sociology of democratic construction, resolutely founded on empirical inquiry and comparative approach.

**This asserted empiricism**, attentive to the historicity of research objects, has facilitated the integration of a first wave of historians and fostered the development of convergences between political science, history and sociology, articulated as the social sciences of politics.

**The issues and themes** developed, and their relevance to the transformations of contemporary societies, rapidly made the ISP an attractive laboratory. **The unit was re-created on January 1, 2009 as UMR 7220.** **The PSI's scientific identity** is embodied in its multi-disciplinary approach, in its reaffirmed concern for the “normalization” of the analysis of political transformations, situations of major upheaval or political violence, in its particular attention to fieldwork, in its combination of diachrony and synchrony, and in its handling of different scales (from local to global, via national and European).

The bottom-up approach, empirical investigation and comparatism are widely shared.



<https://idhes.parisnanterre.fr/>

**The IDHE.S** (“Institutions et Dynamiques Historiques de l’Économie et de la Société” – “Institutions and Historical Dynamics of the Economy and the Society”) was created in 1997.

It is nowadays a joint research centre in history, economics and sociology, bringing together, around a scientific project with a European dimension, the CNRS (French National Centre for Scientific Research) and five institutions of higher learning: the École Normale Supérieure Paris-Saclay (ENS Paris-Saclay), the Universities of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris 8 Vincennes Saint-Denis, Paris Nanterre, and Évry – Val d’Essonne.

The IDHE.S currently accommodates **70** permanent staff and **100** doctoral students.

### **A Multidisciplinary Research Centre**

The originality of the IDHE.S is that it brings together **historians, sociologists and economists around a common central object, economic activities** perceived in their most concrete dimensions, as the object of coordination of a plurality of actors.

The idea is to avoid considering elementary pre-established categories – such as workers (“salaried”), enterprises, high finance or the State – as distinct entities defining specific fields of research and intersecting only occasionally based on individual initiatives.

**Work, enterprises, finance, and markets** are envisioned rather as various dimensions of the same object, economic activities, in an institutional context, caught in historical movement, which allows actors to influence their dynamics and to delimit their scope.

The long-term perspective (18<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries) adopted in the research program, provides sufficient hindsight to observe these complex development dynamics, during which the rule of law crystallizes, and the institutional bases of the economy and the social configurations that accompany it are established.

### **Scientific Research Program 2024-2029**

The scientific program of the IDHE.S for the period 2024-2028 explores the dynamics of these institutions through the study of **4 domains**: Work, Knowledge, Capital and Heritage.

These 4 research domains however are not impervious; they are all connected by two common **transversal thematics** that permeate them: Value and inequalities; Crisis and regulation.



<https://ufr-staps.parisnanterre.fr/>

The **UFR des Sciences et Techniques des Activités Physiques et Sportives (STAPS) Paris Nanterre** is home to 1,600 students (including some 50 top-level athletes), including 28 PhD students. Following the creation of the DEUG STAPS (1975), it was one of the first to open a Staps course in Nanterre in 1978.

#### Training courses at the UFR:

- ▶ 4 Licences (APAS, EM, ES and MS)
- ▶ 2 Licences Professionnelles (GDOSSL and IS-DSMS)
- ▶ 3 master's degrees and 7 courses:
  - Mention: STAPS: Adapted Physical Activity and Health**
    - Pathway: Psychology, Neuroscience, Physiology: Movement, Cognition, Health (PNPMCS)
    - Specialization: Adapted Physical Activity: Rehabilitation, Inclusion and Well-being (RIBE)
  - Mention: STAPS: Sport Management**
    - Course: Sport and Social Sciences: National and International Perspectives (SSSPNI)
    - Course: Study of Doping and Analysis of Anti-Doping Policies
    - Specialization: Management of Sport Events and Leisure (MELS)
    - Specialization: Management of Sports Organizations (MOS)
  - Mention: Teaching, Education and Training (MEEF) - 2nd degree**
    - Specialization: Physical and Sports Education
- ▶ 1 DU Competition preparation for CAPEPS Externe or CAFEP EPS - second chance.

#### The teaching and research team at the UFR:

The UFR is made up of **42** teacher-researchers (grouped in 2 STAPS research units - the LICAE and the LINP2 - and 2 UMRs for STAPS teacher-researchers - the ISP and the IDHE.S), including **4** ATERS, **24** lecturers, **8** PhD students and **90** part-time lecturers, as well as **13** administrative staff.

#### 2 UNESCO Chairs:

- EDAPA: Study of doping and analysis of anti-doping policies, awarded in 2017
- SPORTSD&P: Promoting the contribution of sport, physical education and physical activity activity to sustainable development and peace, awarded in 2022

#### A word from Mr. Vincent DRU, Director of the UFR STAPS Paris Nanterre:

*"I'd like to welcome you to Paris and to the University of Paris Nanterre, a predominantly SHS university. I don't doubt for a moment the quality of the work that will be presented, and I'm also aware of the wealth of research activities on the History of Sport developed not only in Staps, but also in other disciplines. It is an honor for the UFR-STAPS of Paris Nanterre to be associated with this event. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Pascal Charitas, and the organizing committee of this congress, for giving you the warmest possible welcome".*



© Archives départementales des Hauts-de-Seine.

<https://archives.hauts-de-seine.fr/>

### History of the Departmental Archives

The departmental archive services were created following the law of 5 brumaire an V (October 26, 1796), and share a common history. The Archives départementales des Hauts-de-Seine are a different story...

**The Hauts-de-Seine département was created**, like the other départements in the inner suburbs of Paris, by the **July 10, 1964** law reorganizing the Paris region. It comprises 36 communes, 27 of which belonged to the Seine département and 9 to the Seine-et-Oise département. The Archives Department was set up on October 1, 1968, a few months after the prefectural services were installed in Nanterre, but until March 31, 1969, the director and his team were housed at the Archives de France, rue des Francs-Bourgeois, in Paris. **A new building was constructed and handed over on October 1, 1978**, on avenue Joliot-Curie in Nanterre, close to the prefecture tower and the departmental administrative center. The Archives départementales building was inaugurated on **April 3, 1979** by the Minister of Culture and Communication, in the presence of the Prefect of Hauts-de-Seine, the President of the General Council and the Director General of Archives de France.

**The 24 linear kilometers** of shelving in the Archives départementales building are now occupied. The Archives départementales des Hauts-de-Seine department groups together the archives (collection, public and holdings services) and the heritage and specialized libraries. It is part of the department's Attractiveness, Culture and Territories division.

### The missions of the departmental archives are:

- **Collect and control:** Collecting and controlling archives enables us to safeguard the written, oral and iconographic memory of the département. This is a fundamental mission for the Departmental Archives.
- **Filing and storage:** Following their arrival at the Archives départementales by deposit or other procedure, the documents still need to be put in order before being delivered to the public, while their preservation conditions need to be ensured. These are the tasks of the collections department.
- **Communicating and promoting:** In addition to the traditional tasks of collecting and preserving the archives, communicating and promoting them is at the heart of the Departmental Archives' mission. This can take several forms: exhibitions, publications or school visits (reading room, exhibitions, digital enhancement).

### Some figures on the Departmental Archives:

- Approximately 500 readers visit the reading room, for around 4,200 documents (bundles, registers, boxes, microfilms, plans, etc.).
- 2,500 correspondence searches carried out in 2021.
- 105 classes were welcomed by the educational service. A total of 2,700 pupils.



<https://cnosf.franceolympique.com/academie-nationale-olympique-francaise>

**Created in 1994** in the associative form, the French National Olympic Academy (ANOF) is composed of individuals committed to issues related to Olympism, including those who participated in the various sessions of the International Olympic Academy (AIO). **Perhaps the best presentation of ANOF's role can be found in Bach's Olympic Manifesto (2013):** *“Education is the key to the future of our societies. Education is also the key to the healthy development of the Olympic Movement. We have many excellent examples of Olympic Academies, NOCs and COOJs spreading our values also outside the Olympic Games period.”*

**Role: The role of ANOF is to feed the reflections of sport decision-makers to facilitate their political choices taken in the exercise of their mandate.** It is autonomous, therefore free to choose its missions, but it is necessarily dependent on the CNOSF (not only financially) because its function is to serve it. An independent academy would tend to work for itself and, disconnected from the Olympic movement, it would only be a learned society, a laboratory of ideas.

**Missions: ANOF's missions evolve according to the needs, capacities and orientations of its governing bodies, but are always based on two keywords: culture and education.** As part of its field of intervention which aims at knowledge of sport and Olympism according to three axes:

- **Knowledge development:** research on identity, values of sport and Olympism, studies on the expressed needs of the sports movement, monitoring role on the place and developments of sport, archives.
- **Access to knowledge:** source guides, capitalization and exploitation of resources, safeguarding and development of assets, documentation, publications and publications aids, training plan and choice of resource persons
- **Dissemination of knowledge:** Press relations, study days, symposiums, summer schools, value promotion actions

**An example of ANOF action linking science, sport and Olympism: the French Olympic Studies Centre (CEOF)**

**Since 2010**, the French National Olympic Academy (ANOF) has developed numerous initiatives in collaboration with the scientific community. Research activities help the French Olympic movement to question itself and make decisions based on detailed analyses. **The annual program of Research Grants of the French Olympic Studies Centre (CEOF) of the ANOF symbolizes this approach.** Through this program, the ANOF CEOF supports the work of researchers applying for a Master's, PhD or in possession of a PhD who carry out studies concerning sport, Olympism, Paralympism, the Olympic and Paralympic Games from the angle of Human or Social Sciences, Management Sciences or Political Sciences. **ANOF's primary mission is to promote the values of sport and Olympism.** Through thorough analysis, quality research can help ANOF fulfill its mission. The CEOF Research Fellowships program – in partnership with the French National Olympic Committee (CNOSF) – is a great way to encourage the work of renowned or aspiring researchers.





<https://www.cdos92.fr/>

**Formed as associations under the French law of 1901**, the Departmental Olympic and Sports Committees (CDOS) represent the CNOSF and the sports movement in their area. Like the CNOSF at national level, they bring together the federations' regional bodies, and provide local authorities with contacts for defining and implementing their sports policy. Regional Olympic and Sports Committees (CROS) represent the CNOSF at regional level. Although they work jointly, CROS and CDOS are distinct and independent associations.

**The mission of the CDOS is to develop the practice of sport, safeguard and disseminate Olympism, and preserve the département's sporting heritage.** To this end, they implement the guidelines and actions initiated by the CNOSF, taking account of specific local conditions, and adhere to the guidelines, values and fundamental principles laid down by the Olympic Charter and the IOC. **For all matters of general interest within their territorial jurisdiction, the CDOS are the point of contact for :**

- **public authorities:** Departmental Directorate for Youth, Sports and Social Cohesion (DDJSCS), General Council, Departmental Council, inter-communal cooperation bodies, etc. The CDOS is also the departmental council's key contact for the implementation of departmental sports policy.
- **official departmental bodies:** Conseil économique, social et environnemental, Conseil départemental de l'économie sociale et solidaire (CDESS), Centre départemental de formation et d'animation sportive (CDFAS), Mouvement associatif...

**The CDOS carry out actions :**

- developing sport for all, especially for women and the disabled.
- development of sport and health in their area - and, as such, participate in the organization of the Sentez-vous sport week.
- training sports leaders.
- promoting the leagues and departmental committees of CNOSF member federations.
- support for top-level athletes.
- reintegration through sport, in prisons for example.
- preventing and combating doping.
- combating violence in sport.
- preserving and developing the department's sporting heritage.
- promote Olympism...

**For example, CDOS92 initiatives include:** Sport Santé, Formation Sport Santé Prescri'forme, Sport et Professionnalisation, Sport Education et Citoyenneté, Sport, Politiques Publiques et Haut Niveau, Politiques Publiques, Haut Niveau, Parasport et inclusion, etc.

#### The county/92 department

- 1.6 million inhabitants
- 338,200 licenses
- 21% of the population is licensed, 37% of whom are women
- 2,050 clubs
- 3,422 sports facilities
- 10,078 licenses in priority urban districts (QPV)

#### CDOS92 Key figures for 2020

#### The sports movement

- 51 committees
- 2,050 clubs represented
- 338,200 licenses
- Of which 223,400 Olympic single-sport licenses
- Including 38,300 non-Olympic single-sport licenses
- Including 73,400 multisport licenses





## La Revue EP&S

### “An emblematic” title since 1950

**A forum for exchange and information** for sports and physical education professionals (teachers, trainers, sports educators, local authority staff), the Revue EP&S is a reference title. **Its aim has always been** to support public policy, and to promote and publicize research and educational initiatives in all areas of physical, sporting and artistic activities at all stages of life. **Today**, Revue EP&S is a professional magazine (10,000 readers on average) published quarterly (4 issues per year) featuring :

- a thematic dossier anchored in current events ;
- information on developments in competitive examinations and in the teaching and sports professions;
- practical fact sheets from nursery school to university.

Subscribe at [www.revue-eps.com](http://www.revue-eps.com)

### The Editions EP&S

#### “Richness and diversity”

**Complementary to the editorial activity** of Revue EP&S, the publication of works in the field of pedagogical activities in the field of sport and PES. **Over 180 books and multimedia products** are included in the catalog, contributing to the initial and ongoing training of all those involved in the fields of sport and PES, as well as preparation for competitive examinations (CRPE, CAPEPS and agrégation, BPJEPS, sports teaching, etc.). **The different collections:**

- Thanks to their thematic approach, the “Dossiers EP&S” collections are the reference works for professional issues.
- The documentary and historical dimensions of the “Archives et mémoire” and “Une histoire culturelle du sport and “A cultural history of sport” provide essential insights into current knowledge.
- The “Passeport pour l'enseignement” and “Guide de l'enseignant” collections, with their methodological content, are indispensable tools for preparing for and passing competitive examinations. “Guide de l'enseignant” collections are essential tools for preparing and passing competitive examinations.
- With their activity-focused access, the “Des Jeux aux sports”, “De l'école... aux associations”, “Essai de réponses”, “L'EPS en poche”, “Cahiers des sports”, “Activité sportive et éducation” and “Le Guide” collections meet the needs of teachers and coaches, depending on the audience (school, club) and level of practice (school, club). (school, club) and level of practice (initiation, competition, high-level).
- With its multi-disciplinary approach, the “Un album à” collection offers a range of activities based on a children's book.
- Thanks to their validated scientific content, the “Research and Training” and “For Action” collections constitute a corpus of reference in all disciplines, designed in particular for teaching competitions.

**In recent years**, the dynamism of this editorial production has been reflected in the diversification of themes and activities covered (disability, step, hip-hop, physical wellness practices sports rescue, etc.), as well as in terms of target audiences (“Les essentiels” collection for STAPS degree students, CRPE preparation...

Order from [www.revue-eps.com](http://www.revue-eps.com)



<https://www.casden.fr/>

*“As a cooperative bank, we are committed to a supportive and sustainable approach to supporting the projects of civil servants with fairness and confidence. This is the raison d’être of CASDEN Banque Populaire”.*

Isabelle Rodney, Managing Director of CASDEN Banque Populaire

**The CASDEN** (originally an acronym for *Caisse d'aide sociale de l'Éducation nationale*) is the cooperative bank for the entire French civil service, founded in 1951. A cooperative bank with a national dimension, it is part of the Banques Populaires network and Groupe BPCE, of which it is a shareholder with 3.50% of the capital. **In 1974**, it entered into a partnership with the Banque Populaire Group. **Equally cooperative**, it enabled CASDEN to better serve its members through the network of regional Banques Populaires spread throughout France. CASDEN thus became both a Banque Populaire and a partner of the Banques Populaires. CASDEN members are welcomed in the 111 departmental delegations run by teaching colleagues, and in the branches of regional Banques Populaires. CASDEN is also a privileged partner of major national education organizations, notably MGEN. **In 2015**, CASDEN opened its doors to the entire civil service.

- **A bank for civil servants**, CASDEN Banque Populaire was originally created by and for teachers over 70 years ago. The benchmark bank for all civil service professions, it now has over 2 million members.
- **Founded on strong values of solidarity, commitment and fairness**, CASDEN Banque Populaire has developed dedicated offers to meet your specific needs as a civil servant. In this way, we can provide you with the best possible support at every stage of your life, and help you realize your projects.
- **The cooperative bank for the civil service**  
As the benchmark bank for the civil service, CASDEN Banque Populaire offers all civil servants a dedicated range of savings, loans and guarantees on the best possible terms, and places its Members at the heart of its organization.
- **A cooperative bank**  
Members of CASDEN Banque Populaire own their cooperative bank: they hold 100% of its capital and play an active part in its governance on the principle of “one person = one vote”. They all benefit from CASDEN's offers and services.
- **A local, militant network**  
CASDEN Banque Populaire also boasts an active network of almost 230 delegates, who are themselves members and civil servants.

The keystone of the cooperative bank lies in this local network and its 108 Délégations Départementales in mainland France and the French overseas departments, run by these Delegates who represent the bank to its partners.

The CASDEN Delegates rely on their networks of volunteer Correspondents in public establishments, who ensure even closer contact with their colleagues, civil servants. CASDEN Banque Populaire can count on more than 7,000 Correspondents throughout France.

CASDEN is Premium Partner of the Paris 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games.



<https://achac.com/>

**Created in 1989**, the Achac Research Group is a collective of researchers, academics, writers, collectors, documentarians and journalists working on representations, discourses and colonial and postcolonial imaginaries, as well as on the extra-European migratory flows through different research programs:

- Colonial History & Culture,
- Fighting Memories,
- Racism & Human Zoos,
- Portraits of France,
- Sport & Diversity,
- Southern Immigration and Colonized Sex,
- Otherness & Bodies.

**For example, the work of the ACHAC group leads them to question the theme "Sport & Diversity"**: Who are these Asian, African, North African, Polynesian, Indian Ocean or Caribbean champions and all Europe (Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Belgians, Englishmen...) or the Americas, who play and break records for France on all terrains? Whether in European, world or Olympic competitions, they can be found in French clubs or in the French team. This approach also makes it possible to understand issues and stories at the heart of the great History. This program proposes to make the history of sport in France and internationally, highlighting the contribution of diversity from all over the world. The aim is to put into perspective the migratory flows that have participated in the destiny of French society by focusing on the different sports disciplines around the presences resulting from immigration, and in particular football, major collective sport in terms of symbolism.

**The collective is formed around an international network of skills**, in partnership with various institutions, research groups, universities, museums and associations (more than 250 partners for three decades). Its approach consists in implementing and disseminating its research work to the academic world as well as the general public (particularly in the overseas regions, the QPV but also abroad) on four axes: book publishing, exhibition design, the production of documentaries and the organisation of scientific events.

**The Achac Research Group and its members** have been working for more than **30** years to catalogue the iconographic sources of the colonial era to exploit them scientifically and make them intelligible and accessible to the greatest number. **Historians Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel and Sandrine Lemaire, as well as the scenographer Emmanuelle Collignon, co-director of the Achac Research Group.** Many other specialists have participated or still participate actively in the work of this collective.

**These works, sixty years after decolonization** and in particular the end of French Algeria (1962), make it possible to decipher and place in its context the incredible iconographic production of the colonial era, allowing, by crossing the most diverse sources and exceptional archives, to understand the mechanisms of the adhesion of the greatest number to the Empire but also the roots of

inequalities, of stereotypes and discrimination diffused in postcolonial societies and to question the history of immigration and otherness.

**This approach to political and historical visual culture** contributes to the ongoing analysis of the legacy of colonization, allowing everyone to look differently at this past and its resonances in the present but also to reconcile memories.

# VENUES



**Tuesday 04 June 2024:** Convention Center, Campus Condorcet, Aubervilliers

**Main address:** 8, cours des Humanités  
93322 Aubervilliers CEDEX



**By train:** RER B, station of La Plaine - Stade de France (then bus no. 139 and 239) or RER E, station Rosa-Parks (then bus no. 239)

**By tramway:** line 3B, Porte de la Chapelle station (then metro 12)

**By bus:** Bus lines no.139, 239 and 512 (stop Front Populaire - Gardinoux)

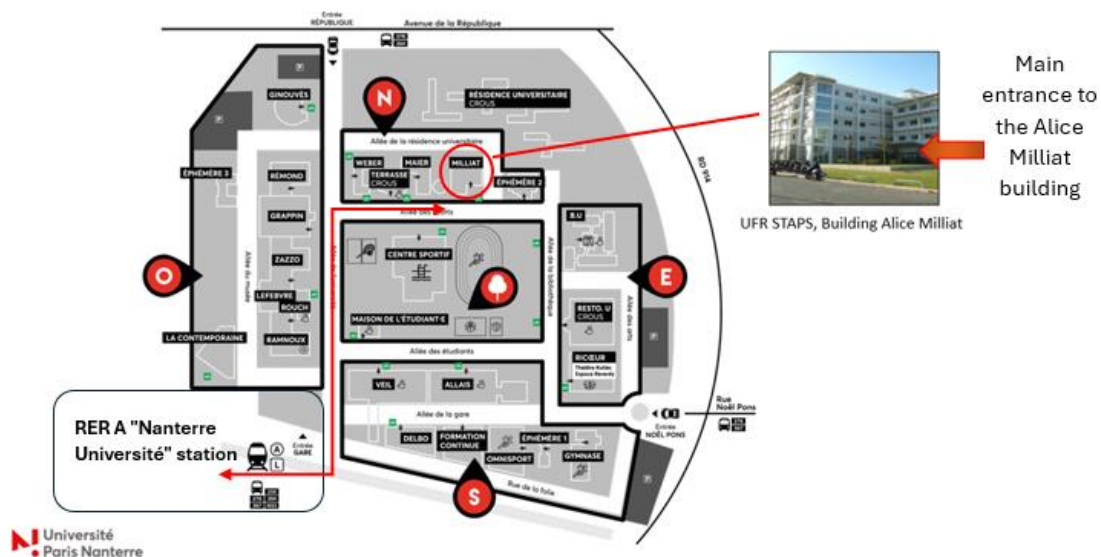
**By metro:** metro line 12, Front Populaire station



**Wednesday 05 & Thursday 06 June 2024:  
Alice Milliat Building, University Paris Nanterre**

**Main address:** 200, Avenue de la République  
92000 Nanterre

**Plan du campus de Nanterre - Université Paris Nanterre**



The Alice Milliat building is located in 350 meters (on foot) from the RER A "Nanterre Université" station

**Welcome tables:**

**Tuesday 04 June 2024:** Delegates welcoming, hall, ground floor, convention center building

Address: 8, cours des Humanités 93322 Aubervilliers CEDEX

**Wednesday 05 & Thursday 06 June 2024:** Delegates welcoming, ground floor on the right in the hall, in front of the room R06 (luggage can be left in the room).

Address: 200, Avenue de la République 92000 Nanterre

**Wi-Fi access:**

**Tuesday 04 June 2024 (Campus Condorcet, Aubervilliers)**

Wi-Fi Name: Campus Condorcet Colloques

Password: Campus93!

**Wednesday 05 & Thursday 06 June 2024 (University of Paris Nanterre)**

Wi-Fi Name: UPNguest

Username: CESHUPN2024

Password: gcgb5281



## KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



**Dominique Connan**, full Professor,  
University of Paris Nanterre, ISP Laboratory  
(UMR 7220)

Keynote title: *An "imagined global bourgeoisie": golf and the thwarted respectability of Kenyan elites, from independence to the presidency of Mwai Kibaki*



**Chris Young**, full Professor, Modern and  
Medieval German Studies at Department of  
German and Dutch, University of  
Cambridge

Keynote title: *Rethinking Jesse Owens:  
Berlin 1936 and the German Media  
Landscape*



**Florence Carpentier**, Assistant Professor,  
CETAPS, UFR STAPS, Université de Rouen

Keynote title: *The First « Women Olympic  
Games » in Paris, 1922*

## KEYNOTE 1

**Tuesday, June 04, 2024, 10:30 a.m. – 12:00 a.m.**

(Auditorium, Convention Centre Building)

*An "imagined global bourgeoisie": golf and the thwarted respectability of Kenyan elites, from independence to the presidency of Mwai Kibaki*

**Dominique Connan**, full Professor,

Laboratoire Institut des sciences sociales du politique (ISP, UMR 7220),

Université Paris Nanterre

[dominique.connan@parisnanterre.fr](mailto:dominique.connan@parisnanterre.fr)

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**Main research topics:** colonial legacy, formation of ruling classes, economic elites, globalization of sports

**Personal or corporate/institutional web page, CV:**

[https://www.u-picardie.fr/curapp/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/CV\\_CONNAN2017.pdf](https://www.u-picardie.fr/curapp/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/CV_CONNAN2017.pdf)

**Conference abstract:**

*"Everything to do with horses, for one reason or another, is linked to the great life of the past. It tends to look back, rather than forward. It's always a sport that has, perhaps, a lot to do with the past, rather than the future. Whereas something like golf, I mean, it's all about the future!"*

In Kenya, British settler culture didn't disappear with independence. But the words of Kenyan golfer Samuel Ngaruiha show that the appropriation of the colonial legacy has been selective. It did not boil down to a dialectic with the imperial past, and golf today conjures up an imaginary that, in Kenya's upper classes, refers more to a desirable future than to a crushing past. In this respect, golf clubs have become the object of renewed imaginations and uses. The archaeology of African representations of this sport since independence means coming face to face with the regularly updated enunciation of "imaginaries of success" (Banégas & Warnier), forms of individual honorability (Iiffe) and collective prestige.



In this respect, the formation of leading social groups is the result of two phenomena: the accumulation of capital, of course, but also a more complex symbolic formation, aimed at affirming the value of their position, or rather the dominant value of their lifestyle. This is what the study of golf and its appropriation in Africa reveals. Consequently, the practice of golf among the Kenyan upper classes always reflects a dual history, indissociably national and international. Africans very early on used the culture of colonialism as a marker of social stratification.

After independence, they used golf clubs as theaters for post-colonial revenge against white domination. But this revenge soon turned into an assertion of dignity - that of the elites, of course - in the face of criticism of African powers and states, such as has been voiced in international arenas of all kinds since the 1980s in particular, and which produces the stereotype of a sick, dysfunctional and relegated Africa, whose inhabitants would be, vis-à-vis the rest of the world, second-class beings, governed by elites prone to "corruption", "nepotism" and "tribalism". Golf was therefore the local expression of rejection of this downgrading and exclusion, of rejection of what James Ferguson, in another context, described as "abjection".

In Kenya, the exclusion of Kikuyu elites from state resources and rents from the 1980s onwards fuelled this feeling, all the more so as they attributed their downgrading and that of the country to the Kalenjin elites who governed at the time. In this case, "abjection" was the feeling of entrepreneurs excluded from public contracts, lawyers, accountants and doctors whose professional standards had been denied and tarnished under the Moi presidency and who perceived, through their own decline, that of the country. In a situation of abjection, elitist distinction is supported by transnational cultural forms. As a result, the taste for golf cultivated by the Kenyan elite is fuelled by a sense of belonging to what we propose to call an "imagined global bourgeoisie". It takes several forms.

First, as a struggle, since its formation owes much to the rejection of the Moi regime's predatory elites and their practices. Secondly, as a lifestyle, since it anchors dignity, respectability and honor in consumption practices, residential strategies, and ways of dressing, drinking, eating, playing sports and entertaining that are similar to those of the ruling classes in countries whose destiny is perceived as exemplary. Lastly, as a teleology, since it associates an elite lifestyle with a "modernity" deemed desirable, following in the wake of the so-called "developed" countries: not only the countries of Europe or the United States, but also and above all the United Arab Emirates, Singapore and Qatar. The practice of golf and the number of club-goers are part and parcel of this process. All in all, golf is shaping a relationship with the state, both in terms of association and opposition. It is invested to assert a cultural legitimacy to govern, to claim an interface role between state resources and customer networks. But golf is also a form of criticism, as the regime excludes those who consider themselves the most capable of governing. In short, the Africanization of golf clubs in Kenya is part of a complex national trajectory with ethnic roots, whose issues go far beyond the question of the colonial legacy.

**Keywords:** *Kenya, golf, legs colonial, élites, Mwai Kibaki*

#### **Main publications:**

- 2024 (sous presse), *La décolonisation des clubs kényans. Legs colonial, sociabilité et formation d'une élite africaine*, CNRS Éditions, collection Logiques du Désordre
- 2024 (sous presse), « Le golf club » in Bussi M., Drozdt M. et Argounès F. (dir.), *Lieux Communs*, Fayard.

- 2017 - (avec C. Josse-Durand) “Le Pays du miel et du lait. Ethnographie de la campagne électorale d’un professionnel au Kenya”, *Cahiers d’Etudes Africaines*, n°225, 2017/1.
- 2016 - “Une réinvention de la différence élitaire. Un Rotary Club dans le Kenya de Mwai Kibaki”, *Critique internationale*, n°73, octobre-décembre 2016, pp.133-155.
- 2015 – “Sociabilité et sphère publique coloniale. Les clubs européens dans le Kenya rural” in Bertrand Romain, Emmanuelle Sibeud et al. (dir.), *Cultures d’Empires. Circulations, échanges et affrontements culturels en situations coloniales et impériales*, CERI-Karthala, Paris, 2015, pp.225-246.
- 2014 - “La Destinée manifeste de l’entrepreneuriat Kényan. Charité et constitution morale d’une élite économique africaine”, *Politix*, Vol.27, n°108/2014, pp.123-141.

## KEYNOTE 2

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 10:45 a.m. – 12:15 p.m.**

(Amphitheatre S1, ground floor, Alice Milliat building)

### *Rethinking Jesse Owens: Berlin 1936 and the German Media Landscape*

**Chris Young**, full Professor,

Modern and Medieval German Studies at Department of German and Dutch,

University of Cambridge

[cjy1000@cam.ac.uk](mailto:cjy1000@cam.ac.uk)

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**Main search topics:** The cultural history of Sport in modern Europe, with special reference to Germany; history of sport, media and art. Medieval literary and cultural studies.

**Personal or institutional web page, CV:** <https://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/cjy1000>

**Conference abstract:**

The master narrative of the 1936 Olympics has two dominant strands: first, that the Games were a propaganda triumph for the regime and based on deception; and second, that Jesse Owens defied the regime but that his portrayal in the press and in Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia* film was also based on deception. Though invariably linked in every interpretation of the Games, these strands, on closer inspection, are contradictory. This paper seeks to address this contradiction by looking first at the handling of Owens in the German media (press, newsreel, film). It will look at the nature of the restrictions on press freedom after 1933, as they relate to sport, showing the latitude that journalists enjoyed as well as the constraints they faced. More importantly for the theme of the conference, it will map out the development of sports media in the 1920s and 1930s and explore the global dynamic that sustained and propelled it forward. The global force of sport as a media topic continued unabated in the early National Socialist era and is key to understanding the way Owens was received in Germany.

The paper will show that far the Owens story is only partly explained by the blow he dealt to the Nazis' racial politics. While this can hardly be denied, it is more than balanced by the overwhelmingly enthusiastic welcome Owens was given by the German public, not least as a result of the media

build-up to the Games. In short: Owens was more of a hit with the German public than he was a shock to the regime. Understanding this dynamic, fuelled and sustained by the media and its global remit, poses new questions about the propaganda triumph of the 1936 Olympics. The paper will conclude, therefore, with some thoughts towards a general reappraisal of the most infamous Games in history.

**Keywords:** *Jesse Owens, Sports Media, Olympics, National Socialism, Propaganda*

**Main publications:**

- *The 1972 Munich Olympics and the Making of Modern Germany* (with Kay Schiller), University of California Press: Berkeley 2010.
- *The Whole World was Watching: Sport in the Cold War* (ed. with Robert Edelman), Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA, 2020.
- *Literary Beginnings in the European Middle Ages*, ed. with Mark Chinca, Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- *Weimar in the World: Communication after the First World War*, special issue of *German History* (Oxford University Press), ed. with Malte Zierenberg, 2024.
- *Willy Meisl – King of the Sports Journalists: A Jewish Career in Times of Change, 1918-1945*, with Darren O’Byrne, de Gruyter: Berlin, forthcoming 2024.

## KEYNOTE 3

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 11:15 a.m. – 12:45 p.m.**

(Amphitheatre S1, Alice Milliat building)

### *The First « Women Olympic Games » in Paris, 1922*

**Florence Carpentier**, Assistant Professor,

CETAPS, UFR STAPS,

Université de Rouen Normandie

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**Main search topics:** History of the IOC, Women Sports History, Sports Leaders History

**Personal or institutional web page, CV:** <https://cetaps.univ-rouen.fr/node/27/submission/10>

**Conference abstract:**

Women's Olympic Games took place in Paris on August 20, 1922, organized by the Frenchwoman Alice Milliat (1884-1957), against the will of the International Olympic Committee and in a context relatively hostile to the practice of sports for women, despite the freedoms obtained in this field since WWI. Bringing together 77 girls from Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Switzerland and the United States around thirteen athletics events, this event could seem anecdotal compared to others gymnastic events for women.

But its importance is measured by other criteria: its capacity to have confirmed a female international (FSFI), to have encouraged the institutionalization of the sport for the women in the various countries, to have emancipated itself from the hygienic and aesthetic gymnastics in which one confined the girls, but also the violence of the reactions which it generated in the male circles, in particular, of the press and the sport on a national and international scale. On the fringes of women's and feminist struggles for the right to vote (1944 in France), the French leaders and sportswomen of August 1922 proclaim loud and clear their right to run.

This first edition will be renewed three other times with a growing success, before sinking by the action of the IOC, the International Federation of Athletics and the economic crisis of the 1930s.

**Keywords:** *Women Sports, Alice Milliat, History, Antifeminism, Internationalism*

**Main publications:**

- Carpentier, F. (2022), « Les premiers Jeux olympiques féminins (Paris, 1922). Internationalisme et droit de courir », Revue d'histoire culturelle [En ligne], URL: <http://revues.mshparisnord.fr/rhc/index.php?id=1934>
- Carpentier, F. (2019), "Alice Milliat et le premier "sport féminin" dans l'Entre-deux-guerres", 20 & 21. Revue d'histoire, n°4.
- Carpentier, F. (2018). "Alice Milliat: A feminist Pioneer for Women's sport", In E. Bayle and P. Clastres (Eds.), Global Sport Leaders. A biographical Analysis of International Sport Management, Palgrave MacMillan.
- Carpentier, F. (2018). "Henri de Baillet-Latour: Globalizing the Olympic Movement", In E. Bayle and P. Clastres (Eds.), Global Sport Leaders. A biographical Analysis of International Sport Management, Palgrave MacMillan.
- Carpentier, F. (2017). Problématiques et enjeux du CIO depuis Pierre de Coubertin. Dans O. Chovaux (dir.), L'idée sportive, l'idée olympique : quelles réalités au 21<sup>è</sup> siècle ? Liévin : Artois Presses Université.

# PANELS

## PANEL A

(Amphitheatre S2, Alice Milliat building)

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 8:30 a.m. – 10: 30 p.m.**

### ***National identities as institutional challenges in football***

Chair: Daniele Serapiglia

- **Sami Koskelainen**, *"Finland does not have soccer culture" – a short conceptual history of jalkapallokulttuuri*
- **Yacov Zohn Muldoon**, *Dinamo Kyiv enters the Field: the Soviet national football team calls upon the Ukrainians (1957-1960)*
- **Joonas Kananen**, *"Il giuoco è stato durissimo" - football players at the core of fascist moral conceptions (1922-1943)*
- **Jake Madgwick Lawton**, *Ambassadors of which nation? A Four-Nation exploration of British football Tours, c. 1875-1939*

#### **Resume:**

**Description:** Football and national identity tend to become entwined. Hence football's role in nation-building around the world has been widely acknowledged in historical scholarship. However, football's potential for constructing national identities can also cause problems for the state and football administrators. The papers in this panel investigate such inconvenient situations where the relationship between football and national identity had become problematic in one way or another. Attempts of constructing a national identity through football can face resistance through the embeddedness of sub-national identities within football practices. Joonas Kananen's paper looks at football players, expressions of regional identity (*campanilismo*), and the regulating of said expressions in fascist Italy. The Italian state under Mussolini sought to use football to create a shared Italian identity – yet football had already become a fertile ground for regionalism which could stand in opposition to the national idea.

In multi-national empires, football could exhibit the contradictions between individual sub-state nationalisms and the picture of imperial unity. Jake Madgwick Lawton's paper studies British football tours from the 1870s until the outbreak of World War Two. In addition to exploring how the English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish teams saw themselves and were seen by their hosts, he looks at economic, class, and gender factors that influenced British football's touring representation abroad. In the British case each nationality also has its own national team – in the Soviet Union, however, national representation could take place only within the Soviet team. Yacov Zohn's paper focuses on the rise of Ukrainian players to the Soviet national team from the late 1950s onward, studying the topic in the light of Soviet sport reforms and the state's decentralisation policies.

Even if identities constructed through football corresponded neatly with state borders, the perceived national characteristics could be problematic. In countries with little international success, for

example, one's nationality might be associated with failure. Sami Koskelainen's paper explores 20<sup>th</sup> century Finnish football and the conceptual history of *jalkapallokulttuuri* ("football culture"), arguing that Finnishness has historically been often seen as a drawback in Finland's relentless pursuit for international success.

**Keywords:** *football, identity, politics, nationalism, regionalism*

**Bibliography or references:**

- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983.
- Brubaker, Rogers. "Ethnicity without groups." *European Journal of Sociology/Archives européennes de sociologie* 43.2 (2002): 163-189.
- Edelman, Robert. *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sports in the USSR*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Keys, Barbara J. *Globalizing sport. National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s*. London: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Nevala, Arto; Hannu Itkonen & Mihaly Szerovay, 25-37 in Mihaly Szerovay, Arto Nevala & Hannu Itkonen eds, *Football in the Nordic Countries. Practices, Equality and Influence*, London: Routledge, 2023.



## PANEL B

(Amphitheatre S2, Alice Milliat building)

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 14:00 p.m. – 16:00 p.m.**

### ***The ecosystem of sports circulations around the world in the 20<sup>th</sup> century***

Chair: Cyril Polycarpe

- **Lucie Hémeury**, *From India to the Rio de la Plata, from global Imperial Game to local national Sport. Circulation, hybridization and creolization of Polo, 1870's-1960's*
- **Sébastien Moreau**, *The wheel turns of Alphonse Steinès (1873-1960), organizer and sports journalist.*
- **Yannick Deschamps**, *The Cosmos Hotel, a French building for the 1980 Moscow Games. Diplomacy and major contract in the Olympic preparation market*

#### **Resume:**

During the twentieth century, there has been a gradual intensification in the circulation of sports throughout the world, through the growth and diversification of exchanges of players, techniques, knowledge and equipment. These different forms of circulation have led, on the one hand, to the interconnection of networks – within which there are economic, social, sporting, and political ties – and, on the other, to the interweaving of several hierarchies of systems at the local, regional, national, and global scales. Interconnected and interdependent networks and hierarchical systems have given rise to a vast ecosystem of international sports circulations.

This panel aims to highlight and question the actors, conditions and issues that have built and animated the ecosystem of international sports circulations, by studying 3 case studies focusing on different periods and geographical areas. Lucie Hémeury will analyze the globalization process of polo from the 1870s to the 1960s, and the opening up of a horse market, that Argentine players and breeders dominated thanks to their excellent reputation, and which made it possible to finance international circulations. Sylvain Ville and Sébastien Moreau will study the role of Alphonse Steinès (1873-1960), a rather discreet French sports organizer and journalist, in the dissemination of the sporting spectacle and material circulation. Yannick Deschamps will analyze diplomatic and economic issues involved in Olympic cooperation in the preparation of the 1980 Moscow Games, studying the various forms of circulation during the construction of a French hotel in the Soviet capital.

These communications will identify actors sometimes less visible, but who get an important role in the development of sports circulations, such as journalists, horse breeders, entrepreneurs, industrial, workers, elected officials and local merchants, diplomats, etc. Besides, through the networks of these actors it is possible to highlight and cross-reference economic, political and sports issues of these exchanges. Last, our focus on the economic conditions of these exchanges, which are still often overlooked, enables us to understand how actors try to increase and extend sports circulations. By focusing on the triptych actors, conditions, and issues, these four papers aim to take an in-depth look at this ecosystem, which was evolved throughout the 20th century.

**Keywords:** *Circulations, International Relations, Economy, Diplomacy, Sports Events*

**Bibliography or references:**

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- Richard Pomfret and John K. Wilson, *Sports Through the Lens of Economic History*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016.
- Christopher A. Shaw, "The economics and marketing of the Olympic games from bid phase to aftermath", p. 248-260, in Lenskyj Helen Jefferson, Wagg Stephen (dir.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies*, London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Arthur G. Tansley, "The use and abuse of vegetational concepts and terms", *Ecology*, n°16, 1935, p. 284–307.

## PANEL C

(Amphitheatre S1, Alice Milliat building)

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 9:00 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.**

### ***Gender, image and sport. New perspectives on the history of sport from the deconstruction of gender stereotypes.***

Chair: Juan Antonio Simón Sanjurjo

- **Isabella Scursatone & María Eugenia García-Sottile**, *“Hola Chabola!”*. *The rediscovery of choreographer Judy Chabola's contribution to the Olympic ceremonies*
- **Anne Weber**, *Gender-specific images of the athletes' bodies in workers' sports in Austria from 1945 to 1971*
- **María Eugenia García-Sottile, Ignacio Tamarit-Grancha, Laura Ruiz-Sanchis, Concepción Ros Ros, Clara Gallego Cerveró, & Julio Martín Ruiz**, *Image, combat and gender. The evolution of the visibility of Spanish female athletes in combat sports at the Olympic Games*
- **Laura Ruiz-Sanchis, Ignacio Tamarit-Grancha, Concepción Ros Ros, Eugenia García Sottile, Clara Gallego Cerveró & Julio Martín Ruiz**, *Gender stereotypes linked to combat sport in future physical education teachers*

#### **Resume:**

The contributions in this panel present studies that are linked to the presence of women in the spheres of sport, in which they have gone beyond the traditional stereotypes that are assigned to these spaces. These studies also have in common the use of methodologies that involve the use of private archives and unpublished sources.

The communication dedicated to the recovery of the figure of Judy Chabola seeks to highlight, through visual archives and oral histories, the figure of a professional who was of great importance in the creation of choreographies for the Olympic ceremonies, but whose work and influence have remained unrecognised.

In the study of images of the athlete's body in the workers' sports movement from 1945 to 1971, access to a photographic archive that had not previously been studied allows not only a review of gender stereotypes but also new approaches to a methodology that is in-depth in the visual history of sport.

The work on the visibility of Spanish female athletes in martial arts at the Olympic Games starts from a timeline to analyse how the image of female athletes is presented according to prevailing body models and aesthetics based on gender stereotypes. Again, through a transdisciplinary methodology, the aim is to generate new tools to rethink the naturalisation of stereotypes.

The study on social models and gender stereotypes in martial arts combines elements of the visual history of sport with the perceptions of sports science students in order to identify the current state of the vision that future professionals develop on the concepts of stereotype, equality and role references.

The four research projects will allow us to approach, from different points of view, an issue that is becoming increasingly important in the history of sport, such as the presence of women and the stereotypes that have limited them. They will also provide new sources, many of which are original. And also to contribute, through visual and oral history, to the construction of new methodological tools.

**Keywords:** *Body Image, Gender, Olympic Games, Female Athletes, Women Role Models*

**Bibliography or references:**

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## DAY 1 - SESSION 1

**Tuesday 04 June 2024, 13:30 p.m. - 15:30 p.m., SESSION 1**

(Auditorium, Convention center building)

### ***(Re)searching global sport values***

Chair: Igor Martinache



**Igor Martinache** is political scientist and Assistant Professor at the sports' department of Paris Nanterre University, member of the Institut des Sciences sociales du politique (UMR 7220). He belongs to the editorial board of the *Revue française de socio-économie* and of the *Journal of Social Science Education*. His research interests include the (de)politicisation of physical activity and sport, physical education and sport teachers, and local public action in the field of health.

- Martinache, I.(2024). L'olympisme, stade suprême du capitalisme (de la fête) ? *Revue Française de Socio-Économie*, 32(1): 5-19.
- Davoust, J.-F., Martinache, I.(2023). *Travailleur.e.s, faites-vos jeux !*, Paris: Arcane 17.
- Guéry, V., Martinache, I. (org.) (2023). (Dé)politiser les Jeux olympiques. *Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire critique*, 158.
- Mierzejewski, S., Martinache, I., Jelen, N., Llana, C.(2023). La pédagogie dans le corps ? *Éducation et socialisation*, 70 [Online]

*Mapping regional sport development – using oral history as a method*

### **Niklas Hack & Mathias Schmidt**

#### **Resume:**

The growing awareness of historians towards Oral History as a method of inquiry goes hand in hand with an increase in the importance of spatial approaches in historical studies. In the course of the "spatial turn", a shift from a static towards a dynamic concept of space is emerging, while at the same time historical studies are exploring the added value of regional history and local sports settings (Adams and Cronin, 2019).

Recent German publications, such as Gervink & Jakobs (2022) project as well as Sauer; Messing & Müllers (2019) examination, underscore institutional interest in knowledge derived from contemporary witnesses.

The "People in Sports in North Rhine-Westphalia" project, comprising of 89 already conducted and

60 planned interviews until 2025, captures the mosaic of the sports world in Germany's most populous state. The oral histories from decision-makers, coaches, and former athletes offer unique insights, memories, and experiences not found in traditional archives. Aside from fundamental research and source generation, the project aims to challenge macro- historical paradigms within the regional context. Categorized by longitudinal criteria (functional areas, age, gender) and cross-sectional criteria (geography), contemporary witnesses contribute to an understanding of regional sports development, representing a research desideratum. The material will be accessible on a public website, showcasing the diverse sports landscape in North Rhine-Westphalia.

The presentation on the ongoing project seeks to provide the scientific community with insights into "People in Sports in North Rhine-Westphalia" while also sharing its strengths and limiting factors for future Oral History projects.

A notable strength typical of Oral History and the project lies in uncovering rich details and insights, particularly through the voices of sports officials and individuals who are outside the spotlight. Those insights shed light on organizational structures within local and regional communities, aligning with Langenfeld's findings in Krüger & Court (2010).

Our method involves identifying contemporary witnesses based on longitudinal and cross-sectional criteria and a comprehensive literature research. However, there is a discrepancy between theory-based planning and practical implementation which needs to be taken into consideration

**Keywords:** *Oral History, Methodology, Regional Sport Development, North Rhine- Westphalia, Digital Archive*

### **Bibliography or references:**

- Adams, C. & Cronin, M. (2019) Sport and Oral History, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 36:13-14, 1131-1135.
- Gervink, R. & Jakobs, N. (2022) *Zeit\*Zeugen : Initiative Ehrenamt: Menschen in der zweiten Lebenshälfte : Sportehrenamt - jetzt erst recht! Duisburg: Landessportbund Nordrhein-Westfalen e.V.*
- Hübner, E. & Krüger, M. (2015) *Sport - Geschichte - Pädagogik : Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Michael Krüger. Hildesheim: Arete.*
- Krüger, M. & Court, J. (2010) *Handbuch Sportgeschichte. Schorndorf: Hofmann.*
- Sauer, M.; Messing, M & Müller, N. (2019) "Weißt du noch - damals?" : *Zeitzeugen des Sports aus dem Südwesten berichten : 34 Interviews als Ergebnis sporthistorischer Seminare und Examensarbeiten an der Universität Mainz und TU Kaiserslautern. Niedernhausen/Ts: Schors-Verlag.*

### **Authors' biographies**



**Niklas Hack**, research associate at the Institute of European Sport Development and Leisure Studies at the German Sport University Cologne ([n.hack@dshs-koeln.de](mailto:n.hack@dshs-koeln.de)). Content of the project website

[www.zeitzeugen-sport.de](http://www.zeitzeugen-sport.de) as well as the content of the website [www.sport-ruhrgebiet.de](http://www.sport-ruhrgebiet.de) which displays an overview in regard to the (historical) sport development in the Ruhrgebiet; Publication of the conference talk entitled:

- *Digital memory storage? Interviews with contemporary witnesses as access to North Rhine-Westphalian sport: The oral history project "People in Sport in NRW"* as part of the annual meeting of the Brauweiler Kreis e. V. (To be published)
- Article about the XV Summer Universiade in Duisburg within the edited book "Sport im Westen" (To be published).



**Mathias Schmidt**, Project Manager UEFA Euro 2024 Host City Cultural Programme "Stadium of Dreams Cologne" at the German Sports and Olympic Museum ([schmidt@sportmuseum.de](mailto:schmidt@sportmuseum.de)). Content of the project website [www.zeitzeugen-sport.de](http://www.zeitzeugen-sport.de) as well as Publication of the conference talk entitled:

- *Digital memory storage? Interviews with contemporary witnesses as access to North Rhine-Westphalian sport: The oral history project "People in Sport in NRW"* as part of the annual meeting of the Brauweiler Kreis e. V. (To be published).

*The Olympic Movement: pathways for researching global sport through digitized primary sources*

**Matt Brand & Mitchell Manners**

#### **Resume:**

This presentation introduces AM's new digital primary source collection: The Olympic Movement: Sport, Global Politics and Identity. This multi-archive resource allows users to research the history of sport and related social and political phenomena through the prism of the modern Olympic and Paralympic Games and the movements which supported them, from the first modern Olympics in 1896, to 1992. This resource focuses on the Olympic and Paralympic Games owing to their prominence as major sporting events, and presents in one searchable portal extensive manuscript sources created by individuals and organisations from around the world, the vast majority digitised for the first time, allowing users to research the global history of sport from both above and below. We will outline potential research pathways concerning the globalisation of sport which have been enabled through the digitisation of these sources, while acknowledging key archival silences.

We will showcase documents created by organisations, prominent sports administrators and members of communities from around the world, along with sources relating to the International Stoke Mandeville Games, host city bid applications (including unsuccessful bids), and regional games – both those which have endured such as the Central American and Caribbean Games, and those which have not, such as the Games of the New Emerging Forces. Through these sources, we

will demonstrate how researchers will be able to use this resource to explore a wide range of themes relating to global sport, and explore potential pathways for using this digital resource to consider how local, national and international bodies cooperated to organise individual Olympic Games, to discover how both organisations and private individuals responded to the most significant events and phenomena of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including the World Wars, the Cold War and Apartheid, and chart the growth (and difficulties experienced by) what became the Olympic and Paralympic movements. We will also introduce how archival metadata, AM's indexing of primary sources, its digital platform, contextual essays, and browsing and searching tools including handwritten text recognition (HTR) can be used together to discover sources relating to a range of themes, competitions and organisations from around the world.

**Keywords:** *Sport History, Olympic History, Political History, Globalisation, Primary Sources, Digital Humanities*

**Bibliography or references:**

- Avery Brundage Collection, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
- Records of the International Wheelchair and Amputee Sports Federation and predecessor bodies, Buckinghamshire Archives
- Olympic Foundation for Culture and Heritage, Lausanne
- US Olympic and Paralympic Committee Archives, Colorado Springs

**Authors' biographies:**



**Matt Brand** is a Production Editor at AM. He joined the company in the autumn of 2016, and holds a doctorate in History from the University of East Anglia ([mattb@amdigital.co.uk](mailto:mattb@amdigital.co.uk)).





**Mitchell Manners** is a Development Editor at AM, joining in September 2022 after working at several academic publishers in editorial roles ([mitchellm@amdigital.co.uk](mailto:mitchellm@amdigital.co.uk)).

*The Awakening of body awareness of Chinese women at the turn of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*  
**[remote]**

**Ai-hong Zhang & Ya-ru Lin**

**Resume:**

Since Tang Dynasty, the thousand-year-old "foot-binding" tradition in China has not only physically destroyed women but also deprived women of their right to physical education and independent identity. It was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that women's body consciousness was awakened and expressed through social action by women themselves. This article shows how Chinese women expressed their body consciousness by public social actions at that time.

In the context of Western colonial aggression and China's effort to be strong, Chinese women's bodies have been marked with national political symbols, and the reconstruction of women's bodies has become a common need for the country and women themselves. In 1897, wives and daughters of reformist representatives, such as Li Huixian, Li Run and Kang Tongwei, established "Shanghai Women's Society" and set up girls' school to help girls break feudal shackles.

In July 1898, they founded the newspaper named Chinese Girl's Progress, which revealed the restraint and destruction of women's bodies and minds by feudal ethics. The newspaper started with three issues per month and published 12 issues in all. All writers were women. With the failure of the Reform Movement, the activities of Shanghai Women's Society and the newspaper of Women's Studies were terminated in October 1898, and the girls' school was closed in 1900.

In 1902, Chen Xiefen, the daughter of an owner of publishing house, founded Chinese Girl's Paper. This female-founded and female-authored newspaper ceased publication in November 1903. The articles are sharp, exposing the nature of the destruction and oppression of women through the body in feudal China, inspiring women to establish healthy body aesthetics, to accept the physical education. The articles encouraged to participate in the revolution of protecting the country from becoming a slave of imperialism, and establishing a new society with gender equality.

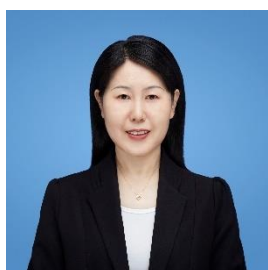
The awakening of Chinese intellectual women's body consciousness at the turn of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries has historical value, such as challenging traditional Chinese gender relations, reshaping women's body image, opening up the living space of women's bodies, and enhancing the value of women's lives.

**Keywords:** *China, Female Body, Body Awakening, Body Reconstruction.*

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**Authors' biographies:**



**Aihong Zhang** is Associate Professor of sport history at Beijing Sport University, China ([waitforu\\_2014@126.com](mailto:waitforu_2014@126.com)). (Olympic Research Institute in China, Beijing Sport University, Beijing, China).

- *Three Integrations of Chinese and Western Aerobics Culture in Modern China* in Asian Journal of Sport History & Culture 2023, DOI: 10.1080/27690148.2023.2240308
- The Evolutionary Road, Current Dilemmas and Chinese Solution of the "Solidarity" Spirit of Modern Olympics, Journal of Beijing Sport University 2022, vol 45, pp37-46. DOI:10.19582/j.cnki.11-3785/g8.2022.02.005



**Lin Yaru** is a current Master's candidate at Beijing Sport University, specializing in the history and culture of sports ([yaroo\\_lin@126.com](mailto:yaroo_lin@126.com)). (Olympic Research Institute in China, Beijing Sport University, Beijing, China).

- *Inheritance and spread: Research on the inheritance path of red sports culture* in the Collection of abstracts of papers of the 13th National Sports Science Conference - Special Report (Sports History Branch), 2023.
- *Montagu and Chinese table tennis: the evolution from an elite pastime to a national sport* in the Collection of abstracts of sports cultural forum papers, 2023.

## DAY 1 - SESSION 2

**Tuesday 04 June 2024, 13:30 p.m. - 15:30 p.m., SESSION 2**

(Room 0.010, ground floor of the north research building)

### ***From colonization to decolonization and postcolonial issues into globalization***

Chair: Hervé Kouamouo



**Hervé Kouamouo** has a PhD at the UFR STAPS of the University Paris Nanterre, former member of the Laboratory ISP (Institut des Sciences sociales du Politique, UMR7220).

- Hervé Kouamouo, Pascal Charitas. The figure of the Big Man among African footballers: brokerage strategies to evolve in a transnational space. *Individuals, Institutions, (trans)nationalism. Sport and History facing new challenges*, the 26th International Congress of the ISHPES, University of Lausanne, Jul 2023, Lausanne (on-line), Switzerland.
- Kouamouo, H., « Être un big man dans le sport, une enquête sur le football auto-organisé en diaspora » *Africana Studia* 2021/2 (n°36).

*The paradox of sports promotion in Tunisia under the French Protectorate, 1881-1940*

**Jonathan Hill**

#### **Resume:**

Shortly after the invasion and occupation of Tunisia by France in 1881, the protectorate authorities, aided by the church and the army, began encouraging Muslim boys and youths to take up European sports. Their goal in doing so, was to inure these youngsters against the growing nationalist movement which sought to challenge and ultimately end French rule over the Regency. By encouraging Tunisian youth to adopt these French practices, the protectorate authorities sought to expose them to French culture and values and thereby make them more amenable to French rule. In short, sport was seized upon by the protectorate authorities as a way of advancing the *mission civilisatrice* and helping to assimilate and associate the Regency with France.

This paper argues that, contrary to these aims, the protectorate's promotion of sport actually

facilitated the development of the nationalist movement in two important ways. Firstly, it encouraged young Tunisians to join and support such sports clubs as *L'Espérance Sportive de Tunis* and *Club Africain* which were used by key nationalist figures, including Habib Bourguiba, as networks within and through which to advance their cause. Secondly, and drawing on Eric T. Jennings's observations on Pétain's national revolution in Indochina, the values associated with playing sports and belonging to sports clubs – competition, community, struggle, sacrifice, planning, aggression – were highly complementary to the nationalist movement and could easily be transferred to the anti-colonial struggle. The paper argues, therefore, that by seeking to use sports to advance their agenda, the protectorate authorities helped create social conditions that were conducive to Tunisian youth's membership of the nationalist movement and participation in the anti-colonial struggle.

The historical analysis provided by this paper is based on primary source materials collected from *les Archives nationales de Tunisie* (Tunis), *les Archives nationales d'outre-mer* (Aix-en-Provence), *les Archives du monde de travail* (Roubaix), and *les archives diplomatiques* (Nantes and Courneuve, Paris). It also makes use of several rare Tunisian secondary sources published in French.

**Keywords:** *Tunisia, independence, Bourguiba, sport, protectorate*

### **Bibliography or references:**

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- Mohamed, Ben Larbi & Borhane Errais, 'Un siècle d'histoire du sport en Tunisie : 1881-1981', in Horst Ueberhorst (ed.), *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, band 6 (Berlin, Bartels & Wernitz, 1989), pp. 276-321.
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### **Author biography:**



**Professor Jonathan Hill** is Director of the Institute of Middle Eastern Studies at King's College London. He has published widely on the colonial and postcolonial histories of the countries of the Maghreb. His latest project focuses on sport and the French empire in Tunisia under the French protectorate. He has held visiting positions at the Maison française (Oxford), the Middle East Centre (LSE), and St. Antony's College (Oxford). He is a member of the editorial advisory boards of *The Middle East Journal* and *The Journal of North African Studies*. He is fluent in French (C2). Some of his most important publications include:

- J. N. C. Hill, 'The Second World War and the Evolution of Tunisian Nationalism', in Ashley Jackson (ed.), *Many Worlds at War* (Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge, 2023)

- 'The Evolution of Authoritarian Rule in Algeria: Linkage versus Organisational Power', *Democratization*, 2019, 26:8, 1382-1398.

*Sport in Mozambique: from colonial heritage to identity affirmation in the postcolonial period [remote]*

**Crémildo Goncalves, Pascal Charitas**

**Resume:**

This study analyzes identity transformations and resistance to change in Mozambican sport during the process of decolonization and the affirmation of national identity in the post-colonial period. Following Mozambique's independence, the new Marxist-Leninist government sought to strengthen national unity, using sport as an instrument to this end. The aim is to examine how sport was mobilized to break with colonial vestiges and promote a new sporting identity in line with the ideals of the post-colonial government, as well as acts of resistance to these imposed changes. The research adopted a qualitative approach, based on documentary analysis of decrees, regulations and official communications, as well as semi-structured interviews with former sports club leaders and members. The data were subjected to thematic content analysis. The results reveal that the government has implemented a series of measures, such as changing the names of clubs, stadiums and sports facilities, removing references to the Portuguese presence, as well as regulating the identity of clubs, banning designations linked to Portugal or particular groups. This "Mozambicanization" of sports clubs was intended to eliminate aspects of social division and promote national unity. However, this process met with resistance from some traditional clubs, who sought to preserve symbolic and emotional elements linked to their former identities. The most emblematic case is that of the former Sporting Clube de Lourenço Marques, which was committed to preserving the symbols associated with the Portuguese Sporting CP. The study demonstrates that sport has played a central role in the affirmation of national identity in Mozambique in the post-colonial period, being used by the government as an instrument, but also encountering resistance rooted in the sporting identities of the colonial period.

**Keywords:** *Sport, Mozambique, National identity, Decolonization, Cultural resistance, Sports clubs, Postcolonialism*

**Bibliography or references:**

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- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large : Cultural dimention of Globalisation*,
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### Authors' biographies:



**Crémildo Gonçalves** is at the École Supérieure des Sciences du Sport, Eduardo Mondlane University at the Mozambic (cremildogoncalves2014@gmail.com). Doctoral student in Sciences et Techniques des Activités Physiques et Sportives, Université Paris Nanterre. Master's degree in Sport Management, Université de Nice Sophia Antipolis-France. Specialized training in Public Health "Promotion and Development of Health Education", at the University of Aix-en-Provence (Master) and in Management of Sport and Physical Activities related to Health, Leisure and Sport Tourism, at the University of Nice Sophia Antipolis-France (Master). Professor with 14 years' experience at the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambique), is co-author of two publications on Sport:

- Artur Domingos Do Rosário, Macúacua Bonomar & Goncalves Cremildo. José Filipe Magalhães: Uma vida épica no Atletismo. Edições Khaiya. 2015.
- Domingos do R. Artur, at all: "Os Pimentel - Um caso de reinvenção do hóquei em patins em Moçambique", Edições Khaiya, Maputo, 2019.



**Pascal Charitas** is a historian of sport and Olympism, and a Associate Professor at the University of Paris Nanterre, member of the ISP Laboratory (Institut des Sciences sociales du politique, UMR 7220). His work focuses on regional games, Franco-African sporting cooperation, sport and international relations. Author of numerous works, he has notably published :

- "A More Flexible Domination: Franco-African Sport Diplomacy during Decolonization, 1945-1966", in Johns Andrew, Heather L. Dichter (eds.) *Diplomatic Games. Sport, Statecraft and International*

Relations since 1945. An Anthology of Sport after the Second World War, University Press of Kentucky, 2014.

- "Imperialisms in the Olympics of the Colonization in the Postcolonization: Africa into the International Olympic Committee, 1910-1965", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 32, no. 7, 2015.
- "Sport in Africa", in Robert Edelman, Wayne Wilson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Sports History*, Oxford University Press, 2017.
- "L'Afrique et les Jeux Olympiques avant les décolonisations (1945-1960)", in Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Daphné Bolz, Yvan Gastaut, Sandrine Lemaire and Stéphane Mourlane (eds.), *Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme 1894-2024*, Atlande/Atlantique, 2023.
- Contribute to the collective work of the book: *Olympisme. Une histoire du monde. Des premiers Jeux Olympiques d'Athènes 1896 aux Jeux Olympiques et Paralympiques de Paris 2024*, Paris, Editions de la Martinière, 2024.

*East German sports development aid to Africa and the Arab world: the example of the German College for Physical Education (DHfK) of Leipzig (1950's-1980's)*

**Julien Beaufils**

**Resume:**

For the GDR, and for many other countries in Africa and the Arab world, competitive sports during the Cold War served a dual purpose: to launch the country on the para-diplomatic scene of international sports organizations and to help unite the population around a common national sentiment. Both the Eastern Bloc and the "Global South" sought, through their actions, a "multipolarization of the sporting world" (Dufraisse, 2023: 133).

For this reason, and thanks to the achievements of East German athletes, the SED continuously emphasized its commitment to "anti-imperialist sports solidarity". It thus devoted important human and financial resources to the structuring of sport in developing countries, especially those in Africa and the Arab world that leaned toward communism or showed signs of friendship with the USSR and its allies, such as Nasser's Egypt, Iraq, and the former Portuguese colonies. The GDR sent numerous coaches and officials abroad to train local staff, organized training camps and student exchange programs for international athletes and sports students, and vocally supported the efforts of developing countries' representatives to reform international sports governance. Within this system, the German College for Physical Education (DHfK), the country's central faculty for sports science, played a key role, welcoming some 2.500 students from the aforementioned "developing countries" on its campus in Leipzig and organizing more than 100 consulting missions abroad. This program began in 1955, just five years after the founding of the DHfK, and continued until its closure in 1990, after the reunification of Germany (Beaufils, 2019).

The present contribution analyzes archival material from the DHfK (now in the archives of the University of Leipzig) and from central East German sports institutions (mainly from the SAPMO fonds of the German Federal Archives) using methodological tools from everyday history (Lüdtke, 1989). This contribution will show how local actors from the GDR, but also from African and Arab countries, tried to navigate through political and propagandistic constraints in order to stimulate real cooperation between East and South, to help structure the different national sports systems, and to create a global "epistemic community" (Meyer, 2011: 141). However, even if some real collaborations and personal friendships emerged through this program, these exchanges could not escape the logics of the Cold War and a paternalistic approach from the East German actors.



**Keywords:** *Cold War, East-South collaboration, GDR, sports sciences, glocalization*

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*The representation of sport's identity elements in the promotion of cultural and ethnic diversity in Mozambique [remote]*

**Crémildo Goncalves, Luis Bertot Ortega, Pascal Charitas**

**Resume:**

In Mozambique, many social practices are rooted in local traditions and cultural practices that reflect the country's ethnic diversity. Sport would be an element that would act as a factor of national cohesion in order to federate different groups around a common identity, and thus allow the transmission of values aligned with Mozambican principles. The purpose of our communication is to study the effectiveness of the identity elements of sport in Mozambique as national affirmation tools. Given the lack of understanding of the contribution of these elements to the promotion of cultural and ethnic diversity, as well as the inclusion of all social groups, the research sought to answer the central question: how effective are nicknames of national teams, sports symbols, slogans, hymns and other elements as tools for asserting identity in Mozambique? The methodology adopted consists of a qualitative approach, including a descriptive analysis of the identity elements of sport and data collection through interviews and focus groups with members of Mozambican society. The main results indicate that, although the identity elements of sport are widely adopted and celebrated, there are challenges in terms of representation and inclusion. On the one hand, the participants express their pride and attachment to the names of the national sports equipment regarded as symbols of national identity as sources of unity and cohesion. However, there are concerns that these elements do not fully reflect Mozambique's cultural and ethnic diversity as some social groups feel marginalized or excluded due to their lack of representation. In addition, we can observe that some individuals or groups may perpetuate stereotypes or one-sided narratives about Mozambican identity. Our conclusions underline the need to promote the diversity of identity elements of sport, to involve local communities in its creation and to constantly monitor its effectiveness through intercultural dialogue our analysis highlights the importance of sport in building Mozambique's national identity with the need for a more inclusive and representative approach.

**Keywords:** *Identity affirmation, Sport, Cultural diversity, Mozambique, Representativeness*

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- Artur Domingos Do Rosário, Macúacua Bonomar & Goncalves Cremildo. José Filipe Magalhães: Uma vida épica no Atletismo. Edições Khaiya. 2015.
- Domingos do R. Artur, at all: "Os Pimentel - Um caso de reinvenção do hóquei em patins em Moçambique", Edições Khaiya, Maputo, 2019.



**Luis Bertot Ortega**, École Supérieure des Sciences du Sport, Eduardo Mondlane University. Maputo (Mozambique) ([lbortortega@gmail.com](mailto:lbortortega@gmail.com)). PhD, specialized training in Physical Culture and Sport, Master in Community Physical Activity and Associate Professor with over 30 years' teaching experience. He has participated as a speaker at several national and international scientific events, is author and co-author of several articles published in scientific journals, including:

- 2021. Didactic strategy for tactics processing in pioneer taekwondo players: evaluations of its application. Mikarimin, Vol 7, Iss 1, Pp 51-60 (2021). Disponible em: <http://45.238.216.13/ojs/index.php/mikarimin/article/view/2259>

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**Pascal Charitas** is a historian of sport and Olympism, and a Associate Professor at the University of Paris Nanterre, member of the ISP Laboratory (Institut des Sciences sociales du politique, UMR 7220). His work focuses on regional games, Franco-African sporting cooperation, sport and international relations. Author of numerous works, he has notably published :

- "A More Flexible Domination: Franco-African Sport Diplomacy during Decolonization, 1945-1966", in Johns Andrew, Heather L. Dichter (eds.) Diplomatic Games. Sport, Statecraft and International Relations since 1945. An Anthology of Sport after the Second World War, University Press of Kentucky, 2014.
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- "Sport in Africa", in Robert Edelman, Wayne Wilson (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Sports History, Oxford University Press, 2017.
- "L'Afrique et les Jeux Olympiques avant les décolonisations (1945-1960)", in Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Daphné Bolz, Yvan Gastaut, Sandrine Lemaire and Stéphane Mourlane (eds.), *Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme 1894-2024*, Atlande/Atlantique, 2023.
- Contribute to the collective work of the book: *Olympisme. Une histoire du monde. Des premiers Jeux Olympiques d'Athènes 1896 aux Jeux Olympiques et Paralympiques de Paris 2024*, Paris, Editions de la Martinière, 2024.

## DAY 1 - SESSION 3

**Tuesday 04 June 2024, 13:30 p.m. - 15:30 p.m., SESSION 3**

(Room 0.033, ground floor of the south research building)

### ***Transforming national, cultural values through sport and physical education***

Chair: Olga Ruzhelnyk



**Olga Ruzhelnyk** is a post-doctoral fellow at ISP, University of Paris Nanterre, involved in the “DicoBioSport” project. Her thesis, to be defended in June 2021, is entitled: “Ukrainian soccer Ultras and political reconfigurations around the Maïdan: genesis and transformations of a collective political figure in post-Soviet Ukraine (under the supervision of Olivier Le Noé, Université Paris Nanterre, STAPS/ISP). Main research topics: soccer supporterism, collective practices, politicization, nationalism, mobilization, post-Soviet space, Ukraine, Maidan, Donbass War.

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*A changing vision of the physical education concept from the perspective of Constantin Kiritescu's*

**Arseni Nada Alexandra**

**Resume:**

Constantin Kiritescu (born on September 3rd, 1837) is the author of the first course on the history of physical education in Romania, published in 1943 as *Palestrica: The History of Physical Education From All Times and Of All Peoples*. Professor at the Higher Institute of Physical Education in Bucharest (1930-1941), zoologist and historian, Constantin Kiritescu was a founding member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences (1935-1947). When the government changed and the Romanian Communist Party came to power, Constantin Kiritescu had to adapt his course, which was called *Palestrica: A Universal History of Physical Culture* (1963). This is certainly not a unique case in the history of the field, but it is the most visible case due to the position of professor at the only specialized institution in Romania at that time. Purpose: This study aims to analyze the differences regarding the form and content of the two versions of the course. The research method used was content analysis, a qualitative method, focusing on the author's two books mentioned above. Results: The book published in 1943 presents the vast field of the history of universal physical education and objectively captures its chronological and spatial development. On the other hand, the work from 1964, presents an update of the book *Palestrica* (1943), being elaborated from the positions of historical materialism, in which the previous parts are developed, defending new chapters, such as the one in which the history of physical education in Romania is exposed. How organizational forms have evolved, as well as the evolution of the means and methods of physical education in social, pedagogical, physiological, and aesthetic terms, are also important themes captured in this masterpiece. Conclusions: The differences between the two versions of the book *Palestrica* are in line with the ideology of those periods. Constantin Kiritescu transformed the concept of bourgeois physical education into popular physical culture.

**Keywords:** *physical culture, physical exercise, interwar period, communism, dialectical materialism*

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*Ioan Kunst Ghermănescu – a Romanian handball personality*

### **Eugen Bota & Gabriel Arnautu**

**Resume:**

Ioan Kunst Ghermănescu was born on May 11, 1925, in the town of Lugoj, Timiș county. He was a complex personality, who has influenced and contributed significantly to the development and consolidation of the Romanian handball school from the perspective of coach, university professor, methodist and federation president.

The purpose of this study is to highlight the importance of an elaborated personality who contributed decisively to the achievement of performances and the creation of a methodology in Romanian handball. In this sense, using the historiographical method, the archives of the most important newspapers and specialized magazines were accessed (*Sportul Popular*, *Sportul*, *Revista de Educație Fizică și Sport*, *Flacăra Journal*, *Drapelul Roșu*, *Steaua Roșie*, *Renaștea Bănățeană*, etc.). This way there have been collected in total 182 articles.

Analyzing the documents, it was found that the contribution of Ioan Kunst Ghermănescu to the development and creation of the Romanian handball school was both theoretical and practical, influencing the following generations of specialists in the country. As a member of the board and president of the coaches and methodical commission of the International Handball Federation (1976 – 1992).

He started his coaching career in his hometown, then became a coach at the ICF Bucharest team, where he won the first handball championship in 11 players with the women's team. The evolution of his career directs him to CCA Steaua Bucharest - the men's team. For two decades, together with Dinamo Bucharest, coached by Oprea Vlase, those will be the teams that will compete year after year for the national title and for the participation in the European Champions Cup. In 1950, Ioan Kunst Ghermănescu became an assistant at the Department of Sports Games at the National Academy of Physical Education and Sport (ANEFS), where he was following a long university career.

In conclusion, Ioan Kunst Ghermănescu was a determining personality of Romanian handball, influencing its evolution from three major directions: the coach, the university professor and the president of the federation. This study is of major importance in understanding the history of Romanian handball.

**Keywords:** *coaching, methodology, development, university professor*

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- Hans Frank - Newspaper SPORTUL, n° 1192, page 2.

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**Bota Eugène** is Associate Professor at the West University of Timisoara at the Faculty of Physical and Sports Education (Romania), my main areas of research are oriented towards sports performance in team and individual sports, handball training methodology. Initiator of a national handball tournament for young children.

- Grădinaru, L., Petracovschi, S., Bota, E., Mergheș, P. and Oravițan, M. (2023). The effect of the Blazepod flash reflex training program on vertical jumping in U15 female volleyball players. Timisoara Journal of Physical Education and Rehabilitation, 16 (30), 31-37. <https://doi.org/10.2478/tperj-2023-0004>
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**Arnautu Gabriel** is Assistant Professor at the West University of Timisoara at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport (Romania). My main areas of interest are sports performance, boxing and the history of physical education and sport. At university I teach boxing and the history of physical education and sport.

- Arnăutu, G., & Hanțiu, I. (2020). Impact of the use of modern technology in training on sports performance. *Timisoara Journal of Physical Education and Rehabilitation*, 13 (24), 51-56. is what I: <https://doi.org/10.2478/tperj-2020-0008>
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*Sport to the rescue of an endangered cultural identity: the case of the Turkish-speaking minority in Bulgaria (1923-1934)*

**Haydar Eren Akin**

#### **Resume:**

In this study, the role of sports clubs in reproducing the identity of the Turkish-speaking minority community of Bulgaria during the interwar period will be discussed by the Turan Youth and Sports Union, "Turan Gençlik ve Spor Birliği" between the years 1924 and 1934.

The way of preserving and reproducing the identity of the Turkish-speaking minority was manifested through sports clubs, especially in the interwar period. This article focuses on the efforts of the Turan Youth and Sports Union "Turan Gençlik ve Spor Birliği", which operated in Bulgaria between 1924 and 1934, to develop the national consciousness of Turks living in Bulgaria and elevate them intellectually and physically. Bulgaria's Turkish-speaking minority intellectuals came together and formed the Turan Youth and Sports Union in order to strengthen ties between Turks in Bulgaria and keep Turkish culture alive. The Turan Youth and Sports Union, which took the Kemalist reforms in Turkey as an example for the development of national consciousness and culture.

Young Turks from Bulgaria living in different cities came together and created various sports clubs after the First World War. Sports clubs, most of which were founded in 1923-1924. Although Turks living in Bulgaria established many sports clubs, there was no unity among them. We will examine how 95 sports clubs and more than 5,000 athletes came together during this ten-year period according to a program and make a social analysis of this sports union (Hezarfen, 1992). The disciplines that stand out in this union are football, gymnastics and scouting teams.

In this study, the role of sports clubs in reproducing the identity of the minority community and its transmission from generation to generation will be discussed using personal and official records. The role of literature in reproducing the identity of the Turkish-speaking minority in Bulgaria has often been discussed, but when it comes to sports, this examination is lacking in the academic literature.



This study aims to contribute to the academic literature in terms of the reproduction of minority identity regarding the social role of sport.

**Keywords:** *Sport Union, Bulgaria, interwar period, nationalism, Turks of Bulgaria*

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**Haydar Eren Akin** is doctoral student at Paris Nanterre University, working on the journeys of political exiles from Turkey to France and Germany in the contemporary era; ATER in the second year of STAPS social sciences at Paris Nanterre University.

- Akin , E. (2019). Liberade workshop: Endangered scholars and Rescue Politics. *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, 131-132(1), 70-73. doi:10.3917/mate.131.0070.
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*Athletes' Parade on National Day during communism in Romania*

**Simona Petracovschi & Anamaria Pautu**

### **Resume:**

Sport in Romania during the communist period was an important area for the regime. In Romania, as in other communist countries, military parades and demonstrations of working people were organized on the occasion of the national day. Athletes were considered part of the category of working people and took part in these demonstrations. The aim of this study is to analyse how the themes that formed the communist discourse on sport were visually presented in the parade of sportsmen and women to celebrate Romania's national day in the period 1953-1989. For this study,

we consulted the newspaper Sportul popular (1953-1967), the newspaper Sportul (1967-1989), the continuation of the newspaper Sportul popular and the newspaper Scânteia (1953-1989). The texts and pictures of the military parade and the parade of the athletes on August 23rd of each year can be found in the Romanian press since 1953. The year 1989 marks the fall of the communist regime. The method of thematic analysis was used to understand how the communist message was reinforced through visual discourse. The results show that the themes used are simple, repetitive and universal. The themes of sport for the masses, Olympic sport and the Institute of Physical Education and Sport were interlinked, ensuring the coherence of the argument about achieving sporting results. In the last period of communism, nationalism dominated the message of mass sport. The personality cult of Nicolae Ceausescu transformed the feedback that athletes were supposed to convey during the August 23 parade. The findings of the study indicate that the visual message conveyed during the communist period was a powerful form of reinforcing the verbal message conveyed by communist ideology. The athletes' physical bodies were at the centre of this visual message. A vigorous and healthy, beautiful and graceful body that fit into the main statements about increasing the country's industrial and agricultural production and defending it. The medals won by the athletes represented the industry's share of production in building the socialist society. The three themes were interconnected, the Institute of Physical Education and Sport, the holder of the knowledge and the generator of the professionalization of the whole field, had the role of the link between mass sport and Olympic sport.

**Keywords:** *body, power, new man, nationalism, cult of personality*

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- Grădinaru, L., Petracovschi, S., Bota, E., Mergheș, P. and Oravițan, M. (2023). The effect of the Blazepod flash reflex training program on vertical jumping in U15 female volleyball players. Timisoara Journal of Physical Education and Rehabilitation, 16 (30), 31-37. <https://doi.org/10.2478/tperj-2023-0004>

## DAY 1 - SESSION 4

**Tuesday 04 June 2024, 13:30 p.m. - 15:30 p.m., SESSION 4**

(Room 50, Convention center building)

### ***Making or breaking sports and Olympic worlds***

Chair: Swantje Scharenberg



**Swantje Scharenberg**, Prof. Dr., sports scientist, enjoys teaching and publishing in the fields of artistic gymnastics, sports history, sports media, etc., and heads the research center for physical education and sport for children and adolescents (FoSS) at the Institute of Sport and Sports Science of the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT), as well as being project coordinator for the "KIT Partner University for Top Level Sport". Since the founding of the CESH, she has received the Michele di Donato prize, edited the first volumes of the "CESH Annual" with James Riordan, become a member of the CESH and is currently - with Arnd Krüger - President of the CESH Fellows.

- Scharenberg, S. (2023). Flick-Flack pour tous – fiction ? Tagebucheinträge einer Hochschullehrerin. *Ze-phir Doppelausgabe (« Sportpraxis ». Zum Stellenwert in Studium und Lehre »)* (29/30), 1, 21-16.
- Scharenberg, S. & Colakovic, H. (2023). Research: Stability - Building bridges between downhill training in elite gymnastics and rehabilitation after hip surgery - Reflections on synergistic effects. In Heinen, T., Jeraj, D., Vinken, PM (eds.). *Contemporary topics in movement arts. Theories and applications*. Nova Scientific Publishers New York, 151-166.

*France and Great Britain: two sporting models at the origins of the globalization of sports*

**François Bourmaud**

#### **Resume:**

This presentation seeks to study British and French sporting identities during the 18th and 19th centuries, in order to better understand their conception of international sporting relations. Indeed, the history of these two nations has largely influenced the way in which sports have been thought of and instituted there.

The empiricism and liberalism which characterize British culture largely mark its sporting identity. Clubs emerge with great ease, gradually organize the practice of a sport and eventually end up forming a federation. The "English" sporting model, as it emerged during the 18th and 19th centuries, is therefore profoundly liberal and gives rise to a transnational conception of the globalization of sports giving pride of place to clubs (team tours in foreign countries, affiliation with British club federations around the world, mastership of certain "English" clubs in sports such as golf or cricket). On the French side, the emergence of sports during the 19th century took place within a nation-state marked by rationalism and administrative centralization. The result is a sporting organization quickly dominated by federal-type structures, seeking to organize the practice on a national scale and to define a set of common rules very early on. This culture favors a more international conception of the globalization of sports in which national teams are important.

The identification of these two great sporting cultures would allow us to present a new reading of the movement of internationalization of sports at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This first phase of sporting institutionalization on a global scale has been relatively little studied until now, unlike later periods. However, 22 international sports organizations emerged before 1914: they were driven by certain countries, established their headquarters in a metropolis and agreed on one or two official languages. France's very active participation in the creation of these organizations must be considered as a sort of logical extension of its national structure. The British splendid isolation in the face of this movement should be reassessed by showing that it is not necessarily a form of arrogance, but rather the result of a cultural gap with the rest of Europe.

**Keywords:** *globalization; rugby; team tours; player recruitment; cultural transfers; Franco-British relations*

#### **Bibliography or references:**

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- Grosset Yoan, *Aux origines du mouvement sportif français. L'histoire d'une institutionnalisation du sport et de l'Olympisme (1887-1930)*, thèse de doctorat en STAPS, Université Grenoble 1, 2010.
- Szymanski Stephan, « A Theory of the Evolution of Modern Sport », *Journal of Sport History*, vol.35, n°1, 2008, pages 1-32.
- Van Bottenburg Maarten, « Beyond Diffusion : Sport and Its Remaking in Cross Cultural Contexts », *Journal of Sport History*, volume 37, 2010, pages 41-53.

**Author biography:**

**François Bourmaud** is Senior teacher and doctor in contemporary history, research associate at the Centre d'Histoire du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (UR 3550).

- Forthcoming book: *Une histoire sportive du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Angleterre-France (1815-1914)*, published by Atlande.

*Making the Olympic world: the challenges of building the Olympic program*

**Lise Cardin**

**Resume:**

With the arrival of breaking events as well as the elimination of karate and baseball competitions in 2024, the Olympic world appears to fluctuate from one Olympiad to the next. Since Baron Pierre de Coubertin renovated the Games in 1894, some sports have arrived, while others have disappeared, either permanently or temporarily. How has the Olympic world evolved since 1896? How can we explain the development of the Olympic program? What are the underlying issues that shape the choices made by the organizers, between the International Olympic Committee and the local players involved in each edition of the Games?

In order to identify the changes and continuities in the composition of the Olympic program, we have worked with first-hand written sources, notably from the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne: official reports of the Summer and Winter Olympic Games, minutes of IOC Program Commission meetings, correspondence between the IOC and the International Federations, etc.

As part of a geopolitical (Terret, 2011) and geocultural history of sport, we will show that the construction of the Olympic world is like a delicate equation between (in)stabilities and innovations. On this subject, our paper will propose a classification of sports according to their Olympic trajectory: have they always been part of the Olympic program? have they been excluded from certain editions of the Games? have they been introduced recently? A number of concrete examples will highlight the diversity of the underlying issues, as each sport has a unique Olympic trajectory, often linked to the players involved. This will lead us to articulate the institutional issues at stake in the composition of the Games program with elements from cultural history and others from social history, in the image of a total history (Julien Louvrier, "Pierre Vilar: une histoire totale, une histoire en construction", *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, n°347, 2007, p.220-223).

**Keywords:** *Olympic program, stakes, classification, choice, cultural history*

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- Florence Carpentier, « Le conflit entre le C.I.O. et la F.I.F.A. dans l'entre-deux-guerres. Les Jeux olympiques contre la Coupe du Monde de football », *STAPS* n°68, 2005, pp.25-39.
- Nicolas Chavanat, « La marque olympique : entre fondements historiques et innovations. Jalons pour un agenda de recherche sur la gestion de marque fondée sur le passé », *STAPS* (pub. Anticipées), 2023, pp. 179-XIX.
- Patrick Clastres, « La renaissance des Jeux Olympiques, une invention diplomatique », *Outre-Terre* n°8, 2004, pp. 281-291, p. 285.
- Robert Rinehart, « “Fists Flew and Blood Flowed” : Symbolic Resistance and International Response in Hungarian Water Polo at the Melbourne Olympics, 1956 », *Journal of Sport History* n°23, 1996, pp. 120-139.

### Author biography:



**Lise Cardin** is Associate Professor at Strasbourg's Faculty of Sports Science and has a doctorate in the social sciences of sport ([cardin@unistra.fr](mailto:cardin@unistra.fr)). Attached to the Sport et sciences sociales research unit (E3S- UR 1342) in Strasbourg, her work focuses on the history of handball in France and, more broadly handball in France and, more broadly, on the diffusion of physical and sporting practices.

- Cardin L., "La trajectoire singulière du handball dans le système olympique (1936-2024)", in Attali M., Fortune Y., *Anthologie des sports olympiques*, 2024.
- Cardin L., "Le programme olympique: entre (in)stabilités et innovations? The example of handball's lente reconnaissance olympique du handball", *Colloque Pierre de Coubertin*, Calais, 11 October 2023.

*“Olympia? Nein danke!”: Berchtesgaden’s failed bid for the 1992 Winter Olympics*

### Amanda Shuman

#### Resume:

In October 1986, the IOC voted on who would host the 1992 Winter Olympics. Of the seven bidding potential hosts, dead last and eliminated in the first round of voting was the sleepy alpine town of Berchtesgaden (Germany). The Games were eventually awarded to Albertville, while Berchtesgaden has never put in another solo bid, and German attempts since to host a Winter Olympics have fallen flat. Yet to what extent should we consider this bid a “failure”? Berchtesgaden’s local newspaper, IOC internal materials, and first-hand accounts indicate strong anti-Olympic sentiment in the town at the time. Locals concerned primarily with environmental issues founded a citizens’ initiative that actively

ran unofficial polls, published propaganda, led protests, and engaged the support of national leaders (the rising Green Party) and transnational actors (La Commission Internationale pour la Protection des Alpes, CIPRA) to write to the IOC on its behalf. At the same, UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere project also commissioned its own assessment report of the potential environmental effects of hosting the Olympic Games in Berchtesgaden – part of its effort to designate the area as a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve (which it did in 1990). To be sure, the tourism director and mayor put in the bid, and there were supporters both for and against hosting the Winter Olympics, and local feuds are still remembered nearly four decades later. This paper will employ the aforementioned sources, as well as local oral histories and sources on environmental politics in 1980s Germany, to examine the local, national, and transnational contexts of Berchtesgaden's bid for the 1992 Olympic Games. It will pay particular attention to the intersection of these contexts concerning competing sports and environmental interests. Finally, it will suggest several long-term legacies of this bid at the national, transnational, European, and local levels – a bid for which many Berchtesgadeners today proclaim was not a “failure” but rather a success.

**Keywords:** Olympics, Germany, Olympic bids, environment, transnational

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**Author biography:**



**Dr. Amanda Shuman** is Associate Professor and Researcher at the University of Freiburg (Germany), where she also serves as Technical Administrator for The Maoist Legacy Database (<http://maoistlegacy.de>). She has published widely on the history of sport in China under Mao, including sports diplomacy in the 1950s and 1960s, and the transnational roots of national sports



development. Her new project investigates “failed” Olympic bids in Germany from the 1980s to the present with a focus on environmental and ecological issues.

- Shuman, Amanda, and Philippe Vonnard. “The Time They Are A-Changin’”: The IOC’s Confrontation with Environmental Issues (1960s-1990s).” (under review)
- Shuman, Amanda. “Producing Socialist Bodies: Transnational Sports Networks and Athletes in 1950s China.” In Anja Blanke, Klaus Mühlhahn, and Julia C. Strauss, eds., *Revolutionary Transformations: The People’s Republic of China in the 1950s*. Cambridge University Press, 2023.

*Against the globalisation of sport – national sport events in the Central Europe*

**Martin Klement**

**Resume:**

The Olympic Games can be viewed as an important promotor of the globalisation of sport. However, this event and the ideas of Pierre de Coubertin about the international competitions caused also an opposite process – a process of nationalisation and encapsulation of sport. As a direct result of the first Olympic Games in 1896 in Athen, the idea of the German national „Olympic Games“ arose and became very popular in Germany. Soon, many architects started to plan a monumental stadium for this national event, which had to be a counterpart of the international Olympic Games. Also in Austria and in the Czech lands, there was a trend to create a national version of the Olympic Games. This article will comparatively examine the process of the nationalization of sport as a response to the globalization of sport. After explaining the motives behind the growing popularity of different types of regional games in a broader global context, the article will focus mainly on national sporting events in Germany, Austria and in the Czech lands (Deutschnationales Olympia, Deutsche Kampfspiele, Congresses of the Czech Sokol Organisation). The various reasons for holding these events as well as their success and reception, will be explained on the basis of a number of generally unknown sources, such as plans of the national stadiums, programmes of the events or periodical. All these materials provide several highly interesting information about the arrangement of the national sport events, moreover, they enable to follow the general discurs about them. This paper will highlight that the organising of national sport events based especially on racial ideas and critic of international sport and competitions. The new created events found a lot of supporters among nationalistic-minded people, yet they could not stop the process of the globalisation of sport for ever. In the course of time, their significance and popularity were gradually decreasing. This should not mean that also the ideas, which the national sport events had been based on, completely disappeared. They are now manifested in different ways.

**Keywords:** *nationalisation, national „Olympic Games“, Deutsche Kampfspiele, Czech Sokol Organisation, stadium*

**Bibliography or references:**

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- Svobodová, Markéta – Kopřiva, Miloš, Architektur, Geschichte und Bedeutung von Masaryks Staatlichem Stadion Strahov, in: Laudamus, Fiona – Petzet, Michael – Ziesemer, John (edd.), *Sport – Stätten – Kultur. Historische Sportanlagen und Denkmalpflege*, München: Karl M. Lipp Verlag, 2002, p. 47–53.

#### Author biography:



**Martin Klement** is in postdoctorate at the Masaryk-Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences ([klement@mua.cas.cz](mailto:klement@mua.cas.cz)).

- Klement, Martin, Völkisch nach Rudolf Jahn, in: *Brücken* 29, 2022, 1, p. 77–92.
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## ROUND TABLE

**Tuesday 04 June 2024, 15 : 45 p.m. – 17 : 45 p.m., ROUND TABLE**

(Auditorium, Convention Center building)

### ***The global political and geopolitical stakes of Olympic Movement***

Chair: Pascal Charitas



**Pascal Charitas** is a historian of sport and Olympism, and a Associate Professor at the University of Paris Nanterre, member of the ISP Laboratory (Institut des Sciences sociales du politique, UMR 7220). His work focuses on regional games, Franco-African sporting cooperation, sport and international relations. Author of numerous works, he has notably published :

- "A More Flexible Domination: Franco-African Sport Diplomacy during Decolonization, 1945-1966", in Johns Andrew, Heather L. Dichter (eds.) *Diplomatic Games. Sport, Statecraft and International Relations since 1945. An Anthology of Sport after the Second World War*, University Press of Kentucky, 2014.
- "Imperialisms in the Olympics of the Colonization in the Postcolonization: Africa into the International Olympic Committee, 1910-1965", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 32, no. 7, 2015.
- "Sport in Africa", in Robert Edelman, Wayne Wilson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Sports History*, Oxford University Press, 2017.
- "L'Afrique et les Jeux Olympiques avant les décolonisations (1945-1960)", in Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Daphné Bolz, Yvan Gastaut, Sandrine Lemaire and Stéphane Mourlane (eds.), *Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme 1894-2024*, Atlande/Atlantique, 2023.
- Contribute to the collective work of the book: *Olympisme. Une histoire du monde. Des premiers Jeux Olympiques d'Athènes 1896 aux Jeux Olympiques et Paralympiques de Paris 2024*, Paris, Editions de la Martinière, 2024.

### Round table discussion with:

#### ✓ **Pascal Blanchard (ACHAC)**



**Pascal Blanchard** is a historian, associate researcher at the Centre d'histoire internationale et d'études politiques de la mondialisation (Lausanne/UNIL), co-director of the Achac research group, specialist in contemporary history and documentary filmmaker (Les Bleus, une autre histoire de France; Noirs de France; Sauvages. Au coeur des zoos humains; Décolonisations. Du sang et des larmes and the short film series Champions de France). Since 2019, he has directed the "Histoire, Sport & Citoyenneté" program on the history of the Olympic Games, and is co-curator of the exhibition at the Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration/Palais de la Porte Dorée on the Olympic Games (April-September 2024).

He has co-edited or edited some sixty books, including:

- Décolonisations françaises. La chute d'un Empire, Editions de La Martinière, 2020 (with Nicolas Bancel and Sandrine Lemaire).
- Le racisme en images, Editions de La Martinière 2021 (with Gilles Boëtsch).
- Colonisation & propagande. Le pouvoir de l'image, Le Cherche Midi, 2022 (with Sandrine Lemaire, Nicolas Bancel, Dominic Thomas and Alain Mabanckou).
- Co-edited Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme, 1896-2024, Atlante/Atlantique, 2023.

#### ✓ **Nicolas Bancel (ACHAC, UNIL, Lausanne)**



**Nicolas Bancel** is a historian, full professor at the University of Lausanne, researcher at the Centre d'histoire internationale et d'études politiques de la mondialisation and co-director of the Achac research group. He specializes in colonial and postcolonial history and the history of the body. Since 2019, he has been scientific director of the "Histoire, Sport & Citoyenneté" program on the history of the Olympic Games, and is co-curator of the exhibition at the Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration/Palais de la Porte Dorée on the Olympic Games (April-September 2024).

He has published or co-edited some sixty books, including:

- Décolonisations? Elites, jeunesses et pouvoirs en Afrique occidentale française (1945-1960), Publications de la Sorbonne, 2022.
- Le Postcolonialisme, Presses universitaires de France, 2022.
- Sports in Postcolonial Worlds, Routledge, 2017 (with Thomas Riot and Stanislas Frenkiel)
- Co-edited Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme, 1896-2024, Atlante/Atlantique, 2023.

✓ **Yvan Gastaut (ACHAC, URMIS, STAPS, Nice University)**



**Yvan Gastaut** is a historian, Associate Professor at the Université Côte d'Azur, researcher at the URMIS (Unité de recherche migrations et société) within the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme de Nice et du Sud-Est (MSHS), member of the orientation council of the Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration (MNHI), member of the scientific council of the Musée national du sport and has organized the Rencontres sur le Patrimoine sportif since 2011. His research focuses on the history of sport in its relationship to identities, immigration and discrimination. He is co-curator of the exhibition at the Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration/Palais de la Porte Dorée on the Olympic Games (April-September 2024). His publications include:

- Le métissage par le foot: l'intégration, mais jusqu'où?, Autrement, 2008.
- Allez la France. Soccer et immigration, Gallimard, 2010 (with Claude Boli and Fabrice Grognet) Who's Who? Les champions sportifs à l'épreuve des colonisations et des migrations, Les Perséides, 2019 (with Niek Pas).
- Co-edited Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme, 1896-2024, Atlande/Atlantique, 2023.

✓ **Daphné Bolz (CETAPS, STAPS, Rouen University)**



**Daphné Bolz** is a historian, full professor at the University of Rouen Normandie, member of the CETAPS laboratory (UR 3832) and president of the European Committee for the History of Sport (CESH). Her work focuses on the political, social and cultural implications of physical exercise in Europe from the late 19th to the mid-20th century, with particular reference to Germany, Italy, Great Britain and France. Her publications include:

- Les Arènes totalitaires. Fascisme, nazisme et propagande sportive, CNRS Editions, 2008.
- "Physical education and bodily strengthening on either side of the Rhine: A transnational history of the French bill on Physical Education and its German reception (1920-1921)", Sport in History, 2021 (with Jean Saint-Martin)
- European Studies in Sports History, vol. 14, Special Issue Youth and Physical Education in History, 2021 (with Patrick Clastres)
- Co-edited the collective works *Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme, 1896-2024*, Atlande-Atlantique, 2023 and *A History of Sport in Europe in 100 Objects* (with Michael Krüger), Arete Verlag, 2023.

## SESSION 5

**Tuesday 04 June 2024, 15 : 45 p.m. – 17 : 45 p.m., SESSION 5**

(Room 50, Convention center building)

### ***Sporting interdependencies between the local and the global***

Chair: Valentin Guéry



**Valentin Guéry** holds a doctorate in STAPS and is attached to the ISP, University Paris Nanterre ([v.guery@parisnanterre.fr](mailto:v.guery@parisnanterre.fr)). His thesis focuses on the conception, doctrine and representations of sport (in the broadest sense) by French political parties under the Fifth Republic. It focuses on national and local levels, and examines the processes of translation, appropriation and instrumentation of municipal sports policy by local elected officials. His areas of interest and research are : Socio-history of the place of sport in political parties in France. Political socialization and professionalization of elected officials (national and local) in charge of sports issues. National and municipal sports policies. Politicization and depoliticization in the sports arena. Political commitment and protest among soccer fans.

*Globalisation and regional practices: the cases of Breton wrestling and Calcio storico fiorentino*

**Dario Nardini & Aurélie Épron**

#### **Resume:**

The transformations of some regional practices with an identarian value in the context of globalisation are neither linear nor definitive, and do not necessarily result in uniformity and homogenisation (Épron and Chev  , 2024). Based on documentary analysis, interviews and observations, this paper proposes an anthropo-historical analysis of two traditional practices affected by globalisation, aiming to discuss the plasticity and porosity that characterized their recent history: Breton wrestling (*gouren*) and *Calcio storico fiorentino*, a re-enactment of the Renaissance game of *calcio*.

Reinvented at the same time (1930), with different approaches to the mobilisation and enhancement of local “identities” and “traditions”, Breton wrestling and *Calcio storico* have evolved through the

last century adapting the changing socio-political contexts (national and international) and at the same time symbolically enhancing their local roots (Épron, 2018; Nardini, 2023). These processes have been reinforced in recent decades as globalisation has broadened the existential horizons – spatial, temporal and social (Bausinger, 2020) – of some residents in Brittany and Florence.

In fact, *gouren* and *calcio* are bodily, embodied ways of symbolically valorising and circumscribing local “communities”, through the apparent reproduction of the past – “apparent” because these activities have been regularly renewed to adapt to the globalisation of society and sporting practices, particularly in terms of the rules and techniques of the body, but also in terms of the role and significance they gain in contemporary society. As a result, the most recent changes of *gouren* actually help to maintain its “traditional” status, and its representativeness of the local culture – and body. A different dynamic has led *calcio* to become a field of symbolic “resistance” to the touristification of Florence's historic centre (and heritage).

So, in these European regions, glocalisation – rather than globalisation – marks out the different trajectories of invention and “traditionalization” of these practices, linking them to shared but also situated social and symbolic cultural processes. These case studies are therefore representative of the vitality of societies that are reinterpreting their heritage, their memories and their futures by finding their centres of gravity within themselves (Nardini & Épron, 2021; Épron & Chevé, 2024) in order to reformulate their sense of belonging.

**Keywords:** *games, sports, traditions, identity, glocalisation.*

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- Épron, A., 2018. « Lutte en pays breton : la fabrique du Gouren en Bretagne », *CORPS*, 16, pp. 335-352.
- Épron, A., and Chevé, D., (forthcoming, June 2024). « D'autres jeux, d'autres corps », *CORPS*, 22.
- Nardini, D., 2023. *Il Calcio Storico Fiorentino: La rievocazione tra patrimonio e “identità”*. Florence: Olschki.
- Nardini, D., and Épron, A., 2021. “Being Bretons through wrestling. Traditional *gouren* as a distinctive Breton activity”, *Ethnography*, 22(3), pp. 372-395.

### **Authors' biographies:**

**Dario Nardini**, Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Geografiche e dell'Antichità DiSSGeA – University of Padova ([dario.nardini@unipd.it](mailto:dario.nardini@unipd.it)). Dario Nardini is a researcher at the University of Padova. He has conducted ethnographic research on Breton wrestling, surfing in Australia, *Calcio storico fiorentino* and informal food economies in Tuscany, tackling a range of issues at the heart of ethno-anthropological disciplines, including the body, cultural identity, heritage, cultural representations and ethnographic methodologies. He is editorial coordinator of the journal *Lares* and director of the series “Sport, corps, culture” (Milano, Ledizioni). His publications include the monographies *Surfers Paradise. Un'etnografia del surf sulla Gold Coast australiana* (Ledizioni, 2022) and *Il Calcio Storico Fiorentino: La rievocazione tra patrimonio e “identità”* (Olschki, 2023).

**Épron Aurélie**, Associate Professor, Laboratory of Vulnerability and Innovation in Sport (L-VIS), Université Claude Bernard Lyon 1 ([aurelie.epron@univ-lyon1.fr](mailto:aurelie.epron@univ-lyon1.fr)). Aurélie Épron is an anthropo-historian at the Laboratoire sur les Vulnérabilités et l'Innovation dans le Sport (L-VIS, UR 7428) at the Université Lyon 1. She is interested in the cultural identity and/or heritage trajectories and dynamics

of ludodiversity – in particular those of traditional wrestlings – in the context of globalisation. In collective research, she also investigates the institutional, event, political and diplomatic history of physical practices and their trajectories within the Olympic movement. From this perspective, she is analysing too the way in which regional identarian games (events and integrated practices) are singularly positioned, or not, within the sporting movement. Forthcoming, Épron, A., and Chevé, D., (June 2024). « D'autres jeux, d'autres corps », *CORPS*, 22.

*Cricket on the island of Vis (Croatia): a researched glocalization*

**Rahela Jurković**

**Resume:**

History of playing cricket on the island of Vis in Croatia has begun in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Sir William Hoste, a Royal Navy captain, started to play cricket with his soldiers, out of boredom, and in-between battles in the Adriatic Sea. However, cricket was very soon forgotten on Vis, and gone together with the Napoleonic Wars and presence of British soldiers of that time on the island. Almost two hundred years afterwards, a group of people started to “remember Hoste” (referring to his message “Remember Nelson”, used to inspire his sailors to overcome the larger enemy force), and an islander, Oliver Roki, raised in Australia (where he used to watch cricket on television), reintroduced the game on the island. Soon some expats supported and joined him. Hence the last twenty years cricket is played on Vis during springtime and early autumn, at the location that served as an important Second World War airfield in 1944-1945.

The paper is based on the anthropological research done on Vis cricket field from 2020 to 2022, involving semi-structural interviews and ethnography. The traditional qualitative methods were supported by video recording, and the paper presentation uses video-recorded interviews and participant observation, in order to vividly present transnational and local actors playing cricket in Croatia, where that sport is almost unknown and certainly unpopular. The research questions the notion of transnationalism in Eastern Europe, taken in understanding of “processes that interconnect individuals and social groups across specific geo-political borders” (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007), where not many scholars have empirically researched the topic of glocalization of sport. The research findings have demonstrated that links between amateur sport, globalisation, cosmopolitanism and connectivity can be manifold, and that sport should be seen also as a vehicle of personal choices and wishes for fulfilment and happiness.

A player who came from London to Vis for just playing during a weekend on a cricket tournament of amateurs, who almost broke his finger, but was perfectly happy on an unperfect cricket field, is just one among other interviewees which case supports the research findings.

**Keywords:** *amateur sport, cricket, glocalisation, island of Vis*

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### Author biography:



**Rahela Jurković**, PhD in cultural anthropology, has been researching refugees and migrants, their integration into society, sport included, since 2015. In 2019 she was the first researcher who received a grant from UEFA to research the topic of football and refugees, and in 2020 she successfully completed the project "Football and refugees: cultural anthropology of the Balkan corridor (2015 - 2019)", funded through UEFA Research Grant Programme. She is the author of two books in the area of sports, results of her research in the domain of refugees, and also the author of several scientific articles in the field.

- 2022. Rahela Jurković & Ramón Spaaij. "The 'integrative potential' and sociopolitical constraints of football in Southeast Europe: a critical exploration of lived experiences of people seeking asylum", *Sport in Society* 25:3, 636-653, DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2022.2017824
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*Discovering the process of sports glocalization worldwide - a case study of cycling in China*

**Philippe Campillo, Arnaud Waquet and Zijing Li**

### Resume:

This study aims to understand the acceleration of sports globalization in China, with its share of resistances or acceptances, in other words, according to Robertson's "glocalization" (1995): "According to the dictionary, the term "glocal" and the process noun "glocalisation" are "formed by telescoping global and local to make a blend." The term was modeled on the Japanese word *dochakuka*, which originally meant adapting farming technique to one's own local condition. More specifically, the "glocalization" of sports is defined in four degrees, including relativization, accommodation, hybridization, and transformation (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007).

China is a privileged meeting place for global culture, and its sports are a social construct that has already been studied from the perspective of glocalization, as is the case with the NBA (Fuhua, 2013) or dance (Dai et al., 2022).

Since the 1980s, with economic reforms and urban development in China, the use of bicycles has undergone a transition from being replaced by cars (Allaire, 2007). However, in the past two decades, the Chinese government has promoted a national fitness program, encouraging outdoor activities

like cycling. Research methods include surveys and interviews with stakeholders to understand how Chinese cycling adapts global cycling culture to local conditions. Findings reveal a hybridization phase in Chinese cycling influenced by factors like heavy traffic and air pollution. Consequently, many cyclists opt for nighttime rides and utilize government-established "green ways" for their activities.

**Keywords:** *Globalization, glocalization, sport, cycling, China*

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### **Authors' biographies:**



**Philippe Campillo** is Associate Professor - Faculty of Health and Sport Sciences - University of Lille. Member of the Multidisciplinary Research Unit on "Sport, Health, and Society". (Email address: [philippe.campillo@univ-lille.fr](mailto:philippe.campillo@univ-lille.fr))

- Rahal, Z. J., Campillo, P., Richard, G. (2021). *La glocalisation, une nouvelle tendance de la mondialisation du sport : revue de littérature*, *Sciences sociales et sport*, 1, n°17, 115-136.



**Arnaud Waquet** is Associate Professor - Faculty of Health and Sport Sciences - University of Lille ([arnaud.waquet@univ-lille.fr](mailto:arnaud.waquet@univ-lille.fr)). Olympic and Paralympic Mission Officer at the University of Lille. Member of the Multidisciplinary Research Unit on “Sport, Health, and Society”. Head of the Master's program in 'Sport Management and Strategy.' Member of the French National Olympic Academy and the French Olympic Studies Center.

- Waquet, A. (2019). *The Glocalization of Sport in China: the Ski Market' Case Study in the Olympic Push Context*. 16<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Society for Global Business & Economic Development, 10 – 13 June 2019, Sao Paulo, Brazil.
- Chanavat, N., Waquet, A., & Richard, A. (2021). *Les défis de l'olympisme, entre héritage et innovation : approches historique, sociale et managériale du Mouvement olympique*. Paris : INSEP. (Olympic Challenges, between Legacy and innovation: historical, social and managerial approaches to the Olympic Movement).



**Zijing Li** is Ph.D. student - Faculty of Health and Sport Sciences - University of Lille. Master's thesis (2022). "The Glocalization of Cycling in China" ([zijing.li.etu@univ-lille.fr](mailto:zijing.li.etu@univ-lille.fr))

*Olympic meeting between the global and the local: a case study of the glocalization of amateur skiing practice in China*

### **Arnaud Waquet**

#### **Resume:**

In 2015, the awarding of the 2022 Winter Olympics to Beijing led to the rapid development of skiing in China. To be at the expected level, China is borrowing their know-how from countries and companies that are experts in winter sports. However, in the context of the development of amateur skiing, the constraints and culture of the Chinese population show the limits of copying and pasting the Western model.

It is on this observation of the adaptation of the global to the requirements of the local that our communication focuses and attempts to understand the specificities of the amateur ski market in China. Thus, we ask ourselves the question of how, in the context of promoting skiing in China for the

2022 Winter Olympics, the interpenetration between the global (the Western ski model) and the local (the habits and constraints of the Chinese population) gave birth to a glocal development model?

To answer this question, we used the theoretical framework of glocalization (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007) and we conducted semi-structured interviews and participant observations in 11 ski resorts located in 5 Chinese provinces.

From the results obtained, we demonstrate the need for a glocal model based on six local priorities, namely 1. level of practice, 2. time of practice, 3. transport, 4. motivations, 5. climate, 6. security.

Secondly, our results call us to go beyond the so-called 'hybrid' model of glocalization. Indeed, by observing the development of indoor and synthetic ski resorts, the development of skiing in China transcends the global model based on a traditional vision of practice (namely on natural snow, in the mountains, during vacations and far from the city centers) and proposes an Asianization of the global model (Horton, 2011) of skiing based on a multi-modal practice, real or virtual, in a natural or artificial environment, in a city center or in the mountains, as a recreational leisure activity or in competition, accessible all day and all year.

**Keywords :** *Glocalization, Skiing, China, Interpenetration, Local priorities*

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### **Author biography:**



**Arnaud Waquet** is Associate Professor - Faculty of Health and Sport Sciences - University of Lille (arnaud.waquet@univ-lille.fr). Olympic and Paralympic Mission Officer at the University of Lille. Member of the Multidisciplinary Research Unit on “Sport, Health, and Society”. Head of the Master's program in 'Sport Management and Strategy.' Member of the French National Olympic Academy and the French Olympic Studies Center.

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## DAY 1 - SESSION 6

**Tuesday 04 June 2024, 15:45 p.m. - 17: 45 p.m., SESSION 6**

(salle 0.033, ground floor of the south research building)

### ***Adapted sport, disability and Paralympics communities as new sport worlds***

Chair: Haydar Eren Akin



**Haydar Eren Akin** is doctoral student at Paris Nanterre University, working on the journeys of political exiles from Turkey to France and Germany in the contemporary era; ATER in the second year of STAPS social sciences at Paris Nanterre University.

- Akin , E. (2019). Libération workshop: Endangered scholars and Rescue Politics. *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, 131-132(1), 70-73. doi:10.3917/mate.131.0070.
- Akin E.. 'Is the Immigration Era Over for Turks of Bulgaria: An analysis on MRF Party', Çorlu Belediyesi Publication, Edt. Ayse Kayapinar et al, Çorlu 2020, pp. 333-356. Akin, E. 'Is the Immigration Era Over for Turks of Bulgaria?', Izmir K.C. University Press, 2021.
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*Sport for mentally disabled people (from the 1960s to 1983): from American concerns to the creation of the French Federation of Adapted Sport (FFSA)*

**Yacine Tajri**

#### **Resume:**

In the 1960s and 1970s, demands in favour of sports practice for the various disabled populations spread across France to fight against this inequality. Francophone research into the history of sport has long focused on the dominant models of the phenomena rather than on "its peripheral variations" (Terret, 2013: 12). While social science research on disability and physical activity began to increase at the turn of the twenty-first century in the English-language literature (Smith and

Sparkes, 2012), the change of direction seems to have taken place in French historiography in the 2010s. For example, the history of the disabled sport movement ("*handisport*") is becoming increasingly well known (Ruffié, Ferez, 2013). What about sports for the mentally and intellectually disabled?

While due to a unique history the Kennedy family is aware of the cause of mental and intellectual disability, sports authorities in France do not plan to offer physical activities for these people in a federal organisation. This proposal questions the basis of the creation of the French federation of adapted sports (FFSA) which was structured in the early 1970s in this country because of the influence and the important role played by one person: President JFK's little sister, Eunice Kennedy Shriver (EKS). By questioning mainly French sources, our work proposes to analyse the first years of the FFSA in order to see the way in which these American concerns, with the influence of an imperial mentality or an entrepreneurial spirit (Pope, 2010: 229-247), have been translated in France, particularly through the investment of certain actors won over by the cause.

Drawing on the contributions of transnational history (Espagne, 1999), we will show how EKS (1921-2009) was able to import practices, mobilise different networks to discuss this issue and set up relays in France. The documents used were collected mainly from the National Archives in Paris and the archives of the INSEP center. On a smaller scale, we also used press cuttings and magazines to fill our data. In order to complete this corpus, two interviews were conducted with people directly involved in this French dissemination.

**Keywords:** *sports federation, intellectual disability, Kennedy, adapted sport*

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### **Author biography:**



**Yacine Tajri** is Associate professor of sports history at the Université Gustave Eiffel ([yacine.tajri@univ-eiffel.fr](mailto:yacine.tajri@univ-eiffel.fr)). His research focuses on the history of physical education (PE) and sport

for disabled people in France. More specifically, and as part of a historical approach, he is interested in the construction of gymnastics adapted in schools in order to integrate or include pupils with disabilities, while analyzing the different positions of those involved in PE and sport.

- Y. Tajri, « Vers un horizon inclusif en EPS ? Retour sur l'adaptation d'une discipline scolaire à toutes et tous (1981-2021) », in M. Attali, B. Cremonesi (di.), *L'EPS au ministère de l'Éducation nationale : 1981-2021. Transformations disciplinaires, mutations professionnelles, enjeux militants*, Éditions EPS, 2022, p. 125-134.
- Y. Tajri, J. Saint-Martin, T. Froissart, « A crusade against the curve? Physical education for disabled pupils in France after World War II (1945-1958) », *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, vol. 56, issue 4, 2020, p. 520-534.

*Creating a community or a world: a challenge for the deaf-mute organizers of the first International Sports Games in Paris in 1924?*

**Didier Séguillon & Martial Meziani**

**Resume:**

In August 1924, just a few days after the close of the 8th Olympiad, post-war Paris hosted the first International Silent Games, true Olympic Games for deaf-mute athletes. Why were such games held in Paris in 1924? What kind of games and sports were they? Were they adapted to the athletes' hearing impairment, or did the deaf take part in the same activities as hearing-speaking people? What reasons prompted the deaf to create their own sports societies at the end of the 19th century, and on August 16, 1924 in Paris, an international movement which has continued to this day in the form of an international organization, the International Committee of Sports for the Deaf (ICSD), and games, the Deaflympics, organized every four years like the Olympic Games? Are they the expression of a self-centered community, a sort of inward-looking withdrawal of the deaf, or are they, on the contrary, an opening onto the world so that deaf sportsmen and sportswomen can become citizens of it? Was is the creating of a world or a community? Was this a real issue for the organizers of the first International Silent Games in Paris in 1924? So many questions about the creation of the International Committee of Sports for the Deaf and the implementation of the first International Silent Games in Paris in 1924 had to be answered by the organizers of the Games. Here are just a few questions about the creation of the International Committee of Sports for the Deaf (ICSD) and the implementation of the first International Silent Games in Paris in 1924 we will attempt to answer in this article.

The hypotheses put forward are in line with the questions and publications by the scientific community over the last thirty years among which are those made by Bernard Mottez, and this historical and sociological work is based on little-explored sources: writings by deaf people such as Rubens Alcais, President of the Organizing Committee of the first International Silent Games in Paris and President of the International Silent Sports Committee onwards; articles published between 1914 and 1934 in *Le Sportsman silencieux*, the first newspaper for deaf-mute sports in France (179 issues); archives of the now-defunct “Fédération sportive des sourds de France” (FSSF); and newsletters from the CISS as from 1924.

**Keywords:** *Comité international du sport des sourds, Deaflympics, International Silent Games, Paris, 1924*



### Bibliography or references:

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- Meziani M. & Séguillon D. (2020). *De faire communauté à faire société. Controverse entre les Sourds sportifs et le monde de l'handisport*. *Revue Développement humain, handicap et changement social*.
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- Séguillon D. (2023). *Le Sportsman silencieux*. Monographie du premier organe de presse de la France sportive des sourds-muets 1914-1934. Collection Espace et Temps du sport. Paris : l'Harmattan.

### Authors' biographies:



**Didier Séguillon** is a sport historian specializing in the sciences and techniques of adapted physical activity, and shared motor and sports practices. He is currently a member of the Disability and Society Program at EHESS-Paris, lecturer emeritus at the University of Paris Nanterre in STAPS, qualified to direct research (HDR) and researcher at the Institut des Sciences sociales du politique (UMR 7220).

- Séguillon D. (2020). *Activité physique adaptée et sociohistoire. Le domaine STAPS activité physique adaptée aux publics à besoins particuliers ou spécifiques*. Collection mouvement et savoirs. L'Harmattan.
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**Martial Meziani** is Assistant Professor at CY Cergy Paris Université ([martial.meziani@cyu.fr](mailto:martial.meziani@cyu.fr)), qualified to direct research (HDR) in Education and Training Sciences, member of the Ecole, Mutations, Apprentissages laboratory (EMA, EA 4507), in charge of the disability mission and local referent for the Atypie-friendly program.

## *Italian Paralympic sport in a global perspective*

**Erminio Fonzo**

### **Resume:**

Paralympic sports have gained a global dimension in recent times. Consider that in 1980, only 42 countries were represented at the Paralympic Games, while at the latest edition in Tokyo, the number rose to 161.

Although the Italian Paralympic movement developed with some delay compared to other European countries, it has made a significant contribution to the global spread of Paralympism. The first Paralympic Games took place in Rome in 1960, and since then, Italian athletes have participated in every edition of the Games and in many other international competitions. At the same time, the Italian Paralympic organizations have had to face challenges such as a lack of funding and limited attention from political and sports institutions. Only in the 1980s recognition and funding were finally provided to sport for people with disabilities.

My contribution aims to outline the role of Italian Paralympism on the international stage, highlighting the extent to which it has contributed to the growth of the global movement and the difficulties it has had to face.

Main sources for my contribution will be newspapers, both sports and general, and particularly the publications of the Paralympic organizations. I will also take into account audio-visual sources, mainly television broadcasts and newsreels.

**Keywords:** *Paralympic sport, Paralympic games, Globalization, Sport in Italy, History of disability*

### **Bibliography or references:**

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- Brittain *From Stoke Mandeville to Stratford: a History of the Summer Paralympic Games*, Champaign, Common Ground Publishing, 2012.
- S. Bailey, *Athlete First: a History of the Paralympic Movement*, Chichester, Wiley, 2008.
- E. Fonzo, *Alle origini delle Paralimpiadi. I "Giochi internazionali per paraplegici" di Roma 1960*, in "ICSR Mediterranean Knowledge Working Papers Series", 6 1, 2021, pp. 7-36.

### **Author biography:**



**Erminio Fonzo** is researcher on contemporary history at the University of Salerno and is a member of the governing council of the *Società Italiana di Storia dello Sport* (SISS). He is primarily interested in social and political history, with a special focus on the history of sports, Italian fascism, and the public use of history and memory. Webpage: <https://salerno.academia.edu/ErminioFonzo>

- *I Fasci giovanili di combattimento. Una storia di socializzazione politica, militarizzazione e sport*, Clueb, Bologna, 2023.
- *Il nuovo goliardo. I Littoriali dello sport e l'atletismo universitario nella costruzione del totalitarismo fascista*, Aracne, Roma, 2020.
- *Sport e migrazioni. Storia dell'Afro-Napoli United*, Aracne, Roma, 2019.

## DAY 1 - SESSION 7

**Tuesday 04 June 2024, 15:45 p.m. - 17:45 p.m., SESSION 7**

(Room 0.010, ground floor of the north research building)

### ***Separating or uniting through amateurism and religion in sport***

Chair: Juan Antonio Simon Sanjurjo



**Juan Antonio Simón** is Associate Professor in Sports History at Polytechnic University of Madrid-INEF, where his research focuses on the history of sport in Spain, the links between football and international relations, and the history of mega sports events like the FIFA World Cup or the Olympic Games.

- Juan Antonio Simón and Julian Rieck Título “Football, propaganda and international relations under Francoism: the 1960 and 1964 European Nations’ Cup and their impact on the international press”. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 39 (5), 2022.
- Juan Antonio Simón, Carlos García Martí. Título: “Gold Slaves”: Unionism and football in Spain during the democratic transition. *Sport in Society*, 2021 DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1932821>

*“The amateur question” in Brasil: a global history of amateurism in the first half of the twentieth century*

**Gabriela Marta Marques de Oliveira**

#### **Resume:**

The project's goal is to look into the cultural exchange between Brazilian and foreign athletes, as well as how the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) ideal of sporting amateurism spread around the world along with English imperialism. To that end, I will discuss the disputes surrounding the concept of amateurism, analyze the adjustments made to this concept by Brazilian athletes to ensure its success in the country shortly after slavery was abolished, and propose an interpretation of how amateurism influenced the personal and professional trajectory of Brazilian athletes.

The analysis will be based on three sets of documents: the documentation maintained by Avery Brundage, former president of the IOC, will be used to understand international discussions about the concept of amateurism; documentation from the Brazilian Sports Confederation and the Brazilian Olympic Committee will be used to analyze how these national institutions, to which the IOC members were very close, organized and defended amateur sport in Brazil. Finally, national sports newspapers and magazines will be examined to comprehend how amateur sports and amateur athletes were portrayed, as well as to analyze the athletes' careers. Changing the scale of analysis, I will examine the cases of Brazilian Olympic athletes Adhemar Ferreira da Silva and Melânia Luz, both black athletes who pursued other professional careers to be able to compete as athletes. So far, research indicates that the IOC's concept of amateurism is linked to the ideas of vocation and passion, and that it had been re-signified and adapted to serve the Brazilian elite's purposes of differentiating and segregating themselves from members of the popular classes, some of whom were newly freed from slavery.

**Keywords:** *amateurism, International Olympic Committee, Brazil, Avery Brundage, Global History*

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- Owensby, Brian. *Ironies intimes : modernité et création de la vie de la classe moyenne au Brésil*. Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1999.

#### **Author biography:**



**Gabriela Marta Marques de Oliveira** is a PhD candidate in Compared History at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) ([gbrl.moliveira@gmail.com](mailto:gbrl.moliveira@gmail.com)). She completed her undergraduate studies in History (2017) and her Master's degree in Physical Education (2020) at the State University of Campinas. She is interested in the following themes: Sports History, Labour History, Brazilian History, and Latin American History.

- OLIVEIRA, Gabriela MM; GOIS JR., Edivaldo. *Le sport, la santé et la vie bancaire : la pratique du football pour les travailleurs bancaires paulistanos, 1929-1932* . *Dans* : *Hist. cien. saude -Manguinhos* 30, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-59702023000100054>

- OLIVEIRA, Gabriela MM; GOIS JR., Edivaldo. Os operários, os negros, os cronistas eo futebol na imprensa de São Paulo (1930-1934). *Dans* : Mouvement 26, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.22456/1982-8918.99568>

*"Kurt Kröttsch is alive!" - the life of a German artistic gymnast during the Nazi era*

## **Swantje Scharenberg**

### **Resume:**

Kurt Kröttsch, born in 1909, was a German artistic gymnast whose "magnificent physique and unsurpassable posture" (N.N. 1942) made an international impression in professional circles in the 1930s/40s. As a member of the Deutschlandriege, he had his very own style of artistic gymnastics. Contemporary witnesses report that in 1948 they had seen the Soviet national team perform the same elements and choice of exercises as Kröttsch did at the time. This led to the assumption that Kröttsch, of whom there had been no clear sign of life since 1944 after he had enlisted in the Waffen SS, could have been one of the coaches of the Soviet national team – "Kurt Kröttsch is alive!"

In addition to the question of the transferability of an artistic gymnastics style, the amateur laws are addressed from the aspect of Kröttsch's individual life. The 22-year-old unemployed gymnast had wanted to claim his travel expenses for participating in the Berlin – Leipzig city competition. This was the first time that the German Gymnastics Association had to deal with the issue of "violation of the amateur laws".

The restrictions to which this handsome, blond, attractive man, who knew how to present himself effectively in the media, was also exposed in his social life (cf. Hillmann 1994, p. 199) during the Nazi era are also highlighted.

In accordance with life-world ethnography (see e.g. Anne Honer's approach), newspaper articles, personal letters to which outsiders would have no access (cf. Hirschauer 2001, p. 431) as well as contemporary witness testimonies are used to provide information on the specific case study of Kurt Kröttsch. This is done in order to shed light on the objectives of ethnographic research, the possibilities it offers and the extent to which problems can arise in ethnographic research processes, especially when these are designed to be retrospective. It is essential to draw clear boundaries between the researchers, the social unit they are observing and the environment in which the social unit is entangled (cf. Wolff 2008, p. 340).

**Keywords:** *life, world ethnography, artistic gymnastics, amateur laws, nazi era*

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**Author biography:**

**Swantje Scharenberg**, Prof. Dr., sports scientist, enjoys teaching and publishing in the fields of artistic gymnastics, sports history, sports media, etc., and heads the research center for physical education and sport for children and adolescents (FoSS) at the Institute of Sport and Sports Science of the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT), as well as being project coordinator for the "KIT Partner University for Top Level Sport". Since the founding of the CESH, she has received the Michele di Donato prize, edited the first volumes of the "CESH Annual" with James Riordan, become a member of the CESH and is currently - with Arnd Krüger - President of the CESH Fellows.

- Scharenberg, S. (2023). Flick-Flack pour tous – fiction ? Tagebucheinträge einer Hochschullehrerin. *Ze-phir Doppelausgabe (« Sportpraxis ». Zum Stellenwert in Studium und Lehre »)* (29/30), 1, 21-16.
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*Globalization and ecumenism in the history of Catholic sport. The study of the Vatican case*

### **Angela Teja & Antonella Stelitano**

**Resume:**

In 1904 Pierre de Coubertin prepared his trip to Rome, after having received from the IOC the authorization for the Eternal City's candidacy to host the 1908 Games. His intention was to make it happen «an international homage to Roman antiquity», as he wrote in his *Mémoires*, with allusion to a concept of internationalization as a universal memory of the founding history of the Western world. However, the fourth edition of the Games would not be held in Rome, but de Coubertin achieved another success: the recognition of the global value of Olympic event within Catholic "ecumenism". Are there any links between "globalization" and "ecumenism"? The meeting between Coubertin and Pope Pius in the Vatican in 1905 created the conditions for a new and broader vision of sport? The Catholic spirituality has drawn on the classic Olympic values of peace, solidarity, friendship, of mutual help, respect and/or vice versa?

Ecumenism and Olympism, Catholicism and the "sporting" identity vision of a community, this research proposal aims to delve deeper into the meaning of concepts that we find again at the beginning of the twentieth century in the awakening of Catholics towards the sporting world, seen until then as a source of materiality and which instead turned out to be valid for their identity construction starting from fundamental characteristics of sport, which in itself represented a "cultural universe".



Starting from already established historical knowledge, sources from the FASCI Archive will be drawn upon first federation of Catholic sport in Italy (1906), preserved at ISACEM Paolo VI et those of the Vatican Archives, to underline how in the speeches of the Popes, starting from Pius a "sporting" message has gradually advanced which, projected into current events, appears to be shared also by the United Nations system. In fact, this has identified sport as a tool promotion of peoples' rights and, as such, transnational.

**Keywords:** *Olympism, ecumenism, Catholic Church, Italian Catholic sports movement, United Nations.*

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- Stelitano, *I papi e lo sport. Oltre un secolo di incontri e interventi da San Pio X a papa Francesco*, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Roma 2015.

### **Authors' biographies:**



**Angela Teja** was president of CESH and of the Italian Society of Sport History. Currently collaborates with the John Paul II Foundation for sport and continues to be actively involved in problems inherent to sports archives, with various initiatives ([an6teja@gmail.com](mailto:an6teja@gmail.com)). Her bibliographical production is numerous and focused above all on the history of education physical and sporting, with particular regard to the military and female world, as well as that Catholic.

- *P. H. Didon, un domenicano alle radici dell'olimpismo. Citius altius fortius tra corpo e spirito*, Ave, Roma 2024.
- *Missione Sport. Spirito e visione nell'attività sportiva* (ed.s p. David G. Murray, A. Teja), Effatà ed., Cantalupo (To) 2022.





**Antonella Stelitano** is a member of the Italian Society of Sport History, of the Olympic Academy Italian National Team and the National Council of the Italian Fair Play Committee ([antonella.amedeo@virgilio.it](mailto:antonella.amedeo@virgilio.it)). She is 'Cavaliere' of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic and Bronze Star for sporting merit from CONI. She wrote several volumes (academia.edu) with some of which she won national sports essay prizes. Her research has different focuses, including human rights, the world of women and the Catholic world for who wrote about the speeches of the popes regarding sport.

- *Donne in bicicletta. Una finestra sulla storia del ciclismo femminile in Italia*, Ediciclo, Portogruaro (Ve) 2020.
- *Le Olimpiadi all'ONU. Tregua olimpica, sport, pace*, CLEUP, Padova (to be published).

*The Sardinian gymnasts at the 1913 Vatican competition between globalization and ecumenism*

### Mario Fadda

#### Resume:

Between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Sardinia began to open up to modernity. For too long it has suffered from its insularity, a land located in the center of the Mediterranean, almost an entity disconnected from communication with the rest of the world and resigned to its silent isolation. It is in this period that numerous gymnastics societies were born, whose sports sections spread the various disciplines throughout the area. Although some works, railways, roads and renovation of the major urban centres, offered a first attempt at modernisation. As the Nobel Prize winner for literature, Grazia Deledda, said in 1908, on the occasion of a tour of Italian cyclists in the Sardinian territory: «No people are like the Sardinians capable of "physical redemption" and worthy of social improvement». At the same time, a struggle was underway between athletes that led to confrontation, in particular with young Catholics. However, were the conditions truly created in Sardinia that would materialize its openness to the world, and first to the rest of the nation? Did the exchange of identity and new communication with other groups of Catholics prove practicable?

We will report the case of Virtus et Robur of Sassari, associated with FASCI (Federation of Italian Catholic Sports Associations), participant in the International Catholic Competition held in Rome in September 1913, on the eve of the political elections. The strongly anti-Catholic climate created many problems for the Sardinian gymnasts who on that occasion had the opportunity to experiment with an ecumenical vision of sport, which went beyond both regional and national borders.

Sources: in addition to the historiography of the island's sport, it will be possible to draw on the archives of the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria in Bethlem in Sassari and the Archdiocesan archives of the same city, as well as the archives of the University Library and the Archdiocese of Cagliari.

**Keywords:** *Olympism, ecumenism, Catholic Church, Italian Catholic sports movement, Sardinia*

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- a cura di, Bortolato Quirino, Dieguez Alejandro Mario, Stelitano Antonella, *I Papi e lo sport : oltre un secolo di incontri e interventi da San Pio 10. a Papa Francesco*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria editrice vaticana, 2015.
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**Author biography:**



**Mario Fadda** is the regional delegate for Sardinia of the Italian Society of the History of Sport, for which he organized the IX National Conference of the Italian Society of the History of Sport "Sport and Islands" ([mariofadda77@gmail.com](mailto:mariofadda77@gmail.com)). Author of numerous publications on Sardinian cultural history, among the latest of a sporting nature he wrote "The pioneers of Sardinian football 1902-1935", with which he won the USSI 2021 award. He has just concluded with Umberto Oppus "Gigi Riva: The champion, the friend, the myth" (Carlo Delfino Editore).

**DAY 2 - SESSION 8**

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 8:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m., SESSION 8,**

(Room S200, Alice Milliat building)

***Some playgrounds and paths in the sports globalization area***

Chair: Anne Weber



**Anne Weber** is PhD-Student at the University of Vienna (Department of Sport and Human Movement Science – History of Sports) ([anne.weber@univie.ac.at](mailto:anne.weber@univie.ac.at))

*Playground Bucharest. The multiethnic and multicultural roots of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Romanian sport*

**Bogdan Popa**

**Resume:**

This contribution deals with the multiethnic and multicultural roots of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Romanian sport, taking the example of Bucharest as its focal point. When investigating the first clubs as well as the internal and (few) international competitions, one should note the astounding ethnic, religious, and social diversity of their members. Though the archival materials remain scarce, the contemporary press reveals sport as a unifying phenomenon. Only the outbreak of the First World War put an end to this situation.

Such evolutions were due to three factors. The first was the French influence, either direct, or indirect, instrumental in the modernisation process of the Romanian society during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. France, and especially Paris, attracted important numbers of Romanian students. The social elite was the main beneficiary of this form of higher education. As gymnastics and team sports were part of the French curriculum, upon return, former students have maintained the newly acquired lifestyle and started to practice mostly rugby, tennis, and athletics in Bucharest. The second factor was the appearance of football as a pastime of the British and German workers and clerks active in the

incipient textile and oil industries. Owing to the rise of Bucharest as an industrial hub, besides its political influence, this led to a third factor: the emulation stirred within the youth of the city, particularly among high-school students. Thus, new clubs were established, one even as a nationalistic reaction (i.e., accepting only ethnic Romanians).

In this paper I aim to study the entanglements between the above-described factors, in order to better understand sport as part of the daily life of Bucharest. I argue that the origin of the modern Romanian sport was an outcome of multiculturalism and multiethnicity, thus revealing the integratory and exclusionary force of sport. I shall analyse several biographies of sportsmen, both Romanians or foreign citizens working in the country, in order to establish whether a developmental model of sport may be thus derived.

**Keywords:** *Romanian sport, multiethnicity, multiculturalism, international representation, sport models*

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- *Sportsmani în războiu*, „Sportul”, IX, 16, 15 October 1915, 1.

### **Author biography:**



**Bogdan Popa** (Dr.) is researcher at “Nicolae Iorga” Institute, Romanian Academy of Sciences, Bucharest, Romania ([bogdanidpopa@gmail.com](mailto:bogdanidpopa@gmail.com), [bogdan.popa@iini.ro](mailto:bogdan.popa@iini.ro)). He defended his PhD in 2009, with a thesis on the social perception of sport during the interwar in Romania. His present research explores sport as a modernisation tool at the beginning of the 20th Century.

- *Preluarea și abandonarea parțială a modelului sovietic în fotbalul românesc (1949-1958)* [The Adoption and Partial Abandonment of the Soviet Model in Romanian Football (1949-1958)], in „Studii și Articole de Istorie”, LXXXIX, 2022, p. 24-34, <https://www.cceol.com/search/article-detail?id=1069037>
- *Never Just a Game: Football National Team Matches as a Binational Rivalry Game – the Case of Romania-Hungary*, în Roland Benedikter, Dariusz Wojtaszyn (eds.), *Football Politics in Central and Eastern Europe. A Study on the Geopolitical Area's Tribal, Imaginal, and Contextual Politics*, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London, Lexington Books, 2020, p. 101-122.

*Globalization in two dimensions and on two paths: referees and umpires in Football and Tennis as agents of World Sport (1910's–1980's)*

**Kristoffer Klammer**

**Resume:**

My contribution stems from an ongoing project on the cultural history of referees and umpires in modern sport. Using the examples of football and tennis, the project examines the referees and umpires on the one hand as decision-making authorities and thus focuses on processes of acquiring, stabilizing and endangering authority in modern societies. On the other hand, the project analyses them as guardians of comparability, i.e. as actors who have been instrumental in the successive expansion of world sport in the sense of an “horizon of performance comparison” (“Leistungsvergleichshorizont”). In this way, they contributed to the fact that world sport today can be regarded as one of the most vivid globalization phenomena.

Against this background, my contribution deals with globalization processes in two ways:

*Firstly*, it combines a sociological understanding of globalization, which sees sport as an expanding space in which services are provided under conditions that should be as equal as possible and – increasingly transnational and medial in the course of the 20th century – are observed and compared, with a historiographical understanding of globalization that focuses on interactions over great distances and the development of networks. Looking at referees and umpires, their training and the successive worldwide standardization of their decision-making methods makes it possible to combine both dimensions of globalization in an analytically productive way.

*Secondly*, my contribution shows that the concrete paths of standardization of decision-making in two sports, which both quickly found their way from Victorian England "into the world", could take very different ways. According to my thesis, this is fundamentally linked to the number of decision-making situations in the respective sports. A contact sport such as football was much more dependent on a harmonisation of referee training and performance "from above", i.e. ultimately by the world governing body FIFA, than a sport such as tennis, which provokes decision-making situations much less frequently. In tennis, the global standardization of umpiring therefore took place more informally for a long time, until in the 1980s the ITF intervened more strongly in international referee training, primarily for economic reasons.

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- Tobias Werron, Der Weltsport und sein Publikum. Zur Autonomie und Entstehung des modernen Sports, Weilerswist 2010.

**Author biography:**

**Kristoffer Klammer** (Dr.) works as Associate Professor at the Chair for Modern European History at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg, Germany. His research interests include the history of modern sports, ‘authority’ in modern societies as well as historical semantics and the history of political communication.

- Kristoffer Klammer, *Rendre l'arbitrage mondial ? Comment la FIFA Les cours internationaux pour arbitres ont contribué à jeter les bases de Commercialisation du football, 1948-1976*, dans : *The International Journal de l'Histoire du Sport* 40 (2023), DOI : 10.1080/09523367.2023.2233434.
- Kristoffer Klammer, *Entscheidungsautoritäten et elementare Akteure des « Welsports »*. *Pfade einer Kulturgeschichte der Schiedsrichter Autorités décisionnelles et acteurs fondamentaux du « sport mondial »*. *Chemins d'une histoire culturelle des arbitres et des arbitres*], dans : *STADION. Internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Sports – International Revue Internationale d'Histoire du Sport* – *Revue Internationale d'Histoire du Sport*, 46/1 (2022), p. 110-133.

*Globalization and the 1936 nazi Olympics* [remote]

### Arnd Krüger

**Resume:**

The 1936 Olympic Summer Games in Berlin were the first global sports event. International sports federations with their systems of world records and world championships, epitomizing in the Olympic Games, are a perfect way to show human and organizational superiority on a global scale. More than 3 million paying spectators were attracted to the Olympic spectacle in Berlin (if you add the non-paying spectators more than a total of 4 million), three times as many as in Los Angeles 1932, countless millions of live radio listeners all over the world (German short wave broadcast to South America were started in time for the Games), participants from 49 countries, two more than Amsterdam 1928, with 19 sports, and 139 events more than ever before. The newsreels and Leni Riefenstahl's celebrated film brought the pictures of the Olympics to a global audience. The lightening of the Olympic flame and the torch relay from ancient Olympia to Berlin were invented for the Games and have been celebrated ever since. The invitation to the Games were sent out in twelve languages. As it was Hitler's desire to influence "world public opinion", all financial means of the Reich were therefore at the disposal of the organising committee of the Games. A new monumental Olympic stadium was built for the occasion. Nothing was left to chance, every fiftieth spectator was a plain cloth member of the secret police, in- and outgoing postage mails of the Olympic villages were controlled, the prostitutes were pushed out of the inner city, placards excluding Jews were taken down in time, spectators were to come in their civilian cloth and not in the uniform of whatever Nazi

organization they were members of. It can even be argued that the Games contained elements of post-modernism as the German Propaganda Ministry had the monopoly of all photos and films of the events, so much of what is known about the Games, is not about the actual Games, but of the images transferred by the Nazi preselection of the Games. The globalisation of sports preceded the globalisation of the following War, it had already all the elements that were later assumed to be new in the sports of the 1960s. The paper is mainly based on the archival sources of the German Ministry of Interior (responsible for elite sport since 1913) and rich secondary literature.

**Key words:** *Nazi Olympics, World Public Opinion, totalitarian state, Olympic Torch Relay, Globalisation*

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#### **Author biography:**



**Arnd Krüger** is full Professor, he was an international athlete (participant of the 1968 Olympics in the 1500m run) before he started his academic career with a PhD in Modern & Medieval History, eventually a full professor of Sport Studies at the University of Göttingen, Founder of the Lower Saxony Institute for Sport History, founding President now Honorary Fellow of CESH. Ever since he stayed in the Berlin Olympic Stadium 62 years ago, he has been intrigued by the Games and published widely about them.

*Common playground: towards an environmental history of sports globalization*

#### **Lionel Pabion**

##### **Resume:**

Since the 1970s, environmental history has had a significant impact on historiographical patterns. This has been particularly true in Europe since the 2000s, due to the urgent need to address climate change. The environment is now considered both an object and a crucial agent in historical processes. This has led to a radical change in our understanding of the twentieth century.

Challenging the narrative of modernisation, environmental history is increasingly becoming an unavoidable perspective that is spreading throughout historiography.

However, the literature on the history of sport and the environment has not yet been fully integrated, despite the potential benefits of doing so. Environmental history syntheses only briefly touch on the topic of sport, despite the fact that issues such as energy, infrastructures, and the ecological impact of competitions could be thoroughly explored in this field. On the contrary, the inclusion of an environmental approach could significantly change the history of sport. It could draw attention to a different history of the "*Trente Glorieuses*" of sport.

In this case, the issue of globalization aligns with this project. The issue of the environment is crucial when considering global issues. The objective of this analysis is to examine how major international competitions reflect and influence a way of life that has experienced a 'great acceleration' since World War II, resulting in an increasing environmental impact. The model, exemplified by the IOC and the Olympic Games, is being challenged. Major sports institutions are faced with a conflict between the desire to organise global events and the need for sustainability. This is illustrated by the IOC's Agenda 21, published in 1999, and the growing reluctance of local populations to accept Olympic bids.

The analysis of the organisation of large sporting events since the start of the 20th century, particularly the Olympics and the FIFA Worldcup, highlights three elements. The Olympic project appears as an idea deeply inscribed in its productive context ; then it highlights the environmental impact of infrastructure and transport. Finally, the federations and sports organisations are seen as environmental protagonists.

**Keywords:** *Environmental history, sports, international competitions, Olympics, IOC*

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**Author biography:**

**Lionel Pabion** is an Associate Professor at the University of Rennes 2 (VIPS<sup>2</sup> UR4636) ([lionel.pabion@univ-rennes2.fr](mailto:lionel.pabion@univ-rennes2.fr)).

- « La sportivisation, un paradigme historiographique au risque de la téléologie », in BELTRAMO N., BREHON J., CHOVAUX O. et DA ROCHA CARNEIRO F. (dir.) *Vingt ans après, Écrire l'histoire du sport*, PULIM, 2023, p.389-401.
- « Turning Gymnasts into Citizen-Soldiers: The Militarization of Physical Activities during the Third Republic in France (1870–1940) », *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 40, n° 2-3, 2023, p. 225-243.

## DAY 2 - SESSION 9

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 8:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m., SESSION 9**

(Room S201, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Geopolitical and national stakes of the Regional Games***

Chair: Arnaud Waquet



**Arnaud Waquet** is Associate Professor - Faculty of Health and Sport Sciences - University of Lille ([arnaud.waquet@univ-lille.fr](mailto:arnaud.waquet@univ-lille.fr)). Olympic and Paralympic Mission Officer at the University of Lille. Member of the Multidisciplinary Research Unit on “Sport, Health, and Society”. Head of the Master's program in 'Sport Management and Strategy.' Member of the French National Olympic Academy and the French Olympic Studies Center.

- Waquet, A. (2019). *The Glocalization of Sport in China: the Ski Market' Case Study in the Olympic Push Context*. 16<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Society for Global Business & Economic Development, 10 – 13 June 2019, Sao Paulo, Brazil.
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*The geopolitical stakes of the Indian Ocean Island Games (1979-2027): sporting competitions and territorial claims in Indian Oceania*

**Gilles Lajoie, Olivier Naria, Louis Violette & Jean-François Beaulieu**

#### **Resume:**

Based on the analysis of local and national press (*Le Quotidien*, *Le JIR*, *Témoignages* ; *Le Monde*), on the various institutional documents and the experience of a great witness, the communication proposes to recontextualize the birth certificate of the Indian Ocean Islands Games (IOIG) in 1979 then to retrace through their history and their future (1979-2027) the stages of a rise in power of territorial claims against a background of nationalism.

First, we return to the context of the emergence of the IOIG, marked by the deployment of a French sports diplomacy and the universalization of Olympism that is gradually opening to emerging countries of the South. The successive IOIG charters shed light on these two paradigms. In a second step, we present the rise of territorial claims and its plural consequences in the organization of the eleven editions of the IOIG until today. The retrospective analysis of disagreements between countries and territories is informed by a geopolitical analysis of the relations between the islands, grouped in 1982 in an Indian Ocean Commission (IOC) which gradually promotes the name «Indianocéanie». This institution wishes to move from the plural of identities and cultures to the singular of a heritage, a common future that the JIOI partially testify to.

In a third step, the last edition of the IOIG – in Madagascar in 2023 – is the subject of a more detailed analysis, with the race for the presidential election and the resulting tensions, notably between the National Olympic Committee of Madagascar and the Organizing Committee of the Islands Games. Finally, we conclude by questioning the attribution of the XIIth IOIG to the Republic of the Comoros in 2027.

**Keywords:** *sport power, French soft power, Indian Ocean Games, nationalism, territorial claim*

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### **Authors' biographies:**



**Gilles Lajoie** is full Professor of Geography, President of the Academic Council of the Université de La Réunion and Member of the Conseil de la Culture de l'Éducation et de L'Environnement (CCEE) de La Réunion since 2018.

- Beaulieu J.-F. & Lajoie G. (2023), « Responsabilités », Collection « *La Réunion d'hier à aujourd'hui* » dir. Guy Fontaine. CCEE de La Réunion.
- Dissart J.-C., Lajoie G., Nicault M. (2023), « La gouvernance des Hauts de La Réunion : un défi permanent à relever ? », communication ASRDLF 2023 : Les territoires périphériques et ultrapériphériques face aux crises majeures. Le retour de la distance. 28-30 juin 2023. La Réunion.



**Olivier Naria** is Associate Professor in Management and Planning at the Université de La Réunion - UFR Sciences de l'Homme et de l'Environnement - Département STAPS.

- Van Rheenen, D., Naria, O., Melo, R., & Sobry, C. (Eds.) (2024). *Sport Tourism, Island Territories and Sustainable Development. A Comparative Perspective*. Springer. Link: <https://link.springer.com/book/9783031517044>. Collection Sports Economics, Management and Policy.
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**Louis Violette** holds a PhD in History and is Associate Professor at the Université de La Réunion - UFR SHE, Département STAPS.

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**Jean-François Beaulieu** is President of CROS de La Réunion, 2005-2016, President of the Conseil International des Jeux des Iles de l'Océan Indien 2008 à 2014, Delegate Vice-President of the Conseil de la Culture de l'Éducation et de L'Environnement (CCEE) de La Réunion since February 2011.

- Beaulieu J.-F. & Lajoie G. (2023), « Responsabilités », Collection « *La Réunion d'hier à aujourd'hui* » dir. Guy Fontaine. CCEE de La Réunion.
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*The Balkan Games (1931): a (geo)political challenge for modern Olympism?*

### **Cyril Polycarpe & Pascal Charitas**

#### **Resume:**

The "Balkan Games", held from September 27 to October 4, 1931 in Sofia, were organized by the Bulgarian National Olympic Committee (NOC) following Bulgarian coopted Tchaprachikov's suggestion on November 16, 1929. They were intended to "contribute to the rapprochement of the peoples of the Balkans and to give the young sportsmen of this region the opportunity to compete on a sporting level". (Letter from S. Tchaprachikov to the IOC President, March 23, 1930).

This proposal gave rise to much discussion within the International Olympic Committee, due to the political and diplomatic stakes involved. Bulgaria, excluded from the Antwerp Olympic Games in 1920 by the IOC for its participation in the Triple Alliance during the Great War, was striving to regain a major role in promoting its nascent nationalism in the Balkans, in the face of Greece, which was part of a marked democratic dynamic in the region. The first Balkan Games were staged as a gathering of sports (cycling, fencing, soccer, swimming and equestrian sports) to promote the geographical and political reconstruction of Europe. The IOC's refusal at the Barcelona Session in 1931 to grant the term "Olympiad" to these Games denotes a sense of panic about the political role incorporated by its new co-optees. In this way, we can question the emerging (geo)political stakes in the circulation of Olympism in the 1920s and 1930s, in the face of the pacifist myth of renewed Olympism.

Our work will attempt to determine whether these Balkan Games illustrate a stage in the (re)construction of Games on a European scale, after the Great War, or an attempt to recuperate the work by new players in the Olympic movement, such as the NOCs. We will base our analysis on the archives of the Olympic Studies Centre (Lausanne), in particular the section on regional and sub-regional Games, and the minutes of the IOC Sessions and Executive Board meetings between 1929 and 1935.

**Keywords:** *Regional Games, Olympism, Balkan, Geopolitical, Sport Diplomacy*

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- G. Prevelakis, *Les Balkans. Cultures et géopolitique*, Paris, 1994
- G.-H. Soutou, « Les grandes puissances et la question des nationalités en Europe centrale et orientale pendant et après la Première Guerre mondiale : actualité du passé ? », *Politique étrangère*, vol. 3 (1993), p. 697-699.
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### Authors' biographies:



**Cyril Polycarpe** is Associate Professor in STAPS, and teaches at INSPE Besançon - Franche-Comté. He is a researcher at the Culture, Sport, Health and Society Laboratory (C3S, UR 4660), an elected member of the Board of the Société Française d'Histoire du Sport (SFHS). His research is organized around three main themes: the expansion of Olympism, international relations in sport through the creation of sports diplomacy, and the mechanisms for implementing and disseminating physical education in schools.

- Marcelo Moraes e Silva, Cyril Polycarpe, Daniele Cristina Carqueijeiro de Medeiros, Evelise Amgarten Quitzau, L'idéalisation des Jeux Olympiques par la presse brésilienne (1896-1920), *Amerika* 25 (1) : 1-13, mars 2023. DOI: [10.4000/amerika.16800](https://doi.org/10.4000/amerika.16800)
- Grégory Quin & Cyril Polycarpe, Leading international sport: Biographies, trajectories, and networks of an elite in international sport (1920–1980), Special Issue, December 2019, STAPS, n°125(3):7. DOI: 10.3917/sta.125.0007



**Pascal Charitas** is a historian of sport and Olympism, and an Associate Professor at the University of Paris Nanterre, member of the ISP Laboratory (Institut des Sciences sociales du politique, UMR 7220). His work focuses on regional games, Franco-African sporting cooperation, sport and international relations. Author of numerous works, he has notably published :

- "A More Flexible Domination: Franco-African Sport Diplomacy during Decolonization, 1945-1966", in Johns Andrew, Heather L. Dichter (eds.) *Diplomatic Games. Sport, Statecraft and International Relations since 1945. An Anthology of Sport after the Second World War*, University Press of Kentucky, 2014.
- "Imperialisms in the Olympics of the Colonization in the Postcolonization: Africa into the International Olympic Committee, 1910-1965", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 32, no. 7, 2015.
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- "L'Afrique et les Jeux Olympiques avant les décolonisations (1945-1960)", in Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Daphné Bolz, Yvan Gastaut, Sandrine Lemaire and Stéphane Mourlane (eds.), *Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme 1894-2024*, Atlande/Atlantique, 2023.
- Contribute to the collective work of the book: *Olympisme. Une histoire du monde. Des premiers Jeux Olympiques d'Athènes 1896 aux Jeux Olympiques et Paralympiques de Paris 2024*, Paris, Editions de la Martinière, 2024.

## DAY 2 - SESSION 10

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 8:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m., SESSION 10**

(Room S202, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Internationalization of sporting practices and values***

Chair: Pompiliu-Nicolae Constantin



**Pompiliu-Nicolae Constantin** holds the position of Associate Professor at the National University for Physical Education and Sports in Bucharest, Romania, where he teaches sport history. He was also a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Penn State University (2023-2024).

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- “Epuran’s actograph”, in Daphne Bolz & Michael Kruger (Ed.), *European history of sport in 100 objects*, Arete Verlag, 2023, 110-113.
- “How to Develop Moral Skills in Sport by Using the Corruption Heritage?” (in collaboration with other nine authors), *Sustainability*, vol. 14 (1), 2022. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su14010400>.

*Faith and resistance: YMCA and transnational sporting values in early 20th century Spain*

**Josep Solà-Niubó & Xavier Pujadas Martí**

#### **Resume:**

This research aims to explore the efforts of the YMCA to introduce their cultural values through sports and physical activity in Spanish society during the 1920s. It seeks to understand the challenges faced by Protestant institutions in a predominantly Catholic society and their relative level of success achieved in implanting their models, particularly before the Second Republic.

The research methodology involves consulting archival materials such as the Kautz Family Archives at the University of Minnesota and the Springfield College Special Collections, which offer reports, letters, and other epistolary materials providing insights into the strategies and challenges encountered by the YMCA organizations in Spain during the specified period. This study incorporates analysis of original unreleased YMCA documents that enrich understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics at play and their efforts to promote values through sports and physical education.



The analysis reveals that the introduction of Protestant-influenced sporting practices faced significant resistance in Spain, particularly prior to the Second Republic. Despite attempts to implant their models in urban centers like Madrid and Barcelona, the YMCA and Protestant organizations struggled to gain widespread acceptance and influence beyond these major cities. This difficulty was compounded by the deeply entrenched Catholicism in Spanish society, a fact also evidenced by a papal decree condemning YMCA's activity in November, 1920. At the same time, while the YMCA faced challenges in Spain, it found more acceptance in other European countries like Poland, Portugal, and France, indicating variations in reception within the international context.

In summary, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the challenges and limitations faced by institutions seeking to globalize sporting values in diverse cultural contexts, highlighting the nuanced processes of adaptation, resistance, and negotiation inherent in the transnationalization of sport.

**Keywords:** *Spain, Protestantism, Catholicism, YMCA, Americanization*

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### **Authors' biographies:**



**Josep Solà-Niubó** is researching the social history of sports following a PhD program at Ramon Llull University - Blanquerna (Barcelona) ([josepsn@blanquerna.url.edu](mailto:josepsn@blanquerna.url.edu)). He is particularly interested in basketball, its impact on society, and how values and ethics have shaped the game from its invention in a YMCA gymnasium in Springfield, to its transmission to other regions and cultures.

- Solà-Niubó, J. & Pujadas Martí, X. (2022) "De l'Ateneu a la fàbrica: orígens del bàsquet a Badalona (1925-1931)", communication at "II International Congress: Herències / Legacies". Universitat de Barcelona. ISSN: 978-84-09-56305-0; <http://hdl.handle.net/2445/203903>



**Xavier Pujadas Martí (Dr.)** is a full professor of Sports History at Ramon Llull University in Barcelona and the director of the Research and Innovation Group in Sport and Society (GRIES) at the same university ([xavierpm@blanquerna.url.edu](mailto:xavierpm@blanquerna.url.edu)).

- Ribalta Alcalde, D. & Pujadas Martí, X. (2023). "Twice Invisible, Twice Clandestine. Football and Lesbianism in Spain During the Years of Democratic Transition (1970–1982)", *Sport History Review* 54, 2, pp.247-264. <https://doi.org/10.1123/shr.2023-0035>
- Riera Batalla, V., Moragas, M. & Pujadas, X. (2024). Leadership development across the lifespan through sport and physical activity, *Journal of Management Development*. 10.1108/JMD-10-2022-0253

*Transnational cultural imperialism in the context of taekwondos: creation of the divided world of Korean martial art institutions*

**Helena Hanhikangas**

**Resume:**

It is challenging to address the many present-day versions of taekwondos without discussing politics. History and present of this Korean martial art and sport are entrenched in politics. Their roots are in the post-war nationalism and the polarised politics of divided Korea. They were originally developed for the use of the South Korean Army after the Korean War: to build patriotism and national pride in a country brutalised by war. Hence, taekwondos are not ancient ethnic Korean martial arts, it is a legend created to fill a political need. Even how the art's name is written in western lettering – taekwon-do, taekwondo or tae kwon do – has a connection to the divided politics of Koreas.

The oldest international organisation, the International Taekwon-Do Federation, ITF, was founded 1966, Seoul. The ITF exiled South Korea and translocated to Canada a little before declaration of Yushin Constitution which made South Korea de facto dictatorship in late 1972. Soon afterwards, a new international governing body, World Taekwondo Federation, WTF, was founded in Seoul. After this initial split, taekwondos have continued splintering and presently, a myriad of different groups of taekwondos exist in the world.

Roughly speaking, the WTF was to represent South Korea, and yield to its authoritarian politics. The ITF remained international from 1972 onwards but after its introduction to North Korea in 1980, its dictatorship began to pursue ways to control it. The ITF limited these attempts until ITF's lifelong leader, general Choi Hong Hi, passed away in 2002. Then attempts to turn the ITF North Korea centred were resisted by those defending the ITF's autonomy. Eventually the ITF splintered into three identically-named federations all claiming legal continuation.

To understand the present-day political appropriation of sport, this paper asks how the institutions of different taekwondos developed between political use and the aspirations to institutional autonomy. It relies largely on contemporary primary sources (e.g. ITF(s) Congress Minutes,

correspondences, teaching manuals, official websites of many taekwondos, media sources) next to existing research (including presenter's MA-thesis).

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### Author biography:



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- **Hanhikangas, Helena.** "Poliittista kamppailua urheilujohdon yksilöistä jäsenyhteisöön - Tapaus International Taekwon-Do Federation ja sen sirpaloituminen vuonna 2002" [transl. Political combat from sport organizations' leadership to its member base – case International Taekwon-Do Federation and its splintering in 2002], Suomen urheiluhistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja 2023, edit. Heikki Roiko-Jokela ja Tapio Roiko-Jokela, Suomen urheiluhistoriallinen seura ry, Jyväskylä 2023, pp.202-231.
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*Global Shaolin Kung-fu diplomacy: the transnational spread of a traditional Chinese Martial Art through the prism of Sino-African relations*

**Lufeng Xu**

**Resume:**

As one of the traditional Chinese martial arts, Shaolin kung-fu was invented and practiced by Buddhist monks at the Shaolin Temple in Henan, China (Shahar, 2008). Since 1990, martial arts enthusiasts from all over the world have travelled to the Shaolin Temple to learn kung-fu, which has resulted in two effects: on the one hand Shaolin kung-fu has thus been spread all over the world, and on the other hand it has become one of the representatives of China's cultural soft power. Compared to Europe, the transnational spread of Shaolin kung-fu in Africa is much more recent and is associated with the presence of China in Africa (Mathys, 2023). The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was officially established in 2000 and is held every three years as a mechanism for collective dialogue between China and the 53 African countries with which it has diplomatic relations in the context of South-South cooperation (Omolo, 2022).

Soon after, Shaolin kung-fu was included in the cultural exchange program of the FOCAC and since 2013, the Chinese Ministry of Culture has been running an annual "Shaolin Kung-fu Class for Africa" at the Shaolin Temple. Each year, about 20 students from African countries with good martial arts skills are selected to come to Shaolin Temple for a 3-month training in Shaolin kung-fu. Before its interruption in 2020 due to the Covid-19 epidemic, the "Shaolin Kung-fu Class for Africa" had already been successfully held for seven sessions, with nearly 150 students from African countries such as Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea and Madagascar not only receiving systematic training, but also forming a community network around Shaolin kung-fu. When they returned to their respective countries to open martial arts schools or work as martial arts instructors, they all became diplomats of Shaolin kung-fu as well (De Vienne and Nahum-Claudel, 2020).

Based on my fieldwork on the "Shaolin Kung-fu class for Africa", my communication will focus on the "diplomatic body" (Neumann, 2008) of African trainees who were sent to China during the transnational spread of Shaolin kung-fu. I will explore three questions: firstly, how African learners understand and practice Shaolin kung-fu in their daily training; secondly, how African learners deal with cross-cultural conflicts when confronted with the Chinese cultural and religious elements of Shaolin kung-fu; finally, what roles different actors such as African trainees, African governments, Shaolin monks and the Chinese government play in the process of Shaolin kung-fu diplomacy.

**Keywords:** *Shaolin kung-fu, cultural diplomacy, Sino-African relations, identity, body*

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**Author biography:**



**Lufeng Xu** is a PhD student in sociology and anthropology at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales. He is completing his PhD thesis on the reinvention of Shaolin kung-fu in the context of global modernity during the 20th century.

- “Pour une réévaluation de l’histoire et de la civilisation. Les sources françaises de l’anthropologie chinoise.” (2018).
- “In the Name of Wushu Chan: Reinventing Chan Buddhist Meditative Traditions in Songshan Shaolin Temple” (forthcoming).

## DAY 2 - PANEL A

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 8:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m., PANEL A**

(Amphitheatre S2, Alice Milliat building)

### ***National identities as institutional challenges in football***

Chair: Daniele Serapiglia



**Daniele Serapiglia** is currently a Ramón y Cajal researcher at the Department of Political History, Theories and Geography of the Faculty of Political Science and Sociology at the Complutense University of Madrid. Until January 2021 he was a postdoctoral researcher in História Contemporânea at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa working on the project entitled “A social revolution. Football and fascism in southern Europe from 1922 to 1975” He earned a PhD in European History at the University of Bologna and at University of Coimbra in 2009. Daniele Serapiglia has published in 5 different languages (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English). He was co-organizer of the CESH Congress 2021 in Lisbon.

- Serapiglia, *Uno sport per tutti. Storia sociale della pallavolo italiana*, Clueb, Bologna 2018. ISBN: 978-88-491-5564-8
- Serapiglia, *La via portoghese al corporativismo*, Carocci, Roma 2011. ISBN: 978-88-430-5471-8
- Accornero, A. Gori, D. Serapiglia (edited by), *Percorsi. Scienze sociali tra Italia e Portogallo*, Quaderni di «Storicamente» 9, BraDypUS, Roma 2017. ISBN: 978-88-983-9253-7, ISSN: 2420-9139
- Serapiglia (Introduction and edited by), *Tempo libero sport e fascismo*, Quaderni di «Storicamente» 7, BraDypUS, Roma 2016. ISBN: 978-88-983-9238-4, ISSN: 2420-9139
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*“Finland does not have soccer culture” – a short conceptual history of jalkapallokulttuuri*

**Sami Koskelainen**

**Resume:**

Finland has historically been an underachiever in international men’s soccer; domestically, soccer has never assumed the status of a ‘national sport’, a role played at different times by athletics, cross-country skiing, and ice hockey. The concept of *jalkapallokulttuuri* (“soccer culture”) has been an important way for discussing the relatively inferior position of soccer in Finland, as well as the game’s general state of affairs. This paper sketches the conceptual history of *jalkapallokulttuuri* from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to the current day. How have its meanings and usage changed over time, and how do these reflect histories of Finland and Finnish football?

Methodologically this paper is inspired by conceptual history. It is proposed that *jalkapallokulttuuri* does not have a ‘true’ or ‘authentic’ meaning, but the concept’s continued use reveals certain ideas and perceptions people have held about soccer and sports in general. The paper situates *jalkapallokulttuuri*’s concept into Finnish sports and soccer history through studying trends in the word’s usage and a close reading of select texts invoking *jalkapallokulttuuri* in noteworthy contexts. The paper’s sources come from digitized press articles (especially Helsingin Sanomat, Finland’s leading newspaper), soccer literature, Football Association of Finland’s archival documents, and online discussions on *jalkapallokulttuuri*.

The paper argues that *jalkapallokulttuuri* has denoted a proper approach to soccer. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century this largely referred to gameplay aspects; later *jalkapallokulttuuri* has been used more in discussing soccer’s social status and conventions surrounding the sport. Since the 1990s, *jalkapallokulttuuri* has been also a tool to juxtapose soccer with traditional forms of European high culture, giving soccer certain prestige and cachet its domestic competitor sports did not possess. In all cases, strong *jalkapallokulttuuri* has been externalized abroad to core European countries; by contrast, Finland’s perceived lack of *jalkapallokulttuuri* has been employed to explain Finnish football’s domestic and international failings. Discussions of “soccer culture” have resembled long-standing negative self-perceptions of Finland’s peripherality and tenuous connections to European cultural and intellectual heritage. Furthermore, *jalkapallokulttuuri*’s multiple meanings reflect the complexity of its root word, ‘culture’.

**Keywords:** *football, internationality, national identity, Europe, conceptual history*

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### Author biography:



**Sami Koskelainen** is PhD researcher at the University of Helsinki ([sami.koskelainen@helsinki.fi](mailto:sami.koskelainen@helsinki.fi)).

- “The Finnish Football Association and Sarjaseurat ry as promoters of the international players' movement in men's soccer in the 1980s”, publication title: Yearbook of the Finnish Society for the History of Sport 2023).

*Dinamo Kyiv enters the Field: the Soviet national football team calls upon the Ukrainians (1957-1960)*

### Yacov Zohn Muldoon

#### Resume:

My paper will draw upon a chapter from my dissertation, which probes the fractured political nature of football in the USSR through the lens of the Soviet National Football Team (the Sbornaia). I am particularly interested in exploring the reasons behind the shifting locus of national representation embodied by the national football team: why and how Moscow, endowed with all of the USSR's most important political institutions, dominant sport institutions, and the best clubs in the country, lost its monopoly on the national team, with Tbilisi and especially Kyiv growing in importance. The scope of my project incorporates little known regional sport publications, newspapers, interviews, and memoirs of key participants as well as research in archives, libraries, and online sources across the USA, Switzerland, Germany, France, Mexico, Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia. By its very nature, this approach invites individualized oral history, as found in journalism, as well as the history of Soviet institutions, empire, and migration.

In Paris, I will weave the story of individuals, in sport and government, to trace the emergence of the first Dinamo Kyiv players in the Moscow-dominated Soviet national team (1957-1960). I argue that notwithstanding some difficulties, these pioneering Ukrainians found more opportunities in the Sbornaia due to two factors. First, Moscow's sports institutions replicated Nikita Khrushchev's political policy of decentralization in football, inadvertently opening the door for the Soviet republics to challenge Moscow's position in the domestic league. This devolvement of power was far from straightforward since the friction between political goals and sporting needs led to contradictory, and often incompetent, interventions by both the sports institutions and the governmental organs in football. Second, the increased influence of Ukrainian bureaucrats during the Khrushchev era (1953-1964) enabled Dinamo Kyiv, Ukraine's unofficial national team, to recruit the best talent in the USSR. These two developments empowered Kyiv to commence its ascent to the summit of Soviet football, eventually facilitating the arrival of Ukrainian players (and later coaches) in the Sbornaia.



**Keywords:** *USSR, Empire, Migration, Politics, Institutions*

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- Dubois, Laurent. *Soccer Empire: the World Cup and the Future of France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Edelman, Robert. *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sports in the USSR*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Prozumenshchikov, Mikhail Iur'evich. *Bol'shoi Sport i Bol'shaia Politika*. Moscow: Rossiiskaia Politichyeskaya Entsiklopyediya, 2004.
- Tolochko, Petro et al. *Shcherbyts'kyi Volodymyr Vasyl'ovych: Politychnyi Portret na Foni Epokhy*. Kyiv: VD ADEF-Ukraina, 2018.

**Author biography:**



**Yacov Zohn Muldoon** is PhD Candidate at the University of Wisconsin-Madison ([yzohn@wisc.edu](mailto:yzohn@wisc.edu)). I am currently finishing my doctorate in history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. I enrolled as a PhD student in 2019, before achieving candidate status in 2022 under the guidance of Dr. David McDonald and Dr. Francine Hirsch. My doctoral dissertation is a history of the Soviet national football team from its official genesis in 1952 to the end of its “golden era” in 1972.

- “National and Local Identity in Soviet Football,” *History with Jackson*, 2024.
- “Unthawed: Post-Cold War Economic Ties Between Kaliningrad and Europe,” *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 2019.
- “Kaliningrad i Evropa: Ekonomika,” *Bulletin of Science and Practice*, 2017.

*“Il giuoco è stato durissimo” - football players at the core of fascist moral conceptions  
(1922-1943)*

**Joonas Kananen**

**Resume:**

My draft proposal for CEHS congress is based on the chapter of my PhD dissertation, which currently holds the overall title *Spaces of control and regional expressions - football as a societal challenge in fascist Italy (1922-1943)*. By picking some cities, such as Pistoia and Naples, for closer analysis, I'll study the contradictions that took place in football during the advent of modern mass culture in Italy.

I'll approach the theme through regional identities (*campanilismo*) which were a common feature in Italian football. My research question is, how were these identities expressed in football, its supporter culture and in their spaces? In this particular chapter, I'll concentrate on the behaviour of the players on the pitch, their relation to the local identities, and their provocative influence on the crowds. Consequently, I'm trying to find out how the relationship between players and spectators was regulated and controlled by authorities. The chapter also reflects what kind of behaviour, in turn, was hoped and expected from players.

My object is to understand the lived space of football in fascist Italy at various levels. This includes actions on the pitch, on the stands, as well as in the matchday context expanding to the streets of the cities. As identity itself is a challenging concept, I'll benefit from Henri Lefebvre's spatial thinking both, as a theoretical framework and as a framing tool, in order to study the production of spatial meanings in different levels. Relation of fascism and football has been discussed a lot under the themes of nationalism and consent, but this research adopts a different angle to the subject by starting from conflicts and contradictions.

The research will use various sources, such as the police reports concerning the matches, the writings of contemporary press, official publication of referees and Italian manuals of football. These allow examining the lived space of the stadiums during the matches. Simultaneously, it is possible to take into account the perceived (precautionary measures, such as fences and barriers), and conceived (e.g. symbols of fascism) dimensions of the stadium space.

**Keywords:** *regionalism, Italian football, mass culture, lived space, stadium architecture*

**Bibliography or references:**

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- Lefebvre, Henri. *La production de l'espace*. Paris : Anthropos. 1974.  
Martin, Simon. *Football et fascisme : le jeu national sous Mussolini*. Oxford : Berg. 2004.

- Verriet, Jon. Clubs de football, images de la ville et différenciation culturelle : identification avec les rivaux du Vitesse Arnhem et du NEC Nijmegen. *Histoire urbaine*, 46(2), 266-287. 2019.

### Author biography:



**Joonas Kananen** has been a PhD student at the University of Turku, in the Department of European and World History, since January 2023. His particular research interest is in the cultural aspects of sport, and soccer in particular. He is also interested in issues relating to the built environment and space of sport. These themes can be found in Italian club soccer during the Fascist era, as it marked a period of tense rivalries, both on and off the pitch, and large-scale construction of sports facilities. He studied the Fascist era in Italy in his master's thesis. The political atmosphere created by the authoritarian regime provides an opportunity to discuss the relationship between sport and politics, as well as that of nationalism and regionalism. These themes continually surround the debate on sport, both in academic circles and in public debate. As a result, his thesis provides not only historical insights, but also perspectives on today's sport and its spaces.

- Kananen, Joonas. Kokoava katsaus ultrakannattajuuden tutkimukseen. (Critique du livre : Mark Doidge, Radostaw Kossakowski et Svenja Mintert. *Ultras : La passion et la performance du fandom du football contemporain*. (2020)) Publication : *Lähikuva – Audiovisuaalisen Kulttuurin Tieteellinen Julkaisu*, 36 (3-4). Pages 160 à 162. 2024. <https://doi.org/10.23994/lk.142501>

*Ambassadors of which nation? A Four-Nation exploration of British football Tours, c. 1875-1939*

**Jake Madgwick Lawton**

### Resume:

This research employs a four-nation approach to research British football tours, investigating the relationship between substate British national identity and sport, and determining how different teams self-identified, and were defined by others. Teams from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland travelled across Europe, each undertaking unique journeys that resulted in distinct outcomes. By focussing on WWI, the Irish revolutionary period, football association anniversaries, and tournaments such as the Olympics and FIFA World Cup, the study provides a comprehensive understanding of the socio-political landscape that shaped the representation and perception of British teams in Europe.

Diverse themes are explored to better understand the distinctions between tours, including the varied destinations of British teams, the role of class, the complexities of English representation, and the reproduction of distinct national identities among British troops during WWI, both on the battlefield and in prisoner-of-war camps. The research spans distinct eras, from the pre-WWI dominance of English representation to the broader variety of teams touring during the 1920s. The

1930s, marked by a scarcity of Scottish, Welsh, and Irish tours, prompts a scrutiny of the economic influences on international engagements that shaped the representation of British football overseas. The study also explores the dynamics of women's football, with only English teams representing British women footballers abroad during this era.

Informed by extensive archival material of the English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish football associations, as well as club archives, and press reports from Britain and Europe, this research demonstrates how different football institutions influenced football tours during this period of emergent international competition and sporting exchange. The exploration of these historical narratives adds depth to broader discussions of Britishness and its representation on foreign soil, offering insight into the linkage between football and identity within the different nations of the UK.

**Keywords:** *Football, Nation, Identity, Britishness, Class*

### **Bibliography or references:**

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- Vonnard, Philippe., Quin, Grégory., and Bancel, Nicolas, eds. *Building Europe with the Ball*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2016.

### **Author biography:**



**Jake Madgwick Lawton** is a third-year PhD student at Liverpool Hope University researching the history of British football on tour 1904-1939 ([madgwij@hope.ac.uk](mailto:madgwij@hope.ac.uk)).

## DAY 2 - SESSION 11

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 14:00 p.m. - 16:00 p.m., SESSION 11**

(Room S200, Alice Milliat building)

***Disseminating sport and physical education models for youth***

Chair: María Eugenia García-Sottile



**María Eugenia García-Sottile** has a PhD from Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona and Alma Mater Università di Bologna (DAMS). Professor at San Vicente Mártir Catholic University of Valencia, (UCV) Spain. Member of GIEPAFS. Research Group on Education for Healthy Physical Activity. (UCV) Research in the field of cultural studies, applying ecological thinking in the reflection on the body and the construction of shared space. The main concepts that inform my research are choreography, performativity, gesture, and image in relation to the theory and history of the body. Orcid 0000-0002-8531-8370 ([eugenia.garcia@ucv.es](mailto:eugenia.garcia@ucv.es)).

- De Nicola, A., García-Sottile, M. E. & Gómez-Lozano, S. (2023). Attention! your movement makes the city: Choreo-graphic proposals for urban spaces". *AusArt* 11 (1): 233-243. <https://doi.org/10.1387/ausart.24231>
- Scursatone, I., Gómez-Lozano, S., & García-Sottile, M. E. (2023). Mass Choreography in Olympic Ceremonies: The Case of Turin 2006. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 40(2-3), 262-273.

*The Vies de collège of André Laurie, vector and witnesses of the circulation of sport and local physical cultures between 1881 and 1904*

**Pierre-Alban Lebecq**

**Resume:**

Les *Vies de collèges* of André Laurie (alias Paschal Grousset 1844-1909) constitute a series of fourteen novels for young people published between 1881 and 1904 by Hetzel. The first volume, *La Vie de collège en Angleterre*, presents precisely the extent of sporting practices encountered across the Channel both in Public Schools and in British civil society. The young French actors of the associative sports movement emerging at the end of the 1880s and the beginning of the 1890s bear witness to the influence that this work had in the circulation of ideas and sporting practices in France. However, the author, by studying different school systems across Europe and the world, also contributes to raising awareness of foreign physical cultures - this is particularly the case for Germany in 1884 (*Histoire d'un écolier hanovrien*) - and bears witness to the spread of British sports at the turn of the century - it bears witness to the spread of British sports at the turn of the century - this is particularly the case for Switzerland in 1904 (*Un Semestre en Suisse*). From the three examples cited above, the communication will endeavor to show that the forms of sport conveyed in this series of novels are varied, not all British, nor all competitive and that literature for young people participates in the circulation of ideas and sports practices. The novelist, who is also a journalist and promoter of sport and physical education under the pseudonym Philippe Daryl, is also a politician whose view of society and physical culture differs from that usually held by those who praise sport in France. From a methodological point of view, the study will endeavor to systematically compare the fictional elements put forward with the results of current historical work in order to highlight the documentary richness that this literature offers.

**Keywords:** *College lives, André Laurie, circulation of ideas and practices, British sports, local physical cultures*

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- Antonin Dubois. « De la rapière à la raquette. Les étudiants allemands face au sport : débats et pratiques autour de 1900 ». *Revue d'Allemagne et des pays de langue allemande*, 52/2, 2020, p. 383-397.
- Ute Frevert. « L'armée, l'école de la masculinité. Le cas de l'Allemagne au XIXe siècle ». *Travail, genre et sociétés*, 3, 2000, p. 45-66.

**Author biography:**

**Pierre-Alban Lebecq** is full Professor, CY ILEPS, CY AGORA EA7392 ([pa.lebecq@ileps.fr](mailto:pa.lebecq@ileps.fr)).

- Pierre-Alban Lebecq. *Paschal Grousset. Éducation et littérature pour la jeunesse*. Reims : EPURE, 2020.
- Pierre-Alban Lebecq. *Regard sur le sport à la Belle Époque*. Mémoire d'Habilitation à diriger des recherches de CY Cergy Paris Université, 2024.

*The short-lived trajectory of multi-national events at the Youth Olympic Games*

### **Tanguy Pigot & Jean Saint-Martin**

**Resume:**

Created confidentially in 2007, the mixed-NOC event at the Youth Olympic Games (YOG) were introduced at the 1st edition in Singapore in 2010. However, after six convincing editions, the IOC decided to abruptly end them in the mid-2020s.

From a historical perspective on international relations, this communication examines the contribution of YOG to the perpetuation of the myth of Olympic universalism (Bancel et al, 2023). The notions of nationalism and transnationalism (Andres, 2009) will be examined to explain the geopolitical and geocultural stakes of these events. For more than a decade, from 2010 to 2020, they allowed young athletes from all over the world, of diverse ethnic and religious origins, to compete within the same team for an Olympic medal tinged with transnationalism.

To understand their genesis, growth and demise, written sources from the French national and regional press were studied and cross-referenced with documents from the Olympic Movement. This was supplemented by the study of databases relating to international and French federations and oral sources from interviews with five French athletes and an interview with Thierry Zintz, Professor Emeritus at the University of Lausanne and close associate of Jacques Rogge.

Ultimately, the creation of the mixed-NOC events in 2007 and their introduction at the 2010 YOG seem to support the hypothesis that they contribute, on one hand, in an original and unprecedented way to proving the identity of the YOG on the global Olympic stage. And on the other hand, geopolitically, these events illustrate both rapprochements and tensions between nations, offering a novel reading of international relations on a planetary scale (Terret, 2011). Thus, during six editions, the mixed-NOC events allowed new nations to emerge on the Olympic scene and provided athletes with a competitive and festive platform.

Under the pretext of a need for a more competitive schedule but mostly due to a lack of media recognition, an absence of various forms of nationalism, and a concept that only interests certain Olympic spheres, this will lead to the abrupt suppression of mixed-NOC events, closing the parenthesis of a denationalized and universal Olympism.

**Keywords:** *Youth Olympic Games, multi-national events, nationalism, transnationalism, innovation*

**Bibliography or references:**

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- Thierry Terret, *Histoire du sport et Géopolitique*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2011.

**Authors' biographies:**



**Tanguy Pigot** is a student in Master 2 Agrégation et Recherche en Activités Physiques et Sportives, Faculté des Sciences du Sport de Strasbourg ([Tanguy.pigot@etu.unistra.fr](mailto:Tanguy.pigot@etu.unistra.fr)).



**Jean Saint-Martin** is a member of the PSMS laboratory at the Université de Reims-Champagne-Ardennes, and full Professor in STAPS at the Faculté des Sciences du Sport in Strasbourg.



- Jean-Jacques Dupaux, Tony Froissart, **Jean Saint-Martin**, La gymnastique olympique et la nécessité d’Être vu.e et jugé.e au cours du XXe siècle, in Michaël Attali (dir.), sous la coordination de Yohann Fortune, Louis Violette, *Une histoire mondiale de l’olympisme*, Atlande, 2024.
- Lucas Schon, Jean Saint-Martin. L’acculturation footballistique du club de Bischwiller au tournant de la Grande guerre (1911-1923). *Sciences sociales et sport*, 2023, 1 (21), pp.161-189.

*Excursion of students of the Central Institute of Physical Education in Warsaw to the Olympic physical education camp in Berlin in 1936. A contribution to the history of the image of the Third Reich in the Second Polish Republic*

**Kamil Potrzuski**

**Resume:**

In 1936, a delegation of students and staff from the Central Institute of Physical Education in Warsaw spent nearly a month in Berlin during an Olympic physical education camp. The students attended classes, took excursions around Berlin, learned about the functioning of the state institutions of the Third Reich and cheered on the Olympic athletes. There is a report from this trip, 45 pages long, preserved in the archives of the Academy of Physical Education in Warsaw. It was written by the PE student (later a PhD in physical culture sciences) Tadeusz Jakubowski in the name of himself and 25 other students and 4 staff members who signed it (no Polish Jews among them, despite the fact that number of Jewish students were attending the PE courses in CIPE in the interwar period). The document was prepared in for the authorities of CIPE. It could potentially also serve other state and military institutions, however, there are no proofs that this actually happened. Unfortunately, it is not known whether the report had a wider response at Warsaw’s CIPE or elsewhere. According to the report, the stay made a great impression on the students. However, it seems that the text was written from the perspective of people who were impressed by the Third Reich - perceived relatively positively in Poland before 1938 - as an example of an orderly and intensively modernizing country. Noticing the quantity and quality of sports, transport and public utility facilities in Berlin could have strengthened this image, therefore (and also due to the fact that these were young people with not necessarily very high political experience) the participants of the trip to Berlin were not willing to notice the threats resulting from development of Nazism. They saw few shortcomings in the functioning of the state.

The text will analyse this trip as a contribution to the phenomenon of the positive image of the Third Reich in the Second Polish Republic, which persisted until the Munich Conference of 1938 and the subsequent series of demands by the Third Reich government against Poland, heralding the coming war.

**Keywords:** *Berlin Olympics 1936, physical education, students, Central Institute of Physical Education in Warsaw, Third Reich image in interwar Poland*

**Bibliography or references:**

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- Dorcz W., Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego w Warszawie. Przewodnik, wyd. Estrella, Warszawa 2015 [University of Physical Education in Warsaw. A Guide].
- Szymański L., Kultura fizyczna w polityce II Rzeczypospolitej, wyd. AWF, Wrocław 1995 [Physical culture in the policy of 2nd Republic of Poland].
- Wspomnienia studentów CIWF/AWF z lat 1929-1939, red. R. Trzeźniowski, Heliodor, Łomianki 2000. [Memoirs of the students of CIPE/APE between 1929-1939, ed. by R. Trzeźniowski].

#### Author biography:



**Kamil Potrzuski** is a researcher and teaching Associate at Józef Piłsudski University of Physical Education in Warsaw ([kamil.potrzuski@awf.edu.pl](mailto:kamil.potrzuski@awf.edu.pl)).

- Potrzuski K. (2023), *The representational building of Polish YMCA in Warsaw (1932)* in: *A history of sport in Europe in 100 objects*, ed. D. Bolz, M. Krüger, Arete Verlag, Hildesheim.
- Potrzuski K. (2023), *Bold Ambitions, Austere Realities. On the unfulfilled plans for the Warsaw Olympic Games*, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, DOI: 10.1080/09523367.2023.2293126, published online 15 Jan 2024.

## DAY 2 - SESSION 12

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 14:00 p.m. - 16:00 p.m., SESSION 12**

(Room S201, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Olympic and regional challenges for nations: building, participating, hosting***

Chair: Didier Séguillon



**Didier Séguillon** is a sport historian specializing in the sciences and techniques of adapted physical activity, and shared motor and sports practices. He is currently a member of the Disability and Society Program at EHESS-Paris, lecturer emeritus at the University of Paris Nanterre in STAPS, qualified to direct research (HDR) and researcher at the Institut des sciences sociales du politique (UMR 7220).

- Séguillon D. (2023). *Le Sportsman silencieux. Monographie du premier organe de presse de la France sportive des sourds-muets. 1914-1934*. Collection Espace et Temps du sport. L'Harmattan.
- Séguillon D. (2024). *Rubens Alcais. Biographie d'un sourd sportif engagé pour la défense et l'émancipation de la communauté silencieuse. 1884-1963*. Collection Mouvement des savoirs. L'Harmattan.
- Séguillon D. (2024). *Les Jeux internationaux silencieux de Paris en 1924. Les autres Jeux olympiques. 10 au 17 août*. Collection Espace et Temps du sport. L'Harmattan.

*The laborious construction of Olympic Europe*

**Florent Lefèvre, Jean Saint-Martin & Tony Froissart**

#### **Resume:**

In the aftermath of the Second World War, as Europe sought to unite politically and economically, a new Europe was envisaged following initiatives led by non-governmental organisations such as the Olympic institutions. In the 1960s, the European NOCs wanted to play a central role in turning the Old Continent into a mosaic of cultures and political regimes, in which sport, and Olympism in particular, played an essential role. The geopolitical and cultural stakes are all the more omnipresent

as this future Olympic Europe is the largest in its history, stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. Against this backdrop, the European NOCs found it difficult to come together within the Association of European NOCs (AENOC), which faced numerous difficulties and debates about its missions and objectives. While this association proposed to promote friendship, peace and collaboration between peoples, the NOCs of Switzerland, France, Belgium and West Germany were among the most active, to enable the Olympic Movement to become a symbol of unity between nations and to ensure that Europe's hegemonic influence within the Olympic Movement continued. Thanks to an assumed Europhilia, they are campaigning to spread Olympic values among young Europeans. The aim of this paper is therefore to understand how the laborious construction of AENOC illustrates the tensions and issues of power within the Olympic Movement itself, which was at the time subject to the reluctance of the IOC and the conflicting geopolitical context of Europe. It is also about questioning the role and motivations of Olympic diplomats in the 2<sup>nd</sup> twentieth century in the construction of a resolutely modern Europe. From a methodological point of view, this paper is based on a systematic analysis of the contents of the written archives kept in Lausanne at the IOC's Olympic Studies Centre and of the correspondence between the main protagonists of this association.

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- David Renaud, Monnin Éric, Le mouvement olympique et l'Europe : histoire et actualité de l'Association des comités olympiques européens, dans *European Studies in Sports History*, Volume 4, PURH, pp 165-189, 2011.
- David Renaud, Monnin Éric, From Versailles to Brussels: The origins, hesitations and actions of the Association of European Olympic Committees, dans SOBRY Claude (dir.) *Sport Governance in the World. A socio-Historic Approach*, Volume III, pp 227-261, 2012.
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### Authors' biographies:



**Florent Lefèvre** is a PhD student in Sports History at the Performance Santé Métrologie Société (PSMS) laboratory at the Université de Reims Champagne Ardenne (URCA). His thesis is entitled “La genèse des Comités Olympiques Européens (COE) ou la diplomatie du sport olympique à l'échelle

de l'Europe de 1965 à 1995". Her research focuses on the Olympic movement from the 1950s to the early 1990s.

- Florent Lefevre , « La difficile organisation d'une Europe olympique depuis 1968 », Encyclopédie d'histoire numérique de l'Europe [en ligne], ISSN 2677-6588, mis en ligne le 27/03/23 , consulté le 14/03/2024. Permalien : <https://ehne.fr/fr/node/22074>



**Jean Saint-Martin** is a member of the PSMS laboratory at the Université de Reims-Champagne-Ardennes, and full Professor in STAPS at the Faculté des Sciences du Sport in Strasbourg.

- Jean-Jacques Dupaux, Tony Froissart, **Jean Saint-Martin**, La gymnastique olympique et la nécessité d'Être vu.e et jugé.e au cours du XXe siècle, in Michaël Attali (dir.), sous la coordination de Yohann Fortune, Louis Violette, *Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme*, Atlande, 2024.
- Lucas Schon, Jean Saint-Martin. L'acculturation footballistique du club de Bischwiller au tournant de la Grande guerre (1911-1923). *Sciences sociales et sport*, 2023, 1 (21), pp.161-189.



**Tony Froissart** is Professor Emeritus at the University of Reims-Champagne-Ardenne, and a member of the Performance Santé Métrologie Société (PSMS) Laboratory. His current research focuses on the history of the Olympic movement and the cultural history of Olympic disciplines.

- Jean-Jacques Dupaux, **Tony Froissart**, Jean Saint-Martin, La gymnastique olympique et la nécessité d'Être vu.e et jugé.e au cours du XXe siècle, in Michaël Attali (dir.), sous la coordination de Yohann Fortune, Louis Violette, *Une histoire globale des sports olympiques*, Atlande, 2024.
- **Tony Froissart**, Thierry Terret, Leon Štukelj, Olympic champion 1924, In gymnastics. Performances and legacy, *Science of Gymnastics Journal*, vol. 14, num. 1, 2022.

*The Third All-Africa Games in Algiers (1978): an analyzer of political issues in North Africa and the Middle East*

**Pascal Charitas**

**Resume:**

The third African Regional Games were held in Algeria from 13 to 28 July 1978. For the first time since their creation in 1965, these Regional Games are moving to North Africa. Politically, in this country, this edition takes place at the end of the presidency of the Republic of Houari Boumédiène (1965-1978) who is also the president of the Organization of African Unity. Algeria then experienced significant economic and social development under his government. This is accompanied by a policy of major works such as the Trans-Saharan (or «road of unity») which connects the Mediterranean to black Africa or the «green dam», forest to plant in twenty years to prevent the advance of the desert or by nationalizations (such as hydrocarbons). Internally, these are three revolutions that start: industrial, agrarian and cultural (through the Arabization of institutions). The decade of the 1970s is for Algeria a moment of the affirmation of a political position on the African continent, in the Mediterranean and the Middle East but also internationally. The country is politically involved in the Arab League and with the Non-Aligned Movement, taking a stand against Apartheid in South Africa. We will be interested in the organization of the African Games in Algeria in 1978 as an analyzer on the one hand of its national, regional and international policy and on the other hand as a reflection of the political tensions at work. For example, the competition is marked by the withdrawal before the end of the Games of the Egyptian delegation on the decision of the Egyptian Prime Minister Mamdouh Salem after incidents during the football match Libya-Egypt of 22 July, in a context of political tensions between these countries concerning politics in the Middle East. We postulate that the victory in the ranking of this edition of the African Games in Algeria is the epilogue of the "sports reform" started in 1977 following the incident a year earlier at the stadium on July 5 in Algiers where the national anthem is whistled by Kabyle supporters in the final of the Algerian Football Cup. Algeria is carrying out a sports reform, thanks to which all sports associations are integrated into major national economic and administrative enterprises. We will rely on archives from the Centre des Etudes Olympiques (Lausanne), IOC Bulletins, the Centre des archives contemporaines de Pierrefitte-Sur-Seine and the local press to understand to what extent at the crossroads of Algerian national policy, The African Games are not a means for Algeria to appear as a developed and democratic country.

**Keywords:** African games, National Policy, Diplomacy, Algeria, North Africa

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- Abdelkader Cheniouni, *Le sport algérien dans tous ses états: (1962-2021)*, Les Éditions du Net, 2022.

**Author biography:**

**Pascal Charitas** is a historian of sport and Olympism, and Associate Professor at the University of Paris Nanterre, member of the ISP Laboratory (Institut des Sciences sociales du politique, UMR 7220). His work focuses on regional games, Franco-African sporting cooperation, sport and international relations. Author of numerous works, he has notably published :

- "A More Flexible Domination: Franco-African Sport Diplomacy during Decolonization, 1945-1966", in Johns Andrew, Heather L. Dichter (eds.) *Diplomatic Games. Sport, Statecraft and International Relations since 1945. An Anthology of Sport after the Second World War*, University Press of Kentucky, 2014.
- "Imperialisms in the Olympics of the Colonization in the Postcolonization: Africa into the International Olympic Committee, 1910-1965", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 32, no. 7, 2015.
- "Sport in Africa", in Robert Edelman, Wayne Wilson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Sports History*, Oxford University Press, 2017.
- "L'Afrique et les Jeux Olympiques avant les décolonisations (1945-1960)", in Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Daphné Bolz, Yvan Gastaut, Sandrine Lemaire and Stéphane Mourlane (eds.), *Une histoire mondiale de l'olympisme 1894-2024*, Atlande/Atlantique, 2023.
- Contribute to the collective work of the book: *Olympisme. Une histoire du monde. Des premiers Jeux Olympiques d'Athènes 1896 aux Jeux Olympiques et Paralympiques de Paris 2024*, Paris, Editions de la Martinière, 2024.

*A continental dream: the successful hosting of an African Olympics. A dream come true or forever the "Cinderella complex"?*

### **Cobus Rademeyer**

**Resume:**

No African country has ever hosted the Summer Olympics. Although African countries have been participating at the Olympics for well over a century, the question remains why the continent has not hosted an Olympic Games yet and what can be done to address this issue. Despite twenty-eight from the continent participating since 1896, Africa's collective impact on the Summer Olympics remains modest compared with the rest of the world. This is further highlighted by the lack of African medals in the Winter Olympics. A total of fifteen African countries participated at the Winter Olympics between 1960 to 2022, without winning any medals. Nonetheless, the continent's ambition to host the Summer Games remains strong.

Through rigorously examining verified historical evidence, in the form of primary and secondary sources, historical criticism and comparative analysis will be used to evaluate the accuracy and reliability of sources and draw comparisons between different actions that contributed to the African

continent's inability to host the Olympics in the past. This will assist in a broader understanding of causes of historical change both on the African continent and within the broader Olympic movement internationally regarding the hosting of the Olympic Games. Where needed the information gathered will be supplemented by interviews.

Egypt is aiming to be the first African host in 2036, and Senegal will host the 2026 Youth Olympics. This reflects Africa's desire to showcase its potential and convince the IOC of its capabilities. Morocco boasts experience hosting major sporting events and Kenya explored bidding for the 2024 Games, but the only serious recent Summer Olympic bid came from Cape Town in 2004. Experts, however, believe Africa might be at least two decades away from hosting a Summer Olympics, citing economic, social, humanitarian, and geo-political issues as some of the concerns that need to be addressed before the continent can become a realistic contender. Even if all the required criteria are met, experts feel that the entire continent would have to unite behind a hosting nation to ensure the continent succeeds in successfully hosting a Summer Olympics.

For Africa, hosting the Olympics transcends competition signifies progress and inclusion. It represents the continent's arrival on the global sporting stage, a dream long held by both Africans and the international community alike.

**Keywords:** *African Olympics, Summer Olympics, sport in Africa*

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#### **Author biography:**



**Cobus Rademeyer** holds a PhD from the University of the Free State (The role of sports isolation as factor in the struggle for a new political dispensation in South Africa, 1980 – 1992) and is currently a Senior Lecturer in History at the Sol Plaatje University in Kimberley, South Africa. The culmination of



an undergraduate qualification in Human Movement Studies and a major in History led to postgraduate studies in sports history, specializing in South African sports history, international sport and politics, disability sport and Olympic history ([cobus.rademeyer@spu.ac.za](mailto:cobus.rademeyer@spu.ac.za)).

- Cobus Rademeyer (sole author), "Summer Meets Winter: African Nations Participating at the Winter Olympics, 1960-2018", in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Volume 37, 2020 - Issue 13: Special Issue: Winter Olympics, pp.1252-1273. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2020.1854230>
- Cobus Rademeyer (sole author), "Sport for People with Disabilities as Factor in Reshaping the Post-Apartheid South African Sporting Society" (PDF). *Journal for Contemporary History*. 42 (1): 81–98. <https://doi.org/10.18820/24150509/JCH42.v1.5>
- Cobus Rademeyer (sole author), "Guttmann's ingenuity: The Paralympic Games as legacy of the Second World War" in *Historia*, Volume 60, No. 1, May 2015, pp. 47 – 59. <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2309-8392/2015/v60n1a3>

## DAY 2 - SESSION 13

Wednesday 05 June 2024, 14:00 p.m - 16:00 p.m., SESSION 13

(Room S202, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Discrimination and resistance in sport and the Olympics***

Chair: Yann Descamps



**Yann Descamps** is Associate Professor of Sport History, Department of Sport Studies of the Research Center C3S « Culture, Sport, Santé, Société » (UR 4660) of the Université de Franche-Comté, France ([yann.descamps@univ-fcomte.fr](mailto:yann.descamps@univ-fcomte.fr)). He earned his PhD in American studies from the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3, and is now an associate professor of sport history at the Université de Franche-Comté, and a member of research center C3S (Culture, Sport, Santé, Société, UR 4660). He is currently working on the representation of the athletic body in contemporary popular culture, from videogames to comic books and manga.

- Descamps, Y. (2021). « Space Invaders : Des multiples espaces investis par les jeux vidéo de basket-ball ». *Mundus Fabula : La fabrique des mondes*, « Jeux, sports et espaces ». <https://mf.hypotheses.org/1242>
- Descamps, Y. (2019). « Lessons from the (Virtual) Field: What Basketball Videogames Teach The Youth ». *Films for the Feminist Classroom*, 8.2 « Playing and Pedagogy », Denton, Texas: Texas Women's University.

*Depicting indigenous communities and oppressed groups in the Olympics – the Opening Ceremonies of Los Angeles 1984, Atlanta 1996, Sydney 2000, and Rio 2016*

**Daniel Malanski**

#### **Resume:**

Olympic ceremonies are “lieux de mémoire” (Nora 1989). They thus portray places, objects, and events that persist due to their transformative potential, continual reinterpretation, and unforeseeable reverberations. These Olympic sites of memory glorify the past while forging teleological connections to the present, seamlessly intertwining reality with a mythical past in the

collective imagination (Pfister 2013, Malanski 2020). In doing so, the hosts generally retell the nation's history in the ceremony's artistic segment under the best possible light, thus refraining from explicit depictions of modernity's dark side: the dehumanisation of non-White peoples and the expropriation of their lands (Mignolo 2011).

This presentation evaluates how host nations have included, or not, their country's original inhabitants and other oppressed (racially defined) groups as part of their past and present. Through longitudinal audio-visual content analyses of opening ceremonies official video footage (provided by the IOC's Olympic Channel), supported by events' media guides and official reports, we compare how the representation of these groups has changed through time - 1984, 1996, 2000 and 2016 - and space - Los Angeles, Atlanta, Sydney, and Rio de Janeiro (hosts within nations with a history of European colonisation, forced labour and/or marginalisation of indigenous peoples). In doing so, we aim to answer the following questions: what strategies may the hosts have used to deviate the ceremonies from controversial themes concerning their country's pasts? How and why have opening ceremonies become increasingly centred on multiculturalism and the inclusion of marginalised groups? We will also discuss the social significance of such groups' exclusion/inclusion in the teleological fabric of the opening ceremonies, as well as cultural appropriation and demagogical branding issues.

We postulate the portrayal of oppression and oppressed peoples by Olympic hosts may be categorized into three distinct groups: those nations that practised the symbolic annihilation (Gerbner and Gross 2017) of peoples and events by completely obliterating references to them from their narratives, those that presented sensitive chapters of their history in a concealed or sanitised manner, and those that sought to include marginalised groups into the narrative and explicitly addressed some of the regretful chapters of the nation's history.

**Keywords:** *Opening Ceremonies, National Identities, Representation, Exclusion, Symbolic Annihilation*

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- Pfister, G. (2013). Lieux de mémoire/sites of memories and the Olympic Games: An introduction. In *Sport, Memory and Nationhood in Japan* (pp. 10-27). Routledge.

**Author biography:**

**Daniel Malanski** holds a PhD in Cultural History (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle) and in Audio-visual Communication (Autonomous University of Barcelona). He was previously a Government of Ireland IRC Fellow (2021-2023) at the University College Dublin, where he developed his forthcoming book ‘Memory and Modernity – a History of Olympic Opening Ceremonies (1980-2020)’. His work appeared in international peer-reviewed journals such as the *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *Sport in Society*, *National Identities*, and the *International Journal of the History of Sport*. Currently, Dr Malanski is a Teaching and Research Associate (ATER) at the Université de Lyon 1 – Claude Bernard.

- Malanski, D. (2023). Placard Carriers and Flag Bearers: Gender Representation in the Summer Olympics’ Parade of Nations (1908–2021). *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 1-30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2023.2269099>
- Malanski, D. (2020). Cannibals, Colorful Birds, and Exuberant Nature: The Representation of Brazilian Nationalism and Its Tropical Modernity in the 2016 Rio Olympics. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 44(2), 175-196. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723519889344>

*An Olympic “Black Atlantic”? The boycott project and transatlantic solidarity at the Mexico City Olympics (1968)*

**François-René Julliard**

**Resume:**

In the months leading up to the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, a dual process was underway. From San Jose State University (California), black American athletes initiated a boycott project to protest against the condition of blacks in the United States and around the world; then a group of African countries in turn declared their intention to boycott the event, after the IOC had reinstated South Africa - which was then applying apartheid - as a participating country. We can thus observe a conjunction of the two projects, around a refusal to take part in a competition that is considered to have been compromised. Illustrating both the rise in power of states emerging from decolonization and the strength of the theme of transatlantic black solidarity, this boycott project offers an interesting case of the sporting “Black Atlantic”, to use Paul Gilroy's expression.

The aim is to show how this pan-Africanism in sport is part of a model for the globalization of the Olympic Games that differs from the one that prevailed in the Cold War era: while the sporting rivalry between the USA and the USSR helped the Olympic Games achieve world stage status, the rise of pan-African solidarity reflects a different logic, that of the non-alignment that emerged from the Bandung Conference. What we're witnessing here is a different kind of globalization of the

Games. It mobilizes both a national minority, the Black Americans, and emerging states hitherto relatively marginal on the Olympic scene, around the same targeted objective.

To evoke this moment, I will draw mainly on the archives of the IOC's annual sessions (in Lausanne) and on the archives available at San Jose State University, in particular those of the boycott project's instigator, Harry Edwards, available since 2022. These include numerous press clippings and correspondence with key players in the sporting and political worlds.

**Keywords:** *boycott, black athletes, Mexico Games, Black Atlantic, Black Power*

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- Harry Blutstein, *Games of Discontent. Protests, Boycotts, and Politics at the 1968 Mexico Olympics*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021.
- Scarlett Cornelissen, « “Resolving « the South Africa problem »”. Transnational activism, ideology and race in the Olympic movement, 1960-91 », in Scarlett Cornelissen et Albert Grundlingh (dir.), *Sport Past and Present in South Africa. (Trans)forming the Nation*, Londres, Routledge, 2012, p. 152-166.
- Douglas Hartmann, *Race, Culture and the Revolt of the Black Athlete. The 1968 Olympic Protests and Their Aftermath*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2004.

### **Author biography:**



**François-René Julliard** is Agrégé d'histoire and PhD in contemporary history (supervisors: Fabien Conord, Université Clermont Auvergne, and Caroline Rolland-Diamond, Université Paris Nanterre), currently ATER in contemporary history at the Université polytechnique des Hauts de France (Valenciennes) ([frjulliard75@gmail.com](mailto:frjulliard75@gmail.com)).

- François-René Julliard, « Relever le gant. Aux origines d'une image iconique, le podium des Jeux olympiques de Mexico (1968) », *Siècles*, 2021, n° 51.
- François-René Julliard, « Black American athletes, between sports diplomacy and minority affirmation », *Relations internationales*, 2023, vol. 195, n°3, p. 99-114.

*Significant successes of Polish female athletes in the context of discrimination against women in sport in the interwar period*

**Magdalena Zmuda Palka**

**Resume:**

When the modern Olympic Games were initiated, women slowly began to take part in sporting competitions. Every subsequent Game saw more and more of them. In addition, many international competitions were organised, and one of the most important was the Women's World Games, where women could compete. Due to the loss of Poland's independence, athletes from Poland, including women, did not start competing internationally until the interwar period. Despite many situations of discrimination against women in sport and the lack of equal rights for women, it was because of the numerous successes of Polish women that sports became popular in Poland. It is particularly noteworthy that the first ever gold medal for Poland was won by Halina Konopacka in the discus throw at the 9th Olympic Games in Amsterdam in 1928. The presentation shows the successes of Poland's most notable female athletes of the inter-war period despite discrimination against women in sport. It was decided to bring the issues of Polish female Olympians closer to the public for two reasons. First of all, there is a lot of different scientific information about the history of the Olympics of the interwar period of each country, but there are few scientific papers based on reliable sources. The second reason for the presentation of this theme was the international successes of Polish women, which overshadowed those of men at a time when women in most countries did not have many rights, including the right to vote. The presentation was based on an analysis of sources, mainly press and works of the inter-war period, as well as contemporary studies.

**Keywords:** *Women, Sport, Olympic Games, Women's World Games, Poland, Polish Women*

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**Author biography:**

**Magdalena Zmuda Palka** is Associate Professor of Sociology and Sociology of sport at Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego of Krakow, Wydział Wychowania Fizycznego i Sportu, Institut Nauk Społecznych.

- Madeleine Zmuda Palka & Marie Stéphanie Abouna (2023) Les défis sociohistoriques du développement du football féminin en Pologne, La Revue internationale de l'histoire du sport, 40h13, 1216-1238, EST CE QUE JE: [10.1080/09523367.2023.2295944](https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2023.2295944)
- Madeleine Zmuda Palka & Mathilde Siwek (2021) La culture physique ancienne dans la littérature de langue polonaise des Lumières, La Revue internationale de l'histoire du sport, 38:2-3, 203-226, EST CE QUE JE: [10.1080/09523367.2021.1873280](https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2021.1873280)
- Madeleine Zmuda Palka & Mathilde Siwek (2018) Festivals de gymnastique à grande échelle (Pan-Sokol Slets) : le plus grand mouvement social sur le territoire polonais avant la Première Guerre mondiale, La Revue internationale de l'histoire du sport, 35:14, 1428-1443, EST CE QUE JE: [10.1080/09523367.2019.1597712](https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2019.1597712)

## DAY 2 - PANEL B

**Wednesday 05 June 2024, 14:00 p.m. - 16:00 p.m., PANEL B**

(Amphitheatre S2, Alice Milliat building)

### ***The ecosystem of sports circulations around the world in the 20<sup>th</sup> century***

Chair: Cyril Polycarpe



**Cyril Polycarpe** is Associate Professor in STAPS, and teaches at INSPE Besançon - Franche-Comté. He is a researcher at the Culture, Sport, Health and Society Laboratory (C3S, UR 4660), an elected member of the Board of the Société Française d'Histoire du Sport (SFHS). His research is organized around three main themes: the expansion of Olympism, international relations in sport through the creation of sports diplomacy, and the mechanisms for implementing and disseminating physical education in schools.

- Marcelo Moraes e Silva, Cyril Polycarpe, Daniele Cristina Carqueijeiro de Medeiros, Evelise Amgarten Quitau, L'idéalisation des Jeux Olympiques par la presse brésilienne (1896-1920), *Amerika* 25 (1) : 1-13, mars 2023. DOI: [10.4000/amerika.16800](https://doi.org/10.4000/amerika.16800)
- Grégory Quin & Cyril Polycarpe, Leading international sport: Biographies, trajectories, and networks of an elite in international sport (1920–1980), *Special Issue*, December 2019, STAPS, n°125(3):7. DOI: 10.3917/sta.125.0007

*From India to the Rio de la Plata, from global Imperial Game to local national Sport.  
Circulation, hybridization and creolization of Polo, 1870's-1960's*

**Lucie Hêmeury**

#### **Resume:**

This paper examines the process of globalisation of polo, from its adoption by the British in India to its spread to the Americas in the last third of the 19th century, and its specific acculturation in Argentina. Introduced by British immigrants in the 1870s, polo was gradually adopted by members of the local elite, particularly the families of wealthy landowners (*estancieros*). In 1924, the Argentine polo team won the first Olympic gold medal in the country's history at the Paris Games. Since then, Argentine players and horses (polo-ponies) have dominated the sport worldwide. In the 1920s and



1930s, an invented tradition emerged around this game in a context marked by heated debates over the definition of national identity. Repeated success in international competitions fuelled the construction of identity-based discourse, aimed at claiming polo as a distinctly Argentine sport. The players were presented as a successful product of the local melting pot and ideal representatives of the *criollidad*. Their performances were explained by their assimilation of British virtues and qualities inherited from the *gauchos*, nurtured by the influence of the pampas and the traditional art of horsemanship. How did such a discourse develop around a sport of Asian origin, transformed, and imported by British settlers? Using media sources, including articles and photographs from the sports weekly *El Gráfico*, players' memoirs and essays on national identity, we will examine how these representations were created and then disseminated in the national imagination and abroad. Yet these representations were created by the agro-economic elites who had helped to discipline the *gauchos* and the rural working classes, and to eradicate the traditional way of life of which they claimed to be the genuine heirs and worthy representatives. This mythical narrative is an example of cultural appropriation and masks social violence and class contempt, perpetrated in the name of the country's modernisation and national progress.

**Keywords:** *Argentina, Polo, Globalisation, Creolisation, Invented Tradition*

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- Macloughlin Breard, Guillermo, “From Shepherds to Polo Players: Irish-Argentines from the First to the Last Chukker”, *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, 6:1, March 2008, p. 67-73.
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- Slatta Richard W., “The Demise of the gaucho and the rise of equestrian sport in Argentina”, *Journal of Sport History*, vol.13, 2, p. 97-110, 1986.

#### **Author biography:**

**Lucie Hémeury** is Junior Lecturer and Research Fellow at the Center for Olympic Studies and Globalisation of Sport of the Sport Sciences Institute at the University of Lausanne ([lucie.hemeury@unil.ch](mailto:lucie.hemeury@unil.ch)). PhD in history from the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3 (2018). Since 2022, research fellow and junior lecturer at the Sports Sciences Institute at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland). Her thesis focuses on the relationship between sport and politics in Argentina during the Peronist period (1946-1955). Her current research focuses on the genesis of the Pan-American sports movement, the commercialisation of the Olympic movement, sports diplomacy and the role of sports actors in international relations.

- « Les sportifs argentins, « meilleurs ambassadeurs de la Nueva Argentina » (1946-1955) », *Relations internationales*, 2023/3, n° 195, p. 69-84. DOI : 10.3917/ri.195.0069.
- « Shaping the National Sports System: the Development of Argentinian Sports Press, from the Leisure Society to the Era of Mass Culture (1890s-1950s) », in Bernardo Buarque de Hollanda (ed.), *Sports Media and History of Sports in Latin America*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2023, p. 23-42.

*The wheel turns of Alphonse Steinès (1873-1960), organizer and sports journalist*

**Sébastien Moreau**

**Resume:**

A pioneering cyclist, organizer and sports writer, Alphonse Steinès was a central, if secondary, figure in sports entertainment and journalism from the 1890s to the 1950s. Neither boss, champion nor publication director, this intermediary multiplied sporting initiatives in the shadow of the great figures Victor Breyer and Henri Desgrange. Throughout his long career, Steinès was a key figure in the movement between his country of origin and his adopted homeland (Luxembourg and France), between the dozens of associations and organizing committees in which he participated and the newspapers for which he was editor or correspondent (*Le Vélo*, *L'Auto*, *Le Petit Journal*, *L'Indépendance luxembourgeoise...*) and, more generally, between the world of journalism and the most famous cycling events (such as the Tour de France). In so doing, Steinès reveals himself to be an essential cog in the geographical and material movement of sport.

Drawing on a wide range of unpublished archives and publications, both public and private, from Luxembourg and France, this paper aims to reassess the diachronic structuring of the road-cycling spectacle, between the fields of journalism, event organization and cycling associations (notably the *Touring-Club de France*, where he ended his career as head of department), all of which he helped to delineate and collaborate. In the form of a thematic biography - a lens through which to apprehend the worlds in which Alphonse Steinès evolved - the aim is to contribute to an empirical and effective understanding of the sporting circulations at work and, more generally, of the conditions under which the spectacle and sports journalism evolved during the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, of which he was a well-known face, an original marker and a tireless, multi-positioned vector.

**Keywords:** *sports press, cycling, circulations, biography, cross-border*

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**Author biography:**



**Sébastien Moreau** was a student at the École normale supérieure de Cachan with a degree in social sciences, Sébastien Moreau obtained his PhD in contemporary history from the University of Paris 1 in 2018. His thesis is entitled “Les rencontres sportives. Une histoire sociale et culturelle du sport à Reims, pôle de l'espace sportif national et européen (1918-1939)” (ed.: Christophe Charle). From 2018 to 2022, he conducted research into Luxembourg and European railway history as part of a post-doctorate at the Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History (C2DH) at the University of Luxembourg, where he is an associate researcher.

- “Gagner sa vie au volant au risque de la perdre. Les pilotes automobiles européens (années 1920-1930)”, *Le Mouvement social*, January-March 2016, pp. 31-45.
- *Les CFL en mouvement depuis 75 ans. Histoire des chemins de fer luxembourgeois*, Luxembourg, CFL, 2022.

*The Cosmos Hotel, a French building for the 1980 Moscow Games. Diplomacy and major contract in the Olympic preparation market*

### **Yannick Deschamps**

#### **Resume:**

"L'affaire valait la peine car un hôtel entièrement français est une bien meilleure vitrine qu'une usine que personne ne verra", (*Le Monde*, July 20, 1979): Jean-Pierre Fourcade, Minister of Finance, welcomes the inauguration of the Cosmos Hotel in Moscow, built by the Société d'études financières et de réalisations immobilières (SEFRI) to host the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. At the time, the hotel appeared to be the largest and most modern in the Soviet capital, and was designed to accommodate both the guests of honor of the Moscow Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games and a press center for the duration of the sporting event.

Presented as a means of spreading national prestige, the construction of this hotel was included in the Olympic cooperation program established in 1975 between the French and Soviet governments. France's involvement in the preparations for the Moscow Games stemmed from the opening up of markets that could potentially benefit national companies. The USSR needed to modernize its technological equipment and develop its sports and tourist infrastructures. The Soviet government authorized Moscow Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games to call on foreign companies to meet the Olympic challenge. The construction of the facilities needed to host the Games was thus a multi-faceted extension of bilateral diplomacy, becoming at once an issue of economic, political, sport and tourist relations between the two countries.

Spanning almost five years, from the initial negotiations to the completion of the construction site, the French hotel project in the USSR provides an insight into the ecosystem involved in preparing for the Moscow Games. This ecosystem is based on a series of flows of people, information, know-how and materials that reveal the diplomatic and economic stakes involved in the preparatory phase. While a number of studies have already shed light on the different timeframes involved in hosting the Olympic Games, such as when cities apply to host the Games, when the events take place, and the legacies left behind, little attention has been paid to the preparatory phase. Drawing on the diplomatic archives of the French embassies in Moscow, the archives of the French ministries responsible for infrastructure, tourism and sport, and those of the IOC, this paper aims to grasp the multiple issues at stake in Olympic cooperation through the circulations that drive it.

**Key words:** *Cooperation, Olympic Games, Diplomacy, International relations, Circulations*

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### Author biography:



**Yannick Deschamps** is teacher-researcher at the STAPS UFR of the Université de Picardie Jules Verne, member of the Centre d'histoire des sociétés, des sciences et des conflits (CHSSC - UR 4289).

- Yannick Deschamps, « “How much are you ready to pay?” : la commercialisation des sportifs soviétiques vers la France au temps de la perestroïka », *Sciences sociales et sport*, [publication en 2024].
- Yannick Deschamps, « Échanges et contacts sportifs entre la France et l’URSS à l’aube de la guerre froide : les prémices d’une diplomatie sportive bilatérale (1947-1953) », *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, n°277, 2020, p. 119-135.

## DAY 3 - SESSION 14

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 9:00 p.m. - 11:00 p.m., SESSION 14**

(Room S200, Alice Milliat building)

### ***The rebound of basketball in a globalized world***

Chair: Fabien Archambault



**Fabien Archambault** is currently assistant professor of contemporary history at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. His work focuses on the cultural and political history of contemporary Italy and Western Europe, particularly on the affirmation of sports cultures in Western societies in the 20th century.

- *Coups de sifflet. Une histoire du monde en onze matchs*, Paris, Flammarion, 2022.
- *Il controllo del pallone. I cattolici, i comunisti e il calcio in Italia (1943-anni settanta)*, Florence, Le Monnier, 2022.
- *Le Football des nations. Des terrains de jeu aux communautés imaginées* (avec Stéphane Beaud et William Gasparini), Paris, Editions de la Sorbonne, 2018.
- *Le Continent basket. L'Europe et le basket-ball au XXe siècle* (avec Loïc Artiaga et Gérard Bosc), Bruxelles, Peter Lang, 2015.

*Basketball diplomacy and the Cold War: the 1964 NBA All-Star Tour in Romania*

**Pompiliu-Nicolae Constantin**

#### **Resume:**

The United States finished fourth at the 1963 World Basketball Championships, behind Brazil, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. To repair the American image, the US State Department decided to assemble a team and send it to Europe. Legendary coach Red Auerbach was tasked with assembling a roster of North American superstars to lead a tour of Poland, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Egypt in the spring of 1964. The Soviet Union was initially on the list, but eventually, in the context of the Cold War context, declined the American visit.

This presentation examines the NBA delegation's travel in Romania, contextualizing this visit within the broader framework of the four-country tour. The scope of this study is to identify the perceptions

of American coach and players regarding their journey and the reception of US visitors by the host countries. The analysis relies on primary sources from archives in the United States and Romania, as well as memoirs and interviews of individuals involved in the event. The information is subject to qualitative analysis and data triangulation.

This research is significant as it highlights that, contrary to the tension of the Cold War era, basketball played a pivotal role in fostering a positive image of the United States in the communist press. Throughout the six weeks of the tour, the American team emerged victorious in all matches, leaving a lasting impression on their opponents. According to Romanian basketball player Alin Savu, the encounter was nothing short of “a miracle.” The *Sportul* newspaper describes the US basketball players as “artists”. Additionally, the tour facilitated cultural exchanges between the United States and the mentioned countries beyond the Iron Curtain. For example, the coach of the Romanian national team was invited to the United States, and subsequent sports encounters ensued following the NBA tour.

To sum up, this presentation is significant due to the underexplored nature of the 1964 NBA All-Star Tour. A comprehensive analysis of this journey provides valuable insights into the existing literature on the significance of sports diplomacy during the Cold War.

**Keywords:** *sport diplomacy, basketball diplomacy, Cold War, United States, Romania*

#### **Bibliography or references:**

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#### **Author biography:**



**Pompiliu-Nicolae Constantin** holds the position of Associate Professor at the National University for Physical Education and Sports in Bucharest, Romania, where he teaches sport history. He was also a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Penn State University (2023-2024).

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- “Epuran’s actograph”, in Daphne Bolz & Michael Kruger (Ed.), *European history of sport in 100 objects*, Arete Verlag, 2023, 110-113.
- “How to Develop Moral Skills in Sport by Using the Corruption Heritage?” (in collaboration with other nine authors), *Sustainability*, vol. 14 (1), 2022. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su14010400>.

*From Allez-Hop to Alley-Oop: basketball as a driver of globalization*

**Lindsay Sarah Krasnoff**

**Resume:**

Basketball, the first born-global team sport, is a driver of globalization. Invented 1891 by a Canadian in the United States, by 1900 the game was played in Europe, South America, Asia, and Australia; sixty later the diversity of indigenous basketball cultures made it an ingredient in Cold War soft power cultivation and sports diplomacy by countries like the United States, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Argentina, China, France, Senegal, and Angola (Witherspoon, 2018; Krasnoff, 2020, Krasnoff, 2023). The game's 21<sup>st</sup> century success rests on this background. Despite frequent associations as an 'American' sport, the planet's elite championship, the National Basketball Association (NBA), is ever-more international: [nearly one in three players in the 2023-24 season were born and trained outside the United States \(NBA International, 2023\)](#). Moreover, since 1997, France has become a major pipeline, supplying the most non-North American talent all-time, including 2023 rookie sensation and future face of the league Victor Wembanyama.

This has thus forged a global basketball identity, defined by how the game, its history, shared memories, and cultural reference points unifies players, coaches, and others within the hoops family planet-wide. It's a global basketball identity that supersedes local, national, or other identifiers and confers instant community. This global basketball identity is also stitched together through shared codes, fashion, sneakers, art, music, movies, media, lingo, and passion for the game (Wolff, 2022; Krasnoff and Rofe, 2022). But this is not an 'Americanized' basketball identity, such as the one fashioned by Michael Jordan and the NBA in the 1980s and 1990s (LaFeber, 1999). Instead, it's a cosmopolitan one thanks to how international players are changing the NBA, led by the French as the dominant, albeit hidden, European faction (Krasnoff, 2023). France, and Europe, thus has fingerprints on today's global basketball identity.

This paper examines basketball's globalization in construction of plural sporting identities and subsequent use in different types of sports diplomacy through the unique Franco-American prism, two of the oldest basketball-playing nations. The discussion will include Franco-African and French Caribbean contributions. How did basketball's globalization construct a global identity while leaving room for local identities? What were its attributes, how did it allow diverse communities to interact and engage in different sports diplomacy (communication, representation, negotiation; [Rofe 2016](#), [Murray 2018](#))? How has it evolved, how might it play out at Paris 2024—and why does this matter? What were the historical tensions between local communities and global concerns and how were they resolved? Is this an Americanization of basketball or something more complex?

**Methodology**

This interdisciplinary approach combines historical and journalistic methods, centering upon socio-cultural and sports diplomacy fields.

**Sources and Materials**

Derived from primary source research and analysis from [Basketball Empire: France and the Making of a Global NBA and WNBA](#) (Krasnoff, 2023), which includes French government and media archives, oral histories and media interviews, secondary source synthesis, as well as [FranceAndUS](#) project oral histories, NBA documentation, player social media platforms.

**Results**

Basketball's globalization and global identity wasn't a purely 'Americanization' of the sport. Instead, thanks to generations of nonofficial sports diplomacy, basketball became a global entity.



**Keywords:** *Basketball, NBA, France, Americanization, Identities, Sports Diplomacy*

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- Krasnoff, Lindsay Sarah and J Simon Rofe, “Basketball Diplomacy Africa Oral History Project,” SOAS University of London, 2018-2022. <https://www.lindsaysarahkrasnoff.com/bballdipaf-hub>
- Walter LaFeber, *Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism* (W.W. Norton, 1999).
- Wolff, Alexander, *Big Game, Small World: A Basketball Adventure*, 20th Anniversary Edition (Duke University Press, 2022).

**Author biography:**



**Lindsay Sarah Krasnoff** is a historian and sports diplomacy expert. Author of [Basketball Empire: France and the Making of a Global NBA and WNBA](#) (Bloomsbury, 2023) and [The Making of Les Bleus: Sport in France](#) (Lexington Books, 2013), outside her consulting practice she directs the [FranceAndUS](#) project and lectures on sports diplomacy and global sport at New York University’s Tisch Institute for Global Sport ([lkrasnoff@gmail.com](mailto:lkrasnoff@gmail.com) and [lsk222@nyu.edu](mailto:lsk222@nyu.edu)).

- [Empire du basket-ball : la France et la création d'une NBA et d'une WNBA mondiales](#) (Bloomsbury, 2023).
- « [\(Cas 364\) Le basket-ball des Bleus en Chine : le pouvoir de la diplomatie sportive](#) », Institut d'étude de la diplomatie, Université de Georgetown, 2023.
- « Expatriating Cain's Scrutiny : From Athlete Protestor to Athlete Ambassador », dans Michael Gennaro et Brian McGowan (éd.), *Sport et protestation dans l'Atlantique noir* (Routledge, 2022).

*Global games, global bodies? (Re)making worlds and bodies in Basketball videogames, 1999-2017*

**Yann Descamps**

**Resume:**

Calling on cultural history, gender studies and media studies, and mainly influenced by the works of Mathieu Triclot on the philosophy of videogames, David J. Leonard on the representation of black athletic bodies in videogames, Joseph Nye on soft power, and Georges Vigarello on the history of the body, this presentation studies the stakes of world-making in sports videogames, especially in terms



of body politics. Based on the textual, content and gameplay analysis of basketball videogames released between 1999 and 2017, when these cultural artefacts became more than mere sports simulations, this work questions to which extent these games, beyond (re)creating today's sports world and spectacle, have represented a stereotyped, Americanized body culture for a global audience. First, it studies the worlds (re)created by these videogames, from the sports spectacle itself to its mediatised form, as well as the iconic, fantasized inner-city playground, and the world of sport as a man's world. Then, it focuses on the (re)constructed athletic body, from its physical form to its movements and emotions, to discuss the body politics of its representation. Last, it highlights the myths (re)created through these games, from the NBA myths to the Dream Team and the so-called African-American Dream of making it to the NBA. In conclusion, it opens on the question of agency, the stakes of the reception by the players, and the potential influence of these videogames on their body cultures. In a nutshell, this presentation uncovers the political dimension of sports videogames and the virtual worlds they build, as they potentially influence the players' imagination and lead to a uniformization of body cultures, and a depolitization of a deeply-political sporting world.

**Keywords:** *Videogames, Basketball, Representation, Soft Power, Body Culture*

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#### **Author biography:**



**Yann Descamps** is Associate Professor of Sport History, Department of Sport Studies of the Research Center C3S « Culture, Sport, Santé, Société » (UR 4660) of the Université de Franche-Comté, France ([yann.descamps@univ-fcomte.fr](mailto:yann.descamps@univ-fcomte.fr)). He earned his PhD in American studies from the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3, and is now an associate professor of sport history at the Université de Franche-Comté, and a member of research center C3S (Culture, Sport, Santé, Société, UR 4660). He is currently working on the representation of the athletic body in contemporary popular culture, from videogames to comic books and manga.

- Descamps, Y. (2021). « Space Invaders : Des multiples espaces investis par les jeux vidéo de basket-ball ». *Mundus Fabula : La fabrique des mondes*, « Jeux, sports et espaces ». <https://mf.hypotheses.org/1242>
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## DAY 3 - SESSION 15

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m., SESSION 15**

(Room S201, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Birth, spread and development of a global sport***

Chair: Kamil Potrzuski



**Kamil Potrzuski** is a researcher and teaching Associate at Józef Piłsudski University of Physical Education in Warsaw ([kamil.potrzuski@awf.edu.pl](mailto:kamil.potrzuski@awf.edu.pl)).

- Potrzuski K. (2023), *The representational building of Polish YMCA in Warsaw (1932)* in: *A history of sport in Europe in 100 objects*, ed. D. Bolz, M. Krüger, Arete Verlag, Hildesheim.
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*The Birth of the Fédération Internationale de Rugby Amateur and the creation of a European Rugby identity: the example of Catalonia and the Nation-State conflict (1933-1937)*

**Mariano Pasarello-Clérice, Xavier Pujadas Martí & Montserrat Martín Horcajo**

#### **Resume:**

The schism between France and the Home Nations can be attributed, in part, to a significant cultural conflict, leading to the exclusion of the French from the Five Nations tournament in 1931. This seismic shift in the rugby landscape had a significant impact on French rugby, isolating it from international competition and laid the groundwork for the development of European rugby through a new framework with the establishment of the *Fédération Internationale de Rugby Amateur* (FIRA). On January 2, 1934, FIRA was created featuring nine nations as its founding members, including Catalonia, thanks to its international relations strategy initiated in 1929 at the International Exhibition of Barcelona. The primary aim of this study is to explore the intricate relationship and political conflict between Catalonia and Spain as reflected in the world of rugby, showcasing the strong European identity of Catalan rugby. The rise of Spanish right-wing forces in the early 1930s,

led to a campaign to recentralize the Spanish Rugby Union in Madrid, moving it from its Barcelona headquarters. Simultaneously, there were public calls for the relocation of all Spanish sports federations to Madrid. In this context, the Catalan Rugby Football Union (FCFR) successfully achieved sporting autonomy, enabling international competition within FIRA.

Spanish authorities engaged in a fierce confrontation with the FCFR, initiating a belligerent campaign aimed at securing Catalonia's expulsion from FIRA. Despite these challenges, after two years of political and sporting struggle, the FCFR's membership in the international organization was definitively confirmed in Berlin 1936. However, the envisioned participation of Catalonia in a competition with all European nations affiliated with FIRA in 1937 was disrupted by the outbreak of the military uprising and subsequent Spanish Civil War in 1936.

This study draws on information from various Catalan and Spanish public and private archives, club records, and press articles. The authors will highlight the significant impact of FIRA's inception on emerging rugby nations and its contribution to the growth and consolidation of European and Catalan rugby.

**Key words:** *FIRA, Catalan rugby, sports conflict, Spanish rugby, and Spanish Civil War*

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- Pasarello-Clérice, Marià. “Cataluña”. In *Cien Años de Rugby* Coord. David Deosdad, 85-100. Madrid: Editorial Planeta, S. A., 2024
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- Ribalta Alcalde, Dolors, and Xavier Pujadas. Twice Invisible, Twice Clandestine. Football and Lesbianism in Spain During the Years of Democratic Transition (1970–1982) [Dos Veces Invisibles, Dos Veces Clandestinas. Fútbol y Lesbianismo en España Durante Los Años de la Transición Democrática (1970–1982)], *Sport History Review* 54, 2 (2023): 247-264. <https://doi.org/10.1123/shr.2023-0035>
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- Denison, Jim & Brian Gearity & Göran Gerdin & Roslyn Kerr & Jennifer McMahon & Montserrat Martin & Leanne Norman. Coaching's Urgent Need. Addressing Coaches' Abuse of Power. Routledge: Oxon, 2024.
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*The diffusion of rugby in the southwest Europe. The case study of Catalonia*

**Xavier Pujadas Martí, Mariano Pasarello Clérice & Montserrat Martin Horcajo**

#### **Resume:**

This research will trace and examine the diffusion of rugby in Catalonia and the Southwest region of Europe, exploring its reception and spread during the initial phase of development (1908-1923). This period is situated within the broader context of local and global processes related to the dissemination of the sport in the region. The expansion of rugby will be thoroughly discussed, revealing strong connections to the French community and local individuals who had studied in France, thus exposing an indirect sportification process.

The process by which rugby spread throughout Southwest Europe unfolded similarly, commencing in the late Nineteenth Century with early experiences associated with football and English expatriates. The first formal games occurred in the 1910s, until it became firmly established in the early 1920s. Following the creation of several teams, inaugural matches, and competitions — during which the French community played a significant role— the next logical step was the institutionalization of the sport.

This study specifically focuses on the period from rugby's introduction to Catalonia in 1911 to its establishment between 1921-1922, marked by the formation of clubs, the commencement of competitions, and its institutionalization. This phase was characterized by the founding of the Spanish Rugby Union in Barcelona (1922) and subsequently, the establishment of the Catalan Football Rugby Union (1923), and its first internationalization in 1923. French expatriates played a pivotal role during this crucial period.

To achieve the objectives of this study, the methodology involves an analysis of various sources, particularly bulletins and newspapers from the relevant time period. These sources offer valuable historiographical insights through testimonials that inform and reflect the interpretation of reality at the time. The remaining information will be supplemented by consulting documents housed in archives, covering formal aspects such as constitution, statutes, and minutes of federations and club assemblies. Additionally, private club archives will be explored to review correspondence with official bodies, assembly minutes, and financial records.

**Keywords:** *football rugby, institutionalization of rugby, Catalonia, France, origins*

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**Montserrat Martin Horcajo** is PhD in Sociology of Sport, specializing in gender and sport. Senior lecturer at Vic University - University of Central Catalonia (UVic-UCC). Member of Sport and Physical Activity Research Group (GREAF) at the same university ([m.martin@uvic.cat](mailto:m.martin@uvic.cat)).

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*The development of Olympic equestrian disciplines in China: ethnography of the rise of equestrian structures in Beijing*

**Laëtitia Nadaud**

**Resume:**

Since the 1980s, Olympic equestrian disciplines have been developing in China, thanks to a policy of reform and opening up. Up until 2008, equestrian sport was underdeveloped, but following the Olympic Games in Beijing, there was significant growth. Numerous equestrian facilities have sprung up, and the growth of the sport has been fuelled by imports of horses and equipment, as well as know-how from Europe, including the recruitment of professionals.

Thanks to exchanges with European federations, and the creation in 2018 of an institution specific to China, standards and rules are emerging and setting the national and international framework within which this new activity must now operate. This process of institutionalisation aims to comply with international regulations, but it faces many difficulties, particularly those relating to safety issues.

This work also sheds light on a population that is subject to discrimination in the region, but which has local equestrian knowledge: Mongolian professional riders. Their practice stems from a specific equestrian culture, inherited from Mongolian nomadism, unique to the horse-riding peoples and in opposition to the society of squires, as defined by Jean-Pierre Digard. However, the group they form has to contend with a number of obstacles, due in part to their relations with the Han, but also to the competition that has been growing over the last ten years, similar to that observed by Fanny Le Mancq in France.

Based on field studies carried out between 2016 and 2018 in around ten facilities, as well as interviews with professionals and users, we will attempt to understand the development process of horse riding in China, and more particularly in Beijing; the role of federations, whether national or international, in transmitting standards; and also the way in which users and professionals take hold of this practice.

**Keywords:** *Equestrian standards; China; Transmission; Equestrian community; Olympic disciplines*

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- *Quand la Chine se met en selle. Etude ethnographique de l'essor récent de l'équitation à travers ses structures équestres pékinoises*, thèse de doctorat, soutenue en décembre 2023 à l'EHEE et sous la direction de Madame Thireau Isabelle.
- « De l'art équestre à la pratique sportive : analyse de la centaurisation en Chine contemporaine » article à paraître dans la revue *l'Ethnographie. Création·Pratiques·Publics*, parution prévue en mars 2024.

## SESSION 16

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m., SESSION 16**

(Room S202, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Sports and Olympic venues and infrastructures***

Chair: Bogdan Popa



**Bogdan Popa** (Dr.) is researcher at “Nicolae Iorga” Institute, Romanian Academy of Sciences, Bucharest, Romania ([bogdanidpopa@gmail.com](mailto:bogdanidpopa@gmail.com), [bogdan.popa@iini.ro](mailto:bogdan.popa@iini.ro)). He defended his PhD in 2009, with a thesis on the social perception of sport during the interwar in Romania. His present research explores sport as a modernisation tool at the beginning of the 20th Century.

- *Preluarea și abandonarea parțială a modelului sovietic în fotbalul românesc (1949-1958)* [The Adoption and Partial Abandonment of the Soviet Model in Romanian Football (1949-1958)], in „Studii și Articole de Istorie”, LXXXIX, 2022, p. 24-34, <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=1069037>
- *Never Just a Game: Football National Team Matches as a Binational Rivalry Game – the Case of Romania-Hungary*, în Roland Benedikter, Dariusz Wojtaszyn (eds.), *Football Politics in Central and Eastern Europe. A Study on the Geopolitical Area's Tribal, Imaginal, and Contextual Politics*, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London, Lexington Books, 2020, p. 101-122.

*The Shanghai Auditorium and the Basque pelota: how an ethnic Basque sport became an icon of Shanghainese modernity in the 1930's*

**Ramiro Cabañes Martínez**

#### **Resume:**

Basque pelota had arrived in Shanghai at the end of the 1920s due to the expansion that this sport was having around the world, its great economic profitability and the protection that the hegemonic cultural current of the city, the *haipai*, granted it. Once it arrived to the city, in only a few years, the jai alai became one of the cultural icons of the city. It enjoyed great success and prestige, and even was considered by the local population as something of their own, despite it was a sport brought to China due to the semi-colonial context that occurred in areas such as the international concessions

of Shanghai. In less than a decade, the Shanghai Auditorium became an essential part of the city's identity for outsiders and locals alike, and a symbol of modernity. This research wants to verify to what extent the Basque Pelota jai alai had really transformed into something considered their own by the local population. To do this, different sources are analyzed such as local newspapers, other types of contemporary publications including novels, short stories, tourist guides or advertisements for Chinese products. In addition, other sources will be used like testimonies from former clients and chronicles where the topic of the Basque Pelota was discussed, focusing specially on its gambling side. For this research, a transculturalist approach will be followed, giving importance to the interdependencies between the local, national and international level, in the establishment and triumph of this sport in Shanghai. Maguire's theories about esportification and the waves of globalization will also be considered for the study of the arrival of this sport in China.

**Keywords:** *Shanghai, Basque Pelota, Gambling, globalization, transculturalism*

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### **Author biography:**



**Ramiro Cabañes Martínez** is PhD student at the Complutense University of Madrid. Former lecturer in Shanghai Industry and Commerce Foreign Languages College. Former Lecturer in Vilnius University ([rcaban@ucm.es](mailto:rcaban@ucm.es)).

- "El yugo contra las flechas: Orígenes y desarrollo del conflicto entre facciones de Falange en China en los años cuarenta" in *Materiales para la Historia del Deporte*, nº26, 2024. Pending publication.

- “Las relaciones interculturales sino-españolas en los años treinta y cuarentaun acercamiento a través de la pelota vasca” in *Pensar con la historia desde el siglo XXI. actas del XII Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea*. 2015.

*60 years after the Coup: the field as a political prison in dictatorship (Caio Martins, 1964 - Brazil)*

### Lívia Gonçalves Magalhães

#### Resume:

In 2024, it will be 60 years since the civic-military coup began the long period of 21 years of dictatorship in Brazil. The proposal of this communication is to discuss the political use of Caio Martins stadium, in the city of Niterói, Brazil, in the days that followed the civil-military coup in April 1964. It is a recurring theme in Latin American literature on the latest dictatorships in the Southern Cone the political use of the National Stadium in Chile as a torture centre by the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in 1973. But little has been investigated about the almost a thousand people who passed through Caio Martins, a provisional prison between April and July 1964 in Brazil. Using the testimonies and reports of the Niterói Municipal Truth Commission established by law 29/2013) and the National Truth Commission (established by law 12528/2011), the proposal seeks to discuss, based on the use of a public and sports space of great significance for the population, both the relationships between memory/sports and memory/city, considering that at that time Niterói was the capital of the province of Rio de Janeiro. Thus, we seek to include Niterói in the discussions about authoritarianism and human rights in the last Brazilian dictatorial period and expand studies on sports and dictatorships. We are also interested in thinking about the use of stadiums in specific moments of crises – both political and social –, reinforcing their importance in modern architecture and as a place of memory.

**Keywords:** *Dictatorship, stadium, football, prison, memory*

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**Livia Gonçalves Magalhães** is Post-Doctorate in Historia, professor of the Universidad Federal Fluminense (Brasil) ([liviagm@id.uff.br](mailto:liviagm@id.uff.br)).

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- MAGALHÃES, Livia G. « 40 ans après la victoire : souvenirs controversés de la Coupe du Monde 1978 en Argentine ». Football et société, v.1, p. FSAS 1793625, 2020.

*The legacy of the Munich Olympic Games: the Vittel Olympic training centre*

**Mathys Viersac & Michaël Attali**

**Resume:**

While the Olympic Games are global events, there has been little investigation of their impact at local level. While some studies have focused on the outcomes on host countries, few have paid attention to non-host territories. Consequently, the study of world events can be transposed to the scale of a participating country, or even to the scale of a foreign city.

In this respect, the 1970s seem relevant to analyse the effects of the Munich Olympic Games (1972) in France. Taking place while sports policy was coming across numerous changes, political leaders aspired to make France's Olympic training the focus of innovative actions. More specifically, they launched several projects in a traditional Olympic Committee related area, such as the construction of an Olympic Preparation Centre (OTC) specific to the Munich Games.

Therefore, our study aims to analyse the Munich Games legacy through the bidding, negotiation and implementation processes for the OTC in Vittel between 1968 and 1972. By examining correspondence and reports from various archive collections (Archives Nationales de Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, archives départementales des Vosges, archives municipales de Vittel), we will investigate the role of Munich 1972 in the construction of the OTC, while examining its impact at the local scale.

In fact, the results support the role of Munich 1972 in initiating new measures prior to the Games. However, they also highlight the late consideration given to the future of the OTC after the Munich Games. Furthermore, while the OTC should benefit young French swimmers and athletes in the long term, this legacy was compromised by the lack of support from the political stakeholders, who reconsider its commitment in such a facility in light of France's poor results at the Games. As a result, although Vittel had intended to convert its spa into a long-term sporting partnership, the town of

6,500 inhabitants had to bear the 43 million francs of debt alone, with no guarantee that the OTC would be of any use. While the global Olympic event may produce outcomes on the French territory, a study of the legacy process at a local scale supports the complexity of deploying beneficial effects.

**Keywords :** *legacy, Olympic Games, Munich, Vittel, Olympic Training Centre*

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#### **Authors' biographies:**



**Mathys Viersac** is a doctoral student in sports history at Rennes 2 University (France). His work focuses on the history of Olympism and the development of French sport. He pays particular attention to the processes by which the Olympic Games can induce, or not, conditions conducive to the development of various heritages by players ([mathys.viersac@outlook.com](mailto:mathys.viersac@outlook.com)).

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**Michaël Attali** is full Professor at the University of Rennes 2 (France). He is director of the Values, Innovations, Policies, Socializations and Sports Laboratory (VIPs2) and head of the Master 2 DISC (Development, Integration, Sport and Culture). His research focuses on representations of sport and its cultural integration processes. He pays particular attention to the effects of systems of constraint, such as those based on the practice of sport over a long period of time, questioning the history of sport with regard to its heritages. He has published several books and articles, including (Web page: <http://perso.univ-rennes2.fr/michael.attali>). ([michaël.attali@univ-rennes2.fr](mailto:michaël.attali@univ-rennes2.fr)).

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*Sports and tourism facilities: how porous are they? The case of the Vaires-sur-Marne Olympic site*

### **Pierre-Olaf Schut**

#### **Resume:**

Hosting the Olympic Games opens up the now classic debate about the oversizing of sports facilities built for the duration of the event, and all too often unsuited to the local area. "White elephants" are a plague for the IOC, which has difficulty finding cities willing and supported by local populations to host the world's most talked-about event. The paradox of this link between the global success of the Games and their local rejection is at the heart of the discussion focusing on sports facilities.

While Olympic stadiums and arenas are increasingly being reused in cities where professional sport is highly developed, the Olympic Games are also known for their high media profile. The Olympic Games are known for giving media coverage to much more marginal disciplines, which do not attract large crowds or professional athletes. Canoeing is one such discipline.

However, one of the events in this discipline, the slalom, requires a specific infrastructure that is particularly costly to operate: an artificial river whose water flow is regulated by high-powered pumps. In Athens, Beijing and Rio, these facilities sadly stand out among those left to decay. In 2019, the Île-de-France region inaugurated the Vaires-sur-Marne artificial river, which is to host the Olympic events of the Paris Games. Similar to the London project, the challenge is to combine sports use for top-level athletes with recreational use for the local population, in order to ensure the sustainability of the facility. The aim of this paper is to present the challenges of this strategy in terms of articulating local leisure and international competition dynamics, through an analysis of previous similar cases

and a perspective on the particular case of Vaires-sur-Marne, illuminated by a questionnaire survey of local users.

**Keywords:** *sports facilities, tourism, olympics, local*

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### **Author biography:**

**Pierre-Olaf Schut** is full Professor of Sport History at the Gustave Eiffel University, ACP Laboratory (EA 3350). He is President of the International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport and contributes to several journals: *Sport History Review* and *International Journal of the History of Sport*. His research focuses mainly on the development of sporting practices in relation to planning issues.

- Schut P.-O. & Camps Y Wilant N. (2023). Louis Faure-Dujarric, architecte du Stade Olympique des Jeux de Paris 1924. Ivan Coste-Manière, Gilles Lecoq, Bernard Maccario, *Sport, art et Olympisme*, Actes du colloque du Comité français P. de Coubertin, Paris :L'Harmattan, pp. 73-80.
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## DAY 3 - PANEL C

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m., PANEL C**

(Amphitheatre S1, Alice Milliat building)

***Gender, image and sport. New perspectives on the history of sport from the deconstruction of gender stereotypes.***

Chair: Juan Antonio Simón Sanjurjo



**Juan Antonio Simón** is Associate Professor in Sports History at Polytechnic University of Madrid-INEF, where his research focuses on the history of sport in Spain, the links between football and international relations, and the history of mega sports events like the FIFA World Cup or the Olympic Games.

- Juan Antonio Simón and Julian Rieck Título “Football, propaganda and international relations under Francoism: the 1960 and 1964 European Nations’ Cup and their impact on the international press”. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 39 (5), 2022.
- Juan Antonio Simón, Carlos García Martí. Título: “Gold Slaves”: Unionism and football in Spain during the democratic transition. *Sport in Society*, 2021 DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1932821>

*“Hola Chabola!”. The rediscovery of choreographer Judy Chabola's contribution to the Olympic ceremonies*

**Isabella Scursatone & María Eugenia García-Sottile**

### **Resume:**

This research focuses on highlighting the figure of the US choreographer Judy Chabola (1952-1999) as her contributions to mass choreography in Olympic ceremonies. It was in the late 1980s that the professional specialization of mass choreography began to take a prominent place in the landscape of large-scale sporting events. The images generated by the choreographies, which have evolved

from the 1990s to the present, have always aimed to present local culture with a global perspective, with the intention of capturing an international audience.

The aim of this research is to analyze how Judy Chabola's working methods and techniques contributed to the creation and consolidation of a new style of mass organization that saw its affirmation with the choreographies of Barcelona 1992 (*Mediterranean, Olympic Sea*) and Atlanta 1996 (*Call to the Nations*). The choreographer's methodological approach takes a distance from the great gymnastic shows of the past by providing a contemporary vision of the management of volunteer performers.

In this process of analysis, the intention is to identify the influence that Judy Chabola's work has had on other choreographers of her generation and subsequent generations.

The research methodology is based on the interdisciplinary analysis of different historiographical sources based on oral history and the analysis of different archives such as official IOC archives and the personal archives of the choreographers interviewed.

Knowledge of the creative processes emerged from the study of the choreographies and from interviews with the main choreographers and professionals who came into contact with J. Chabola.

The result of this work is the recovery of memory through the recollection of her contemporaries, giving value not only to the technical legacy left by the choreographer, but also to her method of involving and enhancing the performers. The shout "Hola Chabola" with which the volunteers used to receive the choreographer at the beginning of each rehearsal in Barcelona '92, testifies to the closeness with her collaborators regardless of their role. Chabola's vision is reflected in the work of choreographers such as Doug Jack and Bryn Walters, as well as others of this generation.

The lines of connection between Chabola and the main mass choreographers of the Olympic ceremonies organized in the last decades in Europe and America have shaped a concrete methodological and stylistic continuity within the cultural history of the Olympic Games.

**Keywords:** *Mass choreography, Olympic ceremony, Judy Chabola, interculturalism, transmission*

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### Authors' biographies:



**Isabella Scursatone** is contract professor at the University of Sport in Turin (UNITO), Italy. PhD from Ucam, Spain (University of Murcia) in the doctoral of sports science program on the research line of choreography and scenic arts. Since 2006 she has been mass choreographer assistant in various Sports and Olympic ceremonies (Olympic Winter Games Turin 2006, world Fencing Championships of Turin 2006, world Swimming Championships of Rome 2009, Juventus Stadium 2011, London 2012, Paralympic ceremony Sochi 2014, Summer Universiade of Naples 2019). For 20 years she was a trainer and judge of rhythmic gymnastics. Orcid 0000-0001-5604-8175 ([iscursatone@alu.ucam.edu](mailto:iscursatone@alu.ucam.edu)).

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**Maria Eugenia Garcia-Sottile** has a PhD from Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona and Alma Mater Università di Bologna (DAMS). Professor at San Vicente Mártir Catholic University of Valencia, (UCV) Spain. Member of GIEPAFS. Research Group on Education for Healthy Physical Activity. (UCV) Research in the field of cultural studies, applying ecological thinking in the reflection on the body and the construction of shared space. The main concepts that inform my research are choreography, performativity, gesture, and image in relation to the theory and history of the body. Orcid 0000-0002-8531-8370 ([eugenia.garcia@ucv.es](mailto:eugenia.garcia@ucv.es)).

- De Nicola, A., García-Sottile, M. E. & Gómez-Lozano, S. (2023). Attention! yourmovement makes the city: Choreo-graphic proposals for urban spaces”. *AusArt* 11 (1): 233-243. <https://doi.org/10.1387/ausart.24231>
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*Gender-specific images of the athletes' bodies in workers' sports in Austria from 1945 to 1971*

**Anne Weber**

**Resume:**

The study to be presented deals with gender-specific images of the athletes' bodies in workers' sports in Austria from 1945 to 1971.

High performance sports and exercise culture are increasingly becoming the focus of social and cultural-historical analyses (Stieglitz, 2018). However, less attention has been paid to the connection between "*bodies doing sport, their socio-cultural meanings and their visual representations*" (Stieglitz, 2018, p. 27). The study uses sport-historical photographs to deconstruct gender-stereotyped representations of the athlete's body in the workers' sport movement from 1945 to 1971.

Questions to be answered include the division of sports between men and women and which stereotypes are manifested through this gender-specific distribution, how women and women's bodies are depicted in the photographs and which gender-specific discourses are established as a result, which specific discursive attributions of femininity and athletes' female bodies are re/produced and in which media settings these images are produced, published and received.

With regard to the research material, the archive holdings of the "Verein für Geschichte der ArbeiterInnenbewegung" in Vienna are viewed and analyzed. The special focus is on a private and partly published photo collection, which particularly includes around 600.000 photos from the 1950s - 1980s and images from magazines and another photo collection beginning 1945.

The core of the study is visual history. The aim is not only to perceive images as illustrations (Stieglitz, 2018) and to analyze their representation (Bernhardt, 2013), but also to examine them as an independent entity in historical research (Stieglitz, 2018). This not only expands the source base, but also opens up new methodological possibilities (Bleichmar & Schwartz, 2019). In order to largely rule out misinterpretations additional methods are used. Among other things, this includes content analysis, methods of reception and audience research or discourse analysis (Huggings & O'Mahony, 2011).

The study is part of a bigger doctoral thesis research project and still in an early stage, so interim results will be presented at the congress. By means of specifically selected examples of photographic documents an insight into the relatively new field of visual history will be provided.

**Keywords:** *Workers' sport, women's sport, gender, visualization, photography*

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*Image, combat and gender. The evolution of the visibility of Spanish female athletes in combat sports at the Olympic Games*

**María Eugenia García-Sottile, Ignacio Tamarit-Grancha, Laura Ruiz-Sanchis, Concepción Ros Ros, Clara Gallego Cerveró, & Julio Martín Ruiz**

#### Resume:

The participation of Spanish sportswomen in Olympic combat sports has a history of its own. It began with the first participation of three fencers, María Shaw, Pilar Tosat and M<sup>a</sup> Carmen Valle, in Rome in 1960. In Barcelona 1992, the first Olympic gold medals were won in judo, with Miriam Blasco winning the first medal and Almudena Muñoz the second. Since then, in different combat sports, athletes such as Isabel Fernández (judo), Maider Unda (wrestling), Brigitte Yagüe, Eva Calvo and Adriana Cerezo (taekwondo) and Sandra Sánchez (karate) have won Olympic medals but have not received the same social recognition as their colleagues in other more popular sports. At the same time, national and international plans to promote women's participation in sport are beginning to generate new imaginaries in relation to the social presence of sportswomen.

This work is based on a research project that analyses the image of women in Olympic combat sports. To carry out this study, we used an interdisciplinary approach of image analysis and discourse analysis from a historiographic and ethnographic framework.

The aim is to follow a timeline of Spanish medallists to analyse how gender stereotypes, preconceived images of body models and the predominant aesthetics of the periods in which they have competed, influence their image and their media presence. In addition, through the content generated by the athletes themselves on social networks, we can contextualise the image with the discourses with which they present themselves and it is compared with the images offered by the traditional media.

Among the first results we find that, in recent editions of the Olympic Games, the forms of public visibility adopted by Spanish athletes to present their image and personal brand have had an impact

on girls and young women interested in practising these sports. The importance of reference figures can be found both in the literature and in the experiences that the athletes themselves refer to in their encounters with young athletes.

**Keywords:** *image, stereotypes, combat sports, gender, olympic games*

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- Imágenes complementarias en los libros de texto de Educación Física: un estudio de los estereotipos en los textos de Primaria (2022) Moya-Mata, Irene; Ruiz Sanchis, Laura; Martín Ruiz, Julio; Ros Ros, Concepción. *Ágora para la educación física y el deporte* Núm. 24. 92-116. <https://doi.org/10.24197/aefd.24.2022.92-116>
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*Gender stereotypes linked to combat sport in future physical education teachers*

**Laura Ruiz-Sanchis, Ignacio Tamarit-Grancha, Concepción Ros Ros, Maria Eugenia García-Sottile, Clara Gallego Cerveró, Julio Martín-Ruiz**

**Resume:**

Historically, sport has been associated with a male social model, and today gender stereotypes persist. Successful sportsmen and sportswomen become role models that condition the practice of physical activity, habits and/or behaviours to be imitated among young people. Role identification in these models can increase women's participation, improving self-confidence and empowerment to challenge gender stereotypes that limit their sporting aspirations (Cruz-Morales et al., 2022). Therefore, it is necessary to implement gender perspective strategies in Physical Education (PE) teacher training plans, due to their influence on the dissemination of sports models among students (Díaz De Greñu and Anguita, 2017), and to increase the visualisation of female athletes in the media (Salido-Fernández and Muñoz-Muñoz, 2021; Roca-Marín and Navarro-García, 2022).

The aim of the study is to describe the situation of gender stereotypes linked to combat sport in the initial training of future PE teachers. The research presents a qualitative-descriptive and cross-sectional approach, with a non-probabilistic sampling, applying a questionnaire to 385 students ( $n = 385$ ) of degrees and master's degrees in physical activity in the province of Valencia (Spain).

The *ad hoc* instrument included 10 items, divided into three scales: know (items: 1, 3 and 4), identify (items: 2, 5, 6 and 9) and give an opinion (items: 7, 8 and 10), with an adequate reliability analysis in Cochrane's alpha ( $> 0.70$ ) and Guttman reliability ( $\alpha = .709$ ). The results showed that the future PE teachers have a significant lack of knowledge of the combat sports of the Olympic programme ( $p = .00$ ), do not know ( $p = .00$ ), and do not identify role models among Spanish sportswomen ( $p = .01$ ). Furthermore, they believe that there are limitations for women who practice combat sports ( $p = .00$ ), and that their visibility in the media is reduced ( $p = .04$ ).

In conclusion, it is necessary to reflect on women's sport and sportswomen with future PE teachers, and design training proposals that promote equality in the practice of combat sports, the equal use of news programmes and social networks to reduce existing prejudices.

**Keywords:** *students, stereotypes, combat sport, women, and role models*

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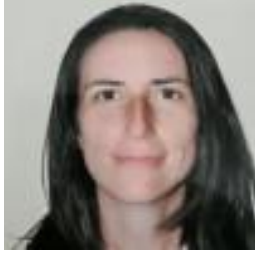
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## DAY 3 - SESSION 17

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 14:15 p.m. - 16:15 p.m., SESSION 17**

(Room S200, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Diaspora, political and diplomatic stakes of soccer***

Chair: Julien Sorez



**Julien Sorez** is a sports historian, Associate Professor at the University of Paris Nanterre and member of the Institut des Sciences sociales du Politique (UMR 7220). He has a degree in history. After completing a doctorate in history on soccer in Paris and its suburbs at Sciences Po, he is currently researching the social history of sport in France.

- Julien Sorez. Le sport, l'histoire et la ville. La fin d'un espace scientifique segmenté ?. *Histoire urbaine*, 2020, 57, pp.5-21.
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*A Matter of money and diplomacy: Real Madrid's international Tour in America in 1961*

**Juan Antonio Simón Sanjurjo**

#### **Resume:**

In August 1961, Real Madrid embarked on an international tour across America, visiting the countries of Chile, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Canada, and the United States. Following five consecutive victories in the European Cup, Real Madrid stood as the Spanish football club with the highest international prestige. The purpose of this research is to analyze the relationship between this club and the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the early 1960s, as well as the role played by the club during this tour of America as a diplomatic actor. Simultaneously, this study aims to address the economic significance of this international tour, both for Real Madrid and for the political authorities of the Franco regime. The relationship between sports diplomacy and economy during the Franco dictatorship remains a topic that has not been extensively studied by researchers. Methodologically, the primary resources used in this study have been documentation from the archives of the Ministry

of Foreign Affairs and the Real Madrid Archive. The findings of this research demonstrate the close relationship between Madrid and the Ministry through figures like Raimundo Saporta (treasurer and vice president of Real Madrid) and Ramón Sedó (Director General of Foreign Policy at the Ministry) during the planning and execution of this tour. The Spanish club showed a willingness to collaborate with Spanish diplomats throughout the tour. Lastly, from an economic perspective, this tour of America also proved to be a significant financial success for the club, generating a substantial amount of revenue from these international matches. Real Madrid's international tours also served as a means for the Franco regime to acquire a large number of foreign currencies.

**Keywords:** *Real Madrid, Francoism, football, international tour, international relations*

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**Juan Antonio Simón** is Associate Professor in Sports History at Polytechnic University of Madrid-INEF, where his research focuses on the history of sport in Spain, the links between football and international relations, and the history of mega sports events like the FIFA World Cup or the Olympic Games.

- Juan Antonio Simón and Julian Rieck Título “Football, propaganda and international relations under Francoism: the 1960 and 1964 European Nations’ Cup and their impact on the international press”. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 39 (5), 2022.
- Juan Antonio Simón, Carlos García Martí. Título: “Gold Slaves”: Unionism and football in Spain during the democratic transition. *Sport in Society*, 2021 DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1932821>

*When Croatia came to Yugoslavia: the Tour of the diaspora Football Club “Croatia” and the beginnings of the Yugoslav disintegration*

**Stipica Grgić**

**Resume:**

During the Cold War, the number of immigrants who came from Yugoslavia to Australia grew to almost 200,000. From the 1960s onward it became clear that Yugoslav diaspora in Australia was divided into, roughly, those who supported the concept of socialist Yugoslavia and its regime, and others who emphasized that the country was not governed democratically and wanted its reorganization, or even disintegration. Although well organized by the pro-Croatian community in Australia, various successful sports and cultural associations called “Croatia” were especially considered by the Yugoslav authorities as unwanted focal points of Croatian separatism (Hay, 2001; Drapac & Hrستیć, 2023).

Things started to change in mid-1990. The first multi-party elections were held, and national parties won in most of the Yugoslav republics. The renown Sydney and Melbourne “Croatia” teams were then invited by the new Croatian authorities to jointly organize a football tour. The campaign was supposed to have a great propaganda impact in Croatia; to finally connect the “homeland” with the “immigrated” Croatia (Mills, 2018).

As this is initial research, we will try to use the method of description in working with various sources, mostly newspapers from the Croatia/Yugoslavia and Australia, connecting them with oral history account, in an effort to investigate the limits of influence this tour had on the diaspora community in Australia and numerous football supporters in Croatia. We will argue that this tour can be viewed as an example of sports diplomacy (Kobierecki, 2020; Grix & al., 2019), because it was clearly designed to influence the public in Croatia and abroad in order to accomplish foreign policy goals and improve their relations with diaspora, and to symbolically show the changes taking place in Croatia at that time. We will also try to detect whether this tour had any influence on the process of the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the following years.

**Key words:** *diaspora, sport, Croatia, Yugoslavia, Australia*

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**Author biography:**

**Stipica Grgić** ([sgrgic@isp.hr](mailto:sgrgic@isp.hr)) is a Research Associate at the Croatian Institute of History's Department of Modern History. In his most recent work, "The FLN 1961 football tour of Yugoslavia: mobilizing public support for the Algerian cause" (*Soccer & Society* 24/2023, no. 2, pp. 235-244), coauthored with Dora Tot, he argues that the Yugoslav state-party elite organized some football tours not only to foster good relations with the visiting teams and their supporters, but also to instigate the domestic public's support for their own actions. Stipica Grgić is a member of the research group *Exploring emotions in the (re)construction of diaspora identity: Croats in Australia and New Zealand (1945-1991)*, project financed by the Croatian Science Foundation. His research focuses on history of migrations, social, political, and everyday history of Croatia and neighbouring countries in the 20th century.

*The figure of the Big Man among African footballers: the qualification bonus as a resource for conquering power*

**Hervé Kouamouo**

**Resume:**

Different authors have used the African Big Man figure to create an intermediate level between two groups of belonging: the reception culture and the community of origin. The post-independence years (after 1960) linked this figure to federal leaders. Through the use of extraversion resources, they embodied the figures of national representation by the ability to lead victorious teams in international competitions or to organize said competitions. This status allows them to create places of accumulation of wealth (Olivier De Sardan) to keep the followers under control (Chateauraynaud, Tisseron). By its logic of authority based on «a variable, arbitrary personal dosage and traditional norms » (Médard), the Big Man approaches the enveloping institutions (Darmon, Bertrand) by their ability to «manufacture individuals». Since the 1990s, football players have exiled themselves to European countries to practice their profession, emancipating themselves and claiming national representation through their performances in clubs. This gives them resources in the negotiation of the redistribution of the products of the staging of this representation (World Cups, African Cups). In doing so, they step out of their role as dependents and get closer to the figure of the Big Man. What steps should these players take to access international resources and form alliances in order to form a force capable of opposing federal leaders and escaping their control? Our communication from our doctoral work is based on a corpus of former Cameroonian players and archives, highlights, from interviews, how the departures in Europe of many players after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the evolution of the technological means allowed the players to better negotiate their bonuses of



qualification for the World Cups since 1990. Understanding the evolution of the players will be necessary to produce a speech justifying the strike since the 1990 World Cup (in contrast to their predecessors in 1974). To do this, we will study the strategies deployed to position ourselves as a broker of the international system through the inclusion and exclusion capacities of the leaders of the communities of origin (Scotson and Elias) and the use of the meeting as a negotiation tool, on the 1990 and 2002 World Cups (Cameroon).

**Keywords:** *Big man, Extraversion, Neo patrimonialism, Institution, nationalism/transnationalism*

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### **Author biography:**



**Hervé Kouamouo** has a PhD at the UFR STAPS of the University Paris Nanterre, former member of the Laboratory ISP (Institut des Sciences sociales du Politique, UMR7220).

- Hervé Kouamouo, Pascal Charitas. The figure of the Big Man among African footballers: brokerage strategies to evolve in a transnational space. *Individuals, Institutions, (trans)nationalism. Sport and History facing new challenges*, the 26th International Congress of the ISHPES, University of Lausanne, Jul 2023, Lausanne (on-line), Switzerland.
- Kouamouo, H., « Être un big man dans le sport, une enquête sur le football auto-organisé en diaspora » *Africana Studia* 2021/2 (n°36).

*A Glimpse in Turkish football—Rising power 'Trabzonspor': examining the 1975 Cyprus, Peace Cup in the shadow of the Cyprus dispute in the Mediterranean Sea*

**Ozzy Keles**

**Resume:**

After the 1974 conflict between the Greek and Turkish communities on the island of Cyprus, the United Nations (UN) installed a 180-kilometre (112-mile) buffer zone,<sup>1</sup> also known as the Green Line, between the northern and southern regions in order to prevent any further hostilities and to reduce the tension between the Greek and Turkish communities.

Subsequently, the Turkish government organized and funded a football tournament on the Turkish side of the island in order to increase the morale of the Turkish population. Istanbul clubs Galatasaray, Fenerbahçe, and Beşiktaş, together with a Cypriot mixed-team club, were invited to the tournament, which was scheduled to be held in January 1975. However, when Fenerbahçe could not participate, Trabzonspor, a team from the Black Sea region of Türkiye which had been formed in 1967 and promoted to the Turkish First Division (highest professional football division in Türkiye) in 1974, was invited instead.

While the 1975 Cyprus Peace Cup served its intended purpose, the football authorities in Türkiye witnessed something unusual. In the final round, Trabzonspor beat Besiktas 1 – 0, thereby winning its first trophy since being promoted to the First Division. This was a prestigious victory for Trabzonspor, and since the tournament was not held again in subsequent years, Trabzonspor is therefore both the first and last winner of the Cyprus Peace Cup. After Trabzonspor's epic performance in Cyprus, Turkish media outlets trumpeted a new power that was on the rise in Turkish football. This was because football in Turkey had previously been dominated by Istanbul's larger teams, the aforementioned Besiktas, Fenerbahce, and Galatasaray, and as a result, the face of trans-Turkish football began to change.

As this study intends to provide a glimpse into the history of Turkish football, a historical narrative approach was applied which follows chronological lines and draws from a variety of primary and secondary sources, including materials from the Trabzonspor Archive and the Turkish National Olympic Committee Library/Archives, as well as newspapers, documentaries, sports magazines, and additional secondary texts.

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**Author biography:**

**Ozzy Keles** is a third-year doctoral student at Western University in London, Ontario, Canada, under the supervision of Professor Robert K. Barney. He did his Master's with the same supervisor and the same university. He is currently writing his thesis on the history of an individual soccer club, Trabzonspor, which he hopes to publish as a scientific book at the end of his doctorate.

- Ozzy (Oguzhan) Keles et Edip Öncü, « L'histoire de « l'Hercule de poche » : la défection de Naim Süleymanoğlu et son rôle dans la mise en lumière de la tragédie des Turcs de souche en Bulgarie », *Journal d'histoire olympique*, vol. 32, n° 1 (2024). (Dans la presse).
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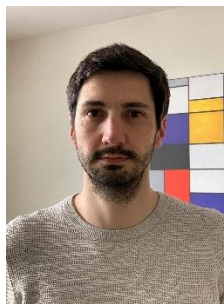
## DAY 3 - SESSION 18

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 14:15 p.m. - 16:15 p.m., SESSION 18**

(Room S201, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Soviet and Communist influences on sport & Olympism***

Chair: Yannick Deschamps



**Yannick Deschamps** is teacher-researcher at the STAPS UFR of the Université de Picardie Jules Verne, member of the Centre d'histoire des sociétés, des sciences et des conflits (CHSSC - UR 4289).

- Yannick Deschamps, « “How much are you ready to pay?” : la commercialisation des sportifs soviétiques vers la France au temps de la perestroïka », *Sciences sociales et sport*, [publication en 2024].
- Yannick Deschamps, « Échanges et contacts sportifs entre la France et l'URSS à l'aube de la guerre froide : les prémices d'une diplomatie sportive bilatérale (1947-1953) », *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, n°277, 2020, p. 119-135.

*The gold of the “Snow Queen”. Ljubov´ Kozyreva-Baranova: the first Soviet success at the winter Olympics (Cortina '56)*

**Andrea Franco**

#### **Resume:**

Although skis were a widespread instrument in traditional Russian culture (so much so that they were called with a Slavic word – *lyži* -, and not with the widespread Norwegian term *ski*), the participation of tsarist skiers in the “Nordic Games” was completely marginal, and it did not affect the dominance of the Scandinavians and Finns on skiing.

After having created a deep hiatus with the sporting tradition of the Tsarist era, the Soviet sports organizations - a direct emanation of the Ministries and other branches of the State – “withdrew to the Aventine”, having decided not to participate in international competitions: a rigorous interpretation of Marxism-Leninism in fact prevented Soviet sport from accepting Decubertinian values, considered bourgeois and individualistic.

Only between the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s Soviet athletes make their debut in world competitions. The case of cross-country skiing is emblematic for understanding the impact of the USSR on the dynamics of globalizing sport.

Forty years after the disappointing attempt at the "Nordic Games", Russian athletes had the first opportunity to test themselves against their Western colleagues. This occasion, given the first Italian Olympics, held on the eve of the "economic boom", demonstrated how Soviet sport, which matured in the shadow of the Iron Curtain, had produced athletes even superior to the traditional masters of snow and ice sports, Nordic and Alpine: Soviet domination of white sports began that lasted almost unchallenged until the end of the Cold War.

The first gold medal was won by a girl from Leningrad, who had already graduated world champion in Falun (1954): in Cortina she won gold in the only individual women's competition and silver in the relay. The generation that grew up at the time of the "Siege of 900 days" thus took a sporting revenge, consumed in the context of the thaw climate in which the Cortina's Games took place, a few days before Khrushchev denounced the crimes of Stalinism, on the occasion of the XX Congress.

Soviet cross-country skiing dominated almost all the events, and also innovated fashion - aided in this by the frequent experiments that the sport created in the athletes' clothing. For the first time, women wore innovative long trousers, in contravention of the practice which required knickerbockers.

Soviet skiing had managed to revolutionize all the hierarchies of the world of snow.

As regards the methodology, my intention is to connect studies relating to Russian history in general - mainly Soviet - with those of sport, in order to analyse Soviet society, but also culture, women's history and art history of the time. Of particular interest is the analysis - albeit brief - of the skiing tradition in Russia and its impact on the debut of Soviet athletes in international competitions.

The sources I used are general works related to the history of Soviet society and books on the history of sports and skiing in Russia and the USSR. Considering the fact that book documents on the skier Ljubov' Kozyreva-Baranova are not numerous, I had to rely on some good journalistic works, found on the internet (thanks to the help of Russian historians and sports journalists, as well as the son of the champion in question). I used Soviet newspapers and sports magazines from the 1950s extensively.

**Keywords:** *Soviet Sport; Cross-Country Skiing; Cold War; Female Skiing; Rebirth of a Tradition*

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- Michail Prozumenskikov, *Belye igry pod grifom «sekretno». SSSR i zimnie Olimpijskie igry. 1956-1988*, Moskva, «Kučkovo Pole», 2013.

**Author biography:**

**Andrea Franco**, born in Treviso (Italy) in 1974, teaches History of Eastern Europe under contract at the University of Macerata. His main subjects are the history of nineteenth-century Russian thought and the birth of the Ukrainian national movement in the context of the Tsarist Empire. On this subject, he has published the monograph “Le due nazionalità della Rus'. Il pensiero di Kostomarov nel dibattito ottocentesco sull'identità ucraina”. He has also spent several years studying the history of sport - in particular skiing and fencing - in Russia and the USSR, with a particular focus on the period from the Bell'Époque to 1956. He has published over 50 scientific articles and participated in and organized numerous conferences. He is currently writing a book on the history of Russia and Ukraine, and another on the history of Russian skiing (aner7paneuropa@libero.it; [andrea.franco@unimc.it](mailto:andrea.franco@unimc.it)).

- Andrea Franco, *La pratica dello sci, dalle origini alla nascita dello sport moderno. Il caso russo*, in “*Marcella, Venezia e Lavdatio. Erudite Scritture. Amichevoli dedizioni*”, a cura di Simonetta Pelusi, Florina Ciure, Adriano, Pavan, Oradea. Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, 2023, pp. 129-180;
- Andrea Franco, Bystree, Vyše, Sil´nee: *lo sport russo e sovietico dalle origini al disgelo*, in «Mondo Contemporaneo», Milano, n° 2-3/2020, pp. 207-235

*From “World Revolution” to the Olympic global confrontation: the Soviet sport and the Foreign Policy of the USSR during the Cold War*

**Octavian Ticu**

**Resume:**

Alongside with the globalization of the Communism from political point of view after World War Two, the Soviet Union turned the sport and the Olympic Games into instrument of global confrontation with the Western World during Cold War. As result, the Soviet Union became a Sport-superpower in the meaning of its political and military sense.

UNESCO drew attention in the mid-1950s to the increasing „politization” of the international sport, which had developed to the extent that „the Olympic Games are now regarded by many merely by testing ground for the two great political units”. With the division of much of the World into two camps, the sport became an area of considerable social significance, a relatively modern method of psychological warfare.

The main purpose of the paper is to investigate the efforts and ambitions of the Soviet statesmen to construct and to use the sport as a propaganda weapon in world affairs. As pointed out Soviet writer Yu. Talaev in the 1970s „the sport is the best and the most comprehensible of explaining to the masses the advantages of socialism over capitalism”.

In the same time, the research aims to fix and to explain the main transformations of the Soviet sport from interwar perspective of military, work and defensive purpose to the Superpower sport ambitions of the post-World War era. Considered to be the „golden heritage” of the Soviet period, due to the high-level performance, well-developed infrastructure and the elaborate training methodology, the Soviet sport generated one of the fundamental myths of the „unity” of the Soviet people. A. Sineavsky called sport one of the main components that made up the Soviet way of life, along with „technicality, evidence and control”.

Paper seeks to establish and to present the Soviet politics to suit the sport and especially the participation to the Olympic Games with the task of excite the national/imperial instincts and group identification with the Soviet regime.

**Key-words:** *Cold War, Soviet Union, Propaganda, Olympic Confrontation, Soviet Sport*

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- Ticu, O., and Bogus. B., *East-European Football from Communism to Globalization*, Saarbruken, 2010.

### **Author biography:**



**Octavian Ticu** is Researcher-Coordinator of the Institute of History, Moldova State University as Associate Professor at the Faculty of History, University of Bucharest, Romania. After his PhD in 2000, in History, Faculty of History, Al.I Cuza University of Iassy, Romania entitle: „The Bessarabia Problem in the Romanian-Soviet Relationships (1917-1940)”, he obtained in 2006-2007 the Fulbright Research Scholarship, Russian, East European and Eurasian Center, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, the United States of America. Research and teaching project: The Impact of the Historical Legacy on the Patterns of Post-Communist Transition in Eastern Europe and then the FIFA Joao Havelange Scholarship, Zurich, Switzerland. Research project: "The Countries of Eastern Europe from the Communist to the Post-Communist Football System: Comparative Analysis on Ukraine, Romania and Moldova".

- Ticu, O., and Policano, C., *La Russia e il separatismo della Transnistria nella Repubblica Moldova: Implicazioni geopolitiche militari ed energetiche*, Torino, 2023.

*Heroes of socialism as running billboards of Capitalism: evolution of Soviet Union's and East Germany's Association with Adidas (and Other Western Sport Brands) in Olympic sports during Cold War*

**Lassi Jyrkkö**

**Resume:**

Sports famously emerged as a frontier to showcase Eastern Bloc's ideological *superiority* over capitalist West during the Cold War. According to Socialist propaganda, this superiority prevailed universally, including in the *material* sphere. Yet a conspicuous paradox ended up broadcast to the whole world: these 'Socialist' athletes were often clad in uniforms unmistakably adorned with 'class enemy's' inherently capitalist symbols—typically those of West German *Adidas*.

This paper constructs a chronologically running transnational history that covers the *evolution* of the *relationship* between the involvement in Olympic sports of USSR and GDR, and that of Western sport brands like Adidas. How did external political and economic developments influence it during the Cold War? A related outcome is *periodization*: the identification of meaningful *phases* from this relationship's perspective. Also identified are *differences* between USSR's/GDR's respective cases. Finally, how do the findings contribute to Cold War's 'general' (economic) history?

Indeed, like the entities themselves, their relationships *evolved*: to *contextualize* those *changes* the *narrative* incorporates Cold War's broader developments, organizational changes within Adidas and related transformations of sport federations such as IOC and its *advertising/amateurship rules*, and even sportswear's technical/commercial advances. Also considered are *related* phenomena, including other Bloc countries' cases, domestic Socialist sports 'brands', Western brands' reception among GDR and USSR *public*, and Adidas's *manufacturing* plans in the Bloc.

The paper synthesizes and engages with existing literature related to these specific issues and said related themes. As the paper covers specifically Soviet athletes' public use of Western brands, original findings are also derived from a visual analysis of historical footage, especially from the Olympics. Especially for the period preceding the allowance of brand logos in Olympic uniforms, attention is directed to the extent that Bloc athletes wore shoes with Adidas's 'three stripes' (acknowledging that such items were not always Adidas's).

Socialist partnerships with Western sport brands were a subplot in simultaneous (Adidas-led) commercialization of sports. In the context of *essential* sports equipment, Socialist authorities were pragmatic, tending to prioritize optimal athletic performance even at the 'cost' of 'advertising' Western brands. Also with 'non-essential' apparel like tracksuits, authorities eventually agreed Bloc teams would wear Adidas in return for compensation. 'Amicable' *personal* high-level relations were particularly pivotal for USSR's deal. The Bloc's last to 'succumb' in the early 1980s, obliged by its depleted *budget*, was the GDR.

**Keywords:** *Cold War, Adidas/Puma, Olympic Games, Soviet Union, East Germany*

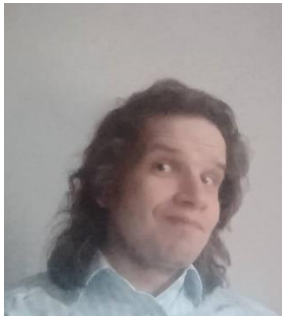
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### Author biography:



**Lassi Jyrkkiö** (LL.M, 2011 University of Helsinki) has spent the majority of the past decade writing two long (thus far unpublished) projects of transnational history, including this paper's inspiration: 'Transnational Political History of Sports for Soviet Union's Non-Russian Nationalities'. He has worked for multiple universities and was the columnist on sports law & politics for Finnish public broadcasting company.

- 'Controversy Surrounds Decision to Host 2014 World Championship in Belarus', The Hockey News, April 2011
- 'Is Ajax En Route to Winning the Champions League--of 1996', Football Oranje, August 2014.

*On the trail of a false myth? - The basis of the fascist stigmatisation of the Ferencvárosi Torna Club during the communist dictatorship*

### Norbert Tabi

#### Resume:

In my research, I examine the history of the most popular, most successful and one of the most storied Hungarian football clubs, the Ferencvárosi Torna Club (FTC). I am looking for the answer to the question why, during the communist dictatorship that was established in 1948 after the WWII, the leaders of the regime branded the club as 'fascist', and thus as enemies of the regime, both its leaders and its supporters? Beyond communist propaganda, was there any real basis for these attacks? Is it possible to prove that some of the team's presidents and the fans who attended the matches were indeed identified with extreme right-wing political groups?

I am mainly in the tradition of the positivist school and paradigm, which takes an objective approach to factual data, but the role of microhistory in my interviews is not negligible. In terms of genre, my research - besides its sport-historical character - is primarily of a political and social-historical nature.

I use a number of primary sources: to assess the attitudes of supporters at the time, I examined the archival records of the last parliamentary election (1939) before the communist dictatorship in which far-right parties were allowed to run. I wanted to find out how high was the support for the Arrow Cross

party in the districts inhabited by FTC supporters? To assess the attitudes of the club presidents, I examined the documents of the Communist political police, as well as the Communist Party's documents relating to sport. I also conducted in-depth interviews with people who experienced the 1950s as sportsmen or supporters. Secondary sources include Hungarian and international sports history literature and sportsmen's memoirs.

As far as the results are concerned, the stigmatisation may have been based on the presidency of Andor Jaross in 1944, who held ministerial positions in the far-right government that organised the Holocaust in Hungary. Looking at the results of the 1939 parliamentary elections, the popularity of the Arrow Cross party in the districts of Pest, where there were probably a larger number of Ferencváros supporters, was not significantly higher than in other districts of the capital.

**Keywords:** *dictatorship, communism, identity, football, fascism*

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### **Author biography:**



**Norbert Tabi** is Historian and political scientist (PhD in History, Dissertation Defense: February 2024, *summa cum laude*. Eötvös Loránd University, Doctoral School of History) as Associate Professor to the ELTE PPK Institute of Health Promotion and Sport Sciences. ([tabi.norbert@ppk.elte.hu](mailto:tabi.norbert@ppk.elte.hu)). His main research interest is the relationship between communist dictatorships and soccer in Central and Eastern Europe after 1945.

- Tabi Norbert (2020). « Combien de tours et combien de mètres de tissu ce triomphe rapportera-t-il ! » *Propagande sur le football et l'économie planifiée en Hongrie à l'époque de Rakosi.* Dans : *Histoire du sport. Rivista di Contemporanei* 2020/1. 46-62.

## DAY 3 - SESSION 19

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 14:15 p.m. -16:15 p.m., SESSION 19**

(Room S202, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Construction of national & political identities through sport and the Olympics***

Chair: Florence Carpentier



**Florence Carpentier** is assistant professor in University of Rouen (France) and member of the Centre d'Etudes des Transformations Physiques et Sportives. Her research deal with the history of olympism and gender.

- Carpentier, F. (2022), « Les premiers Jeux olympiques féminins (Paris, 1922). Internationalisme et droit de courir », Revue d'histoire culturelle [En ligne], URL: <http://revues.mshparisnord.fr/rhc/index.php?id=1934>
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*Sport in Inter-Korean Relations Post-2018 PyeongChang Olympics: between hope and clichés*

**Yoonkyu Song**

**Resume:**

Given the prevailing clichés of sport in the context of inter-Korean relations, South Korea finds itself at a juncture where a reevaluation is imperative. Thus, this study aims to examine the political function of sport in inter-Korean relations, argue for the necessity of new sport exchange policies and its studies according to recent changes in perceptions of reunification.

Against the background of Korean history since the Cold War, the focus of the argument is on the development since the Winter Olympics in PyeongChang. North Korea's participation in the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics amid the nuclear crisis opened the door to reconciliation, raising high expectations for improved relations and the peaceful value of sport. However, societal trust eroded as the South Korean government abandoned principles regarding “equal opportunities and fair outcomes”, particularly regarding the organization of the unified women's ice hockey team. Moreover, subsequent summits failed, and the new Cold War due to the Russo-Ukrainian War changed the narrative of inter-Korean sport.

The presentation is based on the study of authentic documents and current political discourses on the role of sport in the relationship between North and South Korea. According to the <2023 Unification Perception Survey> conducted by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University, there has been a significant shift toward skepticism, particularly among the younger generation, regarding the necessity, feasibility of reunification. Unlike past generations that accepted the ethnic legitimacy of reunification and witnessed the early historical scenes of reconciliation through sport, the younger generation views the repeated political exploitation of sport negatively.

**Keywords:** *inter-Korean relations; sport exchange; sport for peacebuilding; 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics*

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**Author biography:**

**Yoonkyu Song** is a PhD Candidate at the Institute of Sport Science, University of Münster ([yoonyu.song@uni-muentser.de](mailto:yoonyu.song@uni-muentser.de)).

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*Australia at the Paris summer Olympics: a historical and contemporary analysis* [remote]

### **David A. Holmes**

**Resume:**

Australia's participation at the Paris Summer Olympics (1900, 1924, 2024) serves as a useful lens through which to examine the evolution of the nation's sporting identity. This paper conducts a comparative analysis spanning over a century, exploring Australia's historical presence in the Paris Games and its significance within the broader context of Olympic history. By drawing upon archival sources, historical records, and contemporary accounts, this study elucidates the socio-cultural, political, and sporting dynamics that shaped Australia's participation in the Paris Olympics of 1900 and 1924. Furthermore, it examines the transformative changes in Australia's sporting landscape and Olympic ambitions leading up to the Paris 2024 Olympics, including major shifts in the ideology of Australian sport (particularly from the mid-1970s when the federal government and big business began to invest significantly in sport). Through a critical examination of Australia's performance and challenges across these three distinct Olympics, this research offers insights into the evolving nature of Australian sport both domestically and on the global stage. Moreover, it sheds light on the enduring values and traditions that continue to shape Australia's Olympic journey, such as egalitarianism, volunteerism and mateship. In examining the past with contemporary realities, this paper provides a nuanced understanding of Australia's enduring commitment to Olympic ideals and its quest for sporting excellence. Additionally, it explores the broader implications of Australia's participation in the Paris 2024 Olympics within the frameworks of contemporary sporting geopolitics and Olympic legacy. This study contributes to the scholarly discourse on Olympic history, national identity, and sporting diplomacy while offering practical insights for policymakers and sports administrators seeking to navigate the complexities of Australia's Olympic engagement in the twenty-first century. Ultimately, it highlights the enduring significance of the Paris Olympics as a platform for Australia to showcase its sporting prowess and its commitment to the Olympic movement and its principles.

**Keywords:** *Paris Summer Olympics, Australian sport, nationalism, sports development, sports policy*

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**Author biography:**



**David A. Holmes** Ph.D. specialises in the history of athletics (track and field), the ancient and modern Olympics and sport in ancient Rome. Dr Holmes has taught extensively on sport at several universities, including The University of New South Wales (UNSW), The University of Sydney, Charles Sturt University, Technischen Universität Wien (Austria) and has been an Adjunct Professor at Boston University for over a decade (Sydney campus). His doctoral thesis (UNSW) concerned the history of Australian athletics and how, specifically, the ideology of amateurism operated within this sport and why it persisted for so long. His current research interests include the history of athletics at the modern Olympic Games and the social and political history of sporting stadia in ancient Rome. Despite David's deep interest in a handful of sports and its history he is a bigger fan of the philosopher and comic genius Karl Pilkington who has provided more wisdom and laughter than any sports historian has ever provided (a highly original thinker and communicator). A recommended sample of his inspirational work: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uFFZWCVLsS8&t=10s>

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*The significance of politicians' body images in the context of sport using the example of  
Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky (1911-1990)*

**Rudolf Muellner**

**Resume:**

The body images of politicians are eminently effective agents in public communicative processes. They are carriers of information and producers of meaning. As such, they have a great impact on the recipients – amplified by the mass media. Through a historical analysis of photos of the Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, this study attempts to contribute to a better understanding of body representations and body staging of male politicians in the context of sport.

The images of active politicians in sport and, above all, the contexts in which they are placed are highly staged and constructed. There are several individual studies on this – all of them by men, by the way, which results in an independent research question – whose methods and results are used here. Some studies exist on Benito Mussolini, who frequently staged his athletic body in public (Swan 2016). Horst Bredekamp (2008) analyzed Mao Tse Tung's publicly celebrated swimming action in the Yang Tse in 1966, in which he wanted to prove that he still had sufficient strength to lead the Chinese empire. The French sociologist and historian Vigarello (2007) focused on the media staging of the jogging French President Nicolas Sarkozy. Warstat (2010) examined the performative aspects of Barack Obama's body. In contrast to most of the politicians mentioned here, Bruno Kreisky was known for his outwardly "unathletic" and physically sedate appearance.

Photographs have accompanied and supported the emergence of modern sport for over a century. Nevertheless, the approaches of the "visual turn" in cultural studies have so far only been used to a limited extent in sports history studies. (Huggins 2015) This case study will therefore use selected private and public sports images from the Bruno Kreisky Archive to illustrate the possibilities and limitations of image analysis in the context of movement and sport. Source criticism will focus on the levels of image production, image emission, reception and presumed effect. The level of meaning of the material is examined with the help of Panofsky's modified iconographic-iconological method.

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**Author biography:**

**Rudolph Muellner** is full Professor of sport science at the Centre of Sport Science and University Sports in Vienna, Austria. He writes on social, cultural and historical issues of sport.

- Müllner, R., Hachleitner, B., Marschik, M. et Skocek, J. (2024). Etappenziel Österreich. Radsport 1930-1950 - *Helden, Raum et Nation*. Vienne : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht unipress.



## SESSION 20

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 16:30 p.m. - 18:30 p.m., SESSION 20**

(Room S200, Alice Milliat building)

***Broadcasting, images and media constructions of sport and athletes***

Chair: María Eugenia García-Sottile



**María Eugenia García-Sottile** has a PhD from Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona and Alma Mater Università di Bologna (DAMS). Professor at San Vicente Mártir Catholic University of Valencia, (UCV) Spain. Member of GIEPAFS. Research Group on Education for Healthy Physical Activity. (UCV) Research in the field of cultural studies, applying ecological thinking in the reflection on the body and the construction of shared space. The main concepts that inform my research are choreography, performativity, gesture, and image in relation to the theory and history of the body. Orcid 0000-0002-8531-8370 ([eugenia.garcia@ucv.es](mailto:eugenia.garcia@ucv.es)).

- De Nicola, A., García-Sottile, M. E. & Gómez-Lozano, S. (2023). Attention! your movement makes the city: Choreo-graphic proposals for urban spaces". *AusArt* 11 (1): 233-243. <https://doi.org/10.1387/ausart.24231>
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*The Congrès International d'Éducation Physique in Paris: Georges Hébert's participation in Brazilian press (1913) [remote]*

**Carolina Jubé**

**Resume:**

The *Congrès International d'Éducation Physique* was held in Paris between March 17<sup>th</sup> - 20<sup>th</sup> 1913 at the Velodrome of Winter. The organization was initiated by professors Gilbert and Weiss, from the Faculty of Medicine, and Doctor Dausset. The practical demonstrations of the Congress occurred at Gymnasium Huyghens, in the Cycle Track of Winter and in the *Automobile — Club de France's* pool. Georges Hébert, created of the Natural Method of Gymnastics, and Technical Director of the Lorient Marines School, was responsible for 350 students. He sent 100 of the students of *Villeneuve*, 150 aspirants of *Bretagne* and *Magellan*, and 100 marine's aspirants from Lorient (FROISSART and SAINT-MARTIN, 2014). The goal of this paper is to present and discuss the participation of Hébert in the *Congrès International d'Éducation Physique* in Paris by means of Brazilian national press. The timeline was selected by the French Congress and Brazilian press's articles in 1913. This research is in the Cultural History's studies (BURKE, 1992; HUNT, 2006). The sources are currently available in the Digital Hemeroteca of the National Brazilian Library. Four newspapers were found about the Congress and Hébert's participation, namely: *Fon-Fon!*, *O Pharol*, *Pacotilha*, *Jornal do Comercio* and *Correio Paulistano* (JUBÉ, 2017). Those newspapers offered a special attention to the presentations of Hébert's Lorient aspirants, and the Boblest's students from the traditional school of *Joinville-le-Pont*, and still the rigidity and precision of Swedish gymnasts. About Hébert, the press was given prominence by his method, which would be new at that time. As teacher, he was considered excellent and capable of forging admirable, strong, and agile men. However, the newspapers highlight the enthusiasm of the public and the French press for Hébert's performance, on the other hand they also point out the "Hébert's flop" with his imperfect and failed method.

**Keywords:** *Georges Hébert, Congrès International d'Éducation Physique, Brazilian press, Natural Method, Gymnastic.*

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**Author biography:**

**Carolina Jubé**, PhD, is a professor at University of Goiás (Brazil), ([caroljube@ufg.br](mailto:caroljube@ufg.br)). His research interests include Georges Hébert's Natural Method and history of French Gymnastics in Brazil and in Europe. Leader of LEPHGIN – Studies and Research in History of Gymnastic (UFG).

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*From Georges Hébert to Rolland Carrasco: the transformation of gymnastics embodied by the federal magazine (1950-1970)*

### **Pauline Déodati**

**Resume:**

In France, studies into developments in gymnastics teaching are generally limited to analyses of the influence of Swedish gymnastics prior to the 1950s, or studies in the 1970s on the eclecticism of methods (Noël in 1961, Piard in 1968 and Carrasco in 1972). In fact, the fall in the number of licence-holders after 1945 and the massification of other sports such as football meant that research into the history of sport took a different direction. As a result, few studies have been carried out since 1950, even though the 1950s and 1970s were pivotal years for French gymnastics. By examining the transition from hygienic gymnastics to sports gymnastics, this paper aims to shed light on the transformation of the sport at national level between 1950 and 1970.

This study is based on an analysis of 200 issues of *Le Gymnaste* magazine. Founded in 1890, it is aimed at members of the French Gymnastics Federation. Coaches, managers and gymnasts have access to not only administrative information, but also technical, physiological, anatomical and sporting information, etc., promoted by the institution. Thus, through a quantitative and qualitative study, we have characterised the internal and external changes in gymnastics. Long-standing leaders are giving way to new players with different sporting policies. The French government set up regional and national technical advisers who radically changed the way the federation was run and, at international level, the rules changed and new countries entered competitions, turning the usual prize lists upside down. Body shapes became increasingly dynamic and aligned. As a result, the way

gymnastics is taught is changing, with more emphasis on the child and the coach. From a more global perspective, these slow transformations also reflect a global landscape in crisis. The Cold War and the rise of soft power (Dufraisse, 2023) led to political changes in both the International Gymnastics Federation and French sports policy.

In this paper, we will show that changes within and outside the federation led to a slow transformation of gymnastics between 1950 and 1970. A real transformation that was reflected in pedagogical and didactic changes in the field.

**Keywords:** *Gymnastics, mutation, pedagogy, didactics, sportivisation*

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**Author biography:**



**Pauline Déodati**, doctoral student at the C3S “Culture, sport, health and society” laboratory (UR 4660) at the University of Franche-Comté ([pauline.deodati@univ-fcomte.fr](mailto:pauline.deodati@univ-fcomte.fr)). Currently a contract PhD student at the University of Besançon, she is interested in the history of gymnastics since the 1950s.

*Between heteronormative fantasy and popular sports love: media treatment of Christine Kiki Caron and Colette Besson "la petite fiancée de la France" (1964-1968)*

**Marion Philippe**

**Resume:**

In France in the 1960s, television was a key everyday object. Already, it played a central role in the genesis of idol figures (Biskup & Pfister, 1999). However, sportswomen are poorly represented on television, appearing only when they have achieved good results in an individual sport (Montañola, 2011). In sport, the female body follows a number of so-called heterosexual norms, and when a

woman doesn't fit these, she is often mocked by the media (Falcone & Bauer, 2021) and subjected to questions about her biological sex (Bohuon, 2015). As a result, a sportswoman who triumphs and fits into heteronormative criteria appears more easily in the media (Philippe, forthcoming). They also materialize a form of love for her on the part of the French public.

Christine Caron, silver medallist in the 100m backstroke at the 1964 Olympics, and Colette Besson, Olympic champion in the 400m in 1968, are two of the sportswomen concerned by this media and popular infatuation. Omnipresent in the media in the 1960s, the study of their appearances in medias provides an interesting entry point for questioning the heteronormative and sporting reasons for their starification and the emergence of fans.

In this presentation, we will examine the way in which the media stage this interest in sportswomen on the part of the French public, while at the same time examining the criteria that underpin this dual interest on the part of the media and the French public.

To carry out this study, we have built up a corpus of television and radio archives covering the two sportswomen in the year of their Olympic medals. In all, our corpus comprises 9 extracts on Christine Caron and 14 on Colette Besson. In these excerpts, we will focus both on the way in which television shows the public's love for the two sportswomen, and on the various testimonials collected. Our discussion is complemented by the reading of their (auto)biographies, which provide us with an insight - rarely critical - into their treatment by the media. In these speeches, we will focus on the extracts evoking their relationship with the public, in order to draw from them testimonies that complement the images and radio extracts.

**Keywords:** *swimming, athletics, media, gender, sports love*

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- Philippe, M. (soon to be published). French Olympic medallists in the 1960s : A history of differentiated media representation. *Sport & Society*.

### Author biography:



**Marion Philippe** is Associate Professor in STAPS at the Université Gustave Eiffel and at the ACP Laboratory (EA 3350). She holds an SHS chair from the Ile-de-France region, and is currently working on the media coverage of French women Olympic medallists from the 1960s to the present day.

- Philippe, M. (accepted/soon to be published), L'influence de la télévision et de la radio sur les attentes sportives du public : l'exemple de Christine « Kiki » Caron lors de Jeux Olympiques de Tokyo en 1964. *Materials para la historia de los deportes*
- Philippe, M. (accepted/soon to be published), French Olympic medalists in the 1960s : a history of differentiated television and radio representation. *The International Journal of Sport and Society*.
- Philippe, M. (accepted/soon to be published), Des femmes sportives aux Jeux Olympiques : une acceptation sous conditions (1896-1936). *Savoir/Agir*

*Women in the army Physical Education magazine* [remote]

### Ana Karla Rodrigues Pereira & Carolina Jubé

#### Resume:

The goal is to present and discuss the occurrence of women as columnists, translators, and interviewees in the Brazilian's Army Physical Education Magazine between the decades of 1930 and 1945. The research uses the historical method, based on Cultural History (BURKE 1992; HUNT, 2006). The data was collected from the official online archive of the School of Physical Education linked to the Brazilian Army. Additionally, the Army Magazine was aimed to propagate teacher training and popularize scientific knowledge. The timeline is the period between 1930 and 1945 which refers to the greatest number of women's participation in the Magazine. Based on content analysis (BARDIN, 2011), we explored and categorized the data obtained in fifty-seven issues of this periodical. The results revealed the presence of seventeen women in different publications over the years. In all, twelve women worked as columnists, such as: Edna Carew, Felisbina Pinheiro, Grace Sothcote, Helena Antipoff, Sylvia Accioly and others. Those women wrote about topics related to the development of the female body, gymnastics, and Physical Education at school. We found three women supporters of their own gymnastics' institutes namely: Helga Michelsen, Klara Korte e Naruna Amorin. Furthermore, was identified two translating women that contributed by texts about swimming and psychology, with the contribution by the famous Brazilian swimmer, Maria Lenk. Considering the timeline, most contributions were found between the period 1935 and 1939, with special emphasis on the largest number of finds in 1933. We found that most of these women's contributions were limited to the discussion about themes liked gymnastics for female audiences and the school context. We discovered that these women occupied spaces that were previously

restricted to men. At that time, based on eugenicist discourse, the role of women was to bear strong children for the nation. (GOELLNER, 2003). In this context, physical exercise was used as a tool for education and beautification of the female body. In addition, the journal's interests in demarcating which practices were appropriate and what place these women could occupy are evident.

**Keywords:** *Women, Army Physical Education Magazine, Brazil, Gymnastics, Female body*

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### **Authors' biographies:**



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**Carolina Jubé**, PhD, is a professor at University of Goiás (Brazil), ([caroljube@ufg.br](mailto:caroljube@ufg.br)). His research interests include Georges Hébert's Natural Method and history of French Gymnastics in Brazil and in Europe. Leader of LEPHGIN – Studies and Research in History of Gymnastic (UFG).

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## DAY 3 - SESSION 21

Thursday 06 June 2024, 16:30 p.m. - 18:30 p.m., SESSION 21

(Room S201, Alice Milliat building)

### *Sportsmen's playing with cultural borders*

Chair: Mike Huggins



**Mike Huggins** is Emeritus Professor of Cultural History at the University of Cumbria ([mike.huggins@cumbria.ac.uk](mailto:mike.huggins@cumbria.ac.uk)). His main research interests, expertise and experience lie in the history of British sport, leisure and popular culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the opening up of a wider range of evidence for their study, including visual and material primary sources. Alongside his many books, chapters and articles on British sport history, his edited collections have covered wider topics such as match fixing and sport, the visual in sport, a cultural history of sport in the age of industry, or sport and tourism.

His contributions to the scientific study of sports' history have been recognised by the International Society for Sport History and Physical Education, the British Society for Sports History, and the North American Society for Sport History. Personal web page: <https://mikehuggins.co.uk>

- « Hambletonian » Peint par George Stubbs, 1799. dans Bolz et Kruger, *European Sports History in 100 Objects* (Arete, Berlin, 2023).
- « Les premiers journalismes sportifs » dans *les actualités britanniques 1911-1930 : culture et société au cinéma* (2023) . <https://www.amdigital.co.uk/collection/british-newsreels-1911-1930>
- « Arbitres, arbitres, juges et stewards : Modification des modes de jugement et d'arbitrage dans le sport anglais 1600-1900 ; », *Journal international de l'histoire du sport* 40, 8 2023 pp661-679
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- «Sports et jeux» pour l' *histoire culturelle des loisirs de Bloomsbury au siècle des Lumières* ed. Peter Borsay (Bloomsbury, 2024), pages 87-110.

*Our first sporting "globalization": the movement of rugby teams and players between the two shores of the English Channel (1885-1914)*

**François Bourmaud**

**Resume:**

The aim is to highlight the extent to which sporting exchanges between France and Great Britain illustrate the first globalization (1870-1914) so dear to Suzanne Berger (2003), and bring the sportsmen and women of the late 19th century closer to their counterparts at the start of the 21st. Through a study of the French and British general and sports press, the paper will first highlight the intense circulation of rugby teams and players between the two countries. While the national XV's travel progressively for international matches, it is mainly clubs that travel across the Channel for one-off matches or tours. French clubs are increasingly recruiting British players.

The sheer volume of these movements then raises the question of the reasons behind them. First of all, advances in transport and communications have made contacts possible, and then clubs can move with unprecedented speed. Then there were the interests that guided the teams: on the French side, the desire to recruit or to measure themselves against the British in order to progress and capture the latest technical and tactical innovations of the best nations. On the "English" side, tours to France are more of a tourist attraction, and recruitment by a club an economic opportunity.

The final part of the paper will seek to highlight the consequences of these rugby circulations: the rapid development of the game in France and the domination of clubs likely to bring in players or teams from across the Channel; the closer ties between national federations that enable the French XV to take part in the Five Nations Tournament; attempts to regulate these flows of teams and players.

**Keywords:** *globalization, rugby, team tours, player recruitment, cultural transfers, Franco-British relations*

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- Thau Chris, *The Spirit of Penarth : One Hundred and Thirty-One Years of Seaside Rugby (1880-2011)*, Cardiff, CHT Publishing, 2012.
- Vincent Joris, *Le crochet, la passe et la mêlée : une histoire des techniques en rugby de 1845 à 1957*, thèse de doctorat, Université Lyon 1, 2003.

**Author biography:**

**François Bourmaud** is Senior teacher and doctor in contemporary history, research associate at the Centre d'Histoire du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (UR 3550).

- Forthcoming book: *Une histoire sportive du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Angleterre-France (1815-1914)*, published by Atlande.

*Bridging the distance between the country of origin and the host country – sport and Croats in Australia and New Zealand*

**Ivan Hrstić****Resume:**

According to official estimates over 3 million Croats live abroad. On the other hand, the population of Croatia counts less than 4 million. Therefore the Croatian Olympic Committee dedicated its annual conference in 2023 to the topic of diaspora. The aim was to encourage sports federations to reach out. At a time when international sport is characterized by the battle for talent, the diaspora represents a structural advantage of Croatian sport. However, its utilization requires a deeper understanding of the phenomenon, including the role of sport in the creation of diaspora.

Croatian sports clubs abroad played an important role in preserving the Croatian identity among emigrants. At the same time, sport was one of the most important instruments for the integration of Croats into immigrant societies. Finally, through their sport activities Croats contributed to the development of multiculturalism within the immigrant societies.

Aim of the presentation is to examine these three dimensions of the role of sport in diaspora development using the example of Croatian diasporas in Australia and New Zealand. Croatian settlers started to inhabit these two countries at the turn of the twentieth century. Today, approximately 200,000 Croats and their descendants live there. The research will confirm the importance of sport for them, but will also highlight the structural distinctions between the two diasporas, as a consequence of generational differences. The dominant group within the New Zealand Croatian diaspora was formed before World War II, while the dominant group within the diaspora in Australia was formed after 1945.

I will draw on a wealth of primary sources from archives in Croatia, Serbia, Australia and New Zealand. Materials from the Croatian States Archive in Zagreb, the Archives of Yugoslavia and Diplomatic Archives in Belgrade offer an insight into home countries' campaigns to mobilize emigrants throughout the 20th Century, while Australian and New Zealand archives give us an assimilationist perspective of the host countries. However, emigrants/immigrants were not only the

subject of institutional strategies, but active participants in this triangle of relations. Through their everyday practices, including sport, they emerged as an „outward looking“ transnational community.

**Keywords:** *diaspora, multiculturalism, talent, language, Croatia*

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- Ivan Hrستیć and Mustapić, Marko, „Sport as a Medium for Multidimensional Social Inclusion: The Role of Rugby in the (Re-)construction of the Identity of New Zealanders of Croatian Origin“, *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, 35 (2023), 1, 54-77.
- Roy Hay, „'Those bloody Croatians': Croatian soccer teams, ethnicity and violence in Australia, 1950–1999“. In: *Fear and Loathing in World Football* (Eds. Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti), Oxford: Berg, 2001., 77-90
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### **Author biography:**



**Ivan Hrستیć** is Senior Research Associate at the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences in Zagreb, Croatia. His research and publications are mainly in the area of the social history of Croatia in the twentieth century and the history of the Croatian diaspora. In 2012, he held a fellowship at the Central European University in Budapest to undertake research on his doctorate and in 2016 he was an Endeavour Research Fellow at the University of Adelaide. He is the head of the research project ‘Exploring emotions in the (re)construction of diaspora identity: Croats in Australia and New Zealand (1945-1991)’ which is funded by the Croatian Science Foundation.

- Vesna Drapac and Ivan Hrستیć, „Croatian Australian Identity and Soccer Since 1945“. In: *Football and Diaspora: Connecting Dispersed Communities through the Global Game* (Eds. Jeffrey W. Kassing and Sangmi Lee), London-NewYork, Routledge, 2023, 50-70.
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- Ivan Hrستیć and Josip Mihaljević, „Diaspora in the Limbo of Socialist Yugoslavia Foreign Affairs“, *International history review*, 45 (2023), 643-660.

*Playing sports on the other side of the Rhine: the case of requisitioners in Germany during the Second World War (1942-1945)*

**Doriane Gomet**

**Resume:**

This paper looks at the experience of French conscripts during the Second World War. It concerns 620,000 young men forcibly transferred in Germany as part of the introduction of Compulsory Work Service (STO). Although they were forced to work and live in places that were imposed on them, they were able to indulge in certain leisure activities. Did they practise any sports, and if so, which ones and in what framework? What sort of French and German institutions did they depend on, and what were their respective projects? How did the workers view sport and what exchanges did they have with the local population?

The sources used include archives deposited at the French National Archives (series 3 W, 72aj, 83aj, F/9 and F/44) and the German National Archives (Bundesarchiv, 5NS1, 5NS6, 55R), as well as documents deposited at the Office for the Archives of Victims of Contemporary Conflicts in Caen (series 27 P) and at the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre (series 1K 301). The press aimed at workers (*Le pont*, a weekly newspaper for French-speaking workers in Germany published from 1941 to 1944 and *La voix*, a newspaper for French workers in Germany from 1944 to 1945) and the sports press (*L'Auto* from 1942 to 1944) were analysed. This dataset is completed by a study of twenty-eight testimonies from former forced labourers.

This study sets out to prove that the Nazis wanted to use the experience of forced labour as an opportunity to acculturate the French to Nazism through propaganda grafted onto cultural activities. The mission of the Official French Delegation (DOF), which acted as a relay and mediator for the German institutions, was to operationalize this controlled access to sporting activities. The results of such an undertaking are difficult to measure. While the majority of French requisites remain aloof from these initiatives, nearly 10% of them take part in the sporting activities on offer. They thus became part of a structured, hierarchical system in which sports were a means of transmitting standards and values and a tool for regenerating the forces of production in the service of the Reich.

**Keywords:** *Sport, captivity, Nazism, Forced Labour, Propaganda*

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- Arnaud Patrice, « Gaston Bruneton et l'encadrement des travailleurs français en Allemagne (1942-1945) », *Vingtième siècle*, n° 67, juillet-septembre 2000, p. 95-118.
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- Spina Raphaël, *La France et les Français devant le Service du Travail Obligatoire, (1942-1945)*, thèse de doctorat en histoire sous la direction d'Olivier Wieviorka, ENS Cachan, 2012.

**Author biography:**

**Doriane Gomet** is Associate Professor at IFEPSA-UCO and is attached to the VIPS<sup>2</sup> laboratory at the University of Rennes 2. Her work focuses on the body activities of people in vulnerable situations, particularly those in captivity.

- Gomet, (Doriane), “Les dynamiques mémorielles de la Shoah : l’exemple de deux champions : Alfred Nakache et Young Perez”, *Archives Juives*. Les Juifs de France et le sport : identités, sociabilités, engagements, volume 56, Issue 1, 2023, p. 96-113.
- Attali (Michaël), Fortune (Yohann), Gomet (Doriane), Renaud (Jean-Nicolas), *Racing Club de France. Le sport en ciel et blanc*, Paris, Le Cherche Midi, 2023.

*Sports culture of front-line cities in Ukraine: life and challenges after February 24, 2022*

[remote]

### **Anna Prikhodko**

**Resume:**

Although the fierce Russian-Ukrainian war continues, sports life in front-line cities tries to continue too. This paper focuses on the Ukrainian city of Kharkiv, located 30 km from the Russian border. Before the war, the city had a population of one and a half million, was the second city in importance and influence on the sports life of Ukraine, and always had ambitions to become the first. Kharkiv, as a city that gave the country many outstanding athletes, had hundreds of facilities and structures intended for training professionals and amateurs. These are 19 stadiums, 40 tennis courts, 850 sports grounds, 363 gyms, 19 swimming pools, a golf club, ski bases, etc. The key sports for Kharkiv residents have always been football, volleyball, basketball, athletics, hockey, tennis, ping-pong, gymnastics, swimming and synchronized swimming, wrestling, boxing, cycling, etc. Kharkiv is known as the city that hosted EURO-2012 (football), Billie Jean King Cup (tennis), and many international and national sports competitions.

Based on local media coverage, this study aimed to show what problems the front-line Ukrainian city of Kharkiv faced and the potential opportunities to overcome them so that sports life does not disappear from its history. These include irreplaceable human losses among athletes and teaching staff; significant destruction of major sports infrastructure facilities, which are expected to be rebuilt only after the end of the war; migration of promising sports youth and coaches to other countries and regions of Ukraine; a colossal reduction in the number of sports events due to ongoing security threats; stagnation in the development of some traditional and popular sports in the region; and the almost complete cessation of physical education of students. Now the main task of sports in Kharkiv is to create a space that provides opportunities for distraction from the difficult reality of people who remain in the city. These opportunities are created mainly by private fitness clubs, which can provide

safety for people, and local sports grounds. Solving these problems for Kharkiv in the future is only possible by taking into account such factors as the end of the war, migration, infrastructure, financing, ecology, sporting specifics, and effective relations with organizations, industry, construction companies, financial donors, etc.

**Keywords:** *Russian-Ukrainian war, mass sport, physical activity, physical culture, history of sport*

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#### **Author biography:**



**Anna Prikhodko**, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Physical Education, Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University, Kharkiv, Ukraine ([annaprikhodko05071963@gmail.com](mailto:annaprikhodko05071963@gmail.com)).

- Prikhodko, Anna. “The Journal of Physical Education and Sport ‘Beauty and Power’ Kyiv, Ukraine, 1913.” In *A History of Sport in Europe in 100 Objects*, edited by D. Bolz and M. Krüger, Arete Verl., 64–67. Hildesheim, Germany: Arete Verlag, 2023.
- Sports Diplomacy in the Context of the Russian War in Ukraine. Interview with Sport Historian Anna Prikhodko, “Towards an EU Sport Diplomacy.” 2022. [https://www.tes-diplomacy.org/in\\_practice\\_detail/1030/sport-diplomacy-in-the-context-of-the-Russian-war-in-Ukraine](https://www.tes-diplomacy.org/in_practice_detail/1030/sport-diplomacy-in-the-context-of-the-Russian-war-in-Ukraine)

## DAY 3 - SESSION 22

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 16:30 p.m. - 18:30 p.m., SESSION 22**

(Room S202, Alice Milliat building)

### ***Diplomatic, economic and media stakes of the Olympic Games***

Chair: Yan Dalla Pria



**Yan Dalla Pria** is a full professor of sociology and a research fellow at the IDHE.S (Institutions and Historical Dynamics of Economics and Society, UMR CNRS 8533), Paris Nanterre University. His research work is specialized in sociology of work, economic sociology, sport sociology and gender studies.

- Bonnet C., Dalla Pria Y., « « Janus en ovalie ». Une analyse des représentations de la masculinité dans les publicités mettant en scène Sébastien Chabal ». *Genre en séries : cinéma, télévision, médias*, Genre en séries [En ligne], 14 | 2023
- Pierre J., Dalla Pria Y., « La digitalisation du sport au travail : une approche par la théorie de l'acteur-réseau ». *Loisir & Société / Society and Leisure*, 45-3, 2022 ([10.1080/07053436.2022.2141328](https://doi.org/10.1080/07053436.2022.2141328))
- Dalla Pria Y., Bonnet C., “‘The Beefcake and the Beast.’ Professionalization, Mediatization and the Representations of Masculinity in Rugby.” *The Sociological Focus*, 55-3, 2022.
- Gerke A., Dalla Pria Y., “The role of social capital in territorial development: The case of a French post-industrial region.” *Regional Studies*, 2022 (accessible en ligne : DOI : [10.1080/00343404.2022.2069237](https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2022.2069237)).
- Dalla Pria Y., « Quand le sport se met au service du management : la fabrique du « salarié de haut-niveau » ». *Ethnologie Française*, 4, 2019.
- Gerke A., Dalla Pria Y., “Cluster Concept: Lessons for the Sport Sector? Toward a Two-Step Model of Sport Cluster Development Based on Socioeconomic Proximity.” *Journal of Sport Management*, 32-2, 2018.
- Dalla Pria Y., Leroux N., « ‘La vie en bleu’. La construction de l’engagement organisationnel des cadres d’une enseigne de la grande distribution d’articles de sport ». *Sciences Sociales et Sport*, 11, 2018.



*AfCFTA and business Olympism: alliance of sports diplomacy, soft power and mega-events in the service of intercontinental economic diplomacy*

**Ghita El Hanche**

**Resume:**

This article aims to examine the impact of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) on sports and economic diplomacy in Africa. Research questions focus on analyzing the mechanisms through which sports events and economic exchanges can enhance Africa's position on the global stage, as well as evaluating trends and opportunities in African sports development. To achieve these objectives, a comprehensive methodology is adopted. This includes an in-depth review of existing literature on sports diplomacy in Africa, as well as on economic and trade policies. Documentary analysis and case studies on major sports events, such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, are also conducted. The methodology combines quantitative and qualitative methods, including statistical analysis of economic data and sports performance, as well as semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in the African sports sector.

Sources include a variety of academic, governmental, and institutional documents on sports diplomacy, the African economy, and major sports events. Economic statistical data and reports on past sports events in Africa are also used as foundational material for analysis.

The results of this study highlight the growing importance of Africa as a major player on the global stage, thanks to the convergence of sports diplomacy, soft power, and economic interests. Major sports events act as catalysts to attract investor attention and stimulate economic cooperation among nations on the continent. Furthermore, the historical and contemporary analysis of sports events in Africa provides insights into trends and opportunities in African sports development, underscoring its crucial role in the transformation and assertion of Africa on the world stage.

**Keywords:** *AfCFTA -Africa-, Sports Diplomacy, Soft Power, Economic Diplomacy, Sports development.*

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- Jarvie G. Sport, development and aid: Can sport make a difference? Sport in Society. 2011;14(2):241-52.

**Author biography:**

**Ghita El Hanche** is specialized in sports diplomacy for economic diplomacy between Morocco, Africa and the world, integrating the dimensions of sustainable sport and artificial intelligence. Our work explores the concept of soft power through sports mega-events, seeking to understand their impact on economic and political relations between nations, while also analyzing the macroeconomic spinoffs of these events and examining how AI can be used to promote sustainable sports practices.

*Broadcasting African sporting events: exploring the different approaches and fortunes [remote]*

**G rard A. Akindes**

**Resume:**

The history of television broadcasting in Africa traces back to the post-independence era, with Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Zambia pioneering installations by British colonizers before political autonomy (Bourgault, 1995). State-owned and state-controlled television networks were the norm (Ba, 1996; Myton et al., 2005) in most countries, with notable exceptions like Congo Brazzaville, where French technology facilitated the launch of television broadcasting in 1962 (Dioh, 2009). Across North Africa, Egypt led the way, with television broadcasting commencing in 1960 (Guaaybess, 2005).

However, the late 1980s and early 1990s witnessed a transformative period driven by new technologies, telecommunications advancements, and media deregulation (Myton et al., 2005). This era saw the emergence of dominant Direct-To-Home (DTH) transnational television broadcasters, notably Canal+ Horizons in Francophone Africa and MultiChoice in English-speaking Africa. Concurrently, Al Jazeera Sports (now beIN Sports) gained prominence in North Africa after acquiring the Arab Radio and Television Network in 2006, securing exclusive rights to major international sports competitions.

After satellite television technology, digitalization and Over-The-Top (OTT) streaming revolutionized the African television broadcasting landscape. This shift has significantly impacted sports event viewership and consumption patterns, with the African Confederation of African Football (CAF) recognizing the lucrative potential of broadcasting rights revenues, particularly for flagship events like the African Cup of Nations (AFCON).

Despite strides made in broadcasting popular sports events, challenges persist for lesser-known sports such as athletics, badminton, and table tennis, which struggle to attract television broadcasting and generate substantial revenues due to limited popularity and viewership potential.

This presentation investigates the historical development of television broadcasting in Africa amidst global media law deregulation, technological transformations, and sports broadcasting. It examines case studies of three sports confederations' strategies to capitalize on television broadcasting and internet streaming for sports events. Through interviews with confederation executives, the presentation contrasts the economic outcomes of these confederations, situated on the periphery of the global sports business complex, and their limited capacity to challenge the prevailing global sports broadcasting hierarchy shaped by the McPhail electronic colonialism theory.

**Keywords:** *Broadcasting sports Africa, Pay-tv, Free-to-air, Over-The-Top, Audience, Electronic colonialism*

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### **Author biography:**



**Gerard A. Akindes** is researcher and teacher for the Northwestern University, Qatar, and New York University, New York.

- Akindes, G. A. (2023). Africa in the Global Football Business Complex. In *The Geopolitical Economy of Sport* (pp. 165-172). Routledge.
- Akindes, G. A. (2022). Broadcasting and the FIFA World Cup: privatization and technology. In *The business of the FIFA World Cup* (pp. 203-224). Routledge.

## SESSION 23

**Thursday 06 June 2024, 16:30 p.m. - 18:30 p.m., SESSION 23**

(Room S203, Alice Milliat building)

### ***A return to the origins of sport and Olympism between antiquity and modernity***

Chair: Rudolph Muellner



**Rudolph Muellner** is full Professor of sport science at the Centre of Sport Science and University Sports in Vienna, Austria. He writes on social, cultural and historical issues of sport.

- Müllner, R., Hachleitner, B., Marschik, M. et Skocek, J. (2024). Etappenziel Österreich. Radsport 1930-1950 - *Helden, Raum et Nation*. Vienne : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht unipress.

*How does one become a sportsman? Forty years after Elias and Bourdieu, we return to the question of the historical conditions of development of the "sporting" fact*

**Bruno Deltour**

#### **Resume:**

“Long duration” is hardly fashionable in history and sociology. Half a century ago, Norbert Elias, strongly supported by Pierre Bourdieu, proposed a theory of sport as a specifically modern phenomenon. Situating its emergence in the context of the process of civilization, he proposed that it should be seen as a set of activities enabling a “controlled release of emotions”: an approach that heavily challenged studies which, “by an essential anachronism, bring the games of pre-capitalist societies [...] closer to sports proper” (Bourdieu, 1984).

That was before sports historians and sociologists, driven by the general trend towards specialization in the social sciences, turned away from this debate in favor of more delimited research.

But if you don't take the theoretical stakes out of the equation, they come right back in.

In the last ten years or so, with the revival of Greek studies provoked by J. Ober or M. Hansen, the view of the Greek athletic antecedent, once seen as tinged with archaism, has profoundly changed (Christe-sen 2012, Roubineau 2016, 2022), challenging Elias's thesis, and suggesting the need for a broader conceptual framework. If we can attribute the development of sporting institutions to a process of constitution of an egalitarian social space not only in England (Elias 1986) but also in Greece (Vernant 1962, Veyne 1993), then we have a solid basis for comparison. We are no longer in

a state of indeterminacy of similarities and differences. After reporting on this new theoretical perspective in Lisbon in 2021, attempting to shed light on the absence of collective disciplines in Antiquity and their success in the modern world in Bucharest in 2022, and comparing the “sporting” experience of Greek and modern athletes in Cologne in 2023, the present paper proposes to return, forty years on, to the question of the historical conditions of development of the “sporting” fact.

A return in three stages:

- the difference between “sports” and “games”: the criterion of training
- back to the chronology of ancient and modern events- - return to the theoretical question: Elias, Bourdieu, and the hypothesis of transhistorical and transcultural regularity

**Keywords:** *Sport, Antiquity, Theory, Elias, Bourdieu*

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- Testart Alain, *Avant l'histoire*, Gallimard, Paris, 2012.

### **Author biography:**



**Bruno Deltour** is an independent researcher.

- “The absence of collective sports in Antiquity and their success in the modern world”, paper presented at the 25th CESH Congress, Bucharest, September 21 to 23, 2022.
- La théorie de Norbert Elias à l'épreuve du renouveau des études grecques", paper presented at the 24th CESH Congress, Lisbon, September 14-16, 2021.

*The colours in the Ancient Roman circus races and the astrology*

**Claudia Portillo Martín**

**Resume:**

When the colours shine in the maximum circus, all the fans know which faction to support during all the races of the day. The fact that individuals already in Roman times could choose between one or another team makes us rethink the origin of these similarities between them, but at the same time differences. Hence the objectives of this study are to identify the origin of these colours and their relationship with symbolism, whether religious or otherwise, such as cosmological because of the number of elements related to the stars that have been found in the circus. The methodology used is based on the study of classical sources, which we know thanks to Tacitus during the Julio-Claudian period, as the temple to the Sun of the Circus Maximus was saved from the great fire of Rome so that at least in the first and second centuries Anno Domini astrological references in the scene of the chariot races were already present. Tertullian and the Latin anthology book also refer to astrology and the relationship of the circus with the cosmos, with the seasons, the elements, and the colours; instead, no source has been found analysing the geographical distribution in relation to the colours. In the inscriptions of the charioteers, especially in the *tabella defixionis* that represented these teams, we can also find references to the gods and the stars. Moreover, we cannot forget the circus criticism of astrologers by Cicero in several of his texts. The origin of these factions and their relationship with different aspects may be the differentiating factor for each of them to understand why some fans were of one team and not another. In addition, the alliances that could exist between the teams would be much easier to understand if these cosmological or religious relationships exist between them. This study can help to improve the understanding of the factions in Roman times and to determine whether this origin of the colours is an invention of the time or has a religious basis behind it.

**Keywords:** *Roman sport, ludi circenses, factions, society, astrology*

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**Author biography:**

**Claudia Portillo Martín** is in her third year PhD student within the Faculty of Sciences for Physical Activity and Sport (INEF) at the University of Polytechnic of Madrid. Her doctoral thesis is devoted to the study of Politics and sports spectacle in the Roman world. Her main research interest resides in the sport activities of the Roman circus, questioning the various issues like political and cultural which cover it. It is led by Professor Ignacio Refoyo.

*William Penny Brookes: Baron Pierre de Coubertin's 'Oldest' friend*

### **Helen Clare Cromarty**

**Resume:**

'I think I can say that Dr Brookes was my oldest friend, because he had just completed his eighty-second year when I first made his acquaintance and visited him in his little kingdom of Wenlock'. So wrote Baron Pierre de Coubertin of William Penny Brookes, a Victorian doctor from the county of Shropshire, situated on the border of England with Wales in the UK.

Using a biographical methodology, this paper seeks to interrogate the evolution of Brookes's several concepts into national Olympianism developed over forty five years during the second half of the nineteenth century. The interrogation questions who was William Penny Brookes; what aspects of his personal life inspired him to establish Olympian Games; and how were Coubertin and others inspired by his ideas and his work?

In 1850 Brookes set up the Wenlock Olympian Class (later Society), the first formally constituted athletics club outside educational and military organisations. Of great importance to Brookes was the title 'Olympian' which he defined as embracing not only contests in sport, but also in intellectual and industry, the arts, and military disciplines. Post-ancient Olympics, the club's Wenlock Olympian Games was the first known multi-event meeting instituted for competition in serious sports. Also, Brookes was the first person to institute a committee of working-class men in its management. His Shropshire Olympian Games, set up in 1860, was the first to hold peripatetic meetings, an idea employed by his third conception, a National Olympian Association established in 1865. Later this idea was emulated by the British Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) and by Coubertin for his open international Olympic Games. However, Brookes's concept of what constituted an amateur athlete conflicted with that of the AAA and of Coubertin, as his core concern was for the health of the working classes through physical education.

Sporting scholarship largely overlooks Brookes's work as principally, up until recently, Wenlock Olympian Society's archive was inaccessible. The evidence presented will demonstrate that Brookes was a visionary with innovative ideas which were brought to fruition by others, although rarely acknowledged.

**Keywords:** *Brookes, Olympianism, Wenlock, physical education*

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**Helen Clare Cromarty** is in her part time research student in my final year at the University of Wolverhampton, West Midlands, UK. She submitted her thesis on *William Penny Brookes and his Olympian Games* in February and undertake her viva voce in May 2024. She has been a member of Wenlock Olympian Society (WOS) for over thirty years, initially as the Media and Fund-raising Officer during which time she gave numerous (national and international) presentations and interviews; publishing articles for popular magazines, newspapers, and other print material. Currently, she is Chair of the Society and also, she has the honour to be a Vice President. Since 1993, she did research to the history of Brookes and WOS, and given academic papers at a number of conferences. She is in the process of preparing a manuscript for book publication based on my thesis.

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*Making the world with ancient men. About a riddle right in the center of the CESH logo, or why on earth did Greek athletes have such a small one?*

**Bruno Deltour**

**Resume:**

It's an age-old enigma that's been nagging visitors to the Department of Antiquities for a long time: why do Greek statues of remarkable figures - gods, heroes, or mere mortals - of the male sex, obviously inspired for the rest by the physiognomy of athletes, sport such a small penis?

An enigma that plays its part in the embarrassment that the Greek athletic precedent still causes among sports history specialists. "The Olympic Games represent a thousand-year-old tradition linking sport and culture, a tradition that has been traced in dotted lines but has always known how to be reborn", as the historical page of the Paris 2024 website ("The sources of Olympism") puts it, but since Elias this presentation of things has not been self-evident. The religious impregnation of the ancient Games, uses as singular as the complete nudity of athletes, and the unusual nature of this figurative bias, all contribute to casting doubt on the new hypothesis of a proximity between ancient and modern "sporting" models, against a backdrop of the constitution, in both cases, of an egalitarian social space. To make us believe in the irreducible strangeness, in spite of everything, of our ancient cousins.

What if the solution to this enigma, beyond the obligatory reference to Aristophanes' famous excerpt from *The Clouds*, were at hand and led to an unexpected rapprochement rather than estrangement? Ancient literature bears simple witness to the fact that, far from being unambiguous, the way in which the male genitalia were viewed - and more specifically, the size of the male sex - was closely linked to context. What if the idea of a moral "recalibration" by artists in a society where "the canon of the male sex" would have responded to an ideal, that of "self-control" erected as a virtue (Jean-Manuel Roubineau, *À poings fermés*, to take one of the most recent occurrences), were to be replaced by that of the realistic representation of an ordinary physiological effect of vasoconstriction caused by prolonged athletic effort, necessarily clearly visible in naked athletes?

This paper will address the following points: 1. historical research and the evolution of the relationship to otherness (Scheid, 2013)

2. contextualization of the problem based on ancient texts

3. hemodynamics of intensive exercise and localized vasoconstriction

4. career and end of career of an extraordinary artist

**Keywords:** *Sport, Antiquity, Sculpture, Anatomy, Athletes*

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**Bruno Deltour** is an independent researcher.

- “The absence of collective sports in Antiquity and their success in the modern world”, paper presented at the 25th CESH Congress, Bucharest, September 21 to 23, 2022.
- La théorie de Norbert Elias à l'épreuve du renouveau des études grecques", paper presented at the 24th CESH Congress, Lisbon, September 14-16, 2021.